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Being a "good daddy": exploring the stability of paternal identity

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Being a "good daddy": Exploring the stability of paternal identity

by

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ABSTRACT

Based on the theoretical frame of identity theory, this research purposes to find the shared meanings between one's paternal identity and other role identities such as professional identity and religious identity.   The research employed face-to-face interviews with semi-structured questionnaires.   Five Korean, four Korean-American or Korean permanent residents, and five Anglo-American interviewees participated in the research.   Findings show that paternal role players share specific meanings with other role identities.   Although shared meanings vary from person to person, these meanings are commonly emphasized by interviewees.   The existence of shared meanings among multiple identities leads the researcher to draw the conclusion about the dynamics among multiple identities in accordance with a hierarchical structure of meanings.

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

"It's hard to know what to do in this case, what to do in that case.   I wish there was

an institute to teach these things (to be a good father).   It could be a business,

couldn't it?"

– A quote from an interview

Undoubtedly, it is hard to be a good father, although it is very unlikely to see a father

who does not want to be a good father.   It is not only because we do not have a clear idea of

exactly what it is being a good father, but also because even if we know what it is, there are

many obstacles that make performing the idea difficult.[1]   Since the issues around fathering

are too broad and intertwined, they need to be disassembled and designated by the precise

terms that social scientists have provided through previous studies.   Identity theory is one of

the theoretical frames that have served to provide understanding of the relationship between

role playing behaviors and social structures around the role.   Also, many researchers in

family studies have confirmed notable findings around fathering issues.   Therefore,

exploring the issues around being a good father requires research in both areas.

A theoretical frame of identity theories needs to be employed to conceptualize and

analyze the terms previously noted such as "being a good father," "obstacles," or "to meet the

idea (of being a good father)."   First, a role is specified with the meanings that the culture of

a society attaches (Burke, 2004a; Stryker, 1980).   Father, in that sense, is a name of the role

that society gives to anyone who occupies the paternal role and performs paternal behaviors.

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[1] Arditti, Smock and Parkman(2005) shows an extreme case that one's paternal role performance is limited by external conditions.

We call a set of expectations on paternal behaviors the culture of fatherhood or the paternal role because not only the fathers but also all members of society are expected to understand them.

Second, an individual role player who follows this culture of paternal role is expected to internalize a set of the guidelines that define appropriate or inappropriate behaviors in a given social structure. Identity theorists call this set of guidelines the paternal identity standard (Stryker & Burke, 2000). Referring to these guidelines, a paternal role player perceives his own vision of a father as good or bad and thus constantly controls his behaviors so as to fulfill the idea of a good father. One's self-perception of his paternal role is defined as his paternal identity, which involves the process that one uses to continuously evaluate and modify one's own role performance comparing to the identity standard (Burke, 1980; Burke, 2004a; Stryker & Burke, 2000).

Third, according to identity theorists, one constructs the identity standard out of the culture of the role (Stryker & Burke, 2000). A set of the meanings one has developed for the role is "based on culturally recognized qualities, traits, and expectations" (Burke, 2004a, p. 9). The standard of paternal identity reflects both appropriate and inappropriate types of paternal behaviors that the culture of the society expects from those who occupy the paternal role. From this viewpoint—that the types of paternal behavior are culturally specified—it is assumed that the paternal standard follows social and cultural changes in a society and differs from culture to culture.

Fourth, the conflicts from both inside and outside of the paternal role player may prevent one's paternal behavior from following one's paternal standard. Inner conflicts are observed when a father is not sure whether his paternal role behavior is appropriate or

inappropriate in a given situation. Conflicts arise because of the gap between his paternal identity standard and the expectations that he perceives in a particular situation. It is the instability of paternal identity that identity theorists have found from the failure of identity verification (Burke & Cast, 1997; Burke, 2006). Conflicts from the outside, on the other hand, are the situational restrictions on paternal behaviors that a role player faces in a certain situation. Lack of spending time with the children is one of the key functions where one's paternal involvement is restricted by the structure or culture (Cooper, 2000; Ranson, 2001). For example, according to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development(OECD), Korean worker showed the longest working hours per year in 2011 among 34 OECD countries.[2] This lead to the conjecture that Korean fathers have less time available for spending with their children than fathers in other countries including the United States.

Fathers try to match their ideas of being a good father to the social and cultural expectations given to paternal role players despite the inner or outer conflicts. Apparently, there is a gap between their paternal standards and their perceptions of actual involvement. Another gap is between what fathers think and what others, including other family members, think about their paternal performance (Andrews et al. 2004). The focus is, therefore, on how they manage their unsatisfactory perceptions of their role performance, not on how much of a gap there is. With the theoretical frame of identity theory and the previous approaches from family studies to the relationship between paternal identity and paternal performance, it is beneficial to explore how fathers with conflicts in the stability of their paternal identity perceive their paternal role performance and manage their identity stability.

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[2] The average number of annual working hours per worker in Korea was 2,193 hours in 2011 (OECD, 2011).

CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Identity Theories

Identity theory emerged out of the criticisms mainly against the vagueness of traditional symbolic interactionism, which makes it difficult to test its concepts and propositions in the field research (Kuhn, 1964; Stryker, 1968, 1987; Meltzer, 1972; Ritzer, 2008). Stryker, who proposed identity theory[3], argued that major concepts and their relationships in traditional symbolic interactionism should be converted into verifiable propositions (Stryker, 1968, 1980). Stryker and other identity theorists, therefore, proposed empirical concepts such as "identity," "role," and "role choice behavior" instead of "self," "society," or "social behavior" in traditional symbolic interactionism (Burke & Stryker, 2000).

These conceptualizations have been developed to construct common grounds of identity theories and adopted by various studies with identity theorist perspectives. Basic assumptions and descriptions of these concepts, such as self, interaction, meaning, and others are commonly applied to two stems of identity theories that emphasize either the internal process of or the social structure around individuals.[4] Studies focusing on the internal procedure of an individual's interaction generally define an identity as a set of meanings with which one attributes oneself in accordance with others' expectations that are constructed

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[3] Although various parts of social psychology contributed the bases of identity theory, as Stryker and Burke (2000) noted, identity theory was "in the air" until empirical studies, including Stryker (1968), Burke and Tully (1977), and McCall and Simmons (1978), which refined and confirmed the concept of *identity*, emerged in around 1970s.

[4] The concept of 'identity' has been adapted to various fields of study as well as social psychological studies (Stryker & Burke, 2000; Stryker & Serpe, 1994). Stets (2003, 2005) argues that even among identity theorists there are roughly three different foci on it although most of them employ the common concepts derived from symbolic interactionist perspectives.

socially (Burke & Reitzes, 1981; Burke, 2004a). The other perspective emphasizes social structure around the identity that one is located in a position within a given social structure (Stryker, 1968; Serpe, 1987; Owens & Serpe, 2003).

Two stems of identity theory commonly assume that an identity is constructed by one's interactions with others within a given social structure, where an individual recognizes others as "counter-role" players (Burke & Tully, 1977; Burke, 1980). Interactions convey others' appraisals, with which one judges the appropriateness of his or her behavior (Burke & Reitzes, 1981; Burke, 1980, 2004). One's identities are based on various meanings and one's behaviors are the result of *self-verification*, which is between those meanings and others' appraisals.[5] Continuous internal dynamics not only maintain but also change one's identity. Identity is continuously refined through the process of self-verification with the perceptions of circumstances. If this verification, however, is prevented by any possible reason, then one is likely to try to reduce the discrepancies between his or her meanings and perceptions by changing role behaviors or *identity standards* (Burke, 2006; Burke & Stets, 1999).

The meanings of a role identity that describe one's role in a social structure, are the standard that one sets up for the reference of role behaviors (Burke, 1991). They are constructed by the answers of "what it means to be" a role occupant as a member of a given social structure that sets up the positions for its role occupants (Burke, 2004a). Although these meanings are collected and internalized by individuals, they are derived from social contexts rather than individual personality. Meanings of a particular role are more relevant

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[5] This is the fundamental difference between identity theory and behaviorism. Identity theorists conceptualize one's behavior as the result of self-verification, which derives "appropriateness" from comparing others' appraisals to one's meanings as identity standards. (Burke & Cast, 1997)

with the given structure that defines the role and counter-roles than those of *person identity*, which has been cumulated relatively for a long time and not limited within any particular role, yet it is the social product "maintained by a feedback control process" (Stets, 1995, p.134).

It is also commonly accepted that an individual has multiple identities and that each of them represents a particular aspect of the self and involves particular types of interactions with others (Stryker, 1968, 1980; Burke & Reitzes, 1981; Weigert, 1986; Stryker & Serpe, 1994; Burke, 2004a). Thus one has multiple identities that are dependent on the number of groups one belongs.[6] Each identity is ranked on the probabilities that an identity becomes prominent in a given situation: this is conceptualized as *identity salience* (Stryker, 1968, 1980; Stryker & Serpe, 1994). As Stryker (1968) noted, when a father finds himself involved in his role identity of father, rather than as a friend or an angler, he is more likely to take care of his child on weekends instead of meeting friends or going fishing. Relative prominence among various identities generally depends on one's level of *commitment* to a particular role.[7]

Identity theory suggests well-defined views of the relationship between the individual and social structure. Social structures provide individual members' sets of meanings and their behaviors, while meanings based on personal traits have various but contingent relationships with other identities.[8] Since meanings reflect social structural backgrounds and identity standards can be changed, even though changes in the standard

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[6] These identities are generally defined as role identities attributed by the roles one occupies.
[7] The matter which identity is to be prominent is divided into *identity salience* and *psychological centrality* (Stryker & Serpe, 1994). The former is relatively situational while the latter is desired. These two have independent relationships with commitment and role behaviors (Stryker & Serpe, 1994; Rane & McBride, 2000; Henley & Pasley, 2005).
[8] Stets(1995) noted that person identity is more "malleable" than role identity. Burke(2006) implied this difference in terms of the relationship between different level of commitment on multiple identities and changes in identity standards.

happens less likely than changes in identity-performing behaviors, some meanings are modified, redefined, or excluded from the standard. So identity theories assume one's intervening moment that reevaluates or rearranges those self-relevant meanings as the identity standard to reduce the discrepancies between identity standards and situation-relevant meanings as reflected in others' appraisals (Burke, 2006). Cultural values, significant life events, or personal traits can be influential to this process of controlling the identity (Burke, 1991; Burke & Cast, 1997; Collier, 2001). Then some identities, as sets of meanings, are kept relatively more stable than others (Burke & Tully, 1977; Stets, 1995; Burke, 2004a). In other words, as Burke (2006) pointed out, the strongest power which is controlling these changes would construct the *mastery identity*, which regulates the conflicts between the identity standard and perceived meanings in a given situation.

Fatherhood

Fatherhood has been one of the academic issues that became focused in the 1970s (Lamb, 2000; Marsiglio et al, 2000;). This topic has become noticed by several family studies because the researchers found that the idea of fatherhood has shifted over this time. Societal changes were primarily considered as one of the major forces contributing to this shift. As women's breadwinning roles have been required, the changes in social and cultural expectations of the paternal role have simultaneously influenced people's ideas of fatherhood and fathers' actual involvements in family (LaRossa, 1988). This shift has been observed by scholars who argued that the idea of fatherhood these days departs from the ideas of previous generations during recent decades (Ranson, 2001).

However, social changes do not directly cause changes in the idea of fatherhood.

