

**ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY**  
**SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES**  
**INSTITUTE FOR PEACE AND SECURITY STUDIES**



**SYMBOLIC REPRESENTATIONS OF ETHIOPIA'S PAST IN ADDIS  
ABABA: THE POLITICS OF NAMING PUBLIC SPACES AND  
EPISTEMIC VIOLENCE AGAINST CULTURAL GROUPS**

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CULTURAL GROUPS**

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## APPROVAL SHEET

We, the undersigned, members of the Advisor and Examiners of the final defense by Goitom Tsegay Gidey have read and evaluated his thesis entitled “Symbolic Representations of Ethiopia's Past in Addis Ababa: The Politics of Naming Public Spaces and Epistemic Violence Against Cultural Groups” and examine the candidate. This is therefore to certify that the thesis has been accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of masters of Arts in peace and security studies.

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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS**

ATM	Automate teller machine
AU	Africa Union
BJP	Bhartiya Janata Party
CBE	Commercial Bank of Ethiopia
CM	Collective Memory
EPRDF	Ethiopian People's Liberation Front
GHC	Governmental Health Center
GSC	Governmental School
OFC	Oromo Federalist Congress
OLF	Oromo Liberation Front
OMN	Oromia Media Network
PP	Prosperity Party
SQ.	Square
USA	United States of America

## **ABSTRACT**

*The focus of this study is to assess symbolic representations of Ethiopia's past in Addis Ababa with a particular focus on the politics surrounding the naming of public spaces and the inherent epistemic violence in that process. The main objective of this study is to describe and explore the politics of collective memory and associated epistemic violence in the planning and naming of public spaces done intentionally and unintentionally in Addis Ababa and its implications for peacebuilding. The study employed a qualitative research approach with a case study design. Data was collected through primary and secondary data sources. Since four public spaces are deliberately selected, key informant participants were also selected through a purposive and snowball non-probability sampling technique from the higher officers of the studied public spaces. Out of 15 key informants, 7 members were selected from different offices of the city including the Mayor's office as a sample for interview. The study also used document analysis instruments and besides online sources (e-sources), and media were used to conduct this study. The study's findings show there were and there are problems throughout the construction of public spaces by naming for the sake of memory. Though the narration was improved during the EPRDF regime, the public spaces are not changed on the ground. Orthodox religion, male gender, and from ethnicities by Amhara domination continue in the studied four public spaces. Until this era, there was difficulty in achieving constant names for historical public spaces. There are continuing changes in naming. According to the findings of the study, the naming of public spaces on the ground has ethnic, religious, and gender biases. The collective memory of some groups is silenced and some of their glory is considered collective amnesia. The findings of this study shows also that the domination happens by quantity and quality of representations. Finally, this study suggested inclusive memory in the capital city of Ethiopia and the seat of AU for peace building.*

**Keywords:** *Collective memory, Collective amnesia, Epistemic violence, Memory, Peace building,*

# CHAPTER ONE

## 1. INTRODUCTION

### 1.1. Background of the Study

Collective memories are considered shared memories if they fulfill two things. When they are widely accepted and help the group/groups bind together (Brown et al., 2012). Thus, to prevent the disintegration of collective memory and narration differences, groups shared answers of the past are necessary. In remembering the past, there is forgetting. If communities want to have a common future, having a common past is helpful. As a result, in Ethiopia's capital city Addis Ababa, there are a lot of symbols to memorize events, heroes, and leaders in the form of statues, and names of various institutions (public schools, government-owned bank branches, streets and squares, hospitals, and parks). These symbols have a shared understanding of the country's past and contribute towards creating a sense of oneness. Since memory affects our present and future, highly reconciled and agreed-on memories by most of the elites in Addis Ababa are necessary.

Ethiopia has been far from searching for a path toward a reconciled interpretation of the past (Fana & Yonas, 2022). Addis Ababa makes an interesting case to study the representative of the memory inscribed in/on it, primarily as it is the capital of Oromia, Ethiopia and it is also the seat of the African Union. Lack of representativeness amount to epistemic violence, an act of erasing a group's past/history from a landscape the current generation could learn from.

There are contentious cases raised by different well known and influential personalities in Ethiopia. Such demands for the dismantling of the Menelik II statue in Piazza were raised by the well-known Ethiopian Oromiffaa singer Hachalu Hundessa. He had given an interview to Oromia Media Network (OMN) as written by Al Jazeera on 5 July 2020, asking for the removal of a statue of Emperor Menelik II from the capital's Piazza neighborhood. Although it was said by the well-known musician at that time, the controversy was already there. There was a demand for the removal of the statue by the supporters of the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) in 1992 during the period of transition. On the other side, while Menelik II is widely respected as the creator of modern-day Ethiopia mostly by the Amhara elites, there was also a demonstration that opposed the removal of mostly ethnically Amhara supporters of Menelik II.

The controversial narratives by elites coming from different ethnic backgrounds are polarized. Langer & Stewart (2015) said “Inequalities between groups are labeled as “horizontal inequalities” and may have different dimensions. One of the horizontal inequalities is cultural horizontal inequalities. This refers to differences in recognition and standing of language, religion, and customs.” The case study of Addis Ababa is taken intentionally to investigate and measure the fairness of representation of the symbols which are representing the history of Ethiopia and its diverse groups. The central question animating the study is who are the heroes represented in Addis Ababa, and why were they chosen? Is the symbolic representation in Addis Ababa reasonable? If it is not reasonable, how can we correct it? If it is reasonable and rational why are there controversies? Why are we not accepting all of us on the same level (either by rejecting or accepting the memories) challenge?

Constance de Saint-Laurent, (2018) said history is the “dead frame” of the previous time and it is full of dates and events and thoroughly organized. But collective memory is different from history because it is the past as it is remembered now by those who lived in it currently and generally according to Constance de Saint-Laurent's argument collective memory is the “living memory” of one’s social group in the current time. As a result, assessing the representations using symbols and its epistemic violence against multicultural Ethiopia is important. For Constance de Saint-Laurent, memory stops where the group switches off. Since the groups are not eradicated or there are groups in different forms of identities, such as religion, ethnicity, and gender studying collective memory and its epistemic violence in Addis Ababa city is necessary to research a way for peacebuilding. Another reason to research Addis Ababa’s shared memory is to identify the gaps to construct a shared identity. This research aimed to identify the gaps in the epistemic violence and finally to suggest how to address the epistemic violence against culture gaps of collective memory to construct a feeling of oneness and unity instead of contradicting memorial narrations.

Although the general idea of this study is about the epistemic violence within the city of Addis Ababa, to make it specific, the study is about the memorizing of events, heroes, and leaders, by using statues and naming of hospitals, clinics, schools, banks, Avenue, and squares.

Building shared narrations using symbols in Addis Ababa has been a vague way and circulating some of the names repeatedly. So, it needs clarity of plan on how to build collective memory

which can create a sense of togetherness in our present and future by starting from our past. After studying the epistemic violence created in the city, suggesting viable solutions to balance the representation of memories or decrease the present epistemic violence against cultural groups in the city is the purpose of this research.

## **1.2. Statement of the Problem**

Addis Ababa public spaces should represent its highly diverse groups. It needs serious research of its spaces. Making representations fair and equitable for peacebuilding such as protecting against epistemic violence which has been emerging from biased decisions in the construction of monuments of national heroes, and naming of different highways, health centers, schools, and banks. In addition, selecting national memorial days, religious ritual days, and their celebration places are worrying, and a source of conflicts as was seen in Addis Ababa around Mesqel Square and the Menelik II statue during Adwa victory day. Religions also contest ceremonial places such as the question of the open and collected Fetiri program at Meskel square by Muslims.

Therefore, this research aimed to discover the contradictions of narrations regarding memories raised by different politicians, musicians, historians in general elites. The study has planned to examine the politics of memory and associated epistemic violence in the planning and naming of public spaces specifically in Addis Ababa. Thus, this city is the capital city of Ethiopia and its implication towards peacebuilding in the city has a significant role in the country.

This study aimed to explore the collective amnesia about some cultural groups' achievements and histories, analyze the politics of naming public spaces in Addis Ababa, and the implications of the dominant mode of politics of memory and forgetting on peacebuilding. Public spaces can have constructive and destructive roles in the future of Ethiopia. Because these narrations are presented to the people of Ethiopia, especially to the people of Addis Ababa city in different forms such as symbols in the public spaces. It seems one of the aims of these narrations is to become the current hegemony politically, economically, and culturally in the city by making historically the founder and guardian of the country by building statues and naming different banks, schools, parks, and highways.

For example, according to (Beamlaku H., 2018), there are contests in the naming of places. Furthermore, as his sources, there are claims by the Oromo writers especially the Oromiffa name

of places are changed to other names, and they claim as Oromo's culture, history, and religion are silenced to make others as founders and natives of the places. On the other side (Habtamu, M., 2020) said before 16 C. there was no Oromo in Shewa and neighboring areas of Shewa. Without their presence, the places of Berera cannot be named by the Oromiffa language. Thus, different narrations contradict each other. They considered these changes of names in narrations as related to collective amnesia of their histories and achievements. In addition to this, they took its aim as to have political, economic, and cultural hegemony or to replace the natural and native hegemony of the places of Addis Ababa. Hence, there has been suspected epistemic violence to be studied in the city. In the future to solve the epistemic violence and create peaceful communities and sustainable development.

Despite this, knowingly or unknowingly the city government is watching the naming of public spaces carelessly. There were some indications such as in 1991 an attempt to demolish the Menelik II statue in Piazza. In 2018, supporters of OLF and Ginbot-7 were conflicting during the painting of the OLF flag color to the roads, highways, bridges, and walls of the city of Addis Ababa. The interview that Hachalu Hundessa had given to OMN was against the Minilik II statue. The contestations of Adwa victory celebration in Adwa Dildy, Meskel Square, and Piazza public spaces, the question of Muslims to prepare Islamic rituals (open air Fetri), and the Protestants were opposed by the Orthodox Church followers not to celebrate their religious festivals in Meskel square. But the Irechaa ritual was celebrated peacefully in the square. If the conflicts of the communities within the city are erupted and widened, it is exceedingly difficult to control them. Therefore, this paper intended to identify the contradictory narrations and interests of these diverse peoples of the city has been found necessary and Ethiopia has been far from findings a path toward a reconciled interpretation of the past (Fana & Yonas, 2022).

### **1.3. Objective of the Study**

#### **1.3.1. General objective of the Study**

This study examined the politics of collective memory and associated epistemic violence in the planning and naming of public spaces done intentionally and unintentionally in Addis Ababa and its implications for peacebuilding in the city and Ethiopia in general.

### **1.3.2. Specific objective of the Study**

The specific objective of this study intended to:

- Analyze the politics of naming public spaces in Addis Ababa
- Explore the collective amnesia about some cultural groups' achievements and histories
- Explore the implications of the dominant mode of politics of memory and forgetting on peacebuilding

### **1.4. Research Questions**

1. How did national politics influence the naming of public spaces in Addis Ababa?
2. Which are the collective amnesia about some cultural groups' achievements and histories?
3. What are the implications of the dominant mode of politics of memory and forgetting on peacebuilding in Ethiopia?

### **1.5. Significance of the Research**

This research is important to the society in Ethiopia. Because most of the conflicts in the world are not about current and future plans. Most conflicts in states emerge because of the differences in how to remember the past. So, it contributes to the concepts of collective memory, epistemic violence, and sustainable peacebuilding which are necessary to remember our past in Addis Ababa. This research focused on the concept of epistemic violence in investigating the symbolic representations of Ethiopia's historical memories in Addis Ababa. This type of violence is not studied violence in the capital city of Ethiopia. Although studying collective memory and amnesia is particularly important and determines future peacebuilding in the city, scholars did not give much focus to studying it. So, one of the main targets of this research is to contribute a way for the next researchers in the view of Addis Ababa's collective memory. The three well-known perspectives of epistemic violence are Discriminatory, Testimonial and Distributive. This research chose a Testimonial type of epistemic violence to analyze the research. So, this research studied the epistemic violence of collective memory in Addis Ababa and tried to fill the academic gap because there is almost no such kind of study about Addis Ababa city. At the same time, not only for the initiation of further academic study purposes but also this research can initiate the ministry of peace and the mayor's office of the city to study all sides of the public

spaces and formulate a plan for a collective memory of the city for the sake of peace of the communities within.

## **1.6. Scope of the Study**

This study focused on the assessment of symbolic representations of Ethiopia's past in Addis Ababa. It focused only on work areas of the naming of CBE branches, governmental schools, governmental health centers, and squares. It is bounded by gender, religion, and ethnic naming. This study concentrates on issues of memory and epistemic violence associated representation of Ethiopia's past. To what extent is its representation of Ethiopian diversity? It mainly focused on assessing the naming of CBE branches, governmental schools, governmental health centers, and squares. But the representations of the streets of Addis Ababa also raised to some extent although the focus is on the four selected public squares.

## **1.7. Limitations of the Study**

The limitation of this study is the areas selected to study the memory. This may not be fully representative of the whole memory in Addis Ababa. The sampling of the study may not be representative. All the areas of memory should be studied to know the whole thing. The studied four areas may not give enough data to conclude. Studying private institutions naming is also necessary. The problems the researcher faced were during the collection of data. Since the offices have a problem with the documentation, this challenges the researcher to have well-organized data sources. Some of the key informants were difficult to contact. Some of the offices have no idea about naming although they are permitting schools. In addition to this since this title is relatively new, getting researched documents was difficult.

## **1.8. Organizations of the Study**

This thesis is planned to have five chapters. The first chapter is the introductory part which contains the background of the study, problem statement, and objective of the study these have general and specific objectives in addition to the research questions, the significance of the research, scope of the study, limitations of the study and lastly organizations of the study. The second chapter contains a literature review with three parts. These are History and collective Memory, Capital Cities, Identities and Collective memory, and finally, Amnesia, Forgetting,

Remembering, and Epistemic violence. The third chapter is about Research Methodology, which explains how it is done and researched. The fourth chapter discusses and presents the data by interpreting and analyzing it. The fifth chapter concluded and put a way forward to solve the gaps.

## CHAPTER TWO

### 2. HISTORY, COLLECTIVE MEMORY, CONFLICT, AND PEACEBUILDING

#### 2.1. History and Collective Memory

History attempts to capture the past without putting its interpretation to the current needs. History is not a prisoner of current needs (Wertsch, 2009). It is about the past and dead facts (Bikmen, 2013). But collective memory is a memory of the past concerning the present and future plans of togetherness and wellbeing. It is not necessarily about the matter of facts, dates, and events. It is how to remember the past for the well-being of individuals or collectives in their present and future (Zubrzycki & Woźny, 2020).

History takes the reality of the past as much as it has happened. It is the dead frame of the past as it was. History is full of dates and events, and it is thoroughly organized but empty of human existence to add or decrease for the sake of the present. Whereas collective memory is the past as remembered now or is a living memory of social groups acting in the current time (de Saint-Laurent, 2018). Collective memories are strong memories of the group, shared representations of a group's past based on a shared identity. It justifies the group's continued existence from the past with the present and future.

In memory, talking about the past is always a construction. It is not a copy of what happened in the past, and what matters is having the memory in the mind of the people, and what it allows memory actors to do in the present and future. Memory could be viewed as an action, not a mental process performed through discursive and material representations of the past. Collective memory is constructed verbally (oral or written narrations) or materially (names and designs of buildings, schools, statues, roads, hospitals, banks, etc.) using signs and symbols. Memory is not about accuracy and deformations, yet it should not do away with reality (de Saint-Laurent, 2018). If it is far from reality, people will not accept it.

Collective memory, by its nature, desires actors to define themselves, their community, their culture, and their memory through inter-subjectivity, and their collective memory is shaped by past struggles and shared historical accidents. It can be agony or glory, but their collective

memory is a shared and widely accepted memory of their identities (Cruz, 2000). As a result, their collective memory is both a common discriminating experience such as this was right and that was wrong and a "factual" recollection. It is a truthful narrative of the group's past "as it really was." Thus, whether in war or peace, a collectivity expresses and defends its identity by declaring, either as the perspectives of primordialism which identity is fixed and clearly said "We are as we are because the world has made us or created us this way; and because we are who we are, change our world only so much without changing ourselves. So, we have a natural identity." (Ibid.). This means groups have their own identities to be preserved always. It is not possible to construct a completely new but constructing a seemingly truthful and reasonable narrative is possible.

Geneviève Zubrzycki and Anna mentioned George Orwell as he was notoriously distinguished, in his dystopian novel 1984, "*who controls the past controls the future. Who controls the present controls the past*" (Zubrzycki & Woźny, 2020). The politics of collective memory is therefore an important social, political, and cultural issue that not only sociologists but also peace studies pay close attention to. It is because peace studies give attention to problems of cultural horizontal inequalities and these inequalities can lead to violence. All three types of violence are periodic. Cultural violence can be changed to structural, Structural can be changed to direct violence. So having a broad definition of peace and giving close attention to memory is useful.

Zubrzycki & Woźny (2020) identified three major empirical foci and corresponding moments in the scholarship, in which the structure of the review was identified. The first empirical focus concerns the role of collective memory in the creation, legitimation, institutionalization, and maintenance of national identities and nation-states. Scholars of nationalism took the lead in that discussion and shone a bright light on collective memory, which had been sitting in the relative shade until then. This idea is about nationalist narratives that make the state together by understanding the common good and the common bad (traumas). Otherwise, if there is a difference between common traumas, the commemoration of events, and national heroes, it is difficult to have national identities and nation states thus shared collective memory.

The second set of empirical issues mentioned by Zubrzycki & Woźny (2020) is the concerns of difficult and violent pasts, collective traumas, and political contests over the definition of the past and its memory. As they show, it is the study of these specific issues that united memory studies

as a field and yielded the greatest output. Third, they turn to the most recent trend in scholarship on the politics of memory, which attempts to transcend the national framework and focuses on collective memory which has an impact on transnational and global aspects.

