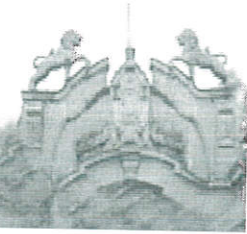


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**The Politics of Representation: Menelik II and Aanoole Statues in  
Focus**

**Mulualem Daba Tola**

**A Thesis Submitted to the School of Journalism and Communication**

**Presented In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the  
Degree of Master of Arts in Journalism and Communication**

**Addis Ababa University**

**Addis Ababa, Ethiopia**

**October, 2015**

LETTER OF CERTIFICATION

**Addis Ababa University**

**School of Graduate Studies**

This is to certify that the thesis prepared by Mulualem Daba, entitled: *The Politics of Representation: Menelik II and Aanoolee Statues in Focus* and submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in Journalism and Communication complies with the regulations of the University and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.



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## ABSTRACT

### **The Politics of Representation: Menelik II and Aanoole Statues in Focus**

**Mulualem Daba**

**Addis Ababa University, 2015**

The overriding purpose of this study was to examine the political representation of Menelik II and Aanoole statues. The study critically sees how both statues serve as a site for both reproduction and re-articulation of historical relations of power in the Ethiopian polity. Theories of representation and Foucaultian conceptualization of *Power, Knowledge and Truth* has been employed as the basic theoretical frameworks for the study. The study employed textual analysis, document analysis and in-depth interview as tools to generate data. Employing document and textual analysis, the study focused on five (5) nongovernment magazines (*Addis Guday, Lomi, Inqu, and Jano*), and two documents from Oromia Culture and Tourism Bureau and Addis Ababa City Governance were selected and analyzed qualitatively. Besides, in-depth interview was employed with seven (7) participants from academic and political spheres to triangulate the textual analysis.

The result of the study reveals that there is historiographical contradiction, architectural contention and political contestation over the representation of both statues in the Ethiopian polity. With this view, the normative historical narratives about Menelik II statue were deconstructed by the newly built Aanoole statue. The design of Aanoole statue was also seen as an eerily reminiscent of other statues erected in the country and has lack of aesthetic quality. Moreover, the study revealed three dominant and competing perspectives: Ethiopianist (extreme pan-Ethiopianist), correctionist (extreme ethno-nationalist), and government's (EPRDF) views over the representations of both statues as the process of political power struggle in Ethiopia.

Stating all the representation of both statues and their implications with respect to political power struggle in Ethiopia, the study makes suggestions as to how the competing and contradictory narratives about Aanoole and Menelik II statues could be reconciled and why and how statues as a commemorative text might be constructed in Ethiopia in a way that might reduce the tensions over their representations.

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## **DEDICATION**

This piece of work is dedicated to my late mother, Kumashi Binaga.

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## ACRONYMS

AEOMMM	Association for the Erection of Martyrs Memorial Monument
AEUP	All Ethiopian Union Party
EPDP	Eritrean People Democratic Party
EPLF	Eritrean People Liberation Front
EPRDF	Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front
EPRP	Ethiopian People revolutionary party
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
MEISON	An Amharic acronym for All Ethiopian Socialist Movement
OPDO	Oromo People's Democratic Organization
PMAC	Provisional Military Administration
TGE	Transitional Government Ethiopia
TPLF	Tigray People Liberation Front
UNESCO	United Nations Educational and Scientific and Cultural Organization
USIP	United States Institution of Peace

## CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

### 1.1. Background of the Study

Ethiopia is a country which has a long history. Around 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D., Axum was a powerful kingdom in the northern Ethiopia. It was a commercial hub and traded with Egypt and Far East countries. However, after a gradual decline of the Axumite political power, different kingdoms like Zagwe and the Solomonic dynasties raised and used Christianity as a tool to justify their political power. For instance, the Solomonic dynasty rose based on a myth that Queen Sheba of Ethiopia visited King Solomon of Israel. Then, she gave birth to Menelik I. This legend had been propagated by the church and state since long and helped as an influential source of legitimization by the Ethiopian royal family (Baird, 2005).

The present Ethiopia has passed through three different political ideologies from Monarchical period to the FDRE. These are the imperial monarchy particularly from the reign of Emperor Tewdros II to Emperor Haileselassie I (1855-1974), the *Derg* regime which subscribed to socialism (1974-1991) and the EPRDF regime which advocates multiparty democracy (1991-present). As often stated in most literatures, the history of modern Ethiopia begins specifically from the period of Emperor Menelik II (1889-1913). However, this history has been characterized by centuries of internal and external conflicts for power and economic resources (Bahru, 1991; Marcus, 1994; Merera, 2003; Turton *et.al*, 2006).

Menelik II of Showa came to power and proclaimed himself as *Nigusa Negist* (king of kings) in 1889. Then he pursued his imperial policies of modernization and centralization. He undertook series of military conquests to expand his territory particularly to the southern and western parts

of the country. On the other hand, in order to modernize the country, the Emperor introduced different modern technologies and built infrastructures. Besides, the Emperor gained a historic victory over Fascist Italy in defending the Ethiopian territory from colonization, and this victory has even been considered as African (Black) victory. During his reign, Emperor Menelik II benefited his Showa forebears economically and politically. Culturally, the Amhara–Tigre culture subsequently became superior while other ethnic groups were ignored and subjected to assimilation (Bennett, 1968; Bahru, 1991; McClellan, 1978; Marcus *et.al*, 1994).

After the death of Menelik II, Lij Iyasu (1913-1916) with Princess Zewditu ruled the country till Ras Tafari Mekonnen officially came to power in 1928. Ras Tafari Mekonnen took his baptismal name Hailesilasse I in 1930 at the largest coronation ceremony ever seen in the history of Ethiopia. During the reign of Hailesilasse I (1930-1974), no shift of political ideology took place. He walked in the footprints of his predecessor and continued the centralization and modernization policy of Menelik II. As a result, the landed aristocracy and the majority of peasants constituted the major socio-economic agents. He initiated the establishment of a modern cash crop economy and the expansion of the educational system. In 1931, the first written constitution of the country which neither included provisions of civil liberties nor established a representative legislature was introduced to simply consolidate the Emperor's power. However, the emperor played a crucial role in calling for a united Africa and in the establishment of the then Organization of the African Unity (OAU)-the now African Union- in 1960s (Marcus, 1994).

However, as Halliday and Molyneux (1981, cited in Aalen, 2002) argue, Hailesilasse's unwillingness and incapability to respond to social movement, his refusal to land reform, lack of willingness for transition to modern economy and autocratic style of governance were among the

major problems during his reign. Aalen (2002) also noted that “first peasant rebellions, later ethnically based liberations in Tigray, in the Oromo areas, in Sidama and in the Somali region of Ogaden and a large-scale famine in the north of the country in the early 1970s” exacerbated the problems associated with the reign of Emperor Hailesilasse I. Demonstrations and strikes among civilians particularly students, civil servants and mutinies in the armed forces, and Bale and Gojjam farmers rebellion accelerated the deposition of the Emperor and the coming to power of a military junta after staging the coup d’état.

