



ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY

**TELEVISION IN FAMILY: KANA TELEVISION AND
EVERYDAY LIFE IN ADDIS ABABA, ETHIOPIA**

BY:
BEZA TIZAZU

ADVISOR: TEKALIGN AYALEW (PhD)

DECEMBER, 2020

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A Thesis Submitted to Department of Social Anthropology in Partial Fulfillment of
Requirement for Master of Arts in Social Anthropology

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Abstract

It is obvious that our everyday life is highly bound up with media, including print, electronic and currently new media. By employing anthropological ethnographic methods and through the lenses of cultural studies and structuration theoretical approaches this research tries to look at the introduction, fitting and embeddedness of Kana television into the everyday lives of families. It is also the aim of the research to look at the relationship between people and the TV while watching Kana. The research is focused in Addis Ababa of some selected sub-cities where frequent viewers are informed to be found. The study specifically is concerned with why Kana TV won the attention of the majority of viewers unlike other TV channels introduced at the same time, how families and family members try to fit Kana with their everyday life, what the role of actors is in turning the TV from a new guest to an everyday activity of watching.

Accordingly, the findings of the research indicate that Kana TV got the attention of the people within short period of time for the reason that it bridged the global, the far culture, with the local through language. In addition, the scheduling of the programs considered the time schedule of the viewers. Moreover, it was found that interpersonal relations in family when it comes to viewing Kana is somehow political and the social relation in the realm of watching goes beyond family bonds. Regarding the relationship between the TV and the viewers, the research revealed that not all the people give the same meaning for what is presented and not all members of families watch the same channels. As a result, preference differences are negotiated in family accordingly. The research also asserted that people use television for different purposes in line with the time and other household activities. Finally, the research implied that the everyday discourses about and regarding Kana are related with globalization effects in which the arguments regarding globalization have a role in building up the 'self' and 'other' identity.

In addition, it showed that anthropological studies of media may give a hint on how families in our modern society are living with media and how culture negotiate with other cultures that are displayed on the screen.

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Chapter One

1. Background of the study

1.1. Introduction

Media are everywhere in our industrialized and modernized world today. It seems that no social activity, now a days, is possible without the interference of media. People perform daily activities in line with watching television or listening to a radio or using Facebook or watching YouTube. In other words, people have made, consciously or unconsciously, these media their daily activities and part of the daily lives. It seems, in the current modernized world, daily practices, communication and interaction without media is unthinkable for the reason that they create ties in human society at individual, family and social levels and indeed at international level for that matter (Morley 1986, Thongprayon and Hill 1996).

One of the main aspect of media is television. As Silverstone (1994) indicated television has become “a central dimension of our everyday lives.” Some also gives television a tag ‘the old media which never gets old’ (Keilbach and Stauff 2013:79). Its pervasiveness is increasing and hard to ignore. Wasko (2005:3) argued that television is not just part of everyday life, but it is a ‘fundamental part’ of everyday life for most of us. It has the potency and the power in society yet its power is mediated by the social and cultural world in which it is situated. Therefore, Television should be studied more in its natural setting, which is home-family (Morley 1992:2).

It is undeniable that television is a medium of power and is significant in our everyday life, but it is important to understand the complex and determining relationships between media and the natural setting in which it engages in. What position does television, radio and other media occupied in our society’s day to day live and social relationships? How have they helped develop a new arrangements in time, space and place in a culture with globalizing tendencies? These are questions Moores (2000:1) asked. These questions have been answered by different scholars though the focus of their research varies across the kind of media and scope (e.g. Morley 1992, Silvesrtone 1994, Moores 2000, Gauntlett and Hill 1999).

Since my childhood and until recently ETV (Ethiopian Television) has been the major television channel in Ethiopia that is known to most of us, at least in my age which is not even close to 30. In Ethiopia television is said to be introduced in 1960’s, to be particular in 1964

(Ellene *et al.* 2003:39) and since then its use and meaning has been increasing from time to time and in different places. In recent years, not more than a decade, the country has witnessed the rise of private television channels including Kana.

Kana television channel was first introduced in 2016 GC. Since its premiere kana has earned a steadily increasing notoriety and popularity, acceptance and challenges possibly to say in the whole country. The aim of my study is not what is transmitted on the channel, what the content of the program is or who the producer is. Rather, I am intended to explicate the reasons behind acceptance and the challenges of the channel, what the everyday understandings and discourses are revolving around the channel, what interpersonal relations look like while watching Kana, how these relationships are altered and in addition to understand how the television is made part of everyday life and finally how it come to be an everyday life itself. By everyday life, in this research, it is to mean that, considering the complexity and ubiquity of the term, television and the day to day existence of people, the things that people do from home to work place, to recreational cites, to religious spaces, to public spheres and back to home, are in seamless coexistence. How people's day begins, how it is passed, and how it is switched at night will all be included under the concept of everyday life. Moreover, Silverstone (1994) questions whether the very existence of societies could possibly be outside television and its compulsions. Thus, everyday life is just the whole of our daily life and activity including making breakfast, gardening, hanging out, walking into town, in which watching television from morning to night is involved (Agre 1988:13). Thus, the popular opinions goes on about Kana altering everyday life from the very first time it is introduced are also included.

While people say that Kana television has brought changes to everyday life (to the things they hold as obviously and characteristically done like their attitude towards the culture of others, to the interpersonal interactions they perceive as normal and undisputable, to the courses of distinction of families from others), there are a number of things they are implying. Unless we research them, however, we do not know what people really mean by the life that is altered by the TV.

It is also argued that all the technological products have brought us to something new, to a new phase of history.

It is always said that television has altered our world... people often speak of a new world, a new society, a new phase of history, being created-brought about- by this or that new technology...we have got so used to statements of this general kind, in our most ordinary discussions that we can fail to realize their specific meanings (Williams 1974:9).

In fact television can be studied differently in different perspectives. As put by Spitulnik (1993:293) they, media, are economically and politically driven and they are linked to developments in science and technology. They are bound up with the use of language and these different modalities lead to study media from different points of view. Angles to study media anthropologically include: 1) as institutions- like any other institutions of society (religious, economic and political institution) media can be considered as an institution which contributes to the wellbeing of society, 2) as work places-as a place where people get job and hired for their economic benefit, 3) as communicative practices, 4) as cultural products (as discussed by Williams (1974)) considering television and other technologies as a cultural product of societies, 5) social activities-implying that television watching is a collective activity not a solo activity, 6) as aesthetic forms and 7) as historical developments- as a change in which we can see particular society's history.

Here, in this research, therefore, Kana Television watching will be considered as a social activity-a daily practice- a kind of practice people do at certain place and in certain time collectively. When compared with other activities like cinema going, attending a stadium, television watching will be considered as a privatized activity. However, it is still conducted within social relations-which in the sense of my research is a family. One thing that should be noted here, when I focus on a specific TV channel, is that I am not concerned with success or failure of it. As Adorno (1991:158) explained it researchers of television are not concerned with effectiveness of any particular show or program. Rather my focus is the routine presence of Kana television in everyday life and the life that is said it altered.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

Early in 2016 a lot of notices and commercials have been released about a newly television channel in the country. The commercials clearly stated that the coming television channel is totally new and unusual in the Ethiopian television history. The name of the channel, 'Kana'- an Amharic word which may has the meaning of flavor or taste as for food and drink, smell or

odor as for incense, and tone as for melody- , the motto it uses, ‘Kana Wuste Naw’-literally meaning Kana is inside me- and the symbolic logo it brought, they all attracted attention of the mass.

Before the emergence of Kana television the proliferation of Arab channels in Ethiopia was high with the emergence of satellite dishes. They have dominated Ethiopian television viewing for a long. Some argue that, for example Elias Schulz-the co-founder of Kana TV-quoted in Jeffrey (2017), a freelance journalist at Aljazeera, Ethiopians do speak Arabic language as fluent as Amharic which implies that Arab Channels on Nile sat has got a lot of viewers and audiences. Though I do not agree with Schulz’s preposition that Ethiopians do speak Arabic as fluent as their mother tongue I admit that people used to watch Arab channels for entertainment purpose and its influence is not something we deny. But now Kana has outweigh them, Jeffrey argues, in terms of people in every corner of the country appear to mention the name of the channel in one or another way.

Moreover, once in a while writers, bloggers, journalists and social activists on different media and on social media try to rationalize the emergence of it both in negative and positive ways. Thus, why Kana television is that much accepted and challenged at the same time and why it is this much popular while still there are other new television channels like Nahoo, LTV, ENN,¹ and others in the country introduced newly and at the same time with Kana is the initial point and problem of my research. People assume that Kana is different from all the other channels for its programs. In the very beginning it came up with a new approach, presenting all the programs dubbed in Amharic and moving from all the political turmoil in the country it gave the people a place and a space to rest upon. As informed by people in different places, and some bloggers and journalists like Jeffrey (2017) also argued that people are bored for what has been presented on the television stations in the country. But the boredom extended to the level that people needed somewhere to divert their attention to from what they see and hear on the ground regarding the politics of the country.

Jeffrey (2017) indicated that more than 90% of Kana programs are dubbed from foreign shows. The programs focus purely on entertainment. People in one or another way reflect that television used to be boring. Their argument rests upon the similarity of shows on different channels. Most of the channels said to show mainly news and similar programs.

¹ Some of the television channels that were aired at the same time with Kana, like LTV and ENN has stopped transmission except Nahoo.

Therefore, Kana is not simply watched as any other channel. It was rationalized, discussed face to face, online on new media platforms like Facebook and debated, apparently. Moreover, it was commercially accompanied by banners and printed brochures to be posted on dirt cans in the streets of Addis Ababa which all implies the intention if not the extent of Kana TV to reach the majority of the population in one way or another.

As a time passes, though the discourses, arguments and the debates seems cease to exist anymore, popularity and the pervasiveness of Kana television increased as I witnessed it in different places. Debates and arguments regarding Kana; about its negative and positive impacts, the indication that media freedom is flourishing, the changes it brought are continued more in a logical way.

We have all these informal debates and ideas about Kana while the people did not stop watching it. But academically this debates and arguments and everyday talks about how life is altered should go beyond what can hypothetically be understood and grasped. As Silverstone (1994) generally argues, the significance of television in and for everyday life, the meaning it holds, everyday discourse about it and the place it holds in our society should be seen through the lenses of empirical study.

Nevertheless, the existing anthropological, nationally and internationally produced works of researches on media and communication focused on ideas like, the influence of media on youths, children socialization and media, western media and cultural imperialism, media and the understanding of gender.

Hence, less is known regarding media and everyday life in family in Ethiopian context. In fact, most of the researches particularly from journalism and communication department focuses on how some events are articulated in different media, how the audience received certain program (e.g. Kalkidan 2017, Mamush 2016), the impact of satellite television on audiences (e.g. Gera 2017). Some of them tried to see the legal and political implications of some media while others focused on the impact of certain programs on adults, kids and gender issues (e.g. Fitsum 2017). Almost all of the researches I reviewed in to my capacity are quantitative ones. While writing up my thesis's final chapter I found in January 2019 a research conducted by Daniel Erena in 2018. The research of Daniel focused on the perceived effects of Kana television on high and preparatory school students, teachers and administrators. The research was largely quantitative one similar with the researches

mentioned above. He analyzed the frequency of watching, the contents of the channel, and exposure of students, teachers and administrators to the TV.

In addition to these, there was also an article in Addis Admas Gazette, (an article by Yitagesu, 2016, entitled 'Kana weyis Kata') and a book in Amharic written by Arif Abdulkadir Hussien that was already on market in June 2016 almost three months after Kana went live.

Both the works of Yitagesu and Arif focused on hypothetical issues like what Kana's negative impacts will be in the future. to be specific while Yitagesu (2016) in his article, from personal understanding focused on the negative implications of Kana-without ignoring some of the positive impacts it may bring, Arif (2016) generally comments that Kana television is a means of cultural imperialism. In other words Arif hypothesizes, inferring from the experiences of other countries like Nigeria, that westerners use media to penetrate through the cultures of non-westerners so as to impose their two major areas of imperialism; economic and political (Arif 2016:154). The majority of these works are based on literature review and personal assumptions drawn from work experience. I happen to recognize, through my investigation of media related researches and written accounts in the country that no one has focused on Kana and everyday life in particular, at least not anthropologically.

Taking these gaps into consideration, in this research, I try to bring a qualitative study of television, particularly of Kana television and everyday life. Moreover, a number of researches (almost all researches on media are from journalism and communication field) regarding media have investigated it from the point of view of communication paradigm, the hypodermic model or needle effect² or uses and gratifications theory³. Apparently either they analyze a content or try to show the amount of time spent watching TV and then the impact. However, as de Certeau (1984:XII) noted it, two folds of researching the media are there. On the one hand researchers may analyze what has been presented on the television (content), which is the issue of representation, and the time spent watching television (behavior), on the other. These two different stances should be complemented by the study of what "the cultural consumer makes or does during these times and with these images." Therefore, there is also a theoretical gap on these researches. Thus, the aim of my study is to understand how Kana

² **Hypodermic model or the bullet theory** argues that mass media have a direct and immediate powerful effect on its receivers. The message, accordingly, is accepted wholly by audiences (Nwabueze and Okonkwo 2018).

³ **Uses and gratifications theory** is an effect analysis theory that describes viewers are aware of their selection of media content in response to their desire and need and it uses self-reports to look at media behavior (Valkenburg et.al 2016).

television is embedded in everyday life and how people live with it from cultural studies-‘a veritable ragbag of ideas methods and concerns from literary concerns, sociology, history, media studies and etc....’as described by Sparks (1996), structuration (Giddens 1984) points of views and Appadurai’s mediascape concept. Most importantly, unlike other studies from Ethiopian context television viewing is understood as social activity- a view which has never been taken into consideration in the study of media.

1.3. Objectives of the Study

1.3.1. General Objective

The general objective of my study is to show how people and particularly different families are living with kana television.

1.3.2. Specific Objectives

The specific objectives of my research include:

- To explain why Kana television, unlike other television channels that are introduced at the same time, is gaining all the attention of the people within short period of time.
- To explore interpersonal relations in the realm of watching Kana TV in the family and beyond that are resulted of personal differences in channel preferences.
- To analyze the uses and misuses that Kana TV is put into in relation with the meanings given to it.
- To analyze the everyday opinions, debates and discourses about kana television.

1.4. Research Questions

A) Why Kana television has become so popular shortly after its introduction unlike other television channels in the country? What are the factors that gave rise to the influentially Kana?

B) Morley (1986) wrote that despite the moral panics about television and family little is known about these two. Thus, the following questions should be asked. How does people fit Kana with their routine movements and activities in families? How do they balance between the conflicting demands of members? What interpersonal relations look like in the family and beyond?

- C) Since the research focus is on families, variation in use is something we cannot deny as the familial interactions differ. Therefore, How different families use Kana for what purposes? What are the meanings attached to this channel and in particular to its motto?
- D) Despite the fact that people do not stop watching Kana there are a lot of informal assumptions in communality. Indeed, there are political discourses people make about the channel. Therefore, I would like to ask what these rumors, arguments and discourses are. What is implied behind all these arguments and debates?

1.5. Significance of the Study

As far as my research is concerned, I hope it will help a number of other anthropology graduates and anthropologists to move a little away from the obvious, assumed research topics to diverse topics. In doing so, the existing anthropological knowledge will broaden itself more and ascertain that anthropology is more multidisciplinary than we thought it is. For those in the academic arena, this research will provide them with an elaborated description of everyday life and its link with media from the point of view of social activity. For a long period of time media has been a taboo topic for anthropology and was not taken as a research theme. So my study from the perspective of media as social activity, as applied in everyday life, will give a new point of view for researchers from anthropology and even journalism and communication fields to look to the audiences and their natural setting. Therefore, the study of media will be taken into the level of analyzing the context in which it is situated. It will also give readers a different perspective on how to look at media in general and television in particular to see it as part and a maker of structure not only as an impact bringer.

1.6. Delimitation and Scope of the Study

This research is delimited to the study of television, particularly Kana television channel. It is a study of television as social activity. Television watching can be both individual and group activity. Though television is everywhere in the current modern world the primary and “natural” setting of television (Morley 1992 and Silverstone1994), is home where family lives and my study attempts to understand everyday life and television going together in family. Because of a lot of factors like time and shortage of required research materials the study took place in Addis Ababa. Because of the manageability and the intended data to get the total

number of families studied is 9. But it should be noted that the data in this research cannot be generalized for it is undertaken in small scale-at family level with only limited number.

1.7. Limitations of the Study

One of the challenging thing in this research was time. With the given limited time in the field, and the complexity of the research topic in terms of lack of materials to review as literature, to come up with the intended insightful data was so challenging. As a reaction to time limitations the data that can be found in all possible ways are retrieved from different places. Nevertheless, the data collection area is highly focused in Addis Ababa. Kana television is almost in every corner in Addis. It is in home, in cafeterias, in restaurants, in schools, in hospitals and in work places. Its presence can be seen on transportation, in our speech, metaphorical expressions, internet and social media. So, for the reason that Kana is everywhere and its viewers are almost all over Addis Ababa, I thought this city is an ideal site for my research.

Finding every member of a family at the same time was the other challenge of the research. I had to conduct in depth interviews on weekends for two reasons; one, individuals run for survival and they spend most of their time on work from Monday to Friday. The free time they allowed me was 2 to 3 hours per week and two, to include the voice of every family member as much as possible I had to find them all at once. This was not something I can do on every random day. Therefore, most of the in depth interview was held on weekends which precluded adequacy of the data I require. Because of these reasons the research participants are limited to 9 families. If this research was conducted on larger scale it would have produced a more generalized and sufficient data.

Accessing media related literatures was the most difficult part in this research. Most of the reference materials I am able to access are not anthropological and the anthropological ones are used frequently throughout my research are old dated. This was because, as indicated by Saxbe *et.al* (2011:181) relatively few studies examined everyday social context of TV viewing. Among these the majority of them are more than 20 years old. Accordingly, I tried to come up with as efficient literatures as possible unlike the lack of media related anthropological works in Ethiopian and everyday life context. Because of this I used British and American literatures as a starting point, as literature and as conclusive accounts.

Chapter Two

2. Literature Review

2.1. The Meaning of Everyday Life

Scholars say that there is some ‘obscurity’ about what everyday life is. Lefebvre (1958, 1991) asks where everyday life is found. Is it in workplaces or during leisure time? Is it in family and outside the culture? (Lefebvre in Silverstone 1994:159). Lefebvre continues to further illustrate that, in the first glance, the answer to these questions seems obvious and simple. Everyday life comprises all these three places-work, leisure and family life. Nevertheless, this answer is not satisfactory because the immediate question regarding everyday life comes forward. Where does the living contact operate? In family or at work? Are there different modalities of contact? What is the concrete form of contact? What are the relations? Are they complementary or contradictory? And a lot other questions rise. So, Lefebvre reflected on the highly complex but an important issue of everyday life- its invisibility, on its contradictions, on its vitality and its capacity for transcendence (Silverstone 1994:159).

Sztompka (2008) tries to enlighten the defining traits of everyday life despite its obscurity. The first is that, everyday life is an “observable manifestation” of someone’s existence. This existence in turn includes relations with other people and possibly with other things. Whenever we are alone we even interact with people who are not around or we think about a thing. Thus, everyday life is based on interactions. Secondly, everyday life is repeated. The events are may be cyclical-routines. They are may be rhythmic. They are repeated may be day after day, week after week or month after month. People may take trips on weekends, or go out for drink at the end of the week, or go to church on Sundays, or visit monasteries monthly. All these are included in everyday life when they become routine, cyclical or rhythmic.

Thirdly, everyday life is ritualized, dramatized and stylized. In some stances, it is un-reflexive and deeply written scripts lead the events. Fourth, everyday life involves our body and emotions. According to Sztompka, our body is an essential part of our relation with others. Even where we are in distance relation with others, the tone of our voice is important. Fifth, everyday life is space concerned. It happens in certain places like home, churches, cafeteria,

on transportation and so on. The character of the site determines the style and the form of everyday life. Sixth, everyday life has temporal durations, some last long while some last in short time. Seventh, everyday life, often, flows un-reflexively. It is to say that people do not really recognize what they are doing, they just do things as habit. They are not fully aware of their actions (Sztompka 2008:9-10).

When we say that people are not fully aware of what they are doing it doesn't mean that everyday life has no orders. For more arguments, Silverstone (1994:1) adds that everyday life cannot be sustained without orders. According to him the orders of everyday life are manifested in our rituals, traditions, everyday routines, and activities that are taken for granted. To maintain everyday life, Silverstone continues, we invest, what he calls 'paradoxical investment', energy and effort on one side and cognitive and emotional resources on the other side. It is with all this paradox in ordering everyday life that we avoid panic, we construct identities, we build and maintain social relationships in time and space, we share meanings and so many other characters and we finally avoid chaos.

After all these critical points, Kaun and Fast (2014 indicating Bengtsson (2007)), stated everyday life can be considered as a specific sphere where cultural processes take shape and are given meaning by individual subjects. Accordingly, the everyday constitutes the surroundings for experiences that are routine and concrete, context dependent and socially constructed. For a definition Bengtsson quotes Lefebvre arguing that the everyday life refers to: what is humble and solid, what is taken for granted and that of which all the parts follow each other in such a regular, unvarying succession that those concerned have no call to question their sequence; thus it is undated and (apparently) insignificant; though it occupies and preoccupies it is practically untellable, and it is the ethics underlying routine and the aesthetics of familiar settings (Lefebvre 1991:24 in Bengtsson 2007:64). Therefore, everyday life in this research constitutes practices that are related with watching television routinely. These practices and activities, ranging from coming home from work, having dinner, spending some time with family members to being mixed with other family members are considered to be important for the day to day lives of people and they revolve around television. Additionally expressions in everyday language use, the talk people have about television is also considered as routine and daily. In different times it is argued that media are highly bound up with the use of language (Spitulnik 1993).

2.1.1. Family

People deal with a lot of things at home. They include or exclude someone to or from the family based on their own parameters. They live together and they still know how to live individually. But what is family after all is a pressing question. There are a lot of perspectives and definitions about what families are or what family is. In every corner of the globe, be it western or non-western, every society identifies some kind and form of family as part and corner stone of its basic foundation. Trask (2010:21) wrote that the concept of family is always filled with symbolic meanings and lived experiences. It implies that as the experience differs, not everyone have the same experience, the meaning and the symbolic representation family holds also differs (see also Silverstone 1994). Nevertheless, Trask continues, whatever form and meaning a family holds it is the same everywhere in a way of being the first foundation of protection, nurturance and socialization.

For the purpose of this research both the nuclear and the extended family forms are taken into consideration, unlike Morley (1992), who mostly did ignore television in extended family. But it should also be noted that in the activity of watching television the family network extends beyond a simple tag of kinship to non-relatives. This implies families should be understood as embedded in wider social relations, as the act of watching itself is embedded beyond the kinship networks, not simply as a separate unit of kin individuals living together (Silverstone 1994:33).

Despite the fact that family is a complex concept to define, it is obvious that family is a social unit in which most of our media ‘consumption’ takes place and where we get introduced to them (Silverstone 1994:33). Families, in these research, therefore, will be understood from the perspective of the participants but two forms of families-nuclear and extended forms- are included so that it can be possible to see the differences of television and everyday life in different family forms. Moreover, families are considered to be fluid, changing in contexts, as the experience of watching itself differs among individual members.

2.2. Living with Television

The acceptance of television has been changed, in fact increased, over time. Television viewing is never the same with what it used to be 20 or 30 years ago or 50 years ago. Perspectives on what television is, how it should be seen, how to live with it and what it

means to a society has been altered and changed from time to time. People have multichannel choices, high quality and variety streaming dishes, multitasking televisions.

Television is said to be introduced in 1950's. Since then, it is argued, television has become a medium of power and significance in and for everyday life. The way we perceive it is changed and more precisely our understanding of television has become more broad and specific, critical and every day, personal and social. As Silverstone put it 'we need to think about television as psychological, cultural and social form. We need to think about the medium as more than just a source of influence, neither as bad nor as good. We need to think about television as embedded in the everyday discourse' (Silverstone 1994: X).

One thing that no one can deny is that television is a technology-which is also a culture- and living with it is a culture. That is how media researchers tried to explain it (see Silverstone 1994, Moores 2000, and Morley 1992). According to their culture, form of the group, interaction and communication extent (Lull 1980) people may use television differently in different times for different purposes in different places. In the following paragraphs, therefore, I will discuss the uses of television as discussed by some researchers.

2.2.1. The Uses of Television in Family

Audience members use television in different ways, argues Lull (1980). As far as television is concerned, television researchers study the basic television viewing group that is family. According to Lull the communication pattern of the family-whether it is socio oriented family or concept oriented family- contribute greatly to the varying uses of television (Lull 1980:318).

Lull referred back to a research by Bechtol in 1970. Bechtol (1970), indicated in Morley (1992), argues that "television viewing does not occur in the vacuum, it is always to some degree background to a complex behavior pattern in the home." Following Bechtol's conclusion Lull was interested in examining the social uses of television to what he described as "environmental resource" which he clarified as to create a flow of constant background noise to accomplish household chores (Lull 1980).

In his research article of "*Family Communication Patterns and the Social Uses of Television*" Lull documented more than 30 individual uses of television and categorized them into six part

typology which acknowledged a primary division between *structural* and *relational* uses of Television. Accordingly, structural uses are environmental (background noises, entertainment) and regulative (uses related with time and household activities and chat patterns). These uses are highly related with the day to day to life of the family and they are concerned with the structure of the family. Relational uses on the other hand include communication facilitation (conversational entrance, agenda for chat, etc.), affiliation or avoidance (to contact or neglect, to stick with others or to ignore them), social learning (behavior modeling, value transmission, etc.) and competence and or dominance (argument facilitation, authority exercise, role enactment, etc.) (Lull 1980:323).

