

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY

*The Influence of Globalization on the Attitudes and Behaviors
of the Youth in Addis Ababa- A Bole Case Study*

By: Nathaniel Alemayehu

June 17th 2019

Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

*The Influence of Globalization on the Attitudes and Behaviors of the
Youth in Addis Ababa- A Bole Case Study*

**Thesis Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies of Addis Ababa
University in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for The Degree
of Master of Arts in Social Anthropology.**

By:

Nathaniel Alemayehu

Advisor: Hirut Terefe (Ph.D.)

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY

COLLEGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY

June 27th 2019

Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

Department of Social Anthropology

This thesis entitled “The influence of Globalization on the Attitudes and Behaviors of the Youth in Addis Ababa – a Bole Case Study” is submitted by Nathaniel Alemayehu in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in Social Anthropology. I hereby declare that the thesis complies with the regulations of the University and meets its accepted standards.

Approved by the Examining Committee:

Name _____ Signature _____ Date _____
(External Examiner)

Name _____ Signature _____ Date _____
(Internal Examiner)

Dr. Hirut Terefe _____ Signature _____ Date _____

Table of Contents

Contents

List of relevant terms	vi
Acknowledgements.....	vii
Abstract	viii
Chapter One: Introduction and Organization of Thesis.....	1
1.0 Introduction.....	1
1.1 Background of the study	1
1.2 Statement of the problem	2
1.3 Guiding Questions.....	4
1.3.1 Objectives of the Study	4
1.3.2 General Objective.....	4
1.4 Methodology	5
1.4.1 Research Design	5
1.4.2 Data Gathering Methods.....	6
1.4.3 Selection of Research Participants	6
1.4.4 Selection of Specific Research Areas.....	7
1.4.5 Participant Observation	7
1.4.6 Focus Group Discussions	8
1.4.7 In-Depth Interviews.....	9
1.4.9 Ethical Considerations.....	9
1.5 Significance of the study	10
1.6 Delimitation of the Study	10
1.7 Limitation of the Study	11
1.8 Fieldwork Experience	11
1.9 Organization of Thesis	12
Chapter Two: Conceptualizing of Terms and Theoretical Framework	13
2.0 Introduction.....	13
2.1 Attitude	13
2.2 Behavior.....	14
2.3 Habesha	14
2.4 The Bole Mind Set.....	14

2.5 Literature Review	14
2.6 Theoretical Framework.....	26
Chapter 3: Background of the Study Area.....	32
3.0 Description of the Study Area Profile and the People	32
3.1 Current Demographics of Ethiopia.....	32
3.2 Historical Background of Addis Ababa.....	33
3.3 The Modern Addis Ababa Setting.....	35
3.4 Demographics of Bole Sub City Woreda 3	36
Chapter Four: Data Analysis and Interpretation	37
4.0 Data Presentation.....	37
4.1 Globalization and Identity	38
4.2 Fashion and the Generation Gap	43
4.3 Language, Identity and Globalization	47
4.4 Contradiction of Beliefs.....	50
4.5 The Resistance to Globalization and <i>Habesha</i> Identity.....	52
4.6 Discussion.....	53
Chapter Five: Conclusion and Recommendations.....	57
5.0 Introduction	57
5.1 Conclusion.....	57
References.....	59
Appendix A: Field Work Guiding Questions	61
1. In-Depth Interview Questions for Youth that work in Bole.....	61
2. In-Depth Interview Questions for Business Owners in the Bole area.....	63
List of Informants	65

List of relevant terms

Addis Ababa – Capital City of Ethiopia, directly translates to New Flower

Qäbäle - The neighborhood unit of administration

Woreda – Third level administrative division of Ethiopia

Safar- Neighborhood

Acknowledgements

Firstly, I have to thank my advisor Dr. Hirut Terefe for not only gently nudging me in the right direction when I was at a loss for where to go next but also letting me have my own space to learn for myself.

I would also like to offer my sincere thanks to Dr. Assefa Tolera for providing me with significant guidance on key areas that lead to considerable improvements in the thesis. In addition, I would like to thank one of my classmates Sisay Demile for taking the time out of his own busy schedule to help me shape and reshape key areas of my thesis.

I would also like thank all my research informants who volunteered their time and sacrificed their comfort in opening up to me about some potentially sensitive subjects in their lives. Also, thanks are in order to the staff of Woreda 3 of Bole Sub City for helping me gain the demographic data for the study.

Outside of these people I would also like to thank my childhood friends Abyssinia Tadesse, Abrham Tebekew and Makonnen Brook who truly helped me deal with all the ups and downs that come with not only writing a thesis but dealing with a new environment and way of thinking. Without these people none of this would have been possible and for that I'm eternally grateful, thank you.

In conclusion I can't thank my parents Alemayehu Seyoum and Yenework Endeshaw enough for their infinite patience and guidance. Secondly, I would like to thank my brother and sister Ammanuel and Aden Alemayehu and my beloved aunt Yiftusera Endeshaw and uncle Yihune Endeshaw for their words of encouragement and support.

Abstract

Ethiopia is experiencing, among others, two transformational changes in recent decades – urbanization and globalization. The country is urbanizing more rapidly than ever before. It is also increasingly becoming part of a globalizing world through more international trade, deepening transport and communications links, and greater access to up to date events and personalities across the world. The Bole area being one of the most prominent city centers in Addis Ababa is at the heart of these changes.¹ This thesis studies the impact of the urban and global features in the Bole area on the behaviours of the youth in Addis Ababa. The following methods were used to gather data. Firstly, observation of the study area followed by participant observation, in-depth interviews and Focus Group Discussions. The major findings of the study are outlined as follows, firstly a strong connection presented itself between globalization and the behavior of the youth in Bole. This connection manifested itself in the imitation of Western culture both in terms of language and dress style. Second, this imitation of a culture that is not native to Ethiopia created a generational clash with the previous generation of Ethiopians who felt that the youth were losing the ways of tradition. What these changes further resulted in is the splitting of the personality of Ethiopian youth into what they categorized as Habesha ²and Western.

¹ The Bole area is formed by the surroundings of the country's largest international airport. A more precise characterization of the area, including geographic demarcation and other features, will be provided later.

² The definition of Habesha that will be utilized in this paper will be presented in conceptualization of terms in the second chapter.

Chapter One: Introduction and Organization of Thesis

1.0 Introduction

In the field of Cultural Anthropology as well as other social sciences it is common to assert that human beings make choices and act to achieve goals, they deem desirable. Both these choices and what are deemed desirable goals are influenced by the circumstances within which individual's function³. This is not to say that there are other theories such as genetic determinism that dispute this, genetic determinism being the idea that who you were and what you could become are determined by what you had inherited. With the socialist movements in government came the theoretical construct of social determinism, that is, who you are and what you can become are determined by systems and social access (Payne, 20009, pp 371). However, in this particular research the beforementioned concept of human beings as independent agents will be utilized. With the anthropological perspective of behavior established, what is required is the creation of the context in which this paper was based and that is how city centers such as Bole influence the attitudes and behaviors of the youth in Addis Ababa. Bole in accordance with beliefs of Globalization Anthropology is the center at least in Ethiopia of an intensely dynamic process wherein ever improving technology is creating a more and more connected world. Furthermore, it acts as a landing zone in the concept known as the ethnoscape, a landscape where moving groups of individuals such as tourists, immigrants, etc. now constitute an essential feature of life. The hypothesis being that the youth through the previously mentioned factors of globalization and urbanization are adopting behaviors that are not indigenous to Ethiopia and are using these behaviors to create a perception of 'success' socially. So, what this thesis aims to accomplish is the demonstration of the behavioral impact that Globalization is currently making on the wider population of Addis Ababa through the lens of Bole, youth and 'success'.

1.1 Background of the study

Globalization in today's world is an extremely wide spread and discussed concept both in and outside of academia. Its effects are observed through numerous aspects of everyday life around the

³ Geert Hofstede and Robert R. McCrae (2004). 'Personality and Culture Revisited: Linking Traits and Dimensions of Culture' *Cross-Cultural Research*, Vol. 38 No. 1, 52-88.

world, through the way people communicate, the items they buy, the futures they aspire to, etc. This being the case, a concept that has had such a large impact on the way people live has definitely inspired a significant amount of anthropological research, and it has with special attention being given to the movements of populations, symbols, capital and commodities.

From this a number of theories have been postulated in an effort to explain all the different phenomena that accompany these shifts. The most relevant to this study being the anthropological study of the effects of globalization on culture. One of these theories is called World-system theory, its chief proponent being Immanuel Wallerstein, an American sociologist as well as historical social scientist who viewed global relationships as an extension of an expansive world economy. Rather than a political entity it is an unprecedented level of economic integration. In addition, despite the fact that this theory has an economic base it opens up avenues for the exploration of the global aspects of identity and culture. One of these avenues which focuses on the more micro effects of globalization is Urban Anthropology which rejects the idea that cities are bounded centers based upon the spatial lines of horizontal integration. Urban anthropologists proposed instead that spaces were linked through the hierarchically structured linkages to global system processes such capital accumulation and new international divisions of labor (Kearney, 1995).

When bringing this into the Ethiopian context, more specifically the Addis Ababa context as seen through Bole, this theory can be seen to have merits as Bole is considered by a significant number of people to be one of the major hubs of Addis Ababa commerce along with areas such as Merkato and Piassa.

1.2 Statement of the problem

Once I decided to focus my attention on Bole and youth behavior, several questions were raised, for starters there must be numerous studies that have already focused on my area of interest? Also, have those studies focused specifically on the Bole area or more on Ethiopia in general? Have they placed an overt focus on the cultural impact made by the economic makeup of the city of Addis Ababa? The reason for these questions was the knowledge that my research had to produce results that were original and provided new insight in the field of Social Anthropology. There have been numerous studies into the manifestation of class struggles and conflicts. However, when looking

into this research there has been many issues that have yet to be explored and these issues are what formed the basis of this research. For instance, while there have been studies into the economic change of Addis Ababa and its surrounding areas none of those studies were interested in the cultural aspect of this change.

For instance, research conducted by Elena Givental in 2017 into the beforementioned explosion of urbanization in Addis Ababa has taken place, however the focus of this research has been on disparities created by this explosion. The findings of this research revealed that Addis Ababa was the home to Addis Ababa University, museums, churches, foreign embassies, and the modern basis of the building of the African Union Headquarters. While simultaneously it is an embodiment of the country where an average citizen earns \$600 per year, over fifty percent of urban residents live in slums, and only fifteen percent of the roads are paved. These disparities coming from factors including urban legacies stemming from the city's one-hundred-thirty years of independent development as well as on the present-day economic challenges (Givental, 2017). The strength of this research was that it was very meticulous in its' execution and provided a lot of data in terms of its' findings. The weakness of the research was while it sets out to explore the factors that influence the convergence of urban attributes in an independently developing African cities, I felt that the human perspective of this was left out to a certain degree.

Further research into the matter revealed a study carried out by Alazar G. Ejigu around 2012 into how the city planners of Addis Ababa were dealing with the housing shortage caused by ambitious government plans of building of condominiums. The findings of this research were the planners were using a modernist 'provider model', comprised of strong public-sector involvement in the centralized construction of ready-made, minimum-standard units for anonymous residents. In recent years, an ambitious government programme for low-cost condominium housing resulted in the construction of hundreds of thousands of walk-up apartment blocks nationwide and in several thousand housing units in the city of Addis Ababa alone. However, this model has long been criticized for not really demonstrating the struggles that residents are encountering on a daily basis (Alazar: 97). The strength of this piece of the research was similar to Givental's work with the attention to detail and the sheer number of findings presented being very good. Also due to the nature of the Alazar's research revolving around social spatial tension the human aspect of this phenomenon received much more attention in comparison to Givental. However, while this issue

was addressed, a weakness with this research was that there was still no attention given into the youth's reaction to this spread of urbanization.

As it can be seen above there has been research done on Addis Ababa and urbanism, however it has been from the standpoint of the population as a whole and/or city planning, not of youth or youth behavior. Therefore, as it has been shown that there is a distinct lack of research in this area, I made the decision to continue forward with the intention of filling this gap in knowledge.

1.3 Guiding Questions

- How did Western culture become so prevalent in the Bole area to begin with?
- How do the youth of Addis Ababa react as actors to the presence of the Western culture that radiates outward from Bole?
- Which ones are fully taken by their performance? Which ones are cynical and for what reasons are they cynical?
- Are there people who reject the change in behavior that accompanies upward movement because they believe it's a removal from the traditional Ethiopian identity?

1.3.1 Objectives of the Study

The following are the general and specific objectives of the research.

1.3.2 General Objective

The general objective of this research is to thoroughly understand the relationship that exists between the city center of Bole and its impacts on the behaviors of the youth in Addis Ababa and how this relationship has been fundamentally altered by the spread of Globalization. With this being the different variables of the study should be identified, Globalization being the independent variable, the intermediate variable being the area of Bole and the dependent variable being the behaviors and attitudes of the youth in Bole.

1.3.3 Specific Objectives

- To explore how young people identify themselves in relation to their country as well as the global context they find themselves in.
- To offer insight into how the youth, feel about themselves as well their peers with regards to how they behave and what that means.
- To investigate how certain styles of behaving are meant to communicate status not only within people's own peer group but to people outside of it as well.
- To analyze how these postures and behaviors serve to either create friction or unity among the general population of Addis Ababa.
- To delve into the cultural clashes that occur between the previously more dominant traditional *Habesha* values and the more recent Western ideals brought about by globalization.

1.4 Methodology

1.4.1 Research Design

Initially a majority of research that went on with regards to this topic took the form of an extensive literature review of all related source material. What this serves to do is create a solid foundation or context in which my field research took place. In regards to field work, I decided that the best research method to employ is a thorough qualitative analysis of the Bole area. Through this method all of the data collected created a more holistic image of all the events of interest.

When it comes to this particular study the method, I believe what would yield the best results is the qualitative approach. The reason for this being that the quantitative approach while creating the opportunity for useful data collection will not be able to provide the intensely subjective data necessary for this study.

1.4.2 Data Gathering Methods

In order to gain the data necessary to understand the relationship I discussed in the objectives section several data collection methods need to be implemented. Both primary and secondary data were utilized in the pursuit of this research. Primary research as mentioned earlier fell under the ethnography category and included methods such as Participant Observation and In-depth interviews while also employing another qualitative technique Focus Group Discussions to further round out the data. Secondary data was taken from sources such as books, peer reviewed articles and journals. Each of these data collection methods and why they were be useful is discussed in detail in the following sections.