According to Aalen (2002) and Marcus (1994) in 1974, the *Derg* regime came to power with the slogan of ‘*Land to the Tiller*’ and later adopted socialism as its political ideology where it pronounced the equality of all people, self-reliance, and supremacy of labor, the preeminence of the common good and the inviolability of the Ethiopian unity. Mengistu Hailemariam emerged as the undisputed leader of the *Derg* (*committee in Amharic*) after the Provisional Military Administration (PMAC) was done away with. Furthermore, a range of radical policies was enacted. As Pausewang (1990:45) argues, “the most comprehensive was probably the land reform, which made all land in the country the property of the Ethiopian people and prohibited all kinds of tenancy, including properties in urban areas.” The *Derg* also changed the language policy and recognized several widely spoken languages such as ‘Afaan Oromo’, ‘Tigrigna’, and ‘Somali’ for use in schools at lower levels for non-Amharic speakers, albeit Amharic remained the government language. However, due to a wide-scale drought, and a massive refugee problem, the resistance movements spearheaded by the Eritrean People’s Liberation Front (EPLF), the Tigray People’s Liberation Front (TPLF), and the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) finally brought down the military junta and established the Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary

Democratic Front (EPRDF) on May 28, 1991 (Bahru, 1991; Marcus, 1994; Merera, 2003; Turton *et.al*, 2006).

After coming to power in 1991, the EPRDF conducted Peace and Democracy conference and established Transitional Government of Ethiopia (TGE) and adopted a transitional charter which recognized freedom of association and speech, multi-party democracy, referendum for Eritrea and the right of nations, nationalities and peoples' to self- determination. In 1992, the country's internal administration was structured with the formation of 14 regional administrations along ethno-linguistic lines. After two years in 1994, the FDRE constitution which recognized the right of ethnic self-determination up to secession was adopted in a view to addressing the grievances of the various ethnic groups in the country. As a result, the federal government reorganized the 14 regional states into nine regional states and two city administration cities. In addition, the political ideology of the country shifted from socialism to multiparty democracy, whereas, the economy shifted from command economy to free market economy.

According to Assefa (2006), the federal arrangement enabled the EPRDF government to decentralize power and address nationalities question by accommodating the country's various ethno-linguistic groups. Thus, it essentially liberated different ethnic groups from the domination of one language, one culture and one religion in favor of multi-language, multi-culture and multi-religion. The Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE) has guaranteed this in Article 39 (sub-article 2) by stipulating that "every nation, nationality and people in Ethiopia has the right to speak, to write and to develop its own language; to express, to develop and to promote its culture; and to preserve its history."

Moreover, article five (5) of the constitution declares that “All Ethiopian languages shall enjoy equal state recognition.”

As it is well known, in different political regimes, political power holders enact and implement different strategies that instill in the people their political ideology and strengthen their political power. Political actors make policies that strengthen their regime, create symbols of state that represent their regime, name different streets, buildings, schools, and hospitals after them. What is more, they erect different statues or monuments to symbolize and legitimize their political ideology (Leib, 2002 and Tronvoll, 2008). Even when one regime substitutes the other, some statues erected in the previous regime are displaced and some are dismantled. The *Derg* for instance had dismantled and displaced statues of Emperor Hailesilassie I and changed the names of streets and buildings to erase the memory of the monarchial period. To mention some of them, the Princess Tsehay hospital was renamed as Defense Force Hospital, Empress Menen School was changed to Yekatit 12 School, Haile Selassie I hospital was changed to Yekatit 12 Hospital, and Haile Selassie I Theater was renamed as the National Theater.

Concurrently, several new statues were erected in different parts of the country. Even in the capital, Addis Ababa, around 18 (eighteen) statues which depicted the historical and socio-political phenomenon of the time were erected (A.A City Administration Communication Office, 2004). Similar things have happened after the EPRDF came to power. Changes and continuities are often fraught with tensions and challenges. Against this backdrop, this study aims at examining the representational struggles that the equestrian statue of Menelik II and the newly erected Aanoole memorial statue give birth to.

As historical records reveal, the imposing equestrian statue of Emperor Menelik II which is located outside the main gates of St. George Cathedral (Genete Tsige Menagesha Kidus Giorgis) in Addis was erected in 1930 during the reign of Emperor Haile Selassie I. This statue was built by a German architect Hertel Spengle on a special order from Empress Zawditu. Even though the Empress died before the statues' construction was finalized, emperor Hailesilasse I took the responsibility of overseeing the completion of construction and later inaugurated the statue a day before his coronation (Bahru, 1992). The inauguration of Emperor Menelik II statue signaled Emperor Haile Selassie I's intention to continue the legacy of his predecessor. In this regard, Marcus (1994) was of the opinion that Emperor Hailesilasse I reflected Emperor Menelik II's ambition.

On the other hand, Aanoole memorial monument was erected during the incumbent government at Hetosa, Arsi Zone, Oromia Region, on 6 April, 2014 as a tribute to the Arsi Oromo's who ostensibly were the victims of Emperor Menelik II's imperial expansion in the 1880s'. According to Ezekiel (2014), while Menelik II was expanding his centralization scheme to most of the southern parts of the country, he undertook series of military conquests against the kings of different local areas such as Arsi Oromo which had hitherto stood as an independent state and refused to submit to the imperial expansion. Thus, under the auspices of the Oromo Peoples Democratic Organization (OPDO) - which controls the Oromia regional government- and the Oromia Culture and Tourism Bureau, the Aanoole memorial statue, which includes a museum and a research center, was constructed in 2006 E.C. Both Menelik II and Aanoole statues, therefore, serve as representations of the historical and socio-political phenomena of the reign of

Emperor Menelik II. It is, thus, important to conduct a study that systematically examines how these two statues define and redefine the political narratives of modern day Ethiopia.

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

There are several reasons that societies often erect statues. People erect statues for different purposes, i.e., for spiritual significance, for the commemoration of different patriots, heroes and heroines, for the transmission of mythical histories, for representation of nation or nationalizing-state, for the preservation of cultural heritage, for beautifying cities and legitimizing authority (Jonson, 1966).

Statues are symbols which represent and signify dynamic sites of meanings. The meaning of such symbols is not always static. Rather, different webs of meanings are constructed from these symbols as the world system and ideology of people change through time. However, what determines their role, interpretation and representation is power and the nature of the public reaction to the symbols (Turner, 1975). As monuments are symbols (Osborne, 2001), societies have been using monuments to represent or symbolize both material sites and ideas or concepts. Statues as material sites serve as a rallying point for shared common memory and identity and, hence, are used as a collective remembrance. On the other hand, as idea signifiers, they are used to immortalize an intended concept or ideology.

In relation to the representation of ideology through statues, Whelan (2002) argues that the representation of an idea in the statue form peaked from 1870-1914 throughout Europe and North America and played a social and political role. Thus, statues serve as a representation of the political ideology of the moment with the goal of legitimizing the political power that reflects

such an ideology. What is more, Leib (2002) notes that symbols such as monuments are a central element of a political territory's iconography whereby the state deliberately promotes sets of common symbols, ideas, and values to bind its citizens' loyalties to that state. Hence, the significance of erecting various statues is contingent upon the political and historical phenomena of the moment. Since socio-political and historical contexts are not stable, at different focal points, the normative narratives around the monument could be deconstructed and counter-narratives developed; as a result, several theses and antitheses could emerge in relation to the statues.