Following these critical points Hall (1973) raise the issue of power. When it is someone in control of selecting the programs, it is always assumed to be the father. This implies, as Morley, that familial relationships are inevitably power relations, like any other relation in the wider social and political arenas. Accordingly, Lull's finding shows that fathers are always behind the television set or they are always one of those who controls the television set. The mesmerizing thing is that it is mothers and children who regard fathers in this way not the fathers themselves.

It is implied, in these researches, that television is solely a top down imposition of parents, particularly from fathers onto other members. Nevertheless, these studies did not recognize how an access to a television remote by other members, for instance mothers and children, leads to the pervasiveness of a specific channel in everyday life. When it comes to Kana television most importantly children and mothers control the viewing activity. Therefore, the use of television, I argue, is based not only on the type of family but also personal relations in the family and beyond it.

2.2.2. Television and Everyday Life

Television is a domestic medium. It is watched at home. It is ignored at home. Discussed at home. Watched in private and with members of family or friends. But it is part of our domestic culture in other ways too, providing in its programming and its schedules models and structures domestic life or at least certain versions of domestic life. It is also a means of our integration into a customer culture through which our domesticity is both constructed and displayed (Silverstone 1994:24).

The great emphasis that Silverstone gave in this paragraph is that television is the part and parcel of our everyday life in which we engage with family and friends, with which we hang out when we are alone, through which we pass to the popular culture, from which we take elements to construct our domestic culture and is constructed and in which we show these domesticities. He also argues that television, since it is a programmed media with schedules, provides models and structures not for all aspects of everyday life but at least to certain dimensions of domestic life.

In the same way Gauntlett and Hill (1999:21) holds that the relationship between television and 'daily living' is a complex relation. Similar to Silverstone, they wrote that though television is a significant part of everyday life it does not necessarily determine the planning of day to day activities. Moreover, they further expanded the idea of how television goes with everyday life to the different types of household arrangements and forms. They notify it is important to identify, first, what kind of family we are dealing with when we talk about everyday life and television. Because household is not the nuclear family and not synonymous with it. In their study of television, culture and everyday life with 450-plus viewers in Britain, their household consisted of students, single parents, elderly and people living alone. Therefore, they are critical about linking the household arrangement and television watching with the logic that if household take different forms, so does the conduct of everyday life and television watching.

One of the important issues in everyday life and television watching is time and schedule. As far as how families arrange time in household is concerned Gauntlett and Hill (1999) asked their respondents to write about their typical day. How they spend the day, what time is the meal time and similar questions are presented to the respondents. These questions led to discussion about breakfast, lunch, and dinner meal times in the household. The way in which family organized their time with work, hobbies and television viewing is analyzed. They found that people's daily activities are shifted, elongated or cut short to accommodate with the scheduled programs of the television.

In the morning the majority of the respondents of Morley and Gauntlett and Hill responded that they did not fit their activities with television programs. Some did fit their activities occasionally (Gauntlett and Hill 1999:24). Afternoon is said to be more of relaxation time, though this is based on family needs, hobbies and work.

From these researches it can be understood that, as Edward Hall's (1973) distinction, people will manage time in two ways; monochromatic time and polychromatic time in their everyday life. Monochromatic time is characterized by schedules, segmentation and promptness while polychromatic time emphasizes the happening of several things at the same time. These distinction largely helps to see how television is integrated into everyday life by different families. Bryce (1987:122-3 in Silverstone 1994) argues that an understanding of dynamics of families temporality provides a bright path to the understanding of how television is integrated into everyday life and its place in family.

For these researches did not focus on a particular channel, I believe, they missed how television maintained its place in the world where new technologies are invented every day. I hold that the 'old media which never gets old' maintained its place for the reason that it brought different channels with different formats. Television, as a media, is not a new invention neither for the world nor for our society. But the new channels holds the place of being new and it, I argue, is always should be the focus of researchers to look at how these new channels are integrated into everyday life and how life of people is still influenced by the 'old media' through its new channels. Thus, it is not how television as media and invention influences peoples life that is the focus of this research, rather it is how certain channel influences and alters life.

2.2.2.1. Television and Social Interaction in the Family

It is somehow evident that media technologies influence society as a whole. The integration of media technologies into family in particular can imply a significant change in personal relation in family. McGrath (2012) holds that media can influence the social interaction in many different ways. Media technologies including the new media will help in increasing family interaction amongst family members in bridging generations. This is to imply that media technologies are not generation specific in terms of for whom they are produced. In other words, every member of a family or a society can be user of these technologies. On the other hand media technologies can lead to a privatized way of life by creating a difference on preferences.

A number of studies examined whether television viewing is a solo activity or a shared and communal activity. Villegas (2012) indicated that meal times provide a great opportunity of communications between family members and as a result meaningful relationships are

formed. Nevertheless, television is so entrenched in day-to-day routines of families that there has to be some kind of impact. Accordingly, by indicating some researches in America, Villegas put that parents and children have different assumption about how television should be watched. Parents believed that television is a social activity whereas children hold that television viewing is a solo activity (Villegas 2012:9). Thus, families who prefer to watch television together may enhance togetherness while the opposite holds true for families who hold that television should be watched alone. This study of mine particularly considers television watching as a social activity, taking family as a primary setting where television is consumed and introduced to members.

2.3. Trends in the Study of Media and Television

For a long period of time the study on media has focused on and was dominated by impact or effect studies from the perspective of hypodermic model, also called the needle effect and Gerbner's (1969) cultivation theory. The question of media studies, therefore, was highly concerned on the influence of the medium (Silverstone 1994:132). Prior to the study of effects of television, which first appeared at the end of 1940's (UNESCO 1963) effect studies have undertaken on some other media like films. There were also a lot of studies on motion pictures financed by the Payne Fund since the 1930's. As the report and annotated bibliography by UNESCO (1963) asserted that all questions regarding television-the effect on leisure time, effect on violence, addiction, contribution to knowledge, and so forth- were questions and problems investigated in connection with other media particularly films. These studies try to show how much media is influential by its nature. Osorio (2000) wrote that most of anthropological and social science researches regarding media in general and television in particular fall under the study of effects. Todd Gittlin also noted that in the history of media sociology the dominant paradigm that stands after Lazarsfeld is the search for specific, measurable, individual, and collective, short term, behavioral and attitudinal 'effects of media content' (Gittlin 1978:207). These studies of effect have focused on different groups of society like children, youth or students and dimensions of it like is it bad effect or good effect.

2.3.1. Phases of Media Studies

McQuail (1979) classified the study of effects of media into three main stages: the first phase which lasts from the turn of the century to the 1930's, the second phase from 1940's to 1960's and the third phase from 1960's onwards. In the first phase media effects studies were

developed in North America and Europe where media is attributed to shape opinion and belief, alter social life, shape behaviors and impose political systems. According to McQuail these studies were not based on scientific investigation but rely on observation of the sudden extension of the audience to the majorities and the attraction of the press, cinema and radio. During this stage social science theories, methods and concepts to study media are yet to develop.

The second phase was highly shaped by mass communication research in the US and characterized by the application of empirical methods to specific problems about the effects of media. Though the empirical accounts produced and the range of questions answered were small in amount the contribution of this stage was high. Implicit during this phase was hypodermic model. The notable and influential researchers and proponents of this time were Lazarsfeld (1944) and Berelson (1954) their research on presidential elections of 1940 and 1948 (McQuail 1979:9).

Shoemaker and Reese (1996:10) tried to show how the traditional communication study researchers undertake the research and what the focus of their research was. They established, drawing from Lasswell (1948), a five level of what is studied in communication paradigm. The framework includes; 1) who 2) says what 3) through which channel 4) to whom and 5) with what effect. In this second phase of media study communication researchers have examined all these elements, the communicator (producer), the content, the media itself, the audience and the effects. Nevertheless, even those who study all the components tend to focus on one element-the effect- other than the others.

The third phase of media effects study is said to be a phase in which 'new thinking and new evidence' is accumulating on the influence of mass communication, particularly television and newspaper press. The bases for reopening media effect research rests on; one, the lesson of no effects has been learned accepted and more expectations have taken place. In other words, where little effects are assumed to exist the method needs to be more and more precise. The second basis for revisiting was a critique of the methods and research models which had been used (McQuail 1979:10-11).

These were experimental and survey methods that focused on individuals and concentrating on attitudes to assess a short term changes. This was a post war phase and scholars try to map the shift of the communication research dimensions in different countries. For example in

American context mass communications research made three dimensional critique of the mass society 'thesis' (Morley 1992:43); first, it was proved wrong that informal communication played only a minor role in modern society, second, refuting that the audience was a mass made up of socially atomized individuals and third it was argued against the hypothesis that it was possible to equate content and effect.

2.3.2. The Shift in the Focus of the Study, Methodology and Theory

The shift from individualistic studies of opinions and behavioral changes was explained as a start of the task to answer a number of questions and it was a shift to the study of effects of mass media especially those effects which reveal themselves in 'collective phenomena' (McQuail 1979:11). In other words, the methodological and theoretical shifts have been made to study effects as experienced not by individuals but by groups as distinct from individuals. Therefore, for social scientists the study of effects was at the center of the theme once again. These change, according to McQuail, was not a mere occurrence of fashion but is was based on a firm and secure foundation.

Now, researchers started to question what the focus of their research should be. For nearly thirty years it has been the message, the content which has dominated the media study. However, one piece of work that can be mentioned as an example for the shift of the focus of the study and a step stone to the new media research of this stage is by Merton (1946). Merton, in his work about '*mass persuasion*' of Kate Smith war bond broadcasters in America, argued that in early works of media researches the content was highly the center of the concern than the effect of the propaganda. He hold that they focused on appeals and rhetorical devices, language and emotion, and stereotypes, neglecting the whole and actual process of effect (Merton 1946 indicated in Morley 1992:43). He challenged the trend that infers or assumes effects from the content because the content remain unexamined.

Therefore, Merton tried to make a link between the content and the effect. He tried to see the ongoing flow of the message to the receiver. To put it differently, he asked 'which phrases in the language of the propaganda pull the persuasive trigger?' and 'which audiences are persuaded? And which are not'. In order to answer these questions and to have a clear picture of the whole story, Merton argued, it is important to analyze both the propaganda and the reaction of the audiences. In doing so, the content analysis will help to see what is effective in

it. In other words, it gives us clues. And the effect analysis helps to check the clues (Morley 1992:44).

This path of Merton was followed by Katz and Lazarsfield (1955). They developed what they called two step flow of communication by rejecting the notion that the influence flowed from the media to the individual (Katz and Lazarsfield 1955 in Morley 1992:44). They have observed that 'the influence of media are not only paralleled by influence of people but also refracted by personal environment of the ultimate user' (Katz and Lazarsfield cited in Morley 1992:14).

In 1961 the first large scale study regarding children and television was conducted by comparing between individual children. The research was conducted by Schramm, Lyle and Parker and they focused on that children are active audiences, on the uses children make of television, and on the functions television serves for children. Other researches mentioned in Shoemaker and Reese includes Comstock and Rubenstien (1971) *TV in Day to Day Life: patterns of uses*. Accordingly, under this phase these researches are said to be precursors of the famous theory called uses and gratifications theory (Shoemaker and Reese 1996:13).

With the shift in the focus of the studies from contents to audiences and then to effects the trend in methodology and theory is also shifted. But throughout all those times the study of content primarily and the study of effects later on are said to be quantitative in nature. It was indicated by scholars that the studies on media and particularly on audience have been, for long, quantitative and empirical investigation. According to Morley (1992:166) researchers in the positivist arena of the science 'sought to isolate those factors in communication process that can be seen to be effective, or to have effects on audiences, different groups of people under different circumstances, and this empiricist stance, which involves process of methodological isolation and abstraction has led media studies up too many blind alleys'. Therefore, Ang (1988) raises an essential question on what would an empirical study produce regarding the audiences. In other words she calls for the politics of audience ethnography. This was because, According to Ang, the rating of television watching based on 'to watch' and 'not to watch' started to break down for the reason that it was recognized that television watching is a complex act and mode of behavior interwoven with other simultaneous activities. Thus, Ang brings the basic argument that the assumption of audience measurement may have lost its basic assumption which is TV watching is a simple behavior that can be objectively measured (Ang 1988 and 1991 indicated in Morley 1992:169).

Morley also holds that qualitative distinctions should be made to the all catching concept of 'watching television'. These distinctions may include how much attention is paid, to what commitment and for which programs and occasions. Therefore, he argues, we need to focus on the complex ways in which television and television viewing is embedded in everyday practices (Morley 1992:169).

On this then, anthropologists and some others from another discipline have been studying television from different perspectives-indeed ethnographically. Ginsburg et al. (2002:2) also holds that 'we, anthropologists, attempted to use anthropology to push the study of media into new environments and examine diverse media practices.' Because television watching occurs as part of "a set of everyday practices and discourses within which the complex act of watching television is placed along others and through which that complex act is constituted" (Silverstone 1994:133).

Therefore, so far, what anthropologists did is applying a well-established anthropological concepts and using communication research concepts like viewer, audiences and so on. They did not develop a new or specific concept to understand media (Osorio 2001:20). In the following paragraphs I will just present anthropological studies of media so that I can embark on why anthropology needs to study media in our society in relation with globalization and media scape concept of Appadurai (1993 and 2006) in one or another way.

2.3.3. Media and Anthropology

Though there are a lot of arguments what media anthropology is or how to define it, some argue that media anthropology grows out of the combination of two separate fields of study; the anthropology of modern societies on one hand and the turn in cultural focus in media studies on the other (Coman and Rothenbuhler 2005:1). Media anthropology does not invent new theories and methods in the study of media. Nevertheless, it is also not a mere exercise and application of mechanical anthropological concepts to the study of media. It is identifying how local or global those concepts and methods are, in how many modalities, geographically, culturally, logically, empirically and historically. The anthropology of modern societies and there are a number anthropological researches in the field.

It has been repeatedly said that anthropology has been hesitant to involve with media. For a long period of time media and communication studies have been a taboo research area for

anthropology. Dickey (1993) argued that anthropologists are entering the study of media after the field was already suitable for their theories and methods to answer certain existing questions (Dickey 1993 in Osorio 2000:6). As a result, we can say, anthropology came to the study of media much later than other fields. Ginsburg et al. (2002:3) showed the lateness of anthropology to the study of media indicating that it was only in the late 1980's that anthropologists turn their studies to systematic study of media as a social practice. Since then media have been researched by anthropologists from different perspectives.

When anthropology started to involve in media study, one area in which it has engaged in is reception studies (Gray 2010:123). Gray writes the trend of cinema studies and anthropology. He holds that anthropology is late in the study of media, and particularly cinema, for the reason that firstly historically anthropologists focus on village level communities rather than cities-though the trend is changed since 1960's- and secondly anthropologists have focused on societies and cultures usually termed as "third world" which Gray considers as the contribution of anthropology to media studies.

Though there were studies in the field of cultural studies and other disciplines in non-western societies, their focus was usually on expatriate audiences of western societies. These studies were very interesting and informative but, Gray argues, they do not help in understanding the natural social and cultural context of viewers. One example regarding expatriate audiences is a study of Hmong refugees in the United States by Schein (2002). Schein explores 'the contours of media production and consumption by Hmong-an ethnic group originally from China-refugees in USA'. The study basically focused on how media practices by these refugees helped in securing and even in generating Hmong transnational identity (Schein 2002:229).

Nevertheless, what studying audiences 'at home' add is understanding the social and cultural context of viewers. One of the researches regarding television viewing in non-western societies is by Richard Wilk (2002) '*Television, Time and the National Imagery in Belize*'. Unlike previous media studies which focused on how television changed the way of life of families, daily routines, Wilk focused on two separate but related issues. The first, with the suggestion that people talking about the media is one of the impacts, is the way people talk about the television. The discourse, according to Wilk, about television in Belize (formerly British Honduras) focused on national characters and cultural differences and helped realign political alliances. The second is how the advanced television technology, which he consider access to satellite broadcast, changes people's perception of time (Wilk 2002:171-72).

These anthropological researches have contributed a lot to the study of media and TV in the modern world in understanding the natural setting and context of viewing. There are problems with audience study approach, however. For one thing, qualitative approaches are small scale endeavors by their very nature. As a result, the researcher cannot have greater personal contact with larger number of contacts (Gray 2010:132). Hence, general statements cannot be made with these limited data. The other criticism is that many audience study approaches do not acknowledge the power and control of the establishment upon their respondents (O'Sullivan et al. 1994: 10 in Gray 2010:132). Most of the researches focused on proving the agency of the viewers and consumers and not acknowledging where, when and why this is not the case. This is where anthropology should play a crucial role. The anthropological examples shows that to go beyond the problems of audience studies mentioned above, it is important to take into account the larger social context in which media consumption takes place (Gray 2010:133).

I hold that it is not that much understandable for why agents act actively in the introduction of a television channel without first understanding what context was there in the setting. Thus, in this research, I tried to present what led agents to act upon television consumption and its embeddedness in everyday life. I found that it is important to look at what general social and political contexts are there regarding the consumption of media in Ethiopian context. The anthropological study of television will help, I hope, in understanding the changing nature of our modern families.

2.4. Theoretical Framework

2.4.1. The Mass Communication Theory

Since 1950's and onwards the mass communication paradigm has dominated and consisted historically located theories and practices around television. Though these theories are always in disagreement and conflicting they share the view that television is 'a medium of mass societies and that there is a centralized source and a number of dispersed viewers' (Hermes 2013:35).

In Europe, the state was considered as the watchdog of television and it is also the source of finance for it. Thus, television becomes the strong and the solely instrument for the state to reach 'the mass'-the population (Gripsrud 1998 in Hermes 2013:35). Discourses and debates regarding this paradigm focus on the double nature of mass media. In some cases they go for

the good part of it presenting the good models to empower citizens. In some other cases they go corrupt and present the bad side of it. In this kind of perspective the responsibility and the role and effects of television becomes arguable. Moreover, in mass communication paradigm, the state, the mass media itself, the effects, and the social responsibility, all these elements come to the play at once. As a result, researches in mass communication theory go for quantitative research fashion and usually apply a top down approach (Hermes 2013). Thus, some other perspectives developed. The new theories and perspectives moved from what the power of television is to how audiences make sense of television. Unlike mass communication paradigm, whose central tenet is television, the newly developed theories focused on the audience.

2.4.2. The Cultural Studies Perspective

Contrary to the mass communication paradigm, the cultural perspective holds that a bottom up approach of culture is more helpful to capture how television functions and may help to grasp different meanings (Hermes 2013:37). Morley (1986) in his study of television and family clearly put that he moved from what the power of television is to what the viewing context is. In other words the research perspective which focused on decoding context stepped to viewing context.

For the cultural studies perspective, the issues of power and regulation are central themes. Therefore, there is a need to reassess how broadcast television is interrelated with 'nation building and the containment of diversity in a nation' (Hermes 2013:37). Issues of gender, who controls the TV set, control over program choice are some of the focuses of this perspective. Moreover, when cultural studies move a little bit to a critical stance, instead of focusing on culture and media forms, the agenda becomes to give attention to the mainstream thinking about television.

I make a great use of this perspective to illustrate on what the relationship between the television set and the audiences looks like and between the audiences themselves, to elaborate on the meanings that are given to the TV by audiences, what uses are Kana TV is put into, how the management of program choice is done at home. Moreover, it helped me to be critical in understanding what the meanings are behind the everyday discourses about Kana.

In addition to this I applied *structuration* theory of Giddens (1984) in its sense of, as Giddens argued that structure was instead implicated in every moment of action. It is people who create the structure and they are ruled by it. It is the practice concept which links the micro with the macro, the *agent* with the *structure*. Giddens (1976:81) defined social practice ‘as an ongoing series of practical activities’. These definition clearly shows that there is recurrence of activities, regularity and continuity of activities.

The theory of structuration and in particular Giddens’ understanding of it is used to describe how Kana TV is embedded in everyday life of the families being studied. Individual actors are considered active and conscious on what they do while at the same time activities of watching are considered to be routine and not fully understood and not rationalized. Kana watching is part and parcel of other practices. These routine practices, done in the family as a whole and individually, as distinct from the family, brings people together into the social systems reproduced through continuous interaction over time (Whittington 2015:147). The potential effectiveness of agency results in the worthiness of human action and a penetrable observation. Agency, accordingly is more than an individual will and skill. Rather it is explicated and enhanced with resources. Agency is exercised through the rejection or the following of rules. All these rules and resources are the structural properties of the social system (Whittington 2015:147). Therefore, how the families I studied fit Kana with their daily life will be explained in terms of agency and structuration will be applied from practice point of stance to show how everyday activities go in line with watching Kana.

Some concepts of structuration, concepts like rules and resources, are found to be relevant in how agents as created by the existing familial interaction in turn create a new form of interaction. How, for example, apparatuses like remote control used in watching and embedding television will be discussed in relation with one of the concepts of structuration theory, rules. Rules, according to Giddens (1984) constitutes three concepts; signification, domination and legitimation. Each of these concepts are related with the usage of the existing resource in relation between members. Giddens (1984) proposes three kinds of structure in his theory. The first is signification which in his words, through which meaning is coded in language and discourse. Thus, the meaning people is giving while having discourse about Kana will be discussed. The discourses and sharing of ideas regarding Kana has its own implication and meaning to the speakers and listeners in a way of provoking a question of what it means. The second is legitimation which can be understood as normative perspectives

embedded as norms and values. In a more simple words, it implies what should happen in a given situation and in a legitimate manner. The last is domination which is concerned with how power, particularly in relation with the control of resources, is applied. Thus, how using resources revolving around television is twisted with people's life will be seen. Moreover, how these rules helped in embedding Kana will be analyzed through these concepts of structuration.

In addition to these two frame works mediascape concept, from Arjun Appadurai (1993 and 2006), is also applied to implicate how Kana is connected with issues like globalization. Media scape as explained by Appadurai implies two consequential issues; one, distribution of the capabilities of the media to create and disseminate information and two, images of the world created by these media. Appadurai (1993:224), parenthesis added, stated that "these mediascapes, accordingly, tend to be image centered... out of which scripts can be formed of imagined lives, their own [those who experience and transform the mediascapes] as well as those of living in other places." These scripts can be broken into parts and 'complex sets of metaphors' that help people to construct the image, narrative of others and self.

Chapter Three

3. Research Methodology and Methods

3.1. Methodologies and Methods

When it comes to media research particularly in the field of anthropology it is always not easy. Wasko (2005:3) wrote that studying or assessing television viewing is riddled with inevitable methodological problems. However, once the dimension of studying the media is identified it is not that difficult to come up with a methodology. Therefore, in this research I employed qualitative or ethnographic research methodology following Morley's (1986:40 and 1992:12) steps. Media researches turned to qualitative research extensively after Morley. Morley used in depth interviews and unstructured interviews which also enabled him, I believe, to observe families and their everyday life in their natural settings. In addition to in depth and unstructured interviews, I believed that observations and case studies would suffice and give a more enlightened version of the problem. Thus, case studies and observations were also part of the methods.

3.1.1. Site Selection

In this research, initially, I have been thinking a comparative study of rural and urban viewers- having in mind a multi sited ethnography. However, after leaving for field, which in fact was the unlucky time for me, the proposed rural area had no electric power for nearly a month which hindered my participation and observation of Kana viewing in families. Though I tried to interview some families, with the mood that is swiped with the absence of electricity I got no full image of what I seek which is the embeddedness of television viewing with other social activities. Therefore, I shifted the idea of comparative study-from multi sited ethnography- to specific area study which is Addis Ababa, particularly of two sub cities, Nifas

Silk Lafto and Gulele. The two sub cities are chosen randomly but somehow I collected information from the people I know who resides in each sub city informing me about families watching Kana. Lafto sub city is where I reside I know closely some families and their cases and I have been observing them informally since the very beginning of Kana. Hence, the participants of this study are residents of Addis Ababa. All the families in this research are middle and low income families. The total number of families interviewed and observed in the research is 9 families including both nuclear and extended.

3.1.2. Research Methods

A) Participant Observation

When I first began this research-in fact when I still had it in mind just as a thought- the very first step I tried to use, regarding how people watch Kana television, how they accept and challenge it, where the dichotomies of good and bad lies about it, is observation. Participant observation helped me to interact with the people, living their daily lives while at the same time recording how the daily life goes on with Kana. I participated in watching Kana among selected 5 families including my own in order to see the interaction between the family members in the activity of watching, the relation between the channel and the viewers- what kinds of activities are done while still the TV is put on Kana- so that I can capture the household activities of women and men and children when they are watching the channel. I do not watch the TV myself but I watch those who watch it. The 5 families were selected for observation based on the frequency of having the TV on while they still have some other activities going on. Some of the activities include meal time activities, changes in bed time and family chat time. These families are selected based on the basis that I had a frequent contact with some of them previously and I had a chance and an experience of looking to things closer than any other family. In deed one of the families is a new family-a family that I did not have any contact before the research. A friend of mine informed me about it and arranged the contact.

By this means the aim was to gain the unspoken feeling (obvert behavior) of family members to differentiate and understand the difference between the regular daily life and what I would like to call 'Kana watching life'. Three families, the first family including a widow with her two children and a brother, the second family an aged widow just with a maid and the third family a recently married couples, were already observed short before I begun this research

officially during the Ethiopian summer time of 2017 for at least 14 days. Though the observation is not recorded formally it gave me some sprint to pursue the research in this way. Thus additional two other families-among which my family is a part- were observed to suffice and develop what has already been observed informally. All the families are informed about the research and they were happy and willing to invite me over to their residence while they watch Kana and when they spend their time around home. The observation in these families took 13 days not in raw though.

B) Unstructured Interview

Unstructured interview is used during the observation session of families and individuals from the families alone in public places like restaurants and cafeterias. For families the interview took place in their home. For the families the important program of the channel is the drama time. So, there is break time within each 10 to 12 minutes of watching a drama. The break time goes on almost for three and four minutes while still commercials and the next dramas to be transmitted are told to the audiences. While the observed families are taking breaks for three or four minutes some questions regarding why Kana television is so influential, in terms of getting a lot of acceptances and challenges within short period of time in comparison with other television channels and how they understand the influence of Kana television in their life are asked.

