ORIGINAL ARTICLE

FAMILY PROCESS

Fathering styles in a traditional culture and its association with marital relationship: A latent profile analysis with a nationally representative sample

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Abstract

This study had two main objectives. The first goal was to examine fathers' parenting styles in a society with traditional patriarchal values. The second goal was to understand the extent to which marital relationship variables (i.e., marital satisfaction and spousal support) are related with the identified fathering profiles. The theoretical and empirical underpinnings of the "parenting styles" literature that form the foundation of the research on parent–child dynamics are still mainly based on data collected only from mothers. This weakness of the literature on fathering typologies is further accompanied by the scarcity of data on fathers' parenting practices from non-Western contexts. To achieve the study aims, a latent profile analysis based on warmth and control dimensions of parenting was performed using a nationally representative sample of 1070 urban fathers in Turkey. Using scores on six parenting behavior variables (i.e., warmth, punishment, inductive reasoning, positive parenting, discipline and teaching responsibilities, time and talking together), results revealed four fathering profiles: "authoritative" (30%), "average" (45%), "uninvolved" (16%), and "disciplining-distant" (8%). Furthermore, the results showed that the fathering profiles significantly differed from each other on the marital satisfaction and spousal support scores. Results highlight the importance of investigating fathering behaviors and their predictors in different cultures.

KEYWORDS

culture, fathering, marital satisfaction, parenting styles, spousal support

INTRODUCTION

In recent years, the critical role of fathers in child development gained further attention (Cabrera, 2020; Schoppe-Sullivan & Fagan, 2020). For instance, studies showed that controlling for mother characteristics and father involvement is related to decreased behavioral problems in children (Amato & Rivera, 1999). In addition, father engagement positively contributes to children's early social, emotional, and cognitive development (Amodia-Bidakowska et al., 2020; Barker et al., 2017; Cabrera et al., 2000; Sarkadi et al., 2008). Although these new attempts provided substantial evidence for the influence of father involvement in child development, the theoretical and empirical underpinnings of the "parenting styles" literature that forms the foundation of research on parent–child dynamics are still mainly based on mothers (Cornell & Frick, 2007; Martínez et al., 2019; Perez-Gramaje et al., 2020; Querido et al., 2002). Yet, it is suggested that fathers may have different parenting profiles compared to mothers (Kim et al., 2013; Nelson et al., 2011). This weakness of the literature on fathering typologies is further accompanied by the scarcity of data on the parenting practices of fathers from non-Western contexts (Cabrera et al., 2011). Empirical results indicate that fathers' parenting practices are more influenced by their context than are mothers' (Doherty et al., 1998; Newland et al., 2010; Palkovitz & Hull, 2018; Roopnarine & Yildirim, 2019). This relative lack of empirical evidence on fathering styles from non-Western cultures must be remedied to build better informed fathering and family research models. Hence, the first purpose of this study was to explore fathers' parenting styles within a cultural context dominated by collectivistic, traditional, and patriarchal values via latent profile analysis (LPA) with a nationally representative sample (Hofstede et al., 2010; Kagitcibasi, 2017).

Understanding the predictors of fathering types is critically important to grasp better the nature of fathering practices and develop interventions and policies regarding father involvement. Existing research has investigated a variety of relational, contextual, and institutional factors contributing to variations in father involvement and the father–child relationship (Cabrera et al., 2014; Doherty et al., 1998; Henley & Pasley, 2005; Lamb, 1987; Lamb et al., 1985). One of the important predictors of fathering behavior within the family context is the marital relationship (Cabrera et al., 2014). Links between fathering and marital relationship variables (e.g., marital satisfaction, spousal support) have been observed in Western samples (Bouchard & Lee, 2000; Trahan, 2018). However, relatively few studies have focused on these links in non-Western samples. Therefore, the second purpose of this study was to investigate the extent to which different marital relationship variables are associated with specific fathering types in a non-Western society that endorses patriarchal values.

The Turkish context

Previous literature suggested that culture and family contexts are essential determinants of parenting (Lamm & Keller, 2007). Moreover, cross-cultural research indicated that fathers' parenting behaviors are diverse across different cultures (Newland et al., 2013; Shwalb et al., 2013). Turkey, the cultural context of this study, differs from Western societies regarding parenting dynamics and gender roles. The GLOBE study on cultural values reported that Turkey scores lower on gender egalitarianism and higher on power distance than the averages of other countries' scores in each dimension (House et al., 2004). Turkey has also been ranked 69th among 188 countries on the gender inequality index (UNDP, n.d). The prevalence of the traditional Turkish view of women as stay-at-home mothers and men as breadwinners have been amply documented as well (Bolak-Boratav et al., 2017; Çarkoğlu & Kalaycıoğlu, 2013; Çarkoğlu & O'neil, 2018; OECD, 2011; Sancar, 2009). For instance, the employment rate among women with children less than 5 years old has been reported to be approximately 19%. At the same

time, Turkish men were found to have the highest weekly working hours among European countries (OECD, 2011). Thus, Turkey as a societal context is characterized by traditional and patriarchal values.

Reflections of this traditional view can be traced to perceptions of parenting and marriage in Turkey. Viewing marriage as responsibility sharing where men are supposed to provide financial support and women are supposed to take care of home chores and children is still common in Turkey (Bolak-Boratav et al., 2017). As a result, fathers are usually considered the breadwinner of the family and the head of the household. And the father–child relationship has been shown to be mainly based on respect and fear (Bolak-Boratav et al., 2014). Studies showed that the traditional and patriarchal views of masculinity have been dominating fatherhood in Turkey (Sunar & Fisek, 2005). However, there is a transition to more egalitarian parenting (Kagitcibasi & Ataca, 2005). Based on these appraisals of marriage and parenting in Turkey, which are different from the Western cultures, it is reasonable to predict that fathering profiles and their relationship with marital factors may differ from Western contexts. We believe that it is vital to investigate these relationships in traditional patriarchal societies as well in order to establish more inclusive theories on fathering and increase fathers' involvement.

Parenting styles and fathering

The dominant parenting typology in the literature was conceptualized by Baumrind (1967, 1971), and disciplinary strategies, warmth, communication, expectations of maturity, and control were investigated to understand parenting strategies. Three qualitatively different parenting styles were observed: "authoritarian" (high levels of control and low levels of warmth and inductive reasoning), "authoritative" (adequate levels of control, warmth, and inductive reasoning), and "permissive" (high levels of warmth and low levels of control and inductive reasoning). Maccoby and Martin (1983) later added a fourth style, "uninvolved/neglectful" parenting, seen in parents who provide shelter and food, but usually do not offer warmth, guidance, or support to their children. These four parenting styles have been extensively used to investigate the associations between parenting styles and child outcomes in various settings and cultural contexts. However, the parent samples in those studies were typically limited to mothers. The findings could not be generalized to the parenting behavior of fathers.