Stressing this point, Groundling (2001) and Forest and Johnson (2001) stated that monument symbolism and the context in which it is located is not static and is always open to debate, redefinition, and change. How people memorialize the past have more to do with the struggle for power in the present than with commemorating the past. When different interpretations, often contradictory interpretations, are generated vis-à-vis a statue, political struggle over fixing the interpretations can ensue. Arguments and counter-arguments could arise among various elites representing various groups and interests over which meaning/s of a historical symbol should deserve official recognition and become central in defining the state's identity.

After 19<sup>th</sup> century, monuments have been used as weapons in the political battle and different politicians have contested for victory through co-opting, creating, altering, ignoring, or removing particular monuments. Politicians have engaged in such symbolic dialogue with each other and with the public so as to gain symbolic capital, which is prestige and legitimacy (Forest and Johnson, 2001). In addition, as different interpretations are given to the same statue in different

regimes, elites often engage in the monuments' symbolism so as to define the historical figures that are related to power.

In Ethiopia, with the coming to power of the EPRDF in 1991, the federal system was introduced as a response to the problems of multi-ethnic and multi-religious groups that constitute the country. In this regard, the political history of the past regimes has served as a catalyst for reconfiguring the current political structure. According to Turton (2006), Ethiopians have contradictory view over the history of Ethiopia. On the one hand, many Ethiopians pride themselves over their country's effective resistance to colonialism and independent statehood. On the other hand, many show antipathy towards the wars of expansion and conquest. There are also others who critically look at the great tradition of the country. Thus, the current ethno-linguistic based federalism is meant to accommodate the interests of several ethno-linguistic groups who were marginalized and oppressed in the previous regimes. To this end, the constitution also recognizes the right of ethnic self-determination up to secession and provides for the adoption of a multi-party system within which ethnic self-determination should be mediated.

This has empowered the various ethnic groups to contest for social, economic and political power in the country. Accordingly, different new statues have been erected to signify various historical occurrences in view of preserving them for the posterity. In doing so, the normative narratives of the already existing monuments are being deconstructed and rearticulated as a result of which these symbols have essentially become sites of elite contestations over the right interpretation of the Ethiopian history. Such representational struggle is best exemplified by the way various elite groups are advancing contradictory historical narratives in relation to the statue

of Emperor Menelik II and the newly erected Aanoole Statue. The controversies over the two statues emanate from contradictory readings of the nature of the modern Ethiopian state and the role of elites that had spearheaded the nation building project in the modern Ethiopian history.

The elites of the present day view the expansion process which took place during the reign of Menelik II from contradictory perspectives. On one hand, there are groups who view the expansion process as an act of conquest in which most southern and eastern peoples were oppressed and economically and politically marginalized. These groups claim that the independent nations or traditional kingdoms in pre-modern Ethiopia such as the Oromo, Wolaita, Sidama, Gurage and Kafa were suppressed and occupied by various Abyssinian kingdoms. As a result, they view the architect of the modern Ethiopian empire as an oppressor and a colonizer. On the other hand, there are groups who have a favorable view of the emperor's expansion process and consider it as a 'reunification' process. They claim that the expansion to the periphery during the 19<sup>th</sup> century was primarily a process of inclusion and assimilation. In addition, these groups perceive the dire consequences of the expansion as an outcome of internal power struggles between Menelik II and competing forces (Turton, 2006; Aalen, 2002; Sorenson, 1993; Greenfield *et. al*, 1965).

Both Menelik II and the newly erected Aanoole statues are representations, albeit in a contradictory manner, of the socio-political phenomena of the Monarchial period. This being the case, however, no serious academic research (as far as the researcher is concerned) has so far been conducted to explicate the unraveling politics of representation as reflected in the two juxtaposed statues which chronicle about a similar point in the Ethiopian history. This study, therefore, aims at filling this gap.

### **1.3 .Objectives of the Study**

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

The general objective of the study is to examine how Menelik II and Aanoole statues serve as a site for both reproduction and re-articulation of historical relations of power in the Ethiopian polity.

#### **1.3.2. Specific Objectives**

Specifically, the research attempts to:

- A) Examine the normative historical narratives Menelik II statue has promoted in the Ethiopian polity.
- B) Investigate how the Aanoole statue deconstructs the naturalized historical narratives about the reign of Menelik II as symbolized by the latter's statue.
- C) Investigate how the two statues' contradictory historical representations of the reign of Menelik II serve as a manifestation of power struggle between elites in the Ethiopian polity.

### **1.4. Research Questions**

The study attempted to answer the following research questions:

- A) What normative historical narratives has Menelik II statue promoted in the Ethiopian polity?
- B) How does the Aanoole statue deconstruct the naturalized historical narratives about the reign of Menelik II as symbolized by the latter's statue?
- C) How do the two statues' contradictory historical representations of the reign of Menelik II serve as a manifestation of power struggle between elites in the Ethiopian polity?

### **1.5. Significance of the Study**

The study is significant in the sense that it can help the government to critically look at the role of the two statues in the Ethiopian polity. The findings of the study would contribute towards the government's effort in creating a common understanding among elites who are locked in the controversy over the representation of both statues. In addition, the study would make available a body of knowledge on the statues that might be of help in creating a better informed citizenry. The findings of the study would also contribute towards the policy maker's effort for making appropriate interventions which might result in positive outcomes. Moreover, the study would serve as a spring-board for those who might be interested in undertaking a similar study.

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

As is often the case, an academic research has a focus. In that respect, this study is limited to only two statues: Menelik II and Aanoole statues; and numerous other statues erected in the country are beyond the scope of this study due to challenge of manageability.

### **1.7. Limitation of the Study**

There were possibilities where what some interviewees said and what they actually believe might differ due to the sensitivity of the topic. In addition, owing to time and financial constraints, a few people within limited geographical area were interviewed more people representing a wider demographic and geographic areas could have enriched the study more. As the study was the first of its kind in the Ethiopian context, it was not able to benefit from the insights of a previous work in the area. Nevertheless, utmost effort has been exerted to make the study as rigorous as possible.

## CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

### 2.1. Conceptual Explication of *Statue*

The term '*statue*' is mostly used interchangeably with other words such as 'monument,' 'monolith' and 'obelisk'. Even though the terms seem similar, they are different in terms of their function and structure. As defined in Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary of Current English (2005:1445), monolith is a large tall block of stone, particularly in ancient times, used for religious purposes, while obelisk is a tall pointed stone like a pillar built to remind people or an event.

However, in various literatures the meaning and function of statues are often included under the term 'monument' and hence both words have been used synonymously. Literally, the root word of monument is from Latin word '*monere*' meaning to remind something which could be person, action or event and the term '*monumentum*' shows memorial structure, statue, or tomb (Douglas, 2010). Similarly, Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English (2005:986) defines the meaning of monument as a building, statue, or other large structure that is built to remind an important people, event or place that are historical. Besides, Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary of Current English (1974:951) defines monument as an object of special historical interest such as prehistoric fortifications and remains of old buildings and bridges often preserved by official bodies. Thus, monuments are highly bounded by historical phenomenon and preserved for generations as reminder of history.

On the other hand, the word statue came from the Latin "*statua*" means image and "*status*" is standing for or position. Therefore, statue is an image of something or someone which is

representing something or someone (Douglas, 2010). According to Bonțeanu (2010), statue is an image of a person or an animal which is erected for the purpose of commemorating important person, events or action of the past time. Thus, the definitions of both statue and monument show their similarity rather than their difference in terms of structure and function. Both terms have been used for memorialization or commemoration of something or someone in the past. Hence, in this study, both terms are used interchangeably.