1.4.3 Selection of Research Participants

The most crucial component in conducting successful research is the careful selection of research participants, this is due to the fact that most likely a majority of the useful data collected was provided by them. Of course, there is extremely valuable information that can be gained from techniques such as observation and all the other techniques that are derived from it. However, obtaining information directly from the source of who/what is being studied offers perspective that the researcher could never have gained if they remained in the purely observatory role. This is especially true in the field of social sciences where all research is heavily subjective and places a very significant amount of emphasis on participant data.

Therefore, when it came to this study, I carefully considered the criteria that a person would have to fulfil in order to be considered a worthwhile research participant. The first consideration that came to mind was firstly youth, understandably since the entire focus of this research is around youth and behavior. I recognized very early that placing strict age restrictions on possible candidates could lead to very limiting results, however I also noted that certain limits had to be introduced on both sides of the spectrum otherwise the focus of the study would be lost. The result of this was placing a broad age range of between 16-25 with an equal distribution of male and female informants. The reason for this is it has been shown that between these ages people are the

most impressionable and that after 25 while people still acquire and adapt to new information their personality has become much more solid and less susceptible to change.

With the parameters for youth defined, the topic of the genders that were included must be covered. It was attempted for an equal number of each gender be included in the study. The reason for this being that if the data I gathered was from a mostly male perspective then what I would present at the end would be an incomplete picture of the phenomena I explored. Without the inclusion of a female perspective, a crucial piece of research would be missing from the overall project.

Following from this, the next criteria would be places of socialization in order of distance from the so called 'hub' of Bole. The reason for this is, the study is based on the effects that Bole has on the behavior of the youth. As such if I were to consider Bole the epicenter of this phenomena then the best method to see how its effects spread throughout Addis Ababa is to choose places of socialization that start from the center and then move further and further away observing the changes as I go.

1.4.4 Selection of Specific Research Areas

Now while the area of research may seem to be evident in the title of my research, I believe just stating the area of Bole would be just too general in terms of my selection of research area. I needed to narrow down my focus to specific areas in Bole which I believe would the contain most relevant participants as detailed in the selection of research participants above. After some consideration I settled on the roundabout area of Bole in front of Edna Mall. When taken into the formal administration context this area falls under Woreda 3 of Bole Sub City.

1.4.5 Participant Observation

Ethnographic research derives from social and cultural anthropology whereby a researcher is required to spend considerable time in the field and study the phenomenon within its social and cultural context. Ethnographers try to immerse themselves in a setting and become part of the group being investigated, in order to understand the meanings that actors put upon events or

situations. The prevailing data collection technique is participant observation (Myers, 1999) (Iacono, Brown, et al., 2009). The merits of this approach to my research is it offered a vastly different perspective than what I currently have. Being immersed in the actual setting and with the actual people I'm studying, revealed things that I could not have observed from an outsider's perspective. An example of this could be the honest opinions that certain youth groups have of other youth groups. If I had approached these same groups as an interviewer, they would much less inclined to share their truthful feelings around this topic. With this in mind once I entered the field, I began by first sitting down in a number of cafes and ordering a meal or a soft drink and simply taking in my environment. Listening to the different conversations and colloquial language used by the youth over time gave me a general picture of what was taking place socially in Bole. In addition to this whenever I would meet up with friends to socialize in Bole, I would make subtle mental observations and notes that aided in creating the in-depth questions that I would use later on.

1.4.6 Focus Group Discussions

Focus group discussions are gatherings of research participants where the researcher sets forth a number of questions relevant to the research title and only acts as an invigilator as members of the group exchange ideas about said topic. Now this format of data collection was an extremely valuable tool for the topic of youth behavior due to the fact that one, it affords me the opportunity to see how the youth themselves feel about their behavior and how it's influenced by Bole. Secondly it revealed to me the way the youth feel about each other's views on this topic. They may strongly agree on certain aspects while vehemently arguing on other aspects on through my observation on these topics. The aim was to conduct at least 6 of these FGDs involving around 6-8 people and through my observation of what occurs during the course of these I gained a new perspective on my subject area. However, after actually being in the field and attempting to carry out these discussions in practice and experiencing a number of difficulties I was able to carry out 3 FGD's with around 6 people each. These difficulties will be discussed in more detail in the limitation of the study section.

1.4.7 In-Depth Interviews

In depth interviews formed the backbone of the research, with a majority of the data collected being from this technique. What in-depth interviews are in essence is a one on one interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee in which the interviewer asks a number of questions integral to the research topic. This differs from Focus Group Discussions in that it's one person's opinions or thoughts rather than a collection of opinions therefore it allows me the privilege of gaining much more detailed and expressive responses to my questions. In-depth interviews also differ from participant observation in that they by their very nature are centered on interaction while participant observation while revealing may not get some of the answers that directly asking questions will.

1.4.9 Ethical Considerations

Given the fact that this research involves the procuring of information that my research participants may consider personal there are a number of ethical considerations I have to take into account. The first consideration is the collection of all my participants informed consent before engaging in any form of data gathering, more specifically making sure they are aware of everything my research entails and how the data I collect from them will be used. This includes aspects such as providing information such as the potential benefits and risks of the study, their right to withdraw at any moment without any repercussions and who to contact for further information and explanation as to the nature of my thesis. Secondly, I made sure to keep all of my participants anonymous or protecting their identity behind aliases. The third ethical consideration I made, is to make sure that any and all data that comes into my possession is gathered without bias or with the intentions of confirming any previously held perceptions I have.

Following on from this, another consideration that must be made is how my upbringing, sets of values along with my social and personal characteristics affected the means in which I not only transcribe the data but also represent it. I must be extremely mindful that I don't allow these factors to bias or color my data in any way.

1.5 Significance of the study

When I first began considering the choice of what I would like to conduct research on, I was confronted with a dilemma. Namely, it was my desire to explore an issue that affected me on a personal level as well as impacting a much larger population simultaneously. The reason for this being that I was of the thinking that if I was personally invested in the research that would propel my efforts and yield the best possible research.

With this in mind I began contemplating possible research titles and a lot of options presented themselves as viable candidates for fruitful research. An example of a title I considered is, the television channel Kana and its effects on the population in Addis Ababa. However, after a great deal of contemplation I finally settled on the relationship that I observed between the cosmopolitan area of Bole, an area of Addis Ababa which has been intensely exposed to urbanization and globalization and the behavior of the youth within the capital.

Moving forward to the benefits of the potential findings of this study, firstly in the purely academic sense provided new anthropological information on the youth in Addis Ababa. Furthermore, it provided an examination of the effects of globalization and urbanization on Addis Ababa from a unique perspective. Building upon this information yet more studies can be carried out that can then potentially lead to new policies and initiatives directed towards issues such as unemployment, engaging the youth's potential in the labor force, economic growth, etc. It is through this approach that this research can transition out of the purely academic realm and have positive impacts on society as a whole.

1.6 Delimitation of the Study

This study focuses on the youth and their interactions in Bole and how this shapes their behavior and attitudes. Also, to a lesser extent this study focuses how these attitudes and behaviors affect the overall social interaction in Addis Ababa. This study did not explore the generational implication of these behaviors and how this possibly may alter the family structures of people living in Addis Ababa in the future. As for the site boundary the study covers Bole, more specifically Woreda 3 in Bole Sub City.

1.7 Limitation of the Study

Upon entering the field, I was confronted with a number of challenges that acted as impediments to the data collection process. To begin with, a number of my research participants were naturally standoffish and not willing to readily give the information needed for the study while others were much more forthcoming. However, even in those cases I had to be careful with the information being given due to the fact that even this information could have been specifically chosen to create an intended impression on me. Another limitation that I encountered was due to the current political climate in Ethiopia even after I had explicitly explained the nature of my interview and research a good number of people refused to give an interview. Furthermore, especially in terms of the Focus Groups there have been a number of instances where there were a number of scheduling conflicts with participants or participants not showing up at all. These occurrences served to not only waste my time but also created conflicts with the other research tasks I had arranged afterwards. I also encountered a number of issues related to attaining data that is crucial to the establishing the background of the study area. Namely, aspects such as the religious make-up of the area and the amount of people that are gainfully employed.

1.8 Fieldwork Experience

To gather the data from the study area there was a nominal amount of traveling I had to cover to reach what some would consider the center of Bole, Sub City Bole, Woreda 3. Before I could go in and start my actual research however, I had to get some initial impressions of where I would be spending the majority of my time during the course of this research. In service of this I spent the next couple of days just surveying the area and making little mental observations to myself as I watched the day to day interactions of the people. From there I would go back and make some alterations to my questionnaire based on my observations after each day. After this I decided it was time for me to take a more active role in my research. After doing this for some time I finally felt that I was ready to go into the field and the first thing I did to begin was interview the business owners in and around Edna Mall. The reason for this being that I wanted to first get other people's impressions of the youth before I actually got their perspective. The motivation behind this being my desire to gain at least a little insight into how the behavior of the youth influences the general

behavior of the youth in Addis Ababa. During the course of my interviews with these business owners however, I came across an unexpected obstacle, when asking for interviews with some of the business owners they refused on the grounds that they believed that I was a representative of commerce bureau looking to see if they paid their taxes for their retail.

After getting enough information from the business owners I shifted my focus to youth who are working in Bole to gain yet another perspective. This time from the perspective of the youth but with the twist of exploring young people that interact with other young people through the lens of their employment. From this perspective I could see how the youth viewed each other as well as get some insight into how Bole works in terms of business.

After gaining these insights I decided to move into the main stage of my research which was the individual in-depth interviews along with Focus Group Discussions. Again, for these I would travel to Bole at scheduled times and meet with my participants, I would conduct the interview over some light refreshments after which I thanked them for their time before leaving. In the middle of my schedule of conducting interviews I started to conducting Focus Group Discussions. These were a bit more challenging since they involved the co-ordination of up to 6 people with various differing schedules into the same place.

1.9 Organization of Thesis

This thesis consists of five chapters. The first chapter being the introduction and it contains the background of the study, statement of the problem, objectives of the study, methodology and data collection procedures. The second deals with conceptual terms, theoretical framework and review of related literature. The third chapter focuses on the study area and the community surrounding it. Chapter 4 goes over all of the major findings of the study as they relate to the relationship between youth behaviors and attitudes in connection to Globalization and Bole. The final 5th chapter concludes the study and will provide some recommendations as to how the data collected can be implemented to the best possible effect.

Chapter Two: Conceptualizing of Terms and Theoretical Framework

2.0 Introduction

This chapter includes the explanation of the key terms that are analyzed in this paper like behavior and attitude after which it transitions into the relevant schools of thought on the subject before establishing the theoretical framework of the paper. It then concludes with a review of related literature for this topic. The reason that behavior and attitude were chosen as key terms is due to the fact that they form the foundation of what this research is attempting to explore. Therefore, both must be clearly defined in order for them to be fully explored. In regards to this other definition of these terms were discovered during this process however, the definitions presented below were chosen because yet again they best fit the aim of this thesis. The next two terms Habesha and Bole Mind State were a bit more difficult due to the fact that they were much more subjective yet still needed to be conceptualized for the thesis to work. The definitions for these terms were chosen in an effort to more clearly illustrate the social goings on I had witnessed upon entering the field and who I was referring to as youth.

2.1 Attitude

Attitude can be defined as a 'global and relatively enduring evaluation (e.g. good or bad) of a person, object, or issue. Attitudes can be based on affective, cognitive, or behavioral information and can vary in their strength (e.g. how enduring, how resistant to change, and how predictive of behavior they are). It is on the basis of attitudes that behaviors are exhibited which will be covered in the next section.

Attitudes serve many functions; some attitudes serve a utilitarian function in that they help us to achieve rewards and avoid punishments (e.g. having the correct evaluation of one's mortgage company can save you money). Other attitudes serve an ego defensive function in that they foster our own self-images (e.g. holding prejudiced attitudes might make some people feel superior) (Bizer, Barden, Petty, 2003).

2.2 Behavior

In the field of psychology numerous definitions have been offered as to exactly what behavior is. However, for a paper to conceptualize what behavior is, one concrete definition must be offered and the definition chosen for this paper is the one that is given by Descriptive Psychology. Namely ‘behavior is an attempt on the part of an individual to bring about some state of affairs – either to effect a change from one state of affairs to another, or to maintain a currently existing one’ (Ossorio, 2006, p. 49).

2.3 Habesha

Habesha according to this thesis is the strong sense of communal living coupled with an intense feeling of pride in one’s Ethiopian heritage. This definition had to be as broad as possible in order not to alienate all sections of the population. Different people attach the language spoken and their geographical home with their Habesha identity but if this paper went along those lines certain key groups of people who consider themselves as Habesha would be excluded which is not the intention of this thesis.

2.4 The Bole Mind Set

The Bole Mind-set is a state of mind that is developed by the youth after they have spent a significant amount of time in Bole. The main characteristics being the switching of languages between Amharic and English, the choosing of a more Western style of clothing and an overall blending of Habesha and Western culture. The critical thing for this research being it represents a drastic departure from the traditional mind state that has existed in Addis Ababa for generations.

2.5 Literature Review

In preparation for the research that I’m going to undertake I gathered a number of sources that helped in creating the context in which my research would finally be placed. However, if these

sources would be used to form the backbone of my research then they would have to be proven to be both relevant and academically sound. With this in mind, this section of the proposal will be a literature review of the sources that were collected. Since one of the main objectives of this research is to see how factors from outside of Ethiopia can affect the behavior of the youth internally, the structure of this literature review will be one of transition of scale from macro to micro. More specifically, it will start off with large topics such as globalization and urban expansion then become more and more focused until it reaches the intensely subjective micro scale of the youth in Bole precisely.

2.5.1 Globalization

As an introduction to this concept there is the need to first make clear the fact that Globalization is just one of concepts that have been put forward in an effort to explain the different global phenomena that has been observed in recent history. An example of one of these concepts is Postmodernism which presents the assertion that after the modernization of a society what follows is postmodernism which is the structuring and de-structuring of collective identities of various social classes (Lash, 1990). Another concept is hyper-modernity, which is defined as a radical modernity characterized by the exacerbation and intensification of that modern logic by which human rights and democracy have been made into mandatory values, by the market having become a global economic reference system reaching the remotest places on the planet and invading every sphere of our existence (Charles, 2009). And finally, Glocalization whose theorists contend that local cultures and the forces of globalization are thoroughly interpenetrated and co-shaping; hence, the effects of globalization on everyday cultural life—via global brands, fashion, and mass media—are more accurately described as a process of “glocalization” (Thompson, Arsel, 2009)

Globalization involves processes of movement in population (e.g., migrant labor), skills, capital, technology and technical knowledge, and also symbolic representations (e.g., notions of ‘modernization’ and ‘globalization’ itself, and new concepts of ‘citizenship’ such as that of the European Union) For in the past century, there has been a technological explosion, largely in the domain of transportation and information. The new global cultural economy has to be seen as a complex, overlapping, disjunctive order that cannot any longer be understood in terms of existing

center-periphery models (even those that might account for multiple centers and peripheries). Nor is it susceptible to simple models of push and pull (in terms of migration theory), or of surpluses and deficits (as in traditional models of balance of trade), or of consumers and producers (as in most neo-Marxist theories of development) (Barnard, 2004).