Among the few studies directly investigating unique fathering types, three were conducted with fathers living in Western societies. Jain et al. (1996) used four parenting dimensions (care, play, teaching, and disciplining) to identify fathering styles in Caucasian middle-class families in the United States. Cluster analysis resulted in four father types: "caretakers" (who provided for basic needs), "playmates–teachers" (who were involved in playing and teaching activities but not in disciplining or caretaking), "disciplinarians" (who were primarily engaged in disciplining activities), and "disengaged fathers" (who showed lower activity in all categories compared to other types). The second study (Marks & Palkovitz, 2004) investigated fathers' involvement levels and socioeconomic status. The authors indicated four contemporary American fatherhood types: "the newly involved father" (who shows increased involvement in child-rearing activities compared to previous generations), "the good provider father" (who works long hours and tries to meet the basic and social needs of the child), "the deadbeat dad" (who fails to meet the parental psychological responsibilities and may not provide financial support), and "the paternity-free man" (who is not engaged in fathering activities). Another recent typology study was conducted with fathers living in the United States whose children were emergent adults (aged 18–25) using the dimensions of control and warmth (Nelson et al., 2011). The study identified four fathering clusters: "uninvolved" (low on all variables), "controlling-indulgent" (high on control and low on responsiveness), "authoritative" (high on responsiveness and low on control), and "average" (fathers at the mean on all eight aspects of parenting).

Only one study extensively investigated fathering profiles in a different cultural group context. Kim et al. (2013) sampled Chinese American fathers and mothers to explore the effects of their parenting styles on adolescent adjustment by using a longitudinal design. Three different profiles of mothers were observed in their study: "easy-going" (described as being similar to classical uninvolved parenting), "supportive" (defined as similar to classical authoritative), and "tiger" (described as similar to both classical authoritarian and authoritative parenting together). Their findings revealed only two types of fathering groups at the first time of measurement: "easy-going" and "supportive." Kim et al. (2013) also indicated that the percentage of fathers defined as tiger parents, which was not initially apparent, increased over time. While these studies identified some similar parenting types, they also reported unique fathering types, such as tiger parenting in Asian families (Kim et al., 2013). Therefore, we expect that though some similarities will be present with the previous fathering profiles, there can also exist fathering profiles unique to patriarchal cultures, as in the Kim et al. (2013) study.

Marital relationship and fathering

The antecedents of quality parenting have been given considerable attention in the literature. Among them, the marital relationship has been shown to have a substantial influence on parent–child interaction (e.g., Fincham & Hall, 2006; Grych, 2002). For instance, a meta-analysis of 68 studies on the relationship between marital quality and parent–child relationship indicated a moderate effect size of 0.46 (Erel & Burman, 1995). Several theoretical models have been suggested to explain these links between marital relationships and parenting behaviors, including the family systems theory (e.g., Cox & Paley, 1997; Grych, 2002). According to family systems theory, one must examine the family as a system rather than individual parts, as a family comprised interdependent subsystems such as the individuals and the relationships between the individuals. Each subsystem affects and is affected by the other subsystems (i.e., the mother–father relationship influences the children, and the children influence the mother–father relationship). This theoretical model also supports the spillover hypothesis in which an affectively positive marital relationship would contribute to positive parent–child interaction (e.g., Grych, 2002; Kouros et al., 2014; Kwok et al., 2015). Several studies provided evidence in support of the spillover hypothesis in this context. For example, a meta-analysis on interparental conflict and parenting behavior supported this hypothesis with a moderate effect size of 0.62, where the association was strongest for harsh punishment and parental acceptance (Krishnakumar & Buehler, 2000). Furthermore, Kouros et al. (2014), in their daily diary study, showed that parents' marital relationship quality is associated with their interaction with their children.

However, the investigation of the relationship between marital factors and fathering practices in non-Western traditional cultures is rather limited. As explained earlier, fathering practices and profiles in patriarchal societies may be expected to differ from those in western cultures. Similarly, due to traditional views of marriage in patriarchal societies, marriage is highly perceived as responsibility sharing. To which extent these different dynamics of marital relationships in the traditional cultures are related to fathering profiles emerging in these cultures is an important question as it would guide researchers, practitioners, and policymakers to make evidence-driven decision making to foster involved fatherhood. As the vast literature on father involvement has shown, including fathers in child-rearing has positive effects on child outcomes (e.g., Amodia-Bidakowska et al., 2020; Cabrera, 2020; Schoppe-Sullivan & Fagan, 2020). Examining the relationship between marital factors and parenting in a patriarchal society can help to answer why some fathers are more involved in child-rearing than others. Such findings between marital factors and fathering could potentially suggest specific ways (e.g., coparenting interventions) to improve father involvement.

Regarding specific indicators of marital relationship, spousal support and marital satisfaction have been empirically shown to be related to higher quality parenting. While spousal support and marital satisfaction are associated with each other (e.g., Salmela-Aro et al., 2010), they still uniquely contribute to parenting. Previous literature suggested that spousal support is related to the division of labor and the general support parents receive from each other (Chong & Mickelson, 2016). Therefore, this support could be related to many different things, such as child-rearing, household chores, and work-related problems. Prior studies emphasized the role of spousal support in relation to the other domains of life, such as work (e.g., Aycan & Eskin, 2005; Malinen et al., 2017). On the other hand, even though other factors around the couple can influence marital satisfaction, it is related to the satisfaction parents perceive from their marriage (Rosen-Grandon et al., 2004). Therefore, it is more focused on the one-on-one relationship between the parents.

Based on the previous literature on marital factors and parenting, better marital functioning is related to a higher quality of parenting. For instance, fathers who had higher perceived spousal support were found to be more involved with their children (Buckley & Schoppe-Sullivan, 2010; Kwok & Li, 2015; Murphy et al., 2017; Ponnet et al., 2013; Trahan, 2018). A recent study of cooperative and competitive coparenting indicated that mothers' support of fathers' parenting was associated with low levels of competitive parenting and high levels of father involvement (Murphy et al., 2017). Therefore, support fathers receive from their spouses can play an essential role in their parenting behaviors.

Similarly, studies have found that high marital satisfaction was associated with a high level of desired parenting practices, and low marital satisfaction was related to undesired parenting practices (Bouchard & Lee, 2000; Kwok et al., 2013; Kwok & Li, 2015; Lee & Doherty, 2007; Pauli-Pott & Beckmann, 2007). The importance of marital factors on fathering was mostly shown in studies conducted in Western cultures. However, the association between different fathering profiles and the marital relationship has not been directly investigated in traditional cultures where the reasons for and expectations from marriage may differ from Western contexts. For instance, in Turkey, Bolak-Boratav et al. (2017) indicated that romantic reasons for marriage have been more prevalent in recent years. However, most people still get married because it is expected. The marital bond is one of responsibility sharing between the breadwinner man and homemaker woman. Therefore, since expectations from marriages and the relevant family dynamics can be different across cultures, it is important also to investigate how marital factors would be related to fathering behaviors in a more collectivistic and patriarchal culture. Thus, the second research question of this study is: do the marital relationship variables (i.e., marital satisfaction and spousal support) have an association with different fathering profiles in Turkey?