Owing to the basic function of statues as slippery notion of 'remembrance' or 'commemorations', the logical question here is what is commemorated, when it is commemorated and what is the importance of these commemorations, and this leads to the conceptual understanding of what statue or monument is. According to USIP (United States Institute of Peace) (2007:2),

Commemoration is a process that satisfies the desire to honor those who suffered or died during the conflict and as a means to examine the past and address contemporary issues. It can either promote social recovery after violent conflict ends or crystallize a sense of victimization, injustice, discrimination, and the desire for revenge.

Statues are, thus, erected to commemorate the dead people either by conflict, war or accident to repress these terrible memories and move on. Obviously, war memorials are erected to commemorate either the act or the people. For instance, for an 'act' of genocide, massacre, ethnic cleansing or terrorism, statues are erected to harness memory of victims and to learn lessons from the past act in an effort to avoid repeating it. It is also constructed to commemorate innocent people, militants or gallant war leaders who lost their lives in a conflict/war. However, monuments depict simultaneously both the act and its consequence.

To further elaborate, the basis for the construction of several statues around the world is conflict/war though the trend has been changing since the 20<sup>th</sup> C (Whelan, 2000). These conflicts/wars could be internal or external. Internal conflicts often erupt from lack of justice, equality, democracy, socio-economic and political interests among different political groups, classes, gender, ethnicity, religion and etc in the same country. For instance, Kigali memorial monument and museum center in Rwanda, and Tigray, Oromia and Amhara martyrs monuments in Ethiopia are examples of statues erected as the result of internal conflicts/wars.

On the other hand, statues related to external conflicts are erected when a country or a nation struggles with another country or nation. In this regard, almost all monuments constructed in Africa can be said to have been constructed in relation to a struggle against European colonial powers. For instance, Voortrekker Monument in South Africa (Grundlingh, 2001), Ugandans Independence Monument in Uganda (Duerksen, 2012) and African Renaissance Monument in Senegal (Ritter, 2011) an equestrian statue of Menelik II and *Yekatit* 12 martyrs monument in Ethiopia and any others were erected to commemorate the black Africans' struggle to overthrow colonialism and get their independence.

Thus, several monuments are constructed in different parts of the world as a remembrance or commemoration of the act of violence and to educate generations about its consequences and to urge them not to repeat it. Forest and Johnson (2001) stressed the role of commemoration in confronting societal traumas such as genocide or mass repression, arguing that states cannot overcome damaging historical legacies and build stable democracies without engaging in official symbolic recognition of their traumatic pasts.

On the other hand, such memorials sometimes become the space for aggression than inducing peace. This is due to the symbolic resonance of statues and the lack of standardized way of its construction. Moore (2009) believes that memory is intrinsic to human nature; so, what is memorialized depends on the interest of individuals' or communities' who felt the traumatic past. Hence, statues are open for different interpretations and reproduction of meaning. What they represent may not be inclusive of the interests of all the people, particularly in a country where different competing classes, political parties, and ethnic groups exist.

According to USIP (2007), due to the fact that memory is received, changed and reinterpreted from one generation to another, permanently fixing the meaning of memorials becomes difficult. As a result, the meaning of a memorial often shifts over time as different social, political, economic, cultural circumstances of a society change. Their normative narratives are subject to deconstruction, but the re-articulation of the dominant meaning can provoke a backlash. In summarizing the complex functions of memorials, Moore (2009:49) notes that,

At best, memorials help to heal the wounds of antagonism and to induce individuals to reflect on what they can do to prevent future violence. At worst, memorials undermine peace building and reconciliation, providing zones of 'symbolic' politics where both national governments and local constituents may promote divisive or repressive messages in ways they could not in other spheres. At the very least, memorials must be taken seriously as socio-political forces that wield tremendous symbolic influence.

What is clear from the above discussion is that statues can contribute to both maintaining peace and inducing violence among the society. They can also be used as a political tool by elites so as to advance their goals. As Nieven (2008) argues, statues are symbolic material of political, cultural, economic, historical manifestation and an arena for contestation among different social groups. To sum up, statues are symbols erected for the commemoration of the historical trauma of the past. However, who erects the symbol, the context in which it is erected and the time of the erection largely determine its purpose. What is more, what a statue signifies is never static. Rather, it is dynamic and changes as socio-political circumstances change.

## **2.2. History of Statue Construction**

There is no exact and explicit period where and when statue construction began. But, as statue is a freestanding sculpture (Encyclopedia of Art, 2008), the history of statue construction is highly intertwined with the history of sculptural fine arts. The chronology of sculptural fine arts began from prehistoric sculpture period around 35,000 BC in the form of carvings of birds and animals and passed through different eras. In the classical antiquity period (400BC -1100 CE) sculptural art of different societies in the world, like the metallic sculpture of Celts' and Romanians, were highly shown. Then, in the Gothic era (1150-1300), especially sculptures of God and even the figure of pope and archbishops were carved for religious purposes. From the beginning of Renaissance period to the first half of the twenty century, however, sculptures were carved to entertain various social ideologies.

Basically, the history of statue construction can be seen from three major historical eras: The Antiquity, Middle Ages, and Modern Era (Encyclopedia of World Art History, 1983). In the

period of antiquity around 30,000 to 40,000 BC, statue of lion-man were curved around today's Germany. Hence, estimation could be taken that the history of statue construction began in this period. Then after, statues in the form of a cult image had been constructed in ancient Egypt, Greece and Roma. For instance, ancient Egyptians curved an image of their kings on a pyramid. Similarly, Romans erected the statue of Queen of Diana in this antiquity era (Stevenson and Kelly, 1998).

Contrary to the antiquity period, the construction of statues reduced in the middle ages. This is due to the mistrust of the Orthodox Church in Rome particularly the art of statue construction for worshipping idols. However, as Honour (1982) argues, the Byzantine (eastern Roman) art of curving statue was shown until the fall of Constantinople.

However, in the modern era, statue construction took a different turn exhibiting different ideological manifestations like realism, naturalism and others. Different famous individuals and ideologies began to be depicted with an abstract design of monuments. Hence, the construction of statues shifted from direct representation of a physical body to the representation of abstract ideologies. As Whelan (2002) notes, the representation of idea in the statue form as '*Statuemanía*', the rage for commemorative statues, peaked between 1870-1914 throughout Europe and North America and attained a social and political role. The intense nationalism of these years gave rise to widespread and sustained attempts to commemorate national histories through monuments.

Since the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the constructions of statues have become an arena for 'game memory'. Various hidden messages were communicated through monuments. Their function and design

also become complex and abstract than the previous eras (Bonteanu, 2010). Hence, statues have served as a symbolic dialog among different ethnic groups, politicians, artists, academics and the public to recuperate from their identity crises or to advance their historical, cultural, economic and political ideology. As result, contrary to themes of statue construction in antiquity period for religious practice and glorifications of Kings and Queens, they entertain various religious, economic, cultural, aesthetic and political themes in the modern era.