Globalization has 4 distinct factors that can be used to identify it, growing worldwide connections, rapid discontinuous change, growing numbers and diversity of participants and greater managerial slope. For example, global interconnections tended to slow after the 1997 Asian economic crisis, then they surged, slowed again, and repeated that pattern. A third characteristic of globalization is growth in the numbers and diversity of actors involved in global activities. For example, participants in global business activities now include many small-to-medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) as well as large ones. Companies from developing and small economies also participate, as do firms that are owned privately and publicly. The boundaries that once constrained business activities now are more permeable to many more people and organizations worldwide. Finally, the “one world” characterization of globalization exposes most of us to many more people and ideas whose perspectives on globalization differ. Domestic questions that once seemed to have simple answers become more complex when we realize that others worldwide have different “simple” answers to the same questions. Complexity increases again when there are different answers to the same question, and it gives rise to new questions about values and preferences (Parker, 2005).

All of these intense and extremely rapid changes have no doubt influenced the attitudes of every person that is involved. Numerous studies have been carried out on this phenomenon in an effort to better understand the nuances of its impacts. One such study was carried out in Australia that revolved around Australian citizen’s attitudes towards globalization and cosmopolitanism. The results of this study demonstrated the existence of distinct domains for the expression of cosmopolitan, and anti-cosmopolitan, sentiments. These domains represent two central facets of cosmopolitanism as it can be quantitatively measured: first, the increased flow of cultural goods and an openness to cultural difference and, second, the commitment to cultural diversity and the acknowledgement of human rights. While Australians are strongly positively disposed to globalization generally and feel themselves both Australian and citizens of the world, the data shows that the most positive sentiments toward the global are in the field of personal consumption,

choice and cultural openness. A substantial portion of the sample still agree that globalization protects diversity and rights, but a series of defensive anxieties surface when people are prompted to think about whether globality is good for jobs creation, Australian culture, cultural diversity and human rights and the environment (Dimaggio, Hermans, 2007).

This brings about a number of interactions or clashes between what is categorized as stereotypical Western culture and the rest of the world. For example, parents, teachers and religious leaders in many Muslim countries fear the call by proponents of globalization that states the free flow of information, can be really detrimental to the family and social structure of the Islamic and Eastern society.

When the perspective of globalization is focused on the youth and how it affects them on a personal level a profoundly interesting point presented itself in the form of a study. This study explored the challenges ethnic minority youth face in establishing their own identities while being exposed to vastly differing worldviews. At home they are exposed to their native culture's traditional outlooks on life and how a person should conduct themselves. While at school or work they are exposed to the more dominant culture of their country of residence as well as other cultures. These areas of interaction the researchers asserted, could be considered differing worlds, each with its own unique context and modes of behavior. In an effort to better understand how these different dynamics function within the broader context of culture, ethnicity and relationships the researchers utilized an approach called ecocultural theory. Ecocultural theory is an integration of ecological and cultural perspectives, offering a way to begin this unpacking. A key assumption is that all families seek to make meaningful accommodations to their ecological niches through sustainable routines of daily living (Gallimore, Goldenberg, & Weisner, 1993; Tharp & Gallimore, 1988; Weisner, 1984). These activity settings have been examined in terms of three interdependent dimensions: who participates in the activity (known as the personnel); what are the salient goals, values, and beliefs that underlie and organize the activity as interpreted by its participants; and what are the recurring patterns of communication, or scripts, for example in everyday guidance, planning, conflict resolution, or negotiation.

At the same time, they still had to apply this theory to the adolescent's multiple world approach to their social settings and for that they turned to another study carried out in large, urban,

desegregated high schools in Northern California. This study focused on African American, Filipino, Vietnamese American, Mexican American, and European American high school students and found that they migrated across borders between their worlds of family, peers, and school in four prototypic patterns. Some crossed borders smoothly, with a sense that their parents, friends, and teachers held compatible goals and expectations for them. However, even though they seemed on track for their future occupational plans, they were often isolated from students who were not part of their smoothly connected worlds. A second group occupied different worlds from their school peers in terms of culture, social class, ethnicity, or religion, but still found crossing between school and home worlds manageable, they could adapt to mainstream patterns yet return to community patterns when with friends in their neighborhoods, even though they risked criticism from people in each world who expected unwavering adherence to their expectations. A third group occupied different worlds but found border crossings difficult. They were able to do well in classrooms where teachers showed personal interest in them, but "teetered between engagement and withdrawal, whether with family, school, or friends" (Phelan, Davidson, & Yu, 1991, p. 84). Finally, students in the fourth group found the borders impenetrable. They found moving between worlds so difficult that they had become alienated-whether from school, family, or peers. Even so, many still hoped to move successfully into the world of school (Azmitia, Cooper, Rivera, Ittel, & Garcia, 1995).

2.5.2 Urban Expansion

To begin with, for context's sake, let us begin with the impact of urbanization has on major cities in more economically developing countries in general before moving to the specific case of Addis Ababa. For example, the region of Dakar is experiencing dramatic demographic growth, as are most city regions of the Global South. The growth rate of the urban population rose from 21 per cent to 53 per cent between 1955 and 1999 (DPS, 2003). Spread over a surface of 550 km² (0.28 per cent of the territory of Senegal), Dakar is home to a fifth of the national population, representing a density of over 4,000 habitants per km² (ANSD, 2007). To ensure food safety, urban agriculture has been extensively developed over the past 10 years in a region with favorable hydrological and climatic conditions: the Niyuayes region. However, the Niayes ecosystem is very fragile as its very shallow groundwater body is vulnerable to salt-water intrusion. The heavy reliance on this precious resource to serve agricultural purposes has provoked groundwater

depletion and has accelerated the salinization process, i.e. the rate of salt-water intrusion. This has prompted farmers to use a lot of organic manure and raw wastewater to improve yields. Furthermore, the health status of the population of the Dakar region is extremely poor, showing a prevalence of cholera, typhoid, and paratyphoid epidemics, as well as very frequent episodes of diarrhea (Ndiaye, 2012).

The need to scale up housing production in the Global South through all possible means has now been acknowledged by all policy-makers and commentators in this field (Okpala, 1992; World Bank, 1993; Tipple, 1994; UNCHS, 1996). However, in most cities of the Global South, including Dhaka, Bangladesh, the strategies for providing public housing have failed to meet the needs of the urban poor. In the cities and villages of Bangladesh, housing is produced through private or community efforts, referred to as self-help or piecemeal housing production. The resulting developments, combining contemporary technology with traditional techniques and designs, range from being bland and monotonous to inchoate and eclectic. Bangladesh is a predominantly rural country, where self-help building still plays a significant role in traditional peasant communities. Rural housing in Bangladesh has been largely based on the use of locally available resources as prime building materials in a process of self-help building undertaken by the community. However, in recent decades, traditional self-help building processes have been greatly affected if not changed entirely due to the advent of the cash economy, industrialization, scarcity of natural resources, and population pressure (Kamruzzaman, 2012).

Moving on let us explore what some would say could be the primary source of behavior change in the youth, namely the intense amount of urbanization that Addis Ababa is experiencing currently. However, while this urbanization is a very prominent fixture of the city, it is not necessarily distributed equally among the population of the city. Ethiopia's service industries represented by the largest and the most successful airline in Africa, Ethiopian Airlines, and a fast-growing financial sector, account for forty-three percent of the GDP share; however, this value-adding activity has not resulted in a significant job creation. According to the same statistics, forty-three percent of the GDP value is created by only ten percent of the workforce. The issue here is that Ethiopia's service sector is lacking in essential factors such as a domestic market that is well

integrated, the presence of a skilled labor force and a quality of infrastructure that is necessary to compete in global markets such as financial services or tourism (Givental, 2017).

In 2004, the Grand Housing Program (GHP) was introduced in Addis Ababa to reduce the overwhelming housing backlog, estimated at about 300,000 housing units, and to replace 50 per cent of the overall 136,330 dilapidated public rental houses (locally known as 'kebele' houses) (AACAA, 2005). A main feature of the GHP is that the housing units were sold to the inhabitants as condominiums rather than being rented. The ambitious plan also sought to address a number of other problems of the city, including high unemployment and the low level of skills in the construction sector (Alazar, 2012).

2.5.3 Place, Identity and Youth

The concept of identity has a broad context. The term is more common in social sciences and it has been employed to describe the "uniqueness" of a person or a thing from very different perspectives and purposes, such as personal identity, political identity, ethnic identity, social identity and place identity. The word identity comes from the Latin "identitas" and is defined as "the fact of being who or what a person or thing is" in the Oxford English Dictionary [8]. According to Gleason the use of the word dates back to 16th century and until the mid of 1950's identity is used to describe "the unity of the self" by the philosophers. The concept of place identity is a very significant aspect of both social and cultural life and continuity of place identity has been found to be strongly linked to place attachment and a sense of belonging. In the field of environmental psychology, the assumption is that people are driven intrinsically to develop a sense of belonging to a place. Two things are crucial to establishing an emotional and cognitive bond with a particular place, these are a sense of belonging and place attachment and from these feelings of security and a sense of community will evolve. As such identity of a place is much more in depth than simple physical appearance rather there is also a 'meaning' for the individual and the community (Kaymaz, 2013).

Environmental Psychologists have long been interested in how people form place attachment. Namely place attachment is an effective bond that people establish with specific areas where they

prefer to remain and where they feel comfortable and safe. Place identity, however, has been defined as a component of personal identity, a process by which, through interaction with places, people describe themselves in terms of belonging to a specific place. Following a study into who feels greater place attachment between natives and non-natives results showed that place attachment and place identity behave similarly in the case of natives born and raised in the same place but differently in the case of non-natives. There was also confirmation that natives establish more intense links, whether of attachment or identity, with the island, the city and finally, with the neighborhood where they live (Hernandez, et al., 2007).

The connection between place and identity can also take on a dimension that is extremely based on class distinctions. A great example of this is a study undertaken by Paul Chatterton into the spatial identities formed by 'traditional' and non-traditional university students in the city of Bristol. Traditional students being the affluent students who come from economically prominent families while non-traditional students are students who come from differing economic backgrounds. This study revealed that within the Bristol area students meeting locations, places of living and areas of socialization were strictly segregated with 'traditional students' favoring more expensive surroundings and seeking separation from the non-traditional students for fear of aspects such as theft and violence. The non-traditional students on the other hand viewed the 'traditional students' as displaying elitism and as such separated themselves geographically partially as a response to this (Chatterton, 1999).

Exploring even further into this aspect of identity as it relates to space, a study into youth culture revealed some interesting insights into how young people view different locations and the identities that come with them. More specifically the study focused on the microprocesses that take place in various social 'scenes', scenes being defined in the study as networks of individuals who converge in local, trans-local, and virtual spaces. In this particular study the 'scene' that was chosen as an area of focus was the punk scene in a Mid-Western college town.

In this scene fashion style is a main way that members determine legitimate punk membership (Force 2009; Fox 1987; Moore 2004; Williams 2006). Regular participants at the Pirate House were quick to see those who were outside of the style, with little or no "subcultural capital" (Thornton, 1996) in fashion, beliefs, or knowledge. For example, Mike noticed someone at a show

who he thought did not fit at the Pirate House: He leaned over to me, “See that guy in the leather jacket and the hat.” I looked and saw a guy who had a jacket, black shirt and mustache. He looked very “redneck,” for lack of a better term. “Don’t stare!” he admonished, “Now, you’re a regular here, what’s going on here?” Mike was perplexed that someone dressed like this would be at the Pirate House.

While the above example of Mike pointing out an inappropriate style could illustrate individual-level stylistic codes of being punk, it is also evidence of collective spatial standards—fitting the overall look and feel of this parochial space. Interestingly, Mike stated his objection in spatial terms (“you’re a regular *here*”). By pointing out an inappropriate style, he may or may not have been reinforcing standards of membership as a punk. However, he was definitely stating that the style did not fit the setting—a punk event (Glass, 2012).

2.5.4 Youth and Identity

As Savage (2000) writes, class identities are relational and located within forms of stratification and people define themselves through relational comparisons, e.g. as either ‘Nike’ or ‘Gucci’, where Nike comes to signify working class and Gucci middle/upper class. Class or status is created through modes of differentiation and while it has been shown that class identities are weak there is still a strong precedent of people defining their individual identities in ways which involve relational comparisons with members of various social classes. These distinctions are based highly on value meaning that they are formed on the association of differing moral worth although the likelihood of being able to inhabit an authentic Nike or Gucci identity will be structurally determined. Therefore, young people’s choices in the name of ‘style’ can be observed as taking place within the context of struggles for recognition. Thus, whereas their consumption of ‘Nike style’ (e.g. wearing trainers and hooded tops) may be positioned by the middle classes as negative, tasteless and signifying danger or threat, the young people themselves used it as a site for generating value and worth (Archer, et al., 2007).

As mentioned earlier globalization has made an impact on the attitudes of people around the world, however the aspect that has yet to be discussed is the impact that globalization has made on the identity of people on a global scale. Focusing on the psychology of adolescence, Arnett (2002)

discussed the uncertainty and confusion resulting from globalization. He noted that in a globalizing world, people have to face the challenge of adapting not only to their local culture but also to the global society. He argued that, as a consequence of globalization, most people in the world, and adolescents in particular, now develop a bicultural identity: Part of their identity is rooted in their local culture, and another part is attuned to the global situation (Hermans, Dimaggio, 2007).

2.5.5 Language and Identity

Following forward from the concept of youth and identity I considered what possible connection could exist between language and identity, I came across research that explored this very concept, especially in connection to ethnic identity. In this study two researchers took 12 second generation Asians and explored how they viewed language and the role it played in their identity. What they discovered initially is that participants widely felt that their individual identity was very much tied to their mother tongue. They provided a small case study with one particular participant named Raheela and her feelings about her mother tongue. ‘With me my mother tongue needs to make me feel like me. I sleep and think and dream in it and I use it when I get happy, sad and when I talk to myself’ (Jaspal, Coyle, 2010, pg.4) is how she responded. The implications of this being that Raheela’s mother tongue seems to be constructed in terms of a psychological trait or cognitive category which serves to process information and knowledge of self, it is categorized as an instrument of communication with the self. However, while Raheela’s case was that of harmony between her language and identity some participants talked about struggling with incompatibility with their language and their identity and how this sparked feeling of apprehension within them, this is explored a bit further in the next paragraph.