Between the two dimensions, many researchers have noticed various conditions such as personal traits which accumulate over one's lifetime, gender ideology that sets the role of father and mother in a family structure, or types of professions and working hour, which have an impact on one's idea of fatherhood (Stets, 1995; 1997; McBride & Rane, 1997; Cast, Stets, & Burke, 1999; Rane & McBride, 2000; Cooper, 2000; Fox & Bruce, 2001; Cast, 2004; Cast & Bird, 2005; Henley & Pasley, 2005). Fathers' personal traits, experiences, beliefs, or problem-solving abilities, which are constructed from social and cultural backgrounds, are reported to be related to their paternal involvements (Hochschild, 1989; Cooper, 2000; Marsiglio, Hutchinson, & Cohan. 2001; Henwood & Procter, 2003). For example, Hochschild(1989) noted that "the gender strategy," which explains how one's gender ideology controls one's gender role behaviors applied to a given situation, impacts the relationship between husband and wife in accordance with each other's gender ideology.[9] In sum, one's paternal involvements are not just decided by external conditions such as social changes but chosen from or modified by various levels of backgrounds from personal traits to social structure.

Also the conditions within one's paternal involvement or family structure, such as interaction qualities and frequencies among family members which include husband-wife interaction as well as father-child interaction, are related to one's idea of fatherhood as well (Hochschild, 1989; Lareau, 2000; Cooper, 2000; Morman and Floyd, 2006). Interactions that are manifested, appraised, and modified among family members are based on and, at the same time, building up the meanings of fatherhood that are shared among family members

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[9] Stets(1995) also argued that the motivation of controlling others, one of the most fundamental motivations in interpersonal relationship, impacts on the relationship between husband and wife in terms of gender ideology.

and deeply related to their ideas of fatherhood. This view of fatherhood is consistent with father's role identity, according to the identity theory. Previous studies on fatherhood that employed the concepts of identity theory reported that father's role identity is evaluated and adjusted in accordance with other family members' expectations (McBride and Rane, 1997; Maurer, Pleck and Rane, 2001).

Moreover, the idea of fatherhood is partly developed before one actually occupies the paternal role (Hochschild, 1989; Habib & Lancaster, 2006; Marsiglio, Hutchinson, & Cohan, 2000). It is reasonable because the idea of fatherhood can be collected from various sources: one's experiences with his parents, indirect sources from others (e.g. talking with neighbors, participation in school activities), or even non-personal sources such as books, TV programs, films, and so forth. The difference between what a father *ought* to be and what a father think he is can be observed from one's actual involvement as a father. For example, fathers often overestimate themselves in self-evaluations and more likely understand themselves as conforming to social expectations. In that case, the discrepancy emerges from their actual involvement and their self-perceptions (Mandell, 2002; Arditti, Smock & Parkman, 2005; Morman & Floyd, 2006; Mikelson, 2008).

In sum, one's idea of fatherhood is developed from various levels of sources such as one's personal experiences and traits, the types of interactions among family members, and the culture of the social structure. A father tries to monitor various conditions around him and interactions with his family and modify his paternal behaviors to confirm his idea of fatherhood (Lareau, 2000; Maurer, Pleck, & Rane, 2001; McBride et al. 2005; Morman & Floyd, 2006). This process is named by identity theorists as the identity verification or the *negotiation* process that maintains the principles of fatherhood (Scanzoni & Szinovacz, 1980;

Cast, Stets, & Burke, 1999; Stueve & Pleck, 2003; Morman & Floyd, 2006). In other words, one's idea of fatherhood is a continuous process that brings the appropriate behaviors as to conform to the social expectations in a given situation in accordance with interactions with counter-role players such as other family members.

Extending the Assumptions of Identity Theory

One of the major tasks of identity theorists was to confirm the relationship between one's identity and role performance. With accumulated findings of empirical studies, identity theory has expanded its theoretical examinations. Recent studies of identity theory have noticed that the meanings of an identity can be considered hierarchical (Tsushima & Burke, 1999; Burke, 2003) and that in a specific situation one's multiple identities are activated simultaneously (Stets, 1995; Marks & MacDermid, 1996; Burke, 2003). Burke and Tully (1977) pointed out early that "some identities are associated with a wider variety of situations and performances than are others (p. 883)." Although what they pointed out here is actually different levels of salience or dominance of one's multiple identities, it is also possible to assume that some identities are based on more influential or confirmed meanings than are other identity standards. Burke (2003, 2006) proposed different levels of identity standards, which control the discrepancies between behaviors based on standards and perceptions of others' appraisals. What he assumed here is the different levels of multiple identities, which are different sets of meanings. This idea implies that some meanings are more stable and so influential than others. The matter is what meanings are in different levels of stability or influence.

At this point, Coller (2001) argued that different dimensions of an identity could be

stressed by people who have different reference groups while previous studies of identity theorists have considered meanings as "unidimensional." Instead, his differentiated model recognizes the reference group; one's meanings of the role reflect the culture of the reference group in which one is involved (Collier, 2001). In other words, meanings of the role are differentiated in order of significance that each role-taker perceives matching to the value system of the reference group. When it comes to fatherhood, individuals who are expected to take the role of father will organize the meanings of father in accordance with the cultures of their reference groups. Even the role consists of different meanings according to role-takers' culture. Ishii-Kuntz (1995), who compared fathers' mode of involvements between Japanese and American fathers, found that the meaning of 'having a breakfast with children' is only significant to Japanese fathers' involvements while American fathers spend more time playing with their children.

In addition, a series of studies has argued that multiple identities are not always hierarchically organized. Rather they showed that identities continuously rearranged, in part, consciously by performers. Although, as mentioned previously, most identity theorists have assumed the concept of the identity hierarchy: Marks and MacDiarmid (1996) argued that even if multiple role identities are in conflict, it is not necessarily solved by one identity becoming dominant, and suggested an alternative model of the self, role balance, which supports the idea that one seeks to balance multiple roles in a given situation to have the best result or the least conflict. This perspective gives an idea that multiple roles are overlapped in one's behaviors. For example, Cooper (2000) reports a group of fathers defined as "superdads (p. 391)" who are fully engaged in both hard work and paternal behavior. Her findings from these fathers imply that their identities of gender, worker, and husband-father

are related to common bases.

Following Burke's definition of identity, a set of meanings, one's role behaviors based on these meanings reflect the organization of these meanings no matter how they are organized. Since an identity includes multiple meanings relevant to one's self, it can be inferred that some meanings within a set are more important than other meanings. Collier (2001) explained these differences in importance of meaning as the result of different references of the role in the sense that each role player has internalized different social expectations given to the same role, which vary from society to society. Among the meanings of a role, the most prominent meaning is derived from and shared by multiple identities (Stets, 1995; Tsushima & Burke, 1999). These meanings are fundamental in one's self and thus related with the higher-level identity, which has been confirmed for a relatively long time. From their studies of multiple identities, it can be suggested that shared meanings have more power than other non-shared meanings to lead one's role performance if they fit in a given situation. In this sense, Burke (2006) suggested that this shared meanings of multiple identities could reduce the discrepancy between them when they activate at the same time in a certain situation. It can be reversely stated that shared meanings produce the stability of enacting multiple identities (Marks & MacDemid, 1996). Since role behavior as a process of identity verification is situation-specific, one's role performance with shared meanings will be more frequently activated in more situations than that with non-shared meanings. This assumption is also supported by the evidence that a meaning of one's higher-level identity – such as "mastery (p. 134)" – is activated in a specific role performance of the lower-level identity – "gender identity (p. 130-131)" – because it is the fundamental meaning shared by one's multiple identities (Stets, 1995).

CHAPTER 2. RESEARCH METHOD AND DESIGN

Sampling

Purposive sampling was used to recruit interview participants because the purpose of this research is to find the meanings of the paternal identity that are shared by other identities. The sampling method used in this research was 'snowball' sampling, which is useful to recruit the research participants in a closed group. Although the Korean community in the research area is not exclusive or closed, snowball sampling is still useful because this community is not well-organized: only a few Korean or Korean-American people know one another in the community where the study took place. Most of them communicate frequently within a small group, which is separated from other groups. After finding one participant, he as an informant was asked to introduce another interview participant. When no participant was recruited from the informant, another informant in the same or another community was contacted. American fathers, on the other hand, were recruited with help of the informants at preschools, middle and high schools, community centers, and churches. They forwarded the letter of research invitation and five American fathers answered their interests in the research participation.

After an informant contacted each participant, he contacted the researcher or answered through the informant if he would accept the invitation to participate in the research. Each interviewee was individually replied to with detailed research introductions and asked to schedule an interview. All interviews were scheduled and conducted only after the participants stated that they understood the research plan and consented to be interviewed. Interviews were conducted in various locations. When the interview was scheduled, each

interviewee was given a choice of the most comfortable place for the interview.   As a result, each interview was conducted in the interviewee's office, house, cafe, or library..

Fourteen fathers were recruited as interview participants.   Five of them were Koreans who were temporary residents who had lived in the United States less than five years.   These participants and their children were relatively young: their children were younger than 10 years old and students of elementary school or kindergarten.   Four were Korean-American U.S. citizens or permanent residents who have lived in the United States for 10 to 30 years. Although their first language is Korean, they speak English proficiently in everyday life and the intimate groups they primarily interact with are American citizens or native English speakers.   Another five participants were Caucasian American citizens whose first language is English.   They were born and grew up in American families.

Cultural influences on fatherhood were considered in this study. Cultural differences of fatherhood or paternal involvement have been reported by several studies (for example, see Ishii-Kuntz, 1995; Shwalb et al., 2004).   Although cultural differences themselves are not the main focus of this study, they are considered as important to the paternal identity because one's cultural background contributes to the identity standard formation to which one's role behavior refers (Stets & Burke, 2000).   In this regard, one of the foci that this study considered is how Korean or Korean-American fathers perceive the cultural differences of the paternal role in Korea and in the United States as their references of paternal involvement.   However, it does not mean that this study assumes a causal relationship between circumstantial change in cultural reference and one's paternal involvement.   It was hypothetical to the extent that circumstantial changes around the paternal role players might be revealed from the ideas of the paternal role as the interview participants' statements.

Listed below is the information about interviewees' ages, ages of the first child, and the number of children.

#	Participant's Age	Age of the 1st Child	Number of Children	Marital Status	Years in the U.S.
A	36	7	2	Married	Less than 5 years
B	40	7	2	Married	Less than 5 years
C	30s*	7	2	Married	Less than 5 years
D	40	9	2	Married	Less than 5 years
E	30s*	7	2	Married	Less than 5 years
F	46	9	1	Married	More than 10 years
G	63	34	2	Married	More than 10 years
H	41	10	2	Married	More than 10 years
I	64	37	3	Married	More than 10 years
J	41	8	3	Married	U.S. Born Citizen
K	46	14	3	Married	U.S. Born Citizen
L	44	9	1	Married	U.S. Born Citizen
M	52	23	2	Married	U.S. Born Citizen
N	48	10	2	Divorced	U.S. Born Citizen

Table 1.   Interview Participants Information

* This interviewee does not want to specify his age.

Each participant's real name is replaced by alphabet initials to be anonymous.   No rule was adapted to arrange the participants in alphabetical order.   The participants' ages are indicated in tens because the Korean community in the research site is relatively small and so the precise age can be a clue that enables each interview participant identified.   The sex of their children were revealed during the interview but not included in the table because of the different types of paternal involvement according to the child's gender stated during the interview which are not being studied.   However, this study does not argue that the type of paternal involvement is or can be separated from their child's gender.