### **2.3 .The Value of Statue**

Statues have been erected for thousands of years for different purposes and they have great value in the history of one nation or society. According to Choudhury and Armstrong (2006:45),

The monuments are highly symbolic and ideological [representations] that define a world in social, cultural, and political terms. They have the power to create and define the public sphere, community, and identity. The monumental landscape is a world of the past but also the tension of the past with the present. It is a world of gentility with clear boundaries, from class divisions to cultural and societal values, between what is real and what is not. These characteristics limit the ways in which the people within the landscape may define themselves, interrelate, express themselves, the power they may claim, and the boundaries they must break to escape these restrictions.

Thus, monuments play an indispensable role in representing social, cultural, historical and political manifestations. They are nodal points of past history functioning as a gathering place of the society to share common cultural and social values and belong to same identity and

strengthen their cohesion thereby become powerful. In addition, statues are more contingent on power to either legitimize or challenge the existing authority. Statues serve multiple purposes and have various values. Some of the major values of statues are discussed below:

### **2.3.1. Religious Value**

Statues have a religious value in the society. People have been curving statues as replica of their God/goddess or/and angels for worship. For instance, in most Asian countries, statue of Buddha for Buddhism and Indiana goddess statue for Hinduism were highly worshipped among the believers. As various literatures indicated, primarily statues were curved for spiritual activities in the antiquity period. Jonson (1966) argues that statues as supportive tool for religious activity began to be used in the ancient civilization of Egypt, Greek, Mesopotamia, Indus valley, and China.

Even though statues are erected for the fulfillment of religion practices, the way they serve the religious dogma differ in terms of the kind of religion and the way the worshipping process takes place. Kleesing (2003), for instance, states that around 15<sup>th</sup> C and 16<sup>th</sup> C in ancient Greece, worshippers dedicated statues as votive offering called “*anathemata*” and as decorative materials of religious area. On the other hand, in ancient Roma, statues were curved to represent their gods in the form of statue believing that it has guardian spirit that protects their home and family (Henig, 1983). Thus, as the above examples show, statues served religious functions in two ways. First, it was used as an image of representing the gods. In this regard, statues served as an idol to be worshipped by people. Secondly, the followers used it as votive offering for their gods, but in this case, the size of the statue was smaller than the normal size of a freestanding statue.

On the other hand, in most of ancient Africa, small size statues were considered to have a link to witchcraft. Different kinds of terrifying animal statues including mask, triptych and other sculpture were used as representation of supernatural powers mostly the bad that could harm others (Kleesing, 2003). In addition, statues of religious leaders who dedicated their lives to their religion were erected. Even though such statues were used for worship, they were sometimes used as a gathering place for the followers to worship or celebrate different religious ritual.

### **2.3.2. Cultural Value**

Architecture is the ultimate physical representation of cultural symbols (Quinn, 2006). Among architectural arts, monuments play a pivotal role in depicting cultural values of the society. As the word 'Culture' is broad and multifaceted, it encompasses various elements. According to Abulnour (2013), culture is a complex term which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, laws, custom, and other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of the society. Monuments are, therefore, taken as cultural materials which represent any of those complex constituent elements of culture.

According to Vale (2008), monuments and ceremonies are symbols which could consolidate our sense of 'we'. Thus, we-ness is produced through sharing common cultural elements in the society and we are the sum of these elements. How we behave, communicate, and involve in ritual ceremonies and commemorations depends on cultural identity of the society we have lived in. Monuments are cultural materials that recall the identity of individuals in which they belong. On top of this, Kenan (2010) argue that monuments in a given social and historical context are

informed by the collective understanding of the past or cultural memory. These cultural memories are recalled through the erection of monuments and other ritual ceremonies.

What is more, monuments have great value in protecting one's cultural identity from risk. They are means of asserting group values, restoring dignity and self-esteem, and expressing identity. They are central to cultural identity and crucial for awareness and development of one's identity and transfer the cultural practices to the next generation. As a result, organizations like UNESCO and ICOMOS provide funds for different countries to preserve their sites of cultural heritages to the generation to come (Choudhury and Armstrong, 2006).

### **2.3.3. Economic Value**

Monuments are becoming one of the economic determinants in the twenty first century. Most of historical statues are considered as tourist sites and are visited by many local and international visitors. As Nypan (2003:4) notes, "The tourism sector is the industry that largely uses cultural heritage as income source for hotels, transport and catering." Hence, it can help to provide the local people with job opportunity and subsequently become a source of income for the country. Along the same line, Grobler (2008) notes that tourism is a massive industry generating significant economic activity and have the potential to contribute towards the economic development of a nation. Thus, monuments as one of tourism attraction sites are at the forefront for the economic development of a country.

On the other hand, monuments can have an adverse effect on the economic development of a country. Since their construction is highly interwoven with gaining and legitimizing a political power, political leaders spent a lot of money to construct monuments for political consumption.

According to Ritter (2011), the renaissance monument in Dakar, Senegal, for instance, cost 27 million dollar for its construction approved by President Abdoulaye Wade which created controversy among most Senegalese. Despite the fact that the monument serve as a symbol of national pride for the Senegalese, many objected because it failed to take into account the grinding poverty in the country. What is more distressing is that such expensive monuments are often displaced, ignored or destroyed when a new regime replaces the old one. Thus, a huge expense incurred constructing the monument often ends up as sheer wastage.

#### **2.3.4. Aesthetic Value**

The term Aesthetics is fluid and there is no universally accepted definition and the way different artistic scholars look into Aesthetic value is different. As Myers (1969, cited in Cole, 2009:9) contends,

Aesthetics is a branch of philosophy which concerns itself with the nature of beauty and its relation to the perceiver or beholder, especially as applied to the fine arts....This indicated that while beauty is the quality of a given work or form felt by the beholder in viewing it, aesthetics is the organization of concepts and ideas relating to this quality of beauty.

Since aesthetics is all about beauty, the term beauty itself is complex and subjective. The perception people hold about beauty depends on the concept they have weather it is natural or artificial. As the saying 'beauty is in the eyes of beholder' indicates, whether that beauty is physical or thought, the way we look into the aesthetic value of something is different.

Therefore, it is better to state the kinds of things that have aesthetic value than trying to give an underlined definition for the term.

The aesthetic value of monuments is related with the fields of environmental aesthetics which includes virtually any object that plays great role in beautifying the environment for the wellbeing of people and good life (Cole, 2009). In this regard, Torre (2002:12) notes that,

Aesthetic refers to the visual qualities of heritages...The design and evolution of a building, monuments, or different archeological sites can be source of aesthetic value. It is also argued that the category of the aesthetics can be interpreted more widely to encompass all the senses: smell, sound, and feeling, as well as sight.

Thus, monuments could be seen as valuable for the sensory experience they offer and they are strong contributors to a sense of well-being. Furthermore, they play pivotal role in beautifying the environment as they often become a recreation center. In some cases, monuments, obelisk, and other old edifices are used as the site for urbanization process. There is a push- pull factor between the monumental sites and urbanization. When such monumental sites attract people, consequently, different infrastructural activities take place around the site for tourists. Hence, they serve as base for different urban cities.

### **2.3.5. Political Value**

It is difficult to see separately politics from human activity. Every aspect of societies such as culture, economics, aesthetics, religion and other societal values are highly interwoven with politics. Due to this, politics is a determining factor for each and every activity of the society or

nation. Statues have a long history in the political arena. In the era of kingdoms, the image of Kings and Queens were constructed at the gate of their palaces. Similarly, in the monarchical period, statues of emperors were also curved in different parts of the world. However, from 19<sup>th</sup> C onwards, monuments were often designed and reconstructed to convey historically grounded power and different current political ideologies.

