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**Children's Experiences in Digital Satellite Television
(DSTV) Houses in Ethiopia**

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Abstract

In Ethiopia, the broadcasting of transnational football media, specifically the DSTV football programming, has increasingly reached the local audience including children. These televised football games are presented to the child audience in the DSTV house, which is a newly flourishing house where many children spend a lengthy amount of time. The purpose of this study was to explore different perspectives about the DSTV house, specifically related to the child audience and the children's experiences in the DSTV house. It was conducted based on more than three months of fieldwork experiences. Data were collected through semi-structured interviews, informal dialogues, participant observation, focus group discussions and ranking methods. In all, 21 participants including children, parents, school directors and DSTV house owners took part in this study.

The results revealed that most of the children first came to the DSTV house with their friends who had already visited and spent time in the DSTV house. Children who took part in my study began attending the DSTV house before they were ten years old. The study's participants including children, parents, owners of DSTV houses and school directors perceived that the DSTV house gave children the opportunity to entertain themselves, to interact with global televised programmes and to learn football skills. However, the participants particularly parents and school directors had doubts about the experiences the DSTV house gave children because children engaged in learning some socially unacceptable things for example, new hairstyles, from the scenes they watched on TV in the DSTV house. However, children were active when they were globalizing the globalized football contents through the super sport channel of DSTV. Indeed, children also conceived that their involvement in DSTV house led them to have unlikely experiences related to their health, religion, eating patterns and school performance.

The social network children established in the DSTV house with different audiences made them experience relationships and conflict. They formed a relationship, which involved inter-generational and intra-generational relationships with other children and adults including the adult audience, owner of the DSTV house and parents. In contrast, children enter conflict with children themselves, the adult audience, owners and their parents resulting from their involvement in the DSTV house. Children used different strategies to negotiate the situations that resulted from power differences between children and adults related to their involvement in the DSTV house. Finally, the study may have implications for improving the DSTV house for children, and directions for future researchers in the area of children's culture and media use, especially in the Global South.

Lists of Acronyms

BSkyB:	British Sky Broadcasting
DSTV:	Digital Satellite Television
DVD:	Digital Video Disc
EBC:	Ethiopian Broadcast Corporation
ETV:	Ethiopian Television
FGD:	Focus Group Discussion
FM:	Frequency Modulation
NOSEB:	Norwegian Centre for Child Research
TB:	Tuberculosis
TV:	Television
UNCRC:	The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child
USD:	The United State Dollar
WPE:	Worker's Party of Ethiopia

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Chapter One

1.1. Introduction

The study of transnationally distributed TV programmes on satellite television that are directed toward children can shed light upon the lives of a good third of the world population who are children under 18 years of age (Von Feilitzen, 2002). In developing countries, there are a growing number of children, who have access to transnationally produced media material (Buckingham, 2007). The transnational media engages in production and distribution of several programs such as sports and films, which are targeted to worldwide audiences including children. As Giulianotti and Robertson (2004) argue, sport, in particular football has been the world's most popular leisure pursuit, at least since the late 19th century. Nowadays, it is one of the most dynamic and sociologically educational domains of globalization (Ibid). Transnational football broadcasting is the main instrument of football globalisation (Akindes, 2011).

The transnational football media corporations engage in globalization and commodification of the football worldwide. They provide the business infrastructure for the global flow of football games and increase the number of specialist televised football channels (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2007b) for example, the super sport channel of Digital Satellite Television (DSTV) in Africa. As Giulianotti & Robertson (2004) argued, the fundamental aim here is to reach the local audiences for trade. They reach these local audiences through top to bottom hierarchical chains ranging from the global producer, continental distributor, national broadcasters and finally what Onwumechili and Akindes (2014) call “the local electronic stadium” - in my study, the DSTV houses, which are small local businesses with a satellite television.

European football is the most transnationally televised game, which reaches worldwide audiences. Specifically, the most popular European leagues, mainly the English Premier League, the Spanish La Liga, and the Italian Series A, are imported into several places of the world (Akindes, 2011). Therefore, it could be argued that European football, especially the English Premier League, can be described as having mainly economic and cultural imperialistic ambitions and desires to impose itself on various geographic areas (Sondaal, 2013). However, through processes of glocalization, the interdependence of local and global processes within the game's identities and institutions can be highlighted (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2004; Andrews & Ritzer, 2007).

Transnational televised football is generating a new form of fandom in sub-Saharan Africa. Many young football fans watch the televised European football matches in "trans-local electronic stadiums" such as football bars, restaurants and kiosks (Akindes, 2011). Transnational football broadcasting has created new business opportunities in many African cities, therefore bars and video theatres are the main places of localisation of a match played in Europe (Ibid). In Ethiopia, the newly emerged football fans watch European televised football, mainly the English Premier League, in the places locally known as DSTV houses. The DSTV houses are local, small business centres, which air the European televised football matches to local audiences that range in age from 8 to 40 years old by subscribing to the South African based DSTV satellite with pay-tv services.

Children who are in the age range of 8 to 18 years old make up a significant number of the DSTV houses' audiences. These child audiences are new and created by transnational football media, for example DSTV. In Giulianotti and Robertson's (2004) terms, they are de-territorialized football communities of "self-invented virtual Diasporas". In DSTV houses, child audiences are not

only interacting with televised football matches, but also with the adult audiences and owners of the DSTV house. The DSTV houses expose children to situations in which they experience generational relationships, televised global football scenes and the glocalizing of globalized football content. Furthermore, in the DSTV house, children experience several situations, which demand children to show their agency, interdependency and programme preferences. Therefore, this study is aimed at exploring the children who became televised football fans and their experiences in DSTV house.

2.1. Statement of the Problem

Several studies have been conducted on children's relationships with media. Many of these studies have been conducted based on psychological perspectives in which children are seen to be gradually progressing towards a state of adult rationality (Buckingham, 2007). It is interesting to explore the children's perspectives and to analyse their interaction with televised football in their own words. Children's social relationships and culture related to the media should be studied from a sociological perspective in their own world rather than from the adults' viewpoints (Prout and James, 1990). As Buckingham (2007) states, children spend a lot of time viewing media, yet the role of the media has been neglected by the sociologists of childhood.

In recent years, however, there has been a growing amount of literature in the fields of media and children's studies, which take into consideration the sociological perspectives in studying children's relationships with media (e.g., Buckingham, 2000; Buckingham & Tingstad, 2007; Kvæstad, 2013). Likewise, this thesis contributes to this growing body of literature by considering the sociological aspects in studying the children's experiences in DSTV house.

In Ethiopia, there are very few general studies on children and media. These studies were specifically conducted with the children's involvement in video houses (e.g., Workalemahu, 2007; Dilalew, 2008; Assefa, 2006) which mainly exhibit movies produced by Hollywood and Bollywood companies. I have not found a specific empirical study on children's experiences in DSTV houses in Ethiopia or elsewhere.

I argue that the children's relationships with media are worthy of being studied from their perspectives. Therefore, this thesis is primarily conducted with an original emphasis on children's experiences in DSTV house, seen from their own perspectives. First, it addresses the various participants' perspectives on DSTV houses related to children. Following this, it focuses specifically on the children's interactions with other audiences in DSTV house. In the final discussion, it will show the participants' perspectives on the impacts that result from the children's involvement in DSTV houses.

1.3. Objectives of the Study

1.3.1. General Objective

The main purpose of this thesis is to explore children's experiences in DSTV houses in Ethiopia.

1.3.2. Specific Objectives

This thesis has addressed the following specific objectives:

1. To explore the participants' perspectives on the DSTV houses, specifically related to child audiences
2. To assess the children's involvement in the DSTV house

3. To investigate participants' perspectives on the impacts that result from the children's involvement in DSTV houses
4. To identify DSTV football programs which are prioritised by children, and explore some of the cultural consequences of this.

1.4. Research Questions

The study was conducted to answer the following specific questions:

1. What do participants feel about DSTV houses, specifically related to child audiences?
2. How do children get involved in DSTV houses?
3. Which DSTV football programmes do children prioritise?
4. What do participants understand about the impacts that may result from the children's involvement in DSTV houses?

1.5. Significance of the Study

Transnational media globalization processes have intensified rapidly during the last two decades due to new communication technology (Von Feilitzen, 2002). The services of transnational football media reach the local football fans in the DSTV house. The DSTV house is a recent phenomenon where children hang out and interact with transnational televised football content. The children's experiences in the DSTV house have not been investigated in any domains, especially related to the sociology of childhood. Therefore, this study primarily uncovered the children's experiences in the DSTV house, and sought to study them from their own perspectives and in their own terms.

The knowledge produced by this thesis, with special emphasis on the children's voices, might be valuable information for media policy makers on global levels and mainly on national levels. When it comes to creating a children's media charter, Livingstone (2007) says that children will surely have their own programmes that allow them to develop physically, mentally and socially to their fullest potential. According to (Von Feilitzen, 2002) within the media production sector, there are also frequent calls for government intervention to support indigenous children's productions against the pressure of the global market. This intervention must be done based on the local research.

The children's narratives about their own experiences in the DSTV house will be an important asset to the world of knowledge related to the transnational football media, and to media globalization more broadly. The sociology of childhood asserted that the study of childhood has to be reconstructed in sociological terms (Prout & James, 1990). In contemporary childhood, media is an inevitable fact (Buckingham, 2007). Thus, this kind of study might create an image of the action to be taken to start the reconstruction process of childhood related to televised football.

The research can also serve as a reference and a basis for other researchers who may be interested in conducting related studies. Finally, the study might also open up a few different avenues for improving the transnational televised football programmes along the way, which can satisfy child consumers in Ethiopia.

1.6. Structure of the Thesis

The thesis is organized into six chapters with sub-sections. The first chapter contains the introduction of the study. It provides brief information about children and transnational football media broadcasting. The chapter also contains statements of the problem, objectives of the study, basic research questions and significance of the study.

The second chapter encompasses the background of the study, relevant information about the study area and descriptions of the DSTV houses. In the third chapter, research methods such as research design, data collection techniques and procedures, ethical issues, and analysis of the data are presented. The major theoretical framework of the study and related literature are included in the fourth chapter.

The fifth chapter contains the results and discussion of the study. Specifically, it encompasses the participants' perspectives on DSTV houses related to children, the children's involvement in DSTV houses, and the participants' perspectives on the impacts that result from children's involvement in DSTV houses. These findings are discussed in light of the main theoretical framework and empirical literature, which are discussed in chapter four. Finally, recommendations are suggested after the summary and conclusion in the last chapter.

Chapter Two

2. Background of the Study

2.1. The Fieldwork Area

2.1.1. Geographical and Demographical Description

The fieldwork area is in one of the various administration districts in Ethiopia. It was incorporated in the 4th century during the reign of King Ezana (who ruled Ethiopia from c. 330 – 356 AD). Geographically, it is located at an elevation of 1909 meters above sea level and is 182 km from the capital city, Addis Ababa. The fieldwork area's altitude and short distance from the capital city might help the DSTV houses' receivers to get the Satellite signal easily. Unlike in the fieldwork area, the DSTV satellite signal is not accessible in the rural areas that are remote from the capital, and where the altitude is low.

The population of fieldwork area is estimated to be 24,163, with 12,018 being children under the age of 18. The male population is estimated to be 12,554 whereas the rest (11,609) of the population is female. The number of male children (less than 18 years old) is estimated to be 6900, whereas the female child population is 5118. As can be seen from the statistics above, the numbers of male and female child population are almost equal. However, in the DSTV house, most of the time, male child audiences attend more than female. This may be due to the local conceptualization of gender related beliefs about the risks and desirability of wandering around public places, for example DSTV houses. In this regard, a further discussion is included in chapters four and five.

The fieldwork area is divided into three administrative *kebeles*, which is the lowest administrative unit in Ethiopia. In the administrative *kebeles*, the DSTV houses are not equally distributed. Therefore, except *kebele* three, both *kebele*

one and two have DSTV houses. In *kebele* one there are three DSTV houses, whereas in *kebele* two there is one DSTV house. Children who visit *kebele* three often temporarily migrate to *kebele* one and two to attend DSTV houses.

The majority or 70% of the fieldwork area's climate is *Woina Dega*¹ (Subtropical zone weather). The annual average rainfall amounts and temperature are 1113 mm and 19°C respectively. Even though the temperature is comfortable in the area, very often, it can be very high in DSTV houses because many people spend time together in the house. Furthermore, the DSTV houses are not equipped well to keep the air conditioning locked in. Therefore, suffocation is common in the houses when audiences are watching televised programs.

2.1.2. Brief Historical Overview of Media in Ethiopia

In Ethiopia, National media flourished in the second half of the 20th Century. Ethiopian Television (ETV) was established in 1964 during the time of Emperor Haile Selassie. Colour television was introduced in 1982 by the military government in order to celebrate the founding of the Worker's Party of Ethiopia (WPE) (Workalemahu, 2007). Since these early stages, ETV or now the Ethiopian Broadcast Corporation (EBC) has been controlled by the government.

Currently, EBC has Channel 1, which broadcasts national programs in Amharic, English Oromiffa and Tigrigna languages, and Channel 2, which

¹ *Woina Dega* (Subtropical zone) - includes the highlands areas of 1830 - 2440 metres in elevation has an average of annual rainfall between 510 and 1530 millimetres.

broadcasts to the capital city of Addis Ababa in the Amharic language. According to Simon (2005) in Workalemahu (2007), the quality of ETV's programs has been gradually declining, so viewer complaints are common. This situation contributes to media viewers to shifting their interests toward transnational media such as DSTV football satellite pay-tv and Arabsat Satellite Service.

2.1.3. Digital Satellite Television (DSTV)

The transnational football media corporations engage in worldwide production, distribution and marketing of sports-related services (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2004). From the late 1980s, sub-Saharan African television significantly changed under the influence of technological, economic and political factors (Akindes, 2011). The transnational football media corporations have complex structures, which connect several stations worldwide. One of the African based transnational football media is DSTV, which is broadcast from a satellite that orbits around the Earth (Myers, 2015). Therefore, local fans watch European televised football, which is targeting African rural local consumers through DSTV and other broadcasts. In Africa, the local people get the DSTV services in bars, theatre houses or what are collectively called electronic stadiums (Onwumechili & Akindes, 2014). In Ethiopia, national distributors subscribe to the South African-based MultiChoice Africa DSTV satellite pay-tv service (Workalemahu, 2007). The Ethiopian fans of transnationally televised football mainly watch the games in DSTV houses.

2.1.4. DSTV Houses

The transnational football media broadcasting reaches the local consumer through chains of continental, national and local distributors. The local businesspersons open a house in which they could exhibit televised transnational football to the local consumers who pay a fee for the services. The DSTV house owners subscribe to the DSTV service from the national distributor MultiChoice Ethiopia DSTV satellite pay-tv service.

In addition, the owner puts a satellite dish outside on top of the DSTV house that picks up the signal and delivers it to the receiver in the house. According to Myers (2015), satellites receive their initial signal from a broadcast centre on the Earth, and then send it back down to the DSTV house owners' dishes. The DSTV signal then passes through the owners' in-home receivers and sends it to the television for viewing.

2.1.5. Brief Overview of the DSTV Houses in the Fieldwork Area

For the past ten years, due to the penetration of the transnational football media broadcasting in the area where I conducted the fieldwork, children hanging out in DSTV houses is common. Currently, the fieldwork area consists of four DSTV houses. These include the DSTV houses of Belay, Alemu, Geletawu and Hailu². The first two DSTV houses were opened five and half year ago, whereas the third was started two and half years ago and the fourth was opened ten months ago. Not all DSTV houses are uniform because they consist of different TV screen sizes, projector wall paint, the bench, the width, posters and practices regarding hosting of child audiences. Among the four DSTV

² For the confidentiality purpose, the names of DStv house owners have been replaced by fictional names of Belay, Alemu, Geletawu and Hailu.

houses, two are wider and made from plastic whereas the other two are relatively narrow and made from mud and cement. In all DSTV houses, TV screens or Projector wall paint is placed in front of the benches. DSTV programs are announced to customers on the notice board, which is found outside the DSTV house (see the picture in chapter 5).

The owners of DSTV houses are adults, but two or more children are assigned to coordinate the DSTV house. These children play important roles in the DSTV house, such as managing the sanitation, collecting money from customers, controlling the PlayStation games, notifying the list of programs and buying fast food for customers.

Any person can attend a DSTV house if he or she fulfils the codes of the DSTV house. These codes include paying money, keeping silent, nonviolent behaviour and not smoking cigarettes (see chapter 5). Attendants must pay money prior to the start of the programme. The payment systems depend on the quality of matches, so if the match is interesting, for example the match between strong English Premier League clubs Arsenal and Manchester United, the payment will be higher. Therefore, in a big match, disturbances may happen on the seat benches. Customers must come before the televised match has begun, or they must sit on the floor or stand at the back of the DSTV house.

Among four DSTV houses, for this study purpose, I selected Belay's DSTV house because I repeatedly observed that many more children attended this DSTV house than others. Thus, participants of the study were drawn from children who often visited Belay's DSTV house. A detailed description regarding Belay's DSTV house is below.

2.1.6. Description of Belay's DSTV House

Belay's is one of the four DSTV houses in the fieldwork area. It is found in the centre of the fieldwork area. It has gradually been changed over the past few years. For instance, initially it was made from wood and plastic, but now it is made from the mud and wood. Furthermore, the initial size of the TV screen was small, but now a projector and a screen (a painted wall) has been added.

Belay's DSTV house consists of 24 benches. On average, each bench seats eight people. All benches are made from wood, and a few of them have been covered in plastic. The height of the benches decreases when we move from the back to the front of the house. This arrangement reduces the probability that people will block other customers' line of vision. Belay's DSTV house has a door that is made from metal, but does not have a window.

TV screens and the painted wall screen have been placed together in the front part of the DSTV house. The same programme is transmitted on both the TV screen and the painted wall, so attendants could watch the same program on either. The roof is made from tin (very light and slim metal), and under the roof, the projector has been placed. The satellite dish has also been placed on top of the DSTV house. Posters of footballers in English and Spanish football clubs have been posted on the DSTV house wall. The goal is to attract more audiences and to decorate the entire house. In addition to the footballers' posters, there are posters of Bollywood actors and actresses.

Most of the time, the audiences at Belay's DSTV house are aged from 8 to 40 years old. More children who are from 8 to 18 years old attend Belay's DSTV house than the rest of the DSTV houses in the district. Child audiences prefer Belay's DSTV house over other DSTV houses because the owner allows them

to watch for free. However, as a form of reciprocity, children do some activities for the DSTV owner, for example clean the DSTV house, whereas the rest of the customers pay money. The payment is dependent on the quality of the match. For example, if the match is between strong English Premier League football clubs (e.g., Arsenal Vs. Chelsea, Liverpool Vs. Manchester United), the payment will be five Ethiopian Birr (0.25 USD), whereas if the match is between less strong football clubs (e.g., Wigan Vs. Swansea City), the payment is three Ethiopian Birr (0.15 USD).

Chapter Three

3. Research Methods

This study focuses on the children's experiences in Digital Satellite Television (DSTV) houses in Ethiopia. This chapter explains the methods used in this study. It consists of three major sections which focus on the fieldwork processes. These sections include preliminary preparation for the fieldwork, being in the fieldwork location and after the fieldwork. Subsequently, a description is given regarding various methods used in gathering data and accessing participants. Finally, I further discuss research ethics and social dilemmas, as well as the analysis and interpretation made in this study.