In addition why people prefer to watch Kana at that particular time, still having a number of preferences at hand, a lot of television channels going on, what does Kana television mean to them, how they manage to interact with other members of the family and the TV itself, and how they understand the logo 'Kana wuste new' and the symbol of the channel are asked so that it tells the direction and the extent of the relation between the meanings and the activity of watching. The aim is to understand whether people really understand what they are doing or they are irrational of it. Moreover, it helped me to grasp the symbolic interaction of not only between people but between the television and people. I am intended to see how Kana television is embedded in the practices and structure of the household.

On the other hand unstructured interview is also held with individuals unlike the interview with the families. This is because of to give a chance for individuals to speak freely about what they feel regarding the act of watching Kana, to share their personal experiences. In some stances not every member of a family is to be found during the in depth interview or the

observation session. In addition, in my observation I happen to recognize that not everyone in a family is up to watch Kana nor everyone is against it. These dichotomies of communality and individualism, to be with others and to be alone, to be in the crowd and to ignore the crowd should be taken into consideration. As some already are aware of it (example Gauntlett and Hill 1999, Moores 2000) not everyone in the family have the same taste of the same television set let alone the same television channel. Therefore, individually among the total number of interviewees 17 (10 female and 7 male) people were interviewed separately. These are members of the families I interviewed. In addition to these, 9 individuals randomly selected are interviewed thinking that each individual equated with nine families can yield additional data on how the issues at hand can be understood in different families since I cannot afford interviewing anymore families.

The following tables shows the number of individuals interviewed from and out of the families. The tables present different categories of participants to show how difference in preference to channel selection is influenced by educational, status and religious backgrounds. Moreover, it helped in understanding how different groups of people give meaning to their viewing.

Table 1 Information on Individuals From Families Participated on Interviews

Gender		Occupation	Number	Age
Male		Students	5	9-24
		Government employees	8	25-48
		Self employed	3	26-46
		Retired	1	61
Female		Students	8	14-23
		Government employees	8	25-42
		House wives and widows	3	39-63
		Self-employed and unemployed	3	22-40
Total			39	

Table 2 Information on Individuals Interviewed Out of the Families

Occupation	Age	Family status	Gender
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Student	23	Unmarried	Female
Teacher	53	Married	Male
Government employee	45	Married	Male
Government employee	32	Married	Female
Private school worker	39	Widow	Female
Student	21	Unmarried	Male
Student	17	Unmarried	Male
Self employed	44	Married	Male
Government employee	42	Married	Female

Table 3 Total Number of Interviews

Kind of Interview	Number
Family interviews	9 families
Individuals interviewed separately from within the families	17 out of 39 family members
Individuals interviewed out of the families	9
Total number of individuals interviewed separately	26

C) In-depth Interviews

Individual members from families that have already been observed were interviewed on weekends when they got free time to discuss for a longer time. During these sessions every member of the family is tried to be included as much as possible including children above the age of seven assuming they have some voices in the issue. The in depth interview, similar to unstructured interview, took place in the original setting of the families-home. All the nine Families were interviewed in depth to elucidate why they give priority to Kana television, during their stay at home. They are given more than an hour and half to have a kind of discussion based on questions I posed regarding what their place is for the television, how Kana happen to be their premier of all channels. Moreover, it helped to grasp the concurrent activities in the family. The aim in this method was to let my respondents define their watching activities. Thus, it gave me an insight to how respondents watch the TV in line with other everyday activities. All members of the family are given equal chances to speak and to

reflect their idea by probing and initiating them to feel free. Those who did not totally participate in the in depth interview and those who were not free to speak in the family interview are interviewed alone. The following table shows the number, composition in age, gender and religion of families interviewed and observed. This is to show that at least I tried to bring people from different status, walks of life, age and gender, so as to get a clear, if not full, image of the problem I study.

Table 4 . Information on Families Interviewed and Observed (all names are changed)

Family name	Age range in the family	Gender in the family	Occupation	Religion
Ato Gizachew and W/o Roman	16-48	Male-2 Female-5		Orthodox Christian
Ato Eshetu and W/o Yenealem	14-53	Male-1 Female-7		Orthodox Christian
W/o Almaz	5-40	Male-2 Female-2		Orthodox Christian
W/o Rukiya	26-61	Male-1 Female-2		Muslim
Ato Tesfu and W/o Sirgut	11-46	Male-3 Female-2		Protestant
Ato Bahiru and W/o Habib	2-36	Male-2 Female-2		Muslim
Ato Sisay and W/o Hermela	9-41	Male-3 Female-1		Protestant
Ato Kassa and W/o Tizita	1-29	Male-1 Female 2		Orthodox Christian
Ato Nebiyou and W/o Gidey	21-61	Male-3 Female-3		Orthodox Christian
Total number		Male-18 Female-26		

		Total- 44		
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D) Case Studies

Case study is used to follow detail of a daily life of both an individual-a member of a household probably- and a house hold in general so that how the day begins with television on, how a family spend the day around the home, how individuals, distinct from family, spend their day with and without the presence of other family members, what familial and individual daily activities related with Kana TV on are illustrated. Case studies are used in order to capture Kana viewing activities in times when families watch the TV. An individual is a member of a house hold and a household is where individuals live. All the families were asked to write down how their typical day begin, how it goes on till the last person to go to bed. With case study, how Kana became so embedded in our everyday lives, the changing everyday practices of individuals and households, and what the meaning of Kana is for different people is shown. Thus, the method is used for two purposes. First, to capture the overall daily life of a family from morning to evening. Secondly, it is used to look at the watching experience of a family during watching Kana. Moreover, this method helped in thoroughly investigate the familial and social interaction in the activity of watching television.

Chapter Four

4. Reception of Kana TV

Introduction

It has been three years (during the completion of this research) since Kana television first started its transmission early in 2016. At the time I started my research Kana television was at its infancy. It is established by an American named Elias Schulze, entrepreneur, co-founder and managing director of Kana TV and his Ethiopian colleagues. It is backed by an Afghan based international partners called Moby group. Moby group⁴ powers Kana TV. All the funds flow from the Moby group to Kana. It is Moby group that backs up Kana television economically. Afghanistan is where Moby group established Tolo TV as the number one network. Though the TV is established by a foreigner there are Ethiopian co-founders (Jeffrey 2017 and Abdulfetah 2016). In this chapter I am intend to explain the arrival of new television channel in everyday life. I will try to show how a new TV channel became influential and

⁴ Moby group is said to be the largest entertainment providing company in the world centered in Kabul, Afghanistan and having headquarters in Dubai as well as UAE. The founder and CEO of this group is an Afghan born entrepreneur named Saad Mohseni. The company was first established in Afghanistan by launching the first private owned FM radio station in the history of the country in 2003 and the station played western and Afghan pop music. According to Szalai (2016) Mohseni and his team have built Moby group with Mohseni family, a startup fund from the government of America and its capital is injected by Murdochs; 21st Century Fox (a huge film producer company in Hollywood) and became the minority stakeholder in 2002. Moby group is now active across newly emerging media markets in South and Central Asia, the Middle East and Africa. Moby group owns Tolo TV in Afghanistan which airs soap operas from around the globe, TOLO news, Lemar TV, Farsi 1 (Szalai 2016), Zenzemeh, Arman FM, Arakozia Fm, Afghan scene magazine (Bloomberg, March 22, 2019) are some to mention. In addition to all these, it runs Kana TV in Ethiopia. Kana TV is the first African venture of the Moby group.

came to the mainstream media. Accordingly, first in the chapter I will deal with the contexts in which Kana TV is born and flourished. Second, I move onto how Kana found its way to be part and parcel of the everyday life of families. I will reflect on the embeddedness of Kana TV in families Vis a Vis other everyday practices at home. In other words, how Kana TV fitted to everyday life around home is my concern. The chapter largely discusses what familial relationships and beyond it looks like in watching Kana TV arguing that Kana TV, because of personal preference differences, resulted in politicized-politicized in terms of disagreement, boundaries in house hold and so on- relationships in the family. It is my intention, somehow similar to Moores (2000), to enlighten on the ways in which, as particular from among other satellite television channels, Kana gets embedded in the practices and activities of everyday life of families because of some reasons that are pointed out by the participants. In doing so, Giddens' theory of structuration, in particular his conception of agency-implies the capability of people in doing things...by using the existing rules and resources and concerns 'events of which an individual is perpetrator'- and practice, is employed to explain how agents act between the channel and the viewers in the first place and how the TV found its way to be part and parcel of the already existing structure of families.

4.1. The Context in which Kana TV is Born: '*a Restricted Landscape*'

All eyes are glued on Kana TV's high stake dramas, which could be a sign of more press freedom in a restricted landscape (Jeffrey 2017).

Kana television is established and cofounded by an American entrepreneur named Elias Schulze and his Ethiopian colleagues. It is run by the largest worldwide entertainment company Moby group in relation with a local film production called 'Bemidea' (Arif 2016:108).

By the time Kana TV is launched in Ethiopia, the country hardly have private television channels that solely focuses on entertainment. According to my interviewees, the existing private channels have the format that ETV (used to be called ETV and changed its name for some time to EBC then back to ETV again) have in general which is presenting all kinds of program on one channel. For instance ETV presents the news, local soap operas, music video clips, the politics, and entertainment programs on weekends, health programs, and sport programs and so on. These program similarities goes the same for other TV channels. It is not

only the format of the programs that is similar but the time they are on air and the content they hold is also somehow merges, interviewees argue. In some stances, people I informally chat with argue that, some program makers and directors may shift from one TV channel to the other with the same program which may mean that it is even sometimes possible to see not only similar programs but also the same faces on different channels. Therefore, I tried to see the difference between government owned TV channels like ETV and other private channels and apparently it is somehow clear what kind of context was there in the country when Kana TV was born.

Ethiopian media, has been blamed for being controlled by the government and people argue that freedom of media is still at its infancy. Government controls, to some extent, the contents presented in relation with the political ground of the country. People argue, formally and informally, that the government is holding the media freedom back and it should let it flourish, at least it should stop imprisoning those who write and speak freely.

By the time Kana was launched the country was witnessing political instability in some places. There were somehow places that were already said to be facing conflict following the third national election. Journalists and bloggers were trying to analyze the politics and show the people what is going on. Hence, politicians, bloggers and journalists were informed to be imprisoned for the idea that they raise on political situation of the country through different media including the social media like Facebook. According to my informal discussion and debate with friends regarding what is going to happen in the country, the people, literally, were attached to two different poles of ideas. The first idea is that the country will be in a civil war anytime soon unless politicians, and journalists with the idea of ethnic politics are stopped by any means including imprisonment, if necessary. The second idea is that, the government should let ideas flow freely whatever the ideas are about. People on the second pole argue that when there is freedom of media there will be no strange idea to be blocked by anyone. They hold that, it is the strangeness of something, some idea, which shakes the firm of a government and the people and leads to blockage and imprisonment of those who came up with the idea.

It can be simply understood that the whole field in which Kana television is born is a field of debate about media freedom. Almost all the television channels hold the same structure and formatting. Thus, co-founders of Kana TV; namely Elias Schulze, Addis Alemayehu, Nazrawi Gebresillassie, Zeresenay Mehari and Mimi Alemayehu did competition research right before

launching the TV officially. According to online journal Awrambatimes, Elias Schulze, managing director and co-founder of Kana TV stated that “the Ethiopian market has a lot of latent demand. We did a study of market...” It was also understood from the focus groups by the Kana team that potential viewers were already watching Turkish and Arabic shows but not understanding a whole lot of it, wrote Awrambatimes. Therefore, according to Awrambatimes, for Schulze and his co-founders it was easier to come up with a new face and phase in the whole Ethiopian media history which is dubbing 70-80% of the programs.

After Kana was officially launched in April 2016 the whole idea of it was linked with media freedom by some. Jeffrey (2017) in his article ‘*Does Kana TV signal more media freedom?*’ for Aljazeera explained that with the government’s proposition that media reform shouldn’t be rushed due to Ethiopia’s development state, Kana’s emergence indicates Ethiopian television is at least changing for the better. Moreover, it can be argued that, the government realized that restricting private media is self-defeating. Onwards, activists on social media are, to some extent, left free with their own agendas (Jeffrey 2017).

Therefore, Kana TV was born out of the leverage which can take the mind of people off the table, the table being filled with less media freedom, the political instability and to some extent the similarity between the existing government and privately owned channel. Like any other viewer in Ethiopia and particularly in Addis Ababa, I, personally, and the people whom I interact, chat, debate and discuss with hold that television in Ethiopia used to be boring presenting the same formatted program and news, but Kana is totally and purely an entertainment channel which may helped it to conquer a lot of viewers and families in a short period of time.

4.2. Kana TV in Families

4.2.1. Its introduction to families

Different families are introduced to Kana in different ways. However, generally there are two major ways. According to the in depth interviews held with the families the first way they happen to know about the channel is from different media like, radio (particularly entertainment shows and programs) and print media, and social media particularly Facebook. These days Facebook is used as a market where people show off their products just by posting

and promoting what they have. One of my interviewees, Abebe⁵ describes that it was one of his friends on Facebook who posted the name and the logo of the newly coming channel with no description but just the logo and the name. That is, he remembers, how he is introduced to the new channel and then how his family get to know about it. In those days, some programs on different radio stations has talked about the then ‘new channel’ in the history of Ethiopia. Then after the channel started its experimental transmissions shortly.

The other way that how all families get to know about the channel is from friends who already had the information from somewhere else. People share information wherever they meet. It is when someone tell to others about the new channel who transmits the information and people know about it. Therefore, according to the in-depth interviews with families, how families came to know about Kana and how they began to watch it can be put in two ways which are informed viewing (the term I coined after the interviews) and enforced viewing (the term I borrowed from Morley 1986). It is through agents talking about television in different places and situations that transmitted the news of the new channel. As Hoggart (1983 in Morley 1986) stated it television is something people talk about in offices and also other places regarding what they saw last night. But it is not all the families knew about and began to watch Kana at the same time and in the same way.

4.2.1.1. Informed viewing

Informed viewing is when people watch TV as they are informed by others (people or media) about a show or a single program. I, here, use the word informed in two senses. First it is to imply that the people have some info about something they do. They are aware of what the thing they are doing is and they know when and how to do it. On the other hand the word informed is used in its meaning as in ‘informed consent’ or ‘informed agreement’. The second understanding of the term implies an agreement to make decision based on the right of self-determination (O’Leary, 2013:2). A patient who needs to take a surgery or should undergo the process of anesthesia is informed about what the process looks like, how long it takes and consequences and results of the surgery. This implies that whatever decision is made it is made on the concise of the parties not without their awareness.

⁵ Abebe (name changed) is 29 year old Face Booker and wrote a lot about Kana on Facebook particularly about its link with the ‘illuminati’.

When it comes to Kana TV, those who watch the TV upon their free will having the information about issues like; what the TV channel looks like, at what time what program goes on and which program fits their preference. According to the unstructured interview with some members of families it is not a single show or a single program that they are informed about, rather it is about a new channel with different shows and programs. One of my interviewees Rediet⁶, remembers how his family started to watch Kana TV. It was during his summer break (2016/17) that his family began to watch the channel officially. One of his sisters, who is actually married and has her own family, got the information from her work place where people mumble about the new channel, which transmits foreign movies with a language they can understand (dubbed movies), and bring the news to her family. Apparently, her own family began to watch the channel which resulted in the extension of the viewing habit to the others. Rediet remembers;

When my sister and her husband and their son come to visit us on weekends that is when our family knew about it. You know I happen to recognize that the programs that has been transmitted from Monday to Friday, they are all repeated on weekends one by one episode by episode. For the sake of my sister's gratitude we, the family, began to watch it. We received the entire schedule of programs from her and then we began to watch it daily.

The older sister of Rediet told her parents, brothers and sisters that there is new channel which transmits foreign movies in local language. The first day the family watched Kana, it is the day that “predicted when and how to watch it” says the head of Rediet’s family, Ato Nebiyou⁷.

Families which began to watch Kana in this way, they have at least some information about the channel. According to the unstructured interviews held in between watching the dubbed movies on Kana, family members have identified what program goes on at what time, what the theme of the program is in general (what the movie is about), for how long a single program goes on and same issues so that they watch the TV based on their consent arranging the time of their daily living fit with the programs.

⁶ Rediet (name changed) is a 28 year old single teacher who teaches in private school. I interviewed him alone.

⁷ Ato Nebiyou (name changed) 61 year old retired accountant and father of Rediet. Interviewed with a family.

To go back to the idea of informed consent, in somehow similar way that a patient agrees a surgeon or surgeons to do a surgery which may result in the removal of some part of one's body and its replacement with another (may be artificial body) or re fixing the body families agree with the television channel to accommodate it with their everyday existence which brings in what I would like to call the 'compression of activities'. It means that people do different things at the same time. They get busy between chores, work and entertainment. They try to accommodate and ease the tiresome of the work by bringing the activity of watching Kana, to their routine activities. Therefore, the agreement takes two forms. One the families' agreement with the television channel and two the agreement between members of family. This will be discussed later in this chapter more broadly under the discussion of relationship in the realm of watching.

In the case of Kana, a transformation from being guest to being member of family is witnessed throughout my observation and interviews. Families telling about it with some emotion, i.e. using words that show amazement like '*yigermal*'-amazing- or doing things that they do not do in other times like sitting around the dining table dining for so long.

These all implies that people are aware of what they are doing and they are not under the control of any other external body to watch the TV. The structure of the family, the daily routine they have been holding as a culture is something to be changed based on what suit them and what makes them comfortable. Familial culture and routine is not a pipe through which each member of the family passes through. Rather it is what members shape and reshape it when needed and live by it. Regarding how individual actors consciously act as agents, Giddens (1984) holds that people have high level of practical consciousness about what they are doing or about their everyday life. This practical knowledgeability implies that people give reasons for what they do when and if asked. In relation to Kana those people who enforce others can give reasons for why they enforce the viewing. Moreover, Giddens argued that it is knowledgeability and capability of human agents that is most deeply involved in the recursive ordering of social practices. Accepting Kana TV as it is with all the information including that it transmits dubbed programs can be understood as people do consciously structure and re-structure their daily life, their presence in family so that this changed or newly built structure (these will be discussed in detail in later chapters) become a routine life lately.

4.2.1.2. Enforced Viewing

Enforced viewing is referred to as, according to Morley (1986:24), when someone selects what to see and when watching is non selective by others. In this case of Kana television viewing some members of a family are enforced to view despite they are not willing to see what is on the screen because someone did want to watch certain program. It depends on who controls the television remote at home. Other viewers have no choice other than watching what is selected for them by the controller. In this case other viewers often view what is not their choice.

The interviews and the observations revealed that the enforced kind of viewing is mostly controlled by children, particularly daughters, in families where there are children. In families where there are no children mothers tend to enforce the viewing. In either of the families it is a single individual or certain individuals with an information that comes home, takes the remote and set the channel to Kana. At first it was not that much a big deal for those who are enforced to watch it. Nevertheless, the enforcement is considered to exist when argument arise between members of family regarding which program should go on at what time.

Regarding how the enforcement is exercised and felt in family, a 21 year old female college student I interviewed separately in a cafeteria commented as follows:

I come from school at around 5:30 pm. By the time I arrive home I find no one but my mom and sometimes my older sister. My mom serve me meal while I watch the TV channel that is already going on. But after half an hour or less I have to change the channel to Kana, because there is this movie, Zara and Chandra, I don't want to miss. Starting from 6:00 to 8:00 o'clock I watch two serials, the other being 'Tikur Fikir', while other members of the family also watch whether they like it or not. In fact, my Mom hates the channel saying that "it is satanic for dragging you guys these much into it." No one gives her an ear. My father, he is also with my mom but he does not say a word but I know he dislike me watching Kana. You know they may request to change the channel between each break time of the movies. I change it for probably 2 minutes either on EBS or EBC or whatever and then back to my Kana (laughing).

The interview with this interviewee showed that other members of the family are enforced to watch the television channel that they are not willing to watch. However, the enforcement rotates from one member to the other. In other words, some member of family may enforce others to watch Kana and others enforce him or her to watch other channels in other times. This enforcement is one of the person's rules to achieve what they want which is watching Kana television. This, according to Giddens, is called domination. Domination is the means to achieve one's goal. According to the in-depth interviews, however, people do not feel enforced when the TV is on other channels. People do not quarrel that much over other channels. When it comes to Kana, for the reason it has a different feature than other channels, i.e. present dubbed movies that my respondents feel and understand from foreign countries, should be followed daily and weekly, the enforcement is felt greatly.

While watching is enforced it can be understood that familial relations become more and more rigid. The smooth relation between members is disturbed. While it is only some are exercising power over others, the rest of the members have no say in what should be done. Even though they have something to say it is always ignored by those enforcing the watching. Therefore, because the relation becomes less smooth and familial culture of togetherness is put in jeopardy by the power and the enforcement exercised the way others perceive the television is as something imposed on them. Kana for them is something that took at least the bond between their respective members away. Nevertheless, they get acquainted to this way of life whether they liked it or not. In deed watching it becomes the culture of the members of the family.

These kinds of viewing, through time, are transformed into a kind of viewing that can be considered as legitimate and become originally part of families' everyday life. This is somehow an analysis Moores (2000) put in his discussion '*Media and Everyday Life in Modern Society*'. He calls the transformation of the understanding and acceptance of the technological apparatus in a family from "a miraculous toy"-in his case radio- to "an accepted part of everyday furniture" (Moores 2000:2). Even though Kana is not a technological apparatus by itself, as television and radio are, it is considered by participants of the research as different channel than others and is changed into an accepted part of everyday life, everyday television consumption and everyday use.

Generally, what can be understood in the informed and enforced forms of viewing is that there are always agents that act between the channel and viewers. People, in this case agents, are in

some way conscious about what they do and they bring the new practices to the structure of everyday life though those structures and practices are accepted and negotiated differently by different members. From structuration point of view, as Giddens (1984) explained it, ‘whatever happened would not have happened if that individual is not intervened’ which may resulted in ‘unintentional flow of actions’. Which in other words may mean intentional doings of agents results in unintentional consequence of routine presence of Kana in families. And this also brings new practices, new structures and new relations in the family and among family members. This is understandable that activities and practices are routine and they have no immediate reasons why they are done routinely in a taken for granted fashion while they are still done in order (Giddens 1984:4). Therefore, people have different reasons why they want to and they do not want to watch Kana. People may got introduced to the channel differently in different time. But that still leaves us to the question why people accept and reject Kana TV in different families and even in the same family. In the following paragraphs I will discuss the reasons behind the popularity of Kana TV and then I will try to look at what changes it brought to the everyday life of families.

4.3. The Popularity of Kana

In deed television has got different ways to embed itself in everyday life. In this manner the arrival of Kana television at home and to the already fertilized ground of satellite television has marked in the shift of viewers from putting television on just for the sake of background noise to putting it on to interact with it. The unstructured interviews revealed that Kana is accepted in the families interviewed because of the following reasons.

4.3.1. Foreign Programs, Local language: *Linguistic Bridge*

One of the distinguishing features of Kana television that made it catchy and different from other local channels, according to my interviewees, is the programs it bring to the audiences. It brings two different contexts of language into one where audiences can be taken to the outer world through the plane of language. The existing television channels in the country even though they are all presented in local languages, the difference lies in how a global product is contextualized and localized with linguistic apparatus.

A 61 year old widowed woman living with her son and maid whom I interviewed at her home explained that the small screen on the corner of the room has something to left her mouth open. She described how she understood watching the dubbed programs saying that;

The people appeared on the screen. The very first day I watched Kana it left my mouth opened. I know some people from foreign countries who tries to speak Amharic. But they are not even close to the fluency of these people on the screen. Actually, now I knew that it is dubbed programs and movies I am watching but I apparently forget that it is dubbed.

In the same manner an 18 year old boy preparatory school student on our separate interview stated that;

I hope everyone knows that the movies are dubbed. However, no matter how much you know about the dubbing of the movies you keep watching as if the foreign guys on the screen are speaking Amharic fluently and you don't want to miss it.

For both of these respondents the major reason that keeps them watching Kana is the language bridge that is built between hole of their language and the language of the original programs. The language barrier is broken, they argue. Language, as a site of cultural production and domestication and also as a carrier of cultural elements it brings the far culture closer not only to be understandable but also to be felt in the heart and in the mind of the receivers.

Kana, therefore, is a place where the local and the foreign meets and it is where viewers look into the outside as it is presented on the TV through the glass of their own language. Language played the greatest role in embedding Kana so shortly in the everyday life of families. Despite the fact that local language is used in all of the channels, it is a whole new story to look at white people, foreigners, to speak local language on local television channel.

Another interviewee, a 32 year old government employee while on in-depth interview even linked the language bridge to a more emotional attachment with the television. He argued that;

It is not just the motions and the actions on the screen I really watch, it is the emotion that touches my heart for the reason that the emotion is carried with the language I can feel, I can understand. Thus, I remember almost every emotional motion and word the screen guys say. I can feel something even though the

programs are not dubbed. But, you know, feeling something by guessing and by understanding, they are different.

This kind of linguistic attachment is also witnessed by children who watch Kana. A 9 year old boy whom I found in one of the families I interviewed stated that;

I feel like it is Kuzi and Guni (characters in one of the dubbed movies presented on Kana) who speaks Amharic and I tell my friends what Kuzi said to his friend and so and so on.

Considering the boredom that people were in because of the similarity of television channels in the country, Kana gave them a different eye glass to the programs so that viewers can correlate with what is on the screen. While still these people have a lot of choices at hand, because of the foreign is presented in local language, they largely tend to prefer the place where the local and the global meet. Viewing Kana for my respondents is not only about spending time with it or turning the TV on for some obvious reasons like to play it as background noise. It is about feeling and understanding what is on the screen. It is about trying to connect one's own life with the life behind the screen. While I sit with the families for interview (they invite me over their places when they got free time to talk and chat) I always tried to let the life in the home go as normal as usual.

