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Goals of Childbearing, Perception of a 'Good Child' and Paternal Involvement in Childcare among Christian Ethiopian Fathers Living in Addis Ababa and Nashville

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Abstract

This study attempted to examine the goals of childbearing, perception of a 'good child', and paternal involvement in childcare among Christian Ethiopian fathers in Addis Ababa and Nashville, USA. A sample of 104 fathers was drawn from the two settings (52 from each city) to fill in the paternal involvement scales. Findings indicated that the goals of childbearing and perceptions of a 'good child' were defined in terms of the scriptural ethos putting 'God' at the center stage of explanation. Children were regarded as gifts of God, and a 'good child' is a person with the fear and love of his/her Creator. Fathers considered themselves agents enabling children to grow into these expectations. Functional values of children were the other added reasons of childbearing that somehow differed in the two groups unfolding impacts of cultural contexts. Perception of a 'good child' still contained values inherent in the Ethiopian culture. However, perception of the Nashville group had also included some values of the American culture suggesting that these individuals were in transition. More importantly, paternal involvement was encouragingly transitioning from the 'availability/ accessibility' to the 'responsibility' dimension of fatherhood, but falling short of the 'engagement' dimension. The fathers' engagements in the six dimensions of behaviors followed cultural contexts of the two groups such that the Nashville group reflected the individualistic culture, and the Addis Ababa group exhibited features of collectivism. Fathers' educational level was also found making a difference in these engagements; though effect sizes were not very strong.

Key words/Phrases: Childbearing/ Childcare/Christian fathers/ Ethiopian fathers/ Good child/ Paternal involvement/

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1. Introduction

Parents are the primary agents to enabling children grow into healthy, responsible, and mature adults. The Amharic proverb 'Rejoice while you have a father, work hard before it is too late' ('Abat Saleh Agit Tsehay Salech Irut'/ ᵃᵇᵇᵃːᵗ ˢᵃːˡˡᵃ̈ʰ ᵃᵍⁱᵗ' ˢ'ʰᵃːʸ ˢᵃːˡˡᵃ̈ʃᵗ ⁱ̈ʳᵘᵗ'/) particularly symbolizes how fathers could positively count not only on the survival and development of their children but also on ensuring opportunities to rejoice. In fact, several research evidences have shown the importance of resident fathers before (Grossman et al., 1980), during (Pleck, 2007), and after (Ahemed, 2013) the birth of the child. Research has still highlighted the positive effect that nonresident fathers have on their children's lives (Lewin-Bizan, 2012). Paternal involvement is also documented to promote the development of fathers themselves during adulthood (Palkovitz, 2002a).

The question is, therefore, not so much of the importance as it is of the modalities, goals, and patterns of paternal involvement. A review of research in the field suggests that fatherhood imagery and paternal roles have been changing temporally across historical times (Belay, 2014), longitudinally through the life span (Dimond, 1992), spatially across cultures (Bornstein, 2010), and within the same culture (LaRossa, 1988) itself; as there are discrepancies between the socio-cultural ideals that people retain(the culture of fatherhood) and the ways that fathering roles are actually enacted (the conduct of fatherhood) or practiced (LaRossa, 1988).

Despite these differences, review of literature in the field has shown, however, that cultural limitations were evident in previous research (Bornstein, 2010). It was noted that fatherhood scholarship was historically drawn predominantly from middle-class North American or Western European backgrounds (Serpell, 1990; Bornstein, 2010) that hardly capture experiences in other parts of the globe, particularly of the Afrique Noire (Black Africa)in general (Nsamenang & Lo-oh, 2010) and Ethiopian (Belay, 2008) in particular. It is said that every cultural group fosters particular characteristics that are deemed necessary for adequate functioning within its group (Goodnow, 2010) and that parental goals are aligned with cultural context and are manifested in different socialization strategies (Bornstein & Lansford, 2010, P.261). Hence, the single-culture perspective has led to many critiques and motivated consistent calls for more cross-cultural studies (Serpell, 1990; Bornstein & Lansford, 2010, PP.262-263) to expand and extend the scope of fatherhood inquiry into more socially, economically, and culturally diverse samples.

Heeding calls for research in diverse contexts is important not only to avoid misperceptions of universality as well as biases that can arise in doing so (Bornstein & Lansford, 2010) but also to enrich and extend the frontiers of developmental science (Nsamenang & Lo-oh, 2010, P.384). For example, the African socio-eco-culture provides opportunities for learning and development which simply do not exist in the West and, therefore, are not considered by the predominant theories (Curran, 1984). Hence, it is certainly needed to explore fatherhood scenario in contexts (like African or specifically Ethiopia, for example) retaining different socio-cultural ecologies than the Western systems that contributed to the existing exclusionary or Eurocentric conceptions of fatherhood.

The African socio-cultural ecology(of parenting, for example), unlike the Western nations, is pronatalist and theocentric (Pence &Nsamenang, 2008), and collectivist (Weisner, 1997; Hofstede, 2001) rather than individualist, emphasizing family (Kagitcibasi, 1990), social, moral, and spiritual (Harkness & Super, 1992) obligations than personal philosophies, choices and individual rights. There is a tendency in Africa to ascribe a sacred value to childbearing and childrearing, and children are regarded as precious treasures and "sacred gifts" from God, and marriage, as a social union of families (rather the union of a man and a woman), is the institution for the "gift of children"(Nsamenang, 1996).   Newborns and their mothers are to belong to an "indigenous   network   of   support"   welcomed   and   nurtured   by   the   whole family"(Nsamenang, 2008).   They are to be brought up surrounded by family and neighbours (Harkness & Super, 1992), bringing up the next generation being understood as a shared responsibility (Kagitcibasi, 1990). This responsibility is generally known as "shared   management,   caretaking,   socially   distributed   support",   or   'sharing   and exchanging norms' that bind siblings and the entire social system together (in Pence & Nsamenang, 2008).   The visions, expectations, goals, values, and responsibilities of communities, extended family members, siblings, and neighbors bear an indispensible role rearing up children (Hofstede, 2001). Parenting children in Africa are participatory, experiential, systematic, and goal-oriented (Nsamenang, 1996).

While the need to exploring paternal involvement in settings with the above profile has certainly been articulated in different cross-cultural and social science research, it is at the same time important to examine if paternal notions and practices would change with changes in fatherhood contexts (from a collectivist style of the above sort to individualist cultural orientations) due in part, for example, to fathers' displacement from one's own local culture into an alien one. For example, how far are Ethiopian immigrant fathers in USA compared with those residing in their homeland? Are early socializations of becoming a father recalcitrant to latter experiences or is fathering constructed on daily basis through individual-environment transactions making later experiences as equally important as early experiences? In fact, studies of immigrant families suggest that some parenting beliefs inculcated in one culture tend to persist even after relocation into a different parenting beliefs (Cote & Bornstein, 2000, 2001), that beliefs of the majority group are not always readily adopted (LeVine, 1988), and that culturally significant parenting practices also tend to resist to change (Ngo &Malz, 1998). On the other hand, the waves of globalization, today, are increasingly noted to present parents in different cultural groups with many similar socialization issues and challenges (e.g., internet safety, prevention of abuse) possibly curtailing issues of diversity (Bornstein & Lansford, 2010).