The present study

To examine fathering types in a patriarchal society, we conducted our study with a nationwide representative sample of urban Turkish fathers with children aged 4–6. We focused on preschool children because they were within the 0- to 6-year time frame deemed critical to children's cognitive and social development (Britto & Pérez-Escamilla, 2013; Carlson et al., 2002). Also, this age group corresponded to Baumrind's study (1967, 1971) on parenting styles, increasing our study's comparative value.

To answer the research question of which fathering profiles would emerge in a traditionally patriarchal society, we identified the fathering profiles based on fathers' scores in the following parenting behaviors: warmth, time and talking together, inductive reasoning, positive parenting (praise), disciplining and teaching responsibilities, and punishment. Warmth is considered as the emotional and psychological affection of the parent toward the child (Steinberg

& Silk, 2002). Praise, on the other hand, is related to the verbal or nonverbal affirming of the good behaviors of the child (Owen et al., 2012). Time and talking together behaviors are related to spending a mutually pleasant time with the child (Hawkins et al., 2002). Previous literature considered these variables as separate as these behaviors capture specific dimensions of parenting even though they are all related to positive parental involvement (Hawkins et al., 2002; Smith et al., 2008). Disciplining and teaching responsibilities are defined as teaching the child's boundaries and responsibilities.

Inductive reasoning is related to explaining the reasons behind the rules to children. Punishment is defined as using yelling, slapping, or neglecting as part of rule teaching. In choosing these specific parenting behaviors to identify the fathering profiles, we mainly relied on Baumrind's (1967, 1971) widely accepted typology of parenting, which identified the parenting styles using two dimensions: warmth and control. Warmth refers to the responsiveness and affection of the parents toward their child, and control refers to the parents' supervision and disciplinary efforts to control or manage their child's behaviors. We chose warmth, time and talking together, and positive parenting under the warmth dimension in Baumrind's typology of parenting, as all these behaviors are related to parent's responsiveness and affection. For instance, to engage in positive parenting (praising), parents both need to be responsive to the good behavior and should be able to show their affirmation. We considered inductive reasoning, discipline, and teaching behavior as part of the control dimension. These parenting behaviors are related to supervision and disciplinary efforts. When parents use inductive reasoning, they aim to teach children the reasons behind the rules to regulate their behaviors. We did not have any specific hypothesis regarding which specific profiles would emerge in our sample, as this study adopted LPA as an exploratory approach to identify profiles based on empirical data.

We then investigated whether fathering profiles differed from each other based on marital relationship variables. Since we did not know which specific fathering profiles would emerge in our sample at the beginning of the study, we did not have specific hypotheses regarding the relationship between the marital relationship variables and the fathering profiles. However, considering the previous literature on father involvement, we expected that fathers under the fathering profile identified with higher warmth and positive involvement behaviors would be more likely to have higher marital satisfaction and spousal support.

In addition to testing the differences between profiles based on marital relationship variables, we also tested whether profiles differed from each other in terms of age and education. Previous research showed that the age of the parent might influence parenting practices. For instance, young parents were found to use more harsh parenting techniques than adult parents (Lee & Guterman, 2009), though, in the case of Turkey as a country in the transition from traditional to more egalitarian parenting practices, one may expect the new generation parents to be more involved and warmer as compared to older parents (Boratav et al., 2014). A higher education level was related to more involved fathering and emotional support for the child (Coley & Hernandez, 2006; Newland et al., 2013). In Turkey, most of the population (86%) has an education degree lower than high school (Endeksa.com, 2021). Therefore, having a high school degree might be a protective factor for involved fathering in Turkish. Furthermore, we also tested differences between profiles on the life satisfaction of fathers as a general measure of their well-being, as previous research showed that higher life satisfaction was associated with increased parental warmth (Brajša-Žganec & Hanzec, 2014).

Besides the fathers' characteristics variables, we also tested family context variables. In patriarchal societies such as Turkey, support from other family members is perceived as essential, and the extended family is even referred to as "functionally extended" (Ataca et al., 2005). Studies showed that the support parents receive is important for both the parent's well-being and the development of children (Ataca et al., 2005; Güroglu, 2010; Simons & Johnson, 1996). It was also shown that family support is especially important for disadvantaged families (Baydar

et al., 2012). In collectivistic cultures where the relationship with extended family members is emphasized, social support was found to be a strong correlate of positive parent–child interaction (Kagitcibasi, 2007). Another family context variable that may directly influence parental involvement is the number of children. It was found that parents who had more children were less likely to engage in affectionate parenting (Barber & East, 2009).

METHOD

Participants and data

We have used data from the Fatherhood in Turkey survey study carried out by the Mother Child Education Foundation (AÇEV, 2017) and the research team, including the study authors. The data were collected through a multilevel, stratified random sampling method to create a representative sample of urban Turkish fathers in terms of regions and socioeconomic levels, following the exact recommendations of the Turkish Statistical Institute. The sample consisted of 1070 Turkish fathers (age range: 20–58, M_{age}: 34.58, SD: 6.01) of 4–6 years old children (46.8% girls). The majority of the fathers in our sample were married and living with their families (99.6%). Of the fathers, 42.6% were high school graduates, 40.4% had less than a high school education, and 23.3% had more than a high school level education and 2.2% of the fathers reported that they were not working at the time of the survey.

On the other hand, 86.6% of their spouses were stay-at-home mothers. All measures are described next. When the Turkish version of a scale was not present, scales were translated into Turkish using the translation–back translation method (Beaton et al., 2000).

Measures

Profile variables

Warmth, punishment, and inductive reasoning
Warmth, punishment, and inductive reasoning were measured using subscales of the Turkish version of the original Child-Rearing Questionnaire (CRQ-TR; Yagmurlu & Sanson, 2009; CRQ; Paterson & Sanson, 1999), which is a self-report measure for parenting practices. The warmth subscale consisted of nine items measuring the positive, emotional, and supportive practices in child-rearing (e.g., "My child and I have warm, intimate times together"). The punishment subscale consisted of nine items measuring using physical punishment as a disciplining method in children rearing (e.g., "I use physical punishment, e.g., smacking, for very bad behavior"). The Cronbach's alphas were 0.94 and 0.91 for parental warmth and punishment scales, respectively. Inductive reasoning was measured with only one item ("I explain the reasons behind the rules that I put to my child") from the inductive reasoning subscale of the Child-Rearing Questionnaire. A four-point Likert scale was used in all subscales (1 = *never*; 4 = *always*).

Positive parenting (praise)
Positive parenting was measured with the positive parenting subscale of the Alabama Parenting Questionnaire–Short Form (Elgar et al., 2007). We used the Turkish version of the scale, which has been previously used in other studies in Turkey (e.g., Acar-Bayraktar et al., 2019). It consists of three items: self-report measurement where parents rate their parenting behaviors (e.g., "You let your child know when he/she is doing a good job with something"). The Cronbach's alpha in this study was 0.79.