3.1. Initial Preparations

The preconditions were completed before I left the Norwegian Centre for Child Research (NOSEB) for the fieldwork in Ethiopia. Initially, I took preparations, which helped me to conduct the fieldwork effectively. Therefore, I first spent a semester preparing the research proposal, which was commented on by the thesis supervisor. In the proposal, I described the details of the aims and framework of the study's methods including the research design, participants, data collection instruments, access and ethical considerations.

Subsequently, I secured funding for fieldwork after I handed in necessary documents to the international office, which sponsors the Norwegian Quota Scheme students. Furthermore, I prepared the necessary fieldwork materials before I went to do the fieldwork. Therefore, I equipped myself with a supporting letter, a field card and a digital audio recorder.

3.1.1. Research Design and Site

The research was carried out based on the philosophy of qualitative research design. Qualitative research design is particularly suitable to conduct a study with children (Greig, Taylor, & MacKay, 2007). Unlike quantitative research design, which generally assumes that reality is fixed and measurable, it assumes that individuals' perspectives and experiences are socially constructed (Ibid). Hence, I chose a qualitative research design as it was best suited to explore children's experiences in the DSTV house.

I spent a total of three months and six days (June – September 2014) in fieldwork. The study was conducted in one of the administration districts in Ethiopia. I had basic reasons for choosing to do fieldwork in this district. The reason was associated with my personal background. I was born and raised in this district, therefore I had the opportunity to observe the children's experiences in DSTV houses. It frequently crossed my mind that this issue would be a potentially good research area. Therefore, when I started my Masters of Philosophy in Childhood Studies at NOSEB, the experiences of those children in the DSTV houses seemed interesting to pursue.

The district had four DSTV houses, which during fieldwork I frequently attended to assess the overall features of the DSTV houses and audiences. After I carried out repeated participatory observations in each DSTV house, I selected Belay's DSTV house to conduct the fieldwork. In the fieldwork area, most children preferred Belay's DSTV house to the other DSTV houses. In Belay's DSTV house, children were often allowed to watch the televised football programs free, and Belay (the owner) relatively gave good care to children. Therefore, many children often spent time at Belay's DSTV house, which was best suited to investigate children's experiences.

3.2. Being in the Fieldwork

Preliminary plans and changes were made before I started the study. My interest was initially to explore the children's participation in TV channel selection in Ethiopia with a specific emphasis on DSTV houses. However, the title was modified to focus specifically on the children's experiences in DSTV houses because I believe that this title is more representative of the study's objectives than the previous title. In the fieldwork, I addressed several methodological issues, including obtaining permission, sampling, data collection, research ethics and social dilemmas.

3.2.1. Establishing rapport

Abebe (2009) spent the first few weeks in his research with children establishing rapport by doing activities like sports competitions and singing popular songs. During these activities, he tried to learn from their discussions, engagements and embodied practices. Likewise, in my fieldwork, I spent the first few weeks engaging in activities in order to develop a cooperative and close relationship with the children. Thus, I engaged in several activities with children, such as playing PlayStation games, watching football together in the DSTV houses, walking with them, and eating samosas and sugar-cane. During these activities, I hugged the children, held their hands, and discussed football programmes with them, in order to benefit from their discussions and engagement.

Children were active in the process of establishing rapport. For instance, they interacted with me quickly and they tried to train me with how to play PlayStation games. Apart from establishing rapport, the above activities facilitated the opportunity for a focus group discussion because the activities

increased the children's interest in working together and fostered the sense of group formation that I sought to establish.

3.2.2. Informed Consent and Access

Children are not entirely free to decide for themselves to participate in research (Masson, 2000). Therefore, the fieldwork started with obtaining permission from different gatekeepers. Punch (2002) argues that in order to gain children's involvement in research, researchers have to go through adult gatekeepers who have the authority to limit researchers' access to the children. In doing so, I followed several procedures to get the consent of the study district mayor, parents, children, school directors, and owners of the DSTV houses. Before having direct contact with the children, parents, and owners of the DSTV houses, I contacted the mayor of the fieldwork area and explained the objectives of the study and my expectations. Furthermore, I presented the support letter taken from NOSEB to the mayor.

After I got the mayor's permission, I went to the owners of the DSTV houses to get their consent for the fieldwork as well. After my detailed presentation regarding the purpose of the research to the DSTV houses' owners, I got their permission to do my fieldwork within their DSTV houses. The consent of the owners was taken orally because they were not interested in signing the written consent form. For example, an owner of the DSTV house said to me, "*No need to get a signature. We are not entering a business agreement so why do we take it seriously and consider it a big deal.*" Securing written consent might not be easy with some participants because they are suspicious about signing documents (Abebe, 2009). As a result, I started my fieldwork activities based on the oral consent of the DSTV houses' owners.

Children were invited to give their consent to participate in the study following a detailed explanation regarding the purpose of the study. Unlike the DSTV houses' owners and a few parents, all children who took part in the study signed the consent form. This might need further investigation into why children wished to sign the consent form and not the adults.

In the fieldwork area, the social traditions often insisted that children should spend their time at home, school, or church. Children who wandered around public places such as DSTV houses and cafeterias are often considered *Durye*³ (Workalemahu, 2007). I thought this tradition might have some influence on the informed consent I got from participants, especially when I asked the parents' permission for their children's participation in the study.

Therefore, before I directly contacted the children's parents, I first asked the children what they would say if I first asked their parents to let them take part in this study. Most children agreed that there was no problem if I first asked their parents' consent. However, for example, two children did not agree because if their parents knew about the children's involvement in DSTV houses, they might be punished. Therefore, they were excluded from the list of participants.

I asked parents to give consent regarding children and their participation in my research. Consent was given in verbal and written forms. A few parents signed the consent form, whereas the rest of the parents gave their consent verbally because they were not interested in putting their signature on the

³ *Durye* is a common Amharic word, which is frequently used to refer to young people who are jobless, always seen wandering outside their home, and disrespectful of community's norm.

consent form. The school director also gave his consent orally. Related to written consent, participants might be doubtful about signing documents (Abebe, 2009) and in some situations a written consent form could create a negative impression of the relationship between the research participants and the researcher (Kassahun, 2012).

3.2.3. Sampling Technique

Throughout the fieldwork, I was in touch with and complied with the codes of all DSTV houses, especially while I was watching DSTV football programmes. I observed the holistic environment of the research context, particularly the DSTV houses. During the observation, I noticed the age groups of customers and their interactions, and physical aspects of the setting, such as seat benches, posters, screens and other aspects. Based on my observations, I learned that more children of the fieldwork area attended Belay's DSTV house rather than others' DSTV houses. Unlike Belay's DSTV house, other DSTV houses were highly adult dominated because the owners did not allow children to attend. Therefore, Belay's DSTV house was purposively sampled to conduct the fieldwork.

Children who often visited Belay's DSTV house were also purposively sampled. Then, parents of the child participants of the study, the director of the school where the child participants of the study attended, and owners of the DSTV houses where the child participant of the study often visited were sampled.

3.2.4. Research Participants

The study involved four categories of participants. These categories of participants were children, parents, the school director, and the owners of the DStv houses.

Children: Children whose age was in the range of 12 to 14 and school grades from 6 to 8 participated in the study. Nine male children who spent a lengthy amount of time in Belay's DSTV house were selected. I did not include female child participants because there were no female audiences there: they would visit DSTV houses only in a very rare case. This might be due to historical and cultural reasons related to gender in Ethiopia, as I shall discuss below.

Parents: Nine parents of the child participants of the study, whose age range was 28 to 38 years old, participated in the study. Two owners of the DSTV houses, whose ages were 26 and 29, also participated, along with, the school director, who was 38 years old.

3.2.5. Methods of Data Collecting

During the fieldwork, I used different methods to obtain empirical data, establish rapport and enhance the children's willingness to participate in my fieldwork process. The research methods are designed to enable the researchers and participants in the research to communicate with each other (Ennew, Abebe, Bangyani, Karapituck, Kjörholt & Noonsup, 2009). Media researchers have developed several techniques for investigating television viewing. These techniques include off-line methods such as questionnaires, interviews, diaries as well as online material including participant observation (Gunter, 1997). Likewise, in this study, I employed offline techniques such as

interviewing, focus group discussions, ranking and field notes and online techniques like participant observation and informal dialogue.

3.2.5.1. Participant Observation and Informal Dialogue

The fieldwork began with the observation of each DSTV house in the fieldwork area, and specifically of the children's participation in DSTV houses. I started observing through watching televised football programmes on TV along with the audiences. I carried out observations regarding each DSTV house's contents, such as the make-up and behaviour of audiences, the seat benches and screens, posters of footballers and so on.

I also carried out informal dialogues with the children in several places and situations. These dialogues occurred while watching football programmes in the DSTV houses, walking with the children, playing PlayStation games, and eating samosas and sugarcane together. The most informal dialogues took place in the DSTV houses before the programs began and after they ended. However, on some occasions, I carried out informal dialogues with children while the DSTV programs were being shown. The informal dialogue while watching programmes took place in a way that ensured the other customers were not interrupted while watching and hearing the televised programmes.

At the end of each participant observation and informal dialogue, I took field notes because I did not use a tape recorder. These observations and informal dialogues were used to develop interview questions.

3.2.5.2. Semi-Structured Interviews

A semi-structured interview gives flexibility to the researcher and the subject being researched (Nesbitt, 2000). In this study, I used semi-structured interviews to collect the necessary data. I developed the interview guide questions from the objectives or research questions of the study. The interview guide questions were designed to explore the children's experiences in DSTV houses, adult participants' perspectives on the DSTV house related to children, and the impacts that result from the children's involvement in DSTV houses. The interview guides were prepared in the form of open-ended questions, for example, about how children interact with older audiences in DSTV house. Furthermore, I raised additional questions with the participants depending on what they said in the interview.

I carried out interviews with children and adults with the aim of gathering data specifically regarding children's involvement in the DSTV house. I asked the children to describe the activities they do in DSTV house, their interaction with one another and with adult audiences, and how they watch the televised football programmes on TV. I also asked them about the interaction they have with their parents about securing permission to go to the DSTV house.

I interviewed the children's parents to explore how they perceive the DSTV house and its relationship to the child audiences. I also interviewed the owners of DSTV houses to explore how they see the children's involvement in DSTV houses, and programs that are prioritised by children. Furthermore, I carried out interviews with the school director to uncover the impacts that he believed would result from the children's involvement in the DSTV house.

I conducted the interviews with children and adult in different places which were convenient for participants and their privacy, although there were challenges in relation to the interview settings. I conducted the interview with children in a room which was located close to Belay's DSTV house. Belay allowed me to use one of his rooms to conduct my interviews. The room contained two chairs, a table, a window and a door. I found this place better to conduct the interview; however I was challenged by the fact that during the interview, disturbing sounds could be heard in the room. Therefore, I tried to reduce it by switching on the light and closing the window and door.

The interviews with adults including parents, the school director, and owners of the DSTV houses, took place in different places where they preferred to be interviewed. I asked each adult participant about the place where they would like the interview to be held and the best place to protect their privacy. Therefore, they were interviewed in their homes and offices. The preconditions were accomplished before I conducted the interview in these places. Hence, I verified the time when the interview places would be free and suitable for interviewing.

These interviews took place one person at a time. I conducted the interviews by presenting a general question that relaxed the participants in the beginning and the detailed questions towards the middle and end. For example, do you know about DSTV houses? What do you think about DSTV houses? Nesbitt (2000) argued that the opening question of the interview is designed to relax the interviewee and build confidence, and then any question which causes any anxiety should be presented only towards the end. For example, for parents, I asked, "What action do you take if your child steals your money to pay the entry fee of the DSTV house?", but I did this later in the interview. Therefore,

in the beginning, I raised a general question that did not require much thinking to respond to, as well as one that could open the interview in a trusted manner.

During the interview, I was an active listener and asked questions to the participants. Participants were comfortable and confident enough to answer the questions asked. They asked me for more clarification when the questions became difficult to answer. All of them were well acquainted and they gave detailed and relevant answers to the questions they were asked.

3.2.5.3. Focus Group Discussions

I carried out focus group discussions with children on the main prioritized topics. The focus group discussion was held in the same room I conducted the individual interviews with the children. The focus group discussions had nine participants, who were 12 – 14 years old, male and 6 – 8 grade. The duration of the focus group discussion was one and half-hours. I had a mediating role in the focus group discussion by facilitating the discussion process.

Before the focus group discussion began, we listed some ground rules of discussion like trying to avoid interruption while someone talks, respecting others' opinion, and speaking one after the other. Generally, the focus group discussion created a social environment in which children were in a position to express their views freely. Like the interview, the focus group discussion was conducted by categorizing basic questions to be addressed during the discussion.

3.2.5.4. Ranking Technique

It is a technique of ordering things from high to low priority (Ennew et al. 2009). I also asked the children and the owner of DSTV house to rank televised DSTV football programmes, which were prioritised by the children. Ranking sheets were distributed to each child and to the owner. Then, they were first asked to list all DSTV football programmes that were shown in Belay's DSTV house, followed by ranking these programmes based on the children's interests. The televised football programmes were ranked one to twelve depending on the children's interests.

3.2.6. Data Recording

In this study, I employed two methods of recording data that are common in qualitative research design. These were audio recordings and writing, including taking field notes and ranking.

I used the digital audio recorder to record the children and adults' narratives regarding the children's involvement in the DSTV house. I also predominantly used the digital audio recorder to record the children's narratives during focus group discussions. Recording the focus group discussions and interviews using an audio recorder helped me to prevent data losses that could occur in the process of taking field notes.

I used field notes to record my field experiences. I took field notes following my contact with children, observations, informal dialogues, interviews and focus group discussions. In the field note taking process, I described the situation, activities, behaviours and events I observed in the fieldwork area. I also took field notes during and after observations, interviews and focus group

discussions. Some field notes were taken immediately after the participants' narratives and observations, whereas the other field notes were taken after the observations were finished because if I took field notes for some observation immediately, other people around the participants would be disturbed. Furthermore, I took field notes regarding my reflection about my observation of events, behaviours, activities and places.

3.2.7. Ethical and Social Dilemmas

Ethics are a focus for moral deliberation and accountability on the part of researchers throughout the research process (Miller, Birch, Mauthner, & Jessop, 2012). Proper ethical guidelines in research with children involve ensuring participants' voluntary participation, establishing a good rapport and power relationship, making sure of the privacy and confidentiality of the data, and protecting children from harm (Ennew et al., 2009).

In this study, I considered questions of research ethics in my initial design, however the applications of ethical issues were not as straightforward as I had expected before I began my fieldwork. Doing research on the children's participation in DSTV houses poses ethical and social dilemmas. Some of the ethical issues are discussed in different parts of this chapter, and the detail of the rest of the ethical and social dilemmas is explained below.

3.2.7.1. Confidentiality

Following ethical principles in rights-based research entails that participants have the right to be safeguarded against being harmed by information disclosed to the researcher (Abebe, 2009). In my study, in response to a number of questions, participants gave me information about their experiences

regarding children's involvement in DStv houses. In the fieldwork, I informed each participant that actions would be taken to ensure the confidentiality of their information. To do so, I guaranteed to the participants that joining in the research was voluntary and would involve no harm to them, and that they could pull out of the study at any point if they felt uncomfortable. I also confirmed that participants' identity was protected by providing a fabricated name for each participant in the study. Fictitious naming is a good technique to keep the participant's identity secret (Ennew et al., 2009). Furthermore, I ensured that data collected by tape recorder, observation and writing were protected with no one having access to them and I would delete the recorded data after the paper was written in order to avoid any further appeal.

3.2.7.2. Privacy

The United Nations Convention on the Right of Children (UNCRC), Article 16 requires that a child should not be subjected to arbitrary interference with his or her privacy (OHCHR, 2015). In the fieldwork, I carried out the interviews at a place that was convenient to participants; however, there was some difficulty in conducting individual interviews and focus group discussions in these places. Issues such as when and where interviews take place, and who is present are likely to have an effect on what the children will talk about (Thomas & O'kane, 1998).

Abebe (2009) argued that it can be difficult to find a space for interviews partly because of a lack of appropriate places and because of local conceptualizations of childhood, which regard children as having inferior social positions within households. In my fieldwork, in some cases, other people would come and join in when I was conducting the interview with participants. In his fieldwork period, Abebe (2009) experienced that, in most cases, adults, parents and other

children would simply come and join in, even if he was in the middle of conducting formal interviews with children. I also experienced that in some interviews external noises disrupted the interview process.

3.2.7.3. Power Relationships

Children are potentially more vulnerable to unequal power relationships between adult researchers and the children themselves (Punch, 2002). Researchers should keep to a minimum the power inequality between researchers and participants (Ennew et al., 2009). In my fieldwork, I ensured that the power relationship between the child participants and me would remain minimal. According to Abebe (2009), ethical research negotiates asymmetrical power relations between children and adults. The power relationship between researcher and children can be minimised by using words and languages that are easy to understand; spending much time learning from children and establishing rapport (Ennew et al., 2009). Thus, in this study, I allocated a sufficient amount of time to establish trusting relationships and a more equal power relationship between the children and me. Furthermore, I ensured privacy and confidentiality in the research, because as Thomas & O'kane (1998) argue, privacy and confidentiality are essential ethical issues related to the power imbalance between children and adults.

I negotiated inequitable power relations by taking the 'least adult role'. Corsaro (1996) argued that taking the least adult role helps researchers learn about what is considered "childlike" and can help to win the children's acceptance. Thus, in the beginning of the fieldwork, I sat on a bench at the front part of the DSTV houses to watch football on TV with the children because most of the time, the children sit in the front part of the DSTV house. However, I was challenged because my body was big so I could not act like

the children. After a moment, I changed my seat from the bench to the floor and this helped me to reduce the influence of my physical size on the power relationship between the children and me. It was easier to act like children and to be equal in height with children after I sat on the floor.

Furthermore, I engaged in activities such as playing football with the children, eating Samosas together and walking with the children to promote a more equal power relationship between the children and me, and to develop a more friendly relationship.

3.2.7.4. Reciprocity

Reciprocity may refer to giving back either material or non-material things to the study's participants for their valuable information and time. Reciprocity involves short term and long term features. Short term reciprocity implies offering either material or non-material things to participants as compensation for their time and labour during data collection (McDowell, 2011 in Abebe, 2009). Whereas, long-term reciprocity goes beyond material benefits to incorporate the ability of the researcher to communicate his or her findings back to participants and to policy makers who might be able to improve the life of the participants (Ibid)

There is no consensus among researchers about the various forms of reciprocity that might be offered to participants. It is usually best not to give money to research participants, yet it is not always possible to escape this (Ennew, et al., 2009). Therefore, payments, refreshments and gifts have to be given to participants when they are necessary (Ibid). In his research conducted in Gedeo, Ethiopia, Abebe (2009) gave stationery materials for the children's

school and money to buy meals, which the children and the researcher frequently shared.