Adding more flavors into the arguments above, there is a need to examine other salient factors structuring psychosocial profile of the growing person. Religion is one such salient factor that is as equally important in shaping paternity as culture itself (Holden & Vittrup, 2010), inseparable from culture (Keats, 2000) or combined together with culture to make the person that one really is (McEvoy et al., 2005), but was neglected in social science research for long (Holden & Vittrup, 2010).   Religious orientation and spirituality are African virtues (Pence & Nsamenang, 1996) that structure values, goals and practices of parenting (Nsamenang, 2008). Accordingly, one would

speculate that despite cultural differences, migration to USA may not seriously affect Ethiopian Christian diaspora's paternal goals and practices because of religious similarity. Research on acculturation experiences of the Ethiopian diaspora in USA (Belay & Seble, n.d.) have indicated that Protestants have a higher integration level followed by Orthodox and Catholic Christians whereas Muslims are the least acculturated. Tadesse (2008) also holds that those who are Protestant Christians are more likely to be acculturated to the American culture because of religious similarity. The question is then "how are Ethiopian Christian immigrant fathers in USA compared with their counterparts in Ethiopia in parenting their children?" Are they to be consumed by the dominant culture, or would they uphold the universal protestant ethic of childbearing and care, or are they likely to retain the Ethio-ethnic culture of fatherhood imagery fundamentally retaining, for example, parent-adolescent relationship that is dominated by parental styles (i.e. strictness) (Levine, 1965; Cox, 1967; Ringness & Gander, 1974; Habtamu, 1979, 1995) that stand in sharp contrast with those in USA?

Along these directions, it may be interesting then to document how the Ethiopian socio-ecological (social, cultural, religious, economic and educational) profiles generally unfold themselves defining the goals, expectations, and methods of paternal involvement in childcare. In fact, some studies (e.g. Alemu, 2007; Belay, 2008; Awraris & Etsub, 2012; Ahemed, 2013; Belay, 2014) were conducted to explore fatherhood from different perspectives: knowledge, attitude and behaviors of men (Awraris & Etsub, 2012), effect of paternal involvement on children's peer interaction (Ahmed, 2013), notions of fatherhood among unwed adolescents (Belay, 2008), and paternal involvement in childcare (Alemu, 2007). However, patterns of paternal involvement need to be explored in a better detail keeping its multidimensionality in view. Evidences indicate that fathers' involvement with their children is multidimensional and occurs in many ways (Lamb, 2002; Lamb et al. cited in Keun, 2008; Palkovitz, 2002b). According to Lamb (2000), in pluralistic societies, various conceptions and roles of fathers coexist; fathers can assume many roles, and thus, active fathering must be viewed in the context of the multiple activities that fathers undertake for and with their children (for example, breadwinning, sex-role modeling, moral guidance, emotional support of mothers) (P. 37). In a latter research, Lamb and colleagues identified three dimensions of fathers' involvement: 'accessibility' (or physical and psychological availability) of fathers to their children (Catherine, 2000; Denise, 2007),'responsibility' (or awareness of the children's various social, emotional, cognitive, and physical needs and taking necessary measures to help meet these needs), and 'engagement' (or actual one-on-one interaction) of fathers with children (Pleck, 2007; Lamb cited in Keun, 2008) to maintain direct communication during all time spent with them (Lamb as cited in Natasha et al., 2013).

In the light of the discussions held so far, there is, then, a need to address basic questions like "What goals do Christian fathers in Ethiopia have in childbearing in the first place and how are these goals compared with the goals of Christian fathers who migrated to USA? "How do they perceive a 'good child'? And, more importantly, "how do the two groups of fathers engage in ensuring their children become a 'good child' and in meeting their perceived 'goals of bearing a child'?" Endeavoring to address these questions, this research generally aims to test the hypothesis that there are differences as well as similarities between fathers in the two settings in terms of goals of childbearing,

perception of a 'good child', and parental involvement in childcare. Furthermore, it is hypothesized that the goals fathers have in mind for bearing a child and their perception of what it means to be a 'good child' would determine how fathers involve in caring for their children. Finally, it also hypothesized that educational differences would also make a difference in all these three variables.

2. Method

Study sites: This study focuses on two sites: Nashville (USA) and Addis Ababa. Nashville is a city in Tennessee (USA) having, according to the 2008 U.S. Census Bureau estimate, a population of about 875,414 people (Davidson & Rutherford County), of whom 25% are under eighteen years of age. Data obtained from the Ethiopian Community in Nashville indicates that there are, at the moment, 5,000 Ethiopians residing in this City. To ensure better access to the target fathers, it was felt more feasible to go to churches in both sites. Ethiopian churches are the only places where one can access a good number of Ethiopians in Nashville. Door- to -door-based survey was impossible because there was no list containing names and addresses of persons with Ethiopian origin in the first place. Furthermore, life in Nashville is so structured that the researchers were unable to find participants even going door-to-door. During the pilot study, it was learned that they were either unavailable at home, or fell asleep or engaged with unattended chores for days during visits. More importantly, participants seemed hesitant to cooperate possibly for fear of intentions of the researchers as many Ethiopians do in USA (feigning the exercise would be politically driven). Accordingly, in Nashville, to the knowledge of the researchers, Ethiopian fathers were accessed from two available churches: Grace Church and Glory Tabernacle Church established around 1995 and 2005 respectively. Both churches had around 250 and 100 members respectively at the time of data collection. As regards the participants in Ethiopia, the same procedure of selection was followed only for comparative purposes.

Participants were picked up from Addis Ababa Kalehiywot Church where data collection was facilitated because of familiarity of the researchers to the church leaders. Researchers contacted the church leaders, gave sufficient explanation about the purpose of the research and then secured consent as well as cooperation during data collection. In fact, the church leaders explained the matter to the congregation and requested them to cooperate with the data collectors.

Participants: A total of one hundred thirty two fathers (sixty fathers from each City)were selected following Drapper and Smith's (1981) formula (**n = $10 \sum_{i=1}^{n} F_i C_k$**)+0.1n for two population settings in which sample size is a function of the number of factors involved in a research and their corresponding categories with a minimum of 10 observations representing each category of a factor. Ten percent contingency was also added to cover up for non-response rate. Accordingly, there are three factors in this research(two settings, two age groups, and three educational levels) with a total of 12 categories X 10 observations for each category +10% of 120). The selection was far from being random. Although randomization is the best sampling technique to ensure representativeness, the sampling technique in the present study was based on the willingness of the individuals to devote time to fill out the questionnaire.