Time and talking together

The time and talking together subscale of the Father Involvement Inventory was used for these variables (Hawkins et al., 2002). The Turkish version of the inventory, which was previously applied to Turkish participants, was used (e.g., Izci & Jones, 2018). It has three items, and it is a self-report measure where parents rate their parenting behavior on four-point Likert scale (1 = *never*; 4 = *always*) (e.g., "Being a pal or a friend to your children"). The Cronbach's alpha in this study was 0.69.

Discipline and teaching responsibilities

These variables were measured with the discipline and teaching responsibilities subscale of the Father Involvement Inventory (Hawkins et al., 2002). This is a three-item measure where parents rate their parenting behaviors on a four-point Likert scale (1 = *never*; 4 = *always*) (e.g., "Encouraging your children to do their chores"). The Cronbach's alpha was 0.62.

Correlates of fathering profiles

Spousal support

The spousal support subscale of the Turkish version of the Multidimensional Scale of Perceived Social Support (Eker & Arkar, 1995; MSPSS-TR; Zimet et al., 1988) was used. The Turkish version has been widely used in previous studies (e.g., Girişken & Çalımlıoğlu Doğan, 2020). This is a four-item measure where participants rate perceived spousal support on a four-point Likert scale (1 = *absolutely no*; 4 = *absolutely yes*) (e.g., "My spouse is a real source of comfort to me," "My spouse is there for me when I need help"). The Cronbach's alpha was 0.83.

Marital satisfaction

Two items of the Kansas Marital Satisfaction Scale were used (Nichols et al., 1983). The Turkish translation was used in this study. This scale was previously used with Turkish samples (e.g., Erci & Ergin, 2005). It is a self-report measure where participants rate perceived marital satisfaction on a four-point Likert scale (1 = *not satisfied*; 4 = *very satisfied*) ("How satisfied are you with your marriage?," "How satisfied are you with your relationship with your spouse?"). The Cronbach's alpha in the current study was 0.88.

Demographic information

Fathers first answered demographic questions on the time spent at work, time spent with children, employment status, and education levels for both mothers and fathers.

Life satisfaction

This was measured with the widely used Turkish translation of the Life Satisfaction Scale (Akın & Yalnız, 2015; Diener et al., 1985). This is a five-item self-report measure where participants rate perceived life satisfaction on four-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree*; 4 = s*trongly agree*) (e.g., "I am satisfied with my life"). The Cronbach's alpha for the life satisfaction scale was 0.84.

Family support

The family support subscale of the Turkish version of the Multidimensional Scale of Perceived Social Support (Eker & Arkar, 1995; MSPSS-TR; Zimet et al., 1988). This is a four-item self-report measure where participants rate perceived family support on a four–point Likert scale (1 = *absolutely no*; 4 = *absolutely yes*) (e.g., "My family really tries to help me"; "I get the emotional help and support I need from my family"). The Cronbach's alpha was 0.83.

Analytic strategy

Fathering profiles were identified with LPA using the mean scale scores of the following six parenting behavior variables: warmth, punishment, inductive reasoning, praise, discipline, teaching responsibilities, and time and talking together. LPA attempts to find the best-fitted model to identify subpopulations in a sample according to the variables that were introduced. The variables submitted to the LPA can be single items or scale-based summary scores as used in previous parenting LPA studies (Fu et al., 2020; Jennings et al., 2019; Kim et al., 2013). Both approaches have been found to produce similar results suggesting similar data structures, though the former may result in more profiles (Nielsen et al., 2016). We started with a two-profile model and went up to a five-profile model sequentially. We compared the fit indices of each new model with the previous model. These indices were entropies of the models, Bayesian information criterion (BIC), the sample size adjusted BIC (ABIC), p values for the Lo–Mendell–Rubin likelihood (LMR), and the bootstrap likelihood ratio test for K versus $K-1$ classes (Nylund et al., 2007). After determining the fathering profiles using LPA, we also conducted one-way ANOVAs to examine further which profiles were significantly different from each other concerning each parenting behavior.

Second, we examined the relationships between profiles and marital satisfaction, perceived spousal support, age, education, life satisfaction, and perceived family support using the "Bolck, Croon, and Hagenaars" (BCH) method (Bolck et al., 2004). This method tests the equality of means of the marital variables across profiles using Wald chi-square tests and allows testing the relationship between profiles and auxiliary variables without changing the latent profile models and by identifying significant mean differences between all pairwise profile comparisons. The BCH method is the most robust approach for examining the relationships between profiles and other variables (Asparouhov & Muthén, 2021; Bakk & Vermunt, 2016).

RESULTS

Latent profile analysis

LPA results indicated that the five-profile model slightly improved BIC and ABIC compared to the four-profile model (Table 1). However, the p value of LMR showed no statistically significant difference between the five-profile and four-profile models. Moreover, the four-profile model had a higher entropy level (0.93) than the five-profile model (0.87). Therefore, the four-profile model was kept as the best-fitting model.

LPA revealed four fathering profiles (see Figure 1). As will be described next, two profiles were named "authoritative" (30%, $n=322$) and "uninvolved" (16%, $n=175$), in line with Baumrind's parenting typologies (1971). Fathers in the "authoritative" profile showed

TABLE 1 Comparison of models for latent profiles of fathering.

Number of classes	Log likelihood	AIC	BIC	p LMR (BLRT)	Entropy
2	−4962	9963.549	10,058.08	<0.001 ($p<0.001$)	0.88
3	−4231	8515.281	8644.64	0.073	0.99
4	−4109	8285.919	8450.11	0.009 ($p<0.001$)	0.93
5	−4074	8227.984	8427.01	0.14	0.87