Zubrzycki & Woźny (2020), documented *Geschichtspolitik* (politics of history) as it specifically relates to Germans' reckoning with their Nazi past, which included formal apologies by officials, compensations, and memorialization. The politics of memory concerns debates about the past and how the past should be recorded, remembered, and circulated, more broadly, or else silenced and forgotten. There are citizens in German who think the leader of the Nazi, Hitler is their hero but there are also citizens in German who felt more shame about Hitler's genocidal memory when visiting monuments to Holocaust victims in the presence of Jewish persons and foreigners than with other Germans.

Germans feeling shame about the Nazi past was correlated with a lower attachment to the national unity or sense of living together with the harmed community or ethnic group (Liu & Hilton, 2005a). So, shame about negative events in a people's past has its own greatest value in the eyes of the other or victims, especially in the eyes of the group that one has offended. So, sharing the trauma of an offended community can lead to unity and forgiveness for the members of the community of the criminals who emerged. This is an important objective of collective memory, accepted widely by all identities and this will lead to a sense of togetherness from the present to the future.

This can work in Addis Ababa also because there are competing collective memories on different symbols. Some of the communities are expected to be remembered because they have a meaning of unity and positive things for the present Ethiopians but by the other community elites these must be forgotten because they can lead to remembering their traumas and this can lead to the division of Ethiopians. The other third view is either forgetting all or remembering both sides. In general, what is important for his argument is agreeing on the need to harness memory for constructive ends (Verovšek, 2016). He said historical disagreements shared by an entire generation can activate collective memory as a resource for reimagining the political life of the state. As a result, the thinkers of Europe sought to stop the recurring cycles of violence in Europe by identifying how memory could fit into an emancipatory social and political theory to the

advantage of the present and future. This experience of Europeans which is working and making use of the people and state is a wise way to simplify challenges of state building like Ethiopia.

History is defined by the study of archival texts and objects, but memory is an affective connection, created by formative experiences in the life of the individual and community and comes from inside (Verovšek, 2020). Unlike history, memory refuses to keep the past as it is, to draw the line, as it were, that is constitutive of the modern enterprise of historiography. Despite these conceptual differences, history and memory are difficult to separate in practice (Verovšek, 2016). Because to some scholars, both history and collective memory are a combination of facts of the past and constructions of the past too. So, it is this one that makes it difficult to practically differentiate them.

Social and political power can be divided into two basic categories. These are 'power to' and 'power with.' For example, '*power to*' is a power that is rooted in the ability of actors to achieve their ends despite the resistance of others (Verovšek, 2016). The other type of power mentioned in this is '*power with*' which focuses on power as a constructive force that defines an actor or group in a social setting. Unlike '*Power to*' which is an instrument that agents possess and deploy, this form of power is constructive or communicative; it is part of who they are. This kind of power is both non-violent and non-instrumental. It is not applied by individuals but arises among them. Constructive power is therefore essentially dialogical which means to tell us stories and memories, reshape our past and imaginatively project the common future.

Individuals fabricate a memory to help them define their collective identity through collective symbols, sites, and practices in the form of events and rituals (Verovšek, 2020). Not only individuals but also the political community fabricates memory in a variety of ways by representing it in governmental archives, serials, and anthologies. Memory helps to create frameworks of reference, it can also act as a roadblock, limiting freedom of thought and action. Because it selectively remembers and forgets.

History is the story of the past, told from the perspective of the present (Clapham, 2002). As the present changes, history changes with it, because even if the past is, in one sense, entombed beyond the possibility of alteration, the constantly changing present leads us to ask different questions about it, and to put it together in ways that seek to make sense not only of the past but

of ourselves and our present difficulties. History privileges a particular power structure, and the people associated with it. Since memory is also affected by political actors, it favors the community associated with political actors.

The collective memory of the past binds a group of people together if it is done in a scientifically researched recommendation or pits a group of people against one another. The powerful link between collective memory and history is particularly salient in the education system and forging a country's collective memory is an integral part of nation-building (Dotson, 2011b).

History tells us the facts of the previous time. But memory provides us with narratives that tell us who we are, where we came from, and where we should be going even by creating and fabricating ideas to create a sense of togetherness and unity. It defines a trajectory that helps construct the spirit of a group's identity, and how it relates to other groups to face present challenges and build a good future.

In Russia, the activation of patriotic rhetoric in modern states has transformed Victory Day into a central element of the official politics of memory, since collective memory is one of the strong types of memory (Linchenko & Golovashina, 2019). One of the most important resources of which is the system of school education and upbringing and construction of statues on different streets and even the naming of the schools has its meaning influencing memories of upbringing citizens. Constructing a modern state's collective memory should be careful about the correct upbringing of children and the fact that only teachers and parents can protect the memory of ancestors from being distorted and rewriting history by their enemies. Countries should be careful of the intervention of their opponents. Because memories can be a source of disintegration and differences instead of a source of togetherness. So careful crafting of remembering and forgetting for upbringing citizens is necessary.

During the national holidays, the trends of the people must be observed to contribute to the transformations of memories into collective memory. If the interest of the people is something different or opposing or narrating different contradicting memories, then the holiday should be reconsidered. If victory day created a better sense of togetherness and transformed from memory to collective memory then the adoption of these Victory Day as the main national holiday to build a sense of togetherness is a good decision (Linchenko & Golovashina, 2019), can be

considered a political power in the state is putting the basis for the formation of civil and inclusive identity of collective memory.

## **2.2. Capital Cities and Collective Memory**

### **2.2.1. Collective Memory**

Memorial representations matter in a democracy because they specify who belongs to the demos and who does not, which impacts the efficacy calculations of individual citizens of the capital city (Parkinson, 2009). In public art, public iconography, public spaces, and the built environment more generally, capital cities represent nations and people. The public spaces tell who has a role in nation building and who is not. So, the representations in the cities of countries are important.

There are diverse ways of making more inclusive capital cities and representative of all identities. In deliberately designed capital cities, such as Washington DC, Brasilia, and Canberra, representative imperatives were kept in mind before they were created on the ground. In mixed deliberate and organic processes, like London and Paris, the nation is symbolized through a mix of deliberate design and organic, but their creations were inclined more towards organic processes.

The reality is that representation in public space is often highly selective in subject matter and approach. But democratic norms might lead us to expect that those representations be relative 'representative,' inclusive of the variety of the demos of their peoples or identities in the state for a sense of togetherness. For example, the public spaces show diverse religions, gender, and ethnicity depending on the nature of the country.

The tensions are raised because of competing interests, competing narratives, competing identities, and memories. The conflicts between singular narratives of statehood and multiple narratives of the diverse groups of people living in modern states (Parkinson, 2009). In addition to this Parkinson (2009) examines not only the different competing past stories but also conflicts between celebrating new values by new generations and remembering the past. So, since memory should focus on the relations between past, present, and future, considering the

continuously changing present is mandatory to have shared and widely accepted memory. If it is helpful, constructing timely memory is necessary.

It is important to focus on 'official' instead of informal representations of people, rather than the people's self-representations, something that deserves fuller treatment than possible here. For a space to be considered public, it must fulfill at least one of the following three requirements (Parkinson, 2009): if it is accessible to all comers (such as the statue of Menelik II in Addis Ababa) if it is used for public purposes, such to influence collective decision making or to hold collective celebrations; such as demonstration places if it is open for everybody every time; and if it concerns, affects, or is for the benefit of everyone, like the built environment, public facilities (such as the naming of parks in the capital city) and infrastructure transport systems (such as Anbesa bus and Sheger bus or the naming of the highways of the capital city itself).

Capital cities often have defined civic center features of collections of public buildings, monuments to public figures, and memorials of noteworthy events. They host major national rituals, house decision makers in the country's most important political institutions, and feature symbols of national identity, ideals, and aspirations, much more than other cities. Because of this reason researching, symbolic representations in capital cities are unquestionable, its advantage is to protect against conflict and build peace among cultural groups.

In addition to building representative symbols, interpretation of them is also important. For example, Swastika in many Western contexts stands for Nazism, fascism, racism, and brutality; while for Hindus, Buddhists, and adherents of Shinto it is a sacred symbol referring to ideas including the cosmic cycle, universal harmony, and the sun (Parkinson, 2009). The difference is not in the symbol itself but in the accretion of associations of ideas and actions that have, deliberately or otherwise, been built around it in those vastly different contexts. So, symbols accordingly refer to their referents through a process of building up associations. If the associations to the symbols are not equal or contradictory, the symbols can be a source of conflict instead of the creators of the spirit of togetherness.

According to most scholars of representation, there is no natural, essential link between a symbol and its referent but only what convention, deliberate design, and consistent use build up over

some time, an insight that derives from linguistics (Parkinson, 2009). So, representation is constructed, and because of this, it is possible to agree on symbols' interpretations without changing and destroying them physically.

Capital cities are, by design, by usage, or both, symbols of national institutions, values, myths, and norms. They contain symbols and such symbols are in their own right. But they are also symbols of who constitutes the nation, who is recognized as being a part of the demos, and who is not. So, in Ethiopia especially in Addis Ababa there are competing narrations and symbolizations or representations in the city to indicate that they are constituents of the nation or the state of Ethiopia in the capital. But Ethiopia is still far from the way of searching for solutions towards a reconciled interpretation of the past (Fana & Yonas, 2022), and symbolic representations of the past in Addis Ababa to create collective memory.

Renaming streets or placing statues to represent groups might be a crucial step but it is not normally sufficient to give people a feeling that they are simply being recognized rather than correctly represented by their mere representations of their icons to their identities (Parkinson, 2009). So, giving a chance to select their representative to the group is also more important than simply putting and removing a person from them without asking them.

It does not matter the facts, what matters is the impact of memory on the current and future life of the state and the people. For example, in Russia, different sorts of museums, memorial halls, memorial schools, governmental buildings in memory of martyrs or heroes, sites of important battles in revolutionary wars, protected historic relics, memorial parks, and scenic sites are important places for conducting patriotic education in a capital city representing identities (Linchenko & Golovashina, 2019). This is to transform contradictory memories into collective memories to create the same interpretation and create a sense of togetherness. The memories in the capital cities must be carefully crafted.

### **2.2.2. Experience of Selected Federal Capital Cities on Public Spaces**

The following four cities were selected for the following reasons. Washington DC is the capital city of the USA from North America. This capital city was created deliberately to represent the states in the USA and the world. This city has the largest number of Embassies, which is like Addis Ababa.

The second capital city chosen is Berlin which is the capital city of Germany in Europe. Berlin has a memory of Jewish holocaust victims (Parkinson, 2009). In And Addis there are claims and counter claim by Oromo and Amhara elites. Addis Ababa is an indigenous Oromo land and Addis Ababa was Berera and the non-Oromo-Christian indigenous are cleansed by the era of Imam Ahmad ibn Ibrahim al-Ghazi (Gragh Ahmed) too (Habtamu, T., 2020). There are memories of victimhood in Addis Ababa.

The next capital city chosen is Abuja which is the capital city of Nigeria in Africa. Abuja is the seat of the Government of Nigeria; Abuja is a place of and a symbol of unity of Nigerians who are diverse ethnically. But now Abuja is a melting pot of Nigeria's diverse cultures and a magnet of diverse peoples and nations. In general, Abuja is a place of physical beauty and an exemplary physical environment. This is one of the possible best examples of Addis Ababa in Africa.

Finally, one of the modern cities of India from Asia is New Delhi. British was actively engaged in fashioning "national heritage" in India during the colony period. But the Punjab government of India introduced a bill aiming to erase English names by ignoring the contribution of colony rule in fashioning what is now called "national heritage" (Singh, 2017). Delhi is the capital city of India, and it was the capital of the imperial regime of the British too. Although there are no more other places to be renamed than Delhi, Since the early 1990s, Bangalore is accelerating urbanization processes and fueled a growing demand for land, infrastructure, and services (Vanka, 2010) which is like Addis Ababa's demand for expansion and growing. Not only this but also Bangalore before and after independence the public spaces shows governmental continued attention to its horticultural legacy.

Renaming is wide in India. India renamed numerous cities long before the BJP came to power and restored the names of the cities of Mumbai (Bombay), Bangalore, and Kolkata (Calcutta) to their native versions (Ahmad, 2018). Parallel to the new economic setting urged land-intensive forms of urbanism spaces promoting a general culture which is important for inclusiveness in multicultural societies (Vanka, 2010). The parks and gardens that developed in Bangalore before and after 1947, and the public spaces show governmental attention continued to the city's horticultural legacy. So, this is one of the best possible examples of Addis Ababa. The possibility of constructing other statues and naming other public spaces.

### **2.2.2.1. Symbolic Representations in Washington DC**

Washington DC is one of the deliberately designed cities to become a capital city. So, in this type of Capitol city, there is an exceptionally good chance to design deliberately the public spaces and make them inclusive to the members of the federal states of the USA. As a result, the Americans made the National Statuary Collection in the Capitol Building, depicting two worthy citizens from every state but Washingtonians do not even have national representation let alone much say in what happens in their city, with mayoral measures frequently vetoed by senators from distant states (Parkinson, 2009).

When Parkinson joined a tour of the US Capitol, he watched American visitors seem most eager to find out which statues belonged to their home state and thus gain a sense of their presence in such noble surroundings (Parkinson, 2009). So, from this, the representations of nations, ethnicities, religious identities, or states according to the country's nature or the need to accommodate is important to create a sense of togetherness and unity.

### **2.2.2.2. Symbolic Representations in Berlin**

Representation in Berlin is not so much a clash of ethnic identities. It is being played out, but more a clash of the competing urges to remember and to forget, to freeze and to move on (Parkinson, 2009). Still, the case of Berlin shows that while '*organic*' symbols might be difficult to change and challenge, it is by no means impossible. But there are other views such as the symbol of a totalitarian regime in Berlin should be destroyed' and applauding its erasure. Statue.

Germans felt more shame when visiting monuments to Holocaust victims in the presence of Jewish persons and foreigners than other Germans (Liu & Hilton, 2005), from this we can learn siding with the victims can create better togetherness and shame about the Nazi past was correlated with a lower attachment to the national unit. So, shame about negative events in a people's past has its greatest impact in the eyes of the other, in the eyes of the group that one has offended. So, siding with the victims can lead to unity and forgiveness.

### **2.2.2.3. Remembering the past in New Delhi and Bangalore**

In Bangalore, diverse groups are contesting the official development projects that are transforming public spaces every day. Diverse groups have different imaginaries of public spaces

and their use value (Vanka, 2010). So having a consensus on the meanings and their value is important to have the same imagination. In Bangalore, the conceptual framework of the politics of public space is bridging and contesting different actors of state and society on the ground (Vanka, 2010). But the incredibly positive way to be mentioned here is, after and before independence the public spaces got good attention from the government's continued attention to its horticultural legacy. Even the colonialists did not convert the names of public spaces, they simply construct and named their new public spaces.

Place names naturally document and reflect a locality's heritage and identity, and changing names is considered a history re-writing (Singh, 2016). So, they are an essential element of a country's cultural landscape and therefore, renaming is always a hotly debated issue. British was actively engaged in fashioning "national heritage" in India, but the Punjab government of India introduced a bill aiming to erase English names by ignoring the contribution of colony rule in fashioning what is now called "national heritage" (Singh, 2017).

Others accused the naming has a problem. By the name of renaming cities, streets, and airports, the Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP) government is trying to erase India's diverse history and identity. In countries diverse as India, renaming places has further significance. The change of Gurgaon to Gurugram and the demand for the renaming of Bareilly and Agra airports as Nath Nagri and Deendayal Upadhyaya respectively may not be targeting Muslim symbols, but they are clear attempts to increase the prominence of Hindu symbols in India are privileged groups (Ahmad, 2018).

The supporters of the renaming of the Aurangzeb Road in New Delhi argued that the Mughal emperor was an invader and a cruel ruler, who does not deserve to be commemorated in modern India. Those who opposed the name change argued that Aurangzeb was not much different from many other rulers of India, regardless of their religious identity, who engaged in violent acts against their enemies to consolidate power. From this, we can understand two ways to dominate naming. Such as replacing the name of minorities and increasing the naming of privileged groups by the name of changing colonial names of places (Ahmad, 2018).

#### **2.2.2.4. Inclusive Capital city of Nigeria Abuja**

Abuja is a deliberately designed capital city of Nigeria. Abuja is really including its ethnic neutrality and central location found in the heartland of Nigeria, potentially accessible (physically and socially) to all parts of the country (Turmel, 2009). No doubt the problems experienced in Lagos, the former capital city of Nigeria, contributed to the shaping and sharpening of public space aspiration in Nigeria's new capital Abuja. The proper functioning of the capital as the nation's 'public space,' basing its argument on the premise that public space is the arena for social intercourse in any society, more so in the culturally rich and ethnically diverse one like Nigeria's, inclusive representation is a precondition to peace and nation building.

Abuja's dominant role however is to serve as a symbol of Nigeria's model of hope for unity and greatness. Because Abuja is chosen to become the seat of government, a symbol of unity, a melting pot of Nigeria's diverse cultures, and a magnet of diverse peoples and nations (Turmel, 2009). India is making serious efforts towards complete linguistic independence, through the development of placenames, but Nigeria is still promoting anglicized places- names including in Abuja, which is harmful to the development of indigenous Nigerian languages (Oha et al., 2017). So, Abuja's developments continue to hinder the actualization of the grand philosophy of Nigerians' national inclusion and consensus laid down at the commencement. In fact, in India and Nigeria English is the official language of business and politics. However, Indians were quick to understand the power of language.

#### **2.2.3. Identities and Collective Memory**

There are three types of identity perspectives. The first one is instrumentalist which understands identity as a device used by individuals and groups to unify, organize and mobilize populations to achieve larger goals (BJ Fowers, 2010). These goals are most of the time political in nature such as autonomy, self-governance, and a tendency to share power and resources. Not only these but also relating to collective memory instrumentalists want respect for the group's culture and identity, in general, minority rights. According to instrumentalists, ethnicity is a result of personal choice. It has nothing to do with the presence of cultural or biological traits.