Table 1 and 2 present summaries of the profile of the sample participants in the two sites.

Table 1: Profile of Participants

Variables	Categories	Addis Ababa[a]		Nashville[b]	
		N	Mean (SD)	N	Mean (SD)
1.Age	31-40	17		16	
	41-55	35	44.67 (5.33)	36	43.85 (5.57)
2.Education	Secondary	15		14	
	Diploma	19		16	
	UG or above	18		22	
3.Annual family income	10,001-20,000	0		2	
	20,001-30,000	2	45,659.08	22	
	30,001-40,000	19	(13,109.9)	15	
	40,001-50,000	13		13	
	50,001-60,000	13		0	
	60,001-70,000	3		0	33,355.00
	70,001-80,000	2		0	(7,300.15)
4. Marital status	Married	51		50	
	Unmarried	1		2	
5. Care for the children:	With Spouse	50		48	
	Alone	2		4	
6.Number of children			2.38 (1.19)		2.42 (1.09)

Annual family income for the Addis Ababa group is Ethiopian Birr and for the Nashville group it is US Dollar.
[a]*n=52*   [b]*n=52*

As it can be seen in these tables, the two groups seem comparable in terms of age, educational level, marital status, and number of children. Income seems to differ widely but when compared to the standards of life in the two settings, this discrepancy would tend to narrow down. Note that Table 2 presents additional background data for the Nashville group. As can be referred to on this table, the average duration of stay in Nashville is about 7 years. And the majority of the participants went to Nashville directly from Ethiopia and particularly from Addis Ababa.

Tools: Self-constructed questionnaire was used for data collection. The questionnaire has both open and close-ended items that are all phrased in Amharic. The close-ended format requires respondents to rate their goals, perceptions and involvements on a five-point scale (5 = strongly agree …to 1= strongly disagree). Some of the questions are negatively worded. Before participants were presented with these close-ended items, they were required to respond to the open-ended items so that they would be better positioned to share their own views regarding the goals of childbearing, qualities of a 'good child', and paternal involvements.

Table 2: Additional Background Characteristics of Participants from the Nashville Group

Variables	Categories	Freq.	%
Duration of Stay in USA	1 - 5 Years	24	46.15
	6 - 10 Years	18	34.62
	11 - 15 Years	4	7.69
	16 - 20 Years	6	11.54
	Mean (Standard Deviation)		7.15(5.38)
Place of residence before coming to USA	Addis Ababa	35	67.31
	Outside Addis Ababa (in Ethiopia)	13	25.0
	Outside Ethiopia	4	7.69

The questionnaire has three parts. The first part, goal of fathers for childbearing, has four components: psychological needs, social needs, economic needs, and other related items. The second part is fathers' perceptions of a 'good child' having five components: self-confidence, sociability, inquisitiveness, responsibility, and obedience. And the last part, how fathers engage in developing good behavior, has six components: independence, self-esteem, ability to choose, capacity for decision making, activities on family obligation, and knowledge about their limit. The classification regarding paternal involvement was in fact informed by Palkovitz' (2002b) conception of reconstructing men's "involvement" in family care. Palkovitz (2002b) identifies over fifteen categories including over one hundred twenty different types of parental involvement that would, for practical reasons, be classified in a manner to encompass such constructs as independence, self-esteem, ability to choose, decision making, setting limits or rules, and family obligation or responsibility.

Tasks and items of the questionnaire were firstly sampled from an extensive review of relevant literature. Items were also borrowed from Palkovitz (2002b), Hawkins and colleagues (2002), and Hawkins and Palkovitz (1999) paternal involvement scales. A total of 80 items were originally assembled being organized along the three major research objectives or parts and subparts, and then subjected to expert judgment (using two professionals one in test and measurement and the other in adult development) to check for content validity. Content concordance was calculated to be about 95% (number of items rated to be relevant divided by total number of items multiplied by one hundred). Items rated to lack of clarity were replaced. Once validity of the scales was ensured in this way, then the scales were subjected for pilot testing to check for item clarity, length, and reliability using 5 fathers selected from each city. Participants were given orientation at the beginning about the purpose and usefulness of the study to solicit their informed consent and commitment to fill in the questionnaire. Based on the feedback collected from the pilot test, vague items were modified, reliability indices were worked out, and the final draft was prepared. In fact, the reliability indices of the final version of the questionnaire, summarized on Table 3, appear stronger as they are >= 0.70.

Table 3: Reliability Indices of the Questionnaire

Scale	Chronbach's Alpha value
Goal of Childbearing	0.818
Perception of 'good child'	0.696
Fathers 'involvement to make their child good"	0.965

Analysis: Responses of both open-ended and close-ended items of the questionnaire were presented together under each objective rather than presenting them separately by data type. Qualitative data were examined through the 'task-based technique of analysis' (Belay, 2013) in which data were sorted out, classified, and presented along the respective research objectives. This is because qualitative data generated through open-ended questionnaire were not as extensive and intensive as in-depth interviews that of course require a more sophisticated technique of qualitative data analysis. Once qualitative data were analyzed, then summary of the quantitative responses of the questionnaire were presented using descriptive statistics (Mean and SD). This was followed by an application of t-test to check differences between the two groups of fathers. Finally, ANOVA was conducted to check if educational attainment can make a difference in paternal involvements.

3. Results

This section firstly deals with the goals of childbearing. This is followed by data analysis regarding fathers' perception of the qualities of a 'good child'. Finally, data analysis proceeds with paternal involvement. Note that in each section, qualitative data are presented at the beginning and then followed by the quantitative data. Analysis of the quantitative data is made to compare groups on the three measures. Data collected were of an interval level requiring use of parametric models. Hence, before applying parametric tests (i.e. independent t-test and One Way Analysis of Variance or ANOVA), attempts were made to check the tenability of assumptions: that observations are normally distributed and independent with comparable population variances. The result of these analyses was not included in this paper in the interest of space but it was found out that both physical inspections of the scatter plots as well as calculated statistical values confirmed that the observations were normally distributed[i]. Furthermore, these observations were independent to each other[ii] with equal or comparable variances[iii]. Hence, while t-test was used to compare the two groups, One Way ANOVA was applied to compare three or more groups (i.e. educational attainment) on the dependent measures.

3.1 Goals for Childbearing

Participants were asked about their goals for bearing a child. Below is presented the English version of the qualitative description they gave in Amharic. Firstly, the researchers present the Nashville fathers' responses. In this regard, one of the participants in this group expressed his goal of childbearing using the analogy of a candle:

A candle gives light to its surrounding and finally dies out. So, there is a need to light another candle. The reason for having a child is to perpetuate my family line…

Other fathers from the same group linked childbearing to their religious beliefs. They tended to believe that children are God's blessing:

My reason for having a child is because the Bible says that children are blessings, so I have a child in search of this blessing…
According to the Bible on Genesis 1: 28 "And God blessed them, and God said unto them, be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it…"So our reason for giving birth is because children are God's blessing and a command from Him…
It is known that it is impossible to have children by one's effort because children are gifts of God. They are even the beauty and decoration of the house. They make you forget the bad things and you will be refreshed. So giving birth is a blessing.