They turn the TV on to Kana when I sit with them for interview or observations (in some cases I myself request them to put it to Kana but most of the times, sometime after I got somehow acquainted with them, they put the TV on Kana themselves). The families they utter some words like "this guy in this movie is like my neighbor, they both snatch things from people" or "this woman looks pretty annoying, like a typical 'negereгна' Habesha woman." By this they implied that they have this mental image of what 'negereгна Habesha woman' looks like (which they described as quarrel maker or anger finder in others).

Therefore, the implied watching foreign program with the local language goes beyond mere presence of someone in front of the TV just to watch a foreign classy movie and go away. This kind of making link between the programs and the real life is not something unique about programs on Kana. People watching local programs can also make these kind of analogies. But the difference lies in the quality, acceptance and localization of foreign programs. It is always said that "something is unbelievable and unrecognizable until someone from outside

tells you about it.” Here it is important to remember one of my interviewee mentioning what Daniel Kibret⁸ once spoke of.

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ፈረንጅ ሆይ ነና

የማይታመነው አንተ ስትናገር ይታመናልና።

This may literally be translated as:

Ohh a foreigner, please come and tell us something

When it is from your mouth, we will believe everything.

The gist of the saying is that the people, Ethiopians in particular, believe whatever a foreigner tell them true. In this manner of speaking what is delivered by foreigners have the power to be believed, to be trusted than a local speaker. Though this kind of metaphorical speech has an overgeneralizing or probably the tendency of hasty generalization it also holds a great deal of truth about the psychology of the people.

These, according to the interviews, are made possible by the language bridge between the families and the screen in addition to the difference in programing. The local language being spoken by the foreigners is so much more attractive than a local person speaking a local language. Indeed what is called local, in general, itself is relational and contextual. As Appadurai (1996:178) asserted it the local is primarily neither scalar nor spatial. Rather he viewed it as ‘a phenomenological quality that is constituted by a series of links between a sense of social immediacy, the technological interactivity and the relativity of contexts’. Moreover, it is because people felt that there is some sort of cultural proximity between what they see on the screen and their life. According to Ksiazek and Webster (2008) in order for media content to best have clear and deep, long lasting meaning and influence with the cultural dispositions of viewers, the viewers and the content must exist in the same cultural linguistic (Ksiazek and Webster 2008:486). These opponents of cultural proximity, therefore, put high significance in language in determining preferring one media content, in the case of this research in preferring one television channel, over others.

⁸ Daniel Kibret, called Deacon Daniel Kibret, is writer, speaker, researcher and preacher in Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahido Church.

4.3.2. Timing of the Programs

The schedules of the programs on Kana are typically timed on the framework of families in Ethiopia, says my respondents. Each of these families who participated in this research spend their day running for bread. Nevertheless, it is their leisure and break time starting from 7: 00 o'clock in the evening.

The original time that a program begins at is 5:00 pm with a program called HOP. This program, which I watched two times throughout the research and a number of times prior to it, presents new music video clips. My observation proved that the viewers of this and other programs, other than the movies, are less in number in families I studied. My interviewees argue that the time the original program begins at is a time when a number of people go to home from work or school, when they want to relax from the daily difficulties of life. It is a time when the day and the night switches. It is a moment and a space to change oneself from a worker to a recreated one, from a daily run to win bread to a momentarily relaxation mood for these families.

A 46 year old lada taxi driver named Tesfu (name changed) informed on the family interview that early in the evening his family watches Kana as means of break. According to him, the time that Kana transmits its soap opera or dubbed movies is the time when the members of the family need a relaxation. Ato tesfu told that;

I come home at around 7:00 local time in the evening. I find everyone including some of neighbors particularly women stick their eyes on the TV screen watching Kana. I just say 'Hi' and sit down and watch the movie that I began to watch months ago. You know it is my time to rest. It is my family time to take break.

For the family of Tesfu the time arrangement of the family activity is suited to the programs of the channel in a way that they can calmly sit down and watch it. The only thing they may do is drinking coffee served by the mother. As I observed Tesfu's family once during the research, the time his wife sits is this particular time, where still she serve coffee for the family and for some neighbors. The other members of the family, including the two daughters and one boy, all are students which also means that that particular time (starting from 5:00 in the evening) is their break time. Everyone in the family is comfortable for whatever is to be

done at that time except the quarrels arise regarding what channel to watch which is considered as a sign of togetherness for Ato Tesfu and His wife, W/o Sergut (names changed).

These relationships are based on time and space presence of the programs. In other words, it is a certain program at a certain time being addressed to the viewers at a certain space, which is home. The watching is not confined at least in space. All those who watch Kana TV watch it in the same time span in different settings including the home itself. Some viewers are in the salon in direct activity of watching while others are in other rooms of the home doing different tasks but still between watching the TV and doing their chores.

As far as patterning of activities of a family in time and space is concerned Giddens (1984) holds that we need to acknowledge two dimensions; one syntagmatic dimensions which comprises relations in time- space involving production and reproduction of situated practices and two paradigmatic dimensions that involves a virtual mode of structuring repeatedly connected in such reproduction of time space situated relations. When kana TV is on in different places it is watched by different viewers but at the same time resulting in similarity of social practice of watching to exist across varying spans of, not necessarily of time in the case of Kana for the reason that the time Kana TV is watched is almost the same between families, but space (Giddens 1984:17). In other words, viewers across households in different places can be considered as compressed in terms of timely practice. The practice of watching the television, the time they are provided with is similar so that the space will be no matter to watch.

It is to show that television has no power to change the time conception of the viewers. Rather, what can be understood is that television in general and Kana television particular have made the activities of the viewers to be the same in some particular times. It is not any random television that resulted in such similarity of activities in different places in particular time. It is, however, a television channel that provided the audiences with a suitable time table with their everyday life. This similarity of activities in time can be linked with Wilk's (2002) study of the Belizeans. Wilk argued that it is only distance as measured in Kilometers that differentiates the metropol and the rural USA for the reason that people in Belize can watch the same program with their counterparts in the metropol because of satellite TV. Somehow similar to the Belizeans, in the case of Kana, people in different family can watch it in the time that is comfortable for them as it is made by the channel. Therefore, it can be said that Kana has blurred the spatial differences of different families for we find similar watching

activities in that particular time that it is watched. In short, time space concept can be said contorted. Families in different part of the country, if not the world, are globalized.

The way that people in different places-except as distance of place as measured in kilometers-represent themselves has become reducible. With no necessarily clear distinction of places (for no one can clearly understand the difference between a family in Gulele from a family in Sar Bet in times of watching Kana) people engage in the activity of watching Kana, as if a bell is rang, or as if a whistle is blown to start up a game. We hear people saying that ‘I was watching Kana last night!’, ‘Oh, me too’. These whole scenario is what Harvey (1989:240), one of a well-known theorists of globalization, calls the issue of time-space compression. By compression, Harvey argues, he meant the overall history of capitalism can be characterized by a fast flow in pace of life. The speed up and the homogeneity of drivers (Harvey 1989:253) in the flow of life, therefore, has resulted in the fade away of ‘spatial barriers’. As map is considered as a homogenization and reification of the rich diversity of spaces in general (Harvey 1989:253). Kana is the new homogenizing device of the modern families I studied. The diversity of practices that distinguishes families as separated in space is eliminated little by little. After observing how family members are reflexive and recursive in watching Kana it can be said that families have become the duplicators of the homogenizing map, the map being globalization as carried by the TV. For this reason the world seems to collapse inward upon us (Harvey 1989:240).

4.3.3. The Political Problems on Other Channels: *Kana, an Escape Window?*

It is witnessed that, for the last three or four years, there was a kind of political instability in some places of the country. People are reported to die and flee. Families noted that the media, however, reports either as if nothing is happening in those places, as if the ruling government is doing great job in administrating the country democratically, or some other media reports as if everything is bad and death is a common news by exaggerating the happenings. According to my interviewees, Kana television was free of all these political instabilities until recently except it began to present some brief news program called ‘*Kana Kimsha*’ for some minutes. Despite the neutral tendency of Kana from the political concerns, some argue that, it has some hidden political agenda (which will be discussed under chapter six). Nevertheless, Kana has got attention by ignoring what all other channels are concerned about and brought a small

window to escape away from it. Jeffrey (2017) indicated that residents of Addis Ababa were bored for other TV channel present mainly news. But Kana TV is a pure entertainment channel which could be used as a doorstep from everyday grid.

Some recently new television channels like Asham, Arts and Balageru, just to mention some, have joined the Ethiopian television industry. Nevertheless, the majority of the channels are general both news and general entertainment are transmitted though there are pure entertainment channels like Zee Alem. Zee Alem presenting all its programs dubbed from Bollywood can be considered as a competent television channel with Kana. However, for the reason that Zee Alam is aired only on DStv which is not affordable by the majority of Ethiopians for it is accessed through monthly payment and is not simply accessed from every satellite dish the people, according to the interviews, are still left with Kana television entertainment channel one hand and other television channels with all their ‘boring contents’.

One of my interviewee, a 25 year old female graduate of a University, whom I interviewed along with other members of her family stated that she was bored of watching other TV channels and even hearing to other media for they are too much into reporting about politics, deaths and conflict. She stated the issue as follows;

Kana has never presented any reports regarding the situation in the country, which actually I am bored of hearing and seeing. Except it sometimes shows some grief statements about the deaths occurred in the country because of these political hassles it totally ignored the political dimension of existence. That is why my family and I are attracted to it than other channels. It takes me away.

Families repeatedly talk about the false reports that are transmitted by some channels which, they say, pushed them to the new channel. I have been interacting with families on family level which helped me identify the true image they have for other channel as a family. Thus, not all family members are into Kana or not every member of family is against the existing channels. In fact, as Morley (1992) noted it not all members of family could support nor stand against a channel or a single program. However, in the case of the families I interviewed it is clear that the similarity of the formats and the programs among other channels and their tendency towards the political concerns is what they agree upon to move to Kana. They argue that once someone hear a death news why would they hear it again? What mostly they are

looking for is not a change in content. Rather it is a change in format. It is not about what they see on the television but it is about how it is presented is what pushed them to Kana TV.

The families commented that though they have a lot of choices at hand, a number of channels to choose from, it is not made desirable for them to choose from one another because the kind of program you watch on one channel is repeated on another with a change in name and may be slight difference in organization. For them, though they think they should know about the situations in the country, they should not be told lies about what they see in front of their eyes. Moreover, they believe that they have the right not to repeat what they already have heard or watched. As of other television channels, switching the television on does not mean that someone wants to watch it for the reasons mentioned above. Rather, the TV is switched on just as a habit.

In the families I have observed, to switch on the television and particularly to Kana means that someone, if not everyone, in the room wants to watch that particular program early in the evening. A widow with two children, age of 42, whom I observed and interviewed explained that turning the TV onto Kana in her family means someone is watching it. She explained how other TV channels can be on but with no one really watching and how Kana TV is on and at least someone is watching saying that;

No one gives a corn for other TV channels, not even my 14 year old boy. I come from work really tired at around 5:00 in the evening. The very first thing I do is to switch the TV on to Kana, if it is not already on, after kissing my two children. And it means that I want to watch it. When I get up and go to the kitchen to do some house hold chores I either increase the volume louder or change the channel just randomly.

In the case of this woman switching the television on to Kana means that she wants to watch it. In the cases where she has to get up and go to kitchen (she has to bake enjera every night so that she can sell it to the nearby shops in the morning, despite her formal job in a private kindergarten. The kitchen is a separate room from the living room with probably two and half meters) she increases the volume of the TV so that she can hear from far what is on the screen. She says that ‘listening to the sound or the voice help me picturing the motions so that I can feel that I have not missed any part of it.’ In this case, when the television is put on to Kana, it simply mean that either someone wants to listen to it or see it. I have observed that when a

member of family, who frequently follow Kana, is on a must done activity in the home, they go back and forth between Kana and their chores. These actions, apparently, have become routine.

The arrival of Kana TV, however, to a family and a household literally means that people have choice on their hand from among different channels. But deep down in the familial interactions the presence of Kana and its introduction to families holds a greater meaning which is freedom. It is the era of media freedom and they have to embrace that freedom, the freedom of choosing what is different, the freedom of ignoring an already existing format and style of television which is characterized by, according to the individuals I interviewed, similarity and politicized propagandists of certain politically interested group. It is also about choosing what takes them away from the everyday tensions and which would later become the everyday life itself.

Moreover, watching Kana is about autonomous presence of individuals in the family and the family in the society. Individuals as distinct from the entire family act upon their free will. They watch Kana while others do not want to and vice versa. Similarly, families act as different from others in a sense that there is clear symbolic difference of what Kana means for different families. For some it is the bridge between the local and the global because of the language, for others it is a scape window from daily, to borrow a phrase from one of my respondents, 'political dirty games'. The government, or other politically interested group controlling and monitoring most of the existing channels 'to brainwash' the audiences for their own good was not acceptable anymore by the audiences. Kana, accordingly, provided a small window to a different idea to think about-in which case, for example, people think about what they saw last night on the movies, a different setting to look at- a secular place where the audiences do not have to listen about deaths and a different format in which every day programs are said to be new and extensions of the previous day.

To sum up, Kana TV found its way to embed itself in everyday life is particularly by bringing together a global production and a local language on a permanent basis or daily. In addition it presented programs as free from politics as possible to get the bored attention of the audiences. Television, therefore, can find its ways to embed itself in every day of life families in different ways. Moores (2000) discusses about how satellite TV is embedded in everyday practices and activities of family. Moores states that satellite TV found its way into the everyday life, overweighting a traditional terrestrial television, in two major ways.

The first is that people can possess a small satellite dish accompanied by a receiver at relatively low cost. This brought a lot of choices of channels for those who own a satellite dish. The second feature is that a great deal of promotional discourses linked the current satellite television to the future ‘age of space’ connotations. There was “a clear symbolic opposition... set up for us here between the old established terrestrial TV services and the whole new world of television being beamed straight to the living rooms from extra-terrestrial sources.” (Moore 2000:58). Similarly, the discourses that Kana television can be a means to escape from the political issues of the country linked it to the future age of media freedom which can be characterized by no control of governmental or any politically interested groups. For Moore the arrival of satellite television at home marked a shift in the organization of program schedules and the number of channels people can choose from.

The coming of Kana can be taken as not only an additional channel to choose from among others but also as a starting point for exercising freedom and free will. Moreover, Kana TV marked a shift in social and familial relationships which would later be accepted by the families depending on the programs and the time the programs are transmitted. These shifts can be characterized by extension and fluidity of interpersonal relations in family and social relations beyond family that can be identified as compressed in time space. In other words, Kana television has resulted in redefinition of relationships. The relationships, for instance, that were hierarchical in nature have witnessed a shift in power from certain groups, let us say parents or fathers, to other members of family, in this case children. In the following section I will deal with who watches Kana with what factors and how familial and social relationships are shifting after Kana is introduced into the families I studied.

4.4. Social Relations in the Realm of Watching the ‘TV’

4.4.1. The Realm of Watching Kana TV

The activity of watching has its own orders, time framework and principles as any other activity. Television watching may mean different things to different people. Watching television as a part of media watching cannot simply be understood as someone’s attempt to make a link between the program on the screen and the real life on the ground, as Rogge and Jensen (1988 in Gauntlett and Hill 1999) argued. Rather, I argue, television viewing is extension and continuation and sometimes a whistle of or for everyday social activity. When people sit down to watch the TV properly it is not only to make a meaning out of the relation

between the screen and the reality but it is to follow the order of the reality, which Giddens calls 'seriality', in which television watching is included. To say it differently, watching television itself, I hold, is part of the reality, whatever people say their reality is. Watching television is about holding some sort of class among others as a quality of everyday life in interaction with others. It is not necessarily what meaning people make about their own activity that matters for them but it is what meaning their activity holds among others.

Regarding how viewers understand their watching activity, a 22 year old female college student whom I found with her friends talking about music, while having an interview with her in her college asserted that;

Watching television is not a kind of activity that can be considered as something extraordinary or peculiar, not anymore. But watching some channel or program is may be extraordinary. I watch the "HOP" program on Kana so that I can catch up with my friends when we chat about the newly music video clips that are released daily. It means something for them if I fall behind. They may think that I am not modern enough to be with them. You know I cannot watch YouTube for long, not every time, it is so costly. So, I have to watch Kana.

This interview with my interviewee showed that television is not something we can admire as some new finding. Nevertheless, it has never stopped being new because of its channels and programs become more and more fascinating as Kana did. The meaning that is given to the set itself and the activity of watching it is changed over time. Moreover, the way people present themselves to others has become somehow linked with watching television or not. With the introduction of television itself at first, then with the introduction of satellite television and finally the growing of different channels has resulted in the difference of meaning about ourselves and the meaning our action holds among others.

Here we may recall Erving Goffman (1956) for his concept of individual 'performance' in front of other observers. Goffman argues that when the individual is in the presence of others his activity has a promissory character. It is to say that he assures them that he is acting in a certain way they accept him on faith. Television watching, which nowadays holds a meaning of modernity, for example, for some is how someone presents himself to others. It is may be with quarrel at home that this person may watch the TV but he or she presents him or herself in front of others as if the watching activity is smooth. This 'smoothness' of relationship

between members, as far as watching television is concerned, is carried by the actions of a single viewer to the stage, in front others has a meaning of ‘a modern family’.

The argument here is that people differ in the meaning they give to the activity of watching television depending on their everyday domestic and public life. However, it should be noted that even individual viewers in a single family differ in their meaning and preference to channel based on different characteristics they hold. Brodie and Stoneman (in Morley 1992:16) hold that contextual variables like competing activities in the home, the physical arrangement of the domestic situation, the emotional state of people, someone’s role at home determine the salience of television among the different members of family. In viewing Kana the following personal characteristics are identified as far as the factors that imply watching it and the meaning of life they make out of it.

4.4.1.1. Age and Occupation of Viewers

It is obvious that not all programs on a channel are watched and consumed by all age groups, so does not all channels are viewed by all equally. In my study, the interviews and observations clarified that some programs on Kana are watched largely by particular age groups. While there are programs that are watched almost by all age groups.

Youths and or students, they mostly watch the programs that are related with life styles and modernity. They argue, in different families, that the home is a place where they practice how to act outside with their friends. Home, where family members live together, is a site of production, filtration and alteration of a modern way of acting, which they described as ‘conglomeration of mediatized moments’, moments that are totally filled with talks and actions related with media and shows on media. A 23 year old female college student on separate interview holds that:

Everyone is concerned with what is new in the world, in the world of entertainment. Where I meet my colleagues modernity is understood in terms of for example the kind of mobile phones you possess, the music you listen to, the dresses you put on, and you have to follow the chat. Kana television is and its fashion, lifestyle and HOP programs are my places for this.

In addition a 17 year old male high school student whom I interviewed with his parents also commented that:

Watching television is the easiest thing that I can do. If there was no channel that can bring me foreign things in my own language I might be forced to look for what my friends consider a modern thing on somewhere I couldn't easily access.

These views implies that certain group of age has its own purpose for watching Kana. Their watching is geared towards a certain program so that they equate themselves with others. On some stances I have observed parents appreciate and encourage their children to be 'modern', in whatever sense they mean modern though they could not do anything about. A 41 year old father on family interview described how there is no way to stop the way his children are acting saying that "You cannot stop what the age has brought to you and to your room." It is to imply that, the era of modernity has its own agents, in which case television can be one of the agents and has its own means-individual agents-of reaching home i.e. increasing number of television channels and people against it may have no power to resist it.

On the other hand, people with older age who spent a lot of their time on work prefer to watch the serial movies, soap operas, considering the home as their leisure place. The family is somewhere they can hide from the outside world considering it as satisfaction and rest bringing net whereas television is through which they link with the outside world with no direct contact as they do during their daily work times. Regarding what home is in the modern mediatized world Livingstone (2007) drawing from Allan (1985) states the change in the form of the home, where families live, to the commonly accepted understanding as 'providing personal fulfilment and satisfaction' being a recuperating space from the everyday pressures of work.

Some families, however, may give no that much concern for why the TV is put on Kana at certain time except they have something in mind to do with TV. While I was in one of the families I observe one evening, a 53 year old father and teacher commented that:

I watch whatever program it is in the home. Except sometimes I want to see programs on any other channel.

Similarly a 36 year old mother whom works as a government employee got curious for why the members of her family put the TV to Kana *“I am sometimes curious why they put it on Kana or certain program. I wish I could stop them and for that matter we quarrel over why they watch it.”* She stressed that they even sometimes have a quarrel over the box.

These two perspectives present that television can be understood differently. Television watching has different meaning for different individuals in a family and in different families based on the meaning they drive from their age group and their occupational background, may be. Old parents argue on interviews that they just want to take home as a place of rest while the younger parents understood it as a place where they interact with the furniture in the home, including the TV and with their children.

The 36 year old women I mentioned earlier implied about how the relation between her children in watching the TV said that:

When I come home I would like to assume my rights. I have the right to watch whichever channel I would like watch. But you know children, they are so smart. They make you watch what they are watching. Even though we quarrel it still means that we are having a conversation which I enjoy most of the time.

Therefore, it can be seen that people from different age and occupational background can have different choices and meanings to programs even channels or Kana TV in this case. The way they act towards the thing is drawn from the meaning they give to it. The symbolic meaning that the television and the programs hold drives someone to watch the TV or not. For the youths-students-, who consider home as a place where they practice how to act outside and produce modern culture so as to follow up mediatized moments with friends Kana TV is from where they find what they assume is timely. Because television is not just a window to the rest of the world, it brings worlds to worlds where the worlds are not real enough (Anyanawu 2015:34). For older people the place called home is where they can find physical and psychological rest and the TV is an entertainment apparatus that accompanies the rest.

In the general context of viewing habit and consumption of television, some studies, according to Gauntlett and Hill (1999) have asserted that those people who have plenty of time at their hands would spend a lot of time watching television and these people are always reported to be elders or unemployed.

Nevertheless, this kind of generalization leads to a misunderstanding in understanding the preference of programs among family members. However, it should not be misleading, regarding viewing Kana TV that these age differences are exclusive of watching television programs. Among my interviewees those who appear to be older in ages, particularly parents with youth children are somehow less rigid about their children program or channel preference as compared to those young parents.

4.4.1.2. Religious Background

Religion and technology are always said to be antagonistic. Technology is considered as destructive in the eye of religion. In my religious arena preachers always tend to tell people to stay away from technological products and to be wise while using them. It is also a mass assumption that when people are religious they are expected to be cautious of this technological and information era. It is obvious to hear people saying that “aren’t you religious? How do you watch this program?” or “is that why you got to church or Mosque? To watch this?” this is to say that your proximity to your respective religion determines your approach to different programmers.

Indeed television can be used as a site where religious organizations can disseminate their preaching. It can be used as a platform to reach a large number of people even in no worshipping times. Nevertheless, in the range of knowledge I have about religious preaching, the lot of religions have the tendency to warn their respective followers about programs on TV. I have heard preachers in my religion, which is Orthodox Christianity, telling people particularly about Kana, that it is anti-religion for the reason specifically that it keeps people in their home in the times they are supposed to be in the church.

With this premise some people who are really close to their religion, I observed, are far from Kana. My own family has its explanation for not watching it. My own mother keeps saying that “this channel is antireligious, it came to attack this holy country” kinds of comments. On the same manner one of my interviewees, 29 years old Orthodox Christian female on separate interview that I met after she came back from church commented as follows:

I have witnessed that some of my friends have stopped to go to church on daily programs which starts from nearly 5:30 pm, the original time Kana starts its fresh programs. You know priests told us that it is a kind of satanic trap to strain believe

in God. So, I stopped watching it immediately, just after some weeks I started to watch one of the soap operas called 'Tikur Fikir'.

But it is not generalizable that people close to their religion cannot watch Kana at all. Or else it cannot be said that they watch only religious channels. Not even the leaders and preachers themselves watch religious channels only. In one of my informal observation session during the summer of 2016/17 among one of the families that took part in this research I came across with a priest formally watching Kana. While people are assumed as close to religion, their understanding about the television is not exclusive of their worship. The programs on the screen and in their church or Mosques may not clash. They rather arrange their time accordingly. People try to fit the television and the religion. They negotiate and accommodate their worship time and the time they watch Kana. While religious preachers always complain about the program timing of Kana TV as clashing with their respective worship times some respondents comment differently. To present some of the views in this line 61 year old Christian father on family interview asserted saying that:

I am comfortable with the time schedule of the programs. Why would I bother myself while I can see the programs when they are repeated? It is your own determination not the televisions fault if you give your worship to the programs.

On the other hand in some stances people do not give any concern about their religious proximity and the programs they watch. When it comes to the series movies (soap operas) my 24 year old Muslim interviewee whom I interviewed in the presence of her family stated that it is not her first time when she watch most of the movies from Turkey.

I have watched the Movies from Turkey originally in Arabic. To be honest the movies are better not dubbed. They are more beautiful when in their original language. To tell the truth I do not watch the soap operas myself. But (looking over her mother) my mother and my younger brother (8 year old) watch the dubbed programs. My father and I watch Kana Passport (National Geography) mostly.

The statement of this Muslim student shows that because of the proximity of Islam to Arabic language and for the reason that its followers learn Quran in Arabic it is not something new to watch what they already knew. Therefore, it does not necessarily mean that when people are

closer to religion they abandon technology. Even though religion plays a great role in showing directions about how to refrain oneself from religion destructive shows and programs this is not always the case. The view to a program or a channel is not only determined by religious proximity but also complex personal relation in the home, the control and power over resources and television set also put a great deal of pressure on who watches what.

Who is the head of the family, how members of families are interrelated to each other, and what kind of relationship is there between members, the structuring of daily life, the meanings families hold for the members, who controls the resources related with television (resources like the remote control) plays great role in viewing certain channel or program. In the following paragraphs I will try to bring these factors to link them with the activity of watching Kana television.

4.4.1.3. Inter personal Relations in the Family

Interpersonal relations in family are dynamic in a sense that they become smooth and rigid according to contexts. Interpersonal relations in a family, according to my observation and in depth interviews, can lead to the selection of certain program or a channel at certain time. Kana as a channel that is added to the existing channels can cause a problem to family members as it become a preference for some and not for the others.