Research Design

This research used face-to-face interviews with semi-structured questionnaires. Since the primary purpose of this research was to reveal what meanings of being a good father the interview participants have and how they describe those meanings in accordance with their other aspects of life or other role identities, the research method requires an exploratory approach that discover one's own structure of the meanings of fatherhood. The primary concern of the research method was how to gain the individual participant's understanding of the linkage between paternal identity and other role identities. Previous studies based on identity theories provided the theoretical frame of this study. Semi-structured questionnaire was designed with theoretical concepts of identity theories, mainly those of Peter J. Burke's Identity Control Theory (Stryker & Burke, 2000; Burke, 2003, 2004).

Both English and Korean versions of questionnaire were designed and provided because potential interview participants were Korean, Korean-American fathers whose native language is Korean, and Caucasian American fathers whose native language is English. General questions are of paternal role identity, types of paternal involvement, interviewees' professional or religious role identities, and types of professional or religious role involvement. Since this research project was followed by the existing theoretical frame, which is mainly Peter J. Burke's Identity Control Theory, the interview questionnaires were based on the theoretical concepts and assumptions of the paternal role identity that previous studies have developed.

Broad questions reflect those concepts and assumptions derived from the previous studies of identity or family. For example, the questions such as "What do you usually do when you are at home?" or "What do you usually do for your children?" are prepared to

capture the patterns of paternal involvement, which is a major pillar of the identity theory models. Other questions such as "Would you describe what your ideas of fatherhood or father role are?" are also intended to understand what factors each participant considered to be a good father and how they are interrelated. Still other questions about the relationships with wife, children, and his father were asked since how one's paternal identity is verified or adjusted through "the reflected appraisals" during paternal involvement.

Since the primary purpose of this research was to capture the link between one's two or more identities, the questions about the participant's idea of professional identity or religious identity were added. Basic forms of these questions are similar to the questions about paternal identity: "Would you describe what is important to be a (professional/ religious role: for example, "consultant", "Christian")?" Follow-up questions were asked to clarify not only the participant's professional or religious identity but also the abstract-level of the meanings behind the role identity. These follow-up questions were not provided in the questionnaires since they were added as occasion demands.

Translation

Since this research was intended to recruit not only American but also Korean or Korean-American fathers whose first language was Korean, the issue of translation was how to minimize the inconsistency between English and Korean versions of questions. Three stages of minimization were provided: first, while developing the English questionnaire, both English and Korean questionnaires were crosschecked so as to refer to the same meaning in each question. To control the potential mistranslation and to reflect the research intentions best, the least ambiguous terms and sentences were selected for each question. For example,

the term "paternal identity" used in this research title was not used in the questionnaire because it is not the word used in everyday life. Instead, it was replaced by "the meaning of fatherhood" or "the idea of father role" in the sense that an identity is a set of meanings that one describes the role one occupies (Burke, 2004a).

Second, during the interview the researcher compared each question to what the interviewee answered. If any misinterpretation of the question was found, the participant was given additional questions that reflected the original research intentions. Since culturally different nuances of terms and expressions would have influenced the interview participant's answers, follow-up questions or probes were given to the participants to let them understood the original intentions. The follow-ups or probes used in the interview were given to lead the participant to the particular topics or issues, which are different from guiding questions that lead the interviewees to particular answers.

Third, the researcher controlled the differences of usage or nuance in two languages during the coding process of the interview data. For example, the term 'discipline' was commonly used by American fathers while Korean fathers were more frequently use 'teach' instead of 'discipline'. In this case, the researcher made a distinction between the two terms according to the context that Korean fathers described. Crosschecking the translated interview data in this case was important to reduce the possibility of mistranslation. Extracted segments of the data quoted in this paper were translated initially by the researcher and then rechecked by a professional translator who is proficient in both English and Korean. The professional translation service was, however, used only for the minimal numbers of the transcribed lines to protect the confidentiality of the interview data.

Coding

Interview   results were analyzed using the general guidelines of qualitative coding procedures.   Qualitative coding requires legible form of data because it analyzes meaningful "words, phrases, sentences, or whole paragraphs" through the coding process (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 56).   Qualitative coding notices these meaningful segments of data, which are the codes, and attaches a label or tag to each segment "that simultaneously categorizes, summarizes, and accounts for each piece of data" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 43).   By labeling and organizing the codes, the coding process seeks to illustrate how these codes and their meanings relate to one another.

Although inductive coding is more common in qualitative studies that do not propose to generalize their findings, this research brought a theoretical frame of identity theory, especially that of Peter J. Burke's Identity Control Theory (Burke, 1980, 2004a, 2006), to the coding procedure.   By adapting accumulated knowledge including concepts or theories that previous studies have developed to the qualitative research process, researchers can be more sensitive to look into the field (Dey, 1993, p. 65-66; Corbin & Strauss, 2007; p.32-33). These concepts or theories can be "points of departure for developing, rather than limiting, our ideas" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 17).   Following the concepts of identity theory, the participants' statements were disassembled and each segment was labeled as one's "meaning" or related "behavior" of the paternal identity.

Validity

One of major issues of validity in qualitative research is summed up as "whether the researchers see what they think they see" (Flick, 2006, p. 371).   Qualitative researchers seek

to prove that the whole process of their research is genuine and so trustworthy. It is generally accepted among qualitative researchers that research questions should be genuine, research methods should fit the questions, findings should meet the research questions and be truthful, and the research should contribute to developing a new point of view to understand the field (Corbin & Strauss, 2007, p. 299-301). Charmaz(2006) summarized various questions that derive from these requirements into four criteria – credibility, originality, resonance, and usefulness (p. 182-183).

This research followed these requirements to minimize the violation of the truthfulness. For trustfulness of this research, research questions were developed in accordance with the theoretical frame of identity theory to obtain the information of paternal identity and involvement. During and after each interview, research questions and findings were constantly compared to evaluate if the data gathered were sufficient and appropriate to support the research questions. Interviewees also contributed to enhance the truthfulness of the findings. They voluntarily participated in the research, understood the research plan and the interview questionnaire, and helped the interviewer confirm if the interviewer understood their answers in a way that they wanted the interviewer to understand. It was partly because most interviewees were willing to give information of their fatherhood experiences to the interviewer who was a *beginner dad*. As a result, with their sincere participation in the research, it was possible to build rapport with interview participants; in this regard, the data were viewed as trustworthy.

CHAPTER 4. FINDINGS

Overview

Family researchers have explored, gathered, and categorized different types of paternal behaviors to trace the meanings in their behaviors (Hochschild, 1989; Cooper, 2000; Lamb, 2000). Interviewees' self-stated evidences in this study provide insight into how they link their ideas of fatherhood to their actual behaviors. However, interviewees faced and revealed the discrepancy between the two aspects while trying to explain their paternal performances. It is because the idea of fatherhood they described is what a father ought to be, which is directly converted into the idea of being a good father. The linkage and discrepancy between what a father ought to be and what fathers do provided rich information about interviewees' idealized principles of paternal behaviors whether they succeeded or failed to perform these ideals in their actual involvement with their children.

This study found three common meanings of paternal identity from the interviewees' descriptions or statements – responsibility, closeness, and being an exemplar: responsibility is the goal of paternal role that interviewees described as "social obligation" in the sense that they are required to meet these social expectations as long as they occupy the paternal role. Closeness is, on the other hand, derived from the intention of having intimate relations with their children. Their descriptions of this type of paternal behaviors are based on their parenting instinct or personal desire. Exemplar is, comparing to the two goals of paternal identity, more abstract and fundamental: their descriptions of this goal are related with interviewees' other aspects of life as well. Interviewees' principle of their lives in general, and the values they seek in other aspects such as religious or professional lives, or future-

oriented goals are what they elaborate on this motivation.   The meaning of paternal identity shows that a father wants to be someone that their child can look like at some point.

There was an issue of motivation related with the cultural values that they described. Cultural expectations that lead father' behaviors are embedded in the standard to which the paternal identity refers.   As assumed in advance of the interviews, cultural differences according to generation, society, or family member' viewpoints about fatherhood were commonly reported.   Differences among multiple references were perceived as the root of conflicts or dilemmas that make it difficult for fathers to choose or support their paternal behaviors.   Professional, religious, or familial conditions of the interviewees cause various problems in paternal involvements as well.   Interviewees pointed out that these conflicts create difficulties in their fathering behaviors and had negative influences on their self-confidence in the paternal standard.

Despite the reduced self-confidence in paternal involvement, interviewees strengthened specific meanings which seemed to be less related to actual types of fathering involvement than other meanings yet more inclusively related to multiple identities the interviewees have.   Hence, the interviewees expressed the goal of being a good father as a part of being a good person to whom their children would refer how to live their lives.   In this sense, the goal of how to be perceived by their children was included in their paternal standards: interviewees expressed their wishes to be a role model to be included in the standard of paternal role so that their children would understand what their father think is important in their children's lives.

The Meanings of Paternal Identity

As noted above, the three meanings of paternal identity extracted from the interviewees' descriptions or statements in this study are fundamental in the sense that these meanings were commonly included in the standards of paternal identity that every interviewee mentioned or alluded to. All interviewees pointed out these meanings as their goals of paternal involvement although specific aspects of each interviewee's paternal behaviors that conform to the goals that are different from person to person as each one has different references such as personal and family experience, friendship or community relationship, or cultural background.[10] This section shows how interviewees link their various references of role performance to those three common meanings of paternal identity.

Responsibility

"Of course, I do (all these things) because I am a parent. Otherwise why would do that? (Laughter)"

– Interviewee F

Although there is no doubt that paternal behaviors are partly motivated by parental instinct to feed, raise, and protect children, a father is a socially-defined role in the sense that he is expected to engage in specific behaviors that family culture in a society attaches to the paternal role. These behaviors include providing financial support, education, and healthcare for or having a good relationship with children. A social aspect of fatherhood is also observed from the existence of the rules that compels fathers to engage in these

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[10] Tsushima and Burke(1999) explained how two levels – program and principle levels – of identity standard work together: the identity standard on the program-level can be different among different role players while they have common principles of the standard.

behaviors: they can be not only blamed, but also punished otherwise for not engaging in socially accepted and prescribed behaviors. *Responsibility* is one of the paternal motivations imposed by the culture on fathers as members of a family and society to raise their children. In this sense, responsibility can be perceived as "societal obligation" imposed on fathers.

> "I don't know of anyone who would say, "I'm not concerned about my kids and their financial well-being" and so there are some people maybe who don't have very much money and aren't able to support their kids once they become adults, but until they're adults, I think there's a moral obligation, a societal obligation to take care of ones kids, (…) I think every parent has an obligation to make sure their kids are taken care of financially."
>
> – Interviewee J

Interviewed fathers had a clear idea of the types of interaction they have with their children. For example, they talk or play with children, take care of their hand washing, tooth brushing, or changing clothes, help them do homework or have extra time for learning language or calculation, participate in various outdoor activities together, and so on. Most of these interactions they described are repeated on a daily or weekly basis and are a primarily responsibility of fathers. Fathers of younger children more commonly and clearly report regular types of interactions because younger children need more care. Likewise, whether father take on nurturing responsibilities on a greater or lesser degree, interviewees in their 30s or 40s described nurturing as an essential part of the paternal role, while those in 50s or 60s whose children are old enough to take care of themselves do not commonly report it.

"On Saturdays, I am going to the library with him and check out books, DVDs, like animations (laughter) and on Sundays, even though I have a short sleep, we are going to church and, on Sundays, come back and sleep for about 2 hours or more because I am a bit tired after coming back from there (laughter) and give some snacks to my kid, and leave him playing with toys and sleep again (laughter) …"

– Interviewee F

"(…) it's the normal things—you know, teaching him how to behave, clean up after himself, eat regularly, turn off the TV, just, you know, just getting him dressed, just behave himself and ask permission for things, and keeping him on schedule, you know, when he gets up in the morning and is required to go to bed at night."