A third group of fathers indicated that children can't be born with a plan,

Children are gifts from God. I don't believe that children can be born with a plan. A lot of people try different kinds of things such as contraceptives not to have children, but there are scientific studies which show that partners can give birth even when using contraceptives. On the other hand, some families are in need of children but they are totally unable to get one. Thus, I believe that a child is given by God…

The goal of childbearing was also conveyed quite in different ways. For example, children are a blessing to the generation, give purpose to life, and especially boys can hold father's name:

To replace myself, to do things which I didn't complete personally, and to be a blessing to the generation…

After marriage, there needs to be a child for partners become a family...

When I live in this world, one of the important things that I should do to be happy and to get purpose in life is having children…

To perpetuate my gene and according to our culture a boy has to be a holder of the father's name…

To share the happiness emanating from raising and taking care of children and finally to be content and happy when these children are successful…

Consider now the responses of the Addis Ababa group. Alike the Nashville group, fathers from the Addis Ababa explained their goals by giving weight to their religious beliefs, i.e., children as a blessing of God:

Table 4: Descriptive Statistics and Mean Test of Differences between the Two Groups on Variables Related to the "Goals of Childbearing"

Variables	Descriptions	Addis Ababa[a]		Nashville[b]		t-test	Effect size
		Mean	SD	Mean	SD		
	Children contribute to the love parents have for one another	4.35	.81	4.12	1.13	1.19	.24
	Children help maintain my name	2.98	1.46	2.56	1.34	1.54	.30
Psychol	Children carry on my bloodline	3.62	1.36	3.56	1.38	.22	.04
ogical	They bring joy to the family	4.44	.83	4.27	.95	.99	.19
reasons	Not to be alone	3.25	1.34	2.25	1.37	3.76	.74
for	To be respected	2.71	1.35	2.06	1.2	2.62[**]	.51
childbe	To secure my marriage	3.15	1.29	2.13	1.16	4.35	.83
aring	The purpose of marriage is children	3.52	1.29	2.62	1.26	3.62	.71
	Because my partner wanted children	2.00	1.19	2.65	1.44	-2.70	-.49
	Because my family pressured me	1.63	.84	1.44	.64	1.31	.25
Social	Because my friends pressured me	1.38	.69	1.33	.55	.47	.08
reasons	Expected to have children	3.08	1.34	2.42	1.32	2.51[*]	.50
Econo	Children bring income for the family	1.85	1.00	1.56	.80	1.63	.32
mic	Children do chores for the family	2.23	1.13	1.88	1.10	1.59	.31
reasons	To take care of me when I grow old	3.33	1.37	2.21	1.36	4.17	.82
Other	It was a coincidence	1.67	.96	1.60	.89	.42	.08
reasons	It is a natural thing to do	3.12	1.28	2.71	1.24	1.63	.33

Ratings: 1 = strongly disagree   2 = agree   3 = undecided   4 = agree   5= strongly agree
[**]P<0.01   [*]P<0.05   [a] n=52   [b]n=52

Since children are God's blessing and since God tells us to multiply. If we see it from the point of view of our custom, it is to see oneself in children.
The reason for me to have children is because when I grew up learning that children are a blessing and that it is good to have children. Thus, in order to be part of this blessing, I have children.

Others from the same group also explained their goal of childbearing in terms of getting pride, reproducing oneself, *"Children are sources of pride for me"*, *"children help to replace myself and in order to be happy and satisfied"...*

Fathers were also asked to check how far they bear the reasons presented in Table 4. As it can be seen in Table 4, goal of childbearing is grouped into four categories: psychological, social, economic, and other reasons for childbearing. Regarding psychological reasons, the results indicate that both groups of respondents agree with the fact that children contribute to the love parents have for one another and to bring joy to the family. The independent t-test result shows that there is no significant difference between the two groups on these two items and effect sizes, too, being smaller, t (102) = 1.19, P<.235, h2=.24 and t (102) = .99, P<.325,h2=.04 respectively. On the other hand, the Addis Ababa group tends, more than the Nashville group, to endorse that bearing children would help 'not to be alone', 'to be respected', 'to secure once marriage', and that 'the purpose of marriage is to have children'.

Regarding the social category, it can be said that social pressure coming from parents and friends appears to play an insignificant role for childbearing in both groups. On the other hand, while meeting cultural/religious expectations play significantly more important role for childbearing for the Addis Ababa group, the goal of Nashville fathers for childbearing was more influenced by their partner than the Addis Ababa group. As regards the economic reasons, it can be said from Table4 that childbearing is unlikely to occur in both groups for children can bring income for the family or children do chores for the families. Of course, childbearing could occur because of the desire to have someone taking care of parents at the age of retirement more significantly among the Addis Ababa than the Nashville group. Finally, it can be observed in Table 4 that childbearing is not accidental or coincidence in both groups.

3.2 Perception of a 'Good Child'

Participants were also asked to describe what it means for them to be a 'good child'. Below is presented the English version of the qualitative description they gave in Amharic. Firstly, let us start from the Nashville participants as before. According to one participant, a 'good child' is someone who becomes a proper human being; a man of God.

According to the Holy Bible, King David tells his son Solomon 'my child Solomon! be human. So a 'good child' is one who becomes human. This does not mean for the child to be able to walk with his legs, but one who recognizes that God creates a person with a purpose and who lives up to His purpose. So, a

'good child' is one who loves God with all its heart, soul and power and who accomplishes God's will.

Other participants also justify their perception of a 'good child' from a biblical, perspective:

"A 'good child' is one who has the fear of God, who has good morality …

A more extended description comes from one father:

A child could be naturally born to be good or bad. But, this mainly depends on family upbringing; that is, if parents raise their child sharing him/ her the words of God daily showing him/ her the fear of God, then the child becomes a 'good child' when he grows up. God's spirit chastises him even if he doesn't fear (respect) others. This means that the child has to respect his father and mother so as to be blessed with longer life and to be fruitful to his family and country.

Extending the social implication of this further, one participant indicated that a 'good child' is *"one who respects his family, respects and loves his/ her community, gives his/ her life to others, and fulfills the responsibility of its generation"*.

