

Repositório ISCTE-IUL

Deposited in *Repositório ISCTE-IUL*:

2025-01-27

Deposited version:

Accepted Version

Peer-review status of attached file:

Peer-reviewed

Citation for published item:

Magaly, N., Monteiro, L., Santos, C., Diniz, E., Guimet, M., Ugarte, A....Marinelli, F. (2025). Father's engagement in direct care is associated with children's social competence for preschool boys but not girls in Peru. *Psychology of Men and Masculinities*. 26 (1), 49-60

Further information on publisher's website:

10.1037/men0000466

Publisher's copyright statement:

This is the peer reviewed version of the following article: Magaly, N., Monteiro, L., Santos, C., Diniz, E., Guimet, M., Ugarte, A....Marinelli, F. (2025). Father's engagement in direct care is associated with children's social competence for preschool boys but not girls in Peru. *Psychology of Men and Masculinities*. 26 (1), 49-60, which has been published in final form at <https://dx.doi.org/10.1037/men0000466>. This article may be used for non-commercial purposes in accordance with the Publisher's Terms and Conditions for self-archiving.

Use policy

Creative Commons CC BY 4.0

The full-text may be used and/or reproduced, and given to third parties in any format or medium, without prior permission or charge, for personal research or study, educational, or not-for-profit purposes provided that:

- a full bibliographic reference is made to the original source
- a link is made to the metadata record in the Repository
- the full-text is not changed in any way

The full-text must not be sold in any format or medium without the formal permission of the copyright holders.

Father's Engagement in Direct Care is Associated with Children's Social Competence for Preschool Boys but Not Girls in Peru

Magaly Nóbrega¹, Lígia Monteiro², Carolina Santos², Eva Diniz³, Marisut Guimet¹, Andrea Ugarte¹, and Francesco Marinelli¹

¹ Department of Psychology, Pontifical Catholic University of Peru

² Centro de Investigação e Intervenção Social, Instituto Universitário de Lisboa

³ William James Center for Research, Ispa-Instituto Universitário
Evidence

Abstract

Evidence shows that fathers have an important role in child development, but few studies explore this influence in the Latin-American context. This study aimed to contribute to bridge this gap by analyzing in a Peruvian urban, mainly middle socioeconomic sample, the associations between different dimensions of father engagement (i.e., interaction in direct care, teaching/discipline and play activities), and children's social adjustment (i.e., social competence, anxiety-withdrawal and anger-aggression) during the pre-school years, while controlling for child's age and parents' education, and testing the interaction effects between father's engagement and child's gender. Two hundred and three two-parent families with preschool children ($M = 52.82$, $SD = 10.06$; 57.63% were girls) participated in the study. Multiple ordinary least squares regression models were conducted. Only for social competence an interaction between father's engagement in direct care and child's gender (boys) was found. These results contribute to highlight the importance of fathers in domains traditionally associated with mothers in a Latin-American context.

Keywords: Peru, fathers' engagement, social adjustment, child's gender, pre-school

Public Significance Statement

Studies examining fathers' caregiving activities and the impact of father's behavior on child development in Peru are limited. This study shows that mothers continue to assume most of the caregiving tasks. Nonetheless, our findings also show that when fathers take a more active role in childcare with their sons, this is positively associated with their social competence. These results contribute to support the development of policies and programs aiming to actively include fathers in childcare, in sociocultural contexts where traditional gender roles are still prevalent. It also highlights the need to study fatherhood embedded in the sociocultural context.

Although fatherhood occurs all around the world, a substantial number of empirical studies focus on North American or European samples (Diniz et al., 2021). A smaller number of studies have been carried out in other sociocultural contexts (e.g., Roopnarine & Yildirim, 2019; Selin, 2022; Shwalb et al., 2012), but the literature regarding fathers in Latin America is still incipient. Previous studies in Peru (Fuller, 2000, 2001, 2004, 2005, 2022; Plataforma de Paternidades, 2016) analyzed representations of masculinity and fatherhood, but to our knowledge, none has focused on fathers' engagement, namely, in childcare and its associations with children's socioemotional adjustment. This is surprising since research has shown that fathers do matter for child development and well-being, with and beyond the mother, and can be a protective factor against adversity (e.g., Cabrera et al., 2018; Lamb & Lewis, 2010; Volling & Cabrera, 2019).

The present work aims to contribute to bridge this gap by analyzing, in a Peruvian sample, the associations between father's engagement (relatively to the mother) in child-related activities implying direct interaction with the child (i.e., direct care, teaching/discipline, and play), and children's socioemotional adjustment (social competence, anxiety-withdrawal and anger-aggression) during the preschool years, controlling for child's age and mother's/father's education. The moderating role of the child's gender was tested.

Our focus is on the preschool period since these years are particularly important for the development of children's abilities to initiate and sustain coordinated and positive interactions with others, and to become socially competent within the peer group (e.g., LaFreniere, 2010). Additionally, this period is particularly relevant for father-child interactions, with several authors (e.g., Amodia-Bidakowska et al., 2020; Cabrera et al., 2017; Popp & Thomsen, 2017; Robinson et al., 2021) highlighting play as a central context through which fathers impact child development.

Fathers in Latin America and Peru

How fatherhood is perceived worldwide, and what is expected from fathers (e.g., Cabrera et al., 2014; Cabrera et al., 2018) are changing due to women's higher access to

education, health services and their increasing participation in the labor force (International Planned Parenthood Federation [IPPF/WHR] & PROMUNDO, 2017).

In Latin America, overall changes regarding father's roles have been slow and still coexist with traditional ways of perceiving fatherhood. Studies focusing on middle to low socioeconomic Latin-American families (Mexican and Peruvian's), show that traditional gender roles persist more clearly, with mothers as the main caregivers and fathers as the main economic providers (Plataforma de Paternidades, 2016; Salguero, 2015). Other studies with middle-high, middle, and low socioeconomic samples from Latin American (Chile, Colombia, Argentina, Mexico and Peru) show that expectations regarding fathers' identity and roles are more ambiguous (see Fuller, 2020; Herrera et al., 2018). In this sense, more egalitarian views clash with generations of patriarchal-focused socialization (Seward & Rush, 2015).

This is due to the role of social and cultural factors that shape the ecology of fatherhood (Cabrera et al., 2014). On one hand, men still have a gender "mandate" to earn sufficient income to support their families, promoting a more distant or even absent fatherhood regarding their children's childcare (Arroyo, 2020; Fuller, 2005) despite they could value their role as playmates and moral guides (Diniz et al., 2021). On the other hand, fathers seem more willing to participate in childcare and parenting activities, compared to previous generations (Carrillo et al., 2016; Fuller, 2022; Izquierdo & Zicavo, 2015; Plataforma de Paternidades, 2016). So, the emergence of the male caregiver model, in the younger generations (even in middle/middle-high socioeconomic status) is a complex interplay between being an economic provider and an involved and caring father.

In Peru, research focused on fathers' discourses supports this view regarding fatherhood (Plataforma de Paternidades, 2016). Rojas and Bravo (2019) found that Peruvian young men, living with their children, still perceived themselves mainly as providers and few considered childcare as an important component of fatherhood. Fulfilling the breadwinner role requires long working hours, particularly for the low and middle classes, so it is more difficult for men to be more actively involved in day-to-day childcare (Fuller, 2004, 2005,

2022; Iniciativa Spotlight & United Nations Population Fund [UNFPA], 2021). In fact, Peruvian men spend an average of 2.41 hours a day less than women do regarding childcare and family activities (Avolio et al., 2020). Although women's participation in the labor market has increased to 63.4% during the last decades (Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática [INEI], 2023), women still face the double demand of childcare and domestic tasks. In Peru women spend twice the time per week (21.4%) in unpaid activities, compared to men (11.1%; Avolio et al., 2020). Also, Peruvian public policies' have proven to be insufficient, since they do not promote active fatherhood, e.g., the current paternity leave for men is only of 10 days (Law 30807, Congreso de la República del Perú, 2018).

Beyond these sociodemographic indicators, reported above, we have not found research focusing on father's engagement, considering what they are doing with their children, their behaviors, or the quality of father/child relationships, and its implications for child development in Latin America.