– Interviewee L

However, these types of interactions are not exclusively imposed on fathers. Many of the interviewees described paternal responsibilities as a part of parental responsibilities so that they share or switch their responsibilities with their wives. The benefit is that they can respond at any time to the various needs of both the children and family. This is a more effective strategy that is possible when a father understands that he is responsible for parenting responsibilities: sharing or switching parenting responsibilities would not be observed if a father believes he is responsible only for fathering responsibilities, such as providing financial support or disciplining. As LaRossa (1988) pointed out, the infiltration between fathering and mothering responsibilities was observed in the United States in the 1970s when wives had to leave the home to earn money. The division of parenting role between father and mother was not perceived by most interviewees - as social expectations on fatherhood involvement nowadays. Therefore, both Korean and Korean-American interviewees considered the fathering culture in the United States after 1970s as general expectations of fatherhood in the community.

"In the United States, it's hard to distinguish between the father's role and the mother's role, especially in the current generation of people. I found that, as I am talking, as I am talking about the role of father, I come to think it's just a part of the parental role."

– Interviewee F

"It's only a parenting role. Fathering role is to do this and… Well, our traditional roles are like, in terms of patriarchy, father scolds kids and mother soothes later, father disciplines and mother covers, such and such, but now it's not any more. (…) Mother earns… two-income families are very common nowadays, and kids no more think father is the breadwinner, mother makes a dinner like the old days. I don't think it's divided now."

– Interviewee A

"I do everything. I don't, we don't really have distinct roles, that mother-father… I mean… what I mean is, we don't have responsibilities that are just one or the other. You know, I, we'll do everything around the house together."

– Interviewee K

There were some cases where fathers cannot share the parental responsibilities with their wives. Four fathers – three among Korean fathers and one Anglo-American father – with greater parental responsibilities than expected by other family members stated that they did not receive appropriate support from their wives. The reasons these fathers commonly mentioned are associated with parenting conditions that limit parenting involvement of one parent, such as limited communication ability, health problem, or exclusive involvement in other responsibilities.[11] These conditions require one parent to take on more of parenting responsibilities. These cases also reflect the assumption that fathering responsibilities are a part of parenting responsibilities, and these responsibilities motivate fathers to fulfill the parenting expectations given to them after moving to the United States. Six out of nine

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[11] For example, the Japanese culture that supports excessive work hours of male worker deprives Japanese fathers of spending enough time with their children (Ishii-Kuntz, 1995).

Korean or Korean-American fathers are expected to internalize the excessive work ethic of Korean culture showed these examples.

"The opposite case [participating in the school conference] might be possible, (say) I take care of the shop and my wife goes to the school [conference]. But it is very unlikely because my English is better [than wife], although both are not good enough, and I don't like to be working as a cashier, keep talking with Korean women (Laughter)"

– Interviewee F

"I did [separate father's role from mother's role] in Korea but not in the United States. [We need to] do together… in most cases… because my wife… I don't speak English well enough but my wife speaks poor so in most cases, I need to be involved… to deal with… so, the role of man and woman is not [divided] now, it was clearly in Korea, though."

– Interviewee D

"…and my case might be unusual but he [child] has a newborn sister, 6 month old. In fact, my wife is fully involved in rearing her, so I mostly drive the older child to school and my wife picks up but then I get him to sleep at night when I stop by for dinner and go out [to the office] …"

– Interviewee E

It is also important to raise children to be good people in addition to providing them with basic needs, such as food, clothing, shelter, and health care. In this regard, the paternal responsibilities require fathers to be involved in education, discipline, or protection of their children. These types of involvement are intended to help their children grow up to be "good members of society" or, in other words, to guide them onto "the right path." All interviewees who expressed these intentions of paternal involvement explained their responsibilities in terms of rules, laws, manners, cultures, or religions.

Concerning rules or laws, the motivation to engage in parental responsibilities and

teaching children to be responsible is simple.   Not fulfilling these responsibilities would result in negative consequences or perhaps even legal punishment.   Therefore, the best way is to be a law-abiding person.   Hence, it is expected from fathers to interact with children appropriately and responsibly to avoid being involved in any illegal act.   Responsibility in this sense is most closely linked to others' expectations.   Disciplining standards are supposed to be assimilated into the expectations from others, such as other family members, friends or cohorts, neighbors or communities, and societies, to reproduce the rules and norms that are legally or culturally acceptable to family, group, community, or society to which they belong.

> "Just, if you are on the right path, we will show you we stand behind you fully and anytime, that's the way we raise them.   Maybe this is why they don't stray from the right path. (…) No such a thing [as teenager pregnancy, drug, or alcohol] happened to us, so if you think these are good, then we would talk [together] why drug is bad, alcohol is bad, teenager pregnancy is bad, and… we explained it and that's why they have never been involved [in these things] until they graduated from high school."
>
> – Interviewee G

> "So what I am thinking of is that there are some standards, and relying on the standards we have to live law-abiding lives, like knowing whether something is good or bad, and such and such, and to discipline social norms is of the father's role. (…) I wouldn't like it, but basically father has to be strict because has to discipline [with the norms]."
>
> – Interviewee H

> "I don't want my kids using drugs, so making sure that they know the dangers of drugs and once he's older, being careful about sex so he doesn't get someone pregnant or doesn't catch a sexual disease, …"
>
> – Interviewee J

"I think it was important to discipline them because that helps them later on in life that you've guided them, you've given them some ideas, some ways and stuff. And parents that don't disciplines, kids will usually go out, start using drugs and drinking and that. And I think my wife and I did a good job disciplining. I think our boys are pretty good. (Question: "How come do you think you have to discipline your children?") Yeah, because I could see my parents how they disciplined us, how they tried to steer us down the right path."

– Interviewee M

In sum, fathers are obliged to raise their children as good members of society. The actual behaviors of the paternal role as expected by society are intended to meet the basic needs of their children. As previously noted, while the father's participation and interest in child care is an expectation only recently emphasized, the other intention of this responsibility is to reproduce the current rules and norms. The standard of paternal identity is based on the perceived purposes of rules and norms of the society. Actual paternal behaviors regarding this goal focus on the father's participation and interest in his child's education, discipline, or peer relations in order that the child internalize society's rules and norms. The younger interviewees presented this type of behavior more frequently than the older interviewees. The possible reasons include different standards of paternal role or different levels of request for this behavior type.

Closeness

Although fathers commonly mentioned providing financial support as a top priority, many interviewees eagerly seek to spend time with the children whenever they can. It is the motivation to be close to their children; therefore, their descriptions of this motivation can be summarized as "be there." It allows father and child to sympathize, build rapport, and have

strong ties to each other.   Two conditions are commonly mentioned to fulfill the meaning of "be there" successfully – "quality" and "quantity" of father-child interaction.   Quality is the readiness of father to be emotionally closed to his child, to interact with child, or to be open to support child.   Quantity is the actual time invested in interactions.   When these conditions are successfully fulfilled, fathers feel happy and satisfied, as revealed during the interviews.

> "[It's] nothing but playing with, talking with, doing anything with child, which means, how much time a father tries to spend with the children is the top priority, and… (…) when they grow up, they'd think of me as a friend and talk freely together, such and such (…) rather than father and child, when they grow up, it'd be getting together, man to man, like friends. It is now I think the best part of the paternal role."
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> – Interviewee C

> "(Question: "What do you think is important to be a good father?")   Spending time with my kids. And I know I just read something here recently, you know, where they talked about the distinction between quality of time and quantity of time. It's both. And I would almost say that it's more quantity. The kids like to know that you're available."
>
> – Interviewee K

> "(…) when you're in that age, you're the God, you know, I mean, you're their world and that they need to know that you love them and you care about them and that you're always going to be there for them."
>
> – Interviewee N

Time is limited, working to provide for the children versus playing with them is perceived as a 'zero-sum' game.   All interviewees commonly considered that their availability is a function of the paternal involvement.   As they believe that being a good father requires spending enough time with their children, they seek to find the balance

between work time and nurturing time.   Finding enough time for the children is described as a positive aspect of being a good father.   It seems to distress fathers who work excessively outside the home and thus find it hard to spend time with the children.

There is no doubt that the close relationship with the children has been emphasized as one of the virtues of fatherhood both in the United States and in Korea in recent decades. Especially in Korea, the trend is changing, as revealed from the interviews with Korean fathers and Korean-American fathers.   However, the differences between two societies present obstacles that prevent Korean fathers living in the U.S. from having close relationship with their children in terms of quality and quantity of time.   These differences are found mainly in social or cultural conditions.   One of the conditions is working hours. Although Korean or Korean-American fathers understand the importance of spending time with their children, they perceive the longer work hours in Korea as the obstacle in their actual involvement comparing to that in the United States.   As they live in the United States, they find more time to be with their children: being available to their children helps them perceive themselves as performing paternal role better.

> "Well, [Korean fathers] understand [it is good to spend time with the children] but not live in that way, in our time not everyone can live in that way. In our forties, spending time with the children instead of making money? Of course we want but it's hard to find someone having enough time for playing with the children. Very hard. (…) Here [in the United States] I can have a dinner with my kids. For about a couple of hours in the evening, having a dinner, I can be with them. A couple of days ago, I didn't come home for dinner, then my kids asked, "Dad, why don't you come home?" I felt happy and thought, 'Oh, I should have a dinner at home.'"
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> – Interviewee D

The family culture also influences father-child relationship.   There is a culture of

"strict father" in Korea, which has been widely accepted by most fathers, especially previous generations, although none of the Korean or Korean-American interviewees described being a strict father to the child as one of the important features of fatherhood.   The problem is that they have found it difficult to accept the idea of being close to and strict with their children while being a friend to the children.   Korean interviewees indicated that they have limited references that could help them organize the paternal behaviors to be close to their children and construct the meaning of being a father as a friend.   As a result, they try to find the reference to appropriate behavior to achieve the goal of fathering as a friend.   If they had the reference and applied the appropriate behavior to their behaviors, they could perceive their paternal behaviors of being a friend as successful.   If they could not have the reference or failed to apply the appropriate behavior, they saw themselves negatively.

> "We're going to the park, anyway he is a man, he likes to play soccer rather than hang around at home. So he's gonna ride a bicycle or play soccer, well, there's a nice lawn, so it's fun to play soccer. Well, there's no special reason [for going out], it's just fun to play with my kid. (…) What I'm doing is, there's a father who wants to be strict to supervise his kid to grow up the right way, but in my case I focus on playing [with the kid] very much."
>
> –   Interviewee E

> "My father loved to take me here and there, whenever time and money allowed (laughter). I think I am different in that sense. I just can't do that. (…) Yes, I remember very funny moments. (…) I think I'm doing a poor job of (…) such as going out with children to a nearby park. I don't really like to go out, I love to be at home. (…) I am doing a poor job [of going out together] so it makes me feel like I'm doing a poor job [of fathering] relatively [comparing to my father]."
>
> –   Interviewee A

Except two, most of Korean or Korean-American Interviewees admitted that when

they were in Korea, they were not required to spend time with the children rather than work outside the home. Since Korean fathers in this study lack the time to spend with their children, they have limited information that they could refer to while it has been one of the major responsibilities of fathers in the United States for last several decades (LaRossa, 1988; Morman and Floyd, 2006). Korean or Korean-American interviewees tend to perceive and describe themselves negatively for having a close relationship with their children compared to their Anglo-American counterparts. Some of them even say that after coming to the United States, they had no idea about what they are supposed to do with their children when they have enough time. Therefore, Korean fathers refer to what American fathers do as a model of paternal involvement.