In a similar way, other participants have indicated that a 'good child' is the one who: *…grows up with good morals and one who carries out responsibility towards the next generation after growing up and one who struggles to live life to the fullest…., brings joy to people and who uses as a tool its pen, not a firearm, one who loves his country (people) and one who is an enemy of hatred.*

Obedience and respectfulness are the virtues expected by some fathers. A 'good child' is the one who *"…is obedient …", "… follows orders…", "… respects rules…", "…does things when he is told to do them and doesn't do things when told not to do".*

In fact, sorts of contradictory responses are observed whereby conformity and independence are cherished together in some cases:

> *A 'good child' is one who is obedient, who learns from his mistakes, who listens to others' opinions even if he doesn't accept it, who can take care of himself first and then contribute to his country or family, and who understands that in every competition there is winning and losing…*

> *A 'good child' is trustworthy, who does not hide things from his parents, follows orders, ready to listen, self-confident, does not make decisions hastily and does not pretend to be someone else…*

> *One who respects rules, who does not become a burden to his family, who lives to do something good in his life, and who works hard…*

> *A 'good child' lives in a good way in his family and in the community, is one who can be relied upon by his family, who listens to his family and is obedient, and who is the one who looks upon his destiny and works hard.…*

A 'good child' is one who respects the laws of the world, one who does not waste time, has got vision and plans, and the one who understands contemporary situations.

Similar to the Nashville group, the Addis Ababa participants also gave considerable preference for children with obedience, fear of God, and respectful behavior:

A 'good child' is one who knows the words of God and who broadens his horizon of the word of God. Most of all, the Bible teaches what is good and bad…

One with good morals, who respects natural and social duties, who is obedient and polite towards other people, who works hard and tries his best to improve himself…According to my view, a 'good child' is one who respects his parents and is obedient, who respects his elders, who thinks and does well for others, who does not think and do bad things on others and additionally who has fear of God…

A 'good child' is one who has a fear of God and who respects his father and mother.

The Addis Ababa group also expressed their views of a 'good child' in terms of qualities like respect for social duties, love, concern, and responsibility for others, *looks after the family's name, ethical…*A lot more qualities were mentioned in an extended manner:

Those who are filled with compassion, who look at things with love, who are based on reason or information or knowledge, and who have national feelings (perspectives), I believe these kinds of children, are good…

One who breaks out of the gloomy way of thinking of his environment or his family and who contributes to his people as much as possible…

One who is good, who holds on to his culture, who has fear of God, who (upon his completion of his education) has a career and establishes his own family, has a good manner, not a drunkard, a gambler and a liar.

Table 5: Descriptive Statistics and Mean Test on Ratings of the Perception of 'Good Child' (N=104)

Variables	Description	Addis Ababa (N=52)		Nashville (N=52)		t-test result
		Mean	SD	Mean	SD	
	Not shy	3.60	1.02	4.33	.68	-4.32
Self-Confidence	A child who is brave	4.15	.78	4.04	.79	0.75
	A child who is not afraid of me	2.77	1.22	3.96	.839	-5.82
	A child who shows his/her fault without fear and worry	3.46	1.26	3.90	.891	-2.07
	Total	13.98	2.98	16.23	1.83	-4.64
Sociability	Not silent	3.62	.99	4.04	.84	-2.35
	A child who is sociable	3.73	0.90	3.94	.75	-1.29
	Total	7.35	1.36	7.98	1.38	-2.37
	A child who asks lots of questions	3.25	.99	3.63	1.05	-1.93
	A child who follows orders and asks if s/he has question without fear	.98	1.02	3.31	.96	-1.68
Exploring the environment	A Child who is inquisitive	3.63	.84	3.90	.75	-1.73
	A child who touches everything he/she sees	2.56	.94	3.15	1.09	-2.99
	A child who asks for what he/she needs without fear	4.15	.72	4.38	.530	-1.85
	Total	16.58	3.10	18.38	2.34	-3.36
Responsibility	A child who performs his/her morning routines without being helped or reminded	4.13	.56	4.15	.64	-.16
	A child who shows initiative to do things even if it is beyond his/her ability	3.71	1.02	4.00	.95	-1.50
	A child who tries to help him/herself and to be independent	4.37	.49	4.52	.54	-1.52
	Total	12.21	1.45	12.67	1.58	-1.55
	A child who doesn't interfere in the conversation of adults	3.87	1.01	3.29	1.10	2.77**
Obedience	A child who leaves when a guest arrives	3.33	1.13	2.54	.87	3.98
	A child who shows respect when a guest arrives by standing up from his/her seat or by bowing head	4.19	.79	3.87	.89	1.98*
	Total	11.38	2.48	9.69	2.02	3.82

**P<0.01   *P<0.05   ᵃ n=52   ᵇn=52

Finally, it can be noted that there is an emerging preference from the Addis Ababa group for qualities related to self-sufficiency as it can also be seen in some of the previous quotes:

One who works hard and tries his best to better himself

One who studies hard, who is appreciated by his friends and his schools, who has a purpose for the future…

One who has a career and establishes his own families.

After having asked the participants to give their perception of a 'good child', the researchers requested them to check how far they entertain those presented in Table 5. Their ratings are also summarized in Table 5.

Respondents from Addis Ababa and Nashville were asked to rate how far the qualities mentioned in Table 5 could describe a "'good child'? Five categories of good behaviors of a child are presented in this Table. As indicated in this table, Nashville group rate significantly higher than the Addis Ababa group for category of self-confidence (t102 = -4.64, P<.000), sociablity, t (102) = -2.37, P<.020, and asking question t (102) = -3.36, P<.001. However, Addis Ababa rated more for category of cultural values, t (102) = 3.82, p<.000. In relation to category of responsibility, there is no as such significant difference between the two groups, t (102) = -1.55, P<.123.

3.3 Parental Involvement in Childcare

Participants were asked about the involvement they have in childcare. Below are presented the English version of the qualitative description they gave in Amharic as well as descriptions of their involvements. Firstly, we present the Nashville fathers' responses:

> *Since a candle gives light to its surrounding, my contribution is to help them do well to their surroundings.*
> *I think children should not be overprotected. Also they shouldn't become indulgent. To live to the fullest, children should be guided as a friend; they should be given advice and reproach when they make mistakes, and should be rewarded when they do well. By doing these, they should be shown every aspect of life.*
>
> *Everything depends on the upbringing of the child, and God's word tells us that if you lead your child in its way, he doesn't go astray when he grows up.*
>
> *I tell my children that I won't prohibit them from doing things that they think about, dream about, and things that they want to be in the future.*

As it can be seen in the above quotes, fathers reported to engage with children in a non-punishing and threatening way. Although not specific about what they engaged for, they indicated that they also advise, encourage, and communicate in a friendly manner with their children. The Addis Ababa fathers also explained their involvement in a more or less the same way, but, unlike the Nashville group, they appear a bit more specific as to why they make involvements:

> *As an Ethiopian father, I contribute as much as possible for them to have knowledge and responsibility according to their age. Beginning from their childhood periods, I help them to have confidence and to take responsibility…*
> *Primarily, I teach my children that they came to this world not accidentally but with God's eternal plan and God's eternal action. I always teach them God's word so that they live in this world with a vision…*

With every opportunity I seize, I teach my children that I live in a low socio-economic state because I was not educated and that if they study, they can improve themselves.