Fathers' Engagement in Direct care, Teaching/discipline, and Play

Several approaches have been proposed regarding the study of father's involvement covering different ways in which fathers participate in their children's life (e.g., Cabrera et al., 2007, 2014; Lamb et al., 1987; Parke, 2000; Pleck, 1997, 2010). The Lamb and colleagues' model (1987) considered three dimensions of father involvement (1) engagement, (2) accessibility and (3) responsibility. Engagement was defined as father's direct interactions with his child through caretaking and shared activities (Lamb et al., 1987). Engagement is a primary component of father involvement (Pleck, 2010), including a diverse range of direct interactions with the child (e.g., caregiving, play). Parke (2000) also stresses the importance looking at father frequency and types of interaction/activities, across different contexts, e.g., direct care refers to the child's basic needs, such as feeding or sleeping; teaching refers to the teaching new skills and abilities to the child; or play and leisure that refers to play activities with the child. Palkovitz (2019) also suggested the need to move the focus of fathering research from just considering time spent and father involvement components, to the focus on the quality of the fathers' behaviors and father-child relationship.

In this study we focus on the Lamb's et al. (1987) first dimension since it implies direct interaction between caregiver-child specifically, it focuses on the extent to which fathers participate, and share with the mother, child rearing activities as direct care, teaching/discipline, and play and how these different dimensions of father engagement may differently account for children's socioemotional adjustment.

The importance of the socio-cultural and economic context where the father-child interactions occur are highlighted in Cabrera et al. (2014) model of fathering. Thus, they propose that quantity and quality of parent-child interactions are embedded in transactional and dynamic systems interconnecting various family members and influences including its immediate context as well as cultural, political, and socioeconomic characteristics (e.g. cultural fatherhood and masculinity representations, paternal leave policies, family economic conditions).

Moreover, studies with different socio-cultural samples from European countries - France, Spain, and Portugal - (Bureau et al., 2017; Monteiro et al., 2019), Canada (Bureau et al., 2017), and Hebrew families from Asia (Menashe-Grinberg & Atzaba-Poria, 2017), show that mothers take on most of the childcare, and the organization/managerial tasks regarding childcare routines, while involvement in play and leisure activities tends to be more equitable between mothers and fathers. A systematic review (Amodia-Bidakowska et al., 2020) with different samples from Europe (e.g. Portugal, Swiss, United Kingdom) Oceania (Australia), North America (Canada, USA), and Asia (Israel, China), but no Latin-American samples, showed that fathers spend more time with their children aged 0 to 3 years in play interactions and these increase towards the preschool age. These play interactions were characterized by being physically active, generating fun through touch and movement, challenging children, and allowing them to assume the leading role.

In Peru, a qualitative study conducted by Fundación Baltazar y Nicolás (2018), explored the cultural models that men and women from different socioeconomic backgrounds used to comprehend early childhood development. Results show that fathers are considered mainly as play companions, engaging in physical activities (e.g., running,

jumping), while mothers are seen as the emotional and affective support of children's well-being and development.

Children's Social Competence during the Pre-school Years

With the expansion of social contexts beyond the family, new challenges and opportunities emerge during the preschool years. Children use social and emotional skills, co-constructed with their caregivers, to enhance their social competence, which in turn promotes the acquisition of new skills in the context of peer interactions (e.g., Bukowski et al., 2009; Rose-Krasnor & Deham, 2009).

Social competence is defined as the child's ability to flexibly coordinate cognitions, affect, and behaviors to achieve social goals within the social context, without limiting their peers' opportunities to achieve their own goals, and without constraining future pathways to attain social goals along the development (Rose-Krasnor, 1997). A large number of empirical studies support the notion that socially competent children have more positive outcomes in several domains: emotional regulation abilities (e.g., Denham et al., 2003); self-esteem (e.g., Mota & Matos, 2013); friendship quality (e.g., Blair et al., 2015); academic success during the school-age period (e.g., Chen et al., 2010); or personal well-being, employability and mental health later in adulthood (Jones et al., 2015). Conversely, children who show deficits in their peer interactions may not benefit from the same opportunities (e.g., Rubin et al., 2009).

In the Latino, Latin-American and Peruvian contexts, little is known about children's social competence with their peers since studies focus on social competence in the family (e.g. Calzada et al., 2010; Moreno & Chuang, 2015; Fundación Baltazar y Nicolás, 2018). However, studies with Latino parents in the USA show that parents consider that socially competent children fulfill different obligations within the family (Moreno & Chuang, 2015), they are described as "bien educado" ("well behaved" which referred to values and behaviors such as respect, self-reliance, appropriate communication, and fulfilling obligations, see Bridges et al., 2012). Qualitative data from a study with Peruvian men and

women, showed that they view children who display obedience and respect towards their elders as well behaved or socially competent (Fundación Baltazar y Nicolás, 2018).

Father Engagement and Children's Social Competence

Research about the father's role in child development has emerged in the last decades (e.g., Cabrera et al., 2000; Cabrera et al., 2018; Parke, 2000; Pleck, 2010) underlying its positive influence in promoting healthy social-emotional outcomes and in decreasing behavioral problems.

Studies report that higher positive father involvement, namely, positive engagement activities is directly and indirectly associated with positive emotional, behavioral, and social outcomes in children (e.g., Diniz et al., 2021; Palkovitz & Hull, 2018; Pleck, 2010). Specifically, a systematic review (Diniz et al., 2021) showed that father involvement and engagement in direct care was associated with lower preschoolers externalizing behaviors especially for boys. Regarding children's peer competence, another systematic review showed that early playful experiences with fathers have a positive impact on children's ability to interact successfully with their peers in preschool, however, this relationship is stronger for boys than for girls (Amodia-Bidakowska et al., 2020). Additionally, Afonso et al. (2011) found that higher father engagement in teaching/discipline activities is associated with higher social competence in preschool children, while others found that when fathers are more engaged in childcare, children have lower internalizing and externalizing behavioral problems (Amaral et al., 2019; Diniz et al., 2021; Flouri et al., 2016; Huerta et al., 2012; Jia et al., 2012; Levant et al., 2014; Sarkadi et al., 2008).

Despite these results, questions remain if it is the overall engagement or engagement in specific dimensions, namely in direct care, play, or teaching/disciplining, that promotes children's social competence, and may act as a buffer for the expression of children's behavioral difficulties. The different dimensions of father's engagement are important since they implies direct interaction and provide different contexts in which the child could develop social abilities such as cooperation, care, and emotional regulation skills, that in turn can be

used in diverse contexts outside the family (e.g., Brumariu, 2015; Zimmer-Gembeck et al., 2015).

The Role of the Child's Gender on Father Engagement and Children Social Competence

As proposed by several authors, including Cabrera et al. (2007, 2014), gender is one of the child's characteristics that may influence father's involvement and specifically his engagement. However, recent studies have shown inconsistent results, as expressed in a recent systematic review (Diniz et al., 2021). In a USA sample, Manlove and Vernon-Feagans (2002) found that fathers are more accessible and involved in care activities with their infant sons, than with their daughters, however no differences were found in the amount of time spent with sons and daughters. Planalp and Braungart-Rieker (2016) observed that father engagement increased with child's age from 9 months to 4 years of age, at a slower rate with girls than boys. Other studies have shown that fathers tend to be more involved with their infant sons in care and play activities (e.g., Lima, 2005; Monteiro et al., 2010; National Institute of Child Health & Human Development [NICHD], 2000), as well as teaching/discipline for preschoolers (Torres et al., 2012). However, during free play, preschoolers' fathers showed higher sensitivity toward daughters than sons (Feldman & Klein, 2003).

The gender-based differences in parenting are usually more evident in countries with less egalitarian gender roles (Lansford, 2022) probably due to gender socialization roles and norms, e.g., more similar behavioral repertoires between fathers and boys which facilitates more identification and comfort in father-son relationships (e.g., Raley & Bianchi, 2006; Planalp & Braungart-Rieker, 2016).

Regarding social competence and gender, studies report higher scores for girls than boys during the preschool years (e.g., Amaral et al., 2019; Bando et al., 2016; Hosokawa et al., 2015; Torres et al., 2014), with girls performing better than boys in social problem-solving and understanding others' intentions, as well as in processing and understanding emotions (Tuerk et al., 2020). Walker (2004) showed that boys (4 and 5 years old) tend to display

more aggressive behaviors and use more aggressive strategies than girls. Tuerk et al. (2020) and Walker (2004) consider that these differences may be related to cultural processes and traditional gender roles. Regarding social withdrawal, in general studies do not tend to report differences during these years, regarding the prevalence of these behaviors. Nonetheless, consequences seem to be more negative for boys than for girls; it was attributed to societal or cultural expectations that influence how parents perceive and react to shyness and social withdrawal in their sons (Rubin et al., 2009).