In the case of my study, I did provide some short term reciprocities of this kind, which included buying samosas to eat together while establishing relationships, and on some occasions I paid the entry fee of the DSTV house for children. These reciprocities were largely at the outset of the fieldwork while establishing rapport and compensating the children for the time they spent for the study. Once the rapport was established, eventually I reduced and systematically replaced these reciprocities through other activities which allowed us to spend time together, for example walking together and playing football.

I was concerned that children might take the financial reciprocities as an offer to buy information in the data collection process, which would lead them to produce false information or tell me that they thought I wanted to hear (Ennew, et al., 2009). I accordingly systematically replaced these with other activities. Concerning the long-term reciprocity, I did not promise anything for the participants' benefits from this study. I just described to them how my findings might be helpful for further research and policy makers.

3.2.7.5. Social Dilemmas

While I was applying ethical standards, the issues associated with society and administrative procedures didn't do much for my progress in the fieldwork process. I would like to point out the major social dilemmas that I experienced during the fieldwork. The social traditions in the fieldwork area associated with the children's involvement in DSTV house created one of the dilemmas that I encountered.

In the fieldwork area, I was challenged by social traditions in accessing child participants for the study. The social traditions often referred to children who attend DSTV houses as *Durye*. Therefore, parents preferred their children not to go to the DSTV house. Child audiences had arguments with their parents to get permission to go to the DSTV house. Some children played tricks on parents to go to the DSTV house and avoid routine hassles with their parents. Therefore, when I was trying to get informed consent from the children's parents, most children supported my intention that I first asked their parents' consent to allow me access to them. There were a few children who did not like their parents to know about their involvement in DSTV house. To solve this issue, I excluded these children from the study's participants list and only included those who agreed with my intentions to first get permission from their parents as well.

During fieldwork, a few parents initially hesitated and did not speak with me because they thought that I was a protestant religious missionary. In the fieldwork area, the dominant religion is Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahdo Church, so people did not highly interact with people who tried to teach them another religion. Some Protestant religious missionaries came from the capital city to convert people from the actual religion they practice to Protestant. These pastors carry small bags, bibles and papers while they move into the community. Likewise, during data collection, I carried a small bag where I put things that I needed in order to collect the data.

Therefore, parents thought that I was teaching religious education. For example, a mother of one child participant in my study said, "*Are you protestant? Are you coming to preach to me? If yes, do not talk me, I have a religion.*" I eventually got her consent after I did a lengthy presentation to her explaining that I was doing research on her child's involvement in the DSTV

house. Consequently, I learned to take actions which could possibly avoid more parents' hesitations in their consent and engaging in an interview. I decided not to carry the bag and put the recording stuff into my pocket, and informed the child participants to explain things to their parents before I went to visit them for informed consent and interview.

Another challenge was associated with the administrative procedures of the fieldwork area. When I started the fieldwork, I asked the mayor who was the administrator of the fieldwork area for permission to begin the fieldwork. However, obtaining the mayor's consent was not a straightforward matter because the support letter taken from NOSEB did not have a reference number and stamp. In the fieldwork area, there was an administrative code which declared that any letter without a reference number and stamp was worthless. Therefore, the mayor asked me if I could bring another supporting letter, which contains a reference number and stamp.

In light of the mayor's request regarding the support letter, I presented my question to Mekelle University where I was a staff member. Following this, I secured a letter of support from Mekelle University. The new support letter contained a reference number and stamp, and it was prepared in Amharic language. I offered the new support letter to the mayor and then the mayor confirmed his consent orally to commence my fieldwork.

3.3. After fieldwork

3.3.1. Data analysis and interpretations

The process of data analysis began during fieldwork. As soon as I started the fieldwork, I began analysing the data and revising the research framework, concepts and issues in every observation and interaction with participants.

These helped me to record the data in a format which would facilitate analysis, because actions made in this stage can have consequences later (Dey, 2003).

After the fieldwork, I started to spend my full time efforts on analysing the data. Thus, all the interviews and focus group discussions, which were conducted in Amharic, were transcribed clearly. Then I did the translation of transcribed data into the English language.

3.3.1.1. Coding and Categorization

In qualitative data analysis, coding is used to categorize and label data into different groups (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2010). While organizing the analysis process, I coded the data by classifying it with specific labels and concepts for further analysis. I did this by repeatedly reading the transcribed data line by line and marking key word and phrases. I divided the data into two major groups, which included the participants' perspectives on the DSTV house related to children, and children's involvement in the DSTV house. I did this by reading each account and looking at the similarities, differences and contradictions among several participants' responses. Then I started to interpret the meaning of their accounts by making connections within and among the themes

In the first group, I identified sub-sections, which encompassed the perspectives of children, the DSTV house owner, the school director and parents. In this group, I also included a section on children's preferences for televised football programs in Belay's DSTV house. In the second group, I labelled the data into three sub-sections which covered how, when and with whom children first visited the DSTV house; how children spent time in the DSTV house; and what impacts on children were seen to result from their involvement in the DSTV house.

3.3.1.2. Analysis and write-up

After I had identified the categories as a framework to guide the analysis, I explored the consistencies and deviations among the several developing categories. During the writing-up process, where I needed to illustrate some aspects of the participants' narrations, these were fully translated into English, whereas the rest of the transcribed participants' narrations were presented and integrated contextually. The analysis of data gathered through ranking methods was a little bit different from the analysis of data gathered through interviews, informal dialogue, focus group discussion and observation. I analysed the ranked data through counting the number of times each program was selected by participants (Ennew et al. 2009).

During the data analysis, I was navigating back and forth between the existing research literature and empirical data. I connected the various types of data, which were collected through the interviews, observations, rankings, and focus group discussions. Then, I integrated the results by considering supportive and contrasting previous studies

Chapter Four

4.1. Theoretical Perspectives and Concepts

This chapter discusses the main theoretical perspectives in the sociology of childhood, or childhood studies, as they relate to my research study. The chapter begins with definitions of childhood and the child. Then, I present the key concepts and theoretical perspectives of the sociology of childhood which include agency, generation, peer culture, discourse on childhood, and approaches in sociology of childhood studies. In a later section, I discuss empirical literature related to globalization, media and sports, especially football, which is the specific empirical focus of my study.

4.1.1. Child and Childhood

Many societies across different periods have understood childhood in various ways. Ariés (1982), indicated that the notion of childhood did not exist in medieval society, and Western medieval societies considered children to be miniature adults. Ariés showed that the notion which referred to childhood as a different human condition, emerged in Europe after the middle ages. Subsequently, various discourses appeared to depict the image of children and childhood, particularly those of psychology. The dominant assumption in developmental psychology, drawn from popular Western concepts of childhood, is that children and their growth are more of a natural phenomenon than a social one (James, Jenks, & Prout, 1998). The developmental approach sees childhood as a period cared for by others, free for learning and leisure, involving exclusion from the adults' world (Bourdillon, 2006).

This developmental approach to childhood is the model which is most widely acknowledged in the minority world. In the minority world, childhood is

mainly for play and school, whereas in the majority world, children are also likely to work (Punch, 2003). There are broad disparities in the social, cultural and economic contexts between the majority and the minority worlds. These disparities must be taken into account when we discuss childhood in these two worlds. Therefore, it does not seem sensible to understand the childhood of the majority world using concepts developed in the context of the minority world. In the majority world, children may spend much of their time working (James et al. 1998)

Over the past 25 years, there has been a shift in childhood studies from the developmental model to the new paradigm which conceives of childhood in a different way. The new paradigm in childhood studies suggests that children must be seen as active in the construction and determination of their own social lives, and the society in which they live (Prout & James, 1990). The paradigm also acknowledges childhood as a social construction, which is neither dependent on a natural nor a universal feature of human groups, but rather a cultural component in many societies (Ibid).

Scholars like Qvortrup (2002) understand the importance of childhood from a social structural perspective. He indicated that childhood is understood as a structural segment that does not change in and itself. However, it interacts with the other segments of society and it is not easily influenced by the mutual interaction between segments as they change over time (Ibid).

Even though childhood is socially constructed, there has been an observable fact that children are physically immature human beings. On the outset, they are highly dependent on others, but gradually become more independent over time (Ennew et al., 2005). According to article one of the UNCRC, a child is

a human being under the age of eighteen years old. However, this age limit may not be true in many societies and cultures across the world (James et al., 1998) because beliefs related to age could be taken as culturally constructed.

4.1.2. Key Features of the Social Studies of Childhood

Scholars of the social studies of childhood propose how children and childhood should be viewed and as well as studied. Prout and James (1990) state that the social studies of childhood involve several key epistemological and methodological features. First, childhood is a variable of social analysis and it can never be entirely differentiated from other variables like gender and class. Second, childhood is socially constructed than a natural or universal feature of the human being. Therefore, there is not a universal childhood, but many childhoods. Childhood is a culturally constructed phenomenon (James et al., 1998).

Third, children's social relationships and culture should be studied from the perspective of the child rather than taken from the viewpoint of the adult. Most of the time, adult researchers should abstain from trying to impose their own personal view on children (Punch, 2002). Fourth, children must be seen as agents and active beings in the construction and determination of their own social lives. Thus, they must be taken as social actors (Alanen, 2001). Fifth, the social studies of childhood engage in the process of reconstructing notions of childhood in the wider society. The way of conceiving childhood in society has to be changed from considering children as passive beings into seeing them as active beings. In this process, these social studies of childhood can play a paramount role. Last but not least, ethnography is an expedient method which is used to study childhood rather than taking the experimental or survey approach for research.

4.1.3. The Sociologies of Children

Children were once marginalized by sociology, which may have been likely due to their subordinate position in society as well as in the theoretical conceptualization of childhood (Corsaro, 1997). The marginalization of children in sociology relates to the traditional perspective of socialization, which considered children as passive creatures (Ibid). In recent years, there has been a rapid growth of interest in the sociological study of childhood. Over the past 20 to 25 years, several departure points were offered for bringing new perspectives on the study of childhood and children.

Since the emergence of the social studies of childhood, childhood sociologists have strongly argued that the children's knowledge, experiences, relationships and cultures are worthy of being studied in their own right, and should be studied from children's perspectives (Prout and James, 1990). Scholars in the social studies of childhood have identified several distinct approaches in theorizing childhood. These approaches include the socially constructed child, the socio-structural child, the minority child and the tribal child.

The minority group child approach views children as “essentially indistinguishable” from adults but as nonetheless marginalized by the existing structure in society (James, et al., 1998). This approach grants the assumption that children are marginalized much like a minority group such as some ethnic groups and women; and as such, they are exploited on various levels of the socio-generational structure (Ibid). The minority group child approach perceives children as having similar experiences to that of adults, yet as more likely to be exploited (Nieuwenhuys, 1994 in Punch, 2003). In Ethiopia, children clearly have an inferior status: for example a study conducted by

Abebe (2009) in the southern region of Ethiopia known as Gedeo found that due to the local conceptualizations of childhood, children are considered as having inferior social positions.

Unlike the minority group child approach, which views the child as equivalent to an adult, the tribal child approach conceives of children as having significantly different features than adults, and it focuses on the idea of “children as otherness” (James et al., 1998). The cultural world of a child is far different from the adults. The approach implies that we need to view children at a micro level to look more closely at their culture. Punch (2003) argues that a tribal child approach is more appropriate to do a micro study on children because it focuses on the children’s agency and characterizes children as social actors.

The socio-structured child approach considers childhood as a universal category. According to James et al. (1998), childhood’s manifestation may vary throughout different societies, yet remain the same within each individual social structure. In essence, childhood is a permanent feature of social structure (Wyness, 2012) which never disappears even in the presence of a continuously changing society (Qvortrup, 2009). In the socio-structured child approach, children are global and recognizable groups within the social structure, and differences in the lives of children resulting from changes in the social structure (James et al., 1998).

In contrast to the socio-structured child approach, the socially constructed child approach views childhood as different both historically and culturally (James et al., 1998). For example, the child’s age is understood differently as it relates to the local conceptualization of children’s social skills and physical

size (Ibid). This approach takes into consideration that childhood is socially constructed. Furthermore, it implies that the individuality and diversity which relates to childhood is established and practiced in different cultural settings (Kjørholt, 2004).

4.1.4. The “Tabula Rasa” Discourse

The “tabula rasa” discourse considers childhood as a time of becoming. This discourse implies that a child is born with a potential, which can be shaped through proper guidance and experiences (Montgomery, 2003). John Locke, English philosopher, believed that children are trained and shaped through education. He saw that children are neither intrinsically good nor bad, but rather a product of their environment, which has to be shaped by adults to provide a brighter future for children (Ibid).

In Ethiopia, there is a social tradition which claims children should spend their time at home, school and church for proper the shaping of their mind. Therefore, in the “tabula rasa” discourse, children are not responsible whenever they behave correctly or wrongly; rather, it is failures within the environment, which should provide moral teaching for the children, that is responsible for their behaviour.

4.1.5. Generation in Childhood Studies

The term generation is a commonly used term in everyday speech and widely spoken when referring to the differences between various age groups in society (Pilcher, 1994). In developmental psychology and socialization theory, childhood is regarded as a stage of transition into adulthood (e.g. Qvortrup, 1993 in Närvänen & Näsman, 2004). However, childhood in the generational

perspective is considered to be a permanent structure in society in the same manner as gender or class (Närvänen & Näsman, 2004).

The social studies of childhood views generation as socially constructed and a relative type of phenomenon (James & James, 2012). Generation plays an important role in understanding childhood and children. According to Alanen (2001), childhood is a generational phenomenon. Alanen argues that we need to position generation alongside social class, race and gender as an explanatory social category (Wyness, 2012). She uses this perspective to define a ‘child’ as a social position. For example, as Närvänen & Näsman (2004; 72), *the meaning of “child” as a social position is understood in relation to the other positions in the society.*

Children are regarded as the “next generation”, which may imply that they are future social actors and agents (Wyness, 2012). Given this fact, children everywhere occupy a position of powerlessness (Alanen & Mayall, 2001 in James & James, 2012). Although children are regarded as the “next generation” and powerless, they can also challenge the generational position of adults. In Corsaro’s research, children engaged not only in creating a routine peer culture among themselves but they also challenged the teachers’ authority, for example considering that the chairs in the preschool were meant to sit on and not stand on (Corsaro, 2009). This challenge may imply that children throughout their lives are indeed social actors. In this case, the children’s creativeness (using the chairs to walk on) surprised the adults (teachers), and adults allowed them to stand on the chairs as long as the children played carefully (Ibid).

There is a bond between the agency of children and the generational structure. Children's agency in their lives might be influenced by the position they hold in the society, their role within the family, as well as the media. Alanen (2001) argued that, to identify the nature and extent of children's agency, the investigation should focus on identifying the generational structure, which is responsible for defining the power of the child. For example, in my fieldwork, I learned that some adult audiences of the DSTV house often tell the child audiences not to come to the DSTV house. The reason for this is that the adult audiences generally assume that children are not mature and qualified enough to behave in an adult manner. This implies that children are seen as "becoming", rather than "being". By the same token, some Marxist theory considers childhood as a transitional period and the child as a transitional being. With this in mind, the term generation might be used as corrective in identifying the process whereby children as children are established from the outset in contradiction to adults (Wyness, 2012).

The emergence of media is often used to give a generational name for groups of people who were born in the same social and historical period. Tapscott (1998) in Buckingham (2006) argued that, the Boomer generations (born between 1946 and 1964) are "TV generations" who are defined by their relationship with the television.

4.1.6. Peer Culture, Friendship and Conflict

Many of the early studies on peer culture were conducted on adolescents, and focus on the outcome of the individual's relationship with peers (Corsaro, 2009). These studies on peer relationships were largely conducted by psychologists, and they acclaimed to identify universal phenomena. However, studies conducted in different parts of the world revealed that peer cultures are

culturally constructed (Montgomery, 2009 in Kassahun, 2012). The new paradigm in childhood studies claims that children's peer cultures should be studied in their own right, and they are worthy of documentation (Corsaro, 2009).

Previous studies on peer culture were conducted in school, so more work is needed in informal settings like the home, cinemas, video game salons, etc. (Corsaro & Eder, 1990). Scholars in the social studies of childhood have conducted several research studies on peer culture. Corsaro (1997, 2009) conducted extensive ethnographic studies on children's peer culture in both American and Italian preschool children. He used the term peer to refer to the group of children who were observed spending most of their time together on an everyday basis. Likewise, evidence found during my fieldwork showed that children often spend lengthy time at the DSTV house to watch televised football. Peer culture is defined as a stable set of activities and values that children interpretively reproduce and share when interacting with their peers (Corsaro & Eder, 1990).

As Corsaro (2009) mentioned, peer culture is not created by way of the children's simple imitation of the adult world. Children create their own peer culture by appropriation of information (interpretive reproduction) from adult culture. He also argued that future research work on peer culture must give special attention to the role that media plays in impacting children, particularly in the Western society given the fact that they are increasingly targeted by media producers (Ibid). In developing countries, media products are sometimes conceived to be an early indication of "modernization" (Buckingham, 2007).

Friendship among children can be developed in the course of interaction, debating and teasing. Corsaro (2006) identified that in the Italian and African American preschool children often develop friendship ties through debates and teasing. However, the friendship which is formed during childhood is never a straightforward matter as it is frequently accompanied by several conflicts (Corsaro, 1997). He found that the white middle-class American preschool children were highly sensitive to conflict and quickly became upset when it occurred, often going to teachers for aid in settling their disputes (Corsaro, 2006). These conflicts were mainly apparent in verbal debate, and they often strengthened interpersonal alliances and organized social groups (Goodwin, 1990 in Corsaro, 1997).

4.1.7. Agency

An early theory of sociology considered children as incompetent members of society. In this theory, children are seen as something apart from society that should be socialized by external factors to become a fully functioning member of the society (Corsaro, 1997). This deterministic model in the traditional theory of childhood argues that the child plays a passive role and is incompetent in the maintenance of the society and as such, children must be trained (Corsaro, 1997). The theory of socialization and development signifies children and childhood as natural, passive and incomplete (Prout and James, 1990).

The social studies of childhood criticized these traditional models of childhood due to the fact that they portray children as vulnerable and dependent beings through categorizing them in the developmental paradigm . The key feature of the new paradigm in childhood studies was that:

Children are and must be seen as active in the construction and determination of their own social lives, the lives of those around them and of the societies in which they live. Children are not just the passive subjects of social structure and processes (Prout and James, 1990, p. 8)

James and James (2012) argued that viewing children as independent social actors is the key to the development of the social studies of childhood that emerged in the social sciences during the 1970s. In these studies, childhood should not only be re-conceptualized, but there should also be a change in the ways children themselves are understood (James, 2009).

4.1.8. Agency Vs Structure

Scholars have argued about the link between agency and structure because it is assumed that it is the social structure wherein the child's agency is produced. James and James (2012) discuss the work of Durkheim and Marx about the link between agency and structure. Durkheim and Marx argued that collective moral ideas and social institutions determine people's actions. Particularly, Durkheim believed that the "conscience collective" framed people's way of thinking concerning how societies are viewed on a global scale. For instance, in my study area, there is a common tradition that represents DSTV houses are not proper places for children to learn the appropriate actions that fall in line with the societal expectations of the area. From a different viewpoint, Marx argued that people's position as a member of the society determines their ways of thinking. In line with Marx's view, in my study area the children's actions in the DSTV house were dominated by adult audiences because of the lower position children had in the society.