Abbreviations: AIC, Akaike's information criterion; BIC, Bayesian information criterion; p LMR (BLRT), p values for the Lo–Mendell–Rubin likelihood and the bootstrap likelihood ratio test for K versus $K-1$ classes; $N=1070$.
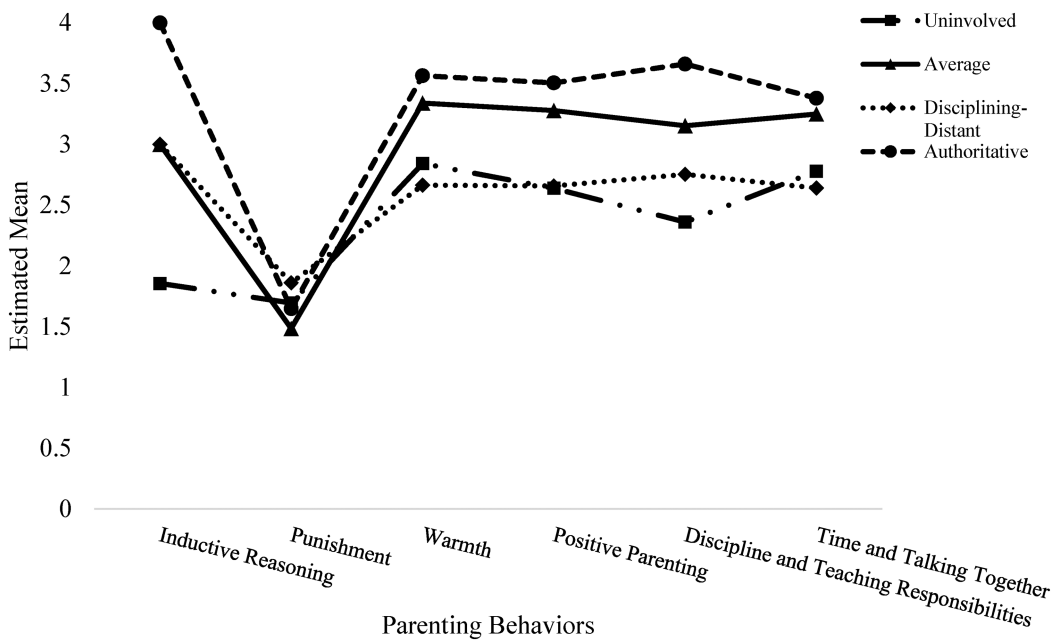
FIGURE 1 Fathering styles identified by the latent profile analysis.

higher levels on all the variables, especially in inductive reasoning. Fathers in the "uninvolved" profile showed the lowest levels, especially on the inductive reasoning, discipline, and teaching responsibility variables. We named the third profile "average parenting" (45%, $n = 485$) since this group has very similar scores to the overall sample mean on all parenting behavior variables (see Table 2 for means, standard deviations, and correlations among study variables). The last category was labeled as "disciplining-distant" (8%, $n = 88$) due to relatively higher scores on punishment, discipline and teaching responsibilities, and inductive reasoning but lower scores on warmth and time and talking together variables. The means and standard deviations of the parenting behavior variables under each fathering profile are provided in Table 3.

Authoritative parenting

Fathers in this profile showed the highest scores in inductive reasoning ($M = 4.00$, $SD = 0.00$), warmth ($M = 3.57$, $SD = 0.33$), positive parenting ($M = 3.51$, $SD = 0.39$), discipline and teaching responsibility ($M = 3.34$, $SD = 0.55$), and time and talking together ($M = 3.38$, $SD = 0.49$), and had the second lowest score in punishment ($M = 1.65$, $SD = 0.79$).

Uninvolved parenting

Fathers in this profile had the lowest scores in inductive reasoning ($M = 1.86$, $SD = 0.35$) and the discipline and teaching responsibility ($M = 2.76$, $SD = 0.61$) variables and had relatively low scores in warmth ($M = 2.84$, $SD = 0.64$), positive parenting ($M = 2.64$, $SD = 0.70$), time and talking together ($M = 2.78$, $SD = 0.66$), and punishment ($M = 1.70$, $SD = 0.64$).

TABLE 2 Means, standard deviations, and correlations among study variables.

Measures	N	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Punishment	1065	1.60	0.71									
2. Warmth	1067	3.27	0.51	−0.093**								
3. Positive parenting	1064	3.19	0.56	−0.098**	0.683**							
4. Discipline and teaching responsibility	1068	3.12	0.57	−0.018	0.408**	0.367**						
5. Inductive reasoning	1061	3.11	0.72	−0.018	0.476**	0.511**	0.340**					
6. Time and talking together	1068	3.16	0.55	−0.086**	0.556**	0.473**	0.561**	0.366**				
7. Marital satisfaction	1069	3.33	0.51	−0.155**	0.286**	0.244**	0.127**	0.159**	0.222**			
8. Life satisfaction	1070	2.67	0.56	−0.033	0.251**	0.259**	0.181**	0.208**	0.234**	0.315**		
9. Spousal support	1065	3.43	0.53	−0.199**	0.431**	0.400**	0.267**	0.261**	0.346**	0.397**	0.233**	
10. Family support	1067	3.32	0.53	0.083**	−0.048	−0.068*	−0.063*	−0.052	−0.045	−0.051	0.018	−0.043

*$p<0.1$; **$p<0.05$.

TABLE 3 Means and standard deviations of parenting variables across fathering profiles ($N=1070$).

Parenting variables	Profile 1 Uninvolved ($n=175$)	Profile 2 Authoritative ($n=322$)	Profile 3 Average ($n=485$)	Profile 4 Disciplining-distant ($n=88$)	F-statistic
Punishment	1.70 (0.64)	1.65 (0.79)	1.48 (0.66)	1.92 (0.67)	12.95***
Warmth	2.84 (0.64)	3.57 (0.33)	3.34 (0.33)	2.60 (0.35)	212.33***
Positive parenting	2.64 (0.70)	3.51 (0.39)	3.28 (0.39)	2.61 (0.35)	193.41***
Discipline and teaching responsibility	2.76 (0.61)	3.34 (0.55)	3.16 (0.45)	2.69 (0.61)	69.49***
Inductive reasoning	1.86 (0.35)	4.00 (0.00)	3.00 (0.00)	3.00 (0.00)	8759.63***
Time and talking together	2.78 (0.66)	3.38 (0.49)	3.25 (0.39)	2.60 (0.66)	102.811***

***$p<0.001$.

Average parenting

Fathers in this profile reported warmth ($M=3.34$, $SD=0.33$), positive parenting ($M=3.28$, $SD=0.39$), discipline and teaching responsibilities ($M=3.18$, $SD=0.45$), inductive reasoning ($M=3.00$, $SD=0.0$), and time and talking together ($M=3.25$, $SD=0.39$) scores which were similar to the sample mean (see Table 2). They reported having the lowest level of punishment ($M=1.48$, $SD=0.66$) compared to fathers in the other profiles.

Disciplining-distant parenting

Fathers in the *disciplining-distant* fathering profile scored lowest in warmth ($M=2.60$, $SD=0.35$), time and talking together ($M=2.60$, $SD=0.53$), and positive parenting ($M=2.60$, $SD=0.40$) compared to the other profiles. They had the highest scores in punishment ($M=1.92$, $SD=0.67$), average scores in inductive reasoning ($M=3.00$, $SD=0.00$), and discipline and teaching responsibilities ($M=2.69$, $SD=0.61$) (Table 4).

One-way ANOVAs to further examine which profiles were significantly different from each other with regard to each parenting behavior showed that there were significant differences across the profiles with regard to inductive reasoning scores, $F(3, 1057)=8759.63$, $p<0.001$. Post hoc analyses indicated that the inductive reasoning scores of *fathers in the uninvolved* fathering profile were significantly different from fathers in the *authoritative, average, and disciplining-distant* fathering profile, $t(1057)=159.740$, $p<0.001$; $t(1057)=90.840$, $p<0.001$; $t(1057)=61.435$, $p<0.001$, respectively. Moreover, the inductive reasoning scores of fathers in the average and disciplining distant profiles were significantly different from the fathers in the authoritative group, $p<0.0001$.