Aims of the Study

The present study aims to analyze, in a sample of Peruvian families, the associations between father engagement (relatively to the mother) in child-related activities implying direct interaction with the child (i.e., direct care, teaching/discipline, and play) and children's social competence and behavioral problems (aggression and withdrawal) during the pre-school years. Since part of the literature tends to report gender differences regarding father engagement, especially in direct care (Diniz et al., 2021), play (Amodia-Bidakowska et al., 2020), and teaching/discipline (Afonso et al., 2011), as well as for children's social competence, in case we find significant main effects, we will aim to test for the interaction between father engagement and child's gender. We expect that fathers will be more engaged with their sons across the different dimensions, and this higher engagement will be associated with better social outcomes for children. This could be particularly salient in countries with less egalitarian gender roles (Lansford, 2022), as it is Peru, viewed by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (2022).

In the model we will also control for child's age and parents' education. Regarding child's age, a systematic review shows mixed results for father involvement and engagement (Diniz et al., 2021), with studies reporting that father's engagement in teaching/discipline increases with older preschoolers, while others show that it decreases as children grow older. As for parents' education, studies in diverse socio-cultural samples (e.g., India, Israel, Malaysia, Portugal, USA), have shown that it is an important predictor of parenting, namely

with regarding engagement in direct care, teaching/discipline (e.g., Torres et al., 2012), and child physical care (e.g., Gaunt, 2008; Kulik & Sadeh, 2015).

Method

Participants

Two hundred and three Peruvian two-parent families with children attending preschool centers participated in the study. All parents were married and living with their children in urban areas in four major cities in Peru (32% were from the capital city). 85.7% of the families were from middle socioeconomic status according to Peruvian standards. The fathers' age ranged from 21 to 53 ($M = 37.13$, $SD = 6.72$), and mothers' age from 21 to 47 years ($M = 33.65$, $SD = 5.47$). Fathers' years of education were on average 16.12 ($SD = 2.94$, $Min = 6$, $Max = 32$), and mothers were 16.18 ($SD = 2.96$ years, $Min = 11$, $Max = 31$). Most fathers (92.6%) and mothers (91.1%) had a technical or university degree. All fathers worked full-time, whereas 61.6% of mothers worked full-time and 30% did not work. Children's ages ranged from 36 to 72 months ($M = 52.82$, $SD = 10.06$); 57.63% were girls, and 56.16% had siblings. On average children spent 4.64 ($SD = .66$) hours a day at school.

Seventy-one pre-school teachers also participated; all had a university degree in early childhood education. They worked in 9 private and 6 public preschool centers.

Instruments/Procedures

This study was conducted in accordance with the American Psychological Association's ethical standards and is part of a larger project approved by the Ethical Board of [details omitted for double-anonymized peer review]. The larger study focused on father engagement, its predictors (father's rearing history and father's work/family balance), and their associations with children's socioemotional development. This paper focuses on father engagement and children's social competence and behavioral difficulties.

In all cities, pre-school institutions were identified and contacted. For those who accepted to participate, we organized meetings with parents so we could explain the main goals of the study and they signed an informed consent prior to data collection. After,

parents independently completed the questionnaires regarding sociodemographic and parental engagement. After data collection, a workshop focusing on child socioemotional development was independently offered to parents and teachers. Pre-school teachers also signed a consent-form and answered for each child (with a parental consent form) a questionnaire on children's social competence and behavioral problems.

Initially 393 families gave their consent, but 190 were excluded either because parents were not living together, the child's age (not within the preschool period), had missing information regarding father engagement and children's social competence, or had no sociodemographic characterization. Thus, a total of 203 families were included in the present study.

Sociodemographic Information

Mothers completed a brief questionnaire aiming to characterize parents (e.g., age, academic degrees, years of education, marital and working status), and child's (e.g., age, gender) sociodemographic information. Teachers also completed a brief questionnaire focused on their professional experience (e.g., educational background, number of children per classroom).

Father Engagement

Father's engagement, relative to mother's, was assessed using the Peruvian version of The Parental Involvement scale: Care and Socialization Activities (details omitted for double-anonymized peer review). The questionnaire (18 items) assesses the participation of each parental figure in relation to the other in five child rearing dimensions. For the purposes of this study, only three dimensions involving engagement with the child were used: direct care (5 items), related to caretaking tasks that involve direct contact and interaction with the child (e.g., 'who feeds the child'); teaching/discipline (3 items), related to teaching skills and rules for the child (e.g., 'who sets the rules in the house'); and play (4 items), referring to child-parent play activities (e.g., 'who plays physical games with the child: Football or rough and tumble').

Fathers and mothers independently answered the questionnaire using a five-point scale: (1) always the mother, (2) More often the mother, (3) both the mother and the father, (4) More often the father, (5) always the father. Higher scores represent greater father engagement. Cronbach's alphas reached acceptable values for both fathers' (between .66 and .74), and mothers' (between .66 and .82) reports. Intraclass correlations (ICC) were calculated to test the agreement between mothers' and fathers' reports, and all dimensions reached acceptable values (between .67 and .84). Thus, as in other studies (e.g., Torres et al., 2014), composite measures of engagement were calculated using the arithmetic mean of mothers' and fathers' responses and used in the subsequent analyses. The Cronbach alphas reached acceptable values for all dimensions: direct care (.74), teaching/discipline (.82), and play (.69).

Children's Social Competence and Behavioral Problems

Children's pre-school teachers reported on the *Social Competence and Behavior Evaluation Scale - Short version*, by LaFreniere and Dumas (1996). It was translated into Spanish by LaFreniere. The 30-item questionnaire has three subscales with 10 items each: (1) anger-aggression focuses on evaluating oppositional, aggressive, angry, and selfish behaviors (e.g., 'easily frustrated'); (2) anxiety-withdrawal measures behaviors of dependence, anxiety, depression and isolation or withdrawal (e.g., 'avoids new situations'); and (3) social competence assesses the positive qualities of the child's adaptation (e.g., 'comforts or assists children in difficulty'). It has a six-point Likert type response format: (1) never, (2) rarely, (3) sometimes, (4) often, (5) frequently and (6) always.

An Exploratory Factor Analysis was performed, suggesting three factors corresponding to original factor composition, but 2 items from anxiety-withdrawal factor (items 6 and 21) loaded on social competence factor. These items were removed because their content could explain this loading on another factor. Item 6 "Se preocupa" ("He/she worries") may loaded on social competence factor due to the polysemy of the word "preocupa" ("worries") in Spanish as it could have been understood as "take the care of others" in English. Loading problems with this item were reported previously in Latin

language validations of the scale such as Portuguese or Italian (Sette et al., 2014; Vásquez Echeverría et al., 2016). Item 21 "No habla o interactúa durante las actividades grupales" ("Doesn't talk or interact during group activities"), could have been understood by teachers as behavior considered as being "bien educado" ("well behaved" as described by Bridges et al., 2012), a trait valued in the behavior of Latino children (Moreno & Chuang, 2015), and in this sense loaded in social competence factor. After the removal of these items, a Confirmatory Factor Analysis was performed showing an adequate fit in most indices ($\chi^2(345) = 604.53$, $p < .001$, $CFI = .953$, $RMSEA = .056$, $SRMR = .098$). Additionally, the Cronbach's alphas were all acceptable [anger-aggression (.90); anxiety-withdrawal (.71), and social competence (.89)].

The average number of children teachers reported on was 2.86 ($SD = 1.97$; $Min = 1$, $Max = 9$). To guarantee that teachers were familiarized with the children in the classroom, they completed the questionnaires at least 3 months after the beginning of the school year.

Data Analysis

First, descriptive analysis, one-sample t-test for independent sample and two-sample t-test for related samples, analyses of variance and bivariate tests were performed to explore the relationships among all variables included in the study. Subsequently, three multiple Ordinary Least Squares (*OLS*) regression models were conducted for the dimensions of children's social adjustment, with the following covariates: child's age, child's gender, father's, and mother's education (in years), and the father's engagement in Direct care, Teaching/Discipline and Play as independent variables. In the event we find significant main effects, we included interaction effects between father's engagement and child's gender. Furthermore, the interaction terms found to be significant were analyzed through the exploration of the simple slopes of the regression (Aiken & West, 1991).

Results

Descriptive analyses were conducted for the dimensions of father's engagement (direct care, teaching/discipline, and play) and children's social adjustment (social competence and behavioral problem). Statistics are presented in Table 1. Using the absolute

values of 3 and 10 for skewness and kurtosis respectively as cut-off points (Kline, 2015), main variables had a normal frequency scores distribution.