> "Whenever I see [that people in the United States get together on holidays], it's like hard to imagine in Korea, [these people in the United States are] busy just like in Korea, but what makes them get together? Is it just because they are richer? I don't think so. (…) Well, for example, that soccer game I said, when we go to the children's soccer game, all the family members, all the members of American families come to the game. (…)"
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> – Interviewee C

It seems that in the verification process of the paternal identity, the meaning of closeness, which is given naturally and socially to the paternal role player, is as critical as the meaning of responsibility in the hierarchical structure of the meanings of paternal identity interviewees have. If closeness between father and child were not fulfilled, the result would not just affect one's verification of paternal identity but also the effectiveness of reproducing the rules and norms that the children are supposed to internalize. Both lack of time that a father has to spend with the child and lack of willingness to have time to spend are negative

conditions associated with the father's verification of his paternal identity and the child's perception of the father's role behaviors.

> "(Question: "So, as a father, what does it mean to work hard outside the home?") As a father, it means nothing, my social life [to provide financial support]. It's just something for my personal honor or something, but for my family, I got a zero score. (…) That's hardly of help to my children."
>
> – Interviewee G

> "To be better [father], I feel like I have to read more books to my kids, go outside with them whenever I am available but I am not used to it, so I feel like I am not doing [paternal behaviors] well."
>
> – Interviewee A

The most noticeable reference that interviewees mentioned as the standard of closeness is the interviewee's relationship with his father. As noticed from the interviews, the evaluation of the relationship with father becomes a part of the paternal standard that motivates the paternal role-player to build a close relationship with his child. As father's evaluation of good or bad in the memory is a function of the motivation of closeness. If it is good, a father tries to repeat or imitate what his father has done and if it is bad, he tries to avoid it. Either way, a father's evaluation of his father provides a guideline for the relationship with his child.

> "One of the roles my father showed me was to be a friend. Just like a friend. (…) My friends think my father as a friend, maybe not a friend but someone who they talk freely with. If we have difficulties, he is someone who we can come and see. I wanted to be just like him, honestly."
>
> – Interviewee H

> "I can remember one single time in my life playing catch with a baseball with my father. One time. Where my children will play catch with me, or I'll play something, sports with them, three times a week."
>
> – Interviewee K

It is worth noticing that at least two points of view build the meaning of closeness as a part of the paternal standard: the view of son and of a father. Both the idea of "I want to be just like him" and the idea of "I don't want to be as he was" modify and lead actual behaviors to form close relationships with the children. This implies that fathers set the paternal standard of role behaviors based on their own experiences of being the counter-role-players to their fathers. Therefore, a father pursues the motivation of closeness to the extent of minimizing the discrepancy between his experience with his father and his idea of being a good father.

Exemplar

According to the Burke's theoretical model (Burke, 1980, 2003), one's paternal identity is linked to the child's identity in terms of the relationship between role and counter role. Both identities respond to each other and their responses or "reflected appraisals" influence each other's identity verification. In the father-child relationship, it is assumed that a father evaluates his fathering behavior in part based on the child's response to the behavior. In other words, father's perception of the child's evaluation on fathering behavior makes him judge if he is doing good or bad as a father.

As all interviewees commonly mentioned their experiences with their fathers and their evaluations on their fathers' paternal standards from the viewpoint of the children, they

also rely on their children's evaluations on their fathering behaviors to perceive their own paternal standards.   The point is that fathers want to receive their children's favorable evaluations.   However, no father in this study answered that he would care about his child's response every time he does anything as a father.   Instead, it is revealed that fathers want to be perceived by their children as a good father in general.   They wish that their children live their lives by considering how they have done to their children.   In this sense, interviewees said they would like to provide a guideline of how to live based on the rules and norms of the society.   One of the meanings they attach to paternal identity is to be a "role model" or *exemplar* for the children.[12]

Although the meanings of responsibility and exemplar are mixed in their answers, there are clear differences between two.   The meaning of responsibility intends to raise the children to be the good members of society so that they follow the rules and norms of the society: hence, responsibility reflects primarily societal expectations of fathers and children. On the contrary, the meaning of exemplar offers a good way of life by abiding by the rules and norms.   Being an exemplar is more likely to reflect the father's own viewpoints of life in general.   Interviewees who revealed the meaning of exemplar shared two distinctive points in their answers.

First, they do not want to force their viewpoints onto their children.   The idea of exemplar is not only to provide a path of life to which their children could refer observing the rules and norms that reflect social and cultural manners, but also to adopt the characteristics

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[12] It must be noted that interviewees who mentioned the term, a "role model," did not used to describe a model of paternal role: it was rather used in the context of a pathway their children would be willing to follow. In this regard, a role model they described is similar to an exemplar.

of father's personality or person identity[13].   In other words, the meaning of exemplar has the

references that are developed from the multiple levels of structures, from individual level to

cultural level, in the sense that being an exemplar is derived from one's idea of being a good

person.   In the same manner, anyone who wants to be a good father eventually wants to be a

"stand-up guy"[14] who communicates one's viewpoint of good and bad.

> "(…) and second thing is as I said to be a role-model, an everlasting role model,
> which is impossible [for me] to be, so my kids see me like, 'Oh, my dad is doing right
> things, it's the right way,' I hope to be. (…) My father is a stand-up guy, and that's
> what I want to be."
>
> – Interviewee H

> "My wife's always saying that a child can be successful only if a father is successful,
> and I think she's right. If I don't study hard and fail to get a Ph. D. or getting a Ph. D.
> but fail to get a job and doing nothing at home, it's hard to imagine my kid goes well,
> and will be depressed quite a bit, and so everything's going together."
>
> – Interviewee E

Second, unlike their behaviors of responsibility or closeness, the wish of being an

exemplar includes not only direct interactions with their children but also other behaviors

that do not seem to be linked with fathering behavior.   It is because they pursue specific

goals that they think are important not only in their paternal involvements but also in their

lives in general.   They offer the specific goals – not the specific behaviors – that they want

their children internalize and provide an environment which induces their children to realize

the importance of the goals.   These goals are of one's higher level of identity hierarchy and

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[13] Burke(2004a) defines "a person identity" that it "consists of the meanings and expectations that constitute
     not only the person's essence or core, but also all meanings that define who the person is as a person" (p. 9)
[14] Interviewee H described his father as a "stand-up" guy who had never showed his immoral, intemperate, or
     illegal behaviors to others.

thus commonly activated in one's multiple role identities. For example, an interviewee emphasized the opportunity of reading books in his childhood.

"When I grew up, I was taught that the knowledge gained from the books I read would be of great help to me. But I hated reading at that time. So I feel like I got less (benefit from books)… Others could get more… there would be something better (if I had read books a lot) but I feel like I was unable to enjoy those good things in life. It's good to read books, so I want to let my children do."

– Interviewee A

This interviewee described the benefits from reading books for a long time such as developing children's imagination or creativity, having indirect experiences. These benefits were described as his motivation of having short trips with his family. His goal of making his children read books and going on family trips is not just limited to build close relationship with his children or to discipline his children in a specific way. It is applied to his general idea of what is good in one's life. Imagination and creativity are what he would have desired and thus what he wants his children to have.

The essential part of being an exemplar is that this motivation is linked to the question of what is important to be a father his child would be proud of. Interviewees, therefore, revealed their ideas of being an exemplar where they described their professional or religious behaviors and naturally linked to their meanings of paternal identity. The meanings they attached to their professional or religious identities such as loving others as a Christian, working to the best of his abilities in his job, or trying to abide by the rules and norms of the society converge on one's person identity which has developed over a relatively long time. The motivation of being a father his child would be proud of meets the meaning of being a

good person in this sense.   The convergence of the meanings will be explained below.

Changes in Culture and Identity Standard

Among various social psychological perspectives on the relationship between identity and culture, identity theorists assume that culture is understood in reference to one's role performance and others' responses to that performance (Stryker, 1980; Collier, 2001).   A role player referring to the culture of a structure to which he or she belongs is expected to behave in a certain way, depending on situational context, because culture gives the meanings of a role, which is a set goals pertaining to role behavior (Stryker & Burke, 2000; Burke, 2004a).   In other words, culture provides the standards of a role identity that a role player and others internalize, so as to behave in ways that meet the standard and to judge one's role behavior as a success or failure.

This explains why different fathering behaviors are observed among families from culture to culture.   Since the culture of fatherhood varies widely across families, regions or countries, circumstantial changes related with cultural transition require reassessment of one's fathering role identity[15].   Thus, when one perceives one's own fathering performance as inappropriate in a given situation where there is a different culture of fatherhood, one's identity standard of the paternal role is required to meet the role expectations of fatherhood in the new situation (Burke, 2006).

However, there is more than one level of social structure that provides the culture of fatherhood.   For example, family is a primary social structure that interviewees commonly mentioned.   Fathers learn what to do as a father from the experiences they had with their

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[15] Collier(2001) found that individual role players have different references that differentiate the goals of role behaviors.

own fathers. These experiences are so influential in constructing one's paternal identity that despite the realization of "undesirable behaviors" that their fathers have demonstrated to them, it becomes a struggle to imitate "good behaviors" only.

"[My fathering behaviors are] influenced very much [by my father], such as I am trying not to repeat the behavior that was I felt was unreasonable. (…) I am doing these things, in a sense, based on my experiences [with my father]. But not always opposed to [what he had done to me]; I repeat good things."

– Interviewee B

"[A father's role comes from] what I've seen from my father, I can't deny it. (…) It's like, when I have my kid and raise him, I'm not going to repeat what my father has done to me, you know? But, I can't deny I've done it, and as I'm raising my kids, there's a lot of what I do that I've learned from my father. (…)"

– Interviewee H

"My father paid most of my college and graduate school expenses, so I intend to do the same for my kids."

– Interviewee J

Beyond the scope of family, the culture of fatherhood is also revealed from the response of intimate groups surrounding the family. Friends' responses to one's paternal behaviors are one of the most commonly mentioned examples of the source by which one's paternal identity is verified. Unlike behavioral theories, identity theorists argue that one's paternal behaviors are not directly chosen or discarded by others' responses (Burke, 2004a; 2006). Others' responses can lead a paternal role player to find the social expectations given to the role, which are to be shared among members of a society with similar life experiences and to negotiate how they see their own paternal role performances.

"The model of father which is socially required [in Korea] is actually a macho. (…) what I mean by socially is a sort of… it'd be better to say, a model of father that male colleagues require of other male colleagues. Such as, especially being with Korean guys, if someone says, "Let's go somewhere tomorrow," and I say, "I'd better ask my wife first," then they'd say, "What's wrong with you?" or so on. (…) So [Korean] fathers who don't respond [positively] to the stereotype can often be blamed by other [Korean] fathers (laughter)."

– Interviewee B

Since culture suggests the meanings of a role in a structure, cultural changes differentiate the meanings of a role in a specific situation from those of another situation (Stryker, 1980:56-57). From a micro perspective, culture in a different time and place provides differentiated meanings of the paternal role to individual role players. From the perspective of identity theorists, it is assumed that the role player who has set up the paternal identity based on his first cultural influence could find differences in the culture of the role in a different time and place. For example, Korean or Korean-American fathers in this study who have found different paternal behaviors in the United States described them as the differences in importance placed on certain paternal behaviors in this new society.

"In the United States, it [machoism] is a bit less in here. If I do [act as a father and husband] in Korea as I am doing in here, then my friends would avoid hanging around with me and our wives together [because their wives would prefer what I do for my wife to what their husbands do for them] (laughter)."

– Interviewee B

"For example, I told you that about a soccer game. I see most families come [to the game], or if there's a game for which their children have practiced, then all family members come (…) And again, here in the United States, what I feel in the United States is that the role of parents at school [activities] is very [different] (…) [American school systems] require parents to participate in a lot of things such as volunteering."