Artists use their art of making statue to reinforce the primacy of contemporary political power. Even though the construction of monuments often claimed for remembering the past, implicitly they are a means of cultivating popular support and making power concrete in the landscape. The medium was also used by groups with politics at odds with established regimes (Harrt, 1989; Whelan, 2002; Bonteanu, 2010 and *et al*).

Political actors are highly engaged in the construction of statues for political purposes. As Neiven (2008) asserts, the construction of monuments are contingent upon political interest and they are used as nexus between political ideology and political actors. Thus, statues are used as political symbols to signify the authorities' political agenda. They are an intentional product of legitimizing political power and state institutions. Even governments directly take part in erecting politicized statues to build a collective political identity.

Monuments are involved in political discourse in two ways. First, they are intentionally constructed to instill the political ideology of the political actors and legitimize the authority so that they get support and acceptance from the public. As Forest and Johnson (2001) argue, political actors employ monuments and memorials as vehicles to legitimize their claims on power. These symbols, in turn, declare publicly which groups and histories the official sphere

recognizes as central to the state's identity. They reveal the state's level of inclusiveness, not simply designating who belongs to and in the state, but who may legitimately aspire to political power. Leib (2002:289), also contends that "one place where the power to control the landscape ideologically is most obvious is in the placing of public monuments commemorating the past in public spaces...monuments serve as the focal point for the expression of social action and a collectivist politic, and the iconography of statues exposes how class, 'race', and gender differences are negotiated in public space."

Second, old monuments which are erected for representing the nation's history, civilization or war leaders are removed/ displaced or their normative narratives are counter narrated as political ideology of the time changes. In this process, monuments are regarded as the place for political contestation among different political actors. Forest and Johnson (2010:2-4) contend that,

The physical transformation of places of memory reflects the struggle among political actors for the symbolic capital embodied in and represented by these sites. By co-opting, creating, altering, contesting, ignoring, or removing particular monuments, political actors engage in a symbolic dialogue with each other and with the public in an attempt to gain symbolic capital - that is, prestige, legitimacy, and influence derived from being associated with status-bearing ideas and figures. Through this process, political leaders and interest groups attempt to define the historical figures that become official heroes and establish the historical incidents that frame state identities. Viewed in this way, monuments represent weapons in the political battle for hearts and mind...manipulating such monuments can be especially politically contentious, reflecting and providing potent sources of symbolic capital.

Thus, statues are erected in contest of political power. Public statues which are erected for the public in particular serve as an important source for unraveling political shift. For instance, in Kenya, Nairobi, the statue of King George V was removed and replaced by the statue of Kenya's first president Jomo Kenyatta (Larsen, 2013).

Similarly, in Ethiopia when the *Derg* regime replaced the imperial monarchy, it dismantled and changed statues and their names erected during the period of imperial monarchy. Again, when the EPRDF came to power, the statue of Lenin was removed. In this regard, Leib (2002:290) argues that "public monuments, the symbolism of the monuments and the landscapes in which they are situated is not static and is always open to debate, redefinition and change.....These political conflicts over how to memorialize the past have more to do with the struggle for power in the present than with commemorating the past".

Monuments are not used only to legitimize the authority and concrete the power but they are also used to resist the regimes or challenge the authority. As Whelan (2002) states, statues can be used as useful target for those who wish to demonstrate opposition. In the post-colonial era, where countries were liberated from the shadow of colonial power, for instance, monuments were often erected for their revolutionary hero and thereby objectify the ideas of resistance or struggle over colonization. On the other hand, in the multi-ethnic nation, different ethnic groups, political parties, classes or racial groups are engaged in symbolic dialogue through either protesting the constructed monument or erecting new statues. For instance, 'Renaissance Monument' in Senegal, Dakar, was the public space that triggered public protest against President Wade's regime. Similarly, in Kenya, statue of the first president of independent Kenya,

President Jomo Kenyatta, was also erected as a counter to Queen Victoria's statue which was erected in the period of British colonization.

#### **2.4. An Overview of Statues Erected During Three Ethiopian Regimes**

Among African countries, Ethiopia has long history of civilization in terms of architectural art. Since the heyday of Aksumite period (4<sup>th</sup> C - 7<sup>th</sup> C A.D.) different obelisk, edifices, rock-hewn churches and monoliths were carved as kings' home, funeral or for religious purposes. For instance, the Axum obelisk which was erected around 4<sup>th</sup> C A.D by subjects of the kingdom of Aksum, Tiya monuments and the largest edifice '*Ta'akha Maryam*' were taken as one of Ethiopian ancient architectural civilizations. Predominantly, various cultural heritages including monuments, obelisk, rock-cut churches and edifices were mostly found in the highland parts of the country. This is due to the rise of different kingdoms from the northern parts of the country along with the acceptance of Orthodox religion. Thus, the tradition of erecting monuments has an age-old history in Ethiopia (Doresse, 1959; Phillipson, 2004 and Finneran, 2012).

Similarly, in three consecutive regimes: imperial, military and federal democratic, different monuments have been erected to represent different historical, cultural, political and even famous individuals from humanitarian sectors, sports, music and etc. Among monuments found in the country, some were dedicated for external countries or foreigners. For instance, the statue of Aleksandra Pushkin, John Fitzgerald Kennedy, Karl Marx, Kwame Nkrumah, Karl Hanz Bomm and etc were among statues erected for foreigners who had relation with the country at different historical junctures.

Like in other countries, in Ethiopia statues were erected in contest of political power. In the three political regimes in Ethiopia, political actors engaged in symbolical dialogue through constructing new statues or displacing or removing the old ones and changing the names of different streets, hospitals and schools. As Biniam (2004) noted, in the period of the military junta, a law that made some changes regarding monuments and their memorial date was promulgated. In this case, the Emperor's birthday and coronation day were abolished. The statues of Hailesilasse I and Princess Tsehaye was also displaced.

Since it is difficult to overview monuments erected over all places in Ethiopia, the review is limited to monuments which had a historically grounded narratives starting from the reign of Menelik II, and erected in Addis Ababa for two reasons. First, the study took the period of Emperor Menelik II (1889-1913) as the point of the start of modern Ethiopian history. Hence, different monuments erected before the reign of Menelik II were excluded. Second, Addis Ababa is taken as a focal place due to the fact that it was the Emperor's first city. As a result, different architectural works had taken place in the capital. The review, therefore, emphasizes statues constructed around Addis Ababa.