Table 1

Minimum, Maximum, Mean, and Standard Deviation of Father's Engagement and Children's Social Adjustment Dimensions

Father's engagement or children's social adjustment dimension	<i>M (SD)</i>	Minimum	Maximum	Skewness	Kurtosis
Direct care	2.36 (0.52)	1.00	4.00	-.25	.31
Teaching/discipline	2.90 (0.45)	1.33	5.00	-.14	3.06
Play	3.06 (0.46)	1.25	4.50	-.32	1.97
Social competence	4.12 (1.15)	1.10	6.00	-.23	-.84
Anger-aggression	1.80 (0.90)	1.00	5.60	1.78	3.23
Anxiety-withdrawal	1.53 (0.54)	1.00	4.00	1.44	2.50

Note. Father's engagement is relative to the mother's, with a score of 3 indicating an equal participation of both fathers and mothers.

Mean values of father's engagement in direct care ($t(202) = -17.50, p < .001$) and teaching/discipline ($t(202) = -3.05, p = .003$) were significantly lower than 3 meaning that mothers were more engaged than fathers in these dimensions. While mean values of father engagement in play were not significantly different than 3 ($t(202) = 1.92, p = .06$), meaning that fathers were engaged in play activities as well as mothers. Additionally, there were significant differences between father's engagement -relative to mothers'- in direct care and teaching/discipline activities ($t(202) = -12.73, p < .001$), father's engagement in direct care and play activities ($t(202) = -17.87, p < .001$) and between father's engagement in teaching/discipline and play activities ($t(202) = -3.88, p < .001$) meaning that fathers were more engaged in play and less engaged in direct care activities of their children.

In addition, differences for father's engagement in direct care, teaching/discipline, and play, in relation to the mother, and children's social adjustment (social competence and behavioral problem) based on the child's gender were tested. Significant differences were found for direct care [$F(1, 201) = 8.22, p = .01, \eta_p^2 = .04$], with fathers of sons being more engaged ($M = 2.48, SD = .54$), than fathers of daughters ($M = 2.27, SD = .49$). Significant differences were also found for social competence [$F(1, 201) = 6.72, p = .01, \eta_p^2 = .03$], with girls ($M = 4.30, SD = 1.09$) scoring higher than boys ($M = 3.88, SD = 1.18$).

Next, associations were tested between father's engagement in direct care, teaching/discipline, and play, children's social adjustment, socio-demographic information,

through *Pearson* correlations. Child's age was positive and significantly associated with children's social competence [$r(201) = .18, p = .01, R^2 = .03$], and negative and significantly associated with children's anger-aggression [$r(201) = -.22, p = .002, R^2 = .05$]. Father's education was positive and significantly associated with his engagement in direct care [$r(201) = .15, p = .03, R^2 = .02$] and with the child's social competence [$r(201) = .14, p = .04, R^2 = .02$]. Meanwhile, mother's education was positive and significantly associated with father's engagement in direct care [$r(201) = .24, p < .001, R^2 = .06$].

To explore the association of the three dimensions of father's engagement (direct care, teaching/discipline, and play) with children's social adjustment, multiple OLS regressions models were computed for each sub-scale: social competence, anger-aggression, and anxiety-withdrawal, controlling for parents' education and child's age. Table 2 presents a summary of the models.

Table 2

Summary of the Regression Models for the Three Dimensions of Children's Social Adjustment

Variable	Social competence				Anger-aggression				Anxiety-withdrawal			
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	β	β CI	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	β	β CI	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	β	β CI
Child's age	.16	.07	.16*	[.03, .30]	-.21	.07	-.21**	[-.35, -.08]	.00	.07	.00	[-.15, .14]
Father's education	.11	.07	.11	[-.04, .25]	-.01	.08	-.01	[-.16, .15]	-.05	.08	-.05	[-.21, .10]
Mother's education	-.01	.08	-.01	[-.16, .14]	.10	.08	.10	[-.06, .25]	.15	.08	.15	[-.01, .31]
Child's gender (1 = female)	.43	.14	.21**	[.16, .70]	-.20	.14	-.10	[-.48, .08]	.04	.15	.02	[-.25, .33]
Direct care	.31	.10	.31**	[.11, .52]	-.07	.08	-.07	[-.22, .09]	-.03	.08	-.03	[-.19, .13]
Teaching/discipline	.03	.07	.03	[-.10, .17]	-.01	.07	-.01	[-.15, .13]	-.02	.07	-.02	[-.17, .12]
Play	.06	.07	.06	[-.09, .20]	.08	.07	.08	[-.07, .23]	-.06	.08	-.06	[-.21, .10]
Direct Care \times Gender	-.28	.14	-.20*	[-.55, -.01]								
R_a^2			.10**				.04*				-.01	

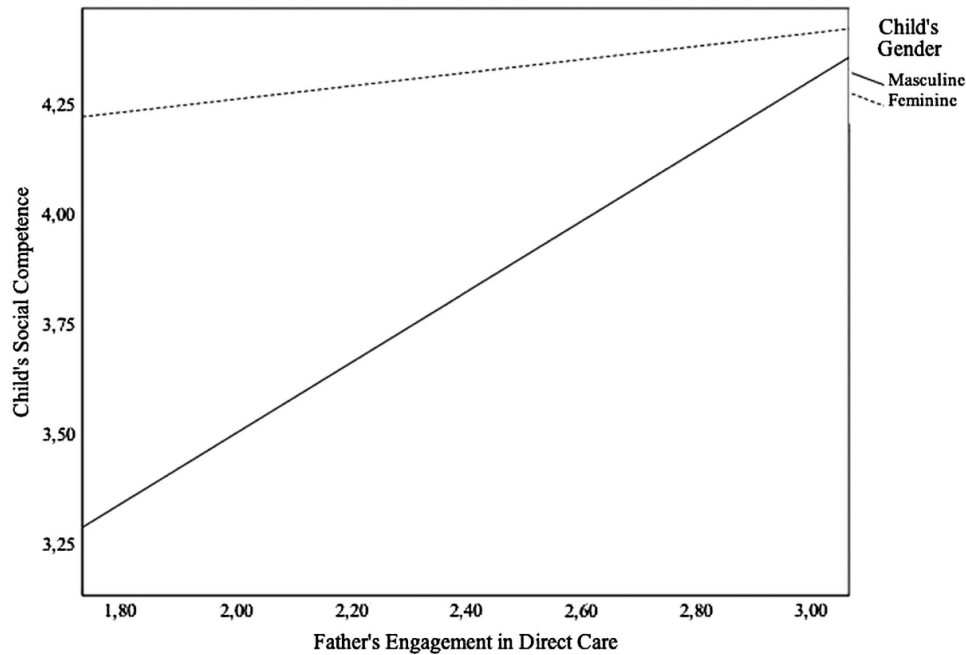
Note. *SE* = standard error.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Results show that the model for social competence [$F(8, 194) = 3.87, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .14, R_a^2 = .10$] reached statistical significance; father's engagement in direct care ($\beta = .31, p = .003$), the interaction between father's engagement in direct care and child's gender ($\beta = -.20, p = .046$), and child's gender ($\beta = .21, p = .002$) proving to be significant. The interaction term is illustrated in Figure 1. A subsequent analysis of the simple slopes of the regression revealed that the association between father engagement in direct care and children social competence was significant for boys ($\beta = .36, p < .001$) but non-significant for girls ($\beta = .07,$

$p = .473$), with the difference between the betas being statistically significant ($z = 2.18$, $p = .015$).

Figure 1
Model for Children's Social Competence



The model for anger-aggression also reached statistical significance [$F(7, 195) = 2.16$, $p = .039$, $\eta_p^2 = .07$, $R_a^2 = .04$], but only child's age ($\beta = -.21$, $p = .003$) proved to be significant.

Additionally, the model for anxiety-withdrawal did not reach significance [$F(7, 195) = .66$, $p = .708$] and there were no significant associated variables.

Discussion

Since research in the Latin-American context focusing on father's engagement and its role on children's outcomes are scarce, the present work aimed to contribute to fill this gap by studying if father's engagement (relative to the mother's) in direct care, teaching/discipline, and play (reported by both parents), was associated with children's social adjustment in pre-school settings (described by teachers).

Regarding the dimensions of father's engagement, our results show that, on average, and as in previous research, our fathers are as engaged as mothers in the play activities (e.g., Lima, 2005; Monteiro et al., 2010; NICHD, 2000), corroborating the idea of the father as the play companion. In Peru, fathers are seen as involved in physical activities

with the child (Fundación Baltazar y Nicolás, 2018), and play provides the context for them to do so, thus fulfilling gender roles expectations regarding their role in child's development. Regarding teaching/discipline activities, on average this group of fathers tend to be as engaged as mothers, this result can be understood based on cultural and gender expectations, since in Peru, men traditionally are associated with the role of discipline in the family (Fuller, 2022). In sum, the results confirm previous findings that fathers from more traditional backgrounds valued their role as playmates and moral guides (Diniz et al., 2021).