– Interviewee C

After moving to integrate into the society of a different culture, Korean or Korean American fathers feel motivated to change their paternal behaviors to adapt themselves to their new situations. They try to rearrange the meanings of being a good father—meanings that the culture of fatherhood in this new location offers. They seek to learn not just the behavioral examples of their new location, but also the meanings of being a good father that are appropriate to the cultural expectations shared among "American fathers." Due to the lack of cultural resources, however, they face conflicts in enacting paternal behaviors that are appropriate to a given situation, as well as in modifying paternal identity to meet the expectations of what it means in their new environment to be a good father.

Conflicts in rebuilding paternal identity could also bring a low level of verification of the role identity. Fathers who have recently moved to another location generally experience the cultural unfamiliarity in their enacting paternal behaviors. They are unsure whether their behaviors within the role meet the expectations that this society has for fathers. Some of the goals these fathers have had before moving to the new location are to be changed, replaced or deleted. As these goals are in the process of rearranging, those fathers are less confident whether or not their paternal behaviors are appropriate enough to think of themselves as a good father. In other words, a change of location and culture causes the verification of their paternal identity to be undermined, or even fail, due to these conflicts of cultural unfamiliarity.

"I have been here for 10 years. The biggest problem Korean fathers have is that they don't know how to play with their kids. (…) American fathers spend a lot of time with their kids, go fishing or camping (…) I can't, I can't [be a role model to my kids]. First, it's the norm; I don't know the norm itself is of life here. Well I've learned it on my own, but there's a huge difference [between me and people here]. I'm learning it and my kids are learning, as well. (…) Because I don't know these things, I think I can be a role model only if I know them properly, or to some extent, if I know what to do in this situation or that situation. But for me as a father, I can't be like that. (…) The norm I've learned is of Korea. The role model I can show my kids is what I've learned from my father."

– Interviewee H

Cultural differences relating to paternal identity are observed by those who have immigrated into the country. In the United States, the culture of fatherhood has been changed through the 1970s (LaRossa, 1988; Ranson, 2001). Social changes including women working outside the home in increasing numbers have been observed simultaneously with the changing idea of the parenting role of the American father. One of the results emerging out of this change is the social expectation of a father's nurturing role, as stated by Anglo-American interviewees in this study. They commonly mentioned the differences in paternal involvement between the current and previous generations. They note the differences between these two generations and explain them in terms of the culture of fatherhood.

It is interesting to see these changes being recently observed in Korea, as well. Most Korean or Korean American fathers perceive that the culturally accepted paternal role in Korea has been changing within this current generation. In this regard, what most interviewees, regardless of their racial or cultural background, described as the types of 'fatherhood' for the previous generation is similar: the "traditional" type of father has financial responsibility almost exclusively, while the traditional mother takes responsibility

for care of the children and house work.   The Korean interviewees noted that their own

fathers did not have as much time as they, themselves, have with their children because either

their fathers had limited time or their fathers did not think they should have a close

relationship with their children.

> "So, [unlike] my generation, the older generation has actually been through a period of upheaval, right? So they have been through the agricultural times, industrial times, and now the current times in Korea, which means they have been through all three different times, so their viewpoints are different from ours. (…) only if the issue of eating gets solved, if there's a place for sleeping, something to eat, and clothes to wear—if those are provided, it is happiness compared to their early childhood. (…) But we are different. We are in the generation that has never experienced any issues with having enough food or having clothes to wear, which means our expectations [on fathering] are one step higher."
>
> – Interviewee B

> "I do know of this happening… I also interact with some families in which it happens; that sort of 'This is the husband's, this is the wife's' kind of thing that when he comes home from his job, supper should be on the table; you know, more of a traditional 1950s- or 1960s-type home, where the wife was at home taking care of the children, was a homemaker and not working outside the home."
>
> – Interviewee K

The problem then occurs when a role player seeks to find the sources to rearrange the

meanings of the role in a new cultural framework.   As mentioned by Korean or Korean

American fathers who were raised under the Korean family culture, they perceive that their

verification of paternal identity in the United States is sometimes interrupted due to a lack of

cultural sources that other American people may share.   In other words, they found

difficulties in conforming their paternal identity based on the culture of fatherhood in Korea

to the meanings of the paternal role in the United States.   The result is that they are

motivated to rebuild their paternal identity: they seek to take on the meanings or goals of paternal behaviors that correspond to the meanings shared by the American culture, at large, through cultural sources from various backgrounds.[16]

As previously noted, the meanings or goals of paternal behaviors are derived from one's family structure and social structure. Cultural references of their behaviors vary across lower- and higher-level of social structures. If there are structural changes around a paternal role player, one's identity standard of paternal role that has been verified previously is threatened and expected to be modified. These structural changes occur in accordance with the changes of time and place. In this regard, Korean fathers find double causes that motivate the identity change: they face the differences in paternal identity from both their fathers and Anglo-American fathers. The meanings of fatherhood derived from not only family structure but also higher-level social structure such as community become unstable due to different conditions around a Korean father's paternal performances. Therefore, they try to find the types of paternal behaviors that conform to their identity standards that fit into the cultural expectations in the United States.

Shared Meanings among Multiple Identities

Many social psychological studies have a common assumption that each individual has multiple aspects of the self and that, while these aspects are distinct, they are activated together in certain situations (Burke, 2000). Identity theorists have also focused on this issue. A common model of identity theory assumes that an identity at the top of the identity hierarchy is activated in a given situation (Stryker & Burke, 2000). However, identity

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[16] About the relationship between the identity change and the discrepancy "between the meanings in the identity standard and the meanings in the situation," see Burke (2006).

theorists have extended their interests to those cases and conditions in which one's multiple identities with different references are simultaneously activated (Stets, 1995; Marks & MacDermid, 1996; Burke, 2003, 2006). Their findings provide the ideas of how multiple identities are activated, what the performer gains and loses, or what conditions promote the simultaneous activation of multiple identities.

Stets (1995) noticed the fundamental motivation revealed in simultaneous activation of identities. She found that one's master identity with a meaning of controlling others is the fundamental motivation that shapes one's role performance of gender identity (Stets, 1995). The result of this study shows that master identity is on the higher level of one's identity hierarchy along with one's person identity, while gender identity as a role identity is on a lower level. In the same way, it is assumed that a meaning of one's fundamental identity is projected onto the performance to verify other identities on the lower level. Therefore, if it is confirmed that two or more role-specific identities share a same meaning, there is a possibility that the shared meaning is of one's fundamental identity on the higher level of the identity hierarchy.

This assumption of shared meanings is also observed in studies about paternal behavior. For example, Cooper (2000) noted that one's paternal involvement can be related with the work ethic to which he refers: some cases in this study showed that fathers work hard in their places of work and participate diligently in various activities with their children at home. This study noticed the strong work ethic observed by Cooper, among some men who work in Silicon Valley: a group of fathers who have internalized a strong work ethic and tend to drive themselves to participate in paternal responsibilities regardless of how tired they are when they come home. Compared to this group, another group of fathers showed that

they were too tired after work to play with their children.

Similarly, most interviewees in this study linked their paternal identities to their professional or religious identities in terms of the shared meanings that homologize their role behaviors of two or more role identities. These shared meanings were commonly mentioned in explaining the interviewees' motivations of the role behaviors of those identities. In addition, they emphasized that these meanings play an essential part of their lives in general. Their emphases on the shared meanings entail the assumption that, if a meaning is shared by multiple identities, this meaning will be on the higher level of one's identity hierarchy and will suggest a general guideline for one's role-specific behaviors. Therefore, one's behavior that verifies the standard of a higher-level identity also verifies multiple role identities at the same time without abandoning any identity standard.

First, one's personal experiences which have accumulated over a relatively long time motivate actual paternal involvement, and personal experiences in various situations lead men to develop attitudes regarding their paternal involvement. These experiences do not directly designate specific behaviors in a given situation but do affect the degree of how much a father is motivated to be involved in paternal responsibilities. In many cases, interviewees linked their personal experiences with their own fathers as noted above. However, other experiences, whether related with fatherhood or not, also contribute to increase or decrease the degree of one's paternal involvement:

"(Question: "When you say you are going to try or are trying, what really happens? Are you really trying to change [your indulgent attitude to your child]?") Well, that is (laughter) I know I have to try my best by myself because [my wife] always blessed me out but, well, while doing (fathering behaviors) again, I can see myself not trying. (Question: "So why don't you try your best?") Why I don't try my best is because ... well, my personality has been changed a lot.   I mean, I don't know since when it has been changed so much ... it has been changed a bit while I have been living in the United States... while living alone for a long time."

– Interviewee F

"(Question: "Why do you think that [fathering role] should be the number one [in your life]?") Because you mess it up, the consequences of messing it up I think are huge. (…) If you do it wrong, you create havoc and chaos in your family, (…) a damaged relationship with your child can last for a long, long, long time. And I've seen it and it's horrible. (…) you have to be kind of selfless in a sense when you take on the job of being a parent."

– Interviewee L

Another case is the meaning that one's personal experiences directly provide; this meaning is related to paternal identity in the sense that it is a goal of one's life in general and thus they want to infuse what they think is important into their children.   The following is one of the examples that shows a shared fundamental meaning of paternal identity: this father has thought of "balancing" his life for a relatively long time, and the idea of balancing is a core of his paternal identity as well.   Moreover, his idea of balancing is repeated to describe his professional standard:

"For me, there were many possibilities. I never had an idea until I was going to college here 25 years ago of "What do I think I want to do?" (…) Balance may have been important in those [early] days. (…) I can't look back and say that there was one thing that I had this goal when I was a kid. (…) I wanted to try a little bit of everything. (…) You know, I guess the only principle I would have is make sure they're, you know, hopefully they see from me that they live their lives as a balance. (…) But I mean, hopefully they see that there's a balance there that you can do many things in life without going to the extremes. Try to do the best you can at everything."

– Interviewee K

In other cases, interviewees described the shared meanings between religious identity and paternal identity: they perceived being a good Christian as being a good person. They described a good Christian as someone who lives with and spreads Christian values to his or her neighbors. Since their paternal behaviors are also based on their Christian values, their wish to be an exemplar is to be perceived as a good Christian by their children. They described this motivation or meaning of being a good Christian as a part of being a good father in the sense that the ultimate goal is to be a good person in both aspects. Therefore, their behavior as derived from the religious identity to be a good Christian are linked to the behaviors of the paternal identity:

> "Well, a good Christian should love Jesus because they are Christian. (…) Our slogan is to love God and love neighbors. (…) to be a good Christian, we need to love our family. Loving ourselves is (…) selfish, right? Yes. When I'm tired, I want to take a rest, when I want to eat, then eat, want to sleep, then sleep, this is selfish love. But if we really want to love neighbors, no matter how I am tired and exhausted, if my kids want something, then thinking of them by doing that. If they want to go outside, then go outside together (…)"

> – Interviewee A

> "[I]n my opinion, those who love others can only go to heaven. But this, loving others, is in fact extremely difficult. That is, giving your love to those who you never know is extremely difficult. (…) they way [God] teaches [us] is to have children. Children are others after all. (…) So they are all others after all. [God] makes them [look like us] to teach us to love others. (…)"

> – Interviewee I

As Cooper (2000) noticed, the meanings of professional identity are described as part of a work ethic: it suggests in what manner the primary goals of their jobs are to be achieved.

It shapes a set of strategies that individual professionals or the members of a group are expected to internalize to achieve the goals. In this regard, a work ethic functions as a set of meanings that provide the standard of their job performances. The primary goals of their professional behaviors reflect their good professional manners, which the role players perceive as valuable in their jobs. Their professional performances, therefore, are to satisfy the values of their jobs and thus to verify the professional identities.