Another one of their initial discoveries was that it was not uncommon for participants to express feelings of anxiety because of their perceived lack of proficiency in their heritage language, which echoes the idea that ethnic minorities can experience feelings of regret and guilt due to their lack of fluency in their heritage language. Heritage language being the informants mother tongue, the language that is most commonly spoken in their countries of origin. In certain specific cases it actually caused a psychological dilemma within the informants, one for example was Baljit, who having defined herself as Punjabi and having identified Punjabi as her mother tongue, recognized

that she was not ‘one hundred per cent fluent in it’. It became apparent that Baljit followed her commonsensical conceptualization of the mother tongue as a language ‘learnt at the mother’s knee’, which she can claim as her own (Fishman, 1991). The psychological dilemma arises as Baljit senses that her lack of proficiency in her mother tongue contradicts her commonsensical conceptualization.

Moving even further into this connection into language and identity, the researchers observed that the youth in their study felt a sense of ownership and affiliation in their mother tongue. With the data revealing that those individuals who positively evaluated their ethnic identities generally exhibited a positive view of their HL (heritage language). Participants generally referred to the ‘correctness’ and inherent eloquence of their in-group language and some referred to etymological and philological factors in order to justify the high status they attributed to it. They offer another extract of a Gujarati Muslim describing why they were raised to think their Gujarati is better due to the fact that they are descendants of the upper class in Gujarat as an example of this (Jaspal, Coyle, 2010).

2.5.6 Behavior and Performances

In the field of Sociology there is an approach to analyzing social interactions between multiple agents that is known as Dramaturgy. It found its ways into sociology through the work of Erving Goffman (1959). Goffman argued that, like the theater, life has actors and audiences. It is through performances that social reality – including selves and the social world – is created. While every social interaction is a performance and every person an actor, Goffman is careful to point out that in social life people often play parts and display attributes that they conceive as true to their selves. Then if we were to continue to follow this line of argument then every social interaction could be broken down into aspects such as roles, scripts and stages. When it comes to roles individuals perform the role expectations associated with these positions and, in doing so, they become police officers and mothers. In large part, their performances and the ways that they role make, or enact identities, is dependent on their ability to role take, imagining how others expect them to appear or behave and who they are in relation to others. In most mundane and routine situations, there is a general script to be followed. The mother hosting the playgroup knew what was expected of her

as a hostess and mother and she could anticipate the actions and reactions of the other mothers and children who would be attending (Collett, Childs, 2009).

Of course, the authenticity of many performances does not mean that all are genuine. Goffman (1959, p. 15) himself talks about the motives that individuals have for manipulating and controlling the images that others have of them. These allusions to the potential artificiality of performances have inspired a critical view of dramaturgy by many. In this critical response, the dramaturge or actor 'is alleged to be a self-indulgent, scheming, deceitful conniver and con man who fashions an illusionary existence for himself by manipulating the thoughts and actions of others' (Brissett and Edgley, 1990, p. 7).

When an individual enters the presence of others, they commonly seek to acquire information about him/her or to bring into play information about him/her they already possessed. They will be interested in the individual's general socio-economic status, conception of self, attitude towards them, competence, trustworthiness, etc. Initially this information is seen as an end in and of itself, however there tends to be a number of practical reasons for acquiring it. Information about said individual helps in defining the social situation that all parties find themselves involved in, what this does is create the ability to know in advance what he/she will expect from them as well as what they may expect of him/her. Informed in this manner, other members of the group will be best equipped to call forth any number of desired responses from him/her (Goffman, 1956).

One method that is employed by people to gain this desired response is the manner of clothing that people choose to wear. It is through one's physical appearance (their dress, grooming, hairstyle, facial expressions, body size and shape, and the like) that they show others the kind of person they are, their attitude, and how they intend to act. Because of the interactive nature of these performances, appearances also clue others in to what is expected from them. These appearances are important, for 'in the absence of contradictory cues, people tend to accept others as they appear' (Turner, 1978, p. 6).

So far only the purely dramaturgical perspective on behavior has been presented, however, economics has been proven to be an extremely influential factor in people's behavior. While this

research is not specifically directed towards exploring the relationship between economics and adult behavior it is however directed towards the indirect effects of economy and globalization on youth behavior. As such I felt that this next inclusion into the literature review was warranted.

Work as an essential means of self-fulfillment and social integration relates to other phenomena of contemporary developed societies, among which as the most important phenomenon dominates unemployment. Certain highly economically developed countries have a high rate of unemployment, occurring particularly among young age groups. From this perspective, there is a significant risk of increasing inability to integrate into society, losing motivation to work and reducing economic level including the anchoring of such patterns of behavior that do not support motivation to work and disrupt the daily routine. Several studies previously pointed out that for many people unemployment leads to deterioration of mental state, increased anxiety, depression, decreased life satisfaction and overall indifference. The higher the motivation to work, the more extreme the effects are (Vykopalová, 2014).

2.6 Theoretical Framework

When one discusses an economically developing country such as Ethiopia there must be the awareness that economics and financial stability especially in the capital Addis Ababa are a very important concern for its residents. This not to say other factors of life such as family and the establishment of social networks are not of equal or greater importance in people's lives however the power of status and finances cannot and should not be underestimated. Secondly, there is the profound influence of Western namely American culture in the area. As mentioned before due the economically developing nature of the country, aspects or symbols connecting to a form of economic success have become highly sought after. Couple this feeling of wanting an economically successful identity with globalization and the almost omnipresent nature of Western culture and you are met with an intense fascination with the fashion, colloquialisms, mindset, etc of Western people.

Due to this prominent feature of Ethiopian urban society, this presents a very interesting clash of cultures in an effort to decide the identity of the Ethiopian people at least on the cosmopolitan level. On one hand there are the traditions that have existed for decades upon decades forming the

base on which traditional Ethiopian society stands. On the other hand, you have the modern advent of smart phones, internet access and culture that represents financial success.

It is this struggle that interests me as a researcher and one that I believe merits substantial attention and documentation. However, with this research topic chosen I was left with a decision about what schools of thought or theoretical frameworks would best address the issues I wanted to see addressed. The method I chose to decide which theoretical framework I would use is the comparison of two established theories that directly relate to my field of interest and through this comparison find out which one would suit my purposes best.

Erving Goffman in his book *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* writes that ‘...[s]ociety is organized on the principle that any individual who possesses certain social characteristics has a moral right to expect that others will value and treat him in a correspondingly appropriate way’ (Goffman, 1959, pg.6). This I believe perfectly summarizes what I want to explore with my research, namely the altering or adoption of certain forms of behavior in order to be treated with a certain level of esteem and prestige. Furthermore, this observation touches on the consensus or a ‘working consensus’ as Goffman calls it that is established amongst the other members of society. This is also a crucial point of interest I would like to see addressed because that directly relates to the struggle that I initially discussed earlier in the introduction. Due to this very direct relevance to my topic I decided to use the Interactionism paradigm according to Goffman as the first one of my potential theoretical frameworks (Goffman, 1959).

While Interactionism as a paradigm came quite quickly as an option for my approach, the second option was not as easily attainable. Neo-materialism appeared to be promising as well as Culture and Personality, however after some research I came across Globalization Anthropology and felt that it fit best with what I am trying to accomplish. Specifically, globalization theorists tend to focus more on local effects of economic incorporation. Even further they focus their attention on ways in which both the powerful and the powerless perceive and manipulate symbols and comprehend their position in the world. Again, this directly mirrors what I explored, however this time the perspective has shifted from how people specifically act to how people use and interpret symbols of wealth and success. Therefore, with these two approaches chosen the remainder of this

section will focus on the decision on which would best fit everything I intend to cover (McGee, Warms, 2008).

2.6.1 Interactionism

At the heart of Interactionism at least from Goffman's perspective is the concept that people are actors on a stage constantly tweaking and adjusting their performances in order to position themselves in the best possible social position. In this process he theorized that a spectrum would arise in which two extremes would be created. On one hand we have performers that are fully taken in with their act. Meaning they whole heartedly believe the impression of reality which they created *is* the real reality. However, on the opposing side of this spectrum we have actors who are almost completely uninterested with their role. There can be a number of reasons for this, one reason can be the actor is not at all invested in the beliefs of his audience. Another reason could be the actor is purposely deluding his/her audience for their own good or for the good of the community (Goffman, 1959).

The presence of these two extremes and all the other actors that fall in between them will be both interesting and important to my research. I make this assertion because this is in essence what I want to discover. How do the youth of Addis Ababa react as actors to the presence of the Western culture that radiates outward from Bole. Which ones are fully taken by their performance? Which ones are cynical and for what reasons are they cynical? Is this due in large part to their financial backgrounds or is it more subjective than that? It's these kinds of questions that Interactionism will raise and the answers to these questions will be invaluable to my research.

Another important aspect presented from Goffman's *Presentation of the Self* is the concept of idealized performance and more importantly for the research at hand the place of this concept in terms of social mobility. He asserts that in most societies there are major or general systems of stratification. And in these stratified societies there is an idealization of the higher strata and a desire on some level on the part of those on the lower levels to ascend. In this state of social stratification, he continues "upward mobility involves the presentation of proper performances and

that efforts to move upward and efforts to keep from moving downward are expressed in terms of sacrifices made for the maintenance of front" (Goffman, 1959).

This appearance of upward mobility as discussed in the introduction of this paper seems to be a major driving force behind the widespread acceptance of Western culture in Addis Ababa. This therefore opens up another line of inquiry and information to be gathered. Is this desire to move upward socially just found in a certain group of people who share a certain experience, or is it something that can be found in all groups of people? Why would some people decide to not to ascend in the strata? Is this due to lack of resources or a firm belief and/or sense of happiness in their current social strata? Are there people who reject the change in behavior that accompanies upward movement because they believe it's a removal from the traditional Ethiopian identity? The answers to these queries in combination with the answers to the social actor questions will aid in creating a more complete image of this phenomena.

Goffman in his research also offered a concept for understanding a group of people working together to create a single routine for an audience, this concept is called a performance team or team for short. While this concept is valuable in and of itself what really makes it important to this project is the behavior of differing teams upon their interaction. To specify when two teams of actors interact there are a number of processes taking place. For instance, individuals are working to find and maintain their place amongst the two groups. There is also a form of gentlemen's agreement between the groups to continue maintaining the impression that each group is trying to present to the other (Goffman, 1959).

This is important to my research in that it creates another area of exploration, namely what happens when two groups of people meet in a social setting but are from differing financial backgrounds. One group has financially "made it" while the other has aspirations of the attaining the same level. This occurs at times in the social scenes that can be found all over Bole especially the night life. How does each group influence the other? Are there times where the true feelings between the two groups are revealed to each other? If so what where the effects? The answers to these questions will help provide a different viewpoint from the normally explored areas. While the areas of differing strata and the differences in their behavior has been covered, this line of questioning

offers insight into what happens when these strata meet and what that reveals about each of them when they are compared.

2.6.2 Globalization Anthropology

Globalization Anthropology as mentioned earlier deals with the effects of a ever more connected world and what that means for each country involved in this intensely dynamic process. The aspect of this paradigm that is relevant to this research however is the focus it gives to the Americanization of cultures due to the spreading of connection between nations. This is made possible by the emergence of new ever improving technology that enables everyone to share culture in a manner that is unprecedented in human history.

In this spirit Arjun Appadurai's article *Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy* documents and explores the disconnect that occurs when a traditional culture becomes entrenched with a new one. He proposes that the acceptance of Western culture in nations where it is not indigenous creates a number of ironies and resistances. An example he offers is of Filipino's love for American music as observed by Pico Iyar, a travel journalist whose writing focuses on the ironies and paradoxes created by globalization. In his travels to Asia he witnessed a phenomenon in the Philippines where he said it seemed like an entire nation had learned to mimic Kenny Rogers and the Lennon Sisters (Appadurai, 2008)

This presents a viable tool with which I could examine the dynamics that exist in Bole. It was well known that upon entering Bole there is a feeling of it being in another world in which the music is transformed from the local hits to songs that are most commonly found on the Billboard Top 100. This raises a number of issues, are people forsaking their own music in order to appear more successful? Do they see American music as inherently better music than their own?

Another concept that Appadurai offers in his article is the concept of the *ethnoscape*. This is the landscape where tourists, immigrants, refugees, exiles, guest workers, and other moving groups and individuals constitute an essential feature of the world. What this concept is, is the idea that

the shifting nature of human beings across the globe brings with it further globalization (Appadurai, 2008).

That offers another angle, an interesting angle that explores the effects of the Diaspora and other external agents on the local population. Does the image of a fellow Ethiopian who came back from abroad increase the intensity in which Western culture is accepted? Would these people for all intents and purposes be considered traditional Ethiopians after experiencing so much of another culture? Yet again the answers to these questions will undoubtedly lead to fascinating results which will shed further light on the phenomena known as Bole culture.

In conclusion, after careful review of both paradigms I decided that implementing both of them would function as the theoretical framework that best addresses the issues that are presented by this title. Initially I had chosen solely Interactionism to form the foundation of the thesis however after actually spending time in the field and going over the data I had gathered I found that Globalization Anthropology was just as applicable, even necessary. As such when it comes to this thesis, I decided on using a combination of both Interactionism and Globalization Anthropology in order to fully address the different social phenomena I encountered.

Chapter 3: Background of the Study Area

3.0 Description of the Study Area Profile and the People

Before moving forward with the establishment of my study area in terms of its demographics and overall profile there is a need for the creation of the greater context in which all of this takes place. Therefore, with this in mind what will first be presented is a very general breakdown of Ethiopia's demographics in terms of population size and distribution before again narrowing that down to the Addis context then moving into the specific Woreda in which my data collection took place. Furthermore, there will be an emphasis placed on certain demographic characteristics that present themselves as most relevant to the youth in Addis Ababa. The reason for this being that through deductive reasoning a belief was created that these areas would be the most impactful on the youth of Addis in terms of behavior and attitude formation.