Our results regarding direct care (on average is almost the mother performing these tasks) is congruent with recent data showing that mothers in Peru still spend a greater number of hours in household and childcare tasks (Avolio et al., 2020), despite their increased participation in the labor market (INEI, 2023). Aguayo et al. (2011) found similar results in Chile, and these results do not seem that distant from other studies with European or North American samples (e.g., Amodia-Bidakowska et al., 2020; Bureau et al., 2017; Kotila et al., 2013; Menashe-Grinberg & Atzaba-Poria, 2017; Monteiro et al., 2019; Torres et al., 2014).

Activities as bathing, dressing, or putting the child to sleep are traditionally viewed as feminine work, and not associated with masculine strength and virility; consequently, for fathers doing these type of tasks may be challenging (or contradictory) to the traditional masculine identity prevalent in Peru (e.g., Fuller, 2000, 2001, 2022). Also, it is possible that the sociodemographic characteristics of our sample may contribute to explain this result, since all fathers were employed, compared to only 61.6% of the mothers, which may lead to a lower engagement in this domain, as observed in other samples (Aguayo et al., 2016; IPPF/WHR & PROMUNDO, 2017).

In our sample, fathers of boys were more engaged in direct care, as compared to fathers of girls, while no differences were found for teaching/discipline and play. Gender roles and other Peruvian contextual factors could help explain these results (IPPF/WHR & PROMUNDO, 2017). For example, given that most direct care activities (e.g., bathing) involve close physical contact, fathers of boys may feel more comfortable caring for them,

because of their physical similarities (e.g., Raley & Bianchi, 2006; Planalp & Braungart-Rieker, 2016). Also, considering the regulatory role that mothers have regarding father's involvement (Jia et al., 2011; Olsavsky et al., 2020; Schoppe-Sullivan et al., 2008), it is possible that mothers may choose to limit fathers' caretaking for their daughters as part of girl's sexual education, since in Peru sexual violence perpetrated by male against women and girls is frequent (Ministerio de la Mujer y Poblaciones Vulnerables, 2023). Additionally, father's higher engagement with their sons may be because they are seen as identification figures or role models for them, or because they believe they have special knowledge to offer them (e.g., Planalp & Braungart-Rieker, 2016; Raley & Bianchi, 2006). Having a son is a preference for most Peruvian fathers (Ramos, 2008), because it has implications for family continuity (in Peru, the surname is transmitted through the paternal line), and for the intergenerational transmission of masculinity itself (Fuller, 2000). It remains to be investigated why the differences only apply to direct care and not to play and teaching/discipline activities.

Finally, the result referring to girls' higher scores in social competence described by their pre-school teachers has been previously reported (e.g., Amaral et al., 2019; Bando et al., 2016; Hosokawa et al., 2015; Torres et al., 2014), and explanations based on gender roles prevalence were used, highlighting the cultural processes and gender roles (Tuerk et al., 2020; Walker, 2004). It is plausible that girls develop greater social competence because they are socialized in accordance with gender-related attributes (see Brown & Tam, 2019). A qualitative study (Fundación Baltazar y Nicolás, 2018) showed that fathers and mothers from diverse socioeconomic backgrounds in Peru perceived girls to be more serene, i.e., less agitated and energetic than boys. Parents may encourage these abilities through parental socialization practices (see differential socialization model in Brown & Tam, 2019) because girls are, or seem to be, more responsive (Leaper, 2002). This would allow them to develop a greater adjustment to social situations, within their cultural group.

Regarding the main goal of the study, the social competence and aggression models were significant, but not the anxious-withdrawal, and only for social competence an

interaction between father's engagement in direct care and child's gender was found. In our sample, father engagement in direct care is associated with children's higher social competence, but only for boys. These results partially confirm our hypothesis regarding association between father's engagement in direct care, among other father's engagement dimensions, and socioemotional competence for boys (Diniz et al., 2021). It suggests that for boys these moments shared with their fathers are important to develop cooperation, care, and affective regulation competencies, that in turn can be used in diverse situations and contexts outside the family (e.g., Brumariu, 2015; Zimmer-Gembeck et al., 2015), thus promoting their social competence.

This result highlights the importance of father participation in a domain traditionally associated with the mother (direct care), and that their impact goes beyond the traditional role of playmates (e.g., Diniz et al., 2021; Jia et al., 2012). However, the fact that this result was only found for boys is a singular finding that could indicate that gender-role differences are not only found in parent's behavior, but also in their impact on child development. These results should nonetheless be interpreted with caution, since this is the first study looking at these variables in a sample of Peruvian families, and mainly from a middle socioeconomic background. So new studies are needed in more diversified socioeconomic samples.

Contrary to social expectations and the literature (e.g., Amodia-Bidakowska et al., 2020), play was not associated with children's higher levels of social competence, and lower behavioral difficulties as aggression or social withdrawal. A possible explanation might be that, beyond father engagement, it is the quality of these interactions that is related to the child's development (e.g., Cabrera, 2020; Palkovitz, 2019). Therefore, future studies should include the quality of parenting behaviors (e.g., sensitivity, challenging parenting behaviors) and parent-child relationship to assess how it interacts with father's participation to promote child development (e.g., Cabrera, 2020; Pleck, 2010).

Limitations and Future Directions

The aim of this study was to help bridge the gap between previous studies in Peru that analyzed representations of masculinity and fatherhood (Fuller, 2000, 2001, 2004, 2005,

2022; Plataforma de Paternidades, 2016), but none of which focused on fathers' engagement in specific dimensions, and its associations with children's socio-emotional adjustment. Despite this, there were some limitations that should be considered in future studies.

Fatherhood is influenced by different variables (e.g., Cabrera et al., 2014) related to fathers own history and characteristic, such as his beliefs about fathers' roles (e.g., Palkovitz, 2019), to family dynamics as e.g., maternal gatekeeping (e.g., Olsavsky et al., 2020), and coparenting (e.g., Marchand-Reilly & Yaure, 2019, Schoppe-Sullivan et al., 2008), or children's characteristics as temperament (e.g., Santos et al., 2021).

Additionally, socioeconomic backgrounds and culture specificities should also be included to better capture the complexities of father engagement and its association with child development. Our sample is also relatively homogeneous, including parents living in four major cities in Peru, most of them middle socioeconomic, with higher technical or university education. These are not representative of the Peruvian population, therefore there is much to learn about the diversity of the Peruvian families.

In addition, future studies should include the quality of parenting behaviors (e.g., sensitivity, challenging parenting behaviors) and parent-child relationship to assess how it interacts with father's participation to promote child development (e.g., Cabrera, 2020; Pleck, 2010). These studies, by expanding beyond the engagement of fathers and assessing its quality, may more accurately explain the importance of fathers on children's development.

Finally, the cross-sectional design of the present study does not allow for inferring causality, so the direction of the associations is not clear. Future longitudinal studies are needed to have a better understanding of these relationships.

Strengths of the study

Despite these limitations, this is the first study looking at some dimensions of father's engagement, in relation to mother, and children's socio-emotional adjustment in Peru. Also one of its main methodological strengths is the participation of multiple informants: fathers and mothers independently reported on father engagement, while children's social

competence and behavioral difficulties were reported by their pre-school teachers. This triangulation of informants is rarely used in these studies, since it is generally only the mother who reports on the father's behavior (Cabrera et al., 2018) which leads to biases and an underrepresentation of father in father involvement data (e.g., Charles et al., 2018).

Our results provide initial empirical evidence that can be used to produce public policies and intervention programs aiming to promote positive father involvement in Peru and in other contexts with similar characteristics. In this sense, they show the need to continue working on actions that directly promote an active and positive engagement of fathers and their co-responsibility in the care for their children (e.g., Plataforma de Paternidades, 2016). It also contributes to highlight the importance of fathers beyond their traditional gender roles, namely in direct care, so at a policy level we should create conditions to promote father engagement through, e.g., the extension of the paternity leave (beyond just 10 days), or by promoting family life and work balance, not only to promote gender equality for women, but also for men, and there for healthier contexts for child development.

References

- Afonso, A., Veríssimo, M., Fernandes, M., Borges, P., & Monteiro, L. (2011). Associações entre o envolvimento paterno e a competência social das crianças em contexto pré-escolar [Associations between father involvement and social competence in preschool children]. *Psicologia, Educação e Cultura*, 15(1), 43-60.
- Aguayo, F., Correa, P., & Cristi, P. (2011). *Encuesta IMAGES Chile Resultados de la Encuesta Internacional de Masculinidades y Equidad de Género [IMAGES Chile Survey Results of the International Survey on Masculinities and Gender Equality]*. CulturaSalud/EME.
- Aiken, L. S., & West, S. G. (1991). *Multiple regression: Testing and interpreting interactions*. Sage Publications, Inc.