The one-way ANOVA results indicated that the fathering profiles were significantly different from each other on punishment scores as well, $F(3, 1061)=12.945$, $p<0.001$. Post hoc tests indicated that fathers in the *uninvolved* fathering profile were significantly different from fathers in the *average* and *disciplining-distant* profiles, $t(1061)=-3.548$, $p<0.001$; $t(1061)=2.496$, $p=0.013$, respectively. Moreover, the *average* fathering profile was significantly different from both *authoritative* and *disciplining-distant* fathering profiles, $t(1061)=3.442$, $p=0.001$; $t(1061)=-5.523$, $p<0.001$, respectively. Finally, the authoritative fathering profile was significantly different from the disciplining-distant fathering profile on punishment, $t(1061)=-3.263$, $p=0.001$.

The results suggested that the groups were significantly different from each other on warmth scores, $F(3, 1063)=212.334$, $p<0.001$. Further analyses indicated that warmth scores of

TABLE 4 Relationship between profiles and auxiliary variables.

| Variables | Wald | Estimated means for LPA profiles | | | | Paired comparisons between profiles | | | | | |
		M1	M2	M3	M4	1 vs 2	1 vs 3	1 vs 4	2 vs 3	2 vs 4	3 vs 4
Age	1.692	34.533	34.397	33.832	34.207	0.094	1.66	0.143	0.996	0.053	0.179
High school ±	6.694	0.432	0.385	0.417	0.555	1.663	0.112	2.807	0.477	5.843*	3.389
College or more ±	4.603	0.158	0.208	0.154	0.132	3.078	0.011	0.254	2.294	2.321	0.181
Child number	3.221	1.742	1.655	1.588	1.584	1.323	2.724	0.920	0.496	0.237	0.006
Life satisfaction	61.222***	2.684	2.832	2.499	2.397	12.323***	15.891***	14.904***	43.320***	35.662***	1.818
Family support	7.022	3.299	3.292	3.407	3.361	0.040	5.467*	0.490	5.944*	0.682	0.273
Marital satisfaction	73.473***	3.351	3.466	3.237	2.984	9.378**	6.540*	35.448***	24.473***	66.088***	15.734***
Spousal support	87.809***	3.507	3.569	3.162	3.048	3.383	39.306***	34.112***	52.111***	47.285***	1.682

Abbreviations: M1–M4, the estimated means for fathering profiles; Profile 1, average fathering profile; Profile 2, authoritative fathering profile; Profile 3, uninvolved fathering profile; Profile 4, disciplining-distant fathering profile; ± Omitted reference category: below high school.

*$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$; ***$p < 0.001$.

uninvolved fathers were significantly different from the warmth scores of *authoritative, average, and disciplining-distant* fathering profiles, $t(1063) = 10.271$, $p < 0.001$; $t(1063) = 14.241$, $p < 0.001$; $t(1063) = -4.547$, $p < 0.001$, respectively. In addition, the warmth scores of fathers in average and disciplining-distant fathering profiles were also different from the warmth scores of authoritative fathers, $t(1063) = 7.698$, $p < 0.001$; $t(1063) = 19.987$, $p < 0.001$, respectively. Finally, the scores were also different between *average and disciplining-distant* profiles, $t(1063) = 15.967$, $p < 0.001$.

The one-way ANOVA results indicated that the fathering profiles were significantly different from each other on positive parenting (praise) scores, $F(3, 1060) = 193.411$, $p < 0.001$. The further contrast tests indicated that fathers in the *uninvolved* fathering profile were not significantly different from fathers in the *disciplining-distant* profile, $t(1060) = -0.601$, $p = 0.55$. *Uninvolved* group was significantly different from *average and authoritative groups*, $t(1060) = 16.029$, $p < 0.001$; $t(1060) = 20.320$, $p < 0.001$, respectively. Moreover, the *disciplining-distant* fathering profile was significantly different from both *authoritative and average* fathering profiles, $t(1060) = 16.554$, $p = <0.001$; $t(1060) = 12.907$, $p < 0.001$, respectively. Finally, the authoritative fathering profile was significantly different from the average fathering profile on praise, $t(1060) = 6.883$, $p < 0.001$.

The results indicated that the fathering profiles were significantly different from each other on disciplining and teaching responsibilities scores, $F(3, 1064) = 69.463$, $p < 0.001$. The further contrast tests indicated that fathers in the *uninvolved* fathering profile were not significantly different from fathers in the *disciplining-distant* profile, $t(1064) = -0.993$, $p = 0.32$. *Uninvolved* group was significantly different from *average and authoritative groups*, $t(1064) = 9.151$, $p < 0.001$; $t(1064) = 11.921$, $p < 0.001$, respectively. Moreover, the *disciplining-distant* fathering profile was significantly different from both the *authoritative and average* fathering profile, $t(1064) = 10.387$, $p = <0.001$; $t(1064) = 8.085$, $p < 0.001$, respectively. Finally, the authoritative fathering profile was significantly different from the average fathering profile on disciplining and teaching responsibilities, $t(1064) = 4.347$, $p < 0.001$.

The results suggested that the groups were significantly different from each other on time and talking together scores, $F(3, 1064) = 102.811$, $p < 0.001$. Further analyses indicated that time and talking together scores of *uninvolved* fathers were significantly different from the time and talking together scores of *authoritative, average, and disciplining-distant* fathering profiles, $t(1063) = 13.189$, $p < 0.001$; $t(1064) = 10.939$, $p < 0.001$; $t(1064) = -2.881$, $p = 0.004$, respectively. In addition, the time and talking scores of fathers in average and disciplining-distant fathering profiles were also different from the time and talking together scores of authoritative fathers, $t(1064) = 3.812$, $p < 0.001$; $t(1064) = 13.428$, $p < 0.001$, respectively. Finally, the scores were also different between *average and disciplining-distant* profiles, $t(1064) = 11.575$, $p < 0.001$.

The BCH method results

The results of the Wald chi-square test showed that age, education, and number of children were not significant predictors of profile membership (Wald $= 1.692$, $p = 0.639$; Wald $= 6.694$, $p = 0.082$ [high school or less]; Wald $= 4.603$, $p = 0.203$ [college or more]; Wald $= 3.221$, $p = 0.359$, respectively). In addition, the Wald chi-square results showed that family support was not a significant predictor of profile membership (Wald $= 7.022$, $p = 0.071$).

The results indicated that life satisfaction significantly predicted profile membership (Wald $= 61.22$, $p < 0.001$). Life satisfaction scores of fathers belonging to the *average* fathering profile were substantially different from the *authoritative* fathering profile (Wald $= 12.323$, $p < 0.001$), *uninvolved* fathering profile (Wald $= 15.891$, $p < 0.001$), and *disciplining-distant* fathering profile (Wald $= 14.904$, $p < 0.001$). In addition, the life satisfaction scores of fathers belonging to the *authoritative* fathering profile were significantly different from *uninvolved* fathering

profile (Wald = 43.320, $p < 0.001$) and disciplining-distant fathering profile (Wald = 35.662, $p < 0.001$).