One's professional identity also has a meaning shared with paternal identity in the sense that fathers want to be exemplars to their children. They want to be perceived by their children not only as role models of fathering but also as exemplars of how to live their lives. With respect to the meaning of exemplar as described above, their success in their jobs means not only providing financial support for their children but also verifying their meanings of paternal identity. Moreover, success in their jobs does not necessarily require their hard work; rather, it is successful verification of their professional identities. In other words, if their jobs require excessive investment of time, then hard work and its expected reward will verify their professional identities. On the other hand, if one finds the reward as expected without hard work, then the successful verification of a professional identity will not always require one's excessive involvement in the job.

> "I certainly wouldn't want him to feel like, 'I'm a failure because I didn't meet this challenge,' and I'm very careful (…) my son gets problems wrong and (…) I don't want him feel bad about that, it's just part of learning, you make a mistake, you correct those mistakes, eventually it becomes easy, and (…) so I'm trying to set an example there, (…) They don't see the benefits of working hard and being challenged and meeting challenges and (…) so I want to certainly instill in my children a strong work ethic and (…)"
>
> – Interviewee J

"I'm never going to be the president of a big company. I'm never going to be a politician in Washington D.C. until (…) my son has a friend whose father is gone quite a bit for his job, makes huge money, I mean, probably makes $350,000 a year. They live in a fantastic home. But when it comes down to it on a weekly basis, my son probably interacts with me, and I'm outside playing catch and doing things with him much more frequently than that other father is (…) I balanced my work life with my family life, with my personal life, you know, the things I wanted for myself personally. (…) So my particular job does not entail that I have to travel a great amount. (…) So I enjoy my job, but it does allow me the freedom to not have to be away a lot."

–   Interviewee K

The link between multiple identities implies the existence of a certain meaning shared by those identities; similarly, a meaning shared by two or more identities is the bridge between those identities. They are closely interrelated and thus activated in certain situations. In other words, this shared meaning is more frequently verified because it has more opportunities to be activated.   In addition, shared meanings between multiple role identities are related to the meanings of a fundamental identity such as personal identity[17], which explains who the person is in general (Burke, 2006).   The existence of shared meanings leads to the assumption that one's emphasis on shared meanings helps to redeem a low degree of verification of the other meanings of an identity.

The findings in this study advocate this assumption: since the meaning of an exemplar in one's paternal identity is related to one's religious or professional identity, it could solely sustain the paternal identity despite the negative evaluations of other meanings.   As shown in the descriptions or statements that some interviewees tend to evaluate their fatherhood in a negative way; for example, most Korean or Korean-American fathers who have   limited time with their children gave themselves a poor evaluation.   However, they constantly try to

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[17] Burke used the term "personal identity"(Burke, 2006) instead of "person identity" (Burke, 2004a).

meet the expectations given to them as paternal role players despite their negative self-evaluations. Pursuing the goal of being a good person in general, conform the goal of being an exemplar that fathers in this study showed.. Thus, it can be said that as long as it is be on the higher level, standard is being verified, this meansit motivates one's role behavior to pursue the goal while other meanings on the lower level are less verified than expected. From this point, the verification of being an exemplar which relates to being a good person in general is more important than other role-specific meanings linked to other role identities.

CHAPTER 5. DISCUSSION

The Stability of Paternal Identity

A higher-level identity provides the standard that is more fundamental and stable than other role-specific identities because the meanings of the higher-level identity have been confirmed for a relatively long time (Stets, 1995). In this regard, the meaning of a higher-level identity shared by lower-level identities such as paternal identity, religious identity, or professional identity is assumed to be verified in relatively numerous situations. Being an exemplar in this study is the meaning that both one's paternal identity and other identities share. Their multiple identities share the idea of how they are perceived by others: they have a desire to be acknowledged by others or to be counter-role players in a specific structure. Their goals of being a good father, a good professional, or a good believer are all related to the goal of being a good person. Being an exemplar in this sense is not just being a role model of father (to a son, especially) but rather being a person whom children are willing to respect – in other words, being acknowledged by counter-role players such as children of one's family, colleagues or supervisors of the workplace, or other believers or reverends of the church.

Shared meanings of multiple identities are expected to be verified more frequently than other non-shared meanings. This meaning of being an exemplar is, therefore, to be verified fully or partly by one's role performances in the situation that activates any of paternal, religious, or professional identities. The research evidence shows that one's self-evaluation of fathering does not always meet the expectation he perceives, although one's paternal identity is confirmed by role performances motivated by a single meaning while

other meanings are not fulfilled. In other words, the meaning verified continuously maintains one's stable paternal identity. Fathers obtain the verification of a paternal identity by confirming the meaning of being a good person in spite of the fact that they face identity conflicts that prevent them from role performances that allow them to pursue the meanings of closeness or responsibility. According to situational changes, the goal of being an exemplar is pursued by switching, as revealed in this study, from being a good father to being a good professional or a good Christian. Therefore, it can be inferred that the verification of the meaning shared among multiple identities by pursuing it in a given situation ensures the stability of an identity to the extent that the shared meaning conforms to the standard of a fundamental identity.

Contributions

This study explores the link between multiple identities within the frame of identity theory. Paternal identity has been chosen because few studies have extended the relationship between the verification of one's paternal identity and internal or external conditions around the identity verification to the relationship among multiple identities with respect to shared meanings. For identity theorists, the issue of multiple identities is relatively unexplored and has been confirmed by the results in various research fields. For family researchers, both fatherhood and identity theory are relatively new fields (Lamb, 2000; Rane & McBride, 2000). Research findings in both fields have a lot more possibilities to be extended.

The findings of this study are expected to help extend research interests in both fields for at least two reasons: first, this study suggests the existence of shared meanings among

multiple identities. Since these meanings are testable using the frame of identity theory, future research is expected to confirm how shared meanings control one's identity performance in a way that they encourage or discourage specific behaviors. For example, those who have the meaning of being responsible in any given situation are expected to share that meaning in other role identities and to be more actively involved in, for example, the paternal role. This expectation is supported not only by this study but also by previous studies as noted above.

Second, with respect to the relationship between individuals and structures, future research can account for the degree of assimilation by which an individual internalizes the meanings of a structure as the standard of role performance. This study suggests a possibility of a more successful verification of the meanings shared by multiple identities. This leads to the conjecture that, if one's meanings shared by his or her multiple identities – especially shared with a fundamental identity – correspond to the meanings of the role given by the structure, it is logical to assume that he or she shows better role performances than others who do not have the meanings shared with the structure. The degree of verification of the meaning of "balancing," for example, allows us to assume that a father is unlikely to choose a job that requires excessive time investment or that if he already has the job, he is unlikely to have a high level of verification of his professional identity, which means that he is unlikely to have a high degree of job satisfaction.

There are three obvious limitations of this study: first, since this study is an exploratory study to discover the meanings shared between paternal identity and other identities, the power of shared meanings has not been tested and demonstrated. Identity theorists have confirmed the power of specific meanings to explain one's role behaviors with

quantitative methods: the meanings of paternal identity defined in previous studies have been operationalized to be testable in statistically while the meanings of this study are exploratory. The correlation between the identity standard based on the structure and one's role performance to verify the standard has been included in previous research findings. This study, on the other hand, did not extend the existence of shared meanings to test statistically the power of these meanings on one's role performance.

Second, this study does not explain the process of how multiple identities share specific meanings. Some meanings of a higher-level identity are imposed onto lower-level identities while other meanings are only attached to an individual identity. The question of whether or not an individual actively chooses some meanings based on his references previously obtained and shares them with other identities was not suggested in this study. The answer for this question is expected to be determined if future studies using quantitative methods capture the meanings shared by multiple identities as some identity theorists have done previously.

Third, the influence of structural changes on one's identity change is not clearly suggested although identity changes are observed with the changes in the social structure. Changes in multiple levels of structure around individuals occur in one's identity as changes in an asynchronous manner. As noted with the case of work hours and family culture, individual fathers may find differences among and changes in social expectations on their fathering behaviors. As far as they have multiple references to develop their paternal identities, they perceive different degrees of structural expectations to change their identity standards. This study did not suggest a clear answer as to what extent the influences of different structures – family and society in this study – are perceived by fathers to motivate

changes in their paternal standards.

CHAPTER 6. CONCLUSION

The main purpose of this study was to find the link between one's paternal identity and other identities. The result shows that the meanings shared among multiple identities construct the bridge between them. Thus, pursuing an identity also fulfills another identity at the same time; pursuing the meaning of being a successful professional or a sincere Christian fulfills the meaning of being a good father by way of fulfilling the meaning of being an exemplar linked to the meaning of being a good person on the higher level of one's self. This description of the research findings does not offer a model of identity verification among multiple identities but proposes another focus to the structure of multiple identities, especially to the idea of the concurrent activation of multiple identities that share specific meanings.

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APPENDIX A. INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE (ENGLISH)

1. "The first set of questions is about your involvement in family."
    1) "What do you usually do when you are at home?"
    2) "What do you usually do for your wife?" and "What do you usually do with your wife?"
    3) "What do you usually do for your child/children?" and "What do you usually do with your child/children?"

2. "Would you describe what your ideas of 'fatherhood' or 'father role' are?"
    1) "Would you describe some key points you think are important?" and "Why do you think they are important?"
    2) "Have you talked about your idea of fatherhood or father role with anyone?" and "Would you describe who they are?"
    3) "Do you think their ideas are similar to yours?"
        a) If yes, "Why do you think they are similar?"
        b) If no, "Why do you think you idea is different?"

3. "Next questions are about what idea of parenthood you and your wife share."
    1) "Would you describe an example of something that you and your wife talked about regarding parenting recently?"
        a) If something, "how do you and your wife know for which part you are responsible and for another your wife is?"
        b) If nothing, "Why do you think you did not talk with your wife about parenting issues recently?"
    2) "How often do you talk about parenting issues with your wife?"
        a) If often or more, "Why do you think you and your wife talk about it/them usually?"
        b) If not often or less, "What else do you talk with your wife usually?"
    3) "Do you think your wife shares your principles/idea of 'parenthood' with you?"
        a) If yes, "How do you know your wife agree with your idea?" and "What have your wife mentioned about your ideas of parenthood?"
        b) If no, "Would you describe what the difference is?" and "What happens when you

find a difference?"

    c) "How do you make a conclusion?"

4. "Would you describe your child/children's personality?"

    1) "Do you know your child's friends?"

        a) If yes, "Would you tell me about them?" and "How do you know them? Do you often see them? Or do you hear about them from your child/children?"

        b) If no, "Why do you think you don't know them?" and "Do you think your wife knows them?" If yes, "Why do you think she knows them?" If no, "Why do you think she doesn't know them?"

    2) "Do you know your child's teacher?"

        a) If yes, "Would you tell me about her/him?" and "How do you know her/him? Do you often see her/him? Or do you hear her/him from your child/children?"

        b) If no, "Why do you think you don't know her/him?" and "Do you think your wife knows her/him?" If yes, "Why do you think she knows her/him?" If no, "Why do you think she doesn't know her/him?"

    3) "Do you think your child/children is/are doing well in her/his/their school work, friendship, responsibilities at home, and so on?"

        a) If yes, "Would you describe what they are doing well?" and "Why do you think so?"

        b) If no, "Would you describe what they are not doing well?" and "Why do you think so?"

    4) "Do you find any difference of your child/children in behavior, speaking, or thinking from yours?"

        a) If yes, "What difference do you find?" and "What do you think about it?"

        b) If no, "What similarities do you find?" and "What do you think about it?"