4.1.9. Dependence and Interdependence

In the social studies of childhood, children are seen as “being” rather than “becoming”. Children must be seen as creative human beings from the beginning of life, with the right to be respected and heard (Kjørholt, 2004). The categorizing of children as dependent or independent, competent or incompetent appears to be controversial. Kjørholt argued that it is essential to refrain from putting children into these dichotomous constructions of subjectivity, as either dependent or independent, either mature or immature, either vulnerable or competent, either equal or different.

Child-parent relationships might clearly show the children's dependence and independence on adults. Child-parent relationships consist of an internal relationship where one generational position is necessary for the other's existence (Närvänen & Näsman, 2004). A study conducted by Mayall (2002) indicated that the child-parent relationship plays a role in children's lives. In the beginning, children are highly dependent on the others, but gradually decrease their dependency (Ennew et al., 2005). Evidence from Mayall's (2002) study indicated that children are dependent on their parents to get money, spend time with their friends and go outside the home. Many of the children received pocket money, with the exception of some of the older boys, and had to ask for permission to go out. Parents do not allow for both genders equally being outside the home. In Mayall's study, some girls did not go out at all.

These dependencies coincide with interdependence. Children in the Western world generally don't contribute anything materially to their families, but they contribute an emotional satisfaction to their families: that is, children are economically “worthless” but emotionally “priceless” (Zelizer, 1985, 209 in

Montgomery, 2003). Mayall (2002) also argued that children, both receive from and give emotional satisfaction to their families. The parents' cost to their children is balanced by the children's contribution to the domestic division of labour (Ibid).

4.2. Globalization, Media and Sports: the Case of Football

Globalization is an indeterminate concept (Bell, 2003), which can be defined from many different angles (Pop, Poruțiu, & Negoescu, 2010). Although globalization is a contested term (Beck 2000 in Millward, 2011), it broadly encompasses anything that happens as the movement of goods, services, people and ideas among various nations accelerates (Suárez-Orozco & Qin-Hilliard, 2004). It can also be defined as a process of rapid and deep penetration of corporate production and consumption of material and ideological products across different regions (Rathee, 2014). These products shape the minds of even the most ordinary person anywhere in several ways (Ibid), and this might be seen to imply that the world is becoming more connected and similar through commercial and cultural synchronization (Pieterse, 2009)

Globalization can be manifested in several interdependent domains, which consist of: economic globalization (Crafts & Venables, 2003); educational globalization (Bloom, 2004); social policy globalization (Yeates, 2002); political globalization (Held & McGrew, 2003) and media entertainment globalization (Mirrlees, 2013). Globalization is also shaped by technological change (Pieterse, 2009). Thus, during the last two decades, globalization processes have intensified rapidly due to new media and communication technology (Von Feilitzen, 2002). Under the impact of the new technology, the world is increasingly globalised (Morley, 2005). Globalization in the

media also includes the internationalization of television programming (Walkosz, Jolls, & Sund, 2008). Media entertainment globalization refers to the ways in which media commodities are produced and marketed by the most powerful producers of transnational media corporation for consumption among societies in many different countries (Mirrlees, 2013).

Due to the influence of neoliberal politics that reinforce the privatizing of state broadcasters, and the technological integration of country-specific media systems by satellites (for example DSTVs), the flow of entertainment media across boundaries has increased and accelerated (Mirrlees, 2013). The global market is dominated by western media products, which through broadcasting stations, DVDs, CDs, and so on, are exported to other countries (Ndlela, 2006) for entertainment and profit. The consumption of TV programs and films is taken for granted by many people (Mirrlees, 2013). Nowadays, TV programs featuring sport are one of the most popular entertainment forms across many regions. Sport historians have indicated that the transnational media is strongly linked with sport (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2007c).

Since its transnational diffusion by the British in the late nineteenth century, football has been the world's most popular sport (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2004), and the processes of football globalization and transnational media are now increasingly connected (Onwumehili, 2009). Football has become increasingly transnational, exposed to the mainstream mass media and connected with the social networks of football journalists at different levels across several regions (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2007b). Specifically, the European domestic football leagues are becoming the focus of the transnational media (Sandvoss, 2003 in Onwumehili, 2009): for example the English Premier League receives most of the transnational media coverage (Onwumehili, 2009). According to Giulianotti and Robertson (2007a), since

the late 1980s, the interconnecting ties between football clubs and media broadcasters have become increasingly multifaceted. Therefore, football clubs such as Arsenal, Manchester United and Chelsea are increasingly equipped with their own websites designed to control informational output and directly reach their global audiences.

The global media are thus an essential element in mediating various aspects of football's aesthetic expression (Ndlela, 2006). The transnational football media like DSTV are used to globalize the particularisms, forcing exponents of specific football clubs' beliefs or identities to confront those of others, and to address particularistic identities and social processes across the universal domain (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2004). Through a process of "universalisation of particularism", the global football clubs in the English Premier League and Spanish La Liga have been transferring their football identities to the global audience (Ibid). While European football identities are exported to the rest of the world, the local contexts confront them: there is a glocalization of local and global identities, with outcomes which might appear neither local nor global.

4.2.1. Glocalization VS Globalization in Football

The notion of glocalization challenges the supposition that globalization processes always endanger local identities and beliefs. Rather, glocalization proposes that local cultures may judgmentally adapt or resist transnational media content, and reveals the way in which the very creation of localities is a standard component of globalization (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2007a). Thus, it has been shown that football globalization involves both "globalization" and "glocalization", combining the contradictory trends which link local and the global phenomena (Millward, 2011). According to Ritzer,

the globalization of football refers to the way in which European football can be described as having imperialistic ambitions to impose its football clubs' desires (both economic and cultural) on various distant geographic areas (Sondaal, 2013), such as my fieldwork area.

In contrast, the concept of "glocalization" focuses on the interdependence of local and global processes within the game's identities and institutions (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2004). Thus, according to Robertson (1995), in the "glocalization" process, local cultures engage in redefining global cultural contents to suit their particular beliefs and customs. Football's economic globalization is one in which the leading clubs connect with "glocal" transnational corporations like the DSTV houses and bars, which can reach the local level (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2004). Glocalization, in other words, involves the creation or recreation of local culture in an increasingly connected world (Jijon, 2015). In the glocalization process, the local culture is not just reproduced exactly but infused with new, locally determined meanings given to the global contents, and these new meanings may lead to the diversification of the local culture (Adams, 2008).

4.2.2. Football Globalization in Africa

Following football's introduction to Africa in the late nineteenth century by colonial institutions (Baker and Mangan, 1987 in Akindes, 2011), it also became the most popular sport in Africa (Akindes, 2011). As Akindes, in Africa, since the late 1990s transnational television broadcasting has flourished and has started to import overseas football matches, especially the European football games that have become accessible to fans across sub-Saharan Africa. Thus, the local football fans spend time to watch the televised football in different places which include bars and DSTV houses.

There has been a shift of attention to the televised football games played in Europe, while neglecting the indigenous football games (Akindes, 2011). For example, in the case of Nigeria, decades ago, Nigerian fans in the major cities of the country would fill the stadium hours before a major game, yet recently there has been shift of interest to migrate from the stadium to local bars to watch the European televised football through the Super Sport channel (Onwumechili, 2009).

Unlike in the rest of Africa countries, where football was imposed through colonial rule, the history of football in Ethiopia was different. According to Getahun (2009) football was introduced in Ethiopia during the reign of Emperor Menelik II.

It was the victory of Emperor Menelik II (r.1889-1913) against the Italian invaders at Adwa in 1896 that brought football into Ethiopia. The defeat of the Italians convinced the rest of Europe to acknowledge Ethiopia's independence and send representatives to seek favours from the Emperor. It was these European diplomats and their dependents who introduced football into Ethiopia. The first football game was held between these foreigners in Addis Ababa in 1924 (Getahun, 2009; 411).

In Ethiopia, typically, football fans including children spend time in local stadiums to watch the football games between the local clubs. However, in the past ten years, there has been a shift of interest: fans have started to leave the local stadium and go to spend time in the “trans-local electronic stadium” - in my study, the DSTV houses - where they watch European televised football.

In my fieldwork area, football globalization also brings new cultural styles such as hair and dress styles to the young people. Transnational broadcasting

media are important means through which young people experience cultural activities and aesthetic expressions (Ndlela, 2006). The transnational media provide pleasurable forms of “children’s culture” that appeal to children living in several geographical areas (Buckingham, 2007). Through the glocalization process children localize and give local meaning to the globally introduced footballers’ fashion and hairstyles. Globalisation actively produces cultural diversities, which are fluid and open to change (Ibid). In the fieldwork area, these transnational identities and cultures are particularly accessible in public places like the DSTV houses. Children who attend these places could experience and follow new cultural forms, which might not be preferred by the parents. However, as Buckingham (2007) says, this may not necessarily be disadvantageous for children themselves.

The social traditions in my fieldwork area claimed that members of the community should give great esteem to parents whose children are known for being “homely” and not wandering around public places (Workalemahu, 2007). Frequenting public places like the DSTV house is considered a *Durye*’s activity while being “homely” is considered as *Chewa*. *Durye* and *Chewa* are Amharic words, which oppose one another. The name *Chewa* is given to young people who do not wander around public places, are respectful of the social norms, polite and calm in their manners in society and family, while *Durye* is just the opposite of *Chewa*. *Durye* may be relatively synonymous with the term juvenile delinquency, which is commonly used to describe a child who engages in anti-social behaviour. Therefore, *Durye* behaviours might be considered a form of deviance, which as Berger (2012; 114) suggests *generates anxiety in people because it forces them to consider how valid their own practices are as well as the correctness of their own attitudes about what is normal*.

4.2.3. Social Studies of Childhood VS Football Globalization

One of the key aims of this study is to discuss the links between features of the social studies of childhood and the globalization process. The social studies of childhood conceive of childhood as a social and cultural construct, which implies that childhood and its manifestation may vary throughout different societies and across cultures (James et al., 1998). These diversities in society and in culture are reflected in the ways in which global televised football contents are glocalized to suit with the local beliefs and customs. It could be argued that the glocalization of televised football is itself socially and culturally constructed. Thus, the televised contents are interpreted, reproduced and reinvented, partly based on the concepts of childhood and its manifestations, which vary from place to place, culture to culture and society to society.

A key feature of the social studies of childhood is that children must be seen as agents and active beings in the construction and determination of their own social lives (James et al., 1989) including their cultural identities. Glocalization gives children the opportunity to engage in the construction of the meaning of global televised football content within the local context. The process may be one in which children are experts and social actors (Alanen, 2002; James and James, 2012; Prout and James, 1990). Glocalization may also increase the heterogeneity (Ritzer, 2004) of childhood, which is different in several places. As I intend to show, children are expert in imitating the televised football contents and modifying them through interpretive reproduction (Corsaro, 1997), adapting adult football tactics to those a child could use, and mixing global football contents with the local through the process of aesthetic glocalization, whereby local actors adopt a global sport and create a new hybrid aesthetic (Jijon, 2015). Thus, children consume these

media through interpretive reproduction and aesthetic glocalization: they do not copy and produce the adult and globally televised football contents exactly, but create infused and hybrid, locally determined meanings where they live.

4.2.4. Media for Children

Finally, it is important to consider a children's right perspective on these issues, by looking at information about the UNCRC and the Children's Television Charter related to media and children. The Children's Television Charter proposes that children should have their own programmes that allow them to grow physically, mentally and socially to their fullest potential (Livingstone, 2007). Children should express themselves, and their life experiences, through media programmes that affirm their sense of self, community and place (Ibid).

Likewise, Article 12 of the UNCRC has granted the right to children to form their own views and express those views freely in all matters that affect their lives. In the same convention, Article 13 has also allowed freedom to children to seek, receive and impart information irrespective of boundaries via any media of the child's choice (OHCHR, 2015). Parents' interests may not agree with this article about children's media choice. For example, children might want to watch media products, which can be against with the local beliefs and traditions that parents support, so this might lead to child-parent disagreement. Therefore, the government may have to intervene and support indigenous children's productions against the pressure of global media products (von Feilitzen, 2002). Some of these dilemmas are apparent in the account of my research data in the following chapter.

Chapter Five

5. Analysis and Discussion

5.1. Introduction

This chapter is aimed at presenting the results and discussions of the study findings related to the previous studies. The chapter contains two sections. The first section focuses on participants' perspectives on the Digital Satellite Television (DSTV) house. Specifically, it discusses how participants such as children, parents, school directors and DSTV owners conceive the DSTV house related to the children. The second section emphasises on the children's involvement in the DSTV house. It encompasses various sub-sections including when children start visiting DSTV house; the children's interaction in DSTV house and what impacts the results from their involvement in the DSTV house. Most of the findings of the study are discussed mainly from the standpoints of the social studies of childhood, and other empirical literatures, which have been used in relation to media globalization and children.

5.2. Section One: Digital Satellite Television (DSTV) House

In Ethiopia, there has been a shift in media audiences' interests from the local media broadcasting such as Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation (EBC) and the former Ethiopian television (ETV) to transnational media broadcasting of DSTV satellite of pay-tv and Arabsat Satellite Service (Workalemahu, 2007). Sports, and particularly football, play a key role here. The most dynamic agents in football's contemporary glocalization, the transnational media corporations such as BSkyB and DSTV engage in worldwide production, distribution and marketing of sports-related services (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2004). The distribution of sports related services through the transnational media corporation has reached many consumers who live in even less urbanized parts

of the World, for instance the place where I conducted the fieldwork in Ethiopia.

Therefore, since the past ten years, the broadcast of transnational media, specifically the Digital Satellite Television (DSTV) programming has increased in my fieldwork area. Transnational football media such as the DSTV primarily focus on football matches that usually take place in UK, Spain, and Italy (Onwumechili & Akindes, 2014). In the fieldwork area, the local audiences including young people watched the football matches such as the English Premier League and Spanish La Liga on television.

Young people under the age of 18 years old make up a significant number of the audience. The emergence of media globalization creates a new global audience out of which a third of the world population are children and young people who are below 18 years of age (von Feilitzen, 2002). These audiences are, according to Giulianotti and Robertson (2004), de-territorialized communities of global consumers. They call these football communities “self-invented virtual diasporas” and they are created by the transnational football media. The “self-invented virtual diasporas” in my study are the child audiences who spend a lengthy amount of time watching DSTV programmes and playing PlayStation games in the DSTV house - what Onwumechili and Akindes (2014) called an “electronic stadium”, which is opened by business people for generating an income.



Picture 1) These are photos of Belay's DSTV house (electronic stadium) where I conducted the fieldwork.

The above picture depicts various parts of Belay's DSTV house including a notice board where Belay, the owner, posts the list of his DSTV house programmes. Furthermore, it shows the inside part of Belay's DSTV house which contains benches, a TV, a projector wall paint, a dusty floor and a poster.

5.2.1. Children's program preference in the DSTV house

It has already been mentioned in the background part of the study that many children preferred Belay's DSTV house to other DSTV houses in the fieldwork area. In Belay's DSTV house, various televised European football

matches are exhibited to children. I assessed the televised football programmes which children prefer to watch in Belay's DSTV house.

To uncover the children's preferences of a televised football programme, I used a ranking method, which allowed children to first list all of the programmes they watched in Belay's DSTV house and then ranked the programmes based on their preferences. I also asked Belay (the DSTV house owner) to rank the children's televised football programme preferences in his DSTV house because he often spent time with the children in there. Thus, I believe that Belay knows well about the children's programme preferences in the DSTV house. I identified the rank of children's programming preferences after I counted the frequency of a programme being selected by participants in the ranking sheet.

Table 1. Ranks of children's televised football programmes preferred in DSTV house

No	Children's programme preference in rank
1	English Premier League
2	Spanish La Liga
3	UEFA Champions League
4	The Football Association Challenge Cup (FA Cup)
5	German Football League (Bundesliga)
6	UEFA Europa League
7	Copa Del Rey (King's Cup)
8	Ligue 1 (France League)
9	Greece Super League
10	Football League One
11	Africa Cup of Nations
12	FIFA World Cup

Some teams from the main leagues attract more attention and attachment among African football fans (Akindes, 2011). Therefore, as we can see from the above table, all programmes were not equally exhibited in Belay's DSTV house. This might be for several reasons. The marketing power supported by consistent broadcasting included a few leagues in Europe, such as the English Premier League, the Spanish La Liga and the Italian Series A. that are globally diffused (Akindes, 2011) and produce many fans. The indigenous media such as Sheger 102.1 FM radio, EBC, and Sports newspaper, in Ethiopia also give more attention to European League, specifically the English Premier League and Spanish La Liga. This might also contribute to children being interested in European clubs.

Unlike the Africa Cup of Nations and FIFA World Cup which are prepared every 2 and 4 years respectively, all above mentioned take place each year. As can be seen from the above table, children ranked the English Premier league in first place above any other football programmes in the world. Children's interests towards the English Premier League are manifested in various ways. As I will mention in the following parts, children follow various hairstyles that they copy from footballers in the English Premier League. Furthermore, children use the name of footballers in the English Premier League clubs.

5.2.2. The Participants' Perspectives on DSTV House

As I noted in discussing the background of the study, DSTV house is a place where children ages 8 to 18 years old and adults hang out to watch televised football matches. In addition to observation, I conducted an interview and did a focused group discussion (FGD) to explore what participants recount about DSTV houses related to the child audiences. I conducted the interview and

FGD with the audiences and non-audiences such as children, families, school directors and owners of the DSTV house. Thus, collecting the participants' opinions on DSTV house was the first task before assessing the children's experiences in DSTV house. Participants recounted about DSTV house based on the purpose it serves for each of them. Therefore, they viewed the DSTV house from various perspectives such as entertainment, education and economics.

5.2.3. The Children's Perspectives on DSTV House

Extracts from interviews with the children reveal that they developed positive attitudes towards the DSTV house. They indicated that they often stayed for a long time in the DSTV house to entertain themselves by watching football matches on TV and playing football PlayStation games. Thus, the DSTV house gives children the opportunity to learn about football. In the following extract, a 12-year-old child named Shewa describes his perspective on the DSTV house

Shewa: DSTV house is a place in which we children can entertain ourselves by watching football on TV. In addition, I consider it to be like a school. It increased my awareness about football. In DSTV house, I learn through entertainment, but in school, I learn through tedious ways.

The transnational football media broadcasts such as DSTV airs attractive football matches played by successful European clubs to entertain and satisfy its consumers at different levels (Onwumechili & Akindes, 2014) including urban and rural. The rural consumer of DSTV services such as Shewa, indicated that the DSTV house is an interesting and relaxing place

where he could watch a football match on TV and that he thinks it is better than school. Shewa conceived that in the DSTV house, he learns about football through a better way than he learns in school. It implies the school where Shewa attends needs to improve in its ways of teaching the students, and create a more relaxed learning environment. Technology is a powerful tool for children to learn by doing things. Children's traditional classroom tools such as pencils, notebooks, and texts have to be combined with educational and interesting transnational media products for a new pedagogical purpose, for example, teaching children the school curriculum with the support of movies on TV (Strommen & Lincoln, 1992). However, it might not be easy for the school where children like Shewa attend because of the financial constraint of buying TV and media services, which have been prepared on the school curriculum.