Both marital variables (marital satisfaction and spousal support) significantly predicted profile membership (Wald = 73.473, $p < 0.001$; Wald = 87.809, $p < 0.001$, respectively). Fathers belonging to the *authoritative* fathering profile significantly differed from the *average* fathering profile (Wald = 9.378, $p < 0.01$), *uninvolved* fathering profile (Wald = 24.473, $p < 0.001$), and *disciplining-distant* fathering profile (Wald = 66.088, $p < 0.001$) on marital satisfaction. In addition, marital satisfaction scores of fathers belonging to the *average* fathering profile were significantly different from the *uninvolved* fathering profile (Wald = 6.540, $p < 0.05$) and the *disciplining-distant* fathering profile (Wald = 35.448, $p < 0.001$). Finally, fathers' marital satisfaction scores in uninvolved fathering profiles differed from disciplining-distant fathering profiles (Wald = 15.734, $p < 0.001$).

Similarly, fathers belonging to the *authoritative* fathering profile significantly differed from the *uninvolved* fathering profile (Wald = 52.111, $p < 0.001$) and the *disciplining-distant* fathering profile (Wald = 47.285, $p < 0.001$) on spousal support. In addition, marital satisfaction scores of fathers belonging to the *average* fathering profile were significantly different from the *uninvolved* fathering profile (Wald = 39.306, $p < 0.05$) and *disciplining-distant* fathering profile (Wald = 34.112, $p < 0.001$).

DISCUSSION

This study explored fathering profiles in a society with patriarchal values. LPA revealed four different fathering profiles, named "authoritative," "average," "uninvolved," and "disciplining-distant." There were similarities between the well-established parenting typologies in the literature and the fathering styles that emerged in this study. This supports the idea that mothers and fathers are similar regarding the dimensions of parenting, even though the quality and quantity of their parenting practices may differ (Fagan et al., 2014). The fathering profiles revealed in our analysis overlapped with Baumrind's "uninvolved" and "authoritative" parenting styles, which were also identified in a previous study conducted with Chinese American fathers (Kim et al., 2013).

Furthermore, the "average" fathering type (i.e., fathers who scored at the mean for all eight aspects of parenting) in Nelson et al.'s (2011) study conducted with fathers in the United States emerged as a profile in our study as well. Nelson et al. conducted their study with fathers of children in emerging adulthood and suggested that new parenting approaches can evolve during this period of adulthood due to the need for independence. However, our study targeted fathers of children aged 4–6. This age group is mainly characterized by a high demand for care and involved parenting by both parents. Therefore, the *average* fathering style, which accounted for 45% of fathers in our data, could indicate less involved parenting for children considering the needs of this age group. Sabattini and Leaper (2004) gauged that when the household environment was traditional, the most prevalent fathering type was "disengaged." When the household environment was egalitarian, the most examined fathering was *authoritative*. This finding is crucial for interpreting our results related to the *average* fathering style since the *average* profile is in between these two ends. The *average* parenting style may require closer attention regarding its implications and the context of cultural transitions.

Our analysis also revealed an additional profile which is the *disciplining-distant* fathering style. It is similar to the "authoritarian" parenting style of Baumrind's typology (1967, 1971), characterized as high in punishment and low in warmth. However, in our study, the inductive reasoning score of this group of fathers was also high. Our study measured inductive reasoning by stating, "I explain the reasons behind the rules that I put to my child." One of the characteristics of the *authoritarian* parenting style is not giving any explanations about

the rules. Therefore, we considered the *disciplining-distant* fathering style as a new category of fathering. This fathering style may represent the cultural transition that Turkey has gone through over the last few decades. Although the traditional view of fathering continues, which would mostly correspond to the authoritarian parenting style, our findings indicated that fathers in Turkey started to provide explanations when setting rules. For instance, to explain this cultural transition in more detail, in a qualitative intergenerational study conducted with a group of two generations of Turkish fathers (Yalcinoz, 2011), fathers defined their fathers in accordance with the authoritarian type, while they described their own fathering as more involved and emotionally intimate. According to Yalcinoz (2011), fathers did not disregard the values of their fathers; instead, they accepted what they considered the functional parts of their upbringing but replaced the negative aspects with positive ones. In transitions from one generation to another, fathering styles are exposed to change. Intergenerational studies (Silverstein et al., 2002) have also indicated that changing from traditional styles to "modern" fatherhood is not straightforward. Empirical findings reported significant difficulties for fathers in building emotional connections with their children and moving away from their fathers' disciplinarian styles. Our *average* and *disciplining-distant* fathering styles can also be considered because of such difficulties. One can also interpret the existence of these styles as a transition from an *authoritarian* style to the *disciplining-distant* and *average* fathering styles.

Results also displayed the qualitative differences between the fathering profiles. The authoritative fathering profile, as in Baumrind's original typology, is characterized by fathering behaviors where we see high levels of warmth and control. The high level of control corresponds to positive control behaviors such as inductive reasoning and disciplining and teaching responsibility. Fathers in this profile spend a positive, enjoyable time with their children (high time and talking together scores), they show warmth and affection toward their children (high warmth scores), and they show appreciation toward the good behaviors their children did (high praise scores). In addition, they provide reasoning behind the rules they put (high inductive reasoning), they do not engage in negative control behaviors like physical punishment (low punishment scores), and they involve in their children's lives to teach good behaviors. On the other hand, fathers under the uninvolved fathering profiles, as in Baumrind's original typology, are characterized by low warmth and control behaviors. Fathers in this profile less frequently spend enjoyable positive times with their children (low times and talking together scores), are less likely to show warmth and affection (low warmth scores), and are less likely to show appreciation toward their children's good behaviors (low praise scores). They also do not engage in control behaviors. For example, they are less likely to provide reasoning behind the rules they put (low inductive reasoning scores), they less frequently engage in rule-setting behaviors (low discipline and teaching responsibility scores), and they also do not engage in negative control behaviors like physical punishment (low punishment scores). And the average fathering profile characterizes average fathering behaviors in all parenting behaviors. However, as discussed previously, our study was conducted with fathers whose children were aged between 4 and 6, and this age group requires high demand for involvement from both parents. Therefore, average fathering, which may seem in between uninvolved and authoritative fathering profiles, should be considered with caution. When we looked at the warmth behaviors of these fathers, it seems that they spend more time with their children (average time and talking scores), they provided more praise as a result of good behavior (average praise scores), and they showed more warmth and affection (average warmth scores) compared to the uninvolved group. For the control behaviors, they showed more positive control behaviors (average inductive reasoning, discipline, and teaching responsibilities) and less negative control behaviors (low punishment scores). Although they are not in the authoritative fathering profile, it seems that fathers in this profile try to engage in their children's lives. Finally, "fathers in disciplining-distant fathering" profile was a unique fathering profile