One of the dimensions of relationship is relationship that depends on personal interests and someone's understanding about his or her family. In families where members are close to each other the selection of programs is based on agreement and timely scheduled while in families there is weak bond between members selections are random and tend to be controlled by some members. In families where Kana is watched daily there is a kind of informal agreement between members of the family regarding when to begin to watch it and when to stop it. This depends on how members define family. A 41 year old father (interviewee 1) and a 19 year old female student (interviewee 2) whom I interviewed from different families presented the following understanding of how families work and structured in watching Kana respectively.

Interviewee 1:

I am strongly close to my family. We do discuss issues that can cause conflict between members. When it comes to television, particularly after Kana, we almost

have divided times for watching different channels. Because you know I cannot have my children quarrelling every day, my family is where I have to stay safe in peace.

Interviewee 2:

My family is a large family which means that there are a lot of personal preferences. So, you know, I have to stand with some of my siblings so that they can stand with me when I need them. I watch 'Yebeteb Chewata' on EBS with two of them and they watch 'Hashtag Mindin' even though we do not like to watch either of the programs. Sometimes, the programs go on at the same time and with the favor I do to them, they return it.

Family interaction, according to the responses of my interviewees, can be considered as a kind of interaction in which people bargain about an exchange in return of giving something. The exchange is in service and it is equal exchange. In this regard family is where interpersonal relations in some families depend on exchanging time for each. The more close family members are to each other, the more they can agree on at what time to watch Kana for how long and so on. These interpersonal relations are repeated and become the everyday relations of the families. These relations later becomes to be considered as rules. These rules, according to Giddens (1984) are aspect of the structure and they imply how things should work. Therefore, as families informally understand how to watch Kana, for example setting time or dividing it when to watch but with no strict and formal contexts, the relationships gets more and more productive of in reproducing themselves in that way.

But those families with less smooth interpersonal relationships are characterized by enforcement of watching and control of resources by some members only. These actors, agents, have resources, the resource being may be the remote control at hand, produce and reproduce the social systems of a family because such structuration of social systems are grounded, to use words from Giddens (1984), 'in the knowledgeable activities of situated actors who draw upon rules and resources in the diversity of action contexts'. Thus, structure as a recursively organized sets of rules and resources enables the watching of Kana in sometimes and constrains it in another. Close relation between family members can be used both as a resource and a rule by some members as a means of transaction of at what time to watch Kana with others and at what time to watch other channel with them. This kind of

reciprocity between actors, according to Giddens (1984:28) results in what he calls 'social integration'. Bourdieu, in this regard of reciprocity, also noted that "the closer the individuals... are in genealogy the easier to reach agreements and therefore the more frequent they are the more they are entrusted in faith." (Bourdieu 1990:115).

The other dimension of relationship in family that worth considering and that families talked about frequently is gender relations. My findings revealed that gender relations, even though implies a choice in programs it does not necessarily determine what program to be watched by men and women. In families I observed and interviewed it is women, if not daughters, that controls television set particularly when they watch Kana. I observed repeatedly that the control over TV remote and program choice differs based on what is already on the TV. In other words, when the TV is on Kana the remote is found in hands of mothers or daughters. Holding the remote means that no one is allowed to change the channel on to another. In some cases when between household chores and television some mothers and children tend to hide the remote so that the TV stays on Kana unless someone changed it using buttons on the decoder which people do not do that much. The following statements of my interviewee, a 38 year old mother whom I met at her work will clarify this argument saying that:

I always have to finish making particularly dinner before the time the program I watch begins. Unless I have the remote with me, once the TV is put on another channel it is hard to get it back again. So, I have to be in the salon before someone comes and change it to some channel I don't want to watch. Even though they request to change the channel they know that it is not to happen until the program is over.

Indeed it cannot be denied that gender roles in family can impose an impact in program choice. Morley (1986) in his investigation regarding power and control over the TV set, viewing styles, amounts of viewing, and related issues between women and men have come to find that these characteristic differences are the effects of particular social roles these genders have in family. Accordingly different families have a different context regarding gender relations.

Morley holds that home, where family resides, is a leisure place for men in comparison with and distinction to their industrial time while for women it is a place of work. While men watch television in leisure and wholeheartedly women watch it distractedly and guiltily

(Morley 1986:141). Discussing his findings Morley concludes that men control the program choices. The control of the remote is symbolic possession over resources of the father or a son in absence of his father. Men would like to watch factual programs, news, frequently in time, uninterrupted in style, planned in nature. On the other hand women prefer to watch fiction programs, romance, interrupted in style and unplanned in nature (Morley 1986:142-160).

Unlike Morley, however, my findings shows that women and men merge together on programs. The program choice and control over the set is not exclusive. Once, one of my teacher in my masters session commented in class that he has no exclusive control over the television remote over his wife and son while they are watching Kana. The control over the remote, as a resource and choice over programs, in families I studied, depends on who holds the remote at that particular moment. Nevertheless, it is not exclusive for men. A 42 year old father in our interview in his home with his wife explains the issue of how it is not exclusive for fathers to control the TV all the time saying that:

I have almost gave up the remote to others except for the news on VOA (Voice of America). Until that particular time other members of the family watch whatever they want, which most of the time is Kana, though they skip sometimes. But when it is almost 9:00 o'clock in the evening I have to possess the remote. You know I got to catch up what is going on so that I have the knowhow of the politics.

It is a commonly accepted understanding that politics, sport and hard talk is man's thing because of man's connection with the public sphere. But in that case women have built their public space in the domestic. I have observed that men and women try to borrow characters from each other. The private and the public trying to borrow patterns and characters. When men engage in the public sphere it is not only their idea, their activity, their attitude they take to it. They borrow ideas, activities, expressions, attitudes from the home, from the domestic where women are said to be specialists of. They even imitate sometimes accents of their wives. While women also do the same in the home which indirectly means that the public is in the private and the private is in the public. In this regard a 36 year old house wife whom I interviewed at her home in the presence of other members of the family on a weekend asserted that categorical classifications of channels and programs based on gender are nowadays have become blurred. To use some of her words, she stated the issue as follows:

I do not hate politics, you know. Some say that women are off politics but I do like it. It is my husband who made me like it. But you know I made him like watching Kana. Nowadays Kana also has started a news format called 'Kana Kimsha', a program in which they tell brief news to the audiences. Unless we want to hear details of news we watch Kana and its news at night.

In addition to these interpersonal relations among members of families which implies the choice of programs, Kana viewing and the relations in the activity of watching extends beyond a single family.

Interpersonal relations in the realm of watching are so much twisted with the control over resources, the symbolic possession of the remote by any member in the household and gender relations. The remote is not necessarily what dictates and legitimize power but it is through which the power and control is told to other members. When someone holds the remote it is to show others that no one is going to change the channel from where the TV is already on. This whole situation can be linked with what Giddens (1984:29) calls signification, domination and legitimation. These three concepts constitute of a person's rules. Accordingly, we may understand someone's possession of the remote symbolically as signifying 'I want to watch Kana at this time, no one is changing the channel'. The communication of meaning, as Giddens holds, does not have to be seen merely as a happening in time-space. Rather by paying all the respect to the context, in our case the context of watching Kana, holding the remote is a sign of holding the moment of watching the TV, which will drive us to the second point, domination.

Domination, for Giddens, includes resource control and resource authorization. In other words it implies the means that should be used in order for something to happen or to accomplish goals. To accomplish the goal of watching Kana TV actors either they negotiate with other members or they impose power on others. And finally this mode of action as happening recurrently becomes legitimate or normative regulation of family (Giddens 1984:28). It is through such process was that Kana television has become embedded in everyday life.

4.4.2. Social Relations in the Activity of Watching Kana: *Beyond Family Bonds*

Early in my childhood-it was only when I was 12 years old my family bought its first 14 inch TV in 2004/2005- and until recently most of the children in my age had to go to a neighbor which owns a television with a terrestrial antenna. It is a recent memory of my childhood that not a lot of families own satellite television particularly in the rural part of Ethiopia. Television was a ‘miraculous’ apparatus that is supposed to be watched in the house of families who own it and the relationship between owners and us (children from none TV families) used to be a relation between a ‘boss’ and ‘servant’ in kind. If we have to watch television, then, we have to respect and tolerate all the things that are said, and told to us. We do whatever they request. We sit where they order us to sit. We keep quite unlike the children of the TV family.

Because of television a lot of families have created bond for the sake of their children while other families had fight and bought their own TV. Television, I remember, was a tie between families and it was also a scissor which cuts an already built ties. I remember spending a lot of time in my neighbor’s home than my own. I remember my parent quarrelling about having a TV of our own than sending their kids somewhere they are not considered as kids by the owners. It is only now I understand what all these things means and what their implication is. It implies that television involves a great deal of social relation in the activity of watching it. I come to recognize that television is embedded in the social relations of a society and it shapes that relationship and vice versa.

When Kana television first started its transmission one of the concerns of a lot of people, at least people I know around me, was the impact that it can put on our social relationship. As social relationships extend beyond family, relations in the realm of watching also passes beyond the basic unit of viewing, which is also family.

Under this discussion I would like to raise a case of social relations between members of a family and beyond it. The case I am presenting below, I believe, will sufficiently represent the families of this research for two major reasons. The first is that the composition of the family nuclear in nature while at the same time it brings characteristics of extended family. The second and the ultimate reason is that the social relation of this family which can be seen as ‘a detached- attached motion’ a split of family and its merge with another family and back again

to its original form is clearly visible. The head of the family living with his wife, two daughters, one son and a women, a relative on the mother's side. This is a story of how social relations are negotiated and extended in line with other activities of watching Kana. It is somehow based on what Moores (2000) borrowing from Stuart Hall, called the 'study of articulations', in two senses of the word articulation. One it implies what people say or speak about... carrying the connotation of expression and two it is also a kind of articulated lorry in which case the front cab and the back trailer can possibly be connected to one another (Moores 2000:57). Therefore, I tried to follow expressions and connections of people speaking about their relationship with the set itself, in the family and with others outside the family. In doing so, I am intend to briefly highlight on how social relationship in the activity of Kana television viewing is held between members and extended to others. Moreover, the case, I believe, will show how relationships are changed after Kana.

Split of Family: the Story of Attachment and Detachment

Ato Gizachew (name changed) is a 48 year old father of three children who works in Youth and Sport office of Nifas Silk sub city, Woreda 13. This family owns its own home in Addis Ababa with three small services in the compound rented by two newly married couples and a single man. Ato Gizachew as a man who works in youth and sport office he is highly interested in sport related programs. He searches for sport on all channels most of the time. His wife, Mrs. Roman (name changed) used to work in a hotel but because of hear health problem, which hindered her to move her right leg properly, she spends most of the time in home if she do not got to religious place. Two of the children being daughters help their mother most of the time. One of the daughters, the older one, had joined University but recently dropped because of grade. The other one was grade twelve student by the time I interviewed and observed the family-which is almost a year and half ago-, now she is fresh man student in a university. While the only son of the family is grade eight student by then.

As a home staying wife, W/o Roman spends much of her time either by sleeping or watching television laying on sofa. As far as her idea is concerned her choice is mostly to watch entertaining programs including music or movies and religious channels. She gives her first choice to the religious channels while still entertainment programs are also her choices. This entertaining programs are highly presented by Kana, according to her. The children on their own grounds they prefer to watch Kana, considering that it is what everybody is doing.

The family, because of different interest on different channels and programs, has agreed that there should be certain time limit on each program. Family members who want to watch Kana can have all the time starting from 6:00 to 8:00 in the night. While the family members watch Kana, it is obvious that there should be coffee ceremony that also involves the renter. According to Weizero Roman:

It was not a custom in our family to make coffee in the night until one day my younger daughter came with one of our rented who came to visit me with his wife for I was not feeling good. That day we made coffee for them. We watched Kana together that night arguing and laughing. From that day onward they come to our salon and we make coffee. It is the soap operas that are transmitted at that time. And we watch them together.

There is great amount of interaction between the renter and the owners. They talk a plenty of issues in between the breaks of each session. I observed that Ato Gizachew spends his time in small café just outside the compound crossing the road. The café also displays Kana but with voices muted. Instead they put on some music or radio, commented Ato Gizachew in my contact with him in the café which lasted for nearly 45 minutes. But when it is nearly 7:50 in the evening, Ato Gizachew walks to his home and greets everyone in the room. It is just the wife and the neighbors who respond to his greetings. He sits on an open sofa he find and leans back to rest his head on the couch. The two daughters look at each other and laugh which I did not understand until some minutes later. While all these happens, the son spends his time in a room he and his sisters share (which I had a look at for probably two minutes or less) doing his homework or reading a book.

As soon as the soap opera which is on show for one hour from 7:00 to 8:00 is over the TV is put on to EBC, where Ato Gizachew finds news including sport at once in brief. Then the renter neighbors say 'Good Night' and leave the room. After some seconds the daughters follow their step. The symbolic eye contact they made and their laugh when Ato Gizachew enters the room revealed its consequence in leaving their home to merge with the renter couples who owns their own 24 inch television. When the daughters look at each other it meant that their father is home telling them that the time for Kana is going to be over soon so they have to clean the room resulted of the coffee ceremony. Then they go to the couples' house to watch the next soap opera.

After some minutes Ato Gizachew started watching EBC news Weizero Roman sends her son to call his sisters to serve dinner. Ato Gizachew never stopped saying “are these girls out of their mind?” “How many times do I have to tell them to stay home?” kinds of complains sometimes for his wife and sometime for himself. He exclaimed that:

They have never listened to me since recently. They have never been in the home since they began watching this Kana thing, let it go to hell. Once I forced them to stay home and the husband came to see me why the girls are changed suddenly. You know these couples they are the good ones among the three of my renters. I did not want to embarrass them and I said it is just I thought they, my daughters, may bother them. You see, they almost cost me my good relationship with a nice neighbor for their nonsense Kana.

The girls appear only after some minutes they are called and they prepare dinner so quickly. Each of them sharing the tasks i.e. One brings water for hand the other brings the food. They put everything on the dining table and rush out when their father asks where they are going, even though he knows what and where they are up to. They just say they will be back. The linguistic implication that, the words they utter are learned they have no meanings among each other. The girls know that when their father ask them where they are heading to they know that he do not really want to know about it. The father also knows that when they say they will be back they do not mean it rather it means that they are going to the neighbor and staying there until the soap opera they watch is over. Either of the girls come within each ten or eleven minute and ask their parents what to serve. If they have to add some ‘enjera’ or ‘sauce’ or water they just do that and go back to where they watch the program.

Ato Gizachew is worried about how his daughters are acting lately while the daughters consider everything as smooth and fine. They believe that their relationship with their neighbors in the services is tight. W/o Roman because of her situation that she is sick and can use some help from wherever she gets it, because her daughters will leave soon for universities, has brought one of her relative from the country side (this relative of W/o Roman was not available in the home the time I visited. W/o Roman said she went to visit her family). She believe that her neighbors can be a best acquaintance if they can come to their home and watch Kana than staying alone with the daughters. Particularly, the day time is a time when she needs someone around while the girls are on school or somewhere else.

Sometimes it is her renter that accompanies her watching the Kana soap operas that they watched last night.

Ato Gizachew commented that sometimes he do not even see his daughters while he go to bed. On the other hand the daughters say good night to the neighbors. The family of Ato Gizachew sometimes argue about deleting Kana channel from the channel options but they end up rescanning or reloading it and it is always there among the channels. The family spends the day or at least the rest of the day together chatting until the split happens. The social relationship in the realm of watching alters relations between the members of families and extends beyond the familial relationships we hold to be the basic unit of relationship. For an individual member the social relationship rests between the TV set and him or herself. While television watching is collective, the members of the activity negotiate between with whom to watch and what to watch.

These implies, in the realm of watching television, that personal relationships go beyond the familial webs of what the family created as structure. The cultural limits and boundaries-the distinct interaction between members, the times of meal and coffee, household chores of a specific family- are broken in the case of Kana watching. Families collectively do the watching while still the merger of different members from different families is not something we deny. This relationship is recreated and reformed in time based on what the television brings to home-in this case Kana. Therefore, social interaction exists because of agents who would like to cross the boundaries. These interactions are highly systematized by unconscious agents, the agents being unaware of the outcome of the relationship and their actions. These relationships are reproduced in the contexts and setting of watching Kana. Thus, the social systems in the families are considered to be reproduced practices in the interaction settings (Giddens 1984:27).

This enables us to draw onto a more culturalist perspective on the situation of the daughters which, according to Moores (2000), gives emphasis for the human agency and enables us to understand the tensions between social reproduction and resistance. Attachment to a family and detachment from a family. For the daughters watching Kana is part of a timely or a fashion practice which gives them the resource to show themselves in front of others and enables them to compete regarding media follow. The father on the other hand has no competence when the issue of Kana is raised. The father defines his watching practice in terms of his occupation. Anything that should be watched should fall in the categories of

sport. His interest is sport and he resists all the new shows on Kana saying that ‘it benefits us nothing’. The story of how individual viewers switch between family and neighbors is a revealing account of attachment and detachment. In this instance, watching Kana in his home is a lack of respect both for him and his profession.

In other cases the relationship in watching activities trespasses the difference between parents and maiden. Boundaries in closeness to the television and awareness about programs are broken. No one have special knowledge about television anymore. In the families I interviewed and observed, though not all of them have maids, the maids have revealed that they have watched Kana particularly during the day times when the parents are not around. One of the maid who work in the family where a widowed women lives with her son, stated that:

It does not matter whether it is day or night ‘the Mom’ watch Kana every time. So, anytime I got chance I watch it with her. We even sometimes argue about how some character on the screen is bad or good. I just have to accomplish my household chores to watch Kana. But I cannot deny that we have quarreled a lot of times for I almost forgot to cook what I put on the stove or something like that. But when we are watching the programs, we just forget that she is my employer and I am her employee.

This response implies that the closeness to the TV which was largely the right and the activity of the owners is faded even allowing house maids to watch and discuss about it with their employers. In this line of discussion, Moores argued that talk about TV gives insights into processes of identification (Moores 2000:64). It is not only the members of the family that engage in the activity of watching but it extends itself beyond it. It make links between those who would like to watch it while at the same time it splits those who had smooth relations. It can be argued that television can be a source of relation beyond family chains in times of preference differences. Thus, the medium may be considered as a social device used to connect and interact with others but can also be linked with distracting social involvement with those in close physical proximity (Villegas 2012:10).

4.5. The Politics of the Living Room⁹

Watching Kana television is always bound up with ‘politics’ in the living room. By politics here I am not intend to talk about government or state issues as in politics of the political science or in some case political anthropology or political sociology (e.g. Gorges 1967, Nash 2010). As far as my observation took me, the disagreement between members goes from disagreement on what channel to watch in the living room to abandonment of the living room itself and the television set in the living room. On the interviews I had with families, there were interruptions by other members when someone talks about it which shows that members do not simply agree on what they have to watch for the reason a television set is for the whole family.

People disagree about how they should live, how they should walk, how they should talk, what to eat, where to go, and a lot other things in their lives. Under this topic politics could be understood as a disagreement between members of family while watching television in the living room. Here I would like to remember a scene from a famous movie entitled ‘Pirates of the Caribbean: *at World’s End*’¹⁰. The scene I raise here clarifies what politics is for my purpose here, I hope.

Lords of pirates are gathered on their court which they call “Brethren Court” to decide on two important things; one, whether to release a goddess called ‘Calypso’ bound in human body to get her power to rule over the Caribbean seas and two, whether to fight against a British lord who is trying to control the seas for his own royal economic purpose. The lords, gathering in the court, did not agree on the points raised. Moreover, they began a fight among themselves within the court. Elizabeth Swann, a newly captain made woman of the Singapore wing of the pirates because of death of the former captain, a daughter of one of British Governors, commented that while their fight should be with the British, it is madness to fight among themselves. Jack Sparrow, the main character, replied and said “No, This is Politics!” (Pirates

⁹ This title is borrowed from Sean Cubitt (1985 in Morley 1986) while discussing about stars of pop music. Cubitt used the phrase, according to Morley, in a sense that ‘when the camera pulls us in the family pulls us out’. Cubitt, I assume, is trying to note that when we are attracted to and concentrated on television following what the camera shows us and probably a different world than of ours, the family brings us back to the reality which is the living room where members begin a quarrel for why their communication with the screen on the TV stand is disconnected. Cubitt puts it saying that “...the people you live with are likely to disrupt, if not shatter, your communication with the box in the corner.” (Cubitt 1985 in Morley 1986:8).

¹⁰ This movie has five parts including its 2018 production each part with a different but also related story to the previous and the next one. I used it here for the reason that film is also a media that has a great deal of relation with television and the program that is mostly watched on Kana in families I studied is soap opera.

of the Caribbean: *at World's End* 1:33:33-1:38:00). This scene helped to make my mind of what politics is.

To add some more clarification to the concept of politics the idea of 'cultural politics' is applied to understand what I meant politics in this section. According to Nash (2010) cultural politics helps in making sense of how the meanings we attach to social relations are challenged, if not changed, wherever there is unjust, exclusionary and that destruct the capacities and capabilities of individuals and groups. This idea of politics as a challenge, disagreement, and sometimes a fight against unjust relations in watching Kana television is used in this research for the reason that Kana has resulted in these features-unjust, exclusionary and destructive to capabilities- among family members. Indeed, a television set among the majority of Ethiopian families is divided for everyone. This leads to a disagreement what to watch resulted of personal channel preferences.

In developed nations television sets could be found in different rooms so that members could watch television in their own room without disturbance (Silverstone 1999, Moores 2000). Among the families I interviewed and observed the families have one television set and one decoder for all the members. In some cases, neighbors could use one satellite dish but different cables and television sets. In some other cases, I am told by my interviewees, neighbors could use the same satellite dish and the same decoder but a cable plugged on the decoder of the owners and transmits whatever the owners watch to the neighbor who owns the cable. In these cases, the cable owner just with a television set neighbor will fall in fight with the decoder owners while asking for the program he or she wants to watch and which they do not. Until the cable owner just with a television set buys his own decoder and satellite dish, he has to tolerate the dish owners whatever they do with their decoder. But, this tolerance and negotiation decreases when between members of family living under the same roof with just a single television set.

Here I present with a case showing how political the living room is regarding watching Kana. In the next paragraphs, I am intend to enlighten the disagreement between members of family because of Kana television and the consequences it brought in the families I studied. The family I presented, I believe, can show how much viewing can be politicized and how that politics is understood and reacted with members of family.

The Private in the Private

Ato Eshetu (name changed) is a 53 year old husband and father of six daughters. His wife Weizero Yenealem (name changed), a 42 year old woman, and Ato Eshetu had kids from different spouses before marrying each other. He works in business and finance office while his wife works as janitor in Ethiopian Electric Power Authority, Sar Bet district.

Their house has four different compartments. The living room or the salon is a big room filled with sofas, a big modern cupboard, sitting chairs, and picture on walls including 32 inch flat screen television on a beautiful TV stand. The other bigger room among the compartments is the bed room of Ato Eshetu and Weizero Yenealem where there is also another television but 14 inch one with a different decoder than the living room. Bed, a closet, a small book shelf and other household materials occupy the bed room.

In the living room, for the reason that the family is large in number, sometimes the members fight even to sit on sofas. All the children, except the older one who works in the Kebelle office and her follower sibling afresh out of technique and vocational school but unemployed, are students of elementary, high school and preparatory schools. Five of the children including the mother wants to watch Kana when they are in the living room, making coffee and preparing dinner using charcoal while there is a stove in the kitchen which is separated from the house with probably three meters distance.

The father being old and religious do not really appreciate his wife and children watching Kana. He keeps nagging his family to change the channel to somewhere he can watch news, where they can get some important information for their education or life. The wife replies telling her husband that to let the kids be free, if that is what they want to watch. She makes fun of him saying that ‘I know you would love to watch it with us but you are not dare enough to admit it, because you think it is shameful for someone as old as you to watch these somehow romantic movies’. Ato Eshetu considering all the conflicts arose in the family every night, he preferred to stay a little away from his family, which he described their collection as “collection of fools.”

Therefore, showing me the bedroom in which he spends the night from the moment he got home Ato Eshetu explained:

I think I am the only who go to his bedroom right away and have his dinner in the bedroom and watch television in his bedroom.

This comment of Ato Eshetu tells that the family even though living under the same roof is somehow politicized in a way that they have boundaries between themselves. Doors of the house's compartments held a symbolic representation that someone preferred to stay away from others. These boundaries are made, according to Ato Eshetu:

Because I hated the fight in the living room, I bought another small screen television (14' to be precise) and a new decoder so that I can watch television channel of my own choice in my bedroom.

It is about personal interest and choice that brought the politics as a result of the disagreement and quarrel on program choices. In the scenario of watching Kana, when some interest is holding a different approach like Ato Eshetu's preference to have a TV in his bedroom, it is considered as one challenger is down in the political arena of the living room and that is taken by other members just fine.

That actually fit well with others. The bedroom as you can see has no door but just a curtain the door was broken some months ago. That is my boundary of watching television though the voice of television in the living room can trespass.

Replied Ato Eshetu for the question I raised regarding how others felt it when he is having a separate life in his house because of Kana. In fact he consider the curtain on the doorway to the bedroom as a boundary between him and his family. But deep down he knows that it is Kana which is a real boundary between him and his family. If it was not for Kana, it can be inferred from his responses, he may not be in such situation. Because of the presence of Kana the disagreement between members increased and the ideal political boundary is created. Finally, on the issue of what the way of life he and his family are holding every day, Ato Eshetu concluded that:

I can tell you that as soon as I am in the bedroom I am free of the quarrel after all and it is like I am in some other house with no one in the room except I hear transitional music of their Kana. I mostly watch news on OMN, ESAT or everywhere possible.