In addition, the DSTV house gives the children the opportunity to learn specific football skills. They would mimic the best international footballers' tactics from televised games, and then try them out when they playing in the local football clubs. Zenebe and Lemma, both twelve years old, recounted the following:

Zenebe (Boy, 12 years old): DSTV house is an important place for me because I learned various football skills through watching them on TV. In my primary school, there are football clubs in which I play in the forward place. In this place, I play well because I copied the tactics used by Cristiano Ronaldo⁴.

⁴ Cristiano Ronaldo is a Portuguese professional footballer who plays for Spanish club Real Madrid.

Lemma (Boy, 12 years old): DSTV house taught me football tactics like how to control the ball, pass the ball to a teammate and bend the ball.

Both Zenebe and Lemma viewed DSTV house as a place where they learn about football tactics. Football tactics children learn from international footballers could contribute to shaping their life destiny and the success of the Ethiopian national football team. The professional footballers might inspire children to may be playing in popular football clubs to generate income when they are grown-ups. For example, talented African footballers immigrate to Europe to play in popular European football clubs (Akindes, 2011) where they make football a career and earn a high amount of money (Darby, Akindes, & Kirwin, 2007).

The Ethiopian national football team has not been successful so far in international and continental matches because of a possible lack of well-trained players both theoretically and practically. Therefore, the DSTV house would be a source of hope to teach children football skills since they are young. Then later, these children could contribute to the success of the national football team. For example, Zenebe was successful when he played football on the field because he applied the tactics he observed from Cristiano Ronaldo in DSTV house. In Africa, there are football academies including African national federations, Afro-European academies, private or corporate-sponsored academies (Darby et al. 2007). However, places like the DSTV house have not been considered so far as a part of these football training institutions. This tells us that these DSTV houses might be unknown widely,

but they are important sites to teach children about professional football since they are young.

It could be argued that Zenebe could not exactly copy and apply the football tactics of Cristiano Ronaldo because of different realities. Unlike Cristiano Ronaldo, Zenebe played in local clubs where he used a small ball, which was made from trash cloth. Furthermore, there is a difference between Zenebe and Cristiano Ronaldo in age, physical strength, football experiences, football field settings, etc. Therefore, Zenebe would imitate the tactics and modify them through interpretive reproduction (Corsaro, 1997) from adult football tactics to those a child could use, and mix the global football tactics (Ronaldo's football tactics) with the local through the process of aesthetic glocalization, whereby local actors adopt a global sport and create a new hybrid aesthetic (Jijon, 2015). The local consumers (e.g., Zenebe) of the transnational media broadcast develop a hybrid mixing international football style with the local football style (Ibid). Giulianotti and Robertson (2009), confirmed that football has enabled "local" cultures to explore fresh forms of particularity, for example, school clubs where children like Zenebe play to develop specific styles of play.

In this discussion, there is a similar process in Zenebe's interpretive reproduction and aesthetic glocalization of football tactics. In terms of interpretive reproduction, he did not exactly accept the adult culture (Cristiano Ronaldo's tactic) but rather modified and reproduced it. Similarly, in terms of glocalization, he did not use the globally advertised football tactic, or what Giulianotti and Robertson (2004) called "universalisation of particularism". He mixed it with the local context. This implies that children are social actors

and experts (James and James, 2012) in that they can mix the global scene with the local practice.

Since the late nineteenth-century, the British had globalized football as the world's most popular game (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2004). Since the globalization of football in Africa in the late nineteenth century by colonialists (Baker and Mangan, 1987 in Akindes, 2011) young people have been playing football through repeatedly localizing most of football's contents such as, the ball, the football rule, the sport kit, and the play style. Gradually, the young people's play styles have been improved with time. Therefore, children like Lemma learned and glocalized the new play styles such as how to control, pass and bend the ball. It is to be imagined that glocalisation has come about due to the penetration of satellite television broadcasting technology, the already-existing interest in Africa in football, and local fans' experiences (Akindes, 2011).

The social traditions in the area where I conducted the fieldwork often necessitates the disciplining of children. Children are expected to learn about social norms, expectations, and to act appropriately in society. In the fieldwork area for the past several centuries, children had mainly learned social norms at home, church and traditional school. The traditional school was an important agent in teaching the children about social norms (Kassahun, 2012). However, recently, there is a new setting where children learn social norms. The extracts indicate that the DSTV house is a setting where children learn about social norms. The interaction between children and adults in the DSTV house often lets children know that the young must respect the older people. In the DSTV house, the adult audiences often command the children to keep

quiet, to respect others and not to disturb them. Markos and Tensay said the following.

Markos (Boy, 12 years old): DSTV house gave me the opportunity to learn about social norms. For example, I found out how I should obey adult audiences' commands to keep quiet during DSTV programmes.

Tensay (Boy, 12 years old): When I spend time at DSTV house, I need be ready to accept the adult audiences' commands. For example, a command to buy edible food from shops.

Clearly, both Markos and Tensay indicated that the DSTV house is a place where the older people teach the younger people about the social norms, such as that children must respect their elders. However, these children were not passive receivers. They challenged the adults' authority with various reactions, both physical and verbal. Unlike the socialization theories such as the deterministic model, children must be taught to function fully in society (Corsaro, 1997). Children are social actors who engage with the social world, rather than just the passive receivers of adult wisdom (James & James, 2012). Therefore, they have "reactive agency" to confront the adults' interests (Klocker, Robson, & Bell, 2007). In the DSTV house, sometimes, when adults forcefully command children to buy edible food from the shops in the middle of the DSTV programme, they challenge and confront the adults' authority by refusing the command, crying and leave the DSTV house. This demonstrates the subtle and overt strategies children use to resist adults' command (Punch, Bell, Costello, & Panelli, 2007). Likewise, studies depicted how young children implicitly challenge the adult's (e.g., teacher's) authority in preschool (W. Corsaro, 2009; Hadley, 2003).

Adult-child interaction, like in the DSTV house, happens between adult audiences and the children like Markos and Tensay are often exposed to social knowledge, which they do not fully grasp (Corsaro & Eder, 1990). However, interaction normally continues in an orderly fashion, and ambiguities about social norms which Markos and Tensay could try to grasp, are often left to be pursued over the course of the children's' interactive experiences (Ibid). For example, during the first few contacts in the DSTV house, the child audiences such as Markos and Tensay could not recognize they should obey the adult audiences. However, gradually through interactive experience with the adults in the DSTV house, they mastered what adult audiences wanted from the children in the DSTV house.

However, whatever Markos and Tensay said about DSTV house usage related to learning about social norms, parents and the local tradition did assert that this house was not the appropriate place to learn about social norms. This is because, there was a belief which indicates that spending time around public place like DSTV often leads children to learn *Duryes'* behaviour rather than learning discipline. This might be related to juvenile delinquency (James and James 2012). In this sense, Markos and Tensay were *Duryes*, who often wandered around and spent much of their time in the DSTV house. According to the local tradition, the best and safest places where children can learn social norms and discipline are home, school and church.

5.2.4. The Owners' Perspectives on DSTV House

Unlike the children who participated in the study, the owners viewed the DSTV house from an economic perspective. In the fieldwork area, all DSTV houses were opened to generate income through exhibiting transnational

televised football matches on TV. Football has become increasingly transnational and market oriented, so transnational media corporations provide the technical and business infrastructure for the global flow of football information (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2007b). Therefore, viewing televised European football on TV has created business opportunities for owners of bars (Akindes, 2011) and DSTV houses that people are attracted to.

DSTV football broadcasts reach the local consumer through what (Giulianotti and Robertson 2004) call the “particularisation of the universalism” process, which involves global to local economically connected chains. The key mass media corporations of football’s governing bodies are stretched from global to local levels (Ibid). In this study, the transnational football media corporation is at the apex, followed by competing media corporations such as the Africa continent distributor DSTV, national distributor MultiChoice Ethiopia and local exhibitor Belay’s DSTV house (my fieldwork site).

On the top level, the transnational media corporations, profit-centred business that cross the national borders for trade are higher stakeholders (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2004). The higher stakeholders penetrate the lowest stakeholders (e.g., DSTV house owners). According to Sklair (1995), these stakeholders are “polycentric” corporations and facilitate local self-determination within centrally-defined margins. At the bottom level, DSTV house owners are the lowest stakeholders who bring the global market of football’s media broadcast through glocalization into the local market. The local market encompasses the DSTV house where the local audience or “self-invented virtual diasporas” buy the football’s media broadcast services.

Therefore, opening a DSTV house is an investment that gives owners an economic benefit because they collect an entry fee from most members of the DSTV house audience. Robel (Male, 26 years old), the DSTV house owner in the area where I conducted the fieldwork, recounted the following:

I opened the DSTV house to make an income. Audiences need to pay three to five Birr (0.15 – 0.25 USD) when they watch a football match (e.g., Arsenal Vs Manchester United) in my DSTV house. My DSTV house can host 70 – 80 audiences at a time. My income increases when the Ethiopian national football team plays international matches because of the number of audience.

According to Nash (2001), football has adopted market discourses of consumerism, entertainment and commercialism. Robel, the owner, indicated that he opened the DSTV house for income generation by exhibiting football matches which usually take place in UK and Spain to the local audiences. He exhibited the DSTV programmes in a way that considered the local context and audiences' preferences while generating a profit. Therefore, he exhibited the football matches in the process of “particularisation of the universalisation” in which he glocalized the global media shows on a local level. Likewise, Giulianotti & Robertson (2004) argued that contemporary glocalization processes have always been manifested within football's economic world.

In an informal dialogue I had with Robel, he indicated that he was acknowledged in the local government as an entrepreneur in the entertainment area, because he connected the local audiences with global events related to football. Therefore, as a businessperson, he paid taxes to the local

administrator under the income Tax Proclamation No. 286/2002, Article 31 (Gemechu, 2014). Therefore, the economic benefit of DSTV house was not only for the owners, but also for the government.

In addition to entertainment, education and generating an income, the DSTV house makes children stay inside rather than wander around the most unsafe places. The account of Belay (Male, 29 years old, owner of the DSTV house) indicated that, *DSTV house keeps children away from wandering and engaging in worthless situations. Gambling is a good example.* Belay viewed the DSTV house as a better place for children. However, parents and social tradition considered it to be a worthless place (Workalemahu, 2007). Therefore, there was a disagreement between the beliefs of Belay (Owner) on one side and on the other hand parents and social tradition. However, whatever they said about the DSTV house, Belay promoted his DSTV house as a useful place for children to spend their time.

5.2.5. Parents' Perspective on DSTV House

To get the perspectives of all participants on DSTV house, I also interviewed parents of the child participants of the study. Parents conceived the DSTV house in two different ways, which focuses on the impacts it has on children. In one way, they perceived the DSTV house in the same way the children perceived it. They believed that the DSTV house helps children to entertain and educate themselves. Nevertheless, in other ways, parents conceived that the DSTV house can have unintended impact on children. The following extracts show the parents' perspectives on the DSTV house related to the children.

Abebe (Father, 36 years old): The DSTV house helps children to learn about football tactics because they watch the matches of

different foreign football clubs. However, the DSTV house makes children emphasise on foreign football and undermines indigenous football matches. Furthermore, children would have to pay money when they go to DSTV house, so it would not be easy to get five Birr (0.25 USD) to cover the entrance fee. I have doubts about these two things when I think about DSTV house related to the effect it has on children.

The manifest function of television programming, for example, in this study televised European football, might be to entertain children, however the implicit functions of these programmes might be to baptize the watcher with certain interests (Ritzer, 2004). Therefore, clearly, Abebe indicated that children might pay attention to a foreign football match while neglecting the Ethiopian football clubs' matches. His fear is clear that, for instance, Giulianotti & Robertson (2004) argued that through the process of "universalisation of particularisation" the transnational clubs such as Manchester United, Juventus and Bayern Munich have created transnational local audiences or "self-invented virtual diasporas", which might undermine the place of local football teams.

Like Abebe, Akindes (2011) argues African football fans are placed in a passive position and they have become football content consumers of just a minority of European teams. Onwumehili and Akindes (2014) argued that televised European football is challenging the African indigenous teams so their fans withdraw from the local field to watch the European football in electronic stadiums (e.g., bars and DSTV houses). Some researchers have argued that the satellite companies have killed the local fans' interest for indigenous football teams (Walker, 2008 in Onwumehili and Akindes, 2014). Because local fans use the European football as the standard to define the

quality of local football, so they prefer to watch the programming on DSTV. Furthermore, the African football fans might neglect the local leagues because of the migration of talented African players (models) to the European leagues as well as poor local football facilities and management (Akindes, 2011)

However, Abebe's fear may not be true for various reasons. First, children learn football tactics from DSTV programmes, so they will be a source of hope for the indigenous football clubs. Second, they do not entirely focus on foreign football matches, rather they aesthetically glocalize (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2004) the foreign football events to local contexts and reproduce them through interpretive reproduction (Corsaro, 1997). Third, Robel (the owner of DSTV house) indicated in his extract given above, the number of people in his DSTV house is high when the Ethiopian national football team plays international matches. Thus, it implies that participants of DSTV house did give priority to the national matches rather than to the foreign football matches.

The transnational media corporations, what Sklair (1995) called transnational capitalist classes, dominate global football's media economic system, which nevertheless derives from the support of local consumers. Thus, children as local consumers of the DSTV services should pay a fee when they enter DSTV house. Therefore, Abebe was hesitant about the entry fee of DSTV house. He recounted that the fee was not affordable for children because they could not often get money to watch programmes in DSTV house. Like Abebe, Onwumechili and Akindes (2014) argued that the cost to get DSTV service is not affordable for many African televised football fans. However, children used their own strategy, which allowed them to access the DSTV service without the direct payment of the fee in cash. They used the reciprocity technique (see below) with the owner to enter DSTV house free. This might

imply children's agency to influence others such as the owner (James et al., 2012).

Furthermore, apart from exhibiting televised football, the DSTV house is a place where children interact with several PlayStation games. The PlayStation games in the DSTV house consist of four types of games. These games include football, car racing, boxing and motorcycle riding. These games let children highly interact with one another because they play the game in pairs and the rest of the children make a half-circle behind the players. When children play these games in pairs, the loser of the game pays the fee, whereas the winner does not pay. Other children who sit close to the players give ideas about how the player can win the game. From what I observed in DSTV house, children repeatedly played the football PlayStation game.

The account of Zeru (Father, 30 years old) indicated that, *In DSTV house children watch various programmes that are introduced through modern technology*. Clearly, Zeru indicated that in the DSTV house, children interact with modernization. In the fieldwork area, there is a recent trend among young people that watching programmes and playing PlayStation games in the DSTV house is believed to be the manifestation of "modernization". Similarly, Buckingham (2007), argued that in the rural parts of developing world (e.g., my fieldwork area), there is a growing access to transnational media products for children, and media is sometimes believed to be an early indication of "modernization".

5.2.6. The School Director's Perspective on the DSTV House

I carried out an interview with the director of the school which the child participants of the study attend. The school director conceived that the DSTV

house could give children the opportunity to interact with globalization and develop constructive characteristics. Likewise, Von Feilitzen (2002) argued that transnational TV programmes allow children to interact with media globalization. However, on the other hand, the exposure children have in the DSTV house may lead them to learn unwanted characteristics, which can explicitly be exhibited on the school compound. Electronic media, particularly television, have long been criticized for their potential negative impact on children (Kirkorian, Wartella, & Anderson, 2008). The school director gave the following narration on DSTV house related to the children

Abiwot (Male, school director and 38 years old): DSTV house gives children the opportunity to interact with globalization, so that they can explore contemporary events related to football. Children who often attend in DSTV house are active participants in some activities, which we perform in our school. Therefore, they are an active player in the school's clubs and confident enough when they demonstrate drama in school. However, on the other hand, children who are often involved in DSTV houses are unlikely to have an effect on the school's system. For example, they behave wrongly in school such as shouting, show alien hairstyles, absenteeism, and less interest in doing homework. They also have conflicts with students who have never visited DSTV house, specifically, with children who come from remote rural parts of the district.

Due to deregulation and political factors, live broadcasting allows football games to become accessible to fans across sub-Saharan Africa (Akindes, 2011). Therefore, as Abiwot mentioned, the televised programme enabled children to watch the global football games, which later contributed to children

learning to play well in their school football clubs. However, children learn some alien characteristics, which had not been liked mainly by non-attendants of the DSTV house. People who contact with alien thing suffer from “ false consciousness” meaning a consciousness that takes the form of the ideology that control their thinking (Berger, 2012). Thus, televised football contents, which children watch in the DSTV house, might shape what children think about hairstyle and characteristics they would follow.

Contemporary globalization comes with polarizing effects that deepen inequality on a world scale (Pieterse, 2009). Likewise, in school, there is inequality between children who could and could not access global media programmes. Both groups of students had different beliefs about one another. In an informal dialogue I had with participants, I discovered that students who visit DSTV houses considered the students who has never been there as non-civilized, which represents their belief as traditional. In rural areas, accessing media and technology could be a sign of “modernization” (Buckingham, 2007) and globalization, which is tied up with modernity (Pieterse, 2009). Just the opposite, a student who never went to the DSTV house considered the children who attended in DSTV house as *Durye* or delinquents. Children who wandered around public places, for example video houses, are considered as *Durye* (Assefa, 2006; Workalemahu, 2007).

5.2.7. Codes of the DSTV House

The DSTV houses impose codes that govern the audiences’ characteristics. These codes allow the audience to identify what is right and wrong in the DSTV house. All codes in DSTV house are unwritten except for one code, which is that there is no smoking of cigarettes. When these codes are broken, the code breakers show characteristics that are offensive to the audience.

Either the audiences or the owners of the DSTV house take actions that are physical or verbal, to correct the code breakers' characteristics. These actions include punching, pulling, pushing, insulting, displacing from the seat, shouting at, throwing a piece of stone and using the peel of sugarcane to beat the code-breaker. Most of the time, adult audiences use physical actions to punish children who behave wrongly in the DSTV house.

Belay (Male, 29 years old and the DSTV house owner) described that:

Anyone is eligible to visit and stay in my DSTV house, if he or she respects the following codes:

1. Free from undesirable odour (e.g., alcohol and foot odour), unless there is a free bench that I will let him or her sit there isolated from the rest.
2. No smoking cigarettes at all.
3. Anyone regardless of age, gender, residential status, rural or urban
4. Avoid high-pitched noise, conflict, hassle and scurry in the DSTV house. However, audiences can shout, stand up from their seat, jump and clap their hands when a goal is scored, but then they should immediately keep quiet.
5. Pay the entry fee of DSTV house.

5.2.8. The Entry Fee of DSTV House and the Child Audiences

All the above codes except for the entry fee are always applicable to child audiences of the DSTV house. Children are not always supposed to pay the entry fee because the owner allows them to watch free. Owners have reasons to allow children to attend free in their DSTV house. Belay (Male, 29 years old) the owner of DSTV house where I conducted the fieldwork recounted the following:

Most of the time, I do not ask children for a fee, because they cannot get money every time. I had experienced this when I was a kid and had often been banned from the video house because I could not pay the entrance fee. Thus, I now let children in free to watch in my DSTV house. However, children clean the DSTV house to compensate for the entry fee.