#### **2.4.1. Monarchial Period (Emperor Menelik II –Hailesilasse I)**

The monarchial regime refers to the period from the reign of Emperor Menelik II to Hailesilasse I in the modern Ethiopian history. It is known that this period was the period of monarchy political system in which power resides in one person or family and passed generation to generation through lines of inheritance. It was also the period of the landed aristocracy of the economic system in which the majority peasants/serfs are the main economic agents. In the

feudal system, there is series of economic obligations imposed upon the serf by the lord. In this case, the landlords have the right to control over the agricultural production of the serf and impose economic exactions on the serf in the forms of taxes, dues, levies and others. There is also a fixation of rigid social hierarchy and a system of social and class distinctions which was backed up by legal and religious sanctions. Serfs/peasants were legitimately subordinated to the lord through a system of legal and social distinctions derived from the class divisions of feudal society (Markakis and Nega, 1978; Markakis, 2011; Marcus, *et.al*, 1994). Thus, the agricultural economies, rigid class and relations of subordination centering on the landholder and the peasant cultivator are common characteristics of the feudal system across the feudal societies though it appears in diverse forms with different patterns of social and historical development

The construction of different monuments in this period also took place by the feudal aristocrats for the purpose of reinforcing their economic and political dominance over the majority peasants. Since emperor Menelik II found Addis Ababa in 1887, different architectural works such as the palace of the Emperor and various edifices were built by foreign architects from India, Greek and Italia (Pankhurst, 1982). Thus, the history of constructing different sizes of statues in the capital is estimated from the reign of Menelik II. However, the erection of well-standardized monuments took place when Emperor Hailesilasse I, the predecessors of Menelik II, came to power in Ethiopia.

The erected monuments in general during the monarchial period encompass two themes. First, they had tendencies of honoring or legitimizing the emperors' power in the political landscape. In this regard, for instance, the two lion of Judah statues and the dismantled arrow of Hailesilasse were the first constructed monuments during the reign of Hailesilasse in the capital. They were

built, on one hand to commemorate the contribution of emperor Menelik II which implicitly shows the continuation of political and economic system of emperor Menelik II. On the other hand, they legitimized the power of emperor Hailesilasse I through creating common visual narratives over the emperors' authority. In addition, statues of the emperors' family, for instance, princess Tsehaye and *Ras* Mokonen statues were constructed to show their lineage and thus aspired to have economic and political domination over the people who had no lineage of the aristocrats.

The second theme focuses on the colonization resistance. Most of the statues erected in the capital during the monarchial period are the result of fighting against fascist Italy. For instance, *Yekatit 12* or Martyrs' monument, *Miazi 27'* or Victory monument, statues of his holiness Abune Petros, and an equestrian statue of Menelik II are some of the monuments symbolize the scarification of patriotic Ethiopians and their historic victory over external invaders.

#### **2.4.2. Military Junta (*Derg* Regime)**

*Derg* came to power overthrowing the imperial regime in 1974. Soon after taking power, it promotes *Ye-Itiopia Hibrete-sebawinet* (Ethiopian Socialism). A central aspect of socialism focuses on the land reform. The *Derg* adopted the Land Reform Proclamation in March 1975, which nationalized all rural land, abolished tenancy, and put peasants in charge of enforcement. This concept was also embodied in slogans such as 'the dignity of labor', 'the supremacy of the common good', and 'self-reliance.' The slogans were devised to combat the widespread disdain of white collars and the monarchial status-quo. In relation to this, several monuments which had

an attachment with the monarchial period were dislocated and dismantled. Their name also changed along with military junta's political manifesto (Tronvoll, 2009, and Alemayehu, 2003).

According to Biniam (2004), more than 40 monuments the epitomized the monarchial socio-political system were displaced from the capital and collected to the national museum in 1976 by the order of *Derg* officials. On the other hand, new statues like *Tiglachin (Andinet)* or Unity monument and statues of socialism pioneers such as Karl Marx and Vladimir Lenin were constructed. Thus, the period of the *Derg* regime in Ethiopia seems the period of the proliferation of monument erection where statues were highly used for a symbolic political dialog.

### **2.4.3. EPRDF (FDRE Regime)**

The regime of the FDRE began following the demise of the *Derg* regime and the coming to power of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) in May 1991. The EPRDF rose in response to *Derg's* denial of provincial and cultural autonomy (Assefa, 2006; Aalen, 2006, and Marcus, 1994). Hence, EPRDF adopts the federal structure based on ethno-linguistics lines to attain the quest for political, economic and cultural autonomy of multi ethnic groups in the country. This was also stipulated under Article 1 of the 1994 constitution.

Moreover, the constitution includes the idea of self-determination for the nationalities up to and including secession, devolving political, administrative and economic power to ethnically defined regional states. As a result, the hitherto culturally, socio-economically and politically marginalized multi-ethnic groups have been liberated from the suppression of former regimes and their rights constitutionally guaranteed, albeit there is serious mismatch between the constitutional provisions and the reality on the ground.

Similar to the former regimes, since the EPRDF came to power, various monuments have been erected in different regional states of the country. They were erected for the commemoration of martyrs who died in inter-political conflict between EPRDF and the *Derg* military junta, except the *Aanoole* statue. For instance, in Bahir Dar, city of Amhara regional state, Amhara people martyrs monument was constructed for the Amhara people's martyrs. Again, in Adama and Mekelle cities, martyrs' monuments were constructed for the people of Oromo and Tigray respectively. The culture of EPRDF's statues construction is compared with the past regimes, statue of different foreigners' like the statue of Karl-Heinz Bom from humanitarian sector, Kwame Nkrumah from political sphere, and Bob Marley from music and others have been constructed.

However, the culture of statue construction and some of the erected statues during the EPRDF regime have not been unanimously welcomed by the society. The exorbitant costs and the objective of their construction are some of the contention among the elites in the polity. Due to this, beyond the commemorative objectives, statues have increasingly become an arena for political contestation among different ethnic and political groups. In this regard, particularly the *Aanoole* statue has become a highly contested public space among the various ethnic groups in the country. Its construction is seen as an attempt to deconstruct the normative narratives of Menelik II statue. Both the *Aanoole* and Menelik statues have, thus, become sites where the politics of representation is being played out.

## **2.5. An Overview of Menelik II and Aanoole Statues**

*Aanoole* and Menelik II had common historically grounded narratives. Though the construction of *Aanoole* and Menelik II statues took place at different time, they contradictory epitomized the

civil war took place in the reign of Menelik II. Thus, in the following sub-sections an attempt is made to overview the statues one by one.

### **2.5.1 The Equestrian Statue of Menelik II**

The imposing equestrian statue of Emperor Menelik II was erected to commemorate emperor Menelik II's contribution for the country, among which the battle Adowa which was regarded as a historic battle for black Africans, is the one. The statue was erected by German architect Hertel Spengel in front of '*Genete Tsige Menagesha St. George church*' 34 years after the battle of Adowa. It was inaugurated by Emperor Hailesilassie on the day before his coronation November 02, 1930 (Mirror of Addis Ababa, 1950, and Addis Ababa city administration, 2005).

The statue portrays Emperor Menelik II in his coronation costume riding glamorously on his horse '*Abba Dagneu*' looking to the north where the victorious battle of Adwa took place. The statue was pulled down in 1936 by the order of Benito Mussolini and was hidden somewhere so that the humiliating defeat of the Italians by Ethiopians at the Battle of Adwa could be forgotten. However, in 1941 when the invaders were ousted by the Ethiopian patriots and allied forces, the statue restored to its original place (Bahiru, 1991; Mirror of Addis Ababa, 1950, and Addis Ababa city administration, 2005).

After that every year the anniversary of the battle of Adowa has been celebrated until today in Ethiopia though the ceremonial practice has varied in the three consecutive regimes. During the monarchial period, the battle of Adowa was celebrated through laying wreath on the statue after attending mass at St. George Cathedral. In the *Derg* regime though the celebration took place through laying a wreath on the statue, the attendance of church services did not take place as the

regime's ideology did not recognize religion. Again, in the EPRDF period, the celebration of Adowa anniversary has continued in different forms, although, there is an ambivalent feeling towards the commemoration.