So, instrumentalists think ethnic conflicts occur if the elites compete for the same goals which are notably access to resources, power, or territory. But primordialist take identity as fixed by inherited linguistic, racial, ethnic, and/or territorial commonalities (FJ Gil-White,1999). This has failed to accept the formation and change of identities. Since this study is about collective memory, this can be fictitious even to create a common past for the sake of a common present and future. The last one is constructivism. They took identity as tied not to a marker but to the civic and political commonalities that bind a national group together. According to constructivists identity is neither fixed nor entirely open. This focuses on the social nature of identity. If the social contexts are changed following that any identity is subjected to change (T Hopf, B Allan, 2016). So, it is possible to construct a common past or shared past to have a common future. Since identity is not entirely open, it needs careful construction. Although identity is created by the interaction of an individual and a group, it is beyond the individual's choice.

In studying topics related to identities, there are two ways: emic (from the perspective of the subject) and etic (from the perspective of the observer) approaches. Since the researcher is a member of some of the identities and not of some of them, it is important to combine emic and etic approaches to study this title in Addis Ababa.

## **2.3. Amnesia, Forgetting, Remembering, and Epistemic Violence**

### **2.3.1. Collective Amnesia**

Collective amnesia or social amnesia can be a result of "forcible repression" of memories, ignorance, changing circumstances, or the forgetting that comes from changing interests(Russel,2018). Two general consequences of collective amnesia are estimated. The first one is a memory that damages the '*rational*' project of growth and progress and would more likely be forgotten (Tazreiter, 2011). And the second one is, making it helpful to calibrate the imagined shared future of the nation and the collective memory of the people such as myths and legends (Tazreiter, 2011). So, remembrance and forgetting need rationality which can consider not only local but also international and regional spectrum.

It is common in different communities to respond to traumatic events by destroying symbols that can be memorized these days or leaders of their traumas. They want to be replaced by new symbols which can memorize their new history (Tazreiter, 2011). For example, in Iraq following the regime change, Saddam Hussien's statue was destroyed by mass crowds who were angry at Saddam's government. By spreading memory ignorance allowing new memories to take root was common not only in Iraq but also in other countries. Collective amnesia contributes to epistemic injustice and some of the harms are also wrong. As a result, focusing on the harms which are targeting the undermining of the intellectual self-trust of some members of the communities is important.

Collective memory and amnesia are not two detached ideas. The formation and maintenance of collective memories need some events to be forgotten. But all shared memories of a group are a result of mechanisms that transform different divergent ideas of the past into an agreed account (Tazreiter, 2011).

From different perspectives, there are agreements in defining collective memory as a "living memory" that has an impact on the present and future. Constructing a common past to have a common present and future relating to the current memory is necessary. The Durkheimian perspective approach treats the collective memory as a resource of social integration in the present. It does not matter whether it is a real or fictitious memory, any community or group has a positive memory that can make it together and at the same time, divergent groups have conflict potential and lack of integration in their past memory. Different elites want to manipulate collective memories at the expense of other groups, and this is against peace. For example, if elite groups emphasize ethnic, class, or religious solidarities at the expense of other solidarities (Ijabs, 2014).

As a result, for effective democratization and peacebuilding of post conflict societies, "mnemonic reconciliation" seems a precondition. Freudian perspective sees negative experiences of the past that continue to work in the present, sedimentary as an unconscious source of tensions, discontents, and strains in society and often founded on collective traumas. Contemporary memory studies develop an approach to comprehending the social construction of memory. A lot of attention has been devoted to politics and power in shaping collective memory. In different societies, the relationship between the popular and official memory, and the

relationship between the “dominant” and the “counter memory” must be studied to create stability and peace (Ibid.).

In general, rationally finding the balance of these three perspectives is necessary for the interested parties. Because it is not necessary to remember and forget everything. So, using the concept of Aristotle's principle of the Golden mean to find the compromise point is necessary. For example, in Washington DC, the National Statuary Collection in the Capitol Building is equally depicted as two worthies from every state.

### **2.3.2. Epistemic Violence**

Epistemic violence does not require intention, nor does it require capacity. It does, however, require a failed communicative exchange owing to evil ignorance. One method of executing epistemic violence is to damage a given group's ability to speak and to be heard (Dotson, 2011b). So epistemic violence either intentional or unintentional in testimony is a refusal of an audience to communicatively reciprocate a linguistic exchange owing to pernicious ignorance (Bunch, 2015). Pernicious ignorance, according to Bunch (2015), should be understood to refer to any reliable ignorance that harms another person. So, in epistemic violence, what matters is the result. If it is harmful, it is enough to say epistemic violence. This harm or pernicious ignorance of some groups can be done deliberately or not. Reliable ignorance is ignorance that is consistent or follows from a predictable epistemic gap in cognitive resources. According to this definition, reliable ignorance need not be harmful.

There are two types of tracking practices of silencing; these are *testimonial quieting* and *testimonial smothering*. By nature, examples of silencing are difficult to locate and make evident (Dotson, 2011b). In the case of testimonial quieting, it is unclear what evidence is required to establish the existence of such silencing. The problem of producing evidence for practices of silencing becomes even more difficult where the silencing results in a coerced self-silencing, as is the case with testimonial smothering, which may not admit of witnesses in the ways that instances of testimonial quieting may produce witnesses.

The necessity of the horrors of the past that cast shadows onto the future (‘chosen trauma’) and myths about a glorious future, often seen as a reenactment of a glorious past (‘chosen glory’) as elements in the development of group identity (Dotson, 2011a). Not only this but also expressed

the possibility of the past being reconstructed about the concerns and needs of the present and future.

Ethnic war occurs because of symbolic politics, in which ethnic leaders or activists use emotional ethnic symbols (including historic memory) to promote hostility toward other groups and pursue ethnic domination but on the other side what gives nationalism its power are myths, memories, traditions, and symbols of ethnic heritage and how a popular living past has been and can be, rediscovered and reinterpreted by modern nationalist intelligentsias (Ibid.).

The post-national elements penetrate the very practices of national identification, complementing, combining, or transforming them. These trends contribute to the transformation of national holidays. The adoption of Victory Day as the main national holiday is considered by the political power as the basis for the formation of civil identity and patriotism (Linchenko & Golovashina, 2019).

Epistemic violence can happen in the form of horizontal inequalities of cultures in multicultural societies. This can be linguistic, religious, or historical inequalities. These inequalities can be a source of conflict. In the beginning, most conflicts are latent. But it will not continue as a latent form of conflict forever. So, these latent conflicts should be solved before they explode and damage societies. Since epistemic violence happens intentionally using laws or unintentionally without having them in the form of laws. By permitting and prohibiting some languages to use in education, similarly, a state can treat religions and histories to have glory for some of them too. Not all memories of social events, ruptures, or traumas are similarly prioritized in collective memory making, or formal memorializing in monuments, museums, or official cultural symbols and markers, emblems, flags, films, and art (Tazreiter, 2011). As a result, the disadvantaged languages, religions, and histories (stories) lose glorification. Its result can become pernicious ignorance. It cannot be reliable ignorance. So epistemic violence happened to the silenced identities.

## **2.4. Conflict and Peacebuilding**

There are two types of conceptions of conflict (Armia et al., 2004). The first one is *realism* which focuses on the material world about the scarcity of resources and incompatibility of goals or over the control of power which is important to control the scarce resources by denying the

right of control of those resources by others. Realists assume that all parties understand the main parameters of contestation such as power, resources, and scarcity objectively. So, in collective memory realists assume that elites are competing to control scarce resources such as public spaces in collective memory, these things because of trying to mobilize people using different mobilizing agendas. For example, all elites can choose their heroes differently to stand in the same square. This can lead to conflict or violence. So, the one which has the power to control can build its own heroes' statue on the public square. So “might make right.” Controlling power is particularly important to own the present by controlling the past.

Secondly, constructivism focuses on the misperception of oneself or the other party (Armia et al., 2004). This focuses on the non-material causes of the conflict. It focuses on the divergent perceptions of the situation by the conflicting parties. But both agree on the nature of conflict and the possibility of managing or resolving it. When this idea comes to collective memory, it is the perception that matters. For the same victory day, for example, statues or heroes of elites can differ and can lead to conflict. In this case, the memory becomes the site of contestation and conflict (not in realist views of conflict). But if all of them tried to see standing on the feet of the other, they can understand why somebody has such an idea. The perception that matters more is the perspective of constructivism on collective memory.

#### **2.4.1. Cultural Inequalities and Conflicts**

A critical issue for societies to flourish in political, economic, and cultural terms is how to organize societies. Many multiethnic societies in the world do succeed in establishing the conditions for peaceful and stable development. But some countries are failing to succeed in peace, stability, and development. Ethiopia is one of these failed countries. Horizontal inequalities are categorized into four areas (Stewart, 2012). These are political participation; economic aspects; social aspects; and cultural status. Since this research focuses on epistemic violence against cultural groups, its focus of discussion is on the last one. For example, the horizontal inequalities in cultural status include the extent to which a society recognizes (or fails to recognize) a group's cultural practices (such as, in matters of dress, holidays, religion, statues of heroes, naming of schools, naming Banks, naming of health centers, naming squares, etc.).

Elites should be aware that people take actions based on their perceptions of others and their relative position rather than actual inequality (Stewart, 2012). However, in this epistemic violence against cultural groups research much of it focuses on physically tangible collective memories. Since the researcher is a member of some of the identities, this research investigates the relationship between externally measured inequalities, rather than self-perceived horizontal inequalities, and conflict.

The important dimensions of cultural status inequalities to mobilize groups for grievances are language rights and language recognition, recognition of religion and religious observances, and recognition of ethnocultural practices (Harries et al., 2019).

Some state policies are culturally homogenizing attempts intentionally by forming laws to foster one core cultural identity, particularly one official language, and in general non-recognition of a multiplicity of cultures (Legg, 2005). They believe their unity is in oneness. Instead of recognition and support of more than one cultural identity (particularly recognition of more than one official language), even more than one cultural nation, all within a frame of some common polity-wide symbols. They reject unity in diversity. As a result, this can be a source of conflict. Since this is a source of horizontal inequalities of cultures.

A more common situation that can be a source of language inequalities is the determination of a 'national' or 'official' language and especially cultural matters, 'such as the designation of official languages and educational issues, languages of instruction, the content of curricula, and the official recognition of degrees and certificates from various educational streams associated with various language groups', and prohibiting freedom of cultural expression using their languages more generally, often play a central role in the emergence of violent conflicts (Langer & Brown, 2008). On the other side, designating a single language as the national language may be seen as a means of promoting a cohesive and overarching 'national' identity for those who believe there is unity in oneness, but it can also generate anger and a feeling of symbolic discrimination among minority-language speakers in addition to being materially disadvantaged (Langer & Brown, 2008).

The state may not explicitly align itself with specific cultural groups such as history, religion, and language nonetheless afford them a de facto higher status. For example, in Ethiopia Amharic

is an official federal working language other are directly. There is no official religion or state religion. But the non-orthodox religion leaders accused of orthodox as more privileged than other religions in Ethiopia such as having land access than any religion not only legally but also illegally in Addis Ababa<sup>1</sup>. Some states that have a multinational dimension to their society find the politically asymmetrical formula useful without violating individual rights, it allows them to give some special recognition such as using their language to a territorially concentrated minority nationality that also forms a majority in at least one of the units of the federation (Langer & Brown, 2008).

#### **2.4.2. Recognition of Religion and Religious Observances**

In multireligious societies, differing levels of formal recognition among religions or restrictions on the observance of some religious practices are often the main source of cultural status inequality within a state. As a result, the state's relationship with religion should be detached. There is no need to be attached officially and in practice with any religion or complete secularity of the state is helpful to stability, and peace and to solve the problem of horizontal inequalities in societies (Langer & Brown, 2008).

The presence of sharp horizontal inequalities of identities provides a general motive for political mobilization. If governments fail to respond to these demands of horizontal inequality such as religion equality or instead repress them violently, this political mobilization can become violent, with the power of identities binding people together (Langer & Brown, 2008). Especially if this horizontal inequality is among the substantial number of supporters (followers) of the state's culture, the violence may become damaging. So, recognition of religion and religious observances are a basic way for horizontal equality of culture. The state should not have the state religion or religious 'identity' of the state, the state should not support different religions, and the state must respect religious freedoms and rights equally. Religious schooling, religious legal systems, and recognition of religious holidays and festivals must be permitted and equally treated legally and practicably.

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<sup>1</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2OXgHNjgFGg>

### **2.4.3. Recognition of Ethno Cultural Practices**

The state's recognition of, and support for, the cultural practices of diverse groups is another important aspect of cultural status inequality discriminating against some cultural aspects in media (Langer & Brown, 2008). In this respect ethno-cultural practices and customs employed in the functioning of the state to glorify and express the state itself are important, this expresses the 'identity' of the state. Even when states are broadly tolerant of cultural diversity, official practices may privilege the dominant cultural group in different celebrities, for instance, the incorporation of their cultural identity and practices into the rituals and symbols of governance, national holidays, and promulgation but also of national 'heroes' and histories. If the state remains 'neutral' may sometimes be interpreted negatively by minority groups who associate 'neutrality' with permitting de facto dominance of the majority culture (Langer & Brown, 2008). So, the minorities demand the government act with equity and fairness.

In general, horizontal inequalities can be practiced formally by recognizing using the laws of the state and using informal biased practices of the societies which can also privilege certain cultures over others which can undermine the legal practices of others. Most of the time states are officially neutral but the states should respect the right to practice everyone's choice of culture to be promoted using the governmental media.

### **Conclusion**

The focus of this research is on collective memory, not history because the interest of this study is how societies can create a common past to have a common future. It is known that history in most works of literature is seen as a subject that deals with the past as it is. But collective memory is a living memory, it has its purpose, and it is not about facts although it should not be extremely far from facts. It can be a combination of facts and fiction which can create a sense of togetherness among societies.

Collection memory is related to nationalism narratives which make the state together by understanding the common good and common bad (traumas) of the common past. Realists understand that because of the scarcity of resources even in public spaces, conflict is inevitable, but constructivists understand it as misperceptions of oneself or the other parties, as a result, the source of the conflict is non-material.

When anybody is talking about collective memory within it there is collective forgetfulness. The idea is, how should be selected the ones to be remembered and forgotten? Collective amnesia should focus on those that damage the rational project of growth and progress. So, remembrance and forgetting need rationality which can consider not only local but also international and regional spectrum. One method of executing epistemic violence is to damage a given group's ability to speak and to be heard (Dotson, 2011b). As a result, collective memory should be constructed to represent all societies carefully. No society's glory and traumas should not be silenced without the agreement of the societies. Otherwise, the sense of togetherness will be missed. The past is reconstructed about the concerns and needs of the present (Ibid.).

So what is important is our present and future. Our past must serve the well-being of our present and future. So that the chosen common traumas and common glories of the past are necessary to our future development of togetherness and unity. Collective memory can be a source of integration and tension, what matters is how we represent the various identities in public spaces.

Although these research studies about collective memory are raised by horizontal inequalities, they will not include all four which are political participation; economic aspects; social aspects; and cultural status. Since the title is on epistemic violence against cultural groups, its discussion is on cultural inequalities. This is to mean the biases that happened on language rights and language recognition, recognition of religion and religious observances, and recognition of ethnocultural practices in the capital city of Ethiopia and Africa.

In general capital cities in the world represent their societies. Capital cities represent nations and peoples. There are separate ways of making capital cities more inclusive and representative of all identities. In the world, there are deliberately designed capital cities, such as Washington DC, Brasilia, and Canberra, these cities were kept in mind before they were created on the ground to represent their diversity. On the other side, there is a mix of deliberate and organic processes, like London and Paris, their creations were inclined more toward organic processes.

But in this literature review, only four capital cities are chosen. The first is Washington DC from the USA because it is a seat of many Embassies, the second one is Berlin which has a holocaust memory, the third one is New Delhi and Bangalore from India which is a highly diverse country and finally Abuja from Nigeria which is the highly diverse country from Africa.

From these federal cities, some lessons should be taken on how to represent common glories and common traumas in public spaces. For example, in the USA when they construct a national statutory in the capital city of Washington DC, they choose to depict two worthy citizens from every state equally. Not only about the glory only, but there is also an example of bad memory in Germany Berlin about the Holocaust of Jews community. Both the Jews and the Germans took it as a trauma to be remembered. So, it is possible even in Addis Ababa to choose common traumas and common glory as a collective memory for future unity. From Abuja, their naming is increasing in English but in New Delhi, it is changed still to indigenous languages of India. In Bangalore, the colonials and the colonized were named by constructing their own public spaces without changing the former ones.

“Culture” refers to a group or community which shares common experiences that shape the way its members understand the world. So, if they lose their culture, they are forced to see the world as others, not as themselves. Culture includes groups that we are born into, such as race, national origin, gender, class, or religion. Culture can also include a group we join or become part of (Maria, A., 2002). Cultural groups are African- Americans, Asian-Americans, Pacific Islanders, Native Americans, and Hispanic and Latino Americans. These mentioned cultural groups are found in the United States. They share common cultural practices, traditions, history, and cultural group identities with the people within the cultural group.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION**

#### **3.1. Research Site**

As the title indicates the study was conducted in Addis Ababa city where, in representing Ethiopia's past, cultural and epistemic violence is suspected. The interest of this study is to study the epistemic violence against cultural groups as a result to suggest solutions for peaceful inclusion since Addis Ababa is the capital city of Ethiopia, it should represent its past without ignoring and magnifying some history deliberately to create a dominator and dominated cultures and history of some groups. Although epistemic violence can be in various parts of the country, this study chose to study the Addis Ababa case which is a symbolic and very important city in Ethiopia. Hence the interviews of the key informants were conducted in Addis Ababa too.

#### **3.2. Research Methods**

Supposing the problem of representations of Ethiopia's past should be studied, the significance of the study lies in the impression that it may contribute knowledge and fill a gap in the existing literatures and existing memory problems in Addis Ababa which are currently leading to conflict too.

The researcher relied on the qualitative method necessary because its main idea is expressed by the qualitative method since this study is about epistemic violence against cultural groups in Addis Ababa. The qualitative method opens chances for different views and explanations. Since this is about symbolic representation of Ethiopia's past in the capital city, it needs open-ended questions and an answer to them by every selected informant. So, it is subjective. It needs a qualitative method of analysis.