This case shows that the private has built another private in which certain members of a family construct their own identity and keep away from the public in the private-the public being the living room where all members interact and watch television together. The boundary as marked by the curtain on the get of the bedroom implies the political relation the father has with other members of the family while Kana is watched. On the other hand the increment of the voice, which is amplified by a three speaker 'Geepas'¹¹ tries to penetrate through the boundary of the bedroom and the living room. Personalized media view is now somehow common to the family of Ato Eshetu, though the children are not as much attracted to Kana as they were before, W/o Yenealem commented on an informal chat we had while we met in Taxi almost seven months after I contacted them for the research purpose. Nevertheless, the political private created within the private is now remained part and parcel of everyday life of that family.

Despite the opinion that the creation of media rich home is justified by the decline of safe public places (Livingstone 2007: 2), it can be understood, from this scenario, I believe, that the private is also sometimes unsafe when it comes to the politics of viewing television. It is not only the public is unsafe now, the private is somehow considered less safe and some members needed a window to escape from it and therefore they created their own private with in the private sphere. There is no guarantee that the private, home where family members share, is always a place where peace and happiness is experienced as it used to be.

In this line of argument, regarding politics in the house hold, Moores explained that the boundaries:

May be are external frontier with the outside public or internal divisions within the private domain. They can be spatial or temporal, material or symbolic, but each of them are caught up with particular construction of identity and difference and they might be tied to dynamics of authority and resistance, or to feelings of security and anxiety. Resources which enable such social and psychological boundaries to be drawn include those made available by the electronic media, television of course... (Moores 2000:72).

¹¹ A technological product, also considered a media (see Moores 2000, Silverstone 1999, Livingstone 2007), that can be considered as hi-fi system- a system that reproduces sound.

This is to say that in relation with Kana television, families have witnessed private internal division within the private domain. Members of a family, so as to keep their own identity, for instance the case of Ato Eshetu as a father, they want to resist what others try to impose on them by creating their own spatial domain in which they exercise authority over the material they possess. Symbolically speaking the emergence of private domain in the private implies that security of certain members of a family is somehow degraded as a result of television channels like Kana. This insecurity has created a feeling of spatial gap between the same family members. In which case members denote that some rooms do not belong to them and some rooms belong to them according to the television channel they watch at certain time.

This way of life of a family that is created as a result of Kana can be linked to what Giddens (1984:119) calls regionalization. Regionalization, according to Giddens, refers to 'the zoning of time and space in relation with repeated social practices'. It implies that different rooms of modern family are zoned in different time and space category. Some rooms are used particularly, may be in the morning, while some other rooms will be used in the evening. In our case of Kana, rooms are zoned as per the difference in channel preference. Some rooms are left for some members for some practice with little or no intervention at all in which case the bond between members is witnessed to weaken to the level of ignoring some one's existence in the family which in turn has become the interaction structure of families of Kana era.

Conclusion

After Kana was introduced to the history of Ethiopian television, being born out of the unfertile media ground, it got a lot of acceptances and challenges. It found its way to be part of everyday life of different families through agents/actors. Giddens (1984) argued that something would not have happened if some agents did not intervene in between. Nevertheless, the outcome of the agents' action is unintentional, so that Kana became routine in families and watched regularly.

People give different reasons why Kana is so catchy than other channels. Some of the reasons are that its programming schedules and the language bridge are the major reasons. Kana brought the global production with a local format, at least with a local linguistic bridge. People argued that it was the global presented in the local language at most that enabled Kana to gain the attention of most unlike other local television channel showing that the global local

gap is narrowed for the people through language. People do not put that much emphasis on which one is real and which one is not. This actually was an argument that Appadurai (1996) hold regarding his work about the global and the local. Appadurai argued that “electronic media give a new twist to the environment within which the modern” at local level “and the global often appear as flip sides of the same coin.” Which in other words put as, people experience media in a way that resulted in blurred distinction between reality in the life of the people and fictitious landscape on the screen.

Once kana found its way into the everyday life of families it was negotiated by different factors like age and occupation of viewers, religious backgrounds, interpersonal relations in the family and the social relation that involved around watching TV. The major argument here is that not everyone watch Kana nor everyone ignores it. Some watch it with their own will, as compared with informed consent in medical, marking that a new activity is added to the existing everyday life. It is not only television that influence the relationship between individuals but it is relation between individuals influence the activity of watching based on how smooth or rigid the relationship is, as supported by Bourdieu (1990). Moreover, people either enforce others, by using the resources at hand (Giddens 1984), in this case the remote control, so that the activity of watching become recursive and legitimate.

The relationships in the realm of watching are witnessed to trespass the familial bonds while at the same time they weakened the familial relationship which resulted in the production of private sphere within the private sphere. The politics in watching activity, which is resulted because of different personal interests, have led to imaginative political boundaries, as explained in terms of Moores’ (2000) understanding of the politics, among family members. Though Kana TV is not considered that influential as it was by others, the political drama it created remained part of the everyday life in some families. The regions of a household as regionalized in time and space for different members of the family have become recursive structures of those families.

Chapter Five

5. The Uses and Misuses of Kana TV

Introduction

The uses of television vary across families. Centrally the concern of this portion of my research is to look at first what meaning is given to Kana television in particular relation with its motto ‘Kana Wuste New’-because media use are greatly bound up with linguistic use (Spitulnik 1993)- and looking at the use families make of it. Morley (1986:1) argued that questions of interpretation and questions of use has never been taken together but been investigated separately. Therefore, the issues of “how families make use of the TV they watch and how they give meanings to the thing they watch” (Morley 1986:1), is the concern of this chapter. In chapter four I have tried to see how Kana TV found way to embed itself in the familial relations, how families understand their relationships, how those relationships are altered as a result of Kana and what remedies are taken to stay in the altered relation. As continuum from the previous chapter, this chapter builds upon the familial relations that are already in the realm of watching but extends it to the idea of using the TV for different purposes, as relations differ for that matter. Moreover, I will also try to see the different perspectives that exist in families regarding the negative and the positive sides of the television as pointed out by the families during the interviews and as I have observed it in different places. First I will discuss the meanings that are given to this particular television channel in relation with its motto and then embark on the uses that families make out of it. In doing so, my intention is to make link between what people say and what they really do, as much as possible. It can help to see the changing significance of ‘the box at the corner’ (Morley 1986, Moores 2000). Finally I will discuss the misuses that people make of Kana has to the families I studied which will lead to and bridge the final chapter of my thesis.

5.1. *Kana: From the ‘Popular’ to the ‘Everyday’*

Different television channels have different mottos and logos which they use, I assume, as trade mark on one hand and as a call for audiences to follow them on the other hand. For instance EBC have ‘የሕዳሴና የብዙሀነት ድምጽ’¹², JTv had ‘ኢትዮጵያዊነት መልካምነት’¹³, EBS with

¹² The Voice of Renaissance and Diversity

¹³ Ethiopianism is Goodness

‘Your Number One Choice’, Nahoo ‘ጊዜዉ ኣሁን ነዉ’¹⁴ just to mention some. These are symbolic dissemination of media into the heterogeneous, widely dispersed mass (McQuail 1969:2 in Gurevitch et.al. 1982:1980). These mottos have different meanings to different people not only as words but as symbolically implicated messages by themselves. In other words, my argument is that the mottos carry a symbolic meaning of what the channel is about and how to be perceived.

While I am doing this research, people keep asking me ‘is Kana watched anymore?’ kind of question implying that Kana is not something to be talked about anymore or not to be investigated seriously. But the interesting part of studying Kana TV viewing lies at the heart of that these people asking me that question are the people whom I find watching Kana and arguing or talking about it. My point is that Kana has moved from the ‘popular to the everyday’¹⁵, from what is, at the beginning, assumed to be from afar to something that needs a closer look for the reason that it has already got acquainted with the everyday.

Kana, which nowadays a lot of people assume that not viewed as it was viewed before, is brought down from a differently understood mesmerizing channel to a channel that is as common as any other channel but with a different place in families. My point here is that, though people assume that Kana cannot catch the attention of viewers anymore, it is because of there are two dimensions of it. The first point is that families I studied are already familiar with it and started make use of Kana in any way that fits their daily lives which makes Kana already part and parcel of the everyday so that it is not a guest, a new thing, to be talked about. The second point is new viewers are still joining the arena of watching it but not necessarily directly from the television set, not from the screen on the TV stand but from YouTube channel of Kana with their laptops or mobile phones.

“It is not more than five months since I began to watch Kana.” informed a 24 year old boy student whom I interviewed separately for he is a university student and not found on family interviews. This boy remarked that when Kana first began its transmission a lot of people talk about it both in bad and negative impacts of it which really makes him, to use his expression,

¹⁴ Now is the Time

¹⁵ Schielke and Debevec (2012) in “Ordinary lives and Grand Schemes: *an Anthropology of Everyday Religion*” used the phrase to discuss the real life of Muslims and the grand assumption of how Muslims should live. They argue that the popular assumption of it is different from the everyday practice of it.

“so dummy about ignoring it” which would have helped him, he pointed, spend so much of his time during his break times.

Kana has broadened its transmission from the television channel to other media particularly to the social media like Facebook where people can share ideas and see updates easily. On its official Facebook page, Kana television request viewers, if they are following a certain program, to post their pictures watching the program in the comment box where a lot of them do that. This can be interpreted as Kana is not just something that people can watch in their home just with their family only. Rather it implies that it breaks through the boundaries of personal lives of people, which in deed people already began doing on Facebook either by posting what they are feeling or by sharing the pictures of how they spent their weekends or by showing to the mass, for example, what they had for lunch. Sharing pictures watching Kana is not peculiar that worth considering for the reason that posting pictures on Facebook is already a daily live for some. But posting ones pictures of watching Kana in the comment box where the channel’s page requested to do so is different.

On the other hand, even though members of families are not able to watch Kana directly from the television set they can watch the program episodes from YouTube. In fact watching a program from YouTube is not peculiar for Kana. Nevertheless, people telling you that they do not watch Kana TV anymore but watching its programs from somewhere else is somehow tricky. Someone who watch Kana from YouTube watch it with the entire formats that it has on the TV screen. Regarding how Kana TV is watched from a different source other than a television set a 24 year old boy university student on separate interview asserted that:

I do not really watch Kana at home because you know there are conflicts of interests and choices. Rather I would prefer to watch the episodes of the shows I missed from You Tube where no one can argue to change the channel.

People who would say that they are not comfortable about watching at home they will make contact with television it in another way, for instance internet. It should be understood that, as Ardevol (2005) noted it, internet is a form of media in which another media can reveal itself in a different way but with somehow the same format. Television can change the way it is presented to the audiences (where we can find cable television as explained in Silverstone 1999) but the format of its presentation stays the same. People though they do not watch the

TV directly they will watch it from a different source which still could be a sign of everyday prevalence of Kana in our lives.

Kana television has also settled in our life via our mobile phones for mobiles have already become crucial for our everyday existence. In some stances I asked my interviewees if they are willing to show me their mobile phones. The mobile phone owners explained that they have some episodes of Kana on their phone. A girl whom I knew from Facebook and met around Mexico, showed me the gallery of her phone which has pictures of actors from different movies and from Kana TV with Amharic captions like “ወንዶች ፍቅርን ከአማር ተማሩ (boys, learn love from Omar¹⁶)” on them. I was interested in what the relation between the Amharic caption and the pictures is. She explained that:

Just everyone have these pics. I guess you do have them too. It is just not something you got amazed of as it was before one year or so. You know Kana is now how we sometimes communicate among ourselves. Me and my friends, we use some expression from there without even watching the TV.

In this regard it is understood that when viewers are not in direct contact with what is on the screen they tend to create imagined worlds of their own. Accordingly, Appadurai (1996) implied that when people are further away from direct experiences of ‘metropolitan life’ they see on the screen, the more they are about to construct their imagined worlds. These imagined worlds are aesthetic and even are fantastic objects-like the images my interviewees have on their phones. This implies that Kana is no more a television channel that is just hang up on the corner of the house being transmitted from that little box and considered somehow different. But, imaginatively, being linked with other media-as Appadurai (1996) put it Media are complicated and connected repertoire of different forms- it is brought down to the regular life that people hold common. Therefore, one may have considered that this expression and linguistic uses are common now. Even we may find this Kana born expressions and language in religious places. I just would like to embark on some of these expressions as interpreted by my interviewees. It should be noted that the following section is not a content analysis rather it tries to show how the people received, understood and interpreted the television based on the meaning they give to it despite what the intention and content of the channel is.

¹⁶ Omar is a movie character in one of the soap operas dubbed from Turkey (entitled Tikur Fikir) channeled on Kana.

5.1.1. ‘Kana Wuste New’: *From the Screen to Life*

‘Kana’, the word itself, as literally understood in the communality holds the meanings that are related with taste as something on tongue, flavor, and tone as in melody or smell as something like incense. Whatever it is implied by Kana TV while using this motto, it may give different meanings to the audiences. My concern, here, is not to look from the top to the bottom, not to find out what Kana is meant when using this motto but to find out how the people understand and give meaning to it with its sense making capabilities.

The Amharic phrase ‘wuste new’ literally implies something that is inside the physical body or spirit or soul. Or it implies something from inside in the same manner. What is implied by the expression of ‘wuste new’ is explained by different informants as follows. These expressions are repeated by different informants in one or another way. The meaning that is given to it and the expression they put it to is also different. The meanings are put into use on to different senses. First, people use the meanings in their own life to show the relationship they have with one another. Secondly, people use the meanings to indicate their relationship with the TV itself. Thirdly, some people use the expression just because it is what the time has brought, as a fashion. Therefore, I present the three different meanings that people have in common about understanding what the phrase means and I will explain the uses these meanings have.

Interviewee 1, 23 year old male on separate interview:

I am not quite sure what ‘Kana Wuste New’ actually mean but it gives me the meaning that is related with the expressions like ‘I love you from the bottom of my heart’. That is something you say to someone when you have a real feeling about them. When you like something, some character of that person. My use of the phrase typically for my girlfriend is to tell her that I love her.

Interviewee 2, 21 year old female on separate interview:

It is obvious what ‘Kana Wuste New’ means, I think. It means Kana is inside me, tied with my body. You know this Amharic song “ፍቅርሽ ገብቶ ከደግጌ”¹⁷ right? What do you say if I ask you what that mean? It does not mean that love literally is

¹⁷ Amharic song by young musician. It may literally be translated as ‘your love in my blood’.

bound up with your blood but it signifies and magnify the amount of love that you carry. Moreover, 'Kana Wuste New' implies how much you are loyal to it. If it is inside you, you go nowhere. So, when I say to someone 'wuste neh or wuste nesh' I am just telling them that I am loyal to them because I have a lot of connection with them.

Interviewee 3, 41 year old man on separate interview:

I understand 'Kana Wuste New' just as a simple expression that comes at certain moment and fades away at any time. People always follow things even language as a fashion nowadays. Something that is considered as new will lead for some time and it diminishes. Those who follow fashion may have used the phrase in their lives but I did not. But I have to tell you that I watch Kana sometimes.

From these three different understandings of the phrase it can be understood that 'Kana Wuste New' has at least three meanings, according to the interviews. The first meaning, which is linked with real feeling of the person, implies that the usage is about telling what is deep inside the heart. It is about the emotion that someone have. In relation with watching the TV, it urges the audiences to come with all their emotion which is translated as kana is not just a channel that can be watched as any other channel. Rather it implies that it needs attention, and audiences need to feel what is presented and to be followed regularly so that not to miss a single episode. Just to mention some more arguments from my interviewees, a 40 year old widow woman on family interview exclaimed that:

Particularly the soap operas, they should be watched regularly. I think that is why the channel repeat on weekends what has been transmitted from Monday to Friday episode by episode. You know once you begin a lovely story it is difficult to stop watching it. I even remember the scenes wherever I am. I talk about it with others every time. There is this itch inside you which tells you to wait for the next episode and to keep watching.

The second meaning, which can be related with and can be result of the first one, is related its significance signifying and magnifying the amount of closeness to someone one and to the TV. Accordingly, the interviewees interpreted as it carries the meaning of loyalty. It is to imply that Kana television should be watched regularly and needs loyalty. The statements of

“channel loyalty” are not to be interpreted as simple empirical statements, argues Morley (1986).

The meaning that is given to the phrase as indication of loyalty to channel, accordingly, implies the impression that is created among those who watch it to find what is on the screen in their lives. I have found from among of my interviewees some of the episodes of Kana on their mobile phones and laptops. But largely, there is a tendency by women to claim this loyalty than men. This claim, nevertheless, is not consistent among all the families and individuals interviewed. The men who watch Kana watch less kana as compared with the women. There is at least a women in all of the families who is so loyal to the TV, who watch almost all the programs from 6:00 to 10:00 in the evening. Men in some families watch at most one program while in some other families men do not watch Kana at all.

Thirdly, the motto being understood as a fashion is used by different people in different places for different purposes. I, personally, have received text messages with “Wuste Neh” phrase on a holiday while that kind of expression in the text is not repeated by the sender at any other time. People are heard saying that, for instance, that song is ‘Wuste New’ with no special meaning implicated but they share the fashion of the time. A 28 year old interviewee commented that “you may hear a preacher on the stage or on the TV screen saying ‘Jesus Wuste New’. The youths in the families make use of the phrase to express their affection to one another, to tell their loyalty, to show how much they hate something, are among the repeatedly mentioned ones. The expression, accordingly, may not be used by everyone but everyone understands it in one or another way.

Ato Eshetu’s family:

Some of our family members, particularly our children, use it to show their affection and appreciation when you do them something they like. Not all of us use the phrase but everyone understands what is implied.

Weizero Almaz’s family:

Even my 5 year old daughter may say ‘mom wuste nesh’ which I understand as ‘mom I love you’. I replied in the same way too tell her that I love her too but also to tell myself that she is also my precious thing.

Ato Kasa's family:

The phrase is not always used to express love or something you like. We may also use it for extreme negative implications. We may say that 'Wuste Adelem' (literally not inside me) to explain that we are done with or we hate whatever it is we are talking about.

Ato Tesfu's family:

We basically use the phrase for some kind of topics, either to talk about it or not. We may say 'Wuste New' for a certain topic to say that 'it comfort me to talk about it'. Or the opposite of it.

These different positions and meanings about the phrase on the channel and the channel itself tell us that people try to fit what is on the screen to their real life based on the meaning they give to it. In other words, people, according to the meaning that they give these things, try to experience the feeling and the emotion they can get not only from the television but also by applying what is on the television. The statements families make about how they understand and use the phrase linguistically means that they want the screen life to be their life. We can remember Morley here arguing that this kinds of statements are still significant not only by indicating the primary connotations with channels but also by implying that 'people want what is', for example, 'on ITV (which is considered as an entertainment channel) to be on BBC (considered as educational) (Morley 1986:161). In the case of Kana, it can be understood that people may want what is on Kana (which is considered as pure entertainment channel) to be on ETV (considered as political). Moreover, the use of the motto of the channel, given the meanings of the popular, in everyday life implies that people want what is on the screen to be in their life.

But there were families and individuals who sincerely informed that they have never used the phrase in such meaningful way. For instance, A 17 year old boy high school student responded that he and his friends use the phrase just because it is like a habit for them, like every habitual action they do, with no reason and logical or symbolic explanation behind it. In other stances it was also implied that the phrase is never used at all. These all infers that whatever it is on the screen, it has a different meaning and use when it comes down to the earth to the real life of people.

5.2. The Uses and Misuses of Kana television

5.2.1. The Uses of Kana TV

In this research the use of Kana television is divided according to the programs transmitted and the time allocated for them based on the responses given by different families. By doing so, it is at least simpler to look at which program is used for what purpose at which time. So, we can deal with three things here. First, Kana TV, when it is a background noise. Second Kana TV when it is on the foreground and third Kana TV when it is totally ignored. Therefore, by considering that not all television channels hold the same use or similar purpose even in the same family this portion will try to deliver the point that the use of television is may be evolving itself so not to be ignored and dominated by other media.

Which means that the uses of Kana television differ in different time and among different members of a family and in different families. As Morley (1986:23) put it “families may well engage in various...uses of television...one family type uses television for different purposes at different times... and different members may use television for quite different purposes.”

5.2.1.1. Kana TV as a Background Noise: ‘a Noise to the Noises’

While doing my interviews and observations, Kana TV has been on as a background noise. Either I asked my respondents to put their TV on Kana or they do it by themselves to achieve as much original context of viewing as possible. In some of the families when I arrive in their home for the interviews and observations I occasionally and apparently can hear the transitive music of Kana TV just from outside the entrance door. It is a certain program from Kana that people use as a background noise. I asked my interviewees just to make a link between the TV set on Kana and their other household chores which they did in a way that can articulate the time of certain program is transmitted, the time of certain household chores to be accomplished and the time how many members of the family are around the home. It is when these three time based factors come together then the use of Kana TV in the family is observed.

Therefore, time and the presence of members are the major characteristics that demonstrate the use of Kana TV in families. Without actually considering interest clash in the time of watching television, I believe, it is not that possible to understand the uses of television in family. Thus, by analyzing the different responses given by my interviewees I tried to figure

out which program is listened or put on as a noise but not necessarily watched, at which time and with which household chores, and finally with which members of the family.

Family members, though they do not arrange their time particularly based on the schedules on Kana, try to fit between different chores which can be considered as ‘condensation of chores’. They try to bring a lot of chores at once to complete them before they go to watch Kana fully. As the interviews implied and as I literally observed, when Kana TV is a background noise it is when people are not really in the living room and they are not watching it. In other words, when members of family are in the living room, Kana is transformed from background noise to the foreground for those in the room.

During the day times, when just some members of the family are around, that Kana TV is mostly used as a background. Mostly it is the wife, a house maid or a college student who will be found at home during the day times. During the night time, when almost every member is around it is a foreground activity. The morning time is when everyone is rushing to go out, either to work or school. Regarding the day and night watching time classification one of my interviewees, a 41 year old women on family interview, said that:

In our family television is not that much important in the morning except it provides just a noise to the noises. It is not something to be paid attention. Everyone in the morning rushes for either school or work. Mostly we do not open Kana in the morning. But sometimes, the children, they put it on Kana where I complain that they have to go to school. Some of the kids may not listen to me but not much attention is paid to the screen either whatever channel it is on in the morning.

Morning time is a time when the families plan how to spend their day despite the everyday routine courses of one’s life. Someone may tell other members he or she is going to do this and that, something that is not part of the everyday. Not every family member listens to what someone has to say. Rather everyone keeps asking and talking and requesting and so on. In fact some members of the family even wake up with the voice of the television on. In some cases it is the transitional music of Kana that wakes members of families I studied. Whomever woke up first, according to the family interviews, except some mornings like Sunday, one of the first things they do is turning the TV on. Some members purposely put the voice loud to wake others.

Accordingly, the use of TV in general differs in time and who is there in the room. When it comes to Kana TV the use depends on not only on time but also the type of programs. For the reason that was mentioned in relation with 'channel loyalty' Kana, according to the interviews, needs a tremendous attention to follow up and to acquire the full image of what is going on the screen. Therefore, background usage of Kana depends on three conditions. One, the type of the program transmitted (is it soap opera or some other program, because it is the soap operas that are largely viewed), two, the repetition of the program (when the program is to be repeated) and three the type of viewers (are they students, workers, house maids). For example, a 23 year old female college student whom in interviewed separately stated as follows:

When I am off classes, I spend my day in the home if have nowhere to go. So, I spend my day watching Kana or any other TV. But to be frank, even though I put the TV on Kana during the day times, it is not to watch it as I watch it in the night. It even sometimes help me get asleep while watching it.

During much of the day time, Kana TV transmits what has been transmitted in the previous day night. The great deal of the day, accordingly, for those who spend their time at home, is either spent by watching Kana, what they already have watched last night or just put Kana TV or any other TV on and doing some other household chores. At 5:00 pm Kana HOP program begins its afresh program where still Kana is used as a background because the program transmits music video clips. While students and those who come back early from work may watch Kana as a foreground at that particular time while others, mothers and household maids, use Kana as a background at the same time. In other words, people can both use Kana as a background and foreground at the same time, some members can watch and listen, some others, they can listen to music while they are still doing other house hold chores mostly making dinner or preparing coffee. In those families who have the kitchen totally separated from the living room, I observed, the voice of Kana TV is put louder so that it can be heard in the kitchen.

But when the program need some attention, for example if it is Kana Passport (National Geography) viewers are most probably to be between viewing seriously and using it as a background if they are not able to watch because of some chores.

It is to say that people do not necessarily arrange their daily activities depending on the schedules of the TV, in the case of the families I studied, particularly during the day times. It shows, as Gauntlet and Hill (1999) already identified television is part of everyday activities while at the same time watching television is not a mere passive activity. It rather shows that television viewing patterns and contexts are not standardized nor structured during the day times. The viewing activity is just a learned activity that people do unconsciously with no immediate explanation why they put it on. As Giddens argued it, people give explanation for what they do just after they are asked why they are doing it, there is no a readymade reason for their everyday activity (Giddens 1984:73).

Therefore, it can be understood that watching television and its use is not a result of a mere presence of the TV. Rather, people tries to justify their activity based on time and the company they have with them. Rather than watching television passively people have transformed their watching to a reasonable-reasonable in a sense of people can give answers when asked why they are doing what they are doing (Giddens (1984) - activity. This transformation has marked a shift in familial interaction like who controls the remote, and time management-what to do at what time.

5.2.1.2. Kana TV on the Foreground: *the Night activity*

The foreground is when almost Kana TV is the only thing or the primary thing that is done in the family. In the families I interviewed and observed Kana TV transformed from background noise to foreground particularly during the night times and on the weekends when only some family members are around and when most of the channels program are soap operas. I asked families on the spot of the unstructured interview to write down their typical day. It goes as follows. I will just present one typical day for the reason that the major of the day is similar among the families in one or another way. But the day that is presented below is not a mechanical or strictly structured day for families.

A typical day, as written by 23 year old school girl from Ato Eshetu's family, would be

12:00 am mom get up and begin to cook breakfast for dad and us

12:30-12:45 am my sisters get up and get ready for school (if it is not weekend) while helping mom prepare breakfast. At least we make tea.