- Alfrooz G. A., Asgharpour, H., & Lotfi Kashani, F. (2021). The Father's Role in Parenting: a Comparison of Different Cultures and Psychological Perspectives. *Men's Health Journal*, 6(1), <https://doi.org/10.22037/mhj.v6i1.36795>
- Amaral, R., Monteiro, L., & Santos, C. (2019). Perfis de envolvimento relativo do pai e ajustamento social de crianças em jardim-de-infância [Profiles of father's relative involvement and children's socio-emotional adjustment during preschool]. *Análise Psicológica*, 37(4), 463–477. <https://doi.org/10.14417/ap.1553>
- Amodia-Bidakowska, A., Lavery, C., & Ramchandani, P. G. (2020). Father-child play: A systematic review of its frequency, characteristics and potential impact on children's development. *Developmental Review*, 57, 1-17. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.dr.2020.100924>
- Arroyo, G. (2020). Masculinidades y paternidad: Una mirada interseccional sobre la experiencia de ser padres jóvenes clase media en Barranquilla (Colombia). [Masculinities and fatherhood: An intersectional analysis at the experience of being young middle-class fathers in Barranquilla (Colombia)]. *Investigación y Desarrollo*, 28(1), 104-156. <https://dx.doi.org/10.14482/indes.28.1.305.31>
- Avolio, B., Del Carpio, L., Fajardo, V., Del Rio, C. & Chávez, J. (2020). *Gestión y distribución del tiempo de las mujeres y hombres en el Perú. Informe Técnico 2020*. [Management and distribution of time for women and men in Peru. Technical Report 2020]. Centrum PUCP. <https://repositorio.pucp.edu.pe/index/bitstream/handle/123456789/175322/Gestion%20y%20Distibucion%20del%20Tiempo%20Final.pdf?sequence=4&isAllowed=y>
- Bando, R., López-Boo, F., & Li, X. (2016). *Sex differences in Language and Socio-emotional Skills in Early Childhood* (Working Paper No. 714). Inter-American Development Bank.
- Blair, B. L., Perry, N. B., O'Brien, M., Calkins, S. D., Keane, S. P., & Shanahan, L. (2015). Identifying developmental cascades among differentiated dimensions of social competence and emotion regulation. *Developmental Psychology*, 51(8), 1062-1073.

<https://doi.org/10.1037/a0039472>

- Bridges, M., Cohen, S. R., McGuire, L. W., Yamada, H., Fuller, B., Mireles, L., & Scott, L. (2012). Bien educado: Measuring the social behaviors of Mexican American children. *Early Childhood Research Quarterly*, 27, 555–567.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ecresq.2012.01.005>
- Brown, C.S. & Tam, M. (2019). Parenting girls and boys. In M. Bornstein (Ed.), *Handbook of parenting* (3th ed., Vol.1. pp. 258 - 287). Routledge.
<https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429440847-8>
- Brumariu, L. E. (2015). Parent-child attachment and emotion regulation. In G. Bosman and K. A. Kerns (Eds.), *Attachment in middle childhood: Theoretical advances and new directions in an emerging field* (pp. 31–45). <https://doi.org/10.1002/cad.20098>
- Bureau, J. F., Martin, J., Yurkowski, K., Schmiedel, S., Quan, J., Moss, E., Deneault, A. A., & Pallanca, D. (2017). Correlates of child–father and child–mother attachment in the preschool years. *Attachment and Human Development*, 19(2), 130–150.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/14616734.2016.1263350>
- Cabrera, N. J. (2020). Father involvement, father-child relationship, and attachment in the early years. *Attachment & Human Development*, 22(1), 134-138,
<https://doi.org/10.1080/14616734.2019.1589070>
- Cabrera, N., Fitzgerald, H. E., Bradley, R. H., & Roggman, L. (2007). Modeling the dynamics of paternal influences on children over the life course. *Applied Developmental Science*, 11(4), 185–189. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10888690701762027>
- Cabrera, N. J., Fitzgerald, H. E., Bradley, R. H., & Roggman, L. (2014). The ecology of father–child relationships: An expanded model. *Journal of Family Theory and Review*, 6(4), 336–354. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jftr.12054>
- Cabrera, N., Karberg, E., Malin, J. L., & Aldoney, D. (2017). The magic of play: low-income mothers' and fathers' playfulness and children's emotion regulation and vocabulary skills. *Infant Mental Health Journal*, 38(6), 757-771.
<https://doi.org/10.1002/imhj.21682>

- Cabrera, N. J., Tamis-LeMonda, C. S., Bradley, R. H., Hofferth, S., & Lamb, M. E. (2000). Fatherhood in the twenty-first century. *Child Development*, 71(1), 127-136.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8624.00126>
- Cabrera, N. J., Volling, B. L., & Barr, R. (2018). Fathers are parents, too! Widening the lens on parenting for children's development. *Child Development Perspectives*, 12(3), 152–157. <https://doi.org/10.1111/cdep.12275>
- Calzada, E. & Fernandez, Y. & Cortés, D. (2010). Incorporating the Cultural Value of Respeto into a Framework of Latino Parenting. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology*. 16(1), 77-86. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0016071>
- Carrillo, S., Bermúdez, M., Suárez, L., Gutiérrez, M.C., & Delgado, X. (2016). Father's perceptions of their role and involvement in the family: A qualitative study in a Colombian sample. *Revista Costarricense de Psicología*, 35(2), 37-54.
<https://doi.org/10.22544/rcps.v35i02.03>
- Charles, P., Spielfogel, J., Gorman-Smith, D., Schoeny, M., Henry, D., & Tolan, P. (2018). Disagreement in parental reports of father involvement. *Journal of Family Issues*, 9(2), 328-351. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0192513X16644639>
- Chen, X., Huang, X., Chang, L., Wang, L., & Li, D. (2010). Aggression, social competence, and academic achievement in Chinese children: A 5-year longitudinal study. *Development and Psychopathology*, 22(3), 583- 592.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0954579410000295>
- Congreso de la República del Perú. (2018, July 5). Ley 30807. Ley que modifica la ley 29409, ley que concede el derecho de licencia por paternidad a los trabajadores de la actividad pública y privada [Law 30807. Law that amends law 29409, law that grants the right to paternity leave to public and private employees]. *Diario Oficial El Peruano*, 14565. <https://busquedas.elperuano.pe/dispositivo/NL/1666491-2>
- Denham, S. A., Blair, K. A., DeMulder, E., Levitas, J., Sawyer, K., Auerbach-Major, S., & Queenan, P. (2003). Preschool emotional competence: Pathway to social

- competence? *Child Development*, 74(1), 238-256. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8624.00533>
- Diniz, E., Brandão, T., Monteiro, L., & Veríssimo, M. (2021). Father involvement during early childhood: A systematic review of the literature. *Journal of Family Theory & Review*, 13(1), 77-99. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jftr.12410>
- Feldman, R., & Klein, P. S. (2003). Toddlers' self-regulated compliance to mothers, caregivers, and fathers: Implications for theories of socialization. *Developmental Psychology*, 39(4), 680–692. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0012-1649.39.4.680>
- Flouri, E., Midouhas, E., & Narayanan, M. K. (2016). The relationship between father involvement and child problem behavior in intact families: A 7-year cross-lagged study. *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology*, 44(5), 1011-1021. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10802-015-0077-9>
- Fuller, N. (2000). Significados y prácticas de paternidad entre varones urbanos del Perú [Meanings and practices of fatherhood among urban men in Peru]. In N. Fuller (Ed.), *Paternidades en América Latina* (pp. 35-89). Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú.
- Fuller, N. (2001). *Masculinidades, cambios y permanencias: Varones de Cuzco, Iquitos y Lima* [Masculinities, changes and permanence: Men from Cuzco, Iquitos and Lima]. Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú.
- Fuller, N. (2004). Identidades de tránsito: Femenidad y masculinidad en el Perú actual [Transit identities: Femininity and masculinity in Peru today]. In N. Fuller (Ed.), *Jerarquías en jaque. Estudios de género en el área andina* (pp. 189-220). Red para el Desarrollo de las Ciencias Sociales en el Perú.
- Fuller, N. (2005). *Cambios y permanencias en las relaciones de género en el Perú* [Changes and permanence in gender relationships in Peru]. FLACSO.
- Fuller, N. (2022). Paternidades revisadas. Las relaciones padres hijos vistas desde los milénicos [Revised fatherhoods. Parent-child relationships seen from millennials]. In M. Salguero & A. Rodríguez (Eds.), *De la paternidad a las paternidades en la*

trayectoria de vida. Contextos, significados y experiencias (pp.102-113). Universidad Autónoma de Tlaxcala.