Qualitative research can be found in many academic disciplines, including peace and security, political science, and history. As a result, this study of contestations of elites in the representations of public spaces in Addis Ababa about Ethiopia's past prefers to use it. Based on

Leedy & Ormrod's (2015) analysis, to study or give emphasis to phenomena that have happened in the real world is better to use a qualitative approach.

### **3.3. Research Design**

This research planned to answer the questions of what, how, and why. So that used qualitative research and within it is the exploratory type of research. In general, research is a systematic and logical study of an issue's problem or phenomenon through the scientific method. Since qualitative research focuses on explaining the reality of the world from the perspectives of the participants in the research, and this type of research gives to the researcher a chance of active engagement when gathering data from the participants, qualitative research got the researcher fits the studying of symbolic representations of Ethiopia's past in Addis Ababa.

Although qualitative research involves gathering data from people about them, researchers must keep their research participants from any disclosure out of their agreement (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). This study is not researched very much. The researcher cannot get previous data. As a result, this is exploratory research, primarily based on unstructured research guides. So, because this reason is to collect data effectively, flexibility in this research title is important. So, this way helped the researcher use all kinds of data (information) got from various sources.

Researchers need to develop trust in their interviews to promote the integrity of their research. Researchers must guard against misconduct and impropriety that might reflect on their organizations or institutions and cope with new, challenging problems (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). Ethical questions are apparent today in such issues as personal disclosure, authenticity, and credibility of the research report. As Creswell & Creswell (2018) said the role of researchers in cross-cultural contexts, and issues of personal privacy through forms of internet data collection and others should be considered ethically. In this study since this is also about the study of cross-cultural issues in Addis Ababa, keeping the personal privacy of participants is important.

### **3.4. Data Types and Sources**

Since the study is about memory, primary and secondary data are needed to develop the research. This means that the data obtained from key informant interviews, which is the primary data, and

secondary data gathered by reviewing published or unpublished written documents included in archives. According to Kothari (2004)

*The interview method of collecting data involves the presentation of oral-verbal stimuli and reply in terms of oral-verbal responses. This method can be used through personal interviews and, if possible, through telephone interviews (Kothari, 2004, p.95).*

Since this qualitative research is a key informant's interview, open ended questions are utilized. So that the participants can express their experience unconstrained by any perspectives of the researcher. Equally, it is understood, 'an open-ended response to a question allows the participants to get the options for responding freely.

Primary data and secondary data were utilized to develop the study. This refers to the data obtained from key informant interviews and observations of the public spaces which are the primary data, and secondary data that are gathered by reviewing published or unpublished written documents by competing elites including archives. Moreover, relevant historical documents and reports from the Addis Ababa Education Bureau, Addis Ababa City Health Bureau, the website of the Commercial Bank of Ethiopia, from Addis Ababa Land Administration Bureau, Map Agency, and interviews of government officials, historians, and politicians served as primary and secondary data sources.

### **3.5. Data Collection Strategy**

Research is the art of systematic investigation (Downs, 1990). According to this topic and the general nature of qualitative research, designed data collection strategies helped the researcher effectively address the research problem and obtain data as valid as possible. For this study people who are relevant and can contribute first-hand information, especially professionals who worked in naming public spaces, need to be carefully selected as respondents to explain a real /practical phenomenon, with several types of experience and views.

#### **3.5.1. Interviews**

In qualitative research, it is essential to involve the interviewees in ethical practices and to anticipate the ethical issues before the study that would likely arise such as moving to the areas of the participants experiencing the issue or problem under the study.

*Qualitative researchers collect data themselves by examining documents, observing behavior, or interviewing participants, gathering multiple forms of data, such as interviews, observations, documents, and audiovisual information rather than relying on a single data source. These Qualitative researchers tend to collect data in the field at the site where participants experience the issue or problem under study. Researchers do not bring individuals into a lab (a contrived situation), nor do they typically send out instruments for individuals to complete. This up-close information gathered by talking directly to people and seeing them behave and act within their context is a major characteristic of qualitative research (Creswell & Creswell, 2018).*

Non-probability sampling was used because this helped the researcher to choose professionals for the naming of CBE branches, Schools, Public spaces, health centers, and squares. Purposive sampling is known, it is a subjective method of selecting units from a universe, but it is easy, quick, and economical (Downs, 1990).

As one of the methods of qualitative research, a key informant interview (in-depth interview) is conducted as the primary data gathering instrument. The interviewees are identified and selected through their know-how, professional proximity, and responsibility toward the topic at hand. Getting consent from the interviewee to participate in the study was the primary effort of the researcher before the interview.

Since there is Covid-19 face-to-face technique of interviews physically has been a choice of the key informant. For those who were not capable, face-to-face interviews were replaced by zoom and conducted individually. Among other things, face-to-face interviews for those who permit and take the vaccine of Covid-19 and zoom interviews for those who did not take it. Depending on the interest and taking care of the health of participants has the advantage of enabling a researcher to have good cooperation. The researcher cares for the participants and therefore gains their cooperation to clarify ambiguous answers and, when appropriate, seek follow-up information to establish a better understanding with the potential participants.

Each of the informants requires someone who not only understands the issue but also thinks and is concerned about solving the issue. In addition, this strategy assures that the research questions reflect what the researcher is seeking to conceptually understand through this approach and

design. Here, administrators of various relevant Bureaus, political party leaders, activists, journalists, historians, political scientists, tourism experts, political analysts, and peace and security experts, who are selected over their experience, professional proximity, and responsibility, are used as a source of first-hand information.

### **3.5.2. Document Analysis**

To be specific, the primary data was gathered from the name of the CBE branches, government schools, government health centers, and public spaces such as squares. This is used to help the participants of the key informants to see the facts on the ground first from the primary source documents. The use of different instruments proved to be helpful to facilitate the triangulation of information from various sources. Since this study is about the perspectives of memory of our past, not only primary data but also secondary data are also used. The data type that must be analyzed is provided in numeric information and text information. In this regard, both primary and secondary sources of data have been gathered and analyzed.

*Qualitative researchers typically work inductively, building patterns, categories, and themes from the bottom up by organizing the data into increasingly more abstract units of information and trying to develop a complex picture of the problem or issue under study (Creswell & Creswell, 2018).*

This data analysis used a descriptive interpretative qualitative technique of analysis. Descriptive analysis is used to describe the numerical facts related to the research's theme. The interpretative analysis was used to provide explanations for the data collected from the key informants and online e-sources. The researcher realized this research by selecting the main controversial events by asking different elites and electronic written news, and also listening media such as youtubes as the main source of data. To further enrich the source of data, the researcher asked its key informants and reviewed different related documents which are primary and secondary data sources.

### **3.6. Ethical Considerations**

In research, ethics is especially important to produce a credible and reliable study. So, the researcher mentions names and addresses as well as positions of respondents only those who

voluntarily and kept confidential those who will not (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). Most of the mentioned informants are those who said their position publicly or the key informants agreed with the researcher to be mentioned openly.

### **3.7. The Method of Categorizing the Origin of Names of Public Spaces in Addis Ababa (Operational Definition)**

Naming areas lead to the naming of different branches of institutions such as the Commercial Bank of Ethiopia, governmental schools, governmental health centers, and public squares. See the definition of the terms below.

**Area:** This represents if the source of the name of the institutions or the squares is from the name of the particular local area.

**Events:** This represents if the source of the name of institutions or the squares is from the day something happened.

**Ideological:** This represents if the source of the name of institutions or the squares indicates one government's specific ideology.

**Neutral:** This represents if the source of the name of institutions or the squares is free from the area, event, ideological, person, and religious affiliation.

**Person:** This represents if the source of the name of institutions or the squares is from a person's name.

**Religious:** This represents if the source of the name of institutions or the squares has religious indications.

**Unknown:** This represents if the source of the name of institutions or the squares is difficult to decide as neutral and from where it originated.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### 4. THE POLITICS OF NAMING PUBLIC SPACES IN ADDIS ABABA

Since Ethiopia and the Ethiopian people have a very old history, it is not possible to remember all events and personalities of the past. So, becoming selective from all our history is important. But, during constructing our collective memory, the representation of all Ethiopian identities such as gender, ethnicity, language, and religion must be considered. It should not focus on undermining some groups' languages and religions, and on some of them permitting others to dominate some other identities without their agreement. So on the public spaces of Addis Ababa, whether they are inclusive or not of the mentioned identities are studied on the following four public spaces. These are mainly on the naming of CBE, governmental schools, governmental health centers, and squares.

#### 4.1 The Politics of Religion in Naming Public Spaces in Addis Ababa

Religion has been one of the prominent identities in Ethiopia for a very long time. There were peaceful and conflictual relationships among and between religious groups. The idea here is how our CBE branches, governmental schools, health centers, and squares in Addis Ababa are named to remember the religious attribute remembrance intentionally or unintentionally. From the total names of the institutions studied, religious-related naming is 19% in CBE, 6% in governmental Schools, 7% in governmental health centers, and 17% in public squares (see *Figure 4*). Visible contestations up on the names of Orthodox, Muslim, and protestant are on the table. The best example is Meskel square. As mentioned above, these are studied in four public spaces. Of all the four studied public spaces Orthodox has the largest representation.

Even these representations of Orthodox claims were focused on differences among other Christian doctrines. According to one Pastor of Protestant, although the Orthodox's primary objective is believing and symbolizing Jesus Christ, see in *Table 1, Table 2, Table 3, and Table 4* the naming of the institutions in Addis Ababa, they are accused of focusing on the symbols which can make Orthodox different from other Christians. It means, we need non-Orthodox followers which can make us different from others. If we continue like this, our differences will increase.

From this what we can see is the mix of the Orthodox with ethnic elite interests by various informants, there are indications of religious contestations in Addis Ababa city in Ethiopia's past history or memory, Meskel Square is a good example. Then this led to the naming of the CBE branch named by the name of Meskel square. To the CBE branch naming officers, it originated from the name of the locality. But the locality or specifically Meskel Square demands the square be changed to its name to EID and Pastor Adebabay by Muslims and Protestants respectively.<sup>2</sup> CBE branches 19%, governmental schools 6%, Squares 17% and health centers 7% of their institutions' names originated from religious names (See *Figure 4*).

As shown the lists on Table 1, Table 2, Table 3 and Table 4, the names which have religion attributes are mentioned. From this in CBE branches Orthodox 76%, Muslim 18%, common for Orthodox and Protestants 4% and for protestant 1% are represented or originated the names. In governmental schools Orthodox 72%, common for Orthodox and Protestants 28% are represented or originated the names. Similarly in squares Orthodox 75% and Protestant 25% are represented. Finally in health centers there is a new representative which is Catholic. The representation is Orthodox 75%, Catholic 13% and the remaining 13% represented all Christians (See *Figure 1*).

In this Orthodox name represents the names which can represent Orthodox Church only, Protestants name represents the names which can represent Protestants church only, Orthodox and Protestants name represents the names which can represent both churches only, Muslim

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<sup>2</sup> As Mr. Chanie Fikir Addis Ababa's district operation and support manager said, naming originated from the local, asking from culture and tourism Bureau, from asking the Kebele's office, may be chosen by local community, if by the local name of town is opened, we use the name of well-known personalities, sometimes leaders who contribute a lot to CBE, for example we named by Tilahun Ambaye and Tefera Digafie. Even from the sport world to those who contribute a lot to the country, we named branches by them. From the recent dividend free bank branches when we are opening we discuss with the Sheria office heads. For example one accident I remember was when we opened one branch Khadim, we wrote its name wrongly. Representative of Islam Sheria office came changed the name from Kadim to Khadim. The CBE is free from ethnicity, religion and gender. We name our branches by asking advice from the people.

name represents the names which can represent Muslim only and Catholic name represents the names which can represent Catholic Church only. Christian represent all Christians.

See the following table which contains the lists of Branches which can indicate religion in CBE

**Table 1: The list of names of CBE branches which shows religion attribute of different religions**

No.	Name Of CBE Branch	Sub City	Attribute	Type of Religion
1	41 Eyesus	Yeka	Religious	Orthodox and Protestant
2	Abo Mazoria	Kirkos	Religious	Orthodox
3	Addisu Michael	Merkato	Religious	Orthodox
4	Al Heyirat Branch	Kolfe	Religious	Muslim
5	Alfurat Branch	Megenagna	Religious	Muslim
6	Amanah Branch	Kolfe	Religious	Muslim
7	Anwar Mesgid	Merkato	Religious	Muslim
8	Arada Ghiorgis	Arada	Religious	Orthodox
9	Awoliya Branch	Kolfe	Religious	Muslim
10	Ayat Tsibel Branch	Megenagna	Religious	Orthodox
11	Ayer Amba Micheal	Bole	Religious	Orthodox
12	Betel Michael Branch	Kolfe	Religious	Orthodox
13	Bilal Branch	Bole	Religious	Muslim
14	Bisrate Gebriel Branch	Kirkos	Religious	Orthodox
15	Bole Gorgorios	Bole	Religious	Orthodox
16	Bole Medehanialem	Bole	Religious	Orthodox
17	Bole Michael	Bole	Religious	Orthodox
18	Bulbula Mariam Branch	Bole	Religious	Orthodox
19	Cmc Michael	Megenagna	Religious	Orthodox
20	Eyesus Gedam	Kirkos	Religious	Orthodox
21	Gebriel Mesalemia	Yeka	Religious	Orthodox
22	Gedam Sefer	Arada	Religious	Orthodox
23	Gerji Egziabherab Br	Megenagna	Religious	Orthodox
24	Gerji-Giorgis	Megenagna	Religious	Orthodox
25	Gofa Gebriel	Kirkos	Religious	Orthodox
26	Gurara Kidanemiheret	Yeka	Religious	Orthodox
27	Hanna Mariam	Nifas Silk	Religious	Orthodox

28	Hanna Sefera Branch	Nifas Silk	Religious	Orthodox
29	Hanna Tena Tabia	Nifas Silk	Religious	Orthodox
30	Hassen Hussen Mesjid	Merkato	Religious	Muslim
31	Jemmo Michael Branch	Nifas Silk	Religious	Orthodox
32	Kaliti Gebriel	Nifas Silk	Religious	Orthodox
33	Kechene Medihanealem	Arada	Religious	Orthodox
34	Keranio	Kolfe	Religious	Orthodox
35	Kidiste Mariam	Arada	Religious	Orthodox
36	Kirkos Kebele	Kirkos	Religious	Orthodox
37	Kotebe Kidanemihret	Yeka	Religious	Orthodox
38	Lafto Michael Branch	Nifas Silk	Religious	Orthodox
39	Lebu Gebriel Branch	Nifas Silk	Religious	Orthodox
40	Lideta	Kirkos	Religious	Orthodox
41	Lideta Mariam	Kirkos	Religious	Orthodox
42	Mama Mesjid Branch	Kolfe	Religious	Muslim
43	Mecca	Megenagna	Religious	Muslim
44	Mekanisa Michael	Nifas Silk	Religious	Orthodox
45	Menbere Patriarich	Arada	Religious	Orthodox
46	Meri	Megenagna	Religious	Orthodox
47	Mesalemia	Merkato	Religious	Orthodox
48	Meskel Flower	Bole	Religious	Orthodox
49	Meskel Gebeya	Megenagna	Religious	Orthodox
50	Meskel Square	Kirkos	Religious	Orthodox
51	Mus'ab Branch	Kolfe	Religious	Muslim
52	Nur Mesjid Branch	Merkato	Religious	Muslim
53	Paster Square	Merkato	Religious	Protistant
54	Paulos	Merkato	Religious	Orthodox and protistant
55	Rayan Branch	Nifas Silk	Religious	Muslim
56	Rufael	Merkato	Religious	Orthodox
57	Saris Abo	Bole	Religious	Orthodox
58	Saris Abo Kelebet	Bole	Religious	Orthodox
59	Saris Kidanemihiret	Bole	Religious	Orthodox
60	Sealite Mihiret Akababi	Yeka	Religious	Orthodox

61	Sefera Gebriel Branch	Megenagna	Religious	Orthodox
62	Selam Mesjid Branch	Kirkos	Religious	Muslim
63	Selassie	Yeka	Religious	Orthodox
64	Summit Giorgis Branch	Megenagna	Religious	Orthodox
65	Summit Kidanemihiret	Megenagna	Religious	Orthodox
66	Tabot Maderia	Kolfe	Religious	Orthodox
67	Tekle Haimanot	Merkato	Religious	Orthodox
68	Tele Medehanialem	Bole	Religious	Orthodox
69	Urael	Bole	Religious	Orthodox
70	Yared	Yeka	Religious	Orthodox
71	Yeka Michael Branch	Yeka	Religious	Orthodox
72	Yoseph	Bole	Religious	Orthodox and protestant

See the following table which contains the lists of names of Schools which can indicate religion attribute

**Table 2: The lists of names of Schools which shows religion attribute**

No.	Name of the schools	Wereda	Type of name	Sub city found	Type of religion
1	Halye Luya	5	religious	Addis Ketema	Orthodox and Protestant
2	Bethelhiem	5	religious	Arada	Orthodox and Protestant
3	Kuskuwam	1	religious	Gullele	Orthodox
4	Entoto Maryam	1	religious	Gullele	Orthodox
5	Eyerusalem	3	religious	Gullele	Orthodox and Protestant
6	Entoto Mariam	1	religious	Gullele	Orthodox
7	Eyerusalem	3	religious	Gullele	Orthodox and Protestant
8	Medhanie Alem	9	religious	Gullele	Orthodox
9	Medhanie Alem preparatory	9	religious	Gullele	Orthodox
10	Urael	1	religious	Kirkos	Orthodox
11	Felege Yordanos	10	religious	Kirkos	Orthodox
12	Urael	1	religious	Kirkos	Orthodox
13	Tinsaye Birhan	8	religious	Kirkos	Orthodox
14	Felege Yordanos	10	religious	Kirkos	Orthodox
15	Abune Basilos	1	religious	Kolfe	Orthodox
16	Bisrat	10	religious	Kolfe	Orthodox
17	Filipos	11	religious	Kolfe	Orthodox
18	Keranyo pre education	9	religious	Kolfe	Orthodox
19	Tinbite Ermias	9	religious	Kolfe	Orthodox and Protistant