There was disparity between the beliefs of child audiences and Belay (the owner) regarding why he often allowed them entry for free to get into his DSTV house. Children believed that they often got in free to DSTV house because they cleaned the DSTV house. In other words, “they scratched his back, and then he would scratch theirs”. By contrast, Belay believed that his benevolence made him allow children enter his DSTV house free.

However, sometimes children must pay the entry fee when there is a big match between strong English Premier League clubs (e.g., Arsenal Vs Chelsea) because of many adults visiting and occupying much of the space including the front seats of DSTV house where child audiences often sit. In this time, no one would enter DSTV house free even though he or she is just a child and can clean.

Child participants of the study indicated that they are highly interested in watching football in the DSTV house when there is a big match between English premier league clubs. Therefore, they need to find money to cover the entry fee. They get the entry fee either from their parents or through income making activities such as cleaning shoes or carrying passengers’ luggage. For example, the 14-year-old boy named Tensay recounted the following:

To get the entry fee of DSTV house, I engage in income making activity. For example, I carry passengers' luggage from the bus station to their home, and then they give me five Birr (0.25 USD) which can be spent to cover the DSTV house entry fee.

Children have the agency to work for pocket money (Punch et al., 2007). Tensay did not depend on his parents to find pocket money. He engaged in income making activity, which gave him the economic freedom related to the DSTV house. Zelizer (1985) in Montgomery (2003), describes how in Western society, children are economically “worthless”, but in Ethiopia, children like Tensay can be active in income generating. Because he was a competent social being, he was a “doer” and “thinker” in income generation rather than merely a human becoming (Valentine, 1996 in Klocker et al., 2007). Thus, he kept his parents from spending money for the DSTV house when he went there. This implies that children should not be seen as dependent on their parents, but that their relationship is interdependent (Mayall, 2002). However, his participation in carrying luggage might harm his physical and psychological development. Furthermore, the time he spent carrying luggage might cut into the time, which can be spent on school activities.

Unlike the above, there are children who depend on their parents to get the DSTV house entry fee. Children who depend on their parents for the entry fee sometimes turn to tricks. They use an indirect way of asking their parents for the entry fee. Therefore, they ask their question in a convincing way. For example, Shewa (Boy, 12 years old) indicates how a child turns to tricks when asking for the entry fee from the parents:

I do not directly ask my parents for the DSTV house entry fee because my family thinks that spending money for DSTV house is an extravagant practice. Therefore, I justify the expense in other ways. For instance, instead of saying, I need money for DSTV house, I tell them I need money to buy a pencil or sugarcane.

Shewa indicated that he indirectly negotiated with his parents to get the entry fee. Likewise, it has already been mentioned in Punch et al. (2007) study that children negotiate with their parents in order to gain more financial freedom. The study conducted by Mayall (2002) indicated that many of her study's child participants reported that they often got pocket money, but in some cases only if they behaved well during the week, and parents restricted some of the children's spending choices. Similarly, Shewa's parents restricted his spending choice so he could spend money to buy a pencil and sugarcane but not pay to visit the DSTV house. This restriction led him to create a strategy, which can negotiate his parents' interests regarding his spending choice. He used a trick strategy to get the entry fee to enter DSTV house so that the strategy negotiated his parents' control over the spending choice he had for the DSTV house. Similarly, Punch (2001) found that children use the avoidance strategy for defying the adults' wishes related to their children's interest. The strategy that children use to defy their parents' wish might lead them to develop the habit of being deceitful. Therefore, parents have to let their children express their wish freely.

5.3. Section Two: Children's Involvement in DSTV House

This section presents the results and discussions of the children's involvement in the DSTV house. It primarily focuses on data gathered from children who

often visited the DSTV house. I have organized the section into three sub-sections: Firstly, I present how, when and with whom children first visited the DSTV house and how much time children spend in the DSTV house. Secondly, I present how children spend time in the DSTV house including children's inter-generational vs. intra-generational relations, and sentiments in the DSTV house. Thirdly, I discuss the impacts on children resulting from their involvement in the DSTV house.

5.3.1. How, When and With Whom Children Began Visiting DSTV House

In my fieldwork, I raised questions about when, how and with whom children began attending the DSTV house. During the interview, children recounted that they began attending the DSTV house before they were ten years old. Most of the children first came to the DSTV house with their friends. The following quote indicates how, when and with whom the 12-year-old boy Zenebe began visiting the DSTV house.

Wondwesen (researcher): When did you first go to DSTV house?

Zenebe: I first visited DSTV house when I was an 8-year-old boy.

Wondwesen: Why did you go there?

Zenebe: Many of my friends informed me about DSTV house.

Wondwesen: With whom did you first go?

Zenebe: I first visited the DSTV house with my friend.

Wondwesen: What did you first watch in DSTV house?

Zenebe: I saw when the Spanish men's national football team played for the Union of European Football Associations cup.

Clearly, Zenebe indicated he began visiting the DSTV house because his friends inspired him. Punch et al. (2007) found that children within their network share their experiences with one another. Likewise, Zenebe's friends shared their previous experience of visiting the DSTV house, which then motivated Zenebe to visit it also. Similarly, Corsaro and Eder (1990) argued that children make persistent attempts to share their experiences which can influence one another.

5.3.2. How Much Time Children Spend in the DSTV House

In their everyday lives, children spend time in various places such as school, home, and recreational settings (Rasmussen, 2004). Buckingham (2007) argued that in most developed countries, children spend more time with media than they spend in school, or with their family members. Relatively, children who took part in my study spend more time at the DSTV house. They spend different amounts of time across winter and summer seasons. In the winter season, children spend less time at DSTV than they spend in the summer season, because in the winter season, children also spend time in school. A 12-year-old boy named Zemen recounted the following:

In the summer season, each day of the week except for Saturday and Sunday, I go to DSTV house in the morning around 8: 30 AM, and then I go home at 12: 30 AM for lunch. After I eat my lunch, make coffee and gather firewood to take home. After this, I go to DSTV house again. In total, each day, from Monday to Friday, I spend 8 hours in DSTV house. On Saturday and Sunday, I go to the DSTV house around 8: 30 AM, and then I stay there until evening. In the winter season, I do spend less time in DSTV house because I also

work on my school activities, so I spend more of my time in school. Thus, on average, I spend 4 hours each day of the week.

Children prefer to spend more time at the DSTV house than they spend in school, because they are more entertained there than in school. Thus, some participants of the study reported that they decrease their school time to spend time at the DSTV house. In rare cases, some children who took part in my study skipped classes to spend time at the DSTV house while the other children strictly dedicated more of their time to school rather than spending it at the DSTV house.

5.3.3. Where Children Sit in DSTV House

In the DSTV house, children often sit in the seats where adult audiences would not like to sit in. These seats are located close to the TV and projector wall paint, mainly in the front part of the DSTV house. These seats are not comfortable to sit in and adequately watch the projector screen or TV. The physical size difference and the unequal power relation between children and adult audiences often force children to sit in the front seat of the DSTV house. According to Punch (2002), due to unequal power relations, the adults control the children's lives. Shewa the 12-year-old boy recounted the following:

Most of the time, either when I watch a DSTV programme or play PlayStation game in DSTV house, I sit in the second seat. I know that sitting close to the TV screen is not good for my eyes. However, I sit there for various reasons. These reasons are associated with my physical size, interest in watching and playing attentively, and the adult audiences' pressure. Physically, adult audiences are bigger than I am. Therefore, they hide me when I sit in the other seat (e.g., 4th, 5th

or 6th seats) of the DSTV house. Adult audiences occupy all except the front seats, so they often forced me to sit in the front seats of the DSTV house.

Shewa often occupied the front seat of the DSTV house because of both natural and culturally constructed factors. The culturally constructed factor is that in Ethiopia children have an inferior status. For example, a study conducted by Abebe (2009) in the southern region of Ethiopia indicated that due to the local conceptualizations of childhood, children are considered as having inferior social positions. Similarly, in the place where I conducted the fieldwork, children are considered as having inferior social positions. In fact, it has not only been in Ethiopia, but elsewhere - for instance, Alanen & Mayall (2001) in James & James (2012) argue that children everywhere occupy a position of powerlessness. Therefore, adult audiences often put pressure on Shewa to sit in the front seat.

The second factor, which did not allow Shewa to sit in the middle and back seats of DSTV house, was his physical size. There are some inherent differences between children and adults (Boyden and Ennew, 1997 in Punch, 2003). There was an inherent physical height difference between Shewa and adult audiences in the DSTV house. The tribal child approach also conceptualizes children as different from adults, focusing on the “otherness” of childhood (James, et al., 1998; Punch, 2003). In the DSTV house, child audiences are different from the adult audiences in their physical size. Thus, the “otherness” of Shewa in his physical size might contribute to sitting in a less interesting seat in the DSTV house.

5.3.4. Children’s Relationships in DSTV House

Children increasingly move away from the boundary of the family into the broader social world (James & James, 2012). The DSTV house is an important

place in which children (8 – 18 year old) interact with the social world and form relationships. Children spend a lengthy amount of time together in the DSTV house so it can give children the opportunity to strengthen their relationships further. Young people progressively exchange the support of parents for the emotional and social support that provided by the friendship groups comprising the children's peers (James & James, 2012).

The children's relationships at the DSTV house consist of two forms, which are inter-generational and intra-generational relationships. Intra-generational relations are the horizontal relationships children form among themselves at DSTV house. While the inter-generation relations are an upward relationship, which children form with the adults, mainly with the adult audiences and the owner of the DSTV house.

5.3.4.1. Children's Intra-generational Relations in the DSTV House

When children hang out in the DSTV house, they often have physical contact with each other and hug one another. Gradually, they develop an intra-generational relationship, which is characterized by strong ties among themselves. For example, Shewa (Boy, 12 years old) recounted that: "*We are brothers. We talk about football when we hang out at DSTV house.*" Shewa indicated that he and his DSTV house friends developed a sense of belonging and togetherness. Like Shewa, Corsaro (1985) in Corsaro (1997) discussed that children affiliate themselves with phrases like, "We're friends, right?" When the children's relationship in DSTV house matures, they start to share food, money and have strong discussions and arguments about football. They are a stable set of children's activities or routines and are what Corsaro calls peer culture. Children do not get these values from just anywhere. They learn these values through observing the adult audiences and others. However, they

may not directly copy them, rather as Corsaro (2009) found they create their own peer culture by appropriation of information (interpretive reproduction) from the adult culture.

Future research work on peer culture must have emphasis on the role the media play and how they affect children (Corsaro, 2009). In the fieldwork area, the televised European football match, which comes through the transnational media such as DSTV, plays a role in the formation of peer culture among children. For example, in the DSTV house, adult audiences often bet on the winner of the match they watch on TV and then at the end of the game, the person who correctly predicted the game collects money from others who did not predict the outcome accurately. Similarly, through interpretive reproduction (Corsaro, 1997), child audiences did this; however they did not use money. They used a piece of biscuit or roasted grain. Thus, children do not simply imitate the adult audiences and copy them, but they do it in another way.

Once children have established an intra-generational relationship in the DSTV house, it is not limited to just there. Nevertheless, it also goes beyond the DSTV house and extends to other places where children spend time together. For example, their friendship may carry over into school, on the field, at the market and in church. The 12-year-old boy named Zenebe narrated the following:

We children set up a peer group and friendship in DSTV house. The friendship goes beyond the DSTV house. After we established the friendship in DSTV house, we go to school together. We spend school break together. We play football together. We help each other

when a conflict arises between our group member and other students in school.

Corsaro (1997) indicates that children who spend time together on an everyday basis are referred to as a peer group. Similarly, Zenebe considered the child audiences who often spend time together to be a group. Furthermore, Samuel (Boy, 13 years old) added that *DSTV house helped me to find a peer group. Either at DSTV house or in other places members of the group sit together to talk about football.*

Both Zenebe and Samuel indicated that the peer relationships established in the DSTV house were not limited to the DSTV house, but also extended in other settings. Corsaro & Eder (1990) indicated that the children's sense of belonging to a peer culture is extended to a wide range of social-ecological settings. The discussion children had about football helped them to strengthen their relationship because this gave them the opportunity to share their perspective. Furthermore, Zenebe indicated that they helped each other when conflicts happened with the members of their peer group. Similarly, Corsaro (1985) in Corsaro (1997) found that when children played together, they used phrases like, "you cannot play, you are not our friend!" to discourage other children from being a part of their group.

In contrast to these strong ties, the intra-generational relationship is also accompanied by conflicts. In some circumstances, the children who visit DSTV house have disagreements that result from conflicts of interests among one another. The friendship which is formed during childhood is never a straightforward matter as it is frequently accompanied by several conflicts

(Corsaro, 1997). Like the relationship, the conflict extends to other places such as when they exercise on the football field.

In an intra-generational relationship, children often share food at the DSTV house. Like the relationships and the conflicts, the children's habit of sharing food extends from DSTV house to other settings. Therefore, members of the established group at DSTV house, share food when they spend time together during school break. For example, a narration given by a 12-year-old boy named Markos indicated that, *during school break, we buy biscuits and share them*. Children not only share food, but they also share their money. Tensay (Boy, 14 years old): *If I have money, I give it to my friends and they give it back to me when they have it*. Tensay clearly indicated that there was reciprocity among them, so one would share his money and then later return the money to the other member. A study conducted by Kassahun (2012) in Ethiopia, indicated that the children's horizontal (peer) relations were characterized by sharing and cooperation.

In an intra-generational relationship, the bond between the children is not uniform. Some members of the group have a stronger bond rather than with others. For example, Bekele (Boy, 12 years old) said, *I don't have equal relationships with all members of the peer group. I have a stronger relationship with a single child than the rest*. Bekele indicated that he developed a strong emotional bond with a single child rather than with all members of the peer group. This may be because of the strong proximity between Bekele's interests and his friend's. According to James and James (2012), children who have identical interests can establish better relationships.

The strength of their relationships affects children's sharing habits, discussions about football and the time they spend together. A 12-year-old boy named Lemma recounted the following:

I have a stronger relationship with fewer members of the group than the rest because we support the same football club. Thus, I spend more time and do more activities with specific members of the group than the rest. Therefore, I often do the following activities with children with whom I have a strong tie.

We go to school together.

We talk about football during school breaks.

We strongly support each other when a conflict arises.

We go to the market to buy food together.

We share food.

We go to the football-training field together.

Clearly, Lemma revealed that he developed a strong sentiment with a few members of the peer group members because they were fans of the same football club. Similarly, James and James (2012) argued that children who have similar interests in a specific area develop strong relationships. According to Giulianotti (2002), the football fans who support specific clubs have a closer friendship. Likewise, as Corsaro and Elder (1990) state, the sense of belonging, which Lemma established with his friend was supported and extended in a wide range of social-ecological settings including school, the market and the football field.

5.3.4.2. Inter-generational Relations in the DSTV House

Children have a hierarchical relationship with adults (Punch et al., 2007). In the DSTV house, children have an upward relationship with adult audiences and the owner of the DSTV house. In intra-generational relations, children do not have a significant power difference among one another. However, in inter-generational relations, there is high power differentiation between children and adults. Unlike the adults, children are a marginalized and powerless group in society (Adler, 1998). In the DSTV house, children occupy a lower position because the adult audiences exercise their power over them. The adult audiences mistreat the children to various degrees. For example, the adult audiences displace children from their seats when there is a scarcity of sitting benches in the DSTV house. Then, children sit on the floor, which is not comfortable for them to watch TV adequately. Furthermore, adult audiences forced children to buy food and other things, and if they didn't obey their orders, they would apply either physical (e.g. Punch) or moral (e.g. Insult) punishments on children. The 12-year-old boy Shewa narrated that:

Adult audiences often command me to buy food and cigarettes. If I refuse to obey the adult audiences' command, they might punish me, displace me from my seat and expel me from the DSTV house.

The social position which children and adults hold in society determine the relations one has with the other (Alanen, 2001). Therefore, Shewa indicated that he endured inter-generational power differences at the DSTV house because the adult-child relations are based on unequal power relations between the generations (Punch, 2001). In DSTV house, there was an unequal power relationship between adult and child audiences so the relationship between

Shewa and adult audiences was like boss and employee. The adult audiences commanded and Shewa obeyed.

This is not the case for all adult audiences because some adult audiences respect children's interest in watching TV in the DSTV house. Lemma (Boy, 12 years old) recounted, *some adult audiences encourage me and admit my right to enter DSTV house. However, the majority of adult audiences do not do this.* Unlike Shewa's recount, Lemma indicated that there were adult audiences who acknowledged the children's interest in spending time in the DSTV house. The minority group child approach views children as "essentially indistinguishable" from adults (James, et al., 1998). Likewise, some adult audiences considered Lemma as "essentially indistinguishable" from themselves.

The inter-generation relations also involve an economic contract between the children and the owner of the DSTV house. A few children who participated in the study established a business agreement with the DSTV house owner. The owner pays money for children who take some responsibilities in the DSTV house. For example,

Zenebe (Boy, 12 years old): I agreed with Belay (the owner of DSTV house) to control his PlayStation at DSTV house. When I control the PlayStation game, I gather money from the PlayStation players. Then, he pays me depending on the amount of money I collect each day. Most of the time, I collect 120 Birr (5.89 USD) per day. Therefore, he pays me the 23 % (25 Birr or 1.23 USD) of the total income per day.

Clearly, Zenebe indicated that his role as the salesperson for PlayStation games' service to players was paramount. In contrast, in the deterministic model, a child plays a passive role and is seen as being incompetent in the maintenance of society (Corsaro, 1997) and in the dominant approach, children are seen as "becoming", rather than "being" (White, 2002). Here, however, Zenebe was active in the local market as salesperson of the globally produced media product. In fact, he was "being", rather than "becoming" (James et al., 1989). Unlike Tensay who carries passengers' luggage to get pocket money, Zenebe uses another way of generating pocket money. This echoes what Punch et al. (2007) said about the children's agency to work for pocket money.

Furthermore, Zenebe's agency to influence others was not only limited to local owners and players, but it could be done subtly so he also influenced the global PlayStation game market by making the local consumers play. Therefore, he was active in the construction and determination of the lives of those around him and of the world in which he lives (James and James, 2012; James et al., 1998; Prout and James, 1990).

Zenebe made sure the child-adult relationship is not only one that a child depends on an adult relationship but adult depends on the child also. Thus, the relationship is characterized by interdependence rather than just dependence. Zelizer (1985) in Montgomery (2003) argues that Western children are economically "worthless" but emotionally "priceless". In contrast, Zenebe played an active role in economic aspects. Therefore, Belay (the owner) was dependent on Zenebe in selling the PlayStation game services to the local consumers.

Another inter-generational relationship aspect that children experience from their involvement in the DSTV house is the child-parent relationship, for example in relation to getting permission to go to the DSTV house. Some child participants of my study asked permission from their parents to go to DSTV house while others did not. As in Mayall's (2002) study, with the exception of some of the older boys, many children had to ask permission to go out.

Children who had asked for permission from their parents to go to the DSTV house, often entered into a child-parent generational power struggle. In the fieldwork area, due to social tradition, members of the community give high respect and esteem for parents whose children are "homely" and not seen wandering around public places such as the DSTV house. Parents of the children who participated in the study did not want their children to go to the DSTV house because they assume it is a *Durye's* place (Workalemahu, 2007).