- Fundación Baltazar y Nicolás (2018). *Antes de caminar y hablar. Identificando las brechas entre los expertos y el público sobre desarrollo de la infancia temprana en Perú* [Before walking and talking. Identifying the gaps between experts and the population on early childhood development in Peru]. FrameWorks Institute.
<https://fundacionbaltazarynicolas.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/Antes-de-caminar-y-hablar-2019.pdf>
- Gaunt, R. (2008). Maternal gatekeeping: Antecedents and consequences. *Journal of Family Issues*, 29(3), 373-395. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0192513X07307851>
- Herrera, F., Aguayo, F., & Goldsmith Weil, J. (2018). Proveer, cuidar y criar: Evidencias, discursos y experiencias sobre paternidad en América Latina [Provide, care and raise: Evidence, discourses and experiences on fatherhood in Latin America]. *Polis (Santiago)*, 17(50), 5-20. DOI: [10.4067/S0718-65682018000200005](https://doi.org/10.4067/S0718-65682018000200005)
- Hosokawa, R., Katsura, T., & Shizawa, M. (2015). The relationship between social skills, fathers' involvement, and economic status in preschool children. *Journal of Health Science*, 5(3), 52–57. <https://doi.org/10.5923/j.health.20150503.02>
- Huerta, M. C., Adema, W., Baxter, J., Han, W.-J., Laustern, M., Lee, R., & Waldfogel, J. (2012). *Fathers' leave, fathers' involvement and child development: Are they related? Evidence from four OECD countries* (OECD Social, Employment and Migration Working Papers No. 140). OECD Publishing. <https://doi.org/10.1787/5k4dlw9w6czq-en>
- Iniciativa Spotlight & United Nations Population Fund [UNFPA] (2021). Paternidad activa: La participación de los hombres en la crianza y los cuidados [Active fatherhood: The participation of men in raising and caring.] <https://lac.unfpa.org/sites/default/files/pub-pdf/paternidadactiva.pdf>

- International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF/WHO) & PROMUNDO (2017). *Estado de la paternidad: América Latina y el Caribe 2017*. [Fatherhood's status: Latin American and Caribbean 2017]. IPPF/RHO, Promundo-US.
- Izquierdo E., L., & Zicavo M. N. (2015). Nuevos padres: Construcción del rol paternal en hombres que participan activamente en la crianza de los hijos [New fathers: Construction of the paternal role in men who actively participate in raising children]. *Revista De Investigación en Psicología*, 18(2), 33–55.
<https://doi.org/10.15381/rinvp.v18i2.12082>
- Jia, R., Kotila, L. E., & Schoppe-Sullivan, S. J. (2012). Transactional relations between father involvement and preschoolers' socioemotional adjustment. *Journal of Family Psychology*, 26(6), 848-857. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0030245>
- John, A., Halliburton, A., & Humphrey, J. (2013). Child-mother and child-father play interaction patterns with preschoolers. *Early Child Development and Care*, 183(3–4), 483–497. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03004430.2012.711595>
- Jones, D. E., Greenberg, M., & Crowley, M. (2015). Early social-emotional functioning and public health: The relationship between kindergarten social competence and future wellness. *American Journal of Public Health*, 105(11), 2283-2290.
<https://doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.2015.302630>
- Kline, R. B. (2015). *Principles and practice of structural equation modeling: Fourth edition*. Guilford Press.
- Kotila, L. E., Schoppe-Sullivan, S. J., & Kamp Dush, C. M. (2013). Time parenting activities in dual-earner families at the transition to parenthood. *Family Relations: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Applied Family Studies*, 62(5), 795-807.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/fare.12037>
- Kulik, L., & Sadeh, I. (2015). Explaining fathers' involvement in childcare: An ecological approach. *Community, Work & Family*, 18(1), 19-40.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13668803.2014.944483>

- LaFreniere, P. J. (2010). *Adaptive origins: Evolution and Human Development*. Psychology Press. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203847992>
- LaFreniere, P. J., & Dumas, J. E. (1996). Social competence and behavior evaluation in children ages 3 to 6 years: The short form (SCBE-30). *Psychological Assessment*, 8(4), 369-377. <https://doi.org/10.1037/1040-3590.8.4.369>
- Lamb, M. E., & Lewis, C. (2010). The development and significance of father-child relationships in two-parent families. In M. E. Lamb (Ed.), *The role of the father in child development* (5th ed., pp. 94-153). John Wiley & Sons Inc.
- Lamb, M. E., Pleck, J. H., Charnov, E. L., Levine, J. A. (1987). A biosocial perspective on paternal behavior and involvement. In J. B. Lancaster, J. Altman, A. Rossi, & L. R. Sherrod (Eds.), *Parenting across the lifespan: Biosocial perspectives* (pp. 11-42). Academic Press.
- Lansford, J. E. (2022). Annual Research Review: Cross-cultural similarities and differences in parenting. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 63(4), 466-479. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jcpp.13539>
- Levant, R. F., Richmond, K., Cruickshank, B., Rankin, T. J., & Rummell, C. M. (2014). Exploring the role of father involvement in the relationship between day care and children's behavior problems. *American Journal of Family Therapy*, 42(3), 193-204. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01926187.2013.814390>
- Lima, J. (2005). O envolvimento paterno nos processos de socialização da criança [Paternal involvement in child socialization processes]. In J. B. Ruivo (Ed.), *Desenvolvimento: Contextos familiares e educativos* (pp. 200-233). Livpsic.
- Manlove, E. E., & Vernon-Feagans, L. (2002). Caring for infant daughters and sons in dual-earner households: Maternal reports of father involvement in weekday time and tasks. *Infant and Child Development: An International Journal of Research and Practice*, 11(4), 305-320. <https://doi.org/10.1002/icd.260>

- Marchand-Reilly, J. F., Yaure, R. G. (2019). The role of parents' relationship quality in children's behavior problems. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, 28(2), 2199–2208. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10826-019-01436-2>
- Maroto-Navarro, G., Pastor-Moreno, G., Ocaña-Riola, R., Benítez-Hidalgo, V., García-Calvente, M., Gutiérrez-Cuadra, M., Gijón-Sánchez, M. T., del Río-Lozano, M., & Marcos-Marcos, J. (2013). Male and female involvement in the birth and child-rearing process. *Journal of Clinical Nursing*, 22(21-22), 3071-3083. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jocn.12153>
- Menashe-Grinberg, A., & Atzaba-Poria, N. (2017). Mother-child and father-child play interaction: The importance of paternal playfulness as a moderator of the links between parental behavior and child negativity. *Infant Mental Health Journal*, 38(6), 772–784. <https://doi.org/10.1002/imhj.21678>
- Ministerio de la Mujer y Poblaciones Vulnerables (2023, August). Boletín informativo. Generamos conocimiento para erradicar la violencia en el Perú [Informative bulletin. Generation of knowledge to eradicate violence in Peru]. <https://observatorioviolencia.pe/wp-content/uploads/2023/08/Boletin-Observatorio-Nacional-17.08.2023-FINAL.pdf>
- Monteiro, L., Torres, N., & Salinas-Quiroz, F. (2019). Preditores do envolvimento paterno numa amostra de famílias portuguesas. O papel das crenças parentais [Predictors of paternal involvement in a sample of Portuguese families. The role of parental beliefs]. *Suma Psicológica*, 26(2), 94–102. <https://doi.org/10.14349/sumapsi.2019.v26.n2.5>
- Monteiro, L., Veríssimo, M., Vaughn, B. E., Santos, A. J., Torres, N., & Fernandes, M. (2010). The organization of children's secure base behavior in two-parent Portuguese families and father's participation in child-related activities. *European Journal of Developmental Psychology*, 7(5), 545–560. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17405620902823855>