20	Abune Basilos	1	religious	Kolfe	Orthodox
21	ቀ/መ/ዓለም	8	religious	Kolfe	Orthodox
22	Tinbite Ermias	9	religious	Kolfe	Orthodox and Protistant
23	Filipos	11	religious	Kolfe	Orthodox
24	Bisrat	13	religious	Kolfe	Orthodox
25	ቀ/መ/ዓለም	8	religious	Kolfe	Orthodox
26	Kidus Georgis	8	religious	Lideta	Orthodox
27	Lideta selam	1	religious	Lideta	Orthodox
28	Lideta limat	8	religious	Lideta	Orthodox
29	Hana	1	religious	Nifas Silk	Orthodox
30	Hawerya Petros	6	religious	Nifas Silk	Orthodox and Protistant
31	hana	1	religious	Nifas Silk	Orthodox
32	Hawerya Petros	6	religious	Nifas Silk	Orthodox and Protistant
33	Mussie	8	religious	Nifas Silk	Orthodox and Protistant
34	Kudus Markos	1	religious	Yeka	Orthodox
35	Kudus Markos	1	religious	Yeka	Orthodox

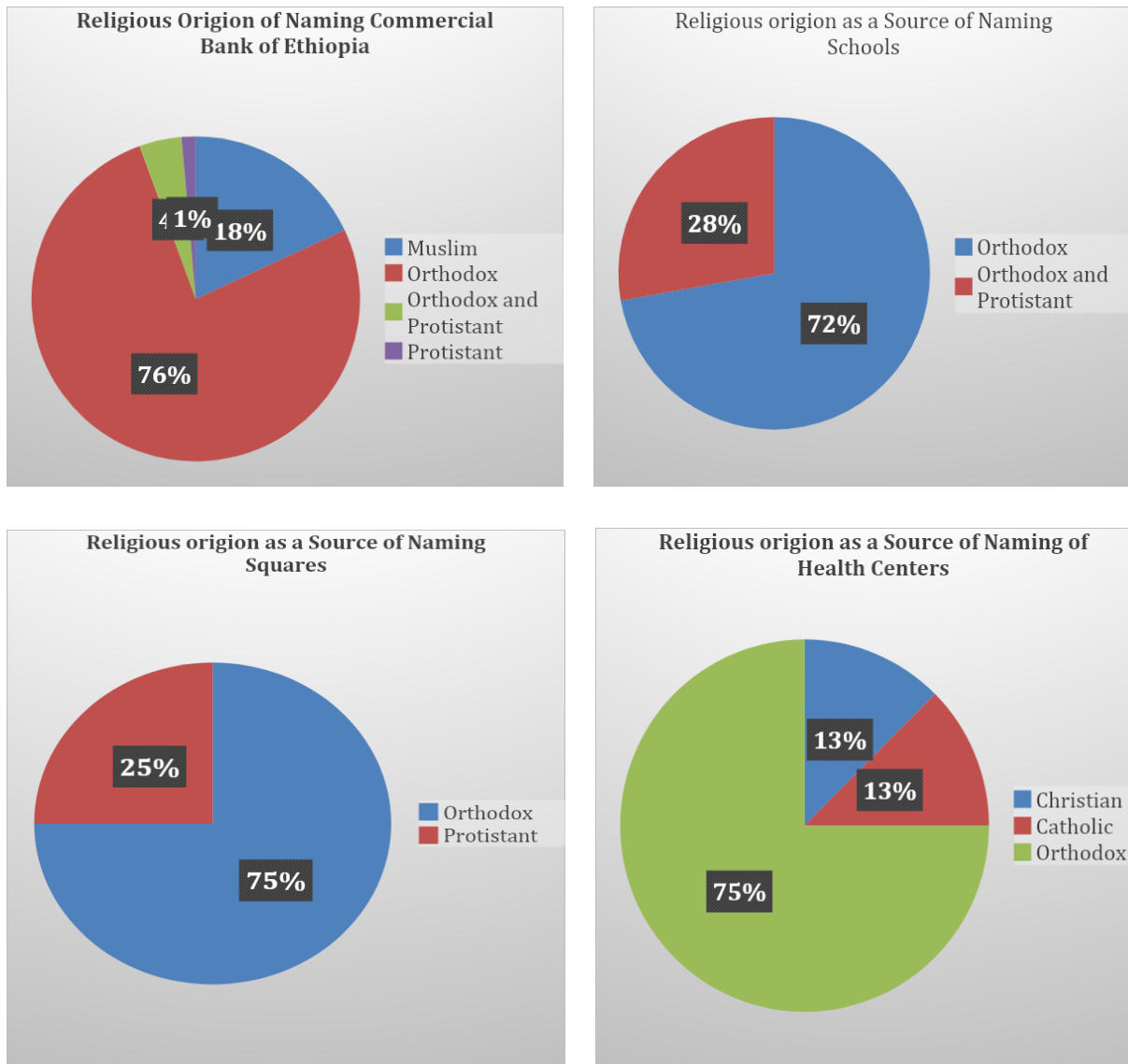
**Table 3: The lists of names of Health Centers which shows religion attribute**

No.	Name of the health Center	Woreda	Sub City	Type of Attribute	Type of Religion
1	Filipos	Woreda-11	Addis Ketema	Religious	Christian
2	Kidus Gebriel Katolic	Woreda-05	Akaki Kaliti	Religious	Catholic
3	Beata	Woreda-08	Arada	Religious	Orthodox
4	Meri	Woreda-03	Lemi Kura	Religious	Orthodox
5	Teklehaimanot	Woreda-07	Lideta	Religious	Orthodox
6	Lideta	Woreda-10	Lideta	Religious	Orthodox
7	St Pauls Hospital			Religious	Orthodox
8	St Peters Hospital			Religious	Orthodox

See the following table which contains the lists of squares which can indicate religion

**Table 4: The lists of names of Squares which shows religion attributes**

Roll Number	Street Name	Type of Public Space	Attribute	Type of Religion
1	Megabit 27 SQ.	SQ.	religious	Orthodox
2	Meskel SQ.	SQ.	religious	Orthodox
3	Square/Paster	SQ.	religious	Protistant
4	Tekle Haimanot / Omedla	SQ.	religious	Orthodox



**Figure 1: Percentage of Religion Attribute of naming in CBE Branches, GSC, GHC and Squares**

## 4.2 The Politics of Gender in Naming Public Spaces in Addis Ababa

There are different types of identities which can explain who we are. Some of them are age, ability, race, ethnicity, Gender, sexual orientation, socio economic status and religion. But to explain the identity of Ethiopians and to meet the objective of this research, three of them are the focus of this research. These are ethnicity, religion and gender. These study shows memory in Addis Ababa is started from Menelik I (See the lists of names on *Table 5*, *Table 6*, *Table 7* and *Table 8*). Because there is an elementary school in Addis Ababa around Arat kilo which is named by Menelik I. This is constructed to have a collective memory in Ethiopians mind. This is to remember the legend of the son of Queen Saba and King Solomon of Israel.

Although remembering started from Menelik I in the past, the researcher understands that all the leaders cannot be remembered. But starting remembrance from Menelik I by passing his mother Queen Saba is claimed as gender bias and self-denial. Trying to remember Menelik I without remembering Ethiopian Queen Saba in Addis Ababa is really failure of pride in your own identity. Two accusations are claimed. One is making black race (Ethiopian race) inferior and wanting to become recognized as your race is Jew and on the other side undermining the women leaders who led the country. So there is a claimed bias in building symbols to represent Ethiopia's past in the public spaces of the capital city. On the other side the kings of Ethiopia of past time wanted the religious acceptance from the religious people of Ethiopia by associating themselves with the biblically accepted king Solomon is another reason of starting memory from Menelik I.

But starting the legendary memory from the son of Queen Saba is really undermining female leaders. Females in Addis Ababa are represented by the wives such as Empress Taitu, Queen Zewditu and Empress Menen. There is nothing to remember other wives of leaders such as the wife of Imama Ibn Ibrahim Algahazi and Emperor Yohanes IV. Although there are memories of naming public spaces who are alive such as Derartu Tulu Adebabay, Tirunesh Bejing Hospital and Abebech gobena hospital, asking the absence of their memories in the public spaces about the wives of Mengistu Hailemariam (Wubanchi Bishaw), the wife of Meles Zenawi (Azeb Mesfin), the wife of Hailemariam Desalegn (Roman Tesfaye) and the wife of Dr. Abyi Ahmed (Zinash Tayachew) is important not too early. Because reason and consistency is important in collective memory for future togetherness.

But if Ethiopians represent females by the female leaders by those who made themselves leaders is a better representation. Otherwise, it is making females dependent upon the success of males and their husbands. So females are not represented correctly by their determined representatives. Representing females by the mentioned three is silencing the glorious love of wisdom and military leadership capability to women. It ignores the legendary history of females like the Queen Saba, who was assumed be to a leader of her era.

It is clear that male names represents the names which can represent male memory only, Female name represents the names which can represent female only. If we take Neutral as represents the names which can represent both for example in Arbegnoch statue (Yedilachin Hawelt) Emperor Haile Selassie and a face women are evidence. See on *Figure 2* in CBE branches males 85% and Females 15% are represented, in governmental schools males 81%, Females 15% and Neutral 4% are represented by their names. Without big difference, in squares Males 90% and Females 10% are represented. Finally in health centers there is a similar trend. Males and Females are represented by 80% and 20% respectively. Thus, the memory is dominated to memorize males' history and story.

See the following table which contains the lists of persons which can indicate ethnicity and gender in CBE

**Table 5: The list of names of branches of CBE to indicate gender and ethnicity**

No.	Name of the CBE Branch	Sub City	Type	Ethnicity	Gender
1	Abakoran	Merkato	Person	Amhara	Male
3	Abune Petros	Merkato	Person	Oromo	Male
4	Alemu Abera	Kolfe	Person	Amhara	Male
5	Arbegnoch	Arada	Person	Amhara	Unknown
6	Assefa Tsegaye Branch	Bole	Person	Amhara	Male
7	Atse Minelik Ii	Merkato	Person	Amhara	Male
8	Balcha Abanefso	Kirkos	Person	Oromo	Male
9	Churchil	Arada	Person	Foreign	Male
10	Debebe Habte Yohannes	Bole	Person	Amhara	Male
11	Dejach Wube	Arada	Person	Amhara	Male
12	Dejazmach Wondyrad	Megenagna	Person	Amhara	Male
13	Derartu Tulu Branch	Bole	Person	Oromo	Female
14	Etege Menen Branch	Arada	Person	Amhara	Female
15	Fitawrari Amede Lema	Merkato	Person	Amhara	Male
16	Gezahegn Yilma	Kirkos	Person	Amhara	Male

17	Fitawrari Habtegiorgis Denagdie	Merkato	Person	Oromo/Gurage	Male
18	Haile Gebre Silassie Aveneue	Megenagna	Person	Amhara	Male
19	Jan Meda Branch	Yeka	Person	Amhara	Male
20	Karl Adebabay	Kirkos	Person	Foreign	Male
21	Leyikun Birhanu Branch	Bole	Person	Amhara	Male
22	Mehatema Ghandi	Arada	Person	Foreign	Male
23	Meseret Defar	Bole	Person	Oromo	Female
24	Minasie Lema	Kirkos	Person	Amhara	Male
25	Minilik Hospital	Yeka	Person	Amhara	Male
26	Pushkin Adebabay	Kirkos	Person	Foreign	Male
27	Ras Desta	Merkato	Person	Amhara	Male
28	Ras Mekonen	Arada	Person	Amhara	Male
29	Tayitu Bitul	Arada	Person	Amhara	Female
30	Tefera Degife	Megenagna	Person	Amhara	Male
31	Teka Ageno	Kirkos	Person	Oromo	Male
32	Theodros	Arada	Person	Amhara	Male
33	Tilahun Abay	Arada	Person	Amhara	Male
34	Wingate	Kolfe	Person	Foreign	Male
35	Wossen Akababi Branch	Yeka	Person	Amhara	Male

See the following table which contains the lists of persons which can indicate ethnicity and gender in Schools

**Table 6: The lists of names of Schools which shows gender and ethnicity attribute**

No.	Name of the school	Wereda	Sub city	Gender	Ethnicity
1	Fitawrari Habtegiorgis Denagdie	1	Akaki Kaliti	Male	Gurage/Oromo
2	Atsie Tewodros II	3	Akaki Kaliti	Male	Amhara
3	Fitawrari Habtegiorgis Denagdie	1	Akaki Kaliti	Male	Gurage/Oromo
4	Atsie Tewodros	3	Akaki Kaliti	Male	Amhara
5	Hachalu Metasebya	12	Akaki Kaliti	Male	Oromo
6	Fitawrari Habtegiorgis Denagdie	1	Akaki Kaliti	Male	Gurage/Oromo
7	Derartu Tulu	8	Akaki Kaliti	Female	Oromo
8	Hachalu Metasebia	12	Akaki Kaliti	Male	Oromo
9	Gelila	2	Addis Ketema	Female	Amhara
10	Dejat Hailu Tesfaye	3	Addis Ketema	Male	Amhara
11	Bitwedded Beshah	7	Addis Ketema	Male	Amhara
12	Dejach Genemie	9	Addis Ketema	Male	Oromo
13	Gelila	2	Addis Ketema	Female	Amhara
14	Dejat Hailu Tesfaye	3	Addis Ketema	Male	Amhara
15	Bitwedded Beshah	7	Addis Ketema	Male	Amhara
16	Dagmawi Tewodros (Tewodros II)	8	Addis Ketema	Male	Amhara

17	Dejach Genemie	9	Addis Ketema	Male	Oromo
18	John F. Kenedy	1	Arada	Male	Foreigner
19	Arbegnoch	4	Arada	Neutral	Neutral
20	Atsie Fasil	4	Arada	Male	Amhara
21	Arbegnoch	4	Arada	Neutral	Neutral
22	Atsie Fasil	4	Arada	Male	Amhara
23	Ras Abebe Aregay	5	Arada	Male	Amhara
24	Dagmawi Menilik	9	Arada	Male	Amhara
25	John F. Kenedy	1	Arada	Male	Foreigner
26	Abebech Gobena	3	Arada	Female	Oromo
27	Arbegnoch	4	Arada	Neutral	Neutral
28	Atsie Fasil	4	Arada	Male	Amhara
29	Ras Abebe Aregay	5	Arada	Male	Amhara
30	Atsie Naod	6	Arada	Male	Amhara
31	Dagmawi Menilik	9	Arada	Male	Amhara
32	Weyzero Kelemework	4	Arada	Female	Amhara
33	Dejach Belay Zeleke	6	Arada	Male	Amhara
34	Dagmawi Menilik	9	Arada	Male	Amhara
35	Meles Frie	1	Bole	Male	Tigraway
36	Meles Frie	1	Bole	Male	Tigraway
37	Dr. Hadis Alemayo	4	Bole	Male	Amhara
38	Atsie Neakutoleab	3	Gullele	Male	Amhara
39	Atsie Libne dingil	4	Gullele	Male	Amhara
40	Belay Zeleke No. 2	8	Gullele	Male	Amhara
41	General Tadese Biru	9	Gullele	Male	Oromo
42	Kuskuwam Taytu	1	Gullele	Female	Amhara
43	Atsie Neakuto Leab	3	Gullele	Male	Amhara
44	Atsie Libne dingil	4	Gullele	Male	Amhara
45	Belay Zeleke	8	Gullele	Male	Amhara
46	General Tadese Biru No.1	9	Gullele	Male	Oromo
47	General Tadese Biru No.2	9	Gullele	Male	Oromo
48	General Tadese Biru	9	Gullele	Male	Oromo
49	Etegie Menen Girls boarding School	2	Gullele	Female	Amhara
50	Atsie Tewodros II	1	Kirkos	Male	Amhara
51	Atsie Tewodros II	1	Kirkos	Male	Amhara
52	Shimels Habtie	6	Kirkos	Male	Amhara
53	Shimels Habtie	11	Kirkos	Male	Amhara
54	Fitawrari Habtegiorgis Denagdie	14	Kolfe	Male	Gurage
55	General Wako Gutu no.1	7	Kolfe	Male	Oromo
56	General Wako Gutu no.2	7	Kolfe	Male	Oromo
57	General Wako Gutu no.3	9	Kolfe	Male	Oromo
58	Fitawrari Habtegiorgis Denagdie	14	Kolfe	Male	Gurage/Oromo
59	General Wako Gutu no.1	7	Kolfe	Male	Oromo
60	General Wako Gutu no.2	7	Kolfe	Male	Oromo
61	General Wako Gutu	7	Kolfe	Male	Oromo

62	L. Coloniel Abdisa Aga	4	Lideta	Male	Oromo
63	Dejach Bekele Weya	8	Lideta	Male	Oromo
64	Major General Hayelom	7	Lideta	Male	Tigraway
65	Dejach Zeray	7	Lideta	Male	Tigraway
66	Balcha	4	Lideta	Male	Oromo
67	Atsie Zerayaecob	6	Nifas Silk	Male	Amhara
68	Sibistie Negassi	8	Nifas Silk	Female	Amhara
69	Atsie Zerayaecob	6	Nifas Silk	Male	Amhara
70	Sibistie Negassi	8	Nifas Silk	Female	Amhara
71	Atsie Zerayaecob	6	Nifas Silk	Male	Amhara
72	Sibistie Negassi	8	Nifas Silk	Female	Amhara
73	Fitawrari Lake Adgeh	6	Nifas Silk	Male	Amhara
74	Dejach Wendirad	11	Yeka	Male	Amhara
75	Lielt Zenebework	6	Yeka	Female	Amhara
76	Dejach Wendirad	11	Yeka	Male	Amhara
77	Lielt Zenebework	6	Yeka	Female	Amhara
78	Dejach Wendirad	11	Yeka	Male	Amhara
79	Dejach Wendirad	11	Yeka	Male	Amhara

See the following table which contains the lists of persons which can indicate ethnicity and gender in Health centers