3.1 Current Demographics of Ethiopia

According to the World Population Review Ethiopia as of 2018 has a population of 107.5 million people with the population density being around 83 people per square mile. In its current state Ethiopia is ranked the 14th most populous country in the world above Vietnam and Democratic Republic of Congo. Ethiopia is also the home of various ethnicities, predominantly the Oromo at 34.4% of the country's population and the Amhara, who account for 27% of the population. Other major ethnic groups include the Somali (6.2%), Tigray (6.1%), Sidama (4%), Gurage (2.5%), Welayta (2.3%), Afar (1.7%), Hadiya (1.7%), and Gamo (1.5%). Outside of the native populations, there is a significant amount of asylum seekers with the exact amount numbering around 680, 000 coming from regions such as Somalia, Eritrea and Sudan.

When it comes to the religious makeup of the country, Ethiopia has close ties with all three major Abrahamic religions, and it was the first in the region to officially adopt Christianity in the 4th century. Christians account for 63% of the country's population with 44% belonging to the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. Ethiopia has the first Hijra in Islamic history and the oldest Muslim

settlement on the continent. Muslims account for 34% of the population (<http://worldpopulationreview.com/countries/ethiopia-population/>).

3.2 Historical Background of Addis Ababa

Moving forward to the historical context of the capital, before it was established as Addis Ababa, the rolling plain of the area was called Finfinnee and it was known for its fertile farm land and dense forests with the streams and sloping terrain. The Finfinnee region was inhabited by the Oromo people who were mostly pastoralists it is located at 9°2 ' north of equator and at 38°45' east. It also lies at an average altitude of 2500 meters above sea level. The northern most part of the city is about 3000 meters above sea level (part of the Entoto Mountains) while the south most part is about 2200 meters above sea level. Addis Ababa is surrounded by high rising mountains: Entoto Mountains in the north, Wechacha Mountains in the west, Yerer Mountain and other volcanic cones in the east and south. There is no large river passing close to Addis Ababa although a number of smaller rivers and streams cross it from north to south, which are streaming from an important role in structuring the city.

Addis Ababa was established as a capital of Emperor Menelik II and his Queen Taitu in 1886. The foundation and history of Addis Ababa is primarily attached to the political administration of the country and it was founded in 1877, after the court headquarters was established at Entoto. Two main reasons account for the foundation of the city at its present site: the un-inviting cold and windy climate of the Entoto hills and the existence of hot springs at the Finfinnee plain. The hot springs were used by the surrounding community because for their healing effects. Menelik and his Queen Taitu, who were also taking baths for health treatment, took interest in the area and decided to build a palace and a reception hall adjoining the hot springs. Thus, began the development of a permanent structure and the founding of a new capital in 1886. In due course, as a result of the impressive natural beauty of the surrounding area, permanent state edifices were constructed and the site was named Addis Ababa, literally New Flower.

Addis Ababa is a primate city with population of about 2.74 million according to country wide census that was carried out in 2007. This number of course has increased in the years that have

followed and it is believed that the population is closer to 4 million currently but this cannot be confirmed until the next census which has been delayed by security concerns throughout 2017 and 2018. It accounts for more than 30% of the Ethiopia's urban population. The political administration, industrial, educational and other services are concentrated in the city. Along with its national role, it serves as the headquarters of the UN Economic Commission for Africa and the African Union (AU). The second largest city, Dire Dawa, has a population of about 342,800 and limited services and industries are found in this and other towns.

During his attempted colonization of Ethiopia Mussolini invited Le Corbusier, a famous French-Swiss architect and urban planner, prepared a guideline sketch as a master plan of Addis Ababa. His sketch was based on his Radiant City concept of 1930 to 1933. He conceived the city as a monumental structure traversed by a grand boulevard that crosses the city from north to south. Since Addis Ababa was intended to be a colonial city, the plan segregated the neighborhoods into the native and European sectors as seen in the image provided below (Dadena Tufa, 2008).

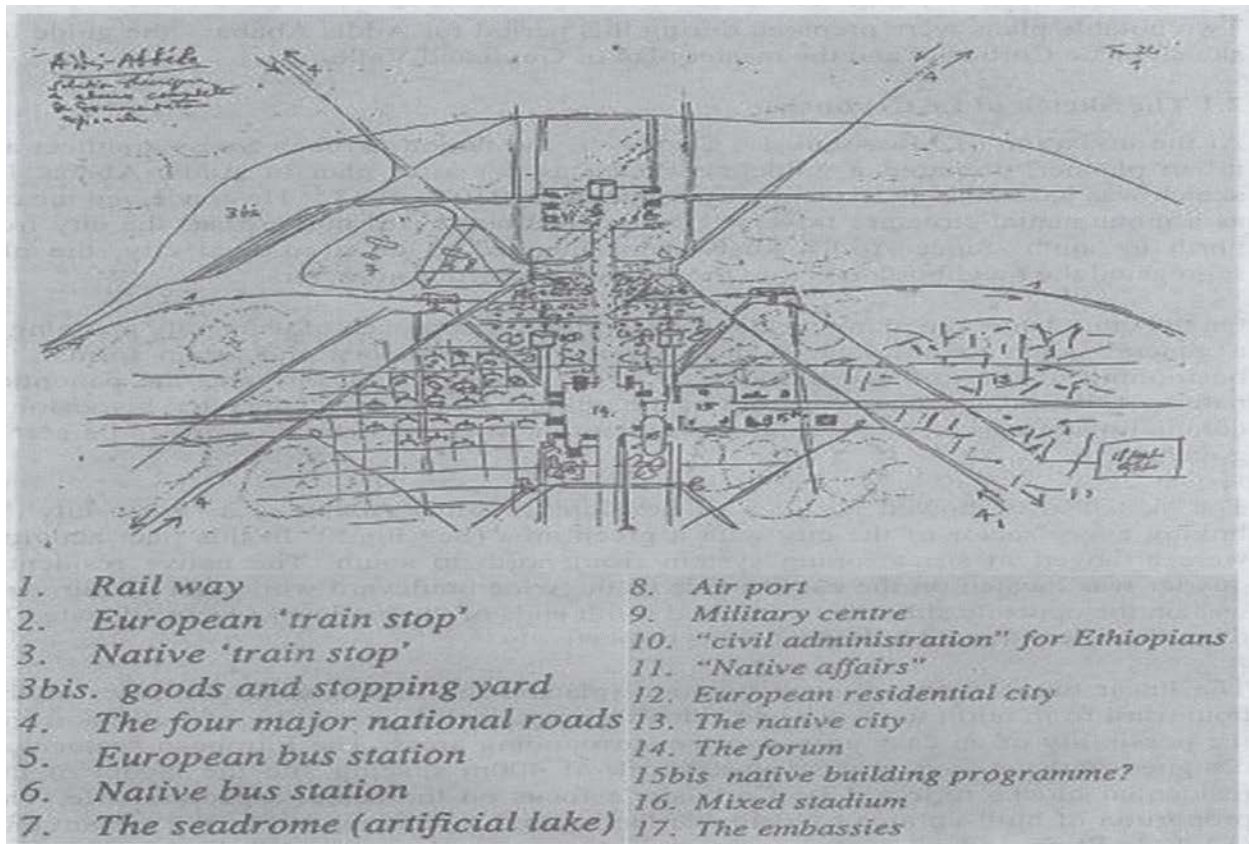


Fig. 5 The Le Corbusier's sketch, proposed plan for Addis Ababa (Source: AAMPO)

However, since Mussolini was unable to successfully stake a foothold in Ethiopia mostly none of those masterplans came into actual practice. As a result, the townscape of the inner-city is of an organic character. Part of the city's indigenous character was established by the early settlement patterns. Soon after founding the city, Emperor Menelik began to allocate land to leaders of the nobility, the military, and the church. The land grantees-built residences and/or churches on elevated or centrally located sites. As each of the grantees, in turn, issued to their dependents use rights to land in the immediate vicinity of their residence or church, and as more and more newcomers made attachments to one of these encampments, a series of safars (neighborhoods) of different sizes and shapes emerged (Zewde [3]).

3.3 The Modern Addis Ababa Setting

This marked the first land use pattern of the city which can actually be considered as old unplanned neighborhoods. Moreover, this historical origin of the city has also produced a multi-centered urban system, where different functions and different social and economic classes still mingle and live together. This mode of development continued to exist in the subsequent years without substantial planning intervention. Thus, throughout most of its history, Addis Ababa's growth has been relatively uncontrolled. Ethiopia's worsening economic circumstances and limited resources, ineffective planning procedures, and inefficient institutions since the 1974 revolution, have resulted in failure to control the direction and pattern of urban development, to provide residents and enterprises with adequate services, or to establish a relatively autonomous institution to manage urban growth.

Addis Ababa, being the capital city and centre of commerce, industries as well as other amenities, such as education, health, and transportation facilities, has been found to hold a record of population growth when compared to other cities of the nation. It is exercising its privileges and rights to dominate the rest of the urban system in economic, social and political activities of the whole nation. As a matter of fact, its population accounting for 29 percent of the total urban population is a clear demonstration of the overwhelming dominance it has over the national urban system (A. Gossaye, 2000).



Fig 2. General map of study area (Source: addismap.com).

3.4 Demographics of Bole Sub City Woreda 3

Now that the context of both Ethiopia and Addis Ababa has been established the specific study area needs to be explored and analyzed. In order to obtain this data, I traveled around the general Bole area in an effort to find a Woreda that held the demographic data that directly related to my study area. This proved to be no easy task because I encountered a number of difficulties locating the correct Woreda due the most relevant information not being that readily available online and having to be discovered through word of mouth. After much trial and error, I discovered the Woreda in question, Woreda 3 and this allowed me to collect some demographic data.

The data that I obtained indicated the total population of Woreda which was around 46, 269 people with the gender split being around 24, 004 men and 22, 265 women. Moving on from this I asked to know the employment rates which they said they were unable to attain however they could show records of all the people in the Woreda who were seeking employment. When it comes to these people the very base stats were 226 women and 148 men adding up to a total of 374 employment seekers in that Woreda.

Chapter Four: Data Analysis and Interpretation

4.0 Data Presentation

This chapter analyzes and interprets data gathered through in-depth interviews, focus group discussions and observation. Continuing on from this the data will then be placed within the context of the theoretical framework that was chosen as the basis of this thesis in an effort to further prove or disprove the interpretations made during the course of the analysis. This will include topics such as globalization and identity, fashion choices and the generation gap. The specific objectives of this paper were to explore how young people identify themselves in relation to their country as well as the global context they are in. To offer insight into how the youth feel about themselves as well as their peers with regards to how they behave and what that means. To investigate how certain methods of behaving are meant to communicate status not only within people's own peer group but to people outside of it as well. As well as delving into the culture clashes that occur between the previously more dominant *Habesha* values and the more recent Western ideals brought about by Globalization. The approach that I implemented to analyze the data collected during the completion of these objectives is the Narrative approach which places emphasis on a narrative perspective in the way the data is presented and interpreted. More specifically the analysis will function as a story structured around the spread of globalization as the beginning, the different impacts this has on the youth in Bole in terms of fashion, generation gap and overall performance being the main body and concluding with the how all these factors influence the youth's attitudes and behaviors overall. It is also imperative to note that this thesis is utilizing the view of Globalization that places emphasis its' mainly Americanizing factors. There are a number of other cultures outside of the America that exhibit their influence in Bole such as the increased spread of khat⁴ and 'shisha'⁵ houses, however those were not the focus of this research.

⁴ A shrub (*Catha edulis*) of the staff-tree family that is cultivated in the Middle East and Africa for its leaves and buds which are the source of a habituating stimulant when chewed or used as a tea (Merriam-Webster Dictionary)

⁵ A water-pipe, popular in many Arab countries, in which fruit-scented tobacco is burnt using coal, passed through an ornate water vessel and inhaled through a hose (Macmillan Dictionary).

4.1 Globalization and Identity

A core question was how the world-wide process of globalization influences the actions and interactions of the youth in Bole. However, before exploring this topic there were a number of interesting occurrences I observed in my data. For example, the vast majority of my informants when asked about the presence of dual *Habesha* and Western aspects of their personalities answered that yes, they believed that this was true.

In fact, a minority of them even acknowledged that they were aware of when they made a shift between the two. One of my informants Zeru exemplified this duality with his answer to the question: Do you believe that you have two sides to your personality? He answered '*I believe that I have both, but much of my personality seems to be on the side of western culture. And I also know when I switch from one to the other*'. Brehane echoed the same statement with '*I believe that I am in the middle of the two. I characterize both cultures. But if I have to weigh, most of the things I characterize belong to Habesha*'.

From this I could infer a number of possibilities, one of them being that due to the spread of Western culture through the process of globalization Ethiopian youth are being exposed to the numerous cultural factors from an especially young age that they would not have been otherwise. This in combination with the ubiquity of Western culture again caused by globalization leads to the creation of two separate aspects of an individual's personality, one *Habesha*, one Western.

However, I believe this is just one of the reasons that this duality exists., Another reason is the youth also observe that people who exhibit Western traits such as speaking English and dressing in Western styles receive better treatment. Wishing to receive similar treatment they begin to make these same choices. These choices can possibly be interpreted as a performance by the older members of Ethiopian society. At the same time a lot of the youth strive to maintain their *Habesha* identity in order to counteract this perception of themselves as discarders of *Habesha* culture and the subsequent shaming that comes along with it. A prime example of this is Wende who when talking about how he views himself said

I have some characteristics of western culture. Even when I consider clothing styles, I don't accept and apply all the western culture. I follow some decent modes of dressing which is

acceptable by the Ethiopian norm despite the fact that its make-up and origin is western. There are some western brands of clothes like shirts and trousers which I like. But the rest of my things have Habesha characteristics.

Nahom further expounds on this point with his answer about how he views himself in comparison to the other youth who frequent Bole. He said *'No, I am unique. I have my own personality. Most of them accept almost everything about western culture, but I don't follow such trend. My 'Habesha' background makes me not willing to accept everything. I consider my style of clothes or hairstyle as western, but the others belong to 'Habesha'*.

I posed this question of dual identity during my Focus Group Discussion in order to gain new insights through the observation of differing perspectives being exposed to each other at the same time. The following is a short snippet of how some of my informants responded.

I have both qualities. For instance, if I see my dressing style, it is all western. It is difficult to wear Habesha traditional clothes such as long skirts since it is not comfortable for day-to-day activities. I have also western mode of thinking. We have not even grown up wearing those traditional clothes, so it becomes difficult to wear that now. There are Habesha modes of thinking which I don't accept. There are some religious holidays which you are not allowed to work, and our Habesha modes of thinking prohibit us from breaching such norms. I can say that 70% of my personality is composed of western culture and 30% Habesha. You know why, look for instance, I don't have "Iddir" and 'Equb' which are traditional systems of saving money. I am not a member of these community groups; I don't attend coffee ceremony with neighbors; I don't meet neighbors as I don't have time; the way I wear clothes are western; and all other modes of my thinking are also western (Participant 3).