- Moreno, R. P., & Chuang, S. S. (2015). Latino fathers: Myths, realities, and challenges. En J. L. Roopnarine (Ed.). *Fathers across cultures: The importance, roles, and diverse practices of dads* (pp. 183-204). Praeger/ABC-CLIO.
- Mota, C. P., & Matos, P. M. (2013). Peer attachment, coping, and self-esteem in institutionalized adolescents: The mediating role of social skills. *European Journal of Psychology of Education*, 28, 87–100. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10212-012-0103-z>
- National Institute of Child Health & Human Development (NICHD), Early Child Care Research Network. (2000). Factors associated with fathers' caregiving activities and sensitivity with young children. *Journal of Family Psychology*, 14(2), 200-219. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0893-3200.14.2.200>
- National Institute of Statistics and Informatics [INEI] (2023). *Estadísticas con enfoque de género. Trimestre Julio-Agosto-Septiembre 2022. Informe técnico*. [Statistics with a gender perspective. Quarter July-August-September 2022. Technical report]. <https://www.gob.pe/institucion/inei/informes-publicaciones/3720256-estadisticas-con-enfoque-de-genero-julio-agosto-setiembre-2022>
- Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (2022). *Gender Equality in Peru: Towards a Better Sharing of Paid and Unpaid Work*, Gender quality at Work, OECD Publishing, Paris, <https://doi.org/10.1787/e53901b5-en>
- Olsavsky, A. L., Yan, J., Schoppe-Sullivan, S. J., & Kamp Dush, C. M. (2020). New fathers' perceptions of dyadic adjustment: The roles of maternal gatekeeping and coparenting closeness. *Family process*, 59(2), 571-585. <https://doi.org/10.1111/famp.12451>
- Palkovitz, R. (2019). Expanding our focus from father involvement to father–child relationship quality. *Journal of Family Theory & Review*, 11(4), 576–591. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jftr.12352>
- Palkovitz, R., & Hull, J. W. (2018). Toward a resource theory of fathering. *Journal of Family Theory and Review*, 10(1), 181-198. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jftr.12239>
- Parke, R. D. (2000). Father involvement: A developmental psychological perspective. *Marriage & Family Review*, 29(2-3), 43-58. https://doi.org/10.1300/J002v29n02_04

- Planalp, E. M., & Braungart-Rieker, J. M. (2016). Determinants of father involvement with young children: Evidence from the early childhood longitudinal study–birth cohort. *Journal of Family Psychology*, 30(1), 135–146. <https://doi.org/10.1037/fam0000156>
- Plataforma de Paternidades (2016). *Ser papá en el Perú. Estado del arte de los estudios sobre paternidades en el Perú*. [Being a dad in Peru. State of art of studies on fatherhood in Peru]. Campaña de Paternidad. Men Care América Latina. <http://www.campanapaternidad.org/ser-papa-en-el-peru/>
- Pleck, J. H. (1997). Paternal involvement: Levels, sources, and consequences. In M. E. Lamb (Ed.), *The role of the father in child development* (3 ed., pp. 66-103). John Wiley & Sons.
- Pleck, J. H. (2010). Paternal involvement: Revised conceptualization and theoretical linkages with child outcomes. In M. E. Lamb (Ed.), *The role of the father in child development* (5th ed., pp. 58–93). John Wiley & Sons.
- Popp, J., & Thomsen, B. (2017). A commentary on the importance of father-child play and children's development. *Infant Mental Health Journal*, 38(6), 785-788. <https://doi.org/10.1002/imhj.21681>
- Raley, S., & Bianchi, S. (2006). Sons, daughters, and family processes: Does gender of children matter? *Annual Review of Sociology* 32, 401-421. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.32.061604.123106>
- Ramos, M. (2008). Masculinidad y reproducción en comunidades indígenas peruanas [Masculinity and reproduction in Peruvian indigenous communities]. In L. I. Rodríguez (Ed.), *Población y Salud Sexual y Reproductiva en América Latina* (pp. 435 – 454). ALAP – UNFPA.
- Robinson, E., St George, J., & Freeman, E. (2021). A systematic review of Father–Child play interactions and the impacts on child development. *Children*, 8(5), 389. <https://doi.org/10.3390/children8050389>
- Rojas, V., & Bravo, F. (2019). *Experiencias de convivencia, matrimonio y maternidad/paternidad en adolescentes y jóvenes peruanos* [Experiences of

- cohabitation, marriage and motherhood/fatherhood in Peruvian adolescents and young people]. Grupo de Análisis para el Desarrollo (GRADE).
- Roopnarine, J. L., & Yildirim, E. D. (2019). *Fathering in cultural contexts: Developmental and clinical issues*. Routledge.
- Rose-Krasnor, L. (1997). The nature of social competence: A theoretical review. *Social Development*, 6(1), 111-135. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9507.1997.tb00097>
- Rose-Krasnor, L., & Denham, S. (2009). Social-emotional competence in early childhood. In K. H. Rubin, W. M. Bukowski & B. Laursen (Eds.), *Handbook of peer interactions, relationships, and groups* (pp. 162- 179). The Guilford Press.
- Rubin, K. H., Coplan, R. J., & Bowker, J. C. (2009). Social withdrawal in childhood. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 60, 141-171. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.psych.60.110707.163642>
- Salguero, M. A. (2015). Fathering in México. In J. L. Roopnarine (Ed.), *Fathers across cultures: The importance, roles, and diverse practices of dads* (pp. 63–91). Praeger/ABC-CLIO.
- Santos, C., Monteiro, L., Torres, N., & Tereno, S. (2021). Implication paternelle chez des enfants d'âge préscolaire. Contributions des styles parentaux et de l'affectivité négative de l'enfant [Paternal involvement in preschool children. Contributions of parenting styles and child negative affectivity]. *Devenir*, 33(3), 221-240. <https://doi.org/10.3917/dev.213.0221>
- Sarkadi, A., Kristiansson, R., Oberklaid, F., & Bremberg, S. (2008). Fathers' involvement and children's developmental outcomes: A systematic review of longitudinal studies. *Acta Paediatrica*, 97(2), 153-158. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1651-2227.2007.00572>
- Sette, S., Baumgartner, E., & MacKinnon, D. P. (2014). Assessing social competence and behavior problems in a sample of Italian preschoolers using the social competence and behavior evaluation scale. *Early Education and Development*, 26(1), 46-65. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10409289.2014.941259>

- Schoppe-Sullivan, S. J., Brown, G. L., Cannon, E.A., Mangelsdorf, S.C, Sokolowski, M. S. (2008). Maternal gatekeeping, coparenting quality, and fathering behavior in families with infants. *Journal of Family Psychology*, 22(3), 389-98.
<https://doi.org/10.1037/0893-3200.22.3.389>
- Selin, H (Ed.) (2022). *Parenting across cultures: Childrearing, motherhood and fatherhood in non-Western cultures (Vol.12)*. Springer Science & Business Media
- Seward, R. R., & Rush, M. (2015). *Fathers, fathering, and fatherhood across cultures: Convergence or divergence?* (Working Paper No. 40). University College Dublin.
- Shwalb, D.W., Shwalb, B.J., & Lamb, M.E. (Eds.). (2012). *Fathers in cultural context* (1st ed.). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203816004>
- Torres, N., Veríssimo, M., Monteiro, L., Ribeiro, O., & Santos, A. J. (2014). Domains of father involvement, social competence and problem behavior in preschool children. *Journal of Family Studies*, 20(3), 188-203.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13229400.2014.11082006>
- Torres, N., Veríssimo, M., Monteiro, L., & Santos, A. J. (2012). Father involvement and peer play competence in preschoolers: The moderating effect of the child's difficult temperament. *Family Science*, 3(3-4), 174-188.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/19424620.2012.783426>
- Tuerk, C., Anderson, V., Bernier, A., & Beauchamp, M. H. (2020). Social competence in early childhood: An empirical validation of the SOCIAL model. *Journal of Neuropsychology*, 14(4), 1-23. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jnp.12230>
- Vásquez Echeverría, A., Rocha, T., Costa Leite, J., Teixeira, P., & Cruz, O. (2016). Portuguese validation of the social competence and behavior evaluation scale (SCBE-30). *Psicologia: Reflexão e Crítica*, 29(22). <https://doi.org/10.1186/s41155-016-0014-z>
- Volling, B. L., & Cabrera, N. J. (2019). Advancing research and measurement on fathering and child development: Introducing the issues and a conceptual framework. En B.L. Volling & N. J. Cabrera (Eds.), *Advancing research and measurement on fathering*

and children's development (pp. 7-17). Monographs of the Society of Research in Child Development. <https://doi.org/10.1111/mono.12404>

- Walker, S. (2004). Teacher reports of social behavior and peer acceptance in early childhood: Sex and social status differences. *Child Study Journal*, 34(1), 13–28.
- Zimmer-Gembeck, M. J., Webb, H. J., Pepping, C. A., Swan, K., Merlo, O., Skinner, E. A., Avdagic, E., & Dunbar, M. (2015). Review: Is parent-child attachment a correlate of children's emotion regulation and coping? *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, 41(1), 74–93. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0165025415618276>