    5) "Do you have any principles about how you think your child/children should live their lives?"

        a) If yes, "What are the principles?" and "What do you do if your child does not agree with you?" and "How do you feel about it? Why do you think you feel that way?"

        b) If no, "Why do you think you don't have any principles?" and "Then do you have or tell your opinion about what your child does?" and "Who do you talk with about it?"

5. "I would like to know relationship with your parents. Were your parents very involved in your life when you were growing up?"

1) "When you were growing up, do you think your parents raised you like most other parents raised their children?"

    a) If yes, "What are the similarities?" and "Why do you think so?"

    b) If no, "What are the differences?" and "Why do you think so?"

2) "Do you think now you try to do as your parents did?"

    a) If yes, "Why do you think you try to do as they did?"

    b) If no, "Why do you think you do not try to do as they did?"

3) "Do you think you were a good child for them?"

    a) If yes, "Why do you think you were?"

    b) If no, "Why do you think you were not?"

4) "Do you remember times when you did not agree with your parents?"

    a) If yes, "Would you describe what happened?" and "Who do you think was right?"

    b) If no, "Do you try to conform to your parents?"

    c) If do not remember, "Do you have any disagreement with your parents now?"

6. "How do you decide when your family needs to do something, for example, moving your house, finding another job, buying a car, and so on?"

1) "Why do you think it is the best way to decide something?"

2) "Have you felt any inconvenience when your family decided in that way?"

    a) If yes, "Why did you feel inconvenient?"

    b) If no, "Do you think your wife or child/children are satisfied withy the way your family makes decisions?"

7. "Have your wife or child/children asked you to do something in different way from the way you have done so far?"

1) If yes, "Why do you think they asked so?"

    a) "How did you feel about their asking?"

    b) "How did you think of their asking?"

    c) "What happened then and happens to you now?"

2) If no, "Why do you think they did not ask?"

    a) "What do you think if they ask so?"

    b) "What do you think you would feel?"

    c) "What do you think your answer would be?"

APPENDIX B. INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE (KOREAN)

1. "첫 질문들은 가족 내에서 귀하의 관여에 관한 것들입니다."

   1) "집에 계실 때 주로 무엇을 하십니까?"

   2) "아내를 위해 주로 무엇을 하십니까?" and "아내와 함께 하는 일들은 주로 무엇입니까?"

   3) "자녀를 위해 주로 무엇을 하십니까?" and "자녀와 함께 하는 일들은 주로 무엇입니까?"

2. "귀하께서는 '아버지노릇'이라든지 '아버지 역할'이 무엇이라고 생각하십니까?"

   1) "귀하께서 생각하시기에 핵심적이라고 여기는 점들을 말씀해주시겠습니까?" and "왜 그 점들이 중요하다고 생각하십니까?"

   2) "아버지노릇이라든지 아버지 역할에 대해 다른 사람과 이야기나누어보신 적이 있습니까?" and "그 사람들은 어떤 분들인가요?"

   3) "귀하께서 보시기에 그 사람들의 생각이 귀하의 생각과 비슷하다고 생각하십니까?"

      a) If yes, "왜 비슷하다고 생각하십니까?"

      b) If no, "왜 다르다고 생각하십니까?"

3. "다음 질문들은 귀하와 귀하의 아내가 부모노릇에 관해 어떤 생각들을 공유하는지에 관한 것들입니다."

   1) "최근에 귀하와 귀하의 아내께서 부모노릇에 관해 이야기 나누신 적이 있다면 어떤 이야기들이었는지 예를 들어주실 수 있습니까?"

      a) If something, "어떤 부분이 귀하의 역할이고 어떤 부분이 귀하의 아내의 역할인지 어떻게 아십니까?"

      b) If nothing, "최근에 귀하와 귀하의 아내께서 부모노릇에 관해 이야기 나누신 적이 없다면 왜 없다고 생각하십니까?"

   2) "부모로서의 할 일에 대해 귀하는 귀하의 아내와 얼마나 자주 이야기 나누십니까?"

a) If often or more, "귀하께서 생각하시기에 왜 이 문제들에 대해 귀하와 귀하의 아내께서 자주 이야기 나누신다고 생각하십니까?"

b) If not often or less, "그렇다면 귀하와 귀하의 아내께서 자주 이야기 나누시는 것들은 주로 무엇입니까?"

3) "귀하께서 보시기에 부모노릇에 관한 생각들을 귀하와 귀하의 아내께서 공유하고 있다고 생각하십니까?"

a) If yes, "귀하는 어떻게 귀하의 아내께서 귀하의 생각에 동의하고 있다는 것을 아십니까?" and "부모노릇에 관한 귀하의 생각에 대해 귀하의 아내께서는 어떻게 말하십니까?"

b) If no, "어떤 차이가 있는지 말씀해주실 수 있습니까?" and "차이가 있음을 알게 되셨을 때 어떻게 대처하십니까?"

c) "귀하께서는 (유사점이나 차이점이 있을 때) 어떻게 결론을 내리십니까?"

4. "자녀(들)의 성품에 대해 설명해주시겠습니까?"

1) "귀하께서는 자녀(들)의 친구들에 대해 알고 계십니까?"

a) If yes, "그 친구들에 대해 설명해주시겠습니까?" and "귀하께서는 그 친구들을 어떻게 아십니까? 귀하께서 그 친구들을 보십니까? 아니면 자녀(들)을 통해 그 친구들에 대해 들으십니까?"

b) If no, "귀하께서는 왜 자녀(들)의 친구들을 모르신다고 생각하십니까?" and "귀하께서는 귀하의 아내가 자녀(들)의 친구들을 안다고 생각하십니까?" If yes, "귀하께서는 왜 귀하의 아내가 자녀(들)의 친구들을 안다고 생각하십니까?" If no, "귀하께서는 왜 귀하의 아내가 자녀(들)의 친구들을 모른다고 생각하십니까?"

2) "귀하께서는 자녀의 선생님을 아십니까?"

a) If yes, "그 선생님이 대해 설명해주시겠습니까?" and "어떻게 그 선생님을 아십니까? 귀하께서는 그 선생님을 종종 보십니까? 아니면 귀하께서는 자녀들을 통해 그 선생님에 대해 들으십니까?"

b) If no, "귀하께서는 왜 귀하가 그 선생님을 모른다고 생각하십니까?" and "귀하께서는 귀하의 아내가 그 선생님을 안다고 생각하십니까?" If yes, "귀하께서는 왜 귀하의 아내가 그 선생님을 안다고 생각하십니까?" If no, "귀

하께서는 왜 귀하의 아내가 그 선생님을 모른다고 생각하십니까?”

3) “귀하께서 생각하시기에 귀하의 자녀(들)가 수업과제나 교우관계, 가정내 책임 등을 잘 해내고 있다고 생각하십니까?”

   c) If yes, “귀하의 자녀(들)이 잘하고 있는 것들이 무엇인지 설명해주시겠습니까?” and “왜 자녀(들)이 잘하고 있다고 생각하십니까?”

   d) If no, “귀하의 자녀(들)이 잘 못하고 있는 것들이 무엇인지 설명해주시겠습니까?” and “왜 잘 못하고 있다고 생각하십니까?”

4) “귀하께서 보시기에 귀하의 자녀(들)이 행동이나 말투, 사고방식에서 귀하와 다르다고 보십니까?”

   a) If yes, “어떤 차이점을 발견하셨습니까?” and “그 차이점에 대해 어떻게 생각하십니까?”

   b) If no, “어떤 유사점을 발견하셨습니까?” and “그 유사점에 대해 어떻게 생각하십니까?”

5) “귀하께서는 자녀가 어떻게 자라야 한다는 원칙을 갖고 계십니까?”

   a) If yes, “어떤 원칙들입니까?” and “만약 귀하의 자녀(들)이 그 원칙들에 동의하지 않는다면 어떻게 하십니까?” and “그 점에 대해 어떻게 생각하십니까? 왜 그렇게 생각하십니까?”

   b) If no, “귀하께서는 왜 그런 원칙들을 갖고 계시지 않습니까?” and “그렇다면 귀하께서는 귀하의 자녀(들)이 하는 바에 대해 어떤 의견을 갖거나, 그에 대해 누군가와 이야기하십니까?” and “그에 대해 귀하께서 이야기나누는 상대는 누구입니까?”

5. “이번에는 귀하와 귀하의 부모님과의 관계에 대해 질문을 드리겠습니다. 귀하가 성장하던 시기에 귀하의 부모님께서 귀하의 삶에 깊이 관여하셨습니까?”

1) “귀하께서 생각하시기에, 귀하가 성장하던 시기에 귀하의 부모님께서 귀하를 키우던 방식은 다른 부모들이 자기 자녀들을 기르는 방식과 비슷했다고 생각하십니까?”

   a) If yes, “어떤 점들이 비슷하다고 생각하십니까?” and “왜 비슷하다고 생각하십니까?”

b) If no, "어떤 점들이 다르다고 생각하십니까?" and "왜 다르다고 생각하십니까?"

2) "귀하께서 생각하시기에 귀하는 귀하의 부모님이 하셨던 방식을 따르려고 한다고 생각하십니까?"

   a) If yes, "귀하께서는 왜 귀하의 부모님들이 하셨던 방식을 따르려고 한다고 생각하십니까?"

   b) If no, "귀하께서는 왜 귀하의 부모님이 하셨던 방식을 따르려고 하지 않는다고 생각하십니까?"

3) "귀하께서 생각하시기에 귀하는 귀하의 부모님에게 좋은 자녀였다고 생각하십니까?"

   a) If yes, "왜 그렇게 생각하십니까?"

   b) If no, "왜 아니라고 생각하십니까?"

4) "귀하께서 귀하의 부모님에게 순응하지 않았던 경우가 있었습니까?"

   a) If yes, "어떤 경우였는지 이야기해주실 수 있습니까?" and "귀하께서 보시기에 누가 옳았다고 생각하십니까?"

   b) If no, "귀하께서는 귀하의 부모님께 순응했다고 여기십니까?"

   c) If do not remember, "요즘 귀하와 귀하의 부모님 사이에 의견이 다른 경우가 있습니까?" "어떤 경우입니까?"

6. "만약 귀하의 가족이 이사를 하거나 귀하께서 직업을 바꾸시거나 차를 사는 것과 같이 무엇인가를 결정해야 할 경우라면 어떻게 결정을 내리십니까?"

1) "귀하께서는 왜 그 방식이 가장 좋다고 생각하십니까?"

2) "그 방식으로 결정을 내릴 때 귀하께서 언짢았던 적이 있습니까?"

   a) If yes, "왜 언짢았습니까?"

   b) If no, "귀하께서는 귀하의 아내나 자녀(들)이 귀하의 가족이 결정하는 방식에 대해 만족한다고 생각하십니까?"

7. "귀하의 아내나 자녀(들)이 귀하께서 이제껏 해왔던 방식과 다른 방식을 귀하께 요구한 적이 있습니까?"

1) If yes, "귀하께서는 왜 가족들이 그것을 요구했다고 생각하십니까?"

    a) "가족들의 요구에 대해 어떻게 느끼셨습니까?"

    b) "가족들의 요구에 대해 어떻게 생각하셨습니까?"

    c) "그 요구를 받았을 때 어떻게 됐으며 지금은 어떻습니까?"

2) If no, "귀하께서는 왜 가족들이 그런 요구를 하지 않는다고 생각하십니까?"

    a) "만약 그런 요구를 받는다면 어떠실 것 같습니까?"

    b) "어떤 기분이실 것 같습니까?"

    c) "귀하께서는 어떻게 답하실 것 같습니까?"

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