The statistical analysis of the mean ratings summarized in Table 6 shows generally that the Nashville group tend to consistently make significantly higher involvements than the Addis Ababa group in building, among their children, qualities like independence, t (102) = -3.65, P<.000, self-esteem, t (102) = -5.65, P<.000, decision making, t (102) = -4.51 P<.000, and setting limit, t (102) = -3.43 P<.001. However, the Addis Ababa group makes significantly higher involvement than the Nashville group in encouraging family obligation, t (102) = 3.57, P<.001, among their children.

Table 6: Descriptive Statistics and Mean Test on Variables Relating to the "Parental Involvement in Child Care" (N=104)

Variables	Min	Max	Addis Ababa[a] Mean	SD	Min	Max	Nashville[b] Mean	SD	t-test
Independence	2	10	6.69	1.71	5	10	7.81	1.39	-3.65
Self-esteem	59	124	95.52	16.82	95	126	110.35	8.55	-5.67
Give freedom to choose	10	25	18.42	3.32	16	25	19.44	1.99	-1.9*
Decision making or problem solving	6	15	10.88	2.27	11	15	12.46	1.09	-4.51
Setting limit or rule	5	24	17.83	3.77	14	25	19.94	2.35	-3.43**
Family obligation	7	10	8.42	.72	6	10	7.87	.86	3.57

**P<0.001   *P<.05   [a] n=52   [b]n=52

3.3.1 Paternal involvement by educational background

Attempts were also made to check how educational background of the fathers generally affects their involvements with their children. The summary of the statistical analysis is presented in Table 7. As it can be seen in Table 7, the educational level of the participants extends from a minimum of secondary education up to undergraduate university education. Educational level makes a significant difference in building independence, F (2, 1010) = 20.74, P<.000, w^2=.02, self-esteem, F (2, 1010) = 20.74, P<.000, w^2=.28, freedom to choose, F (2, 1010) = 8.92, P<.000, w^2=.13, decision making, F (2, 1010) = 11.62, P<.000, w^2=.17, and setting limit, F (2, 1010) = 14.38, P<.000, w^2=.21. In all cases, better education appears to entail higher involvement to building these qualities, though these differences may not have very big effect sizes. In fact, the Tukey Multiple comparison test suggests that any time there is a significant F ratio, the mean of participants with secondary education is lower. This is evident in self-esteem, freedom to choose, decision making and setting limits.

Table 7: One Way ANOVA Showing the Effect of Educational Background on Forms of Paternal Involvement

Variable	Educational Level of Fathers	Mean	Sources of variance	Sum of Squares	df	Mean	F	w^2
Independence	Secondary education[a]	6.76	Between Groups	11.90	2	5.95	2.3*	.02
	Tertiary level-Diploma[b]	7.26	Within Groups	267.60	101	2.65		
	UG & above [c]	7.60	Total	279.50	103			
Self-Esteem	Secondary education	90.66	Between Groups	6950.38	2	3475.19	20.7	.28
	Tertiary level-Diploma	104.0	Within Groups	16926.2	101	167.59		
	UG & above	110.9	Total	23876.5	103			
Freedom to choose	Secondary education	17.24	Between Groups	118.93	2	59.47	8.9**	.13
	Tertiary level-Diploma	19.34	Within Groups	673.60	101	6.67		
	UG & above	19.80	Total	792.53	103			
Decision making	Secondary education	10.38	Between Groups	72.74	2	36.37	11.6	.17
	Tertiary level-Diploma	11.89	Within Groups	316.15	101	3.13		
	UG & above	12.43	Total	388.88	103			
Setting limit or rule	Secondary education	16.59	Between Groups	248.83	2	124.42	14.4	.21
	Tertiary level-Diploma	19.03	Within Groups	873.78	101	8.65		
	UG & above	20.43	Total	1122.62	103			
Family Obligation	Secondary education	8.03	Between Groups	2.77	2	1.39	2.00	.02
	Tertiary level-Diploma	8.00	Within Groups	70.07	101	0.69		
				72.84	103			
	UG & above	8.35	Total					

**P<0.001 *P<0.05

4. Discussion

The findings presented earlier are to be discussed under three headings: fathers' goal of childbearing, perception of a 'good child', and involvement in childcare.

4.1 Goals of Childbearing

When asked about the goals they have for childbearing, fathers in the two groups gave a wide range of responses generally showing that childbearing is part of God's plan for humans to multiply and is non-accidental except for very few fathers from the Addis Ababa group responded "*I got a child accidentally; I didn't have the plan and program to have children…*"For the greater majority, childbearing is a plan from God. Both groups of parents believed that children are God's blessing or *gifts of God and it is the God's word to multiply; a child is a responsibility given by God and, hence, it is impossible to have children by one's effort.*

Unlike the practice in Ethiopia, the fathers excluded *pressure from others* (parents, friends) as a reason for childbearing (an exception observed in a situation in which partners could dictate childbearing among the Nashville group). This could be because both groups are followers of the protestant church that upholds faith in God, rather than culture and tradition, as a framework in life. Religion as an important factor

for childbearing seems to assume an increasingly more important role among fathers in Addis Ababa compared to those in Nashville. This doesn't come as a surprise so long as the Addis Ababa group is rooted in a society where 99% of the population adheres to religious denomination of one kind or another (cited in Belay, 2008) compared with those in North America (and Western Europe) where a sharp decline was noted in membership in mainline (Methodist, Lutheran, Episcopal, Presbyterian) Protestant denominations (Altemeyer, 2004).

Functional values of children were also mentioned in both groups as added reasons for childbearing, despite some differences between the two groups: children are important for perpetuating my gene/family line, replace myself… (more in the Nashville group perhaps out of fear that separation from relatives and homeland may terminate continuity of life), children contribute to the love parents have to one another and in so doing bring joy to the family (both groups), serve as *foundation of marriage, strengthen marriage, show love/ trustworthiness to wife, useful for their family and country, are sources of pride* (more by the Addis Ababa group)…and such other reasons that uphold the realities of social life in Ethiopia today (Addis Ababa group) as *not to be alone, to be respected, to secure marriage, and because this is the purpose of marriage itself…*

On the contrary, the Nashville group tended to uphold that children are important in themselves-have a dream-child concept that colors their attitudes toward bearing children: *give my child opportunities that I didn't get, share the happiness emanating from raising and taking care of children, to be content and happy when these children are successful, beauty and decoration of the house, make you forget the bad things and you will be refreshed, one of the important things that I should do to be happy and get purpose in life is having children.*

Lastly, a seemingly changed attitude was observed in the commonly held belief in Ethiopia justifying childbearing in terms of economic and related benefit obtained from children. Fathers in both groups did not seem to agree with the fact that "children bring income for the family" and "children help parents with home chores". In fact, there are significant differences between the two groups when it comes to perceived future benefits of the children. That is, the Addis Ababa group tended to consider childbearing a source of support in old age compared to the Nashville group. This is mainly because children are believed to serve in Ethiopia as main source of social security in old age.