I assume that 80% of my personality is Habesha, and 20% western. Though I don't believe in some of the western cultures, I accept them and do practically (Participant 2).

With regard to clothing styles, I follow almost 100% western culture; but thinking wise my Habesha sided personality is more than western culture (Participant 6) (FGD).

This connects in a significant way with my informant's responses and indeed with my thesis as a whole. However, it is important to note here that the definitions offered my informants is strictly

their definitions of what Habesha is. There are Ethiopians who do not participate in the either Iddir or Equib but still claim themselves as Habesha. This kind of switching between personalities between contexts is exemplified with Fitsum who when describing himself said that he had '*both Habesha and western side of personality*'. Also, on the topic of the youth having trouble moving between worlds a significant portion of my informants expressed discomfort when being in Bole an example being Kidist who answered '*Yes, I do. In terms of clothing styles some do, I feel discomfort*'.

How does play into the first theoretical framework that I chose to frame my research in? This behavior falls into Goffman's Interactionism in how actors on the social stage are putting forth an image of themselves in order to get a desired response from their fellow actors. A good example of this is when Goffman wrote '*... [s]ociety is organized on the principle that any individual who possesses certain social characteristics has a moral right to expect that others will value and treat him in a correspondingly appropriate way. Connected with this principle is a second, namely that an individual who implicitly or explicitly signifies that he has certain social characteristics ought to have this claim honored by others and ought in fact to be what he claims he is*' (Goffman, 1956, pg.6). Moreover, the presence of the Western identity in the youth in Bole can also be observed as the individuals acting in a thoroughly calculating manner, expressing themselves in a given way solely in order to give the kind of impression to others that is likely to evoke from the latter a specific response that the former is concerned with obtaining. Sometimes the individual will be calculating in his activity but be relatively unaware that this is the case. In relation to the unconscious calculation that individuals make, in terms of Bole this could be seen as the very few people who are aware of themselves changing from one identity to the next. These informants are at least partially aware of their calculated effort to create a specific impression on their intended audience (Goffman, 1956).

However, the factor of youth and globalization can also be viewed from the perspective of the Globalization Anthropology., In fact some scholars would argue that the former would be better lense with which to view the former. Arjun Appadurai in his article Disjuncture and Difference in Global Cultural Economy expressed his view that the world was always in his words a '*congeries of large-scale interactions for many centuries*' (Appadurai, 2008, pg. 582). However, he notes that today's interactions are of an unprecedented intensity and are of a new order. Due to this, scholars

who are particularly interested in trans-local processes and the world systems associated with capitalism are observing very interesting occurrences in the cultural exchanges that are going on every day.

One of these cultural exchanges that can be witnessed is the fascination that other cultures on the globe have with Western culture from films to music and television through to fashion. While briefly mentioned in the theoretical framework section of this thesis, the example of the Lennon Sisters music being idolized and imitated perfectly in the Philippines should be expounded upon further as it connects strongly with the responses offered by my informants. The fact that so many Filipino's living in their own country would know and perfectly imitate an aspect of American culture is an example that Appadurai offers to demonstrate just how pervasive Globalization has become in today's world. Furthermore, he delves deeper into this phenomenon by observing that simply calling this process Americanization is ignoring the wider issue on hand. This is because more than just the imitation of the music he notes that there is a lack of synchronization between that music and the rest of the Filipino's daily lives (Appadurai, 2008).

The majority of the informants in my in-depth interviews shared this same fascination with American culture in particular. This relates back to my informants discussed the presence of globalization in the form of the youth's choices in language and fashion⁶. For the purposes of this section the focus will be on language and performance factor of the youth in Bole. For instance, when questioned about his choices in language Tesfa replied '*I prefer Amharic, but majorities use a mix of Amharic and English. Sometimes, English is more prevalently used. I don't feel that I am changing when I spend my time in Bole*'. While he does not subscribe to the increased use of English upon entering Bole in regards to himself he does observe that in his own words the 'majorities' use a mix of English and Amharic. Henok stated that '*I prefer to speak in Amharic. I have friends who use English most of the time, and I use English when I meet them. I have no special feeling of changing just because I am spending time*'. The interesting aspect of that response is that while Henok does not feel anything different when he changes languages, he does note that he chooses to change languages from Amharic to English in order to fit in with his friends. The topic of language and globalization will be explored further on in this analysis.

⁶ The case of fashion will be discussed later on in the chapter

Shifting from language to music my informants had a number of interesting responses, to questions about what kinds of music they listen to and prefer. Zerihun answered *'English songs are usually used. The majority of my friends use English. Next to English, Amharic songs are also preferred by most of my friends'*. Degu when confronted with the same thing responded *'Majorities use English songs. You don't hear Amharic songs, rather you hear other regional language songs'*. While Gedil simply answered *'It is English, most of the time'*. Another one of my informants Worke actually told me an interesting story about the culture clash that happen around music in Bole. Again, when asked what he preferred listening to he replied

It is English music that is common to hear in Bole area. In addition to English, Amharic is used rarely. But let me tell you what I actually saw with regard to this. Once I was enjoying in Bole area. While we were listening to Amharic songs in a bar, some young ladies got inside and ordered the waiter to put English song. He immediately changed it to English. Then an old guy just reacted to the action of the waiter, and he told him just to put Amharic song. It was a traditional Amharic song, and he started to clap with the beat of the song. Everybody joined him and made the bar so high. When the song was over, the old man told the ladies, "this is you culture, oaky.

These responses bear a striking similarity to the Filipino's devotion to American music that Appadurai utilized as an example of how Globalization has changed the global landscape.

Furthermore, Appadurai delves deeper into this phenomenon by asserting that this process is not simply the Americanization of the Philippines due the fact that Iyer notes the lack of synchronization between the context the music was created in and the love Filipinos have for it and the context of the Filipino's day to day life. This also is present in the Bole setting and ties in with the overarching theme of the thesis the perception that the youth are putting on a performance in Bole. When questioned about whether or not they think the youth are putting on a performance informants' responses can be exemplified by Meshib who responded *'Yes, they are purposeful. They prepare a lot to get dressed up'*. Surafel answered *'Yes. They make lot of performance so as to be fit to the trend of Bole wearing styles. They make efforts to be accepted by their peers who frequent Bole area'*. Wende even shared an anecdote about one of his experiences there *'Yes indeed. Let me share you what I heard once in the evening on my way to Bole. They were ladies*

who were traveling to Bole for night enjoyment. One of them said, " how do I look? Does it match with Bole wearing style?". I myself heard this, so most people who go to Bole get prepared a lot to make themselves fit to the atmosphere of Bole'.

For the sake of brevity, I only offered a few strong examples of what my informants almost unanimously concluded. The fact that so many of my informants believed that the Bole youth were putting on a performance acts indicates a noteworthy occurrence. Namely, the same lack of synchronicity that is present in the day to day lives of the Filipinos can also be observed in the lives of the Ethiopian youth in Bole. The reason I came to this conclusion will be explained in more detail in the next paragraph.

The idea of a performance is the heightening or changing of the known reality that is presented to us in everyday life. Therefore, if an overwhelming majority of my informants put forward the notion that the youth of Bole are putting on a performance what they're implicitly saying is that those youth are presenting a version of a reality that is different from the reality experienced by other Ethiopians and even themselves on a daily basis. What this equates to is the lack of synchronicity mentioned in the previous paragraph which also indicates the pervasiveness of Globalization and its effects. Whichever framework is chosen to explicate this phenomenon the data points to the youth making a number of decisions in how they carry themselves that are outside of traditional *Habesha* norms.

4.2 Fashion and the Generation Gap

However, when the youth make choices such as these a number of after-effects present themselves. One of these is the feeling of a loss of identity by the older people of Addis Ababa. The older people of Addis Ababa have a previous frame of reference for what the city used to appear as; they are the ones that feel this loss of identity the strongest. One of the most intense ways that they feel this loss of Ethiopian identity is when they observe the fashion and hairstyle choices made by the youth currently. Let us consider what do fashion and generation gap represent in the context of this thesis, before a discussion can be had on how the youth's fashion choices impact the different generations both these terms have to be conceptualized.

Fashion is a form of imitation and so of social equalization, but, paradoxically, in changing incessantly, it differentiates one time from another and one social stratum from another (Simmel,

1957, pg.541). Meanwhile the generation gap is the generational divide that is created by the different living environments when the values of the respective generations are formed. Lock (1976) defined values as ‘what a person consciously or unconsciously desires to obtain’. A value is an abstract concept, and it can be conveyed through recognition, behavior and emotion. Values are usually explained through choice, evaluation and behavior (Miller, 2003, pg7).

When questioning my informants about what they think the older generation feel about the current generations style, an overwhelming majority said that the older generations feel that through the youth’s choice of Western styles of clothing they are choosing not to follow their own heritage. One of my informants Henok said that:

They won’t be happy about it. When they see their clothing styles, manner of speaking, they will be feeling sad. I myself get surprised why the youngsters are behaving like this. Why do they act like this? I don’t understand whether they think that it is a sign of being rich or knowledgeable. Parents won’t like the way these youngsters are dressing, in general. If they come to know what these youngsters are really doing, they will be so sad.

The interesting thing to note here is that even though Henok falls under the classification of youth he shares the sentiments of the older generation about how the people of his generation dress.

Another one of my informants Abel from Shola when asked what the older people of Addis Ababa would feel about the current generations choice in fashion responded:

They feel that the new generation is losing their identity. There was a trend of discussions, even in the taxi, among older generations about foreign culture and its influence on our culture. But they are not discussing such matters nowadays since there is no reaction or result out of it. In general, they feel sad about the style of dress or manner of speaking the youngsters have.

Abel’s response to this question illuminated for me just how long this process had been going on. It seemed in the past the older generations of Ethiopians in Addis Ababa were much more vocal about the foreign influences that were coming in city. However, as time went on and more and more people began embracing the culture that came in from the West more and more people began to ignore the elder’s displeasure with this adoption of a foreign culture. Eventually they stopped

addressing the issue entirely when they believed that they could no longer enact change on the current state of the capital.

A thought-provoking exception that surprised me was one offered by Yifru who answered *‘They will be happy seeing the youth speaking in English, clothing styles, and so on. They think that our country is developing like European countries. It seems for them that our country is prospering. It is only a few people who understand that our culture is being abused with western culture’*. His opinion is so different from the majority of my informant’s responses it left me puzzled as to its’ validity however, it was such a departure from what I had grown accustomed to hearing its’ inclusion in this analysis seemed warranted.

The changes in attire and related features noted above apparently causes a very significant amount of distress on the part of the older people of Addis Ababa because of their belief that these choices imply that the traditional ways they had always valued and cherished will eventually disappear and be replaced with Western culture. However, upon looking deeper into the theme of fashion I observed patterns of behavior that perhaps the older people were not aware of. Something beyond the clash between traditional and Western cultures is going on, namely the choices the youth made in terms of what they wear serve two other functions. First, they help to separate the youth from their parents in an effort to create their own identity. Second, these choices allow them to non-verbally communicate their status and power to each other.

When taking this into the Bole context it is not difficult to draw comparisons with the youth that spend most of their time there. Just as in that case style is a determining factor in the amount of social capital that a person held. If a young person in Bole doesn’t wear the clothes that fit the requirement with what’s stylish in that area then they will fail in attaining the social capital they so desire. Therefore, in an effort to fulfil these requirements they end up further alienating themselves from their parents and the generations before them. An example of this is Hiwot who when asked about the nightlife in Bole in terms of language and fashion said that *“I don't talk much, but I hear both Amharic and English. There are many foreigners here and when I am with them, I use English. With regard to clothes, no one comes wearing traditional Habesha clothes. About five years back, I used to wear miniskirts, but now I use normal”*.

Again, in relation to the theoretical framework, Goffman discusses how this show of non-verbal power is present in what he called sign equipment. In his estimation the most important piece of sign equipment associated with social class consists of the status symbols through which material wealth is expressed. American society is similar to others in this regard but seems to have been singled out as an extreme example of wealth-oriented class structure—perhaps because in America the license to employ symbols of wealth and the financial capacity to attain it are so widely distributed (Goffman, 1956). Exploring this further it can be seen as confirmation of what I had previously interpreted as the youth using status symbols but further yet more evidence of how American culture through the process of globalization has come to influence the youth in Bole.

Globalization Anthropology as a framework proposed by Appadurai approaches this occurrence in the form of its scapes suffix. In seeking to offer an explanation to all the interactions that were taking place on a global scale Appadurai chose to break them down into five categories or scapes. These being (a) ethnoscares, (b) media-scares, (c) technoscares, (d) financescares, and (e) ideoscares. The reason he gives for choosing this breakdown is that it the suffix -scape allows us to point to the fluid, irregular shapes of these landscapes, shapes that characterize international capital as deeply as they do international clothing styles. Furthermore, since these scapes are deeply fluid and ever changing, they are now viewed as objectively given relations that look the same from every angle of vision. Rather they are deeply perspectival constructs. That are inflected by the historical, linguistic, and political situatedness of different sorts of actors: nation-states, multinationals, diasporic communities, as well as subnational groupings and movements (Appadurai, pg.587).

The topic of fashion falls under the ethnoscape category of the framework which deals with the landscape of persons who constitute the shifting world in which we live: tourists, immigrants, refugees, exiles, guest workers, and other moving groups and individuals who constitute an essential feature of the world and appear to affect the politics of (and between) nations to a hitherto unprecedented degree. This applies rather directly to the Bole context of this thesis due to the fact that actual study area is a few hundred meters from Bole International Airport, where all of these groups enter the country.

These groups bring with them a number of cultural factors that over time have significantly affected the culture of Bole, for instance the clothing choices that the youth make. An interesting example is Ehite who when asked if she felt unique or similar to the other youth in Bole replied *'No, I am different. I don't accept their trends. Actually, I go there for education, and there is no opportunity to have fun there. I also meet some friends of mine who are from Bole, and we spend significant time together, but I don't do most of the things they do'*.

The response is interesting due to the fact that while she shows resistance to Western culture it still affects who and where she spends her time both free and professional.

The informant's responses continue with Birkti who when asked about the kinds of clothes she wears answered *'They are all western styles. But I also wear traditional Habesha clothes on holiday occasions'*. Which demonstrates how the spread of Globalization has engineered the relegation of the countries traditional clothing to its' own cultural background. She also adds on this topic by saying that *'I buy clothes most of the time from Hayahulet, Piassa and Gerji. I also get clothes sent to me from America'*. Daniel echoes this statement *'I buy clothes from wherever I get. I buy mostly from Hayahulet. And sometimes I get from abroad- USA'*. These statements show that sometimes American culture in the form of clothing is being directly imported from the source. This strengthens the connection between Globalization and the youth's behavior due to the fact that apart from the ideas and culture of the West, the youth are literally wearing clothing from the United States. Going back to the definition of fashion offered in the beginning of this section as a form of imitation and so of social equalization it's not difficult to see how this effects the youth's perception of themselves and others.