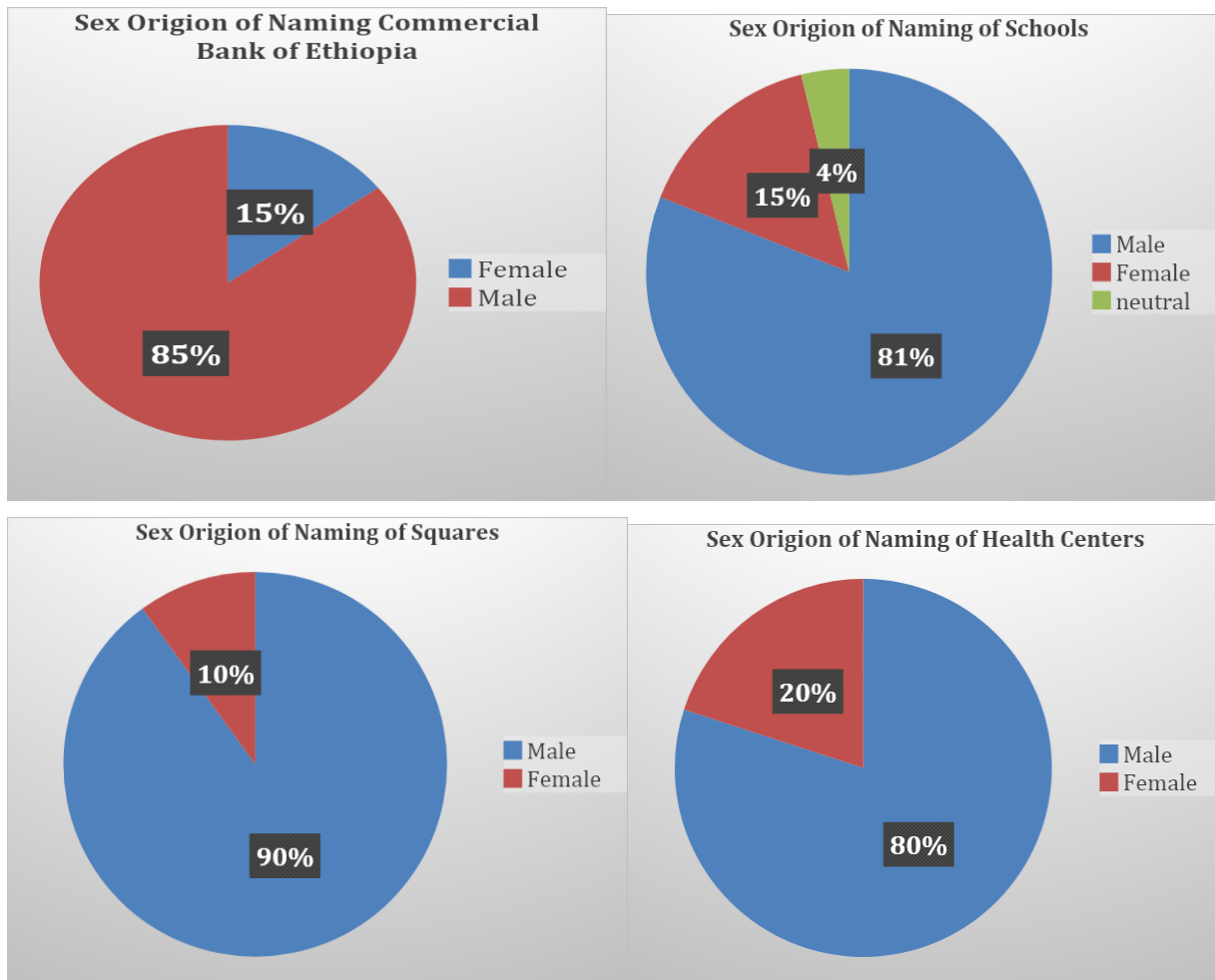
**Table 7: The lists of names of Health Centers which shows gender and ethnicity attribute**

No.	Health Center Name	Woreda	Sub City	Type of Name	Ethnicity	Gender
1	Abebe Bikela	Woreda-05	Addis Ketema	Person	Oromo	Male
2	Felege Meles	Woreda-06	Addis Ketema	Person	Tigraway	Male
3	Mikliland	Woreda-14	Addis Ketema	Person	Foreign	Male
4	Cherchil	Woreda-01	Arada	Person	Foreign	Male
5	Ras Emiru	Woreda-02	Arada	Person	Amhara	Male
6	Simegn Kebede	Woreda-03	Arada	Person	Amhara	Male
7	Janmeda	Woreda-06	Arada	Person	Amhara	Male
8	Bashawelde	Woreda-09	Arada	Person	Amhara	Male
9	Amoraw	Woreda-8	Lemi Kura	person	Tigraway	Male
10	Jagama Kelo	Woreda-8	Lideta	Person	Oromo	Male
11	Beletshachew	Woreda-9	Lideta	Person	Amhara	Female
12	Gahandi Hospital			Person	Foreign	Male
13	Minillik II Hospital			Person	Amhara	Male
14	Zewditu Hospital			Person	Amhara	Female
15	Ras Desta Hospital			Person	Gurage	Male
16	Turnesh Beijing Hospital			Person	Oromo	Female

See the following table which contains the lists of persons which can indicate ethnicity and gender in Squares

**Table 8: The lists of names of Squares which shows Ethnicity and gender attributes**

Number	Square Name	Street Type	Type of name	Gender	Ethnicity
1	Pushkin SQ.	SQ.	person	Male	Foreigner
2	Menelik II	Sq.	person	Male	Amhara
3	De Gaulle	Sq.	person	Male	Foreigner
4	Tewodros II	Sq.	person	Male	Amhara
5	Carle haze SQ.	Sq.	person	Male	Foreigner
6	Tilahun Gessese	Sq.	person	Male	Amhara
7	Bob Marley	Sq.	person	Male	Foreigner
8	Abune Phetiros	Sq.	person	Male	Oromo
9	Women	Sq.	person	female	Neutral
10	Arbegnoch	Sq.	person	Neutral	Neutral



**Figure 2: Percentage of Gender Attribute of naming in CBE Branches, GSC, GHC and Squares**

### **4.3 The Ethnic Politics of Naming Public Spaces in Addis Ababa**

Regarding ethnic representation, it is possible to say the Amhara's may be exaggerated in a few numbers because the name of Amhara names are widely used by different ethnicities. But it is open the lists as it is shown on *Table 5, Table 6, Table 7* and *Table 8*.

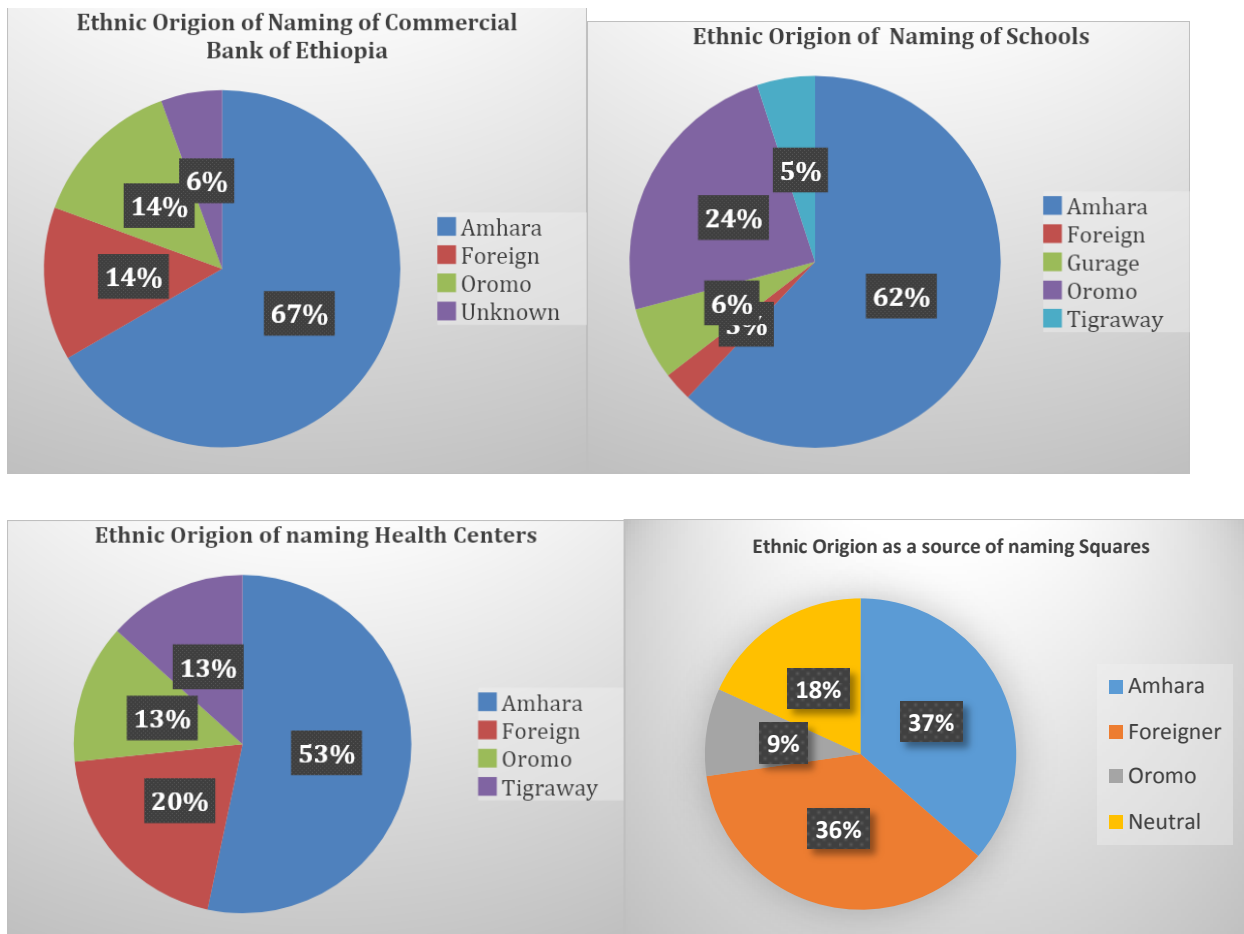
As it is shown on *Figure 3* from the CBE branches Amhara 67%, Foreigners 14%, Oromo 14% and Unknown 6% are represented. In governmental Schools Amhara 62%, foreigners 3%, Gurage 6%, Oromo 24% and Tigraway 5% are represented by their names. With big differences, in squares Amhara 37%, Foreigners 36%, Oromo 9% and Neutral 18% are represented. Finally in health centers the same trend continues. Amhara 53%, Foreigners 20%, Oromo 13% and Tigraway 13 % are represented. Thus, the memory is dominated by Amharas' history and story. This may have slight imperfections but see the mentioned listed names and their mentioned ethnicities. This is because the Amharic names are common in Ethiopia but the researcher tried to get the correct ethnicity of the listed names. Thus, the researcher tried as much as possible to reduce errors by asking different people. Anyways from the data, from all the branches of CBE, governmental schools, health centers and squares, Amhara are better represented than the others.

Even in the naming of studied public spaces, the representation is not more than four ethnicities. In governmental schools Amhara, Gurage, Oromo and Tegararu are represented. In addition to the mentioned problems, in the represented ethnicities, there is a gap of representation such as Emperor Tewodros II, Emperor Minilik II and Emperor Haile Selassie (the most memorized especially in every ATM of CBE) are represented either by their images, their events or memorial symbols. But Emperor Yohannes IV is not remembered by any of these things. There is no CBE branch, governmental school, governmental health center and square by his name. Different war leaders as listed in *Table 5, Table 6, Table 7* and *Table 8* are also represented but Ras Alula Abanega is not remembered by naming in one of the studied public spaces. This is within the represented ethnicities. Within those who are not totally remembered, the difference is very wide.

Similarly, in health centers the Amhara, Oromo and Tegararu are represented. Unfortunately, in the squares Amhara's and Foreigners are equally represented. All non-Amhara Ethiopians in squares have no representation. This is a very great shortage. But it seems easy to correct it. According the sources from land ownership registration office from a lot of squares in Addis

Ababa legally registered squares are only 24 squares. So that the remaining squares can be named by the other ethnicities implication personalities.

From the listed foreigners any African personality is not represented. All the countries of Africa, even though Addis Ababa is the seat of the African Union, streets are named by all the 52 countries of Africa. This is a very good and positive representation of Africans. They feel better when they walk on the street named after their country. But in the studied four public spaces, all the foreigners are not Africans. There is no CBE branch, governmental school, health center and square named by African leader and African figure. The squares are especially named 40% by foreigners, equally with those who are locally dominant Amhara. But from the remaining 40% foreigners there is no even one person from non-Ethiopian Africans.



**Figure 3: Percentage of Ethnic source of naming in CBE Branches, GSC, GHC and Squares**

#### 4.4 Categorizing of Origin of Names of Public Spaces in Addis Ababa

Naming areas leads to the naming of different branches of institutions such as Commercial Bank of Ethiopia, governmental schools, governmental health centers, and public squares (See the definition of terms in the methodology section).

Except in the squares in most of the naming's of institutions, the names originate from the name of particular localities. Even the names of the squares, in most cases, are because they are not registered legally. From the legally registered 24 known squares, most of the names originate from the name of persons. But it is understood, with naming in Addis Ababa, there are contests up on the naming of the localities too see on Table 9.

The studied public spaces show the trends in naming originate mostly from specific localities.

As a result, there are claims to change the name of the localities. As shown in *Table 9* and taken from (Beamlaku, H., 2018), he said there are contests even in naming of places. So originating the names of the institutions or public spaces from the localities cannot solve it the problem of naming. According to his sources there are claims by the claimed Oromo favored writers, especially the claims that Oromiffa names are changed to other names. They listed some examples as follows (see on *Table 9*) in Addis Ababa city. But, there is also another claim by the claimed Amhara favored writers too. For example, (Habtamu, T., 2020)<sup>3</sup> said before 16 C. there was no Oromo in Shewa and neighboring areas of Shewa. Addis Ababa was the capital city of Ethiopia starting from Emperor Dawit. The current Addis Ababa at that time before the coming of the Oromo clan to the area was called Berara. So that Addis Ababa was not originally Oromo

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<sup>3</sup> It is not as politicians said, before 16<sup>th</sup> c. Oromo in Shewa and neighbor areas had not ownership of land. When we see the history of the land found Addis Ababa, it was not for the first time to be a place of town and capital city. It was not established for the first time by Menilik II(1889-1913). Before 600 years, Addis Ababa was a capital city during Emperor Dawit regime. Before the coming of clan of Oromos', Addis Ababa starting from Emperor Ykuno Amlak regime (1270-1285) up to Emperor Sertse dingil (1563-1597), for 327 years Shewa was a seat of Ethiopian regimes. Addis Ababa was founded on ruined town named Berera. Even Menilik re-found his fore father seat of Dawit's town, he did not take Oromo's land. In addition to the land Addis Ababa found, most of Shewa was Amhara people's land.

land. There was no possibility of naming by Oromiffa language to the indigenous areas without the presence of Oromo in the areas.

In *Regulations No. 15/2004* Article 5, sub article 2, it says the following “*The administrator (s) of Sub-City in which the street and the square are located may submit their irrespective suggestions for the naming of the street or the square*” and in *Regulations No. 15/2004* Article 6 sub article 4 it says the following “*Preserving the name where there are historical reasons.*” Although the articles cited give opportunity to participate in naming and preserving historical sites, still the problem is there. For example, Agazian School is changed to General Wako Gutu. In such kind of changes omitting one and making another one is difficult. Because it is seen in the previous such as in Empress Menen School was changed to Yekatit 12 School and again Empress Menen School. Although it says preserving the name where there are historical reasons. The administrators still are not making stable naming. It was possible to take an experience from Bangalore in which even the colonials and the colonized named by constructing their own public spaces without changing the former ones. In Ethiopia it is not mandatory to change the names given before in to another one because it is leading to preserving again to its changed names. This may lead to another conflict. Although there are experiences of changing names as in New Delhi from English to indigenous languages of India, there are also other experiences in Bangalore which is building new public spaces and balancing by naming.

See the claims by claimed indigenous localities about the change of names as (Beamlaku H., 2018) listed it.

**Table 9: The list of claimed change of names from Oromoffa to other languages**

	Name in Oromiffa (Qube and English Script)		Name Changed in (Ge'ez and English Script)		Current name Type
2	Agamsa	Agemsa	መርከቻ	Merkato	Foreign language
3	Doobbii	Dobi	ቀጨኔ	Kechenie	Amharic
4	Hurufa Boombii	Hurufa Bombi	ጃንሆይ ሜዳ	Janhoy Meda	Amharic
5	Dildila	Dildila	እንጦጦ	Entoto	Amharic
6	Eekkaa	Ayeka	የካ	Yeka	Oromiffa
7	Birbirsaa Gooroo	Birbirsaa Goro	ፒያሳ	Piasa	Foreign language
8	Caffee Araaraa	Chefie Arara	አራት ኪሎ	Arat Kilo	Amharic
9	Malkaa Daabus	Melka Dabus	ቸርቸል ጎዳና	Cherchil Godana	Foreign language
10	Caffee Tumaa	Chefie Tuma	ስድስት ኪሎ	Sidist Kilo	Amharic

11	Caffee Aannanii	Chefie Anani	ሜክሲኮ	Mexico	Foreign language
12	Qarsaa	Kersa	ካዛንቸስ	Kazanchis	Foreign language
13	Baddaa	Beda	ራስ ካሳ ሰፈር	Ras Kasa Sefer	Amharic
14	Mujjaa	Muja	ሸሮ ሜዳ	Shiro Meda	Amharic
15	Garbii	Gerbi	ሰንጋ ተራ	Senga Tera	Amharic
16	Golboo	Golbo	ቂርቆስ	Kirkos	Amharic
17	Calalii	Chelcheli	ሳር ቤት	Sar Bet	Amharic
18	Roobii	Robi	ነፋስ ስልክ	Nefas Silk	Amharic
19	Burqqaa Finfinnee	Burqa Finfinie	ፍል ውሃ	Fl Wuha	Amharic
20	Tulluu Heexoo	Tulu Hito	ቤተ መንግስት	Betemengist	Amharic
21	Lupha Kormaa	Lupa Korma	ራስ ብሩ ሰፈር	Ras Biru Sefer	Amharic
22	Baaroo Kormaa	Baro Korma	ራስ ተሰማ ሰፈር	Ras Tesema Sefer	Amharic
23	Hrbuu Irrechaa	Hrbu Irecha	ራስ ሃይሉ ሰፈር	Ras Hailu Sefer	Amharic
24	Karra Qirixi	Kera Kirti	ሰሜን ቦር	Semien Ber	Amharic
25	Adami	Ademi	ሰሜን ማዘጋጃ	Semien Mezegaja	Amharic
26	Babo	Bebo	አዲስ ቁራ	Adisu Kera	Amharic
27	Burka Qoricha	Burka Koricha	የካ ሚካኤል	Yeka Mikael	Oromiffa

Source: Beamlaku H. Siyoum (2019, p. 72-73)

The listed names in *Table 9* are indicating the presence of contests on naming using Amharic (Official) and Oromiffa languages. According to these perspectives, some Oromo cultural groups said Oromiffa is undermined and not overwhelmed<sup>4</sup>. So there is claimed horizontal inequality in their language especially when compared to the Amharic and foreign languages. In addition to this some Oromo informants claimed the source of all the differences is based up on the FDRE constitution of 1991 “article 5 sub article 1 which says All Ethiopian languages shall enjoy equal state recognition and sub article 2 says again Amharic shall be the working language of the Federal Government.” So, in Addis Ababa which the federal seat of FDRE government took still an advantage in to the previous governments’ historical differences among recognition of all languages.