4.2 Fathers' Perception of a 'Good Child'

A number of qualities were commonly mentioned by both groups in a somewhat similar way like, for example, obedience and respectfulness. Both groups of participants have underscored that a 'good child' is the one having integrity in the Christian sense (fear, obey, love of God and parents), respect for people (parents, elderly, family, community) and laws, and is also obedient. However, the Addis Ababa group was significantly higher than the Nashville group in terms of rating the level of obedience.

The two groups still shared similarities in terms of mentioning such qualities as love and concern for others. However, while the Nashville group expressed them in very broader and abstract terms (e.g. *one who loves his country (people), one who is an enemy of hatred, one who can give his life to others, one who carries out responsibility towards*

*the next generation, one who brings joy to people and who uses pen as a tool rather than a firearm(to settle disputes),*the Addis Ababa group was more particular about these love and concern *(who thinks and does well for others, who does not think and do bad things on others, who is filled with compassion, who looks at things with love, does well for others, who contributes to his people as much as possible).*

Furthermore, the Addis Ababa group highly emphasized good character and morale as defining qualities of a 'good child' *(One with good morals, who refrains from behaviors that damage him and others, cares for the family's name, has good ethics, has a good manner, not drunkard, a gambler and a liar, who holds on to his culture…).* The importance of developing qualities of self-sufficiency was also mentioned as an important quality among the Addis Ababa group as many young people are unemployed in Ethiopia: *who works hard and tries to better himself, who studies hard, one who upon his completion of his education, has a career and establishes his own family, who has a purpose for the future, one who breaks out of the gloomy way of thinking of his environment or his family...*

A distinct feature of description of the Nashville group is that they tended to embody qualities that blend virtues of independence with obedience, conformity, interdependence: *one who struggles to live life to the fullest, who can take care of himself first and then contribute to his country or family, and who understands that in every competition there is winning and losing, who does not pretend to be someone else, self-confident, who lives to do something good in his life, who looks upon his destiny and works hard...*The Nashville group tended also to endorse in the close-ended items such qualities as self-confidence, sociability, and inquisitiveness significantly higher than the Addis Ababa group. This is in fact a tendency to cling both to the western values of childrearing and to that of Ethiopian implying that they are in a kind of some cultural transition.

4.3 Parental Involvement in Childcare

It can be understood from the qualitative responses that despite the fact that fathers were with a belief in children as gifts from God, they didn't push aside the role expected of them in upbringing their children. Rather, they were appreciative of the place of parenting in shaping the life of their children. Hence, all of them were involved, in one way or another, in influencing the positive development of their children. The data analysis presented earlier would suggest some ideas about the approaches, methods, reasons, and outcomes of this involvement.

As regards the approaches, they mentioned to engage in many different ways: *showing, teaching, helping, advising, than scolding when making mistakes, explaining, discussing, communicating and conversing, praying for, guiding, giving some responsibility, giving different opportunities, sharing thoughts, not overprotecting, reproaching and rewarding, tutoring, checking, encouraging, inspiring, training…*This pattern of involvement can be contrasted with one of the four dimensions of fatherhood (i.e. accessibility) which other scholars (cited in Keun, 2008) employed to describe the status of paternal enlightenment vis-a-vis gender roles (the other two that are to be raised

later are responsibility and involvement/interaction). 'Accessibility' refers to the father's being available to and approachable by his children physically and/or psychologically (Lamb, cited in Keun, 2008) regardless of the actual interactions between father and child (Catherine, 2000)as in, for example, reading a newspaper in the dining room while a child plays in the next room, or repairing a car in the garage while the child plays at the parent's feet (Lamb, cited in Keun, 2008), or even preparing the child's meal, cleaning up his room, and being in a nearby room while the child is in another(McBride et al., 2004).

In the light of these descriptions, the participants of this research seem to move from mere availability and exhibit 'responsibility'.   Responsible fathers are not only aware of the child's various needs but also are able to take measures to help meet these needs. This involves knowing when the child needs to go to the hospital, ensuring that the child has clothes to wear, arranging after school care and the care of sick children (cited in Keun, 2008). It also involves such qualitative characteristics of father- child interactions as warmth, affect, sensitivity and participation during specific involvements with children (Catherine, 2000).

In fact, many of the participants used broader descriptions (show, help, teach...) that would not allow learning how activities were perused on the ground. The fathers expressed that they were doing something for or with their children with anticipation that children will develop a certain desired behavior, but it could possibly be the least important for them to talk about how they were teaching, advising, helping, resolving conflicts etc. They appeared to focus on the outcome than on the process. In any case, the descriptions tell us that fathers were not using threatening methods—physical punishment, scolding, harsh treatment etc.   This is an interesting phenomenon of childrearing because many research evidences indicate that child abuse and maltreatment are rampant problems in Ethiopia (e.g. see Belay, 2015). This could be because of the fact that fathers might endorse a biblical advice of child rearing which upholds that guiding the children than harshly treating them is important for healthy outcomes as an adult:

"And, ye fathers, provoke not your children to wrath; but nurture them in the chastening and admonition of the Lord" (HB NT, Ephesians, 6:4),
"Fathers, provoke not your children, that they be not discouraged" (HB NT, Colossians, 3:21),
"Train up a child in the way he should go, And even when he is old he will not depart from it" (HB OT, Proverbs, 22:6).

Evidences also suggest some positive changes in paternal roles in more recent years (Belay, 2008) because of increased participation of mothers in the labor force challenging fathers to redefine their role and function within the family and, in particular, their role as parents (Awraris & Etsub, 2012). However, these changes do not seem to herald an advent of involved fatherhood which Furstenberg once noted American fathers becoming equally adept in changing diapers as they were in changing tiers (cited in Belay, 2008).

It can be understood that this phenomenon from the fathers' descriptions of their roles presented earlier in which it seemed that they had grown up children in mind when describing their involvements. Very little, if any, descriptions can be noted connecting fathers with routine childcare of babies and young children (bathing, feeding, changing

diapers)that address immediate rather than distant needs (like education, independence…). This dimension of involvement is what Lamb calls 'engagement' or interaction (cited in Natasha et al., 2013). It is defined as fathers' direct interaction with children during all the time they spent with children. Researchers have operationalized involvement time more specifically as focusing on three common types of activities of fathers with children: care giving (bathing, feeding, changing diapers), teaching (tutoring, helping children with homework),and playing(Catherine, 2000). However, such involvement does not include time spent in child-related household chores and time spent sitting in a room while the children play in the next room (Lamb in Keun, 2008).