4.3 Language, Identity and Globalization

Continuing on with this globalization theme, I mentioned the connection between language and the perception of performance that I observed, however through my interviews I came to understand that there was a deeper level to this. Namely, informants linked their language to their identity in a major way. For example, informants who said that they primarily spoke in Amharic felt that they were *Habesha* in the traditional way, in that they had the least amount of Western influence possible given all the exposure they've experienced in today's setting.

A great example is Tigist who offered quite the impassioned response to the topic of language choice, she answered:

'I prefer to speak Amharic. I hate people who want to speak a foreign language disregarding his or her own language. There are people who want to speak in English, but to the opposite I never want to speak in English. You know these people who prefer to speak in English think that they are unique and consider themselves as knowledgeable. First, we need to know our own language very well before jumping to a foreign language'.

What her answer demonstrates is that while there is wide spread acceptance of Western culture in Bole there is still resistance to the influence of Globalization in the attitudes and behaviors of certain groups of people.

Some more examples include Meshib who said *'I prefer Amharic. Most people speak English to the extent that it seems Ethiopian language'*. The second part of his response regarding how English appearing to be the national language given how much its' used gave me an idea of his position on subject. Namely, he was very much opposed to this extensive use of English and more than that he felt this was a violation of his own language in his own country. Then there were cases like Ehite who felt that she preferred *'Amharic, but people of my age prefer English or French. There is also an influence that make me feel that I am changing'*. Indicating to me the presence of something that I had hypothesized before I even went into the field, this being she was an example of the youth's young age rendering them more susceptible to the influence of Globalization. Natan answered *'I prefer Amharic, but most people use English there. I don't observe myself changing just because I go there and spend time there'*. This resistance was prevalent enough in the data collected that it warranted its' own analysis section found later on in this chapter.

As noted previously the majority who switch between or mix English and Amharic said they felt that they had dual identities consisting of both cultures. Some of their responses were covered in the Identity and Globalization section due to the extremely close connection between language and identity. Let us now further explore this link here. Berhane when confronted with question of language choice said *'Since Bole is an area where you find many diasporas, the language that is prevalently used is English. I personally prefer Amharic, but if I meet diasporas, I use English. They like to mix English and Amharic and it has become common to talk like that'*. As observed

with the clothes brought in directly from the United States, the presence of diasporas offers a direct connection to a foreign culture and with this connection the influence of language choice is observed. As for those who spoke purely English like Zewdenesh who answered “*I prefer to speak English. I also observe myself changing since it is a business area*” they were the extreme minority whose identity was formed in a mostly Western fashion.

One of the youths I interviewed Abel gave me an answer that was more interesting than most of my informants because it offered me a deeper insight into the thinking behind the duality present in multiple language users. I asked him the same question that I had asked others, what is your preferred language to speak in? To which he answered ‘*We mostly use English, and Amharic of course. Since we watch movies, there is a trend of trying to apply what we learned*’. That one statement told me a great deal about the thinking that leads to multiple language usage. From childhood again due to Globalization, the youth such as Abel are exposed to films and music that were created far outside of their culture and context. The frequency of this exposure leads them to adopt the language and some mannerisms of the characters they have grown up watching. What this leads to is all that experience eventually manifesting itself in them speaking both English and Amharic and having dual identities once they reach their teenage years and early 20’s.

This concept of the identity and its’ connection to language as it relates to Globalization falls under the ideoscape category of Appadurai’s global cultural flows framework. Ideoscapes as described by Appadurai are the ‘concatenations of images but they are often directly political and have with the ideologies of states and the counter ideologies of movements explicitly oriented to capturing state power or a piece of it’ (Appadurai, 2000, pg.559). In simpler terms this is the dissemination of images that reflect a states’ interests and political stances. This concept also ties in the mediascape which is the machine that actually delivers these politically charged images to the eyes and ears to everyone who consumes the related products. In the context of this thesis examples of this machinery are the cinemas the youth went to and televisions they watched during their formative years. Therefore, the process that occurs is images of the West in the form of films and television shows are created sometimes even unconsciously by film makers and show runners are being dispersed by the mediascape to different parts of the globe. Through this process not only does globalization spread but the ideals of Western living are distributed on masse across the world.

This connects to Goffman's theoretical framework again in relation to people attempting to control the perception they send during interactions. When looking into Interactionism from Goffman's perspective at least in terms of his book *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* there was more emphasis on the difference in the language used in the back stage and front stage areas. To clarify for example the front stage is where the main performance is being carried out, meaning the actual performance intended to create a certain impression on other social actors. Meanwhile the back stage is where the social actors are much more casual and reveal more of their 'true' selves to each other. Therefore, before I could extend the framework, I first needed to discover some areas in which Goffman related actual spoken language to status and power. I found this in some research conducted into the connection between power, gender and language by a researcher called Nina Eliasoph titled *Politeness, Power, and Women's Language: Rethinking Study in Language and Gender*. What Eliasoph was exploring in her research was the way that men and women talk and how this language translated into the power dynamics that take place in numerous differing contexts. The connection she draws to Goffman in this context is how he views language as an indicator of a 'role' a person is playing and how the language a person uses acts as a 'move' in a larger power game (Eliasoph, 1987).

With this context established extending the original framework in explaining this relevant behavior in my study was much more palatable. Therefore, in terms of this extended framework, I believe that the mixing use of both Amharic and English among the youth is an addition to their performance with the intention of creating a favorable reaction amongst their peers. The unseen consequence of this being that their identities are split to a certain degree due the link between language and identity discussed previously.

4.4 Contradiction of Beliefs

One particular pattern that I observed stood out across my informants during my initial analysis. Namely, most informants when asked if Bole was the commercial and social hub of Addis Ababa said yes, however, as the interview went on and they were asked if they would live in Bole, they answered no. There were some informants like Babi who said that "*Yes, I would choose Bole for living if I get the chance. But nowadays what I go to Bole is for entertainment. I prefer it for living since you can easily do your business also there*". However, for the most part the responses were

against it with some like Roman who rejected the prospect based on their belief that Bole '*is a place dominated by western culture*'. The primary reason they offered when asked why, was the intense amount of noise pollution that is present in Bole.

This made me ponder the duality of people's intentions, more specifically the same prospects that made Bole such a magnet for them in terms of money or fun are the same ones that drive them away in terms of living. Peace and quiet are an essential requirement for them, to the point where they cannot live without them. This as a researcher revealed to me an interesting duality outside of the *Habesha*/Western identity conflict that I had originally hypothesized before entering the field. The youth in Addis Ababa at least in the scope of my research seemingly were of two minds about Bole. On the one hand they held Bole in good esteem as a hub. Yet were unwilling to live there and I chose to interpret this as another clash between traditional '*Habesha*' values of peace and quiet and the more hustle and bustle of Western life. Continuing on with this theme of duality another factor I deduced was the possibility that since most of my interviewees were very young and couldn't support themselves financially, they really haven't yet chosen where they live. As such, it is very possible that through living together the youth had inherited their views of residence from their parents and may not share these opinions if asked to critically think about why they feel the way they feel. Furthermore, once they leave the family home and begin supporting themselves their ideas on the matter may be altered even further.

When looking into the literature on people's lifestyle choices including where they choose to reside, I also came across an aspect that I had not yet considered. Namely outside of the cultural and identity clashes discussed earlier people's choices of places of residence were also influenced by their economic status as well as other factors such as behavior and lifestyle based on intentions. Focusing on the economic dimension one study broke it down into 3 different factors, factor 1 = education, job type and job participation as indicators for income, factor 2 = status behavior, factor 3 = value orientation. All three of these factors play a role in the decisions of the youth I interviewed made about their living. For instance, we can confirm security as a driver for a majority of future suburban migrations since the aim for a more secure residential environment is shared amongst all residents and the suburban areas are generally perceived as more secure areas. When this concept is transferred into the Ethiopian context, the quiet of the suburban areas of Addis

Ababa could be looked at as a relatively safe area with the lack of noise pollution indicating the low probability of crime (Pisman, Allaert, Lombarde, 2011).

4.5 The Resistance to Globalization and *Habesha* Identity

All of the above explored occurrences have led to dramatic departures from the norm in Addis Ababa that have naturally not been met with unanimous acceptance by the whole community. Throughout this analysis numerous cases can be found where older generations as well as the youth themselves have voiced opinions against such a strong Western presence in the capital as a whole but especially in Bole as the epi-center.

During the data collection stage of the research a conscious effort was made to generate a holistic picture of what was occurring in Bole. Accordingly, questions were designed to explore the possible resistance my informants may have towards this relatively new phenomenon. Questions such as what do they want the future Ethiopia to look like? And is it possible to retain a traditional Habesha identity in this future given how much closer to the rest of the world we've become due to globalization? The answers my informants gave to these questions revealed a lot to me about the current mind state of the youth. For example, Zeru's answer to the question about the future of Ethiopia which he answered '*Our culture would be completely changed to the western culture. Even now it is being changed. Economic wise, I cannot predict, I am not sure what will happen*'. As for the maintenance of Habesha identity he said that '*I wish it could be maintained. And it is also possible to make our culture well known all over the world if and only if we work hard on promoting our culture*'.

The prevalent emotion that I witnessed among the youth was one of not wanting to lose the past values and culture they had been exposed to earlier in their childhood. Surafel when asked about what he wanted for Ethiopia in the future responded '*I wish our people maintain Habesha culture. It is my wish to see our culture be maintained. If all the responsible bodies contribute their parts, it is possible to maintain our culture*'. Birkti added credence to this answer with her own to the same question '*Yes, it is my wish to see Habesha culture maintained. What I see in the future is that we may lose our Habesha culture, or we may not get it with its current modes*'. Worke who was one of my more vocal informants offered yet another substantial contribution to the discussion. He asserted that:

‘Yes, I wish very much that Habesha culture would be maintained. Our cultural events are very expensive. For instance, if you want to prepare a standardized cultural wedding in Gojjam area, you will pay more for the experts who carry out the whole activities. This is one example to show how our culture is being maintained. If all other cultural events are properly maintained like this, it will contribute a lot on the process of conserving Habesha culture. But still, I have a doubt on our commitment since there are many self-centered people who care only for their own personal matters, not for the society at large. So, it needs a lot of collaborative effort to make difference’.

However, the youth have unconsciously created an ironic situation wherein they seek to maintain their native culture as they move into the future while at the same time they are contributing to its’ destruction through their own choice of clothes, language and overall behavior.

From Goffman’s perspective the possibility of what is happening in Bole could be a large-scale transformation of a cynical performance into a more motivated display. To make his perspective clearer, Goffman presents a study conducted by another scholar named Parks on an island of small holding farmers. For four to five years one small holding farming couple happen to own and run the island’s local tourist hotel. From the beginning, the owners were forced to set aside their own conceptions as to how life ought to be led, displaying in the hotel a full round of middle-class services and amenities. Lately, however, it appears that the managers have become less cynical about the performance that they stage; they themselves are becoming middle class and *more and more* enamored with the image of themselves their clients impute to them (Goffman, 1956, pg.12).

To me this example appeared to be a microcosm of what was happening in Bole. If we go back to Abel’s response to what the older people would think of the youth’s choice in clothing, he referenced how in the past there was a lot of resistance to the western presence in Addis Ababa in general and it partly manifested in the discussions the people had in taxis. However, as time went on just as with the couple who owned the island hotel, the culture got more accepted

4.6 Discussion

This section presents a discussion of my overall analysis and findings. Therefore, in summary my analysis can stated as such, my impressions were that over the course of my interviews people

were divided on what constituted a traditional ‘Habesha’ identity. This I found to be extremely interesting. My a priori assumption was that even though there may be some variations on what people considered to be a traditional *Habesha* person, overall, they would settle on a generalized set of characteristics. This ended up not being the case with a large number of informants answering my question with a question of their own, what is a traditional Habesha? Their answers to this question also varied greatly. And while this significant variation was present in the minutia of their answers there was a much smaller number of traits that were consistently repeated. Those traits being a strong sense of community and a feeling of deep pride in being Ethiopian. It was through this process I developed the definition of Habesha that I would use throughout this paper.

Another, interesting pattern that I came across during my analysis of the data is that while a great majority of the people I interviewed viewed Bole as a central hub a lot of those same people for various reasons opted to live outside of Bole. For them it was a place for socializing and business but it was out of the question as a place to live in. The main reason cited was the large amount of sound pollution, which while appropriate for the aforementioned socializing was not desirable for living. When asked what alternatives would be preferable to Bole, a great majority offered areas out of town such as Ayat or Summit. An interesting thought that came to mind with this discovery was the possibility that the significant cost of living in Bole may be the main deterrent to them living there. However, explicitly stating this as a reason this may result in a loss of face on front of me the interviewer and as thus respondents commonly chose a different answer.

Furthermore, on the topic of globalization, a number of interesting connections arose. For instance, over the course of my data analysis I discovered that a large number of people described themselves as having a dual Habesha/Western identity with a small number even realizing when they made the transition back and forth between the two. Again, in connection to globalization clear links can be seen in the data that indicate a relationship between the fashion and language choices made by the youth and the clash between traditional *Habesha* values and western ideals. Furthermore, an overwhelming number of people stated a belief that the youth are putting a performance when they enter the Bole area. This in turn is connected back to the fashion and language choices made by the youth mentioned earlier which in turn connects again to the conflict.

I also discovered an interesting connection between the language an individual primarily used and how that relates to that person’s identity. For instance, informants who stated that they primarily

spoke Amharic characterized their identity as *Habesha* in the traditional sense (namely, with the least amount of Western influence possible in today's increasingly globalized world). In the middle there is a group of people who said that they primarily used Amharic with little English or an even mix between Amharic and English said that they felt like they were a mix of *Habesha* and Western identities. An example of this is Sami who described his interactions with his friends as "*a mix of Amharic and English. I also believe that I am changing when I spend time in Bole. This is based on what I get by spending time in Bole*". On the other end of the spectrum informants who spoke mostly in English were actually few in number. One informant even telling me that today's teenagers felt like English was the language of civilized people.