12:50 am someone switches the TV on

1:00 am dad get up and get ready for work

1:10 am breakfast in the living room. That is when I get up, for breakfast.

2:00 am everyone, except mom leaves for school and work.

2:00-4:00 am (if I am not going to school) I help mom in some chores. I make coffee.

4:00 am either mom or me put the TV on Kana. Until then the TV is either on Fana TV or somewhere on news but no one gives attention to it.

4:00-7:00 am Kana is watched to watch what is missed last night because of VOA

7:00-8:00 am is news time with lunch

8:00-9:00 am is coffee time with neighbors

9:00-12:00 am I leave for school to college.

11:00 am my siblings come back from school

12:00-3:00 pm Kana is watched, serious of operas are watched one after the other. Dad and I do not watch Kana. He goes to his bedroom to watch his own preference on the TV in the bedroom. I stay either in my room or in the living room playing with my mobile until 3:00 pm when I want to listen to VOA. Others watch Kana eating dinner and drinking coffee.

3:00-4:00 pm I listen to VOA while others, whether they like it or not listen to it with me. No one makes that much talk while watching Kana or listening to VOA. Everyone's attention is on the TV.

4:00-5:00 pm we may have some little talk how our day was.

After 5:00 pm then we sleep.

This typical day, or ‘this seriality’, a phrase borrowed from Giddens (1984:73), of activities, provides a fixed marker points between when and how Kana TV is transformed from background noise to foreground activity. In the case of Kana TV HOP program marks the transition from the background use of the TV to the foreground. It is considered as a probe for the soap operas coming right after it. For some members it also means that it is the time to be in the living room directly in face to face contact or emotionally by increasing the volume of the TV to be heard in some other room in the house like the kitchen. As Gauntlett and Hill (1999:27) recognized it, the typical day order mark transitions from one stage of the day to the next stage.

Therefore, when Kana TV is on the foreground, for those who view it, it is an activity on itself. The other activities that are done simultaneously while watching it are considered as activities that can add some sort of ritual to the watching activity. For instance, in the families I studied coffee ceremony is somehow a constant activity that the families do, some of them twice a day. Coffee during the day time, particularly after lunch and on weekends is common for all. The purpose of coffee ceremony-the ritual on itself, done as a sole activity to create bond among members- is changed according to my interviewees. Just to use some words directly from my interviewees, a 33 year old women described what other activities and the watching activity looks like and is interpreted in the night.

ማታ ቃና ስናይ በደረቁ እንዳይሆን ቡና ይፈላል። ቡና ካለ መሃል መሃል ላይ ቢያንስ ትንሽም ቢሆን ወሬ አይጠፋም።

This may be literally translated as:

When we watch Kana, at night, coffee ceremony is always a kind of ritual that accompanies it, that can smoothen the watching activity. If there is coffee, there is, at least, some talk.

While the night time, before the emergence of Kana, was almost a time when families sit around the dining table and have some talk as family while watching EBC or ESAT (among some elder and educated members) or any other channel and the talk will be about what should be done about the life of someone in the family, or how a slight problem with friends should be solved, or when to accomplish certain familial work or whatever there is to talk about or in some stances it may be about political issues as presented by the television channel

they watch. After Kana, however, if there is discussion it is going to be about the program that they watch on the screen. Kana, when on the foreground, may pave the way for discussion among members but the discussion is going to be about the programs on it. Lull (1980) argued that as a discussion point provider television may create bond among members depending on the type of a family.

Nevertheless, according to my interviews with the families, it is not just having talk or discussion that should be paid attention as a use of television but what kind of discussion it provide and on what point the families discuss is worth considering. While television in general can give topics to discuss which in turn can create tie or conflict among members, as Lull already suggested it, Kana TV can give a discussion topic that does not go beyond the TV itself. The discussion while the TV is on is centrally about what is going to happen next on the screen. Therefore, according to the interviews, even though families have a little chat while they watch Kana, it is in one or another way going to be about the program itself, nothing more.

All these discussions implies that people have used and are using television for different purposes since it is a medium that brings both the audio and video formats at one (Moore 2000, Morley 1986). Moreover, despite the fact that television provides a background to the already existing foreground activities its uses extends from a simple 'background to complex behavior pattern in home' (Bechtol 1972 in Morley 1986) to 'the foreground when individuals desire it so' (Lull in 1980 in Morley 1986:21). Nevertheless, in a way that seems creating ties among members by bringing topics for discussion, the interviews revealed that discussion if not for the common good of the family, it is not important as it seem. But everyone talks about the same thing. Not only everyone talks about Kana but also the activities like making coffee while watching are more or less the same in the night among the families observed.

5.2.1.3. Kana TV as a form of Tele-Tourism

While people always use media as a source of information, when it is especially on the foreground, the kind of information they seek is different in nature. One of the uses that is put in place by different families and people during the interviews is the information that Kana can give on cultures and interactions of different people, from different cultural backgrounds, that they cannot even imagine to visit in person. Tele-tourism can be understood as a form of tourism in which tourists visit cultures from afar staying at their home, without leaving their

residence, and particularly from the television screen. This explanation can somehow be equated with ‘*dreamers*’ tourist typology¹⁸ of American Express (Burns 1999:41). There is a strong argument from my interviewees that television can be used as a form of tourism directly from the living room. A 29 year old male government employee, for instance, on separate interview asserted that:

The world is brought directly to our living room, you know. Now I come to recognize that, for example from the soap operas dubbed from Turkish, the people of Turkey are somehow different from the Arabs. I have been thinking, from my background, that Turkey is Arab. But the way I see it, particularly after Kana, even their dressing style and their interaction at home, I mean the Arabs and Turkey, is different. The television gives you the chance to see virtually what you cannot really see.

Similarly Ato Tesfu, while interviewing in his home with other members of his family, implied that the tele-tourism helped in comparing and contrasting the life of what is viewed from the screen with one’s own life. He indicated that:

Someone in my family may tell you how we compare and contrast the interaction of the families in the soap operas from Mexico and Latin with our own family. It is because we are presented with the culture of a different society brought to us by Kana TV.

These two opinions show that television, despite the fact that it presents its viewers with different information on different issues, the way they receive it and the way they make use of it is up to them. Tourism can be presented to the tourists in different forms, for example modern tourism as a form package (Burns 1999). One way of presenting the host culture to the tourists is brochures and posters (Dann 1996 in Burns 1999) from where the tourists to some extent understand the culture they visit without an interpreter or guide and with no direct contact. Great role is always played by tourism intermediaries by bringing the host and the visiting culture together.

¹⁸ *Dreamers* tourist typology, as explained by American Express, are a type of tourists who have a huge aspiration about travelling but are not usually ‘borne out in the actual travel’. They rather put high effort and place high value on maps and tourist books.

Once, during those early days of Kana TV, Turkey Ambassador in Ethiopia commented that the opening of such television channels will help they country they represented, Turkey, to show off its cultures and people (Jeffrey 2017) for the people of Ethiopia. Kana, as can be inferred from the aforementioned responses, can be considered as a tourism intermediary that can organize culture from afar (During 1993 indicated in Burns 1999:56) to be consumed by the visitors (the viewers) while they are still at their home. The consumption, however, is symbolic one in which the visitors (the viewers) consume everything that they consider ‘authentic’ (MacCannell 1963 in Burns 1999) and quality of the visited culture. Unlike MacCannell’s real tourists consuming everything including the culture in which they are situated in, in the form of symbolic cannibalism, my interviewees-my virtual tourists- stressed that not everything presented on the TV is to be consumed and taken for granted. A 61 year old widow on family interview supported this idea saying that:

Obviously there is something that you take from the TV (Kana). It provides you the map to know others culture but we do not consume everything from it. We know that some actions and interactions are dramatized.

Television’s role as information provider is not something we pass on just by defining it under a whole idea of ‘information providing’. Rather, this statement should be extended to the idea that how viewers make use of the ‘information’ they are provided with. Therefore, people when they still acquire information from it the use they put the information differs. Some, in the case of Kana, use the information just as starting point of discussion about the TV itself within the family, others use it to compare and contrast their own interaction and way of life with the interaction and way of life on the screen, while some others consider the TV as intermediary that bring far cultures closer in the form of tourism. Therefore, despite the informal rumors that Kana has a power and potency to influence the society at large these opinions from my respondents imply that viewers have the consciousness to select what suits them.

5.2.2. Misuses of Kana Television

There was, among the communality, a rumor how people make use of Kana, or the way they received it in a negative way. For instance, I witnessed, among one of my neighbors, while the whole family is watching Kana, that a ‘sauce’ that was being cooked by the youngest daughter

was burned down to ashes, the whole pot of it. No one smelled it. No one reminded the cooker to deal with it until finally she herself saw it after she watched Kana.

Families and individuals I interviewed in this research stressed on the investigation of misuses of television from their own perspectives. Despite the discussion on how they use Kana TV differently, participants reflected on the points that they considered other side of the coin, the negative uses they make use of Kana.

In order to justify how the people use Kana negatively, the following scenario that my interviewee, named Natnael-a 21 years old University student whom I interviewed in his dorm in FBE campus- raised can be used as a sprint.

According to Natnael, a husband and wife whom he knew from his neighborhood had a fight. It was late in 2017. One afternoon a husband comes from work tired and hungry. Their house was open but there was no one and literally nothing to eat in the home. He called his wife and she was in the neighbor watching Kana. As soon as she came home they fight and he punched her in the face. The next day, they were in police station and then taken to the court for the wife requested divorce mentioning other forgotten problems and quarrels they had during their marriage.

In line with the popular opinion that television influences, one of the repeated issues that my interviewees raised and are concerned with, unlike the uses they put Kana, as misuses of Kana TV is the way children are socialized in the way Kana can bear a great influence on them.

5.2.2.1. Kanization of Children

“I am Chandra!” yelled a six year old boy on what is called ‘eka eka’¹⁹ play or game of kids. It was one spring afternoon in 2017 after I began the research. The kids (there were five of them) in one of the streets of Bule Hora town-where I work- captured my eyes as I was wondering in the town. I just stopped and started to watch them. They are, indeed, playing ‘eka eka’ but not the usual kind of ‘eka eka’ which I knew in my entire life-not a random husband and wife kind, not a random bread winning and house wife role, not anything like

¹⁹ Eka eka play of children is full of dramatized moments in which kids act as if they are older than their actual age and do things that they saw their elders, parents do. They act as husbands, wives and children of the couples. The boys, as culturally constructed, play the bread winning role most of the times, and the girls play the wives role-preparing food, making coffee, sweeping home, doing laundry- except all these are memes and fake moments.

that. Rather, the kids were bringing a soap opera characters from Kana TV. They were imitating characters from the soap opera dubbed from Hindi entitled “Zara and Chandra”. It was when a six year old boy yelled “I am Chandra!” that I gave them all my attentions. One of the girls (there were two) exclaimed that she is Zara.

Now, I did not want to watch the whole dramatized scene of the kids being Chandra and Zara. It was clear for me that what is behind all these dramatization of their childhood play is television and particularly Kana. Moreover, it brought to my mind how children these days are socialized in our current modernized, urbanized society. Children are let free in using and consuming media and they are picking whatever they found interesting from the TV. They are most likely to go as they are socialized not by their families or elders but by the TV.

In the way, they will get accustomed to what they see on the TV which is a foreign everything dubbed in the language they understand. That is what I would call Kanization. Kanization, the way I see it, is a process through which children are socialized to a different scenario, interaction, language and way of life of others on the screen while they still have the chance to be socialized with the culture they are living in.

I consider ‘eka eka’ play of the children as a dramatized exercise of their future life, as a simple way through which they are thought of and socialized to the culture and the norms of the society they are born in. However, with unintentional inappropriate use of television by families they are provided with something different by the television. Thus, when families use the TV as a baby sitter for their kids the TV socializes the kids in its own culture. Children, with no one giving attention that much when they are around the TV, they imitate whatever they see on the screen.

A 33 year old interviewee emphasized some of the issues in the realm of watching in relation with children as follows:

Kana TV is good for entertainment, I guess. But the way we use it is not appropriate. I guess that is why we always stand against something new. Because we do not know how to deal with new things. For that reason, we use Kana not only for entertainment and information but for ultimate purposes of life. I mean for example, we socialize kids with Kana. What we do is that, we just put the TV on Kana, the kids watch it and stay quiet and we are on peaceful life. You know, I

know kids from neighbors who even cry if the TV is not put on Kana. Sometimes those kids visits the neighbor family for the purpose of Kana. Then at some point we recognize that our kids are in so much love mood with the channel and they are different in some way. And there is nothing you can do about it after that. I think we can make both the negative and positive uses of the TV.

This idea of my interviewee implies, for instance, that Kana is put on as a baby sitter while the baby sitter can have a numerous impact on the children which families do not consider that much as problematic at first and afterwards complain that Kana has negative effects on their kids and they come up with the idea that Kana should be banned from transmission. The argument is that it is in the hand of the viewers to watch what suits them and to ignore what they do not want to watch. Nevertheless, some argue that with a limited choice of channels in the country and with no channels for children, except Ethiopian Children TV began transmission recently in 2019, children are subjected to watch what is considered for grownups. A 33 year old mother of a 5 year old child argued that:

Kids do not watch TV with that much a serious attention. But once they watch a show with a glimpse they almost copy everything without selection. They need someone to tell them what is good and bad.

This implies that people can select whatever they have to watch and they have to be conscious and cautious in the way they provide television to their children. In fact it is not only about children, but it is about the interaction of the entire family. The misuse of TV does not stop on the way children are socialized, but familial interactions will be disturbed.

On the other hand others hold that Kana has the power that someone cannot stop watching arguing that there is something about the TV itself-like a magical power, like spiritual potency though not explained by my interviewees what they mean by this except saying that “የሆነ የሚያፈህ ነገር አለው” (literally meaning it-Kana- has something that hibernates people), unlike other TV channels, that keeps someone stick with it. A 35 year old interviewee stressed that:

I am always away from Kana. I fear that it may have some sort of spiritual control over me. I mean, I see people addicted to it with no subtle importance or uses. I guess it is just waste of both your spiritual state of mind and precious time.

We can see here that the issue of Kanization of children is stressed on two strands, by my interviewees. First of all television and in particular Kana can keep the children quite when the families are in need of it. Some argued that children will have a lot to learn from Kana but only if we choose for them what they have to watch. It may mean that it is in the eye of their parents that children view the world. Some of the families I interviewed, where there are children, parents comment that they don't even know where their kids heard, for example, the language that is used on Kana, and how they fit the use of it in their lives.

While families with no deliberate intentions impose Kana on children in some place it is reported that institutions like schools in the wider society also play their own role in imposing these influences. Those students and teachers in the schools who watch Kana TV brings Kana with their language and expressions where children can take those languages and expressions to bring it to their everyday life. One of my interviewees who work in a private kindergarten commented that:

There are some teachers and students (kids not more than the age of 7 or 8) whom you hear mentioning stories, names, scenarios or expressions from the TV. I wonder what the school I am working in is doing about it but I keep my kid away from those influences as much as possible. The kids display actions and say words that are beyond their ages. Once I heard a 5 year old girl telling her friends that she will do what Omar and Elif²⁰ did on the movies and what did they do? They kissed. Kissing is normal but the influence came from somewhere else and the practice is vivid and different on the movies.

This entire idea of families imposing Kana on kids can be extended to the idea of cultural hegemony of Antonio Gramsci (1971). Hegemony, as explained by Enrique and Ramirez (2105), by using Gramsci's words, 'was a process where subalterns had to impose another scenario... hegemony is exercised by the ruling class not only through coercion but also through consensus managing to impose their worldview'. The parents, in this case, are the ruling classes who interprets and give meanings to the things they see from the screen on their own terms. The influence they impose on their children regarding Kana is not, may be, direct and conscious. Rather, when grownups talk, chat about certain moment from the screen

²⁰ Omar and Elif are characters in one of the movies dubbed from Turkey entitled 'Tikur Fekir' literally translated as black love.

children take those things with no coercion. Parents, though they want children quite by putting the TV on Kana they do not assume the future consequences they will see.

The second strand of Kanization of children as explained by my interviewees is that children themselves are attracted to some programs from Kana. During my observation to the families, I have observed that when Kana is put on, children of different ages, to be specific children above the age of five, view Kana attentively. Nevertheless, I have also observed that though children view Kana it is not in a way that gives them meaning as it does to their parents or elders. I have heard, listened children telling stories, or remembering names from the screen, parents laughing about their kids, and in some cases somehow trying to stop their kids not to watch and talk about it. A 9 year old boy who participated on family interview commented as follows:

Yes! I watch Kana. It is not only me but my friends from school and from the neighborhood, they watch. When other members watch the TV you have no choice you watch with them. I love some of the soap operas (for example 'Feriha') because my Mom loves it. I found it attractive because my mom is attracted to it.

The opinion from this boy implies that it is from someone else, his mom, that the influence came from and it is not because it has some meaning or not because he understands the entire agenda of a story he loves that he watch Kana. After all, what socialization implies is how we are made to fit to the existing symbolic interaction of our world (family, neighborhood...). It implies what we learn, as a culture, from others not what we take by ourselves.

Indeed, most recently a new television channel called 'Ethiopia Lijoch' solely a children TV, the first one by its nature, is introduced to our television history. As the name implies it is a TV with children level. But in the families where a television set is shared among the members I have a doubt that children will have access to the TV when other members-elder siblings, fathers, mothers, and other members- also want to watch the channel of their preference. This leads us to the first problem where children are prone to the preference of other members.

Thus while children are socialized 'Kanally'- to mean when it is used as a baby sitter- children are not fully aware of what they are up to and what they are watching. Rather, they are structured to be part of the structure (Bourdieu 1990) they are born to and they are

exposed to 'certain social conditions' by, what are called by Giddens (1984), agents, which are parents and elders. Therefore, children even though they are 'attracted' to Kana they are attracted because someone from the family is attracted. The meanings children hold are the meanings that are given to the television by their elders and parents. Sometimes it is good and at some another time it is bad.

These understandings bring to mind the 'binary opposition' theorem of Levi Strauss (1963). Meanings and uses that Kana TV put into are not absolute but are relative and depends on the opposition of meanings. Some perceive the TV as something good that can take them to some new world they have never seen before and make positive use of it and others though they take the TV for granted and they unconsciously make negative use of the TV.

Conclusion

Some researches tried to connect between age group and media use. For example, Anderson *et.al* (2001) described adolescents' usage of media in collective (radio, television and print media) "by categories of content", by looking at the frequencies spent around the media, through assessing individual difference in different ages and finally looking for family characteristics that forecast media use in teens. They argued that the more teens spend their time around electronic media the more they split up with books and print media.

As far as Kana television is concerned, a family members use television for different purposes and different families put television into different uses. Moreover, the daily routine life families implied there are different meanings given to the TV and its motto which carries the message. It generally asserted that people, according to the social circle they live in and for their own purpose, can derive different meanings from the set. By the social circle, I mean the cultural behavior they hold, the everyday life they involve in like school, work or friends they spend time with. Then, the TV have different purposes and meanings. It was seen that people give meaning to the TV based on the Thus, people use not the television set itself in their life but the meaning they give to the TV in their life.

Nevertheless, its use is negotiated based on time, the time the programs mostly watched are transmitted. Accordingly, there are marking points-serial of everyday practices which entail that the time for the TV is reached- from which Kana TV's background use is changed to foreground. Thus, Kana television can be used as a transition marker (Gauntlett and Hill

1999) from one stage of life—from the day time and activities like house hold chores, work and school- to the next stage- extending from reunion with family from work or school to sitting in the living room to the last person sleeping.

Moreover, Kana TV has been linked with what is called tele-tourism. Kana TV as a tourism package brings the far culture closer serving as a tourism a tourism intermediary (Dann 1996, Burns 1999). In this sense, the viewers, considered as tourists, consume the culture that has been brought to them symbolically.

On the other hand it is reflected that Kana TV also has misuses. It has been frequently rumored that people had fight because of it, husband and wife present to court for divorce because of Kana and similar effects of it. But one of the most important misuses respondents raised frequently is Kanization of children which means children are being socialized to a different culture on the screen than their own. The reasons put as for why children highly attached to Kana is linked with cultural hegemony concept of Gramsci (1971). Families, imagined as the ruling class of Gramsci, impose their world view (Kana and the meanings they give for it) through consensus and sometimes coercion.

It has a been reported by different researchers that television can impose negative effects on its viewers from hypodermic model, until it was finally understood that mass media have only a very limited influence (Gurevitch *et.al* 1982:7). The argument is rather extended that people have manipulated the media not the other way round. A serious of researches, social survey and laboratory enquiries implied that people exposed themselves to what that can bring influence upon them. It is to say that people are more powerful than the media itself, they can choose what use to make of it and what meaning to give and act accordingly.

Chapter Six

6. Everyday Discourses about Kana

At the beginning of 2018 G.C. I travelled to Adama, when I heard the death of one of my teachers in elementary school. A number of people who knew my teacher were gathered at the home of the deceased from different places both urban and rural areas where we met my teacher's husband, who was also my teacher. I spent three days during which we spend the day and slept in a big tent with people I knew and with people I never met before. Customarily, people talk a lot of things to make the mourning and sorrow at least ease for a moment. Similarly, within all those days, people who spend in the tent have discussed issues related with marriage, sex, farm, comics, politics and a lot other issues including media particularly of Facebook and Kana. Now, as far as I am concerned with what people have to say about Kana I just lighter up a discussion in the tent by asking questions like 'do you guys watch Kana?' 'What is different about it?' 'What kinds of things bother them regarding it?' and similar questions where, with no intention of digging up, someone began to say that "it has a link with the so called illuminati. It is a work of 666²¹!"

Then after, the tent almost entirely is filled with the idea of Kana whether related with the secret society called illuminati or not. Apparently the chat extended itself from illuminati to

²¹ 666 is assumed to be a satanic number that is prophesized as an economic, political, religious and cultural order that will govern the world in the last days of the world to come as it is written in the bible (Revelations chapter 13 number 15-18).

the political agendas the people assumed it have. Some of the arguments made points while some other are just personal fears and points of religious abandonment of technology.

On the next day, when it was almost mid at the noon, one of the guys in the tent came to me and commented that I did well last night by raising interesting questions for the people and he added I should raise the issue again but with slightly from different angle which he explained as “just ask them what do they mean by Kana is related with illuminati.” With all those things, I understood nothing but people talk and wanted to talk about Kana in relation with their everyday lives.

Discourse, according to Carter (1993) has three significations. First it implies topics or types of language related to specific subject as in philosophical or cultural discourse. Second, it is employed to stand for what is spoken. In this sense the word text stands for what is written. And third, as used to make contrast with the notion of sentence, discourse refers to ‘naturally occurring stretch of language. To explain more, Trask (1999) adds that discourse is not confined to one speaker or writer, but it can constitute a range of spoken and written exchanges between speakers and writers. Thus, discourse in its last sense is a complete and meaningful unit that conveys an intended complete message (Drid 2010:21).

Thus in the light of this third fabric of the word discourse, conversation and interviews seem to fall under the category of it. Therefore, it is this sense of the concept that I am employing under this chapter to embrace the frequently conversed issues about Kana. These conversations, I believe, are rooted in the social context. As a result, I will try to describe the relation between discourse and the surrounding social practices. This, according to Phillips and Jorgensen (2002), has something to reveal about the way social action is shaped through discourse.

There was repeatedly a rumor among the populace that Kana is going to be closed. It was spoken largely that the government decided that the TV should be banned from transmission. A lot of pages and bloggers on face book advocated that the TV should be closed for the reason that it has hidden agenda which they did not explicate clearly. It was also said that Kana is ordered to reform its contents, if not banned from transmission, because of questions of a lot of people. What are the questions these people ask? What is that thing bother them about Kana? What are the popular ideas and opinions held by the people? These kinds of questions are what I am intend to answer in this chapter. By doing so my intention is to look

at how people's everyday lives are filled with fears of unexplained matters, how they contrast, protect and defend their culture, how they negotiate, interpret, give meanings to things and try to fit new things with their lives, to what points does television and particularly Kana influenced the everyday discourse of people. Therefore, by employing mediascape theory of Appadurai (1993, 2006), the major argument here is that the discourse and talk about Kana has influenced the construction of self and other.

6.1. Kana Television and the Illuminati Conspiracy

Since recently a number of people have started to think about the religious and secret group called 'the Illuminati'. It is not only thinking about it but people talk now and then, try to relate a number of diversified issues with it. For myself it was only after I joined Addis Ababa University in 2012 for my first degree that I heard about this secret group. It has been a popular opinion and for some a belief that the majority of the world economic, political, artistic works are made powerful as they are backed by this huge worldwide organization. A number of written texts and books (e.g. የሳፕናኤል ጎል ኢትዮጵያ²² is one best example), audio visual productions have been addressed to the people officially and some of the people believe that this works hold true for some reason. The assumption is based on some religious thoughts. One of my interviewees, Ato Nebiyu stated that:

I think it is known by the many of people that this Illuminati thing is behind all these media, economic and political issues of the world. The religion I follow (Christianity) have these kinds of assumptions. There is no escape when the end is already in front of our doors.

If it was not for religious preaching, it entails, there will never be these kinds of assumptions. Indeed it is spoken by a number of people that media is one of the routes through which this group called Illuminati disseminates its new world order and culture. People argue that music, movies, and other artistic creativities are majorly and largely directed towards one end goal, which they describe as "converting 'Ethiopian norms' to satanic orders". They described these orders beginning with dressing styles (styles that involve showing curves of women, for

²² This book was first published in 2007 E.C by a journalist named Fisseha Yaze. The book literally states about how this secret group called illuminati, having in mind that the group is satanic and its objective is to win the last and the worst world war yet to come against the almighty God, is proposing in secret to rule and administer Ethiopia. In fact the book theorizes that the final goal of Satan or 666 is Ethiopia. Seizing Ethiopia economically and politically, the group leaders as written in the book argue, will help them win the population over God. To do so, bringing artistic works through media is one of their strategies, so argues the writer.

example, naked styles), hair cut styles through cosmetics uses to media addiction with no goal and aim.