The last issue regarding descriptions of paternal engagements pertains to purposes of involvement. The descriptions presented in the analysis section still suggest why fathers needed to make engagements with children. Many of the descriptions center on building desirable behaviors in children including: *respecting and forgiving people, facing challenges, doing well to their surroundings, non-indulgent, glorifying God and his son Christ, building life goals, developing fear of God, being genuine, making decisions, developing confidence, taking responsibility, be themselves and not pretending, working school routines, accepting their mistakes,* and *becoming competitive*. It is interesting to note that the participants were not mentioning at all their involvement in terms of inculcating or teaching traditional gender roles. They must have transcended the traditional gender role stereotyping. This appears an important change towards having an Ethiopian where gender role division is not relevant anymore.

Participants were also provided, in addition to the open-ended item, with a checklist of behaviors so that they can rate how much they engage in developing their children's attributes that were presented in six components: independence, self-esteem, freedom to choose, decision making or problem solving, setting limit or rule, and the last one was family obligation. Findings indicated that while the Nashville group exceeded in the first five domains, the Ethiopian group exceeded in the last measure. This is a reflection mainly of the cultural contexts of the fathers being at work. Evidences suggested that while USA upholds the culture of individualism, the African (including Ethiopian) and Asian (including Japan) societies are mainly of a collectivist type. Exploration, autonomy, willingness to express emotion, and a positive self-concept are valued in USA, whereas dependence, emotional restraint, self-effacement, and indirect expression of feelings are valued in the (collectivist) Japanese context (Morelli & Rothbaum, 2007; Greenfield et al., 2006) that would equally apply to the Ethiopian case.

Different research investigations have also evidenced that American society tends to give more emphasis for independence and autonomy of individuals (Fuligni, et al., 2002)that promotes children's (1) ability to interact independently with their world without a high degree of structure and support from others (Landry, Smith, Swank, & Miller-Loncar, 2000), (2) self-esteem (Herz & Gullone, 1999) that encompasses the evaluative aspect of self-conception or beliefs about the self that a child maintains (Herz & Gullone (1999), (3) freedom to choose (Bao & Lam, 2008) or a sense of having a choice and experiencing oneself as the initiator of one's actions (Bao & Lam, 2008), (4) decision making and problem solving ability (Rueter & Conger, 1998)or deliberation about experienced, as well as expected, outcomes and feelings (Crone & Molen, 2007), and (5) setting limit or rule setting(Bean, Bush, Mckenry & Wilson, 2003) that involves

clearly and appropriately articulated expectations ensuring compliance (Honig & Wittner, 1991).However, consistent with previous research (Levine, 1965; Cox, 1967; Ringness & Gander, 1974; Habtamu, 1979, 1995), fathers in Ethiopia rated themselves significantly higher engaging in family obligation that involves attitudes and behaviors related to the provision of support and respect to family members (Fuligni & Zhang, 2004) or a type of familial connection that emphasizes the membership of children in the larger social group of the family (Fuligni, Tseng, & Lam, 1999). On the other hand, while the American society place less importance on filial obligation (Fuligni, et al., 1999), an emphasis on family obligation is a common element of the unique cultural traditions in Asian, Latin American, and African societies (Kagitcibasi, 1990).

Finally, it was felt important to concomitantly check if educational background would, in addition to cultural differences, make a difference in fathers' ratings of their engagement in shaping children's behavior. Findings suggested that, consistent with previous research (e.g. Ahmed, 2013), there was a significant difference among fathers of different educational level in their engagements (Zill & Nord, 1994;Ahemed, 2013) to promote self-esteem, decision making, and setting though effect sizes were not found to be stronger. In fact, this difference in educational level is unlikely to make the two groups (Nashville and Addis Ababa) different in their engagements because they were comparable educationally.

5. Conclusion

Based on the findings and discussions made so far, the following conclusions are drawn:

1. Goal of childbearing and perception of a 'good child' were defined more in terms of the Christian biblical ethos that put 'God' in the center stage of explanation. Yet, fathers consider themselves agents of change enabling children to grow towards this orientation.
2. Functional values of children (psychological, social, and economic) were the other added reasons of childbearing that somehow differed for the two groups depending on their cultural contexts.
3. Perception of a 'good child' also contained values that are inherent in Ethiopian culture. The perception of the Nashville group also included some values of the American culture.
4. The two groups followed a less threatening approach of involvement unlike the practice in Ethiopia where child abuse and maltreatment were reported to be common. Furthermore, encouraging changes were observed in fathers moving away from the availability to the responsibility dimension.
5. Fathers' engagements in the six dimensions of behaviors were found indicative of the cultural orientation in which the two groups reside.
6. Fathers' educational level was found to make significant contributions to involvement with children though effect sizes were not very strong.

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[i]*Several investigations examining the effect of violations of statistical assumptions (in ANOVA and t-test) have consistently proved that non-normality has only a slight effect on the type I error rate, surprisingly even for seriously skewed or kurtotic distributions (e.g. see Peckham& Sanders in Stevens, 2007). F statistic is said to be robust with respect to the normality assumption particularly with large sample because of the Central Limit Theorem, which states that the set of observations having any distribution whatsoever is likely to approach a normal distribution as sample size increases. Bock specifically notes, "even for distributions which depart markedly from normality, sums of 50 or more observations approximate to normality. For moderately non-normal distributions the approximation is good with as few as 10 to 20 observations" (in Stevens, 2007). Yet, c^2-test of normality was conducted for confirmatory purposes yielding, as expected, that all the distributions were normal.*

[ii]*The last one is the independence assumption, by far the most important assumption, for even a small violation of it produces a substantial effect on both the level of significance and the power of the F statistic. According to Stevens (2007), just a small amount of dependence among the observations causes the actual α to be several times greater than the nominal. Dependence among observations was measured by the intraclass correlation R, where: R = (MSb – MSw)/[Sb + {(n – 1)MSw}] such that calculated values closer to .3 show medium dependence and those with values closer to .10 show small dependence. Accordingly, all the calculated values were far less than .10 suggesting a very small dependence among observations.*

[iii]*As regards homogeneity of the population variances, if the number of cases in the groups are equal or approximately equal (i.e. largest/smallest < 1.5), then the F statistic is also robust for unequal variances (Stevens, 2007) and hence this assumption, too, can be disregarded. In the present case, the biggest possible difference (i.e. 40/29 for educational attainment groups) is 1.38, which is far lower than 1.5 implying the variances can be assumed to be equal. However, as in the normality assumption, the researchers also checked the comparability of variances applying Cochran's formula (such other statistical tests as Bartlett's and Hartley's Fmax) can also be applied for checking homogeneity of variance when the observations are normally distributed. These formulas all suffer from being very sensitive to non-normality.Application of Cochran's formula also confirmed that the variances are comparable.*