Nevertheless, children use strategies, such as nagging, refusing to talk and crying to get permission from their parents and challenge social traditions. Parents do not want to see and hear their children crying and nagging, therefore they let their children to go the DSTV house under certain conditions. In previous studies, researchers have identified similar strategies, which children used to challenge adult controls over their interests. For example, Waksler (1996) in Punch (2001) indicates that children might lie, fake illness, or act extra cute to challenge and control certain aspects of imposition by adults. To escape from their children's crying, muteness and nagging, parents often tell the children they can go to the DSTV house under certain conditions such as after they have finished their school and household work, and promise not to stay at the DSTV house until the evening. Thus,

assignments and the completion of chores give children the grounds to negotiate the unequal power relations between the child and adult (Zeicher, 2001)

For example, Bekele (Boy, 12 year old) recounted that, *my mother often let me go DSTV house after I finish my household work share, for example, making coffee*. Bekele indicated that the parent-child relationship regarding giving and getting permission to go to the DSTV house was negotiated through the division of household chores between the child and adult (Zeicher, 2001). As in Punch's (2001) study, Bekele was competent at negotiating relationships between him and his mother related to permission to go to the DSTV house. He negotiated the relationship by making coffee, despite his inferior position in the relationship.

However, children often do not always keep their promises (e.g. not staying in DSTV house long), and finish as much of their work as they can. Furthermore, they sometimes go to the DSTV house when they have classes at school, although parents are not aware of this. This might be the children's strategy to challenge adult and school control. Children's reactions to adult power range from acceptance to instances of angry resistance (Mayall, 2001). This might cause a child-parent conflict when a parent becomes aware that their children skip school class to go to the DSTV house.

Those who do not ask their parents' permission to go to the DSTV house may lie to their parents about where they go. For example, if they need to go DSTV house, they may say I want to go to church or school.

Zenebe (Boy, 12 years old): My parents do not know when I regularly spend time in DSTV house because I would not inform them when I go there. Therefore, I tell them false information. For example, when I need to go DSTV house, I may say I want to go to St. Gabriel church.

Zenebe lied to his parents about where he would go. Similarly, Waksler (1996) in Punch's (2001) indicated that children might lie in order to challenge adult control related to their interests. Zenebe not only challenged his parents' control over his own interests, but he also challenged the social tradition. Children who wander and spend time in or around a public place such as the DSTV house are considered as *Durye* (Workalemahu, 2007), but he often visited this house. Furthermore, Zenebe narrated that the trend he developed to frequently visit DSTV house replaced his habit of going to the church every evening. Therefore, DSTV programme might even be seen as an alternative religion for Zenebe (Berger, 2012). See further discussion below.

5.3.5. Conflict of Interests between Children and Adults in the DSTV House

As I have already noted, most of the time, children sit in the front seats of the DSTV house while the adults sit in the other remaining seats. When someone enters and leaves the DSTV house, the rest of the audience cannot see the TV screen. Children often enter and leave the DSTV house because the adult audiences often command them to buy food. When the children leave the DSTV house, some audiences complain to the owner, who is responsible for handling complaints in the DSTV house. Thus, the owner takes various actions to resolve the audiences' complaints. These actions include criticism, insult, displacement from the seats, chasing out of the DSTV house, punching and

pulling out children who move in the DSTV house. Like the DSTV house owner, the adult audiences also apply these actions to children who move in and out from the DSTV house. Zenebe (Boy, 12 years old) described the following:

Adult audiences command me to buy edible foods such as sugarcane, peanuts, and roasted grains. Thus, I often go in and out from DSTV house while others are watching the DSTV programmes on TV. At the time, Belay (the owner of DSTV house) informs me not to move in and out because I disturb the audiences. In contrast, if I refuse the adults' command to buy food, they might punish me.

Zenebe endured pressures from three directions, which are from the owner, the complaints of the adults and the adults who command the children. Children everywhere have a position of powerlessness (Alanen & Mayall, 2001 in James & James, 2012). Therefore, Zenebe was exploited as a result of the lower position he held in the DSTV house. According to James et al. (1998), the minority group child approach views children as “essentially indistinguishable” from adults but they are nonetheless marginalized by the existing structure in society. Likewise, Zenebe was equal with adult audiences in the DSTV house, but he was burdened due to the generational position he inhabited in the adult audience-centred DSTV house.

5.3.6. Conflict among Children in the DSTV House

It has already been mentioned that children's intra-generational relationships are accompanied by conflicts. Children have conflicts when they watch either the DSTV programmes or play PlayStation games in DSTV house. The

conflicts are manifested in physical action (e.g., punch) and verbal (e.g., insult). They occur for various reasons. One of the major reasons is a disagreement among them when they talk about football, which is shown on TV. Specifically, they disagree when they talk about football players, coaches' and referees' decisions on the football field.

Assefa (Boy, 14 years old): We children have conflicts when the referee gives red or yellow cards to the football players. Consequently, some children say the decision is correct while others say no. Thus, disagreements happen, and then we beat and insult one another.

Assefa indicated that they have disagreements while discussing decisions made on the football field. It is clear that children prefer to agree and form friendships with those who share similar interests (James and James, 2012), and they have conflicts with those with whom they disagree in their interest. This disagreement especially the verbal one, should not always be seen as negative, because it has the characteristics of oppositional talk in which children use a playful teasing and confrontational tone to cultivate their friendship (Corsaro, 1997). In this study, the conflict among children improved their children's intra-generational relationship after reconciliation. The 12-year-old boy named Shewa recounted the following:

Last week I quarrelled with a friend of mine in DSTV house, however, we resolved our differences immediately. Afterward, our relationship increased more than ever before.

On the face of it, it does not seem reasonable that Shewa's conflict with his friend could enhance their relationship. However, this has also been found in other previous studies for example that conflicts manifested in verbal debate often strengthen interpersonal alliances (Goodwin, 1990 in Corsaro, 1997). The conflict may give Shewa and his friends the opportunity to know each other. For example, Corsaro (2006) found that Italian and African American preschool children develop friendship ties through debates and teasing.

5.3.7. Gender Composition in the DSTV House

The social traditions in the fieldwork area do not let women go outside the home except to school, church and market. Many women spend their time at home while men can also visit other public places such as the DSTV house. If women do this, they are seen to challenge the society's traditions. In the fieldwork area, the social tradition also encompasses the dichotomy of *Chewa* VS *Durye* to label children who do and do not wander around public places, such as Grocery and DSTV house.

The term *Durye* is juxtaposed against the term *Chewa*, which designates a person from a good family background who does not wander around public places, is respectful and well-mannered (Assefa, 2006). Children either female or male who often stay at home are seen as *Chewa* whereas children wandering around or in places like the DSTV House are considered as *Durye*. Specifically, female children are strongly labelled as *Durye* more frequently than the male children, because of the social and cultural beliefs associated with gender. Therefore, the extent of social sanctions on women strongly discourages their interest in visiting the DSTV house.

However, members of the new generation do not accept the social sanctions that prohibit women from going to the DSTV house. One contributing factor might be because of civic and ethics education in which young people learn about gender equality. Civics and Ethics education is a subject that is included in the Ethiopian school curriculum. Therefore, participants in the study, specifically children, indicated that women should not be forbidden from the DSTV house, since this is gender discrimination.

5.3.8. Children's Sentiments in DSTV House

Like football fans in the stadium, child fans in the DSTV house express their emotions when they watch televised football matches on TV. To express their feelings, they take part in various actions including shouting, jumping, and standing up from their seats and clapping their hands. When children exhibit these actions, the adult audiences often warn them to keep quiet. Sometimes, this situation leads to disagreements between the adult and the children. For example, the 14-year-old boy Assefa recounted that:

When a goal is scored I stand up, jump and clap my hands. However, the adult audiences beat me to stop my jumping, clapping and shouting because they believe that these actions can disturb them.

Goals are always celebrated joyously by players and supporters (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2009). However, when Assefa celebrated, he was victimized because of the lower generational position he held in the DSTV house. The DSTV house is mainly an adult-centred place, and as Alanen (2001) say, in an adult-centred environment, children are powerless. On the other hand, as a member of the DSTV house audience, Assefa would have been seen as equal to adult audiences. In line with the minority-group child approach, Assefa is

“essentially indistinguishable” from adult audiences of DSTV house. Nevertheless, he was marginalized by the existing structure in the society where I conducted the fieldwork (James et al., 1998).

Furthermore, while child audiences watch football in the DSTV house and hang out in other places (e.g., school), they often discuss and critique football players, coaches and referees’ actions on field. A 12-year-old boy named Shewa narrated the following:

I often make comments about referees, coaches and football players. For example, when a player misses the goal, I say this player’s performance stinks. When the coach rotates a good player, I say the coach does not know what he is doing. When the referee gives a red or yellow card for plays, I say the referee has no tolerance.

Lemma (Boy, 12 years old) I criticize the referee when he improperly gives a red or yellow card. For example, last year the referee gave a red card to Jose Mourinho⁵. I got irritated and said the referee must be fired because I had never seen a referee give a red card to a club coach.

Clearly, Shewa and Lemma indicated that they gave a commentary explanation on scenes they observed on the football field. Unlike in socialization theory, which views children as passive and incompetent members of society (Corsaro, 1997; Prout and James, 1990), Shewa and

⁵ Jose Mourinho is Portuguese football manager and currently manages Chelsea, the English premier league club.

Lemma were competent in critiquing footballers. They were active, independent and social actors (James and James, 2012) in commenting about the footballers, coaches and referees. Surely, this implies that they were “beings” rather than “becomings” (Kjørholt, 2004).

5.4. Children’s Views on Impacts of Attending the DSTV House

Children watch television in order to satisfy their desires for entertainment and learn at the same time (Gunter & McAleer, 1990). Likewise, the child audiences visit the DSTV house to entertain themselves through watching football on TV. However, they learn some actions without planning to learn them. According to Schramm (1989), children when they watch television for entertainment may imitate items without planning to do so. Children are not merely passive victims of media representations; but neither are they completely free agents (Buckingham, 2007). In Africa, young people’s lives and their identities are increasingly shaped through the mass media (Ndlela, 2006). When children go to the DSTV house to entertain themselves through watching TV, they imitate actions, players’ names, dressing style and hairstyles, which are unacceptable in the society in which they live. Furthermore, watching television has accounted for a substantial proportion of the time expenditure of children (Comstock & Scharrer, 1999). Child audiences spend more time in the DSTV house to watch and play PlayStation games. The children in my study recounted that the time spent in the DSTV house has an impact on their school performance, health and eating patterns.

5.4.1. Children’s Health and the Belay’s DSTV House

The children’s participation in the DSTV house can have an effect on their health. The DSTV houses in the fieldwork area were not equipped well to keep

the audience safe. Specifically, in Belay's DSTV house, there weren't any windows or air conditioners that could keep the entire facility cool. Therefore, children often faced suffocation, which can cause respiratory illnesses. For example, Shewa (Boy, 12 years old) the following:

The lack of air conditioning in Belay's DSTV house often makes us feel like we're suffocating. The extent of suffocation is worse when there are big matches among English premier league football clubs (e.g., Manchester United vs. Arsenal or Chelsea vs. Manchester City), because the number of people in the house increases. In this time, the oxygen amount is reduced in DSTV house. Therefore, respiratory diseases such as Flu and Tuberculosis (TB) can easily be transmitted from one person to the other. For example, I have a friend who is infected by TB. He often coughs while we are watching DSTV programmes, so he might transmit the TB virus to many of the DSTV house audiences.

It is frequently said (e.g., Demissie, Getahun, & Lindtjørn, 2003; Gele, Bjune, & Abebe, 2009) that tuberculosis (TB) is a health problem in Ethiopia. Therefore, my focus is not to repeat what has already been mentioned. Rather, I would like to focus on Shewa's understanding about TB. Clearly, Shewa gave a scientific explanation about why and how respiratory disease including TB and flu could be transmitted from one person to other in DSTV house. This implies that children like Shewa are to some degree experts and competent in health related knowledge. In the fieldwork area, children are taught in school that TB could be transmitted from one infected person to a non-infected person in places such as a bus and taxi. This is because many passengers sit together for a lengthy amount of time.

However, in this case, Shewa identified the DSTV house as a place in which TB could possibly be transmitted. This might not be exact, but can be taken as a form of interpretive reproduction (Corsaro, 1997) of what Shewa learned from an adult (teacher) about TB possibly being transmitted in a bus and taxi. Then, he conveyed knowledge, which implies that the DSTV house can be another place where TB can be transmitted. Scholars including Durkheim, Giddens and Marx argued there is a link between human agency and the structures (e.g., the social institution) which determine people's actions (James and James, 2012). Therefore, the structural constraints enable children to use their agency. In Shewa's case, the social institution, for instance the school, enabled him to use his agency in health knowledge production about TB transmission.

Most of the time, children do not pay an entrance fee to visit the DSTV house, particularly when they watch DSTV programming. However, as reciprocity, they are required to clean the DSTV house. This might lead them to getting sick while cleaning the DSTV house. Lemma (Boy, 12 years old) said, *I do not pay an entrance fee for DSTV house because I often clean the DSTV house. However, when I clean the house and dust, hazardous particles can enter my mouth and nose. Thus, I might be sick.* Like Shewa, Lemma also understood what hazardous materials can do to harm his health. Both Shewa and Lemma are to some extent experts in the construction and determination of their own social lives related to health (Prout and James, 1990)

I have already discussed in the children's inter-generational relations section that the adult audiences displace children from their seats when there is a lack of seats in DSTV house. The access to benches becomes scarce when there are

many people in the audience. In this condition, children could not sit on the benches. Therefore, they sit on the floor, which is uncomfortable and unsafe for them. Furthermore, in Belay's DSTV house, children notice a bad smell that enters into the house via its door from a pen for cattle located near the DSTV house. In the pen for cattle, there is cattle dung from which the undesirable smell rises and enters into the DSTV house. The bad smell might expose children to the flu, respiratory illnesses and headaches.

5.4.2. Impacts on Children's Dress and Hair Styles

Before the DSTV house opened in the fieldwork area, children of that time were following hair and dress styles that were common and acceptable in society. However, the most dynamic agents in football's contemporary glocalization, the transnational media corporations such as BSkyB and DSTV engage in worldwide distribution of sports-related products (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2004). This distribution has increasingly reached different parts of the world including the place where I conducted my fieldwork. The local level distributors such as DSTV houses and shops provide football broadcasts and sport kits to children.

Therefore, after the DSTV house started, children began watching various televised European football matches that many footballers participated in. These players follow several types of hairstyles and the clubs where they play use various kinds of football kits. Child audiences identified themselves with various European football clubs and players, because transnational clubs like Manchester United have attracted many de-territorialized transnational fans (Giulianotti and Robertson, 2004).

Children who see the televised footballers' hairstyles and the football clubs' kits imitate and follow them. Football has a cosmopolitan, world community of fans who 'relativize' themselves into specific cross-national preferences for world players, managers, and clubs (Giulianotti and Robertson, 2004).

Zenebe (Boy, 12 years old): In DSTV house, there are many footballers' posters and among these I like the Manchester United club poster. In addition, I often go DSTV house, when the Manchester United club plays with other football clubs. I am interested in the shirts and hairstyles of the Manchester United players. As a result, I started wearing Manchester United shirts and following Nani's⁶ hairstyle.

Tensay (Boy, 14 years old): After I started to attend in DSTV house, I brought new hairstyle which is mostly exhibited by Balotelli's⁷ hairstyle. Therefore, now, as you see me, I follow the Balotelli's hairstyle.

The media may be producing a global "children's culture" (Buckingham, 2007). Both Zenebe and Tensay indicated that they adapted to new sports clothing and hairstyles, which were mostly exhibited by the footballers in the European clubs. According to Giulianotti, & Robertson (2004) transnational supporters, for example Zenebe and Tensay, identified themselves with club-

⁶ Nani is a Portuguese professional footballer and plays as a winger for Manchester United.

⁷ Balotelli is an Italian footballer who plays as a striker for Liverpool in the English premier league

related symbols and practices. In the fieldwork area, a decade back, dressing, football kits and new hairstyles were not common and were not thought of as a habit among young people.

However, the worldwide co-modification of sports related products such as broadcasting, the kit and DVDs in transnational corporations (Giulianotti, & Robertson, 2004) paved a way in which children could come into contact with new styles. According to a Marxist perspective, football, especially professional football and its related products, are commodities to be sold and traded (Berger, 2012). Nowadays, in the fieldwork area, several European football clubs' kits such as those of Arsenal, Manchester United, and Chelsea are easily accessible in the shops. Thus, children like Zenebe could easily buy them and wear them when on the field, at school, at the DSTV house and even in church.

Like the trade in material goods, in my study, for example kits of Arsenal and Manchester United, the trade in cultural goods such as hairstyles of Nani and Balotelli is undoubtedly a key factor in the contemporary reconfiguration of relations between the global and the local (Buckingham, 2007). Thus, the commodification was not only limited to the football kits, but also the hairstyles which were exhibited by footballers in the English Premier League such as Nani and Balotelli. In the fieldwork area, barbershops introduced these footballers' hairstyles to their customers, especially for children. The cost for these hairstyles is a little bit higher than the common hairstyles in the area because they are regarded as new styles.

Glocalization increases the heterogeneity of the world, wherein the individual and social groups are intensively innovative and creative in their dealings with

global culture (Ritzer, 2004). Zenebe and Tensay did not adopt the exact hairstyles of Nani and Balotelli, rather they localized them. The local norm and available resources shape the global contents, for example, the local barbershops' machines can be adjusted to adopt the global hairstyle. In the hybridisation process, the local agents interpret and reinterpret cultural forms according to local needs and resources (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2009).

I had the opportunity to see and compare the copied hairstyles of Zenebe and Tensay with the “producers” (Nani and Balotelli) of these hairstyles. These globally introduced hairstyles reflect Adams' (2008) concept of glocalization, so that local culture does not just reproduce the globally advertised contents exactly, but infuses them with new, locally determined meanings that diversify the styles.

Even though children are interested in having a new hairstyle, their family members do not like some of these styles. Thus, children who specifically adopted the new hairstyle disagree with their family members. For example, Assefa (Boy, 14 years old) said, *I want to follow Nani's hairstyle. Nevertheless, my mother often advises me not to follow hairstyles. She believes that Nani's hairstyle is Durye's hairstyle.*

Essentialism involves an understanding of community identity, for example, local hairstyles in my fieldwork are stable and linked to certain traditional practices, which assume a central position and role within the community (Siapera, 2010). Reflecting this essentialist view, Assefa's mother informed him to maintain a stable and local hairstyle. Assefa indicated that he wanted to follow a new hairstyle, which was against to his mother's interest and locally accepted hairstyles. This might be nothing for Assefa, since as

Buckingham (2007) argues, media may be producing a global “children’s culture” that goes against the local norms, and this may not necessarily be a disadvantage for children themselves. However, Assefa’s mother believed that the new hairstyle, which might be produced as “children’s culture”, was a Duryses’ style rather than a *Chewa* one (see chapter 4). In Ethiopia, parents try to teach children to be polite and not manifest anti-social styles (Workalemahu, 2007). However, the media like DSTV are seen to have disrupted the process of socialisation in transmission of values from one generation to the next (Buckingham, 2007).