that we observed in our sample. Fathers in this profile showed low warmth behaviors, but they showed high positive and negative control behaviors. They less frequently spend enjoyable positive times with their children (low times and talking together scores), are less likely to show warmth and affection (low warmth scores), and are less likely to show appreciation toward their children's good behaviors (low praise scores) compared to authoritative and average profiles. However, they were more likely to explain the reasons behind the rules and use more negative control such as physical punishment compared to the uninvolved group. This finding is expected in Turkish culture because the traditional view of the father–child relationship is based on respect and fear (Bolak-Boratav et al., 2014). Therefore, fathers in this profile might have a more traditional view of child-rearing. The second aim of our study was to investigate the association between marital relationship variables and fathering profiles. Our findings were in line with the family systems theory and the spillover hypothesis that suggests that the parents' marital relationship influences the parent–child relationship (Grych, 2002; Kouros et al., 2014; Kwok et al., 2015). For the *uninvolved* fathering profile, fathers in *average* fathering profile and *authoritative* fathering profile had significantly higher levels of spousal support, as expected. Similarly, fathers in the uninvolved group had significantly lower marital satisfaction levels than *average* and *authoritative* fathering profiles. This suggests that the *uninvolved* fathering profile is associated with lower levels of marital relationship variables.

While for the *average* fathering profile, marital satisfaction, but not spousal support, was significantly lower than the scores of fathers belonging to the *authoritative* fathering profile. Increased spousal support may not be sufficient to make the *average* group more involved, as fathers in this profile already have high spousal support scores.

For the *disciplining-distant* fathering profile, marital satisfaction and spousal support were both significant predictors. Fathers in this profile had the lowest mean scores on both marital relationship variables. Moreover, these fathers showed a unique pattern. While they were uninvolved in most parenting variables, they showed relatively higher scores in punishment and discipline. This may be counted as a form of undesirable involvement. These fathers might be most affected by the marital relationship. This profile needs support such as from couples therapy or coparenting intervention to improve the marital relationship and transform the undesirable involvement into desirable involvement.

Besides the marital factors, other predictors also provided important findings. Not surprisingly, life satisfaction was a significant predictor for all the fathering profiles. Fathers in *authoritative* fathering profile had significantly higher life satisfaction scores than all other fathering profiles. This finding is in line with the family systems perspective. It suggests that fathering behaviors are not isolated from the other problems in life. Therefore, while trying to improve the involvement of fathers, the other parts of life should be considered as well. Furthermore, interestingly, our findings showed that fathers from uninvolved fathering profile had higher perceived family support compared to the authoritative profile. We believe that one reason for this finding may be due to the relatively high involvement of the extended family in childcare in Turkey. It is possible that the family's instrumental support in childcare may lead some fathers to be less involved with their children as the fathers may feel less needed. This may lead fathers to be detached from childcare. Thus, it should be further investigated to which extent and how fathers benefit from instrumental or emotional support related to child-rearing.

Implications, future research, and limitations

This study has important implications for research and practice regarding fathering and child well-being. First, this study expands our understanding of fathering by providing knowledge

about fathering practices in a non-Western society defined by relatively collectivistic, traditional, and patriarchal values. The identification of different parenting profiles in a specific culture highlights how factors such as cultural values, attitudes toward marriage, and gender roles may lead to diverse parenting styles. In this regard, this study presents valuable information to researchers investigating the relationship between parenting and child well-being on in what ways to take the cultural context into consideration in future studies.

Second, from an applied perspective, the identification of specific fathering profiles and their predictors may lead to the development of better targeted and customized parenting interventions. As also suggested by Cowan and Cowan (2002), parenting interventions should move beyond average treatment effects and focus on targeted groups by investigating for whom the intervention works and how. Yet, most parenting programs consider fathers a homogeneous group. This study presents specific profiles of fathering behaviors that can be considered in programmatic efforts. For example, our findings showed that the most common profile in Turkey is the *average* fathering profile. This profile can be an indicator of the cultural transition from traditional breadwinner fathering to involved fathering that has not reached its full potential yet. These fathers were low in punishment, but averaged in warmth and involvement. This information may lead the fathering interventions in this culture to include components especially focused on fostering the quantity and quality of fathers' time spent with their children. Additionally, results further emphasize the importance of adopting a family systems approach in parenting interventions in non-Western cultures as well. Interventions that target the family as a system rather than the individual actors may be more effective than programs solely focusing on fathering behaviors (Fincham & Hall, 2006). For instance, the disciplining-distant fathering profile had the lowest perceived marital support and satisfaction. Thus, one can argue that fathers in this profile would especially benefit from parenting interventions also, including marital components. Since, according to the spillover hypothesis, improvement in one subsystem of a family (parental or marital) could potentially impact the other subsystem, interventions that aim to improve both marital factors and fathering can be beneficial for this profile. For instance, coparenting interventions have been suggested to be promising in improving both the marital relationship and parenting behaviors, such as sensitivity and consistency (Feinberg, 2002).

Our study had some limitations. First, it was based on fathers' self-reports of their parenting behaviors, which may suffer from social desirability bias in their responses (Edwards, 1953). For instance, participants in all profiles responded to the punishment-related questions with lower scores than the other variables. However, other data sources (e.g., mothers and children) were not available to corroborate findings to some extent. Additionally, future studies conducted with multiple sources can further help us to understand the nature of the fathering styles in patriarchal societies. Second, this study revealed the fathering profiles of Turkish fathers but did not collect data from the mothers to allow us to compare the parenting styles of mothers and fathers directly. Future dyadic studies that collect data from both mothers and fathers can establish a more holistic understanding of parenting dynamics in this culture. Third, most fathers in the current sample were married and living with the biological mothers of their children. Furthermore, the sample only consisted of fathers from urban areas. Yet almost 93% of the population lives in the urban areas in Turkey, therefore, our sample is a fairly good representation of the fathers in Turkey. Participants also had education levels equal to or lower than high school. Unmarried or divorced fathers, or fathers with higher education levels, may provide information regarding potentially different fathering and family dynamics; thus, future research with these specific populations in traditional patriarchal cultures would valuably inform theoretical model building and programming efforts. Fourth, our study was part of a more extensive comprehensive study investigating the dynamics of fatherhood in Turkey. Therefore, to keep the survey duration feasible, parenting behaviors were measured with

brief scales. Short parenting scales could create a potential weakness in capturing the fathering practices. Therefore, future work should consider measuring fathering behaviors with more extended measurements. Finally, our study examined the relationship between marital factors and fathering profiles and discussed how marital functioning could be related to different fathering profiles. However, as the spillover hypothesis emphasizes, there is a bidirectional relationship between marital factors and parenting. It is also possible that the fathering profiles could potentially influence marital outcomes. Therefore, this bidirectionality and the cross-sectional nature of the data which impede any causal inference should be considered while interpreting the results.

FUNDING INFORMATION

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