The origin of naming of the studied public spaces is different as a result the origin of competition is also different. There are claims and counter claims to change the names of the sources. In *Figure 4*, the origin of the naming of CBE, governmental schools, health centers with the exception of public squares are mainly the name of local areas. There are claims and counter

<sup>4</sup> <https://www.facebook.com/100063933888470/videos/617057656420663>

claims even in the names of the localities as it is listed in *Table 1, Table 2, Table 3 , Table 5, Table 6 and Table 7*. But since there are contests on the name of the locals themselves, the names originated from localities are also difficult to consider neutral. So, even the languages of the names of the places are the concern of the contest see *Table 9*.

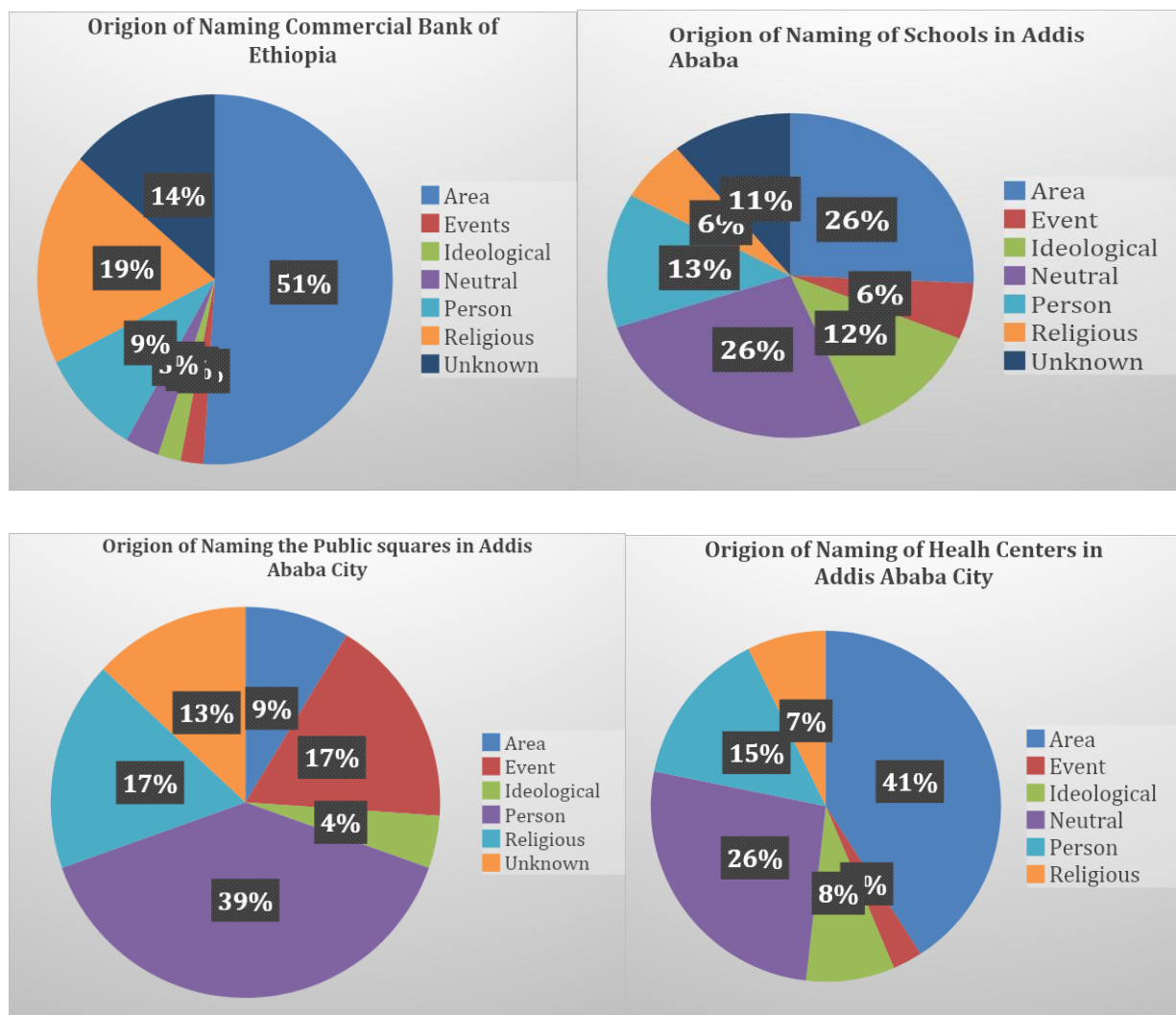
To categorize the origin of the names, the researcher divides them into seven groups to filtrate and get its data to explain the objectives. These are local areas, events, ideological, neutral (not attributed to any of the identities), persons, religious, and Unknown (Not identified whether they can attribute or not). From these the researcher did not choose to discuss all in this research. They are wide, complicated and highly integrated too. For example, the names of areas claimed as they had names in Oromiffa and as a result some groups want to change the name of these areas by default to their names of the institutions and squares too in their own language. It is not very easy to change to Oromiffa because as it is mentioned above (see on foot note 4). There are counter claims again that Addis Ababa was not made a capital city of Ethiopia for the first time by Minilik II. The memory of Addis Ababa was also claimed from Berera. Again it may be seen as another source of conflict. So, there is a need to be make an agreement on the competition over naming. As a result, this research mainly is focused on the names originated from persons, religions and to some extent events since events are important in memory especially in collective memory.

See Table 10 which contains the lists of the origin of naming Public squares

**Table 10: The lists of names of Squares which shows origin of names and their attributes**

Roll Number	Name of the Square	Street Type	Origin of Name of the Square
1	Pushkin SQ.	SQ.	person
2	Tor Hailoch Sq	Sq.	area
3	Abinet Sq.	Sq.	area
4	Megabit 27 SQ.(Miazia 27 SQ.)	SQ.	event
5	Menelik II	Sq.	person
6	De Gaulle	Sq.	person
7	Yekatit 12	Sq.	event
8	Arbegnoch	Sq.	event
9	Tewodros	Sq.	person
10	Meskel SQ.	Sq.	religious
11	Adwa	Sq.	event

12	Daispora SQ.	Sq.	unknown
13	Square/Paster	Sq.	religious
14	Carle haze SQ.	Sq.	person
15	Tekle Haimanot / Omedla	Sq.	religious
16	Leipzig	Sq.	unknown
17	Chaina Africa	Sq.	unknown
18	Bihar Bereseboch	Sq.	Unknown
19	Maichew / Mexico	Sq.	event
20	Tilahun	Sq.	person
21	Bob Marley	Sq.	person
22	Abune Phetiros	Sq.	person
23	Women	Sq.	Person
24	Ye Cuba wadajinet Adebabay(Karamara)	Sq.	Ideological



**Figure 4: Percentage of source of naming of CBE Branches, GSC, GHC and Squares**

For example, the dominant origin of the name of the CBE branches is the name of the locality (areas) where it is situated. According to the informants/officials of the CBE, almost all the names originated from the name of the areas. The Central region of Addis Ababa district Manager argued that “we prefer, primary naming of the CBE branches to be names of the local areas. But if the CBE branch needs to open another branch in that single area, the bank asks for advice from the Addis Ababa Culture and Tourism Bureau. As a result, some CBE branches are named by figure persons of that specific area, religious names and events. Some of the names are already given to the areas before the CBE branch is named. So for the CBE workers except very few branches, the naming of CBE branches originated from the name of the localities.”

As stated previously, the researcher was focused on the source of names that originated from religion, persons and events. Because, it is possible to meet the research objective and indicate the dominant politics and how the naming of public spaces in Addis Ababa affected politics and vice versa. In addition to this, how is collective amnesia about some cultural groups' achievements and histories either too glorified or undermined? What are the implications of these dominant modes of politics of memory and amnesia playing roles on peacebuilding in Ethiopia?

Whoever the source of the naming is, the presence of glorifying and forgetting collective memory unfairly by focusing on claimed undermining of other cultural groups for the sake of glorifying selected gender, ethnic, religion and language, intentionally or unintentionally is horizontal inequality against cultural groups. This is a source of latent conflict and leads to an open one.

#### **4.5 The Collective Amnesia about Religion, Gender and Ethnic Histories**

This researcher says every identity in Ethiopia, it can be religion, gender and ethnicity have their own agony and glory. But if we judge an identity to measure its agony and glory by other identities' ability, interests and criteria, its ability will be highly undermined. The groups that have this identity forced to live their whole life believing their identity is stupid and without glorious history and memory if they are not represented in their capital cities. It is fair to have equal and equitable memory of the peoples of Ethiopia. This research showed that all identities have their own glory and agony according to their own criteria.

The collective memory is started from Menelik I. Why the determined Queen of the Axumite Empire Queen Saba are passed in building statues on squares and naming of CBE branches, naming of schools and naming of health centers for their memory. They are the correct figure of women who can balance the domination of men over women. Passing Queen Saba without building a statue and naming a square is an example of gender bias and collective amnesia. So this is an epistemic violence against gender historically which make them inferior, always to be wives and under the influence of male leaders to make males only successful leaders.

Somalie Tera for example, are represented by the general name of their ethnicities. It does not indicate any meaningful context which can represent their historic role in the state. Epistemic violence is a single narrative which imposes a way of thinking, marginalizes and excludes others. The presence of a gap of representation such as Emperor Tewodros II, Emperor Minilik II and Emperor Haile Selassie (the most memorized especially in every ATM of CBE in Ethiopia) are represented either by their images, their events or memorial symbols. But Emperor Yohannes IV is not remembered by any of these things. There is no CBE branch, governmental school, governmental health center and square by the Emperor's name.

Different war leaders as listed in Table 5, Table 6, Table 7 and Table 8 are also represented but Ras Alula Abanega is not remembered by naming in one of the studied public spaces. This can create relationships of dominating power and inferiors among the ethnicities. But it is not possible to undermine the narration created against dominant cultural groups such as Amhara, Orthodox and males but on the public spaces are not changed by that magnitude especially by the Previous regime EPRDF.

#### **4.6 The Implications of the Dominant Mode of Politics of Memory and Forgetting on Peacebuilding**

The violence exists in many ways or shapes. Epistemic violence is one of them which happens because a single narrative which imposes a way of thinking, marginalizes and excludes others. It creates relationships of dominating power and inferiors. Divides people and silences voices. When being a victim of epistemic violence, you lose control over your own identity, over the way you are represented and perceived. In the end epistemic violence creates stereotypes. Ethiopians have to know the historical conditions that motivate our conceptualization of memory

which is leading to epistemic violence. Coexist in difference, allow for alternatives, be aware of the location, Empower and allow for dialogue can lead to peacebuilding. Knowledge is power. If the state's memory is dominated by single narrations and representations, it is very dangerous to peacebuilding in Ethiopia. In all aspects of the studied identities, there is dominancy qualitatively and quantitatively. So, it has great implications on peacebuilding.

In Addis Ababa there are indications of latent conflict because of the symbolic representations of Ethiopia's past. These potential sources of conflict must be solved before they change to an open conflict such as before having a match with a triggering event. Latent conflict is solved by studying the root causes of the potential of conflicts or the inducing forces to conflict. After identifying the root causes, peacebuilding is necessary. Peacebuilding helps people resolve their differences peacefully and lay foundations to prevent future violence. Transforming the relationships of communities is a key way to end cultural violence. For this problem, peacebuilding is an advisable way to prevent future violence. The representations of identities are discussed in the previous topics and their implications are also discussed as in the following. The discussion is about gender, religion, ethnic and generally international implications associated with black race since some of them are claimed as black victory by some elites.

#### **4.6.1 Gender Implication**

Females are half of the populations of Ethiopians. But as the studied public spaces(The CBE branches, governmental schools, governmental health centers and squares) shows, they have not fair representations on the public spaces. Females need to be represented genuinely. Females should be represented by prime leaders such as Queen Saba because males are represented by starting Menilik I. This kind of conflict should be prevented by sustainable peacebuilding. According the literatures mentioned in the previous section which is literature review, it is epistemic violence.

At this time in Addis Ababa, the only gender which is claimed to represent more in the memory is only male elites. These are better represented quantitatively (large in number) and qualitatively (by their powerful representatives such as Emperors, war leaders etc.). The image of females' leadership is not represented. Ethiopians peace should be kept by gender inclusive memory.

The misperceptions on females and miscommunications lead to miscalculation of the Ethiopian males. From different miscalculations of dominations of Ethiopian peoples have paid a lot of costs. For example, women are often expected to be accommodating and emotionally capable of treating peaceful others, while men are usually expected to be self-confident and aggressive. But history of females of Ethiopia did not show that instead unbelievable woman war leader and military strategist led Ethiopia. The memory tells that a woman performs the role of wife, partner, controller of kids, house administrator, in general mothers in the family capable of creating relation ship of marriage.

Apart from it, a women in Ethiopia worked as Queen plays a key role in the war leadership's loneliness without depending husbands in the ruling of the society and state in Ethiopia. But the memory wanted the females to be represented by women who were simply wives of Emperors or daughters of Emperors. Similarly, instead of starting Addis Ababa's memory by Queen Saba, it is started by memorizing Menilik I as a gender undermining or silencing. Equality and equity are essential elements for peacebuilding because their absence perpetuates tension of all types. As a result conflict may emerge. But Anat bank started naming by Queen Saba. So, the governmental institutions needs to be gender inclusive.

#### **4.6.2 Religious Implication**

The naming of CBE branches, governmental schools, health centers and squares divides people and silences voices and histories of non-Orthodox religions. Which forces them to remember the leaders emerged from Orthodox and their foreigner allies' contribution only in the public space of Addis Ababa. It is forgotten the contribution of others and their foreign allies'. The leaders originated from orthodox and their Christian allies are represented and other leaders originated from other religions and their allies are not represented, it is silencing others contribution in the memory of the country's capital. This is not a way to peace, instead it is a way to conflict.<sup>5</sup>

For example Atsie Libnedingil and Imam Ahmad ibn Ibrahim al Ghazi leadership fought each other but only Atsie Libnedingil has memory by his name on the studied public spaces. Similarly from Muslim side Imam Ahmad's era is glorious time. The religions past glory of Muslims is

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<sup>5</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zam4HGAssqY>

excluded from the memory of the country's capital. So perceptions are enough for anger leave alone with in clear presence of exclusion. So that, Ethiopians peace should be kept by inclusive memory. The non-dominant religions to continue dominantly in Ethiopia is against peace and stability of the country. So, making inclusive memory is important for the future togetherness.

In society a stereotype is a generalized belief about a particular category of people. It is an expectation that people might have about every person of a particular group, if it is not healthy the calculations will lead to open conflict. So epistemic violence is a source of conflict which can grow to open conflict. So making most of Addis Ababa's public spaces Orthodoxy's memory is epistemic violence. It is unfair to show as Ethiopia is an island of Christians. It is a religious discrimination which is treating societies differently because of their religious beliefs and practices, and/or their request for spaces in the memory of city to their religious beliefs and practices which should be their legal right.

By de facto there is a state religion or established religion from the studied public spaces in Addis Ababa. Even so, new constitutions typically can regulate the relationships among religions and state memory. No religion is given governmental institutions to be named by or no privileged place in the legal-political system to any religion is permitted by discriminating others. But its practice is different. Although the narrations are changed after the fall of the Solomonic dynasty, practically the spaces are not changed. If this continues, it will create a conflict between the two great followers of religions of Ethiopia. Muslims should be represented by their own choice who was determined to his religion and his country Ethiopia (Abyssinia). If not, it will continue the epistemic violence. This is against peacebuilding in the Ethiopian past in Addis Ababa. Equality and equity are essential elements for peace because their absence perpetuates tension of all types in the land.

### **4.6.3 Ethnic Implication**

In Addis Ababa, there have been a dominant mode of memory and representation ethnically before 1991. There has been a memory of domination of ethnic as mentioned on Table 5, Table 6, Table 7, Table 8 and Table 9 by Amhara's and Amharic language. Before structurally creating the linguistically (ethnically) arranged federations, the study shows clearly that there were

presence of dominant mode of memory by ethnically Amhara's excluding others or including nominally who were lower servants of the claimed Amhara's dominated regimes.

As an empirical evidence to this Emperor Tewodros II memorial statue square, Emperor Menilik II memorial statue square, Miazia 27 Square later changed to Megabit 27 square or Yedil hamelt (memory of Emperor Haileslasie's and Empress Menenen's (no name of the empress only image on the statue) were built before and during the Derg regime. But Emperor Yohannes IV is ignored. Even though Ethiopians are linguistically (ethnically) structured legally after 1991 constitution promulgation, by consequences of the memory constructed up on the studied four public spaces on the ground is not much changed especially during the EPRDF regime.