In regards to the nightlife, it was seen that Bole was a primetime location even among those that disagreed with the prospect that Bole was the center of Addis Ababa in terms of commercial and social settings. And within that setting the most common observation being that in terms of style of dress(western) and what language that dominated (English), again the effects of globalization are apparent. This connects in part with the idea that many people believe that the youth are putting on a performance upon entering Bole. In comparison with all the concepts I deemed crucial for the study none of them had such a singular answer than this.

Another factor that presented itself during the course of my research was the feeling of a loss of traditional *Habesha* values. During the coding process a link presented itself in the generational gap between the youth and their older people and this feeling of a loss of traditional identity. From the data it seems that the older people in Addis Ababa society feel like the youth were participating in the process of disregarding the *Habesha* ways of previous generations. This connection also plays into the conflict between 'traditional' and western cultures mentioned earlier.

In essence what this leads to is a hypothetical flow of events in which the advance of globalization leads to a duality of identities in the youth in Bole. This in tandem with the natural impressionability brought about by youth leads to meaningful choices in language and fashion which reflects their views. What follows on from this is the older people of the capital feeling that this represents a loss of what they believe is true *Habesha* identity which furthers the generational gap between the youth and their older people. Following on from this, the youth in an effort to find their own identity begin adopting the ideals and culture of the West brought to them through the process of globalization. Thus, they develop a performance they implement to spread an image of

themselves that they believe will provide them with the best treatment amongst their peers and among the general public.

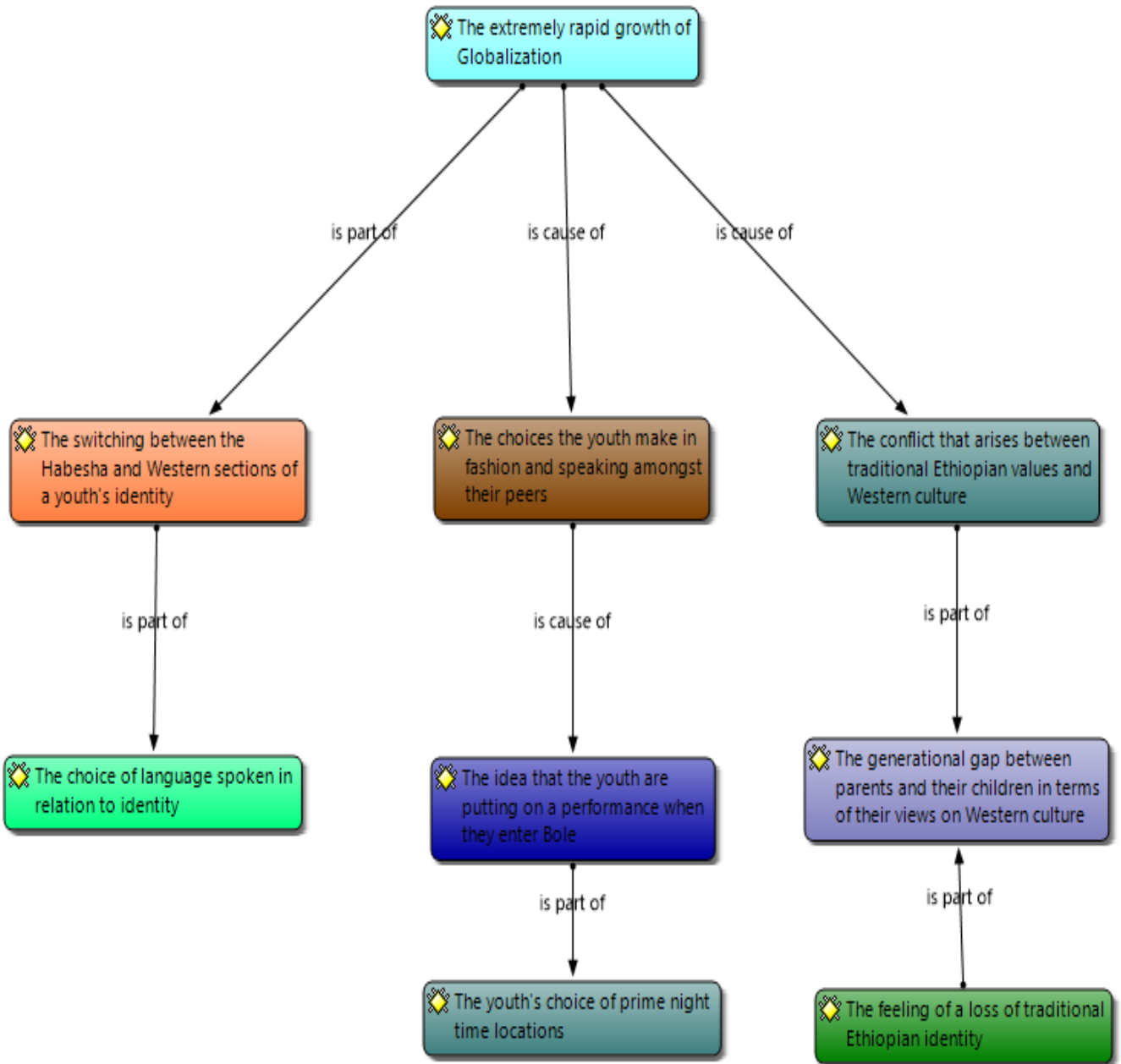


Fig 3. The flow of Globalization once it enters Bole until it affects the youth's behavior

Chapter Five: Conclusion and Recommendations

5.0 Introduction

This chapter concludes the paper based on the major findings gathered from the data and what possible recommendations can be made based on the conclusions drawn.

5.1 Conclusion

This research was created based on the idea of examining the impacts that globalization has had on the youth as seen through their behavior and actions. Since the conclusory interpretation of the findings have already been made, a brief overview of the final interpretations will be made with the intentions of placing the recommendations offered later in the chapter within the appropriate context.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the assertion was made that there is a cycle of connecting events that serve to create the current state of youth behaviors and attitudes in Bole. Initially as discussed in Chapter Two in the last couple of decades or more Globalization and all of the influences it brings has been increasing in size and influence at a staggering pace. Ethiopia is not exempt from this process and is in turn experiencing all of the greater influences brought about by this process. What this means again in turn is a collection of experiences that are felt by the youth the most due to the vulnerable nature of their age. Due to this vulnerability they are more susceptible to the images, sound, media and other stimuli that they are exposed to when they enter Bole and more specifically to this study, the study area of Sub City Bole Woreda 3.

These stimuli they are exposed to in Bole in turn affect how they view themselves and others. They are subtly told that in order to gain the treatment of their preference they must dress in a certain manner and exhibit certain behaviors. These behaviors are heavily connected to the stimuli that were brought to the youth's attention through the beforementioned spread of globalization. The way that this physically manifests is through the fashion and language choices made by the youth. They tend to make choices fashion wise that are geared more towards Western based clothing and will make an effort to include a certain amount of English along with their Amharic.

This creates a significant amount of friction between the generations in Addis Ababa society. More specifically what occurs is the older generation of Ethiopians feel that their children or their

children's generation are forsaking their traditional roots by choosing to wear the clothes they wear and speaking the way they do. However, there is a deeper level of generation gap in which the youth are attempting to express themselves, where they attempt to distinguish their generation from the one that came before it as well as communicating their economic status to each other.

All of this culminates in a performance that is composed of all the external stimuli that the youth have been exposed to throughout their formative years. This performance is created through what is interpreted as a cycle of globalization leading to the impression being made on the youth that in order to be treated with a certain amount of respect, they have to exhibit a number of key characteristics. These performances create a significant amount of friction especially with the older generations of Addis Ababa residents who believe that the youth are discarding the traditions of old.

References

Arjun Appadurai. 2008. *Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy*, Anthropological Theory, New York, McGraw-Hill.

Archer, Louise, Hollingworth, Sumi and Halsall, Anna. 2007. 'University's not for Me – I'm a Nike Person': Urban, Working-Class Young People's Negotiations of 'Style', Identity and Educational Engagement, *Sociology*, Volume 41(2), (Pp. 219–237).

Chatterton, Paul. 1999. University students and city centres --- the formation of exclusive geographies. *The case of Bristol, UK*, *Geoforum* 30, (Pp.117-133).

Collett, Jessica L. and Childs, Ellen. 2009. Meaningful Performances: Considering the Contributions of the Dramaturgical Approach to Studying Family, *Sociology Compass* 3/4, (Pp.689–706).

Erving Goffman. 1959. *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, New York: Doubleday Anchor Books.

Givental, Elena. 2017. Addis Ababa Urbanism: Indigenous Urban Legacies and Contemporary Challenges, *Journal of Geography and Geology*; Vol. 9, No. 1, (Pp. 25-26).

H.S Becker. (1947). "Whose Side are We On", in *Social Problems*, Vol.14 239-247

Hermans, Hubert J. M. and Dimaggio, Giancarlo. 2007. Self, Identity, and Globalization in Times of Uncertainty: A Dialogical Analysis, *Review of General Psychology*, Vol. 11, No. 1, (Pp.31–61).

Hernandez, Bernardo, Hidalgo, Carmen M., Salazar-Laplace, Esther M., Stephany Hess. 2007, Place Attachment and Place Identity in Natives and Non-Natives. *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 27, (Pp. 310–319).

Jaspal, Rusi & Coyle, Adrian. 2010 'My language, my people': language and ethnic identity among British-born South Asians, South Asian Diaspora, 2:2, 201-218, DOI: [10.1080/19438192.2010.491299](https://doi.org/10.1080/19438192.2010.491299)

McGee Jon R., Warmus, Richard L. 2008. Anthropological Theory: An Introductory History. McGraw-Hill. London.

R.E Park, E.W. Burgess and R.D. Mc Kenzie. 1967. The City, Chicago, The University Press.

Vykopalová, Hana. 2014. Economic development and individual and social behavior. Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences 109, (Pp.1116 – 1119).

Woodward, Ian, Skrbis, Zlatko and Bean, Clive S. 2008. Attitudes towards globalization and cosmopolitanism: cultural diversity, personal consumption and the national economy. British Journal of Sociology, 59(2). (Pp. 207-226).

Appendix A: Field Work Guiding Questions

1. In-Depth Interview Questions for Youth that work in Bole

Introduction: The purpose of this interview is the collection of data concerning *youth culture and behavior within the Bole context* more specifically in and around the general Medangnalem church area. I assure you that the data from this interview is not collected with any hidden agenda in mind. Rather that it is a requirement for the successful completion of a M.A thesis in Social Anthropology. Due to the length of this interview and the content of the questions, your answers will be recorded but will remain protected and secured. Hence, I kindly request you to actively participate and give the most relevant information for the questions you are going to be asked.

Thank you in advance for your co-operation.

A. Personal Data of In-depth Interviewees

1. Age _____
2. Sex _____
3. Religion _____
4. Marital Status _____
5. Occupation _____
6. Education _____
7. Kebele _____
8. Year of employment in area _____
9. Source of living _____

B. Questions Focused on Employment in Bole

- a. If you can, do you remember how young you were when you first learned about the area of Bole and how that impacted you?
- b. If given a choice of places to work in terms of Addis, where would you choose to place yourself location wise?

- c. What can you tell me from your own experience about what your co-workers feel about Bole and working in the Bole area?
- d. Was gaining employment in Bole an end goal, a stepping stone for the future or just another job opportunity for you?
- e. During your lunch break or any other significant time of rest during the day do you stay around Bole? If you do is that due to convenience? If you don't, where do you go and why?
- f. If you have past work experiences in other areas of Addis Ababa, is there any noticeable difference between them and your experience working in Bole?
- g. If you were asked to rank Bole as a place of employment in comparison to the other places you worked where would you put it and why?

2. In-Depth Interview Questions for Business Owners in the Bole area

Introduction: The purpose of this interview is the collection of data concerning *youth culture and behavior within the Bole context* more specifically in and around the general Medangnalem church area. I assure you that the data from this interview is not collected with any hidden agenda in mind. Rather that it is a requirement for the successful completion of a M.A thesis in Social Anthropology. Due to the length of this interview and the content of the questions, your answers will be recorded but will remain protected and secured. Hence, I kindly request you to actively participate and give the most relevant information for the questions you are going to be asked.

Thank you in advance for your co-operation.

A. Personal Data of In-depth Interviewees

1. Age_____
2. Sex_____
3. Religion_____
4. Marital Status_____
5. Occupation_____
6. Education_____
7. Kebele_____
8. Year of employment in area_____
9. Source of living_____

B. Questions Focused on Conducting Business in Bole

- a. If you were asked to describe the current demographic of your customers what could you tell me?
- b. What was the main reason for you opening your business in the Bole area?
- c. If this is not too probing, can you tell me what days do you see the most business?

- d. In terms of Bole in general how is the competition here business wise compared to maybe what you heard or even what you experienced in other areas of Addis?
- d. Has the number of customers you serve increased or decreased over the last two to three years?

C. Questions Focused on Youth Behavior

- a. What are your feelings towards your young customers in terms of their behavior while in your establishment?
- b. Do you wish to experience more or less young customers into your current demographic?
- c. In comparison to previous years has the number of young customers increased or decreased?

List of Informants

No.	Name	Gender	Age	Living Area	Occupation
1	Nahom	Male	24	Meskel Flower	Student
2	Abel	Male	17	Gurd Shola	Student
3	Babi	Male	18	CMC	Student
4	Berhane	Female	25	Semit	Student
5	Birkti	Female	20	Gerji	Student
6	Eden	Female	18	Balderas	Student
7	Daniel	Male	22	Sidist Kilo	Student
8	Sami	Male	23	Saris	Student
9	Henok	Male	17	Bole Gerji	Student
10	Hiwot	Female	21	Hayahulet	Student
11	Roman	Female	18	Semit	Student
12	Zewdenesh	Female	25	Saris	Student
13	Ehite	Female	23	Semit	Student
14	Yifru	Male	26	Alem Bank	Student
15	Fitsum	Male	23	CMC	Student
16	Surafel	Male	20	Bole Olympia	Student
17	Meron	Female	20	Goffa	Student
18	Abyssinia	Female	28	Ayat	Teacher
19	Heran	Female	28	Jack Ross	Accountant
20	Amran	Female	18	Kalti	Student
21	Natan	Male	24	Gerji	Student
22	Misganu	Male	17	Gerji M.Hayl	Student
23	Wende	Male	20	Bole Gerji	Student
24	Tesfa	Female	24	Semit	Student
25	Henok	Male	17	Gerji	Student
26	Zerihun	Male	26	Tilu Dimtu	Student

27	Kidist	Female	25	Abado	Student
28	Yemisirach	Female	21	Gerji	Student
29	Abel	Male	24	Kera	Student
30	Degu	Male	22	Gurd Shola	Student