I have witnessed some people trying to relate the logo of Kana TV with the satanic number 666. It is almost obvious to hear from someone random about the channel to relate it with this satanic orders though they have no proof for it. Indeed, while I try to listen to people talking about Kana in relation with these thoughts it is not about proof or justification that people really talking about. In fact it is not the satanic order they say they care at all. Rather it is about keeping their beliefs, customs, norms and culture as safe as they can. The Illuminati conspiracy, as it is called ‘the 20th century modern day myth’ (The Week-online journal- Dec 5, 2018) may have helped the majority of Ethiopians to ban their kids from watching the TV which they consider as devilish and satanic.

Nevertheless, the Illuminati conspiracy is not believed and held by the entire people, at least not all the people I interviewed believed in such things, myths of this kind. Rather they stressed on the meanings and functions that these conspiracies have which they understood as protecting the cultural values of Ethiopians. The myth itself, for these people, as a product of western culture, is not that influential by itself but given power as meanings are attached to it by a number of religious organizations. One of my interviewees, Rediet, argued that:

I do not believe in such thing. I actually think that these myths and conspiracy theories have a role of keeping the people in the same cultural zone. I mean they are intended to keep the society stick with its own culture. It is a means of defending one's own society.

Therefore, despite the popular opinion that Illuminati is trying to control and change cultural, economic and political traditions of the country, some people hold that the Illuminati conspiracy is just told to the people as a way of controlling the people and defending their culture. Regarding modern day myths, Kellner (1982) holds that myths propagate certain ideals and values while they delegitimize nonconformist behavior and oppositional character (Kellner 1982:134). Drawing from Levi-Strauss's structural explanation of myths Kellner explains how television myths-for example television contents that display sexy women, heroic character and so forth- attempt to resolve social contradictions like the old work ethic which requires hard work and preaches duty and the new work ethic which advocates

consumer culture, fun and lavish spending. Thus, television mythologies, according to Kellner, smoothens these social behavioral contradictions (Kellner 1982:136).

Though Kellner is discussing about television content mythologies, his idea of smoothing social contradictions can be used in the myth of everyday spoken. The major stress that Kellner put at the center of his discussion was the contradiction between television imagery of society and individual authoritarianism out of which television's mythology role is going to be introducing new formats and subject matters which is followed by contradiction between the individual freedom and the societal norms as he explains it 'simultaneous possibility of individuality and integration' (Kellner 1982:136).

Kana in this manner, can be said, has revived, to some extent, the idea of togetherness being by a discussion topic. The topic is not a simple topic but it gives the view that people can be individualistic while watching the TV and integrated into the general idea of us. Therefore, the role that Kana has played can be stated as a magnifier of identity in times of chaos and loss of shared feeling having in mind that the country is in problem of bringing the people together.

6.2. Kana as a Form of Cultural Imperialism

People are curious and cautious about what is going to change their culture, what is about to affect their norms, what is changing the behavior of their generation and what is disintegrating familial relationships and the society as a whole, I observed. One of the major factors, accordingly, to affect the culture of a specific society is assumed to be media and the imperialistic tendency of media is highly related with the issue of globalization (Rantanen 2005). People, when they talk about Kana they have two poles, not necessarily opposite though, of arguments. The first is that Kana television is a means through which others culture is imposed on Ethiopians in the name of entertainment and undermines the local cultures and values. The second pole of argument, however, holds that not the entire cultural elements that are presented on the TV are different from the cultural elements of Ethiopia. And in fact there are a lot of issues that we can appreciate about others and our own culture. These people on the second pole of argument argue that local culture is undermined if we undermine it, not by the television.

Each of these arguers have their own contention and hypothesis. For those people who hold that Kana has imperialist tendency, their argument begins with the programs that are mostly dubbed from foreign countries. The programs, for them, though bridged to the local culture with a local language, displays the culture of the society in which they are produced. Turkish soap operas, for instance, according to my interviewees, purely show how Turkish families live, how they dress, how they interact to each other which affects the same cultural elements from Ethiopian part. For them, accordingly, a dressing style displayed in the TV literally affects the dressing culture of the Ethiopians. A 46 year old father whom I interviewed one afternoon in February, 2018 stressed the issue as follows;

I have observed my children trying to imitate and perform some actions in the way the actors on the soap operas does which is presented in artistic way. For instance, a number of girls have started to wear something around their neck after they have seen that on Turkish and Latin movies. For I know that that necklace on their neck is a sign of slaver. I do not know whether the people know this. In our family, even our tea names are changed to names like 'best Turkish tea'.

The idea from this interviewee is that culture could be assimilated by another culture through the display of the cultural elements of outside culture while it is presented for the consumers in artistic way, in a way that draws attention easily.

This international flow of art works as accompanied by technological growth and media improvement is brought to the receiving countries with the general name of entertainment while it is also accompanied by the cultural elements of the sending countries. According to Rantanen (2005), in the study of media imperialism the focus is how the international flows of technology transfer and media hardware are accompanied with software flows of cultural products of developed countries which resulted in one way dependency of development of third world countries on first world countries. My informants' everyday discourse about Kana is that it is undermining the artistic products of the local culture. Even though there are a number of series dramas on local televisions, the people give more attention to Kana. I asked the family members I interviewed what these means and the responses they gave are as follows. To begin with, for instance, a 36 year old woman on a family interview in June 2018 implied that;

People used to watch, for example local Amharic movies in cinema. Though it was not frequent, I myself used to watch Amharic movies from the cinema and on the local televisions. But after Kana people stopped, I stopped going to cinema for the reason that movies on Kana are considered to be more attractive and quality than the local dramas. This may mean that we ignore our own things and follow certain other things that are imported. The place to find to find the imported things, in this case is Kana.

This implies that the TV, Kana, is not simply a television, not a small window that we thought it is, rather it is somewhere people get something they consider imported, something they think they don't have or something they think better than their own. Thus, Kana television has become intertwined with the concept of more qualified, interesting, and a better movies, if not cultures.

In the same manner, A 24 year old University student also stated that:

I have seen and heard my family members criticizing about how bad our movies looks like regarding the story plot line, the camera quality and a number of other issues. That was actually highly spoken of only after Kana started to transmit dubbed soap operas.

These interviewees stressed the idea that Kana would weaken the local movies in comparison with foreign artistic products. Moreover, they believed that television and particularly Kana, unlike other foreign channels that are accused of imperialism (e.g. MBC2 TV channel purely of entertainment and movies) have brought the foreign opinions, ideas, values, and art in a more penetrable way using the language of the local people. The people put their fear that- indicating how Ethiopian movies are changing in a way that undermines the values of the culture, for instance, putting kissing scenes in the movies which they consider as out of the norm of Ethiopian culture, following foreign media spread including Kana- the identity and culture of the coming generation would be homogenized with other's culture, particularly the culture of the societies from which we import the contents of the TV.

As an example, my interviewees put that, a number of youths do not really give any concern about what is going on in the country regarding, among other things, the politics. They would rather talk about the movies they have seen on Kana. Or else they would spend their

productive time on YouTube searching for what they missed on the screen²³. As a result, they argue, for example the concern students give to their education has decreased (in some of the families I observed that families repeatedly remind their children to study and to focus on their education rather than spending their time watching Kana), people has become more and more individualistic, the attachment to religion has significantly become pervious. Regarding the religion and Kana relation, one of my interviewee, a priest in Ethiopian Orthodox church, 54 year old priest named Tibebe on a separate interview early in 2018 exclaimed that:

The laymen I know spend the night watching Kana till almost midnight. It means that they miss the majority of the morning 'Kidān Tselot'²⁴ ceremony. For the reason they are watching Kana over time they are giving less concern for their own thing. This Kana thing is something that is sent to us, to attack our church and our identity and to follow something that is not ours.

In relation with this idea of my interviewees, McQuail (2000 in Wang 2008:205) pointed out that “The unequal relationship in the flow of news increases the relative global power of large and wealthy news-producing countries and hinders the growth of an appropriate national identity and self-image.”

On the other hand, however, some argue that the presence of Kana TV is an opportunity for those who watch it to learn a lot from it. These people hold that the TV, despite the fact that it displays foreign content by large, it reminded us of who we are, what we have culturally, what makes us different from others, and what is our similarity with others. Moreover, they argue that it is better to take what is positive from the TV and we need to learn, particularly regarding art related issues, how to make better formatted and better plotted and better shot

²³ During almost the completion of this chapter there was no electric power in the town I reside partially and in the kebele I live totally, for 13 days which means that a number of Kana viewers have missed soap operas for the exact same days. One Saturday afternoon, when I headed to the University I work looking for generator electric power and two friends of mine accompanied me for the same electric purpose in our office. One of my friend's intention from the very beginning was to use internet to search and download for the soap opera parts that he missed during those 13 days for later watch which he actually did the whole day. Nevertheless, his search was not productive in a manner of language. All of the episodes he found online were not dubbed rather they were in the original, Turkish, language they were produced. Finally he said “well, I need to learn Turkish and maybe I will learn it from the soap operas themselves on my own.” The other friend of ours replied “Learn Afan Oromo first.”

²⁴ According to priest Tibebe, Kidān is a religious ceremony that is performed by Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahido Church leaders and followers every day in the morning starting from 5:00 am to 7:00 am, though not the exact time for all Orthodox churches. Some may start earlier and later. It is a melodious ritual that majorly involves praying for the followers of the religion, the church in general, the people of Ethiopia, the population of the world and for the dead by calling their Christianity names.

screen plays so as to draw the attention of the viewers. (Kukusha (name changed), 29 year old film editor and maker) holds the following opinion:

I hear people saying, even artists, that Kana will undermine and actually undermined the local art. It draws the attention of the people and that the movies in cinema have no viewers. I am a graduate of school of theatrical art from 6 kilo campus and I know that the movies we make and our art is not competent enough to draw the attention of the people. Therefore, we have to learn a lot from these soap operas on Kana.

In the same way, some of my interviewees have this everyday discourse that the life on the movies they watch on Kana and their own are similar. They believed that the movies are typically selected based on the cultural similarity that they have with ours. They indicated that, some of the settings on the movies (they gave the soap operas on Kana like ‘የተቀማ ህይወት’ and ‘ፈሪሃ’ as an example) Merkato or Autobus Tera in their housing style and are not that much different regarding the familial relationships they display which they commented as ‘families fight for their honors, the youths follow their own paths. There is always the good person and the bad, which is a human nature and it is obviously not different from our family’.

The idea of these interviewees, in general, can be explained in terms of cultural proximity²⁵. It is the similarity between cultures that draw the attention of viewers or audiences towards certain media. Accordingly, those people who view Kana, by following what they said about the similarities between cultures they are drawn to Kana because they have found something that is somehow similar to their own. Some of these proximities or similarities include, according to the interviews, gender representations (women in the soap operas and in Ethiopian social relations are somehow similar in decision making and power at least) and collective familial relationships (families live a collective life in which problems are shared, to assert this one of the examples my interviewees indicated is ‘የልተረታ ህልም’- a soap opera dubbed from Turkey in which a woman, mother of two small children, struggles to win life by herself and finally backed by her family). The general idea here is that people look for what is similar with themselves while using media and media contents over other media. These all implies that people try to fit what they see on the screen with their real life.

²⁵ Cultural proximity, according to Ksiazek and Webster (2008) is a multidimensional theoretical approach to explain why audiences are gravitated to a certain media or it is the tendency to prefer media products from one’s own culture or the most possible similar culture Straubhaar 2003 cited in Ksiazek and Webster 2008: 486.

Nevertheless, unless a cultural study between the two cultures is conducted it is may be misleading to conclude that the cultural proximity have drawn the attention of the people to Kana. Rather, people seem to be more of linked with the imagined world built up in the television than the reality. Therefore, it is rather better to look at the issue from the point of view of media scape idea of Arjun Appadurai. Appadurai (1993, 2006) hold that a number of arguments could be brought regarding heterogenization or homogenization perspective of globalization interactions. He, rather argued that what these polarization failed to recognize is that when forces are brought from various metropolitans to a different new societies they tend to be indigenized in one or another way (Appadurai 1993:221). Some of the examples that shows indigenization are, for example, dressing and housing style.

To conclude, according to Appadurai, mediascapes-through television, films, magazines- provide ‘a large and complex repertoires of images, narratives to viewers throughout the world which result in the construction of imagined worlds. Like my aforementioned interviewees tried to explain how the TV is related with the ‘Illuminati conspiracy’ and the imperialism issue, they tend to bring down images, narratives from the screen to their real life. Therefore, mediascapes provide a series of elements including characters, plots to the audiences out of which the audiences disintegrate the scripts from the screen into a complex set of metaphors by which people live as they help to constitute narratives of ‘the other’ (Appadurai 1993:224).

This, accordingly, implies that people will create more and more imagined world about what they see on the screen the more they get acquainted with it, or the more they lack access to direct experience of metropolitan life. For viewers of Kana have no direct interaction with what they see on the TV, they tend to create fantastic images and objects (for instance people compare and contrast the tea they drink with what they see on the screen as a Turkish tea) of the imagined world.

By considering what people say about what they see on the screen, they try to make up their own narratives in comparison with others. By doing so, they distinguish between ‘we’ or ‘us’ and ‘them’ or ‘they’. When people say that Kana has a tendency of imperialism or is linked with Illuminati the general point that is inferred is that we are somehow different from others- other as displayed on media, on Kana-, though we try to make similarities between the reality and the imagined world on the screen, we always find what distinguishes us particularly through the lens of history.

These distinguishing features can be linked with a history that the two cultures-the receiving (Ethiopian) and sender (dubbed programs on Kana, example Turkey) - have in the past. In the past, interviewees like Kukusha and Rediet remembered the times Turkey-one of the countries from which a number of movies dubbed on Kana, to mention some, *Tikur Fikir*, *Kuzi-Guni*, *Feriha*, *Yetekam Hiwot*- tried to colonize Ethiopia and defeated through war. These accounts of historical records, according to the mentioned interviewees, reminded the people how much we differ from them. The language we speak (the language that served as bridge between Kana and the people), the food we eat, the social relations that shows mutuality and a lot of other features were stated by interviewees as distinguishing features between ‘them’ and ‘us’.

Chapter Seven

7. Conclusion

Media, and particularly television is considered as central part of everyday lives now a days, Silverstone (1994) argues. The pervasiveness of television is hard to ignore in this modern world. However, as Ginsburg (*et.al.* 2002) Media studies have been a taboo topic for anthropology. Some argue that anthropology joined the study of media after the platform is already suitable for anthropological theories and questions. Moreover, Spitulnik (1993) argued that there is no as such field of study called anthropology of media or media anthropology. Nevertheless, as Ginsburg argued, once anthropology has entered to the study of media, it is taking media onto new terrains which means that anthropology studies media from a different perspective than media and communication studies did. Media and communication studies focused on the impact of the content of certain program (e.g. Gera 2017) or how audiences received the program (e.g. Kalkidan 2017). Anthropologists, on the other hand tries to understand the natural context of viewing (Gray 2010). Moreover, anthropology tried to study television from its own perspectives and ethnographically. This

perspective is also held by Morley (1986, 1992) arguing that television should be studied in its natural and original context which is family.

Following these sides of arguments, in this research, I tried to study television in family by focusing on Kana television. Television, anthropologically can be studied from different perspectives and according to Spitulnik there are at least seven dimensions that includes studying media as institutions, as work place, as communicative practices, as cultural products, as aesthetic forms, as social activities and as historical developments. This study took the social study perspective considering that watching television is something people do with others every day in their life and they are highly bound up with the use of television.

The majority of media study in Ethiopia comes from media and communication department from journalism students. Throughout my assessment of written accounts regarding television and everyday life I come to know that the researches from media and communication field are more of quantitative in fashion and theoretically followed mass communication theory. Moreover, I was eager to know what anthropological perspectives are regarding media issues. Anthropology, as a discipline that is said to be holistic and interdisciplinary, should study media as media are becoming and have become everyday lives of our modern society.

In this research I have tried to study television and family qualitatively. The focus was not to see whether the specific channel I chose was successful or not. But rather I was curious about why Kana television gained all the attentions in a short period of time immediately after its premiere while still there are new television channels opened in the country in the same time. What changes does the TV brought to the everyday life the people is the major concern of the study. Moreover, the study tried to look at how the new TV and everyday life are intertwined.

Therefore, why people followed Kana, what are the reasons behind its influence-influence in terms of gaining the attention a lot of people and included into daily lives of people in form of everyday life itself and discourse- how families come to know about it by considering that family is the original context in which television is viewed, how families negotiated the embeddedness of Kana TV in their everyday life, how everyday practices are made fit with the newly introduced channel, how Kana is changed from a guest to part of everyday life, what people think and say about it, what effects people really appreciate the TV and moreover, what meanings does the TV hold among the people in relation with its motto are the major concerns of this research. But first to do so, it was important to look at the context

in which Kana TV was born and introduced to the Ethiopian entertainment history with a different format and contents, as commented by my interviewees.

The context in which Kana TV is born out of, politically speaking, is a restricted landscape, argues Jeffrey (2017). The country have been ignorant to media freedom particularly the print media. A number of journalists and bloggers have been put in jail and their career was put in jeopardy for what they write concerning the political situation of the country. When it comes to electronic media including television, the sole entertainment and information source was ETV (changed the name to EBC for some time and back to ETV again) until some private channels like EBS rise. While the majority of the people, as the co-founder of Kana Elias Schultz argued, relied on Arab channels for entertainment purpose, the local television channels were somehow similar in format and content with the existing ETV. In addition, the people were said to be bored of the political games played upon them through these media and were looking for somewhere to rest from all of it. It was out of this situation and context that Kana TV is launched in Ethiopia. It is economically backed by afghan based Entertainment Corporation called Moby Group, owned by Saad Mohseni and local film production called Bemidea (Jeffrey 2017 and Arif 2017).

By employing cultural studies theoretical perspective-not a single theory by itself but a collection of theoretical approaches in studying media-, elements of actors and actions, and concepts from structuration theory of Giddens (1984), practice theory and media scape concept of Appadurai (1993) I tried to explain the issues mentioned above. Accordingly, by using ethnographic methods including observation and interviews, the findings implied that Kana television was introduced to different families in two general ways.

The first way through which families knew about Kana, as I call it, is informed viewing. Informed viewing is when some members of a family know about Kana from somewhere (like the modern large news factory, Facebook) and inform the other members the detail of what the TV is all about. This from of viewing is analogized with informed consent (O'Leary 2013) process of medical operation in which doctors seek the will of the patient to do anesthetic measure so that the patient knows what is going on his or her body. Similarly, families who got introduced with Kana in this way, they got into informed viewing knowing what the TV channel is about, what contents are there, when the programs are to be transmitted and similar issues.

On the second way, some other families introduced with Kana in a form of enforced viewing, the phrase that I borrowed from Morley (1986). The families that knew Kana in this way are families that are not willing to watch it, have no information about it. It is some member of a family, a conscious agent (Giddens 1984), that brings the channel to the living room and impose their willing over the others without their consent. It is when someone selects the channel or a program for others that this form of viewing happens. In families where there are children, they enforce the viewing in this form of viewing. In fact enforced viewing is always controlled by who owns the television remote. The enforcement is always felt when the difference between members and interests arise.

With the role and actions of some members, as Giddens (1984) calls them actors, Kana television is transformed from a new, outsider, guest to part of everyday life of families. These ideas are related with signification, legitimation and domination concepts of structuration theory. People as they give meaning to the things at hand as resources, they try to use the resources (like remote control) in domination against others. These domination overtime leads to the legitimation of routine presence, in Giddens term, recursiveness of the new TV in everyday life of the viewers. The contention that Giddens put over actors is that, actors intermediate between the thing and others consciously but without considering the consequences. The consequence, in this case, is the pertinence of Kana TV in everyday life and its embeddedness which brought, according to the interviews, a lot of alterations to familial relationships and everyday life like having partition in the family between members who watch and who don't watch.

As a result, familial relations have been observed to be politicized, as explained by Cubbit (1985) 'the politics of the living room', among members on watching Kana or not. The cases revealed that a family may split during the times Kana is watched and get back to normal when it is over. It can also be inferred that people have built their own worlds within the family world they live in. in some families, the house is symbolically divided into compartments where some members live unlike others (Moore 2000). In this situation families may fall in in a situation in which they find themselves smooth and rigid in other times. Moreover, it is witnessed, from the interviews and observation that families and home have become as unsafe as the public (Livingstone 2007).

When other members want to watch some other channel, they should get in reciprocal relationships, as Bourdieu (1990) argued it. When there is a form bargain between members

regarding channel preferences it easier, Bourdieu argues, to reach an agreement. The more family members are close to each other the more they can solve the problem of preference differences. However, the preference to Kana is not exclusive to men or women. Not all members of family watch neither all family members watch it. It is also inferred that Kana television, as compared with Morley's (1986) finding in what the choice of men and women is from the TV, is not solely for certain gender. Rather it is viewed by all groups of people.

In the social relations of watching television, my observations and cases revealed that Kana TV watching extends beyond families. This relationships beyond in the realm of watching Kana are reproduced in the contexts and settings where the watching activity takes place. Thus, the existing social systems are considered to be reproduced practices in the interaction settings (Giddens 1984:27). The presence of kana have weakened the bond between members of a family while it strengthen the relation between others outside the family who watch it. Some members are witnessed to leave their home and other members for Kana, in the particular time the watch which resulted in the alteration of meal time, bed times-to mention some- and some structural relation family members.

On the other hand, regarding the influentially of Kana, a number of factors were pointed out by my interviewees. First and foremost, language is considered to be the major reason why people watch Kana. Language bridging the cultural differences of the dubbed soap operas and the local, is highly considered as the line that links the local with the global. Language, as a site of cultural production, played a role in making close what is considered far. Informants asserted that the local language being spoken by the foreigners is more attractive than locals speaking local language. In relation with the local Appadurai (1996) also holds that the local is more of phenomenological quality that is created by '... technological interactivity'. In this regard the cultural proximity concept as explicated with language explains why Kana is influential than other timely television channels (Ksiazek and Webster 2008).

In addition to language, timing of the programs on Kana is also another issue that is raised in the discussion how Kana is embedded. The timing implied that people can engage in similar activity at the same time regardless of space. This similarity, if not overlap, of activities over space is related with the concept of time space compression (Harvey 1986). The argument of Harvey is that fast pace of life and homogenous drivers of the world has resulted in the fade away of the concept of space. Thus, Kana as a homogenous driver, has become the device that homogenizes modern families across space.

The other issue that I tried to look at in this research is the meanings the people attach to the TV in particular relation to its motto and the uses that Kana TV is put into. Lull (1981) asserted that television uses extend from background use to foreground where they become the sole activities. People give different meanings to the TV and the logo it displays. Through the interviews three different meanings were identified; followers needed to watch the TV with all their emotion, the TV should be watched regularly and needs an attention which leads us to a concept channel loyalty, and finally the TV and the motto being considered as just a timely fashion.

When it comes to uses Kana is put into it follows similar patterns as Lull suggested. It becomes a background noise to the noises, it sometimes is totally ignored giving some space to those who do not view it to view some other channels, and as a foreground activity Kana TV is transformed into a sole activity during the night when the whole new episodes of each program is showed. Thus, a seriality of activities provides marker points when and how Kana TV is transformed from background noise to foreground activity (Gauntlett and Hill 1999) and Kana also used as a marking point between chores. Other activities like coffee ceremony in the house are considered to be rituals that accompany the watching activity.

When its uses are extended beyond the living room, Kana TV as explained by some of my interviewees, can be used as a form tourism. Viewers have become 'dreamers' tourist typology (Burns 1994) as they try to consume what is presented on the TV, symbolically. Thus families use Kana as a tourism intermediary that can bring the host and the guest together. It is to say that families, in relation with Kana, have become more of like virtual tourists than mere consumers of everything.

On the other side of the coin, however, participants of the research asserted that Kana also has negative uses. In fact they stressed that it people who can make either positive or negative, good or bad use of television. Accordingly, a number of families have been observed using Kana in negative ways, in a way that can impose a negative impact on the relationship between family members, husbands and wives and children which I would like to call 'Kanization of children'. It is this socialization of kids I wanted to stress on. Some informants argue that it is what is chosen for them that the children viewed which remind us of Gramscis' (1971) hegemony theory. Hegemony is exercised over children in different ways by the ruling class-family members or parents- while talking about the TV or trying to imitate what the saw. Therefore, families or parents including schools being considered as the ruling class,

unless they choose what to watch for the kids, the children will be controlled by their baby sitter-television.

At last, I tried to find out what people say everyday about Kana and the meanings it hold behind. The people have been repeatedly commenting, chanting and debating about Kana on a number of issues. The majority of the discourse revolved around Kana TV's relation with the so called Illuminati secret group basically depending religious preaching and its tendency in cultural imperialism. The modern myth-the illuminati conspiracy- helped the people in negotiating between the tradition, the norm and the old order and the new order. Moreover, it helped the people to control and defend the culture from what they consider alien and destructive. The cultural imperialism discourse on the other side, by following Appadurai's (1993) idea of media scape, is interpreted as a narrative that helped the viewers in constructing the 'us' and 'other' concepts through the lenses of history.

Thus, it can be grasped that media and family are highly intertwined now adays. Families are considered to be transformed from a simple passive receivers where television is consumed to spots and places in which television is given meaning, negotiated and exercised. It is seen in how people try to exercise how they are going to act outside their home in the presence of others. In this frame, what people particularly exercise is what they basically saw on the screen. Therefore, it can be concluded that because of television in general and particularly of Kana, family is not a secluded stranger to somewhere in the world anymore. Rather, family searches for its place in the world, through finding what suits it from the screen to be part of it, and then members construct a new meaning to what it means to be part of a certain family. In addition, families or home have become not just people we live together or places where we live. Rather they have become places and spots upon which we exercise how to act outside with others. We construct the outside world inside the family. All these meanings and construction is made possible, I understood that, because media, particularly television has become the new culture socializer of our society.

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