Not only this but also a lot from the previous Emperors are remembered. For example, in 14 C. Emperor Zara Yaqob (1399 – 1468) was Emperor of Ethiopia named a school by his name. War leaders such as Habte Giyorgis Dinagde who was war minister during the Menilik II regime are remembered but the king maker Mikael Sihul and Great Abyssinian general Alula Abanega are not remembered. Mikael Sehul (1692-1784) was a nobleman who ruled Ethiopia for a period of 25 years as a substitute of a series of weak emperors. Ras Gobena is from Oromo is also passed although he was one of the war leaders during Menilik era.

So that there has been a dominant mode of memory selection based ethnically. It is understood conflict is generated by the nature of societies and the way they are structured. Ethiopians have linguistic differences and currently legal structures at least in Kebele, Woreda and Zone at most in regions which are sovereign federal regional government units ethnically or linguistically. So, considerations of ethnic diversities in memory are important. This is because conflict is the result of misperception, miscommunication, and miscalculations of different elites from diverse societies such as in Ethiopia.

In the ethnic based graphic representation of naming the studied public spaces, these are CBE branches, governmental schools, governmental health centers and squares, there are a lot of biases and violence which led to epistemic violence against horizontal cultural groups. The epistemic violence claimed against Amharic and foreign languages is because of the claimed change of the name of the original names as listed on Table 9. On the other side, another counter-claims of Addis Ababa is "Addis Ababa was Berara" (see foot note 4).

These claims and counter claims has purposes which are to dominate the memories as a result to apply, the idea of Nicolao Machiavelli, who controls the present controls the past and who controls the past controls the future. But in these multi-cultural society domination by single ethnicity is difficult and leading to wars repeatedly. All the represented other ethnicities are represented by an authority below an Emperor. So the Amhara elites showing their supremacy on the other elites. This has an implication of undermining others to make them below (inferior) than their ethnicity.

Accepting the existing diversity of ethnicity, representing symbols to all Ethiopians ethnicity fairly and equally is peacebuilding. For example Prosperity Party is trying to have Ethiopians collective memory in the Unity Park inclusive. But still those who are not represented in the studied public spaces are victims of epistemic violence, as a result lose control over their own identity and their contribution to their country. Because identity is over the way you are represented and perceived too. In the end epistemic violence creates stereotypes. Such as they have no heroes, they are not capable of diplomacy, they have no histories etc.

We have to know the historical conditions that motivate our conceptualization. Coexist in difference, allow for alternatives, be aware of your location, Empower and allow for dialogue to solve these problems. In multi ethnic society, single narration is a source of conflict. So the public spaces such as naming the CBE branches, governmental schools, health centers and squares must be rational and inclusive. Otherwise, any trial of imposition of one ethnic memory, history and story or a way of thinking against different ethnicities without their consent is epistemic violence against cultural groups. It is the narration is multi-cultural during EPRDF regime, but practically the public spaces are not changed.

#### **4.6.4 International Implication**

Since the studied four public spaces represent Ethiopians and foreigners, the peacebuilding using these memory have implications nationally, regionally and internationally. Peace building can be achieved through the establishment of structures, processes and training of people within a generation-long time frame. As John P. (1997) developed a peace building framework that centers on sustainable reconciliation within societies. This research shows that developing the

framework of peacebuilding contextually is important according to the wider concept of peace for the memory in Addis Ababa.

Marcus Garvey accused Emperor Haile Selassie of saying “I am not a black” for him even a Kenyan scholar Ali A. Mazrui said “Pan Africanism is imposed upon Ethiopians. Because Ethiopians did not think and act as blacks.” Ali A. Mazrui said, “I heard a lot of times from different Ethiopians in Bole Airport, hotel and Addis Ababa University as I came from Africa to Ethiopia. I do not know why African former leaders choose the seat of OAU in Addis Ababa? ”.

Although in the studied four public spaces has not representing Africans in sufficient amount, there is a good start of sayings and practices such as a message from the mayor of Addis Ababa Arkebe Oukubay on July 4, 2004 on the cities magazine as following:

*As a symbolic reindeer that Addis Ababa is Africa’s diplomatic center, the City Government has passed an ordinance to name Addis Ababa’s main avenues and roads after the 52 AU member states. The selection of which road will bear the name of what African state will be made by lot that will be drawn today as part of the city’s welcoming activities of the third AU summit.*

Encouraging this kind of plan is a very wise way of making inclusive of all Africans. Africans can sense as citizens of USA sense from different states when they came to Washington DC. Because in Washington DC from all states equally two worthies are represented. Addis Ababa should continue in making Africans sense their home land when they came to their Capital city. According to these study, the context of the symbols found in our public space must be helpful in binding people together. Otherwise if we teach generations to give some people and land to colonizers and consider it as sovereignty is respected and good, Ethiopians will not have land and people. Ethiopians have to plant a tight concept of sovereignty on the generation to have a common future by building memories which can create sense of togetherness.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### 5. CONCLUSION

Ethiopia has been influenced and its reverse too by the ancient civilizations of Jew, Christianity and Islam from the Middle East. As a result the memory of Ethiopia goes until very long time. So that selection is important and it is not possible to remember all the previous memories of Ethiopia. From the studied four selected areas of study, Ethiopia's memory started in Addis Ababa from Menilik I by building primary school. In this, there are three claimed reasons regarding this. One is that its purpose is, since the power was claimed to be given from God and Solomon was one of the spiritually accepted leaders, the kings of Ethiopia associate themselves to the Solomonic dynasty. The second one is the elites and leaders of Ethiopia consider themselves associate and identify themselves with nonblack races<sup>6</sup>. They have interest to be seen as exceptional. The last reason is the Ethiopian leaders feared not to be returned back to power by the dynasty of females which was claimed present before Menelik I and the last Queen of that female dynasty was finalized by Queen Saba.

Although there are three claimed reasons, the one claimed by males is dominant that is why the legendary Queen Saba is ignored from the memory of Ethiopia's past in Addis Ababa in the studied public spaces. These claims have a gender biased memory. It is clear that the focus of this study is on governmental Schools, Health Centers, CBE and Squares. But in private Bank branches such as Anat bank tries to balance the memories of females by giving names of branches by Queen Saba. Since CBE is male and female inclusive bank, it must be inclusive in its naming of the past. Representations of symbols for collective memory in public spaces must aim in order to construct future togetherness as a result they need to be shared and widely accepted by most of the identities. So that the gender is better to be represented equally.

The source of the naming of the public spaces are different. Except the squares, the rest three are mostly named from the name of the local area. But this is not possible to consider free from contestations because the name of the areas themselves are claimed by different cultural groups. Because memory can give a chance to control power and resources as Geneviève Zubrzycki and

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<sup>6</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-GhitrEQhXo&t=8s>

Anna mentioned George Orwell as he notoriously distinguished, in his dystopian novel 1984, “*which who controls the past controls the future. Who controls the present controls the past*” (Zubrzycki & Woźny, 2020). So that if memory is controlled it has its influence on the future.

The politics behind the name of the areas is to control the city’s power and resources. As memories show who is the demos and who is not, as a result who controls the present controls the past and this has again a meaning to control the future. So this has a meaning in controlling power and resources in the city. Most the resources of the incomes of the government of Ethiopia is Addis Ababa. Having a privilege in memory have a meaning to the cultural groups’ other privileges.

If the name of the places are indicating the indigenusness of the cultural groups, they feel proud, founder and owner of the city and the country too. From this they can claim some privileges to their language, power and economic resource. The one who contributes most in state building has an advantage to claim big share of power and resources. Mentally that cultural group can be considered as a source of leaders. This can lead to legally confirmed decisions such as their language can be language of education and their cultures can be culture of the city. Legal seat advantage in the city’s parliament as a result they can decide on all the things discussed. Memories are not simply about the past. Making inclusive representation is good for the sake of peace of the country and the city.

In this study the origin of the names in CBE branches from Orthodox is 76%, from Muslim 18%, common for Orthodox and Protestants 4% and protestant only 1% Represented. In governmental schools the names originated from Orthodox are 72%, common for Orthodox and Protestants 28%. Similarly in squares Orthodox origin names are 75% and protestant origin 25%. Finally in health centers there is a new representative which is catholic. The representation in percentage is orthodox 75%, catholic 13% and the remaining 13% represented all Christians.

The Orthodox name represents the names which can represent Orthodox Church only, Protestant name represents the names which can represent protestant church only, Orthodox and protestant name represents the names which can represent both churches only, Muslim name represents the names which can represent Muslim only and Catholic name represents the names which can represent Catholic Church only. So that from this it possible to the horizontal in equalities

happened in the religions. Most of the time this kind of horizontal inequalities according Stewart Horizontal inequalities are categorized into four areas (Stewart, 2012). These are: political participation; economic aspects; social aspects; and cultural status. Since this research focused on epistemic violence against cultural groups, its focus of discussion is on the last one. For example the horizontal inequalities in cultural status include the extent to which a society recognizes (or fails to recognize) a group's cultural practices (such as, in matters of dress, holidays, religion, statues of heroes, naming of schools, naming Banks, naming of health centers, naming squares etc.).

In Ethiopia's Capital Addis Ababa it shows weakness on building and naming to make inclusive representations. In Ethiopia's history diversity of religion counts years. But the studied public spaces are dominated by Orthodox. Thus making it inclusive and diverse according the nature of the country is important in decreasing the horizontal inequalities. Horizontal inequalities are sources of instability and chaos. So that countries which are failing to succeed in peace, stability and development are those who have horizontal inequalities. It is possible to consider Ethiopia as one of these countries.

This research got a religion indications of religious contestations in Addis Ababa city in Ethiopia's past memory, for example Meskel Square is a good example. The naming of the CBE branch named by the name of the Meskel square branch following the name of the locality. According to the CBE branch naming officers, almost all the names of the CBE branches originated from the name of the locality. They have not any interest in creating differences among religions. But the locality or specifically the Meskel Square demands the square to be changed its name to EID and Pastor Adebabay by some elites of Muslims and Protestants respectively. As result the name of the branch will be changed automatically.

So naming branches should be inclusive to represent all religions fairly. This research chooses to take lesson from Bangalore which the colonials and the colonized named by constructing their own public spaces without changing the former ones. In Ethiopia it is not mandatory to change the names given before in to another one because it may lead another conflict. Although there are experiences of changing names as in New Delhi from English to indigenous languages of India, there are also other experiences which is building new public spaces balancing by naming.

In addition this research found a ethnic attributes of memory from the CBE branches Amhras 67%, foreigners 14%, Oromo 14% and Unknown(difficult to decide to which ethnicity they attribute) 6% are represented. In governmental schools Amharas 62%, foreigners 3%, Gurage 6%, Oromo 24% and Tigraway 5% are represented by their names. With big differences, in squares Amhara 37%, Foreigners 36%, Oromo 9% and Neutral 18% are represented. Finally in health centers the same trend continues. Amharas 53%, Foreigners 20%, Oromos 13% and Tigraway 13 % are represented. Thus, the memory is dominated by Amharas' history and story. This may have slight errors because the Amharic names are common in Ethiopia but read the previous tables listed personalities their assumed attributions. But the researcher tried as much as possible to reduce suspected errors by asking different people. Anyways from the data, from all the branches of CBE, governmental schools, health centers and squares, Amharas are more represented than the others.

Even in the naming of studied public spaces, the representation is not more than four ethnicities. In governmental schools Amhara, Gurage, Oromo and Tegarü are represented. Even in the represented ethnicities, Emperor Tewodros II, Emperor Minilik II and Emperor Haile Selassie are represented. Emperor Yohannes IV is not remembered by naming CBE branch, a governmental school, governmental health center and square. Different war leaders such as Fitawrari Habtegiorgis are represented but Ras Alula Abanega and Ras Gobena are not remembered by naming in any of the studied public spaces. This shortage of remembering is within the represented ethnicities. With those who are not totally remembered, the difference is very wide beyond this mentioned shortage.

Most of the sources of the names are names of the local areas. But there are claims and counter claims of the name of places in Addis Ababa including the name of the city itself. The name of the localities as indicated in table 9, these names are claimed to be changed from Oromiffa to Amharic and foreign languages. This researcher got from sources that the source of the names of the studied public spaces are mostly taken from the name of the localities.

Because of this reason, the name of the areas became a source of claims and counter claims. So, there is a claimed systematic undermination of the Oromo language by Amharic and foreign languages. On the other hand, there is also another counter claim of Berera (see foot note 4). From this, it is easy to understand the contests on Amharic, Oromiffa and foreign language

names. In *Regulations No. 15/2004* Article 5, sub article 2, it says the following “*The administrator (s) of Sub-City in which the street and the square are located may submit their irrespective suggestions for the naming of the street or the square*”and in *Regulations No. 15/2004* Article 6 sub article 4 it says the following “Preserving the name where there are historical reasons.” Although the articles cited gives opportunity to participate in naming and preserving historical sites, still the problem is there.

In general to investigate the type of memory narration in Addis Ababa, the politics of naming public spaces is studied in the four typical public spaces, these are: Commercial Bank of Ethiopia, governmental schools, governmental health centers, and public squares. The study in the mentioned public spaces the presence of epistemic violence. But there are other public spaces for example in the naming of the roads, to all African states a road is named in Addis Ababa. This shows a better inclusive result. But because of the presence of the intentional and unintentional epistemic violence of gender, religion and ethnicity the memory in the public spaces of Addis Ababa is a necessity to study and build peace. There are representations of symbols in public spaces in order to construct our future together. In collective memory, it is understood that the trial to have some events in our collective memory and forget others is a must. This results in glorifying some events and forgetting some other events. In the previous 27 years during the EPRDF regime the narration is diversified but on the ground in naming public spaces, it continues the status quo as it is. But there are some trials by Prosperity Party government to diversify the memory practically such in Unity Park.

This is common in collective memory. But its result must not be to undermine some cultural groups and glorify some cultural groups unnecessarily in order to unfairly dominate others, for example Dejezmach from Amhara have memories but Ras and Emperor from Tigray and Ras from Oromia and leader of the country from Adal have not. If that is the case, it will grow to a latent conflict and then lead to open conflict at some time in the future. As mentioned above, collective memory matters to our future to bind us together. On the other side, it can also be a source of conflict and disintegration if there is an exclusive narration of memory.

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## ANNEXES

### Annex-I: Interview Questionnaire Guide

**Dear interviewee:**

1. What is memory for you?
2. Is memory in Addis Ababa representative to Ethiopians past for you? If so, how do you explain? If not, why do you think?
3. What major events do you want to be commemorated in Addis Ababa to remember Ethiopia's past? What events do you think better to be cancelled from remembering and what is your reason?
4. What is your view on remembering or forgetting the following five events in the public spaces of Addis Ababa?
  - Karamara Event
  - Adwa Event
  - Metema Event
  - Mekdela Event and
  - Ireecha Event
5. What do you think to the symbolic representations in Addis Ababa? Do think inclusive to all the identities? Such as Gender, Religion, Ethnicity and language of all Ethiopians? If you think not inclusive, what solution do you suggest?
6. How do you relate to peace and security of the people of Ethiopia and Africa,
7. What are the implications of the memories in the Politics of the country?
8. It is true that some memories (names) are changing from time to time such as Meskel Square, Menen School etc What solution do you suggest?

## **Annex-II: Document analysis checklist**

- a. The website of CBE to get the branches in Addis Ababa
- b. The List of Governmental Schools in Addis Ababa
- c. The list of Governmental Health Centers in Addis Ababa
- d. The list of streets and squares from Meryet Yzota and Mizgeba
- e. Regulation No. 15/2004, Regulations to Provide for Addis Ababa City Street Naming and Address System

### Annex-III: Demographic description of respondents

Roll Number	Code	Responsibility	Date	Time
1	Abyi Tefera	School improvement program directorate director of Addis Ababa city	Ginbot 26, 2014	(4:15-4:55)
2	Chanie Fikir	Central region district of Addis Ababa Manager of CBE	June 3,2014	(5:00-5:30)
3	Fentanesh Selomon Gizaw	Vice medicines health follow up ... control office manager	August 15, 2022	(5:15-6:00)
4	Abebayehu Abera Negera	Yetarikawi kirsoch kiyoreter budin meri	August 18,2022	(4:30-5:10)
5	Muluneh Wordofa	Mayor's Office Legal Advisor	<b>August 19,2022</b>	<b>5:15-5:45</b>
6	Merera Gudina	Professor of Political science and international relations, Chairman of Mederk coalition and OFC party	July 12,2014	9:05-9:50
7	Mussa Adem	PhD candidate of in Political science and international relations, Afar peoples Party Chair man	July 30,2022	12:30-1:00
8	Key informant 1	PhD candidate of in Political science and international relations and Lecturer in AAU	<b>May 22, 2022</b>	
9	Key informant 2	PhD in Political science and international relations and Associate Professor in AAU	<b>May 18, 2022</b>	
10	Lecture from class	PhD in Peace and Security studies Associate Professor in AAU of IPSS institute		
11	Lecture from class	PhD Candidate in Peace and Security studies in AAU of IPSS institute		
12	Shambel Tedla Set argachew	የጥንታዊት ኢትዮጵያ ጀግኖች አርበኞች ማህበር አባልና የነፃ አገልግሎት ሰጪ ነኝ በማለት እዛው ፅህፈት ቤት ውስጥ ሃላፊነታቸው ለመናገር ፈቃደኛ ያልሆኑ	<b>October 7, 2022</b>	<b>4:30-5:00</b>

## **Annex- I V: Declaration**

This thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university and that all sources of material used for the thesis have been duly acknowledged.

Name: Goitom Tsegay Gidey

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: November, 2022

Name: Fana Gebresenbet (Ph.D)

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: **October** , 2022

## **Annex –V: Statement of Certification**

I certify that Goitom Tsegay Gidey has carried out his research work under my guidance on the topic of “Symbolic Representations of Ethiopia's Past in Addis Ababa: The Politics of Naming Public Spaces and Epistemic Violence against Cultural Groups”. This work complies with the guidelines of the AAU for submission in partial fulfillment for the requirement of the award of Master of Arts in peace and security studies.

Advisor: Fana Gebresenbet (Ph.D.)

Signature \_\_\_\_\_

Date: **October**, 2022