Therefore, some children prefer hairstyles that are not unique in the society of the fieldwork area, and this helps them overcome disagreements with their family. The 12-year-old boy Lemma recounted the following:

I follow Özil’s⁸ hairstyle because this style is not unique in our society, like other footballers’ hairstyle (e.g., Balotelli’s hairstyle). Thus, I am not in conflict with my father as a result of this hairstyle.

Unlike globalization which overwhelms the indigenous culture of local individuals and sub-groups due to hegemony (Ritzer, 2004), the local fans interpret global sports by drawing from their local cultural stock (Armstrong and Mitchell, 2008 in Jijon, 2015). Clearly, Lemma had chosen to “Think globally, act locally,” (Pieterse, 2009), so he glocalized the global introduced hairstyle into the local style, which was highly acceptable in the society he

⁸ Özil is the German footballer who plays in Arsenal club, English premier league

lived. As this implies, the host societies are not passive recipients of global cultural contents (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2009).

Therefore, glocalization allowed Lemma to follow a new style, which was close to the local identity (Robertson 1992 in Giulianotti & Robertson, 2007b). Lemma's hairstyle was neither local or global, but was the hybrid of both local and global hairstyles. In a different way, he escaped from the local-global binary division (Kennedy, 2010) of hairstyles. When fans like Lemma engage in global sports, they can also change their local culture (Jijon, 2013). This change might increase multiculturalism (Siapera, 2010), which can cause a dilemma between members, for example between Lemma and his mother. From Lemma's extract, we can understand that glocalization may also be used to overcome the generational conflict, which can arise between a mother and child resulting from adopting a new hairstyle.

Comparatively, Lemma followed a hairstyle which was closer to the local norms as compared to what Zenebe and Tensay adopted. Therefore, Zenebe and Tensay engaged in glocalization which involves the affirmation of the hairstyles of Nani and Balotalli, whereas Lemma engaged in the glocalization process which contains an invention or reinvention of local hairstyles (Jijon, 2015). In the informal dialogue I had with Zenebe and Tensay, they would change the actual hairstyle maybe after a year, so they changed their interest in hairstyles. Globalisation actively produces cultural diversity and cultural identities are accordingly fluid and open to change (Buckingham, 2007). Fluidity of identity entails unstable and dynamic identities, which change across time and contexts (Siapera, 2010).

5.4.3. Impacts on Children's Eating Patterns, Identity and School

Usually, children in the study area eat three meals per day: breakfast, lunch and dinner. However, the children's involvement in the DSTV house affects their eating patterns. For example, Samuel (Boy, 13 years old) described, *In the summer time (vacation when the school is closed) I often first eat my breakfast, and go to DSTV house. Then, I stay there until evening because the programme at DSTV house keeps my attention. Thus, I often miss my lunch.* Samuel indicated that the football programme, which he watched in the DSTV house, shaped his eating pattern. Football's governing corporation increasingly controls the individuals' personal lives (Giulianotti & Robertson, 2009).

In my fieldwork area, children participate in football clubs that are organized by projects for young people. While they play football, they do not call each other by their real names. Globalization forces exponents of specific identities to confront and respond to one another, especially with particular identities across the universal domain (Giulianotti, & Robertson, 2004). Therefore, they create fantasy names that belong to famous footballers such as, Christian Ronaldo and Nani. Then, they use these names to call one another while they play in local football clubs. Sometimes they use these fantasized names in other places such as school where they spend time together.

In the fieldwork area, there has been a shift of interest among children about where they spend their time. Prior to when DSTV house was opened, children mainly spent time in school, home and church, but since the DSTV house is flourishing, they have been reducing the time they spend in church. It could be argued that currently football is becoming an alternative religion for the children. For example, in an informal dialogue I had with children, I

discovered that every evening of each day children would spend time at the church, but gradually, they are shifting to spending this time watching televised football and playing PlayStation games in the DSTV house. It seems reasonable to show how professional football is in many ways analogous to a religion, and how practices in religion and televised football are related. Therefore, the following table gives a depiction of analogues.

Table 2. Analogues between professional football and religion

Professional football	Religion
Superstars (e.g., Ronaldo, Rooney, Balotelli)	Saints (e.g., Bishops and Monks)
Sunday game (e.g., match between English premier leagues clubs)	Sunday service (e.g. Going to Sunday school to pray and sing)
Ticket (e.g., entry fee of DSTV house)	Offering (e.g., donating to build church)
Complex plays (how to pass, score goal, defend)	Theology (e.g., church education)
Coaches (e.g., Arsene Wenger, Jese Mourinho)	Clergy (e.g., Priests)
Stadium (Electronic stadium e.g., Belay's DSTV house)	Church (e.g., St. Gabriel church in fieldwork area)
Fans (e.g., child audiences of DSTV house)	Congregation (e.g., church audiences)

Adapted from Berger (2012; p 160)

Here, it has to be understood that the explicit function of televised football is to entertain children. However, the latent function of televised football may be to help children socialize and offer children models to imitate that will help them fit into the contemporary bureaucratic corporate world (Berger, 2012). Therefore, the televised football matches might be an alternative religion to children.

The children's involvement in the DSTV house can also have impacts on their academic life. The impacts have two features. The first is that the experiences children gain in the DSTV house may improve their performance in specific subjects in school, especially in sports, art and music subjects. The second is that the time spent watching television in DSTV house reduces the time they spend on school activities. Thus, this may increase the rate of children dropping out of school and decreases their academic performance.

In summary, televised football has an influence on children's education, religion and identity. Thus, building on the analogy with religion, it might not be an exaggeration to borrow the Marxist perspective and say that televised football might be the opiate of the child audiences who attend the DSTV house (Berger, 2012). However, children have agency (James et al, 1998) to challenge the opiate impacts of televised football. For example, they use a time schedule in which some time is spent in school and some time is spent at DSTV house.

Chapter Six

6. Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations

6.1. Introduction

The main point of this study was to explore children's experiences in DSTV houses in Ethiopia. In this study, I have highlighted the different perspectives of children and adults as regards the DSTV house, which is a new place for children in the fieldwork area. This chapter is divided into three sections. The first section summarizes the main findings of the study and how they answered the research questions set out in chapter one. Then, a brief conclusion of the study is made in the second section of this chapter. Finally, the third section consists of some recommendations for policymakers and future researchers in the area.

6.1.1. Brief Summary of Results

In summarizing the results of the study, the basic questions of the research are stated below. The basic research questions that the study sought to answer were the following:

1. What do participants feel about DSTV houses, specifically related to child audiences?
2. How do children get involved in DSTV houses?
3. Which DSTV football programmes do children prioritise?
4. What do participants think about the impacts that may result from the children's involvement in DSTV houses?

Based on these questions, I summarize the findings of the study below.

The broadcasting of transnational media, specifically the DSTV football programming, has increased in my fieldwork area. The televised football programmes are presented to child audiences in the DSTV houses. The child audiences spend a lengthy amount of time watching DSTV football programmes and playing PlayStation games in the DSTV house. The study's participants include parents, owners, school directors and children, who all conceived of the DSTV house and its relationship to children from different angles, which include concerns about entertainment, education and economics.

Children argued that the DSTV house gave them the opportunity to entertain themselves and to learn about football skills. They would mimic the best international footballers' tactics from televised games, and then try them out when they played in the local football clubs. Unlike the children who participated in the study, the owners viewed the DSTV house from an economic perspective. The owner conceived of the DSTV house as a main profitable business centre, which involves the trading of a televised football service for consumers to generate income. Furthermore, the owner argued that the DSTV house makes children stay inside rather than wandering around more unsafe places and situations, for example gambling. However, the social belief in the fieldwork area, shared by school directors and parents, did not accept the owner's argument in this respect.

Other participants of the study, parents and school directors conceived of the DSTV house in two different ways, which focus on the impacts they believe the DSTV house has on children. In one way, they perceived the DSTV house in the same way as the children perceived it. They believed that the DSTV house helps children to entertain and educate themselves. Nevertheless, in other

ways, parents and school directors conceived that DSTV house can have unintended impacts on children. For example, they were concerned that children would imitate cultural characteristics and styles which are not allowed in the community from televised football programmes.

Children's social networks played an important role to attract more children into visiting the DSTV house. Children who had already visited the DSTV house often informed other children. Thus, most of the children first came to the DSTV house with their friends who had already visited and spent time in the DSTV house. Children who took part in my study began attending the DSTV house before they were ten years old. They spent a lengthy amount of time at the DSTV house, although this varied across seasons. They spent less time in the winter season than they spent during the summer season, because in winter, children also spent time in school. In DSTV house, children often sat in the seats that most audiences did not like to sit in. Because of children's smaller physical size, an unequal power relations between them and adult audiences, they could not always watch TV attentively.

In the DSTV house, children formed relationships, which involved inter-generational and intra-generational relationships. Intra-generational relations were the horizontal relationships children formed among themselves at the DSTV house. Children gradually developed an intra-generational relationship, which was characterized by sharing food, money, and making strong arguments about football. Once children had established an intra-generational relationship in the DSTV house, it was not limited to there only, but also extended beyond the DSTV house to other socio-ecological settings where children spent time together. In contrast to some stronger ties, these intra-generational relationships were accompanied by conflicts, which also

sometimes extended to other places such as when they exercised on the football field.

The inter-generational relationship was an upward relationship children formed with the adults, specifically with the adult audiences and the owner of the DStv house. In these inter-generational relationships, there was high-power differentiation between children and adults. Thus, children had a lower position because the adult audiences imposed their power on them. The adult audiences mistreated the children to various degrees, for example, displaced children from their seats and forcefully commanded them to buy food and cigarettes. In contrast, the child-owner relation was characterized by working together for economic benefit.

Another inter-generational relationship aspect that children experienced from their involvement in the DSTV house was the child-parent relationship, and particularly the issue of securing permission to go to the DSTV house. Children who asked for permission from their parents often entered into a child-parent generational power struggle. The social tradition in the fieldwork area gave high respect for parents whose children are “homely” and not seen wandering around public places, such as the DSTV house. Therefore, parents tried to prevent their children going to the DSTV house.

Nevertheless, children used strategies such as nagging, refusing to talk and crying to get permission from their parents and challenge the social tradition. Parents did not want to see and hear their children crying and nagging, and so they often told the children that they could go to the DSTV house under certain conditions, such as after they have finished their school and household work, and if they promised not to stay in the DSTV house until evening.

The social tradition in the fieldwork area did not let females go outside the home except to school, church and market. Many females spent their time at home while males could also visit other public places such as the DSTV house. In the fieldwork area, the social tradition also encompassed the dichotomy of *Chewa* VS *Durye* to label children who did and did not wander around public places, such as the Grocery and the DSTV house. Thus, children who spent time in the DSTV house were considered as *Durye* while those who did not were considered as *Chewa*.

Participants recounted that the children's involvement in DSTV house had resulted in some impacts on their lives. For example, some of these impacts were manifested in the children's devotion to their religion, school performance, hairstyle, health and eating patterns.

However, there were also other cultural influences to do with globalisation. Children watched various televised football games in Belay's DSTV house. Most of the time, they preferred European football matches. On the ranking sheet, children listed from one to ten programmes, which often took place in Europe. Consistent media broadcasting of European football in the global and indigenous media might contribute to children being highly interested in European football clubs. Specifically, children ranked the English Premier League in first place over other football programmes in the world. Children's interests towards the English Premier League were manifested in various ways. For instance, children followed various hairstyles that they copied from footballers in the English Premier League. Furthermore, children used the names of professional footballers in the English Premier League to call each other when they played football on the local field.

6.1.2. Conclusion

Transnational football media has created new places like the DSTV house, where local audiences including children watch European televised football games. Due to the advent of the DSTV houses in the fieldwork area, many children often visited the DSTV house to watch televised football and play PlayStation games. However, there have been disparities between the perspectives of global media, social traditions, children and adults regarding the children's involvement in the DSTV house. Due to technological, economic and political factors, the globalized televised European football was glocalized in public places like the DSTV house in the fieldwork area. Thus, the children and the owner of the DSTV house welcomed these televised football programmes in the DSTV house mainly for entertainment and economic purposes, respectively. By contrast, the social tradition in the fieldwork area, espoused by the parents and the school director, did not accept that the DSTV house is the right place for children to spend their time. However, they did not deny that the children's involvement in DSTV house gave children some opportunities to learn about football. Either for good or for bad, the children's involvement in the DSTV house would have an impact on their health, education, culture and social relationships.

The DSTV house owner glocalized the globalized European football in conveying it to the children. Likewise, children glocalized the contents of globally televised football in the ways which match with the contexts in the fieldwork area. For example, children did not follow exactly the professional footballers' hairstyle, which they had seen on TV in the DSTV house; rather they contextualized it depending on the available local resources, social traditions and their parents' interests. This clearly implied that children are

experts and have a degree of agency to glocalize the globally introduced contents of televised football.

The children's involvement in DSTV house also allowed them to know about the generational power differentiation among different groups in DSTV houses' audiences. For instance, the power differentiation is lower among child audiences themselves than it is when they come into contact with adult audiences and the DSTV houses' owner. Although there is high power differentiation between children and adults, the generations are interdependent, specifically in economic aspects.

6.1.3. Recommendations

This study has implications for interventions, which can be made to improve the children's experiences in the DSTV house. It also suggests useful directions for future researchers who might be interested in the area of children's experiences of global televised sport, and the DSTV house specifically. Thus, based on the findings of the study, some possible recommendations are made for both practical intervention and future research.

1. Towards better DSTV houses: Belay's DSTV house, where I conducted the fieldwork, was not qualified and equipped well for child audiences. The internal facilities of this DSTV house were characterised by narrow width, dusty floors, poor sanitation, lack of windows and no air conditioning. Thus, actions would be necessary to improve this DSTV house's internal facilities. These actions include increasing the width of the houses, installing air conditioning, changing the seat benches, adding windows, laying a cement floor and keeping it clean and sanitary.

2. The government has to intervene to support the indigenous club matches, which might be encouraged by televising them for both indigenous and transnational media. This might reduce the marginalization of local football clubs games in the pressure of the global market. It might also help to reverse the shift of interest among local football fans from the local football stadium to the narrow “electronic stadium” of the DSTV house, bar and theatre house.
3. The global football media have to take into consideration the composition of their transnational audiences, which involve both children and adults. Most of the time, the global media engage in commodification of European adult male football to the trans-local child audiences. Thus, it would be good to televise child football matches (involving both boys and girls) for trans-local child audiences.
4. To reduce the disagreement among adults, children and social traditions regarding the children’s involvement in DSTV house, the government or other bodies should open a discussion forum, which can address the interests of parents, owners, children and school directors. Thus, it might be important to create awareness among adult audiences that children have to be allowed to attend the DSTV house without suffering the forms of adult exploitation, which results from power differentiation between themselves and children.
5. Further research must take a micro approach and look at the several major thematic issues individually in order to provide a deeper insight into the children’s experiences at the DSTV house. Researchers who are interested in children’s involvement in the DSTV house should

give attention to their experiences by using research methods that allow them to express their own perspectives.

6. This study mainly focused on children's experiences in DSTV houses related to televised football, but it did not give adequate attention to PlayStation games, which children also play in DSTV houses. Thus, I recommend that future researchers should consider this issue.
7. The role of gender related to the children's involvement in DSTV houses was another issue not adequately covered in this study. Therefore, I recommend that other researchers should conduct a study that includes females' views about why they do not often attend DSTV houses as male audiences do, and what consequences this might have.

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Appendices

Appendix I

Interview Guide for Child Audiences

The aim of this interview guide is to gather information regarding how children are involved in the Digital Satellite Television house.

Date _____ Time _____ Place _____
Age _____ Educational level _____

1. What are DSTV houses?
2. How many DSTV houses are found in this district? Could you list and explain all of them?
3. Which DSTV house would you prefer? Why?
4. When did you first go to the DSTV house? Why did you go there?
5. With whom did you first go?
6. Do you often spend time in the DSTV house?
7. How many hours per day do you spend in the DSTV house?
8. What do you need to do to attend the DSTV house?
9. How do you get money to pay the entry fee of DSTV house?
10. Where do you sit in the DSTV house? Why?
11. How do you interact with your friends/peers in the DSTV house?
12. How do you interact with adult audiences and DSTV house?
13. How do you express your feelings while watching the televised football in the DSTV house?
14. What do you think about the DSTV house's poster, seat arrangement and screen placement?
15. What opinions do you give about footballers, coaches and referees while you are watching the televised football in the DSTV house?

16. How do you negotiate with your parents regarding your involvement in the DSTV house?
17. What do you do in DSTV house apart from watching televised football?
18. How do you benefit from your involvement in the DSTV house?
19. What are the disadvantages from your involvement in the DSTV house?
20. What are impacts of your involvement in the DSTV house?
21. Why do females do not often attend the DSTV house?

Appendix II

Interview Guide for DSTV house owner

Date_____ Time_____ Place_____ Age _____

Educational level _____

1. What is the DSTV house?
2. Who often attends in your DSTV house?
3. What are the codes of your DSTV house?
4. How do children know about the DSTV house schedule?
5. How much children pay you to attend in your DSTV house?
6. How do children benefit and what disadvantages come from their involvement in your DSTV house?
7. How do children interact with you and each other in the DSTV house?
8. Averagely, how much money do you get per week?
9. How many hours per day is the DSTV house opened? Why?
10. How do you manage audiences' behaviour in the DSTV house?
11. Why are all attendants in your DSTV house male?
12. How many people attend your DSTV house?

Appendix III

Interview Guide for the School Director

The aim of this interview guide is to gather information regarding how the school's director conceives of children's involvement in the DSTV house.

Date _____ Time _____ Place _____
Age _____ Educational level _____

1. How do child audiences relate to the DSTV house?
2. What do you think about children's involvement in the DSTV house?
3. In school, do you easily notice children who often attend DSTV houses? How?
4. What are the differences between students who are involved and not involve in the DSTV houses?
5. Does children's involvement in the DSTV house affect their life? If so, could you tell me the influences?
6. How do you recommend that the government should take action on the DSTV houses?

Appendix IV

Focus Group Discussion Themes for the Child Audiences

No of discussants _____

Discussion place _____

Date and time _____

Name of facilitator and note taker _____

Group dynamics _____

Themes of discussions

DStv house impacts

Interaction in the DSTV house

Characteristics of good DStv house

Parents' thinking

To address the above themes during focus group discussions the following guiding questions were prepared even if there were follow up questions based on the ideas children brought during the discussion:

1. How does involvement in DStv house impacts on your life? What are these impacts?
2. How do you interact in the DStv house? With your friends? With adult audiences? With the DSTV house owner?
3. Could you list the characteristics of a good DStv house for children?
4. What do your parents think about your involvement in the DStv house?

Appendix V

Ranking Technique for the DSTV house owner

The aim of this ranking question is to assess the lists of televised football programs in Belay's DSTV house and ranking these based on children's priority.

1. List all DSTV football programs that are shown in your DSTV house

Appendix VI

Ranking Technique for the child audiences

1. List all DSTV football programs that you watch in Belay's DSTV house

2. Rank the above list of DSTV football programs based on your priority/interest

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

6.

7.

8.

9.

10.

11.

12..