### **2.5.2. Aanoole Martyr's Monument**

Aanoole memorial monument was constructed in Hetosa, Arsi zone, Oromia region, on April 6, 2014. It was erected as a tribute to the Arsi Oromos who were claimed to be victims of Emperor Menelik II's imperial expansion project carried out in the 1889. Menelik II centralized his power in the northern and southern parts of the country through both peaceful and forceful subjugation during his coronation. In this process, different rulers of local areas which had stood as an independent state became subjugated to the emperor. Among these Arsi, Hararghe, Borana and others from the southern parts of the country were forcibly subjugated by the emperor (Ezekiel, 2014).

As Bichaka (2004:5) noted "the imperial expansion of emperor Menelik II was full atrocities and loss of identity. It was the time when the independent Oromo Monarchies of the *Maccaa* of the southwest, the *Tulama* chiefs of central Showa, the Arsii, Baalee, Booranaa, Gujii, Karrayyu, as well as Hararghe Oromo had been conquered and subjugated by king Menelik." The Arsi people particularly were argued to be the victim of the imperial expansion of Menelik II. Their socio-political institutions like '*Macca*' and '*Tulama*' deteriorated and their culture and language were undermined. In spite of the fact that the Arsi Oromo stubbornly resisted the expansion process, the crushing defeat of emperor Menelik II through mutilation of 'hand and breast of men and women' lastly forced them to accept the monarchical system (Haji Abbas, 1995). Hence, their

socio-political system, culture and language of the Arsi Oromo were arguably forced to acculturation and assimilation.

However, after more than a century of the incident, during the period of the EPRDF, the Aanoole Martyr's memorial monument which includes a museum has been constructed to commemorate the Arsi Oromo people who arguably suffered from the war of conquest. But, the construction and the intended meaning of the Aanoole monument has become at odds among different elites in the polity. On one hand, the statue is perceived as symbol that could provoke conflict among multi ethnic which could lead to the disintegration of the society; while on the other hand, it is seen as site for integration through promotion of peace and reconciliation. Moreover, the Aanoole Memorial monument narratives are seen as the deconstruction of the past hegemonic narratives of emperor Menelik II embodied in Menelik II statue. Due to this, both statues have become a site for power struggle.

## **2.6. The Role of Menelik II and Aanoole Statues in the Ethiopia Political**

### **Geography**

Monuments have played a great role in the political arena. Since 19<sup>th</sup> C they have been using to commemorate events like national day, liberation day and patriotic individuals who participated on different war phenomena and contributed their part for their country (Maning, 2014). The Aanoole and Menelik II statues were the regimes of internal and external war memory took place during the monarchial period. The emperor fought with different local states to expand his territory. In this process different independent local states such as the Oromo and Wolaita had subjugated their power forcefully and became the victims of the expansion while others like

Shewa local state has benefited from the conquest process. On the other hand, the emperor defeated the European colonizer and built an independent nation (Haji Abbas, 1995).

As a result, both an equestrian statue of Menelik II and Aanoole memorial monument are signifying the political deeds of emperor Menelik II during the monarchical period. These monuments have been created a great impact on the society. Monuments as means of history telling instrument has social and political impact on the society. Histories transferred through monuments guide the current nation and shape their future. As Rai (2012:3-4) asserts,

The political visual imageries produce both cognitive and affective responses which are expressed in terms of history, the present as well as future aspirations. These imageries we can help us reflect upon the processes through which they become hegemonic – how the dominant modes of power reproduced and how are the marginalized kept outside the spaces of performance of power. The manifestations of power, its everyday presence and representation, we can analyze social relations and understand how these play out in our daily lives, which is where most of us experience politics.

Thus, Monuments are one of political visual imageries use in the political arena to attain political agenda. They indicated who and why specific groups has been involved in or excluded from the political sphere and at the same time they pointed who would be legitimate to hold the power. As Forest and Jonson (2013:271) also notes that “political actors invoke myths and symbols in an attempt to forge public memories that shape and delimit their societies’ collective identities. This serves to legitimate particular courses of political action and define membership in particular states and nations.”

Similarly, Aanoole and Menelik II statues are loci of political power in the Ethiopian polity. Due to the fact that both statues had polarized historical narratives, the two major ethnic groups have been locked in struggle for power. Obviously, the political autonomy is key factor for other economic, social and cultural hegemony in most of developing countries like Ethiopia. Hence, political actors have been engaged in the construction of different monuments directly or indirectly to depict their political agenda and use as a means of getting popular support to make their power concrete in the political landscape.

Moreover, Aanoole and Menelik II statues have been contributed in the process of nation building. As Mitchell (2013) states monuments were closely link to contemporary nation-building processes. However, the way nation has been built may vary depending on the time frame and political system. Menelik II statue, for instance, is taken as symbol of unification. Emperor Menelik II used coercive strategy to unify the independent local states and then built an Ethiopian empire. Different scholars argued the coercive measure as the left alternative for the emperor to build the current nation during the monarchial period (Getachew and Paulos, 2005; Marcus, 1994; Markakis and *et al*, 2011).

On the other hand, Aanoole statue has been engage in nation building process through recognizing and strengthening the ethnic group it represents. The unity of Arsi Oromo and their strong resistance of the conquest have been taken as an exemplary hub in the process of current Oromos unification (Assefa, 2014). In addition, Aanoole statue has been perceived as an emblem and outcome of the contemporary Ethiopia political system (ethno-linguistics based federalism). As Larsen (2013:5) states that “since democracy does not function through command or coercion, requires instead a constant renewal of sets of symbols - symbols which appeal to

people and instill in them a sense of belonging and identification.” Thus, the construction of Aanoole statue in the Oromia region is taken as the outcomes of democracy and the federal structure. It also serves as systematic means of gaining political capital through creating the sense of inclusiveness among the victimized society.

## **2.7. Theoretical Frameworks**

The study employed two basic theoretical frameworks: Representation and Foucaultian (the interplay between power, knowledge and truth) theories. In the following sub-section, an attempt is made to explain the concept of these theories and their interplay in line with the area of the study.

### **2.7.1. Theory of Representation**

Representation is a complex process through which meanings are produced and exchanged among members of a culture. It includes the use of language, sign and image which stand for or represent something (Hall, 1997). Several literatures also showed that representation is a complex and difficult process. In fact, the meaning of something and the thing itself has an arbitrary relationship. For instance, the actual dog, the image of the dog and the word ‘DOG’ has no direct relationship. The representation of the actual dog by the word ‘DOG’ and the physical image of the dog came through a long process of knowledge. On the other hand, the name ‘DOG’ in English, ‘WUSHA’ in Amharic ‘SAREE’ in Oromiffa, ‘KELB’ in Tigrigna and different name in different language are all representing one actual animal. Hence, there is no one to one correspondence between the thing and what it represents.

Moreover, representation is the way meanings are produced and exchanged in language. However, there is no relationship between the concept and language that correlate or refer to either the 'real' world or abstract ideas. Hence, the representation took place in the society who shares the same cultural background including different images and symbols (Sturken and Cartwright, 2001) Thus, different statues are images/symbols in which meanings are produced and exchanged in the society through the process of representation.

As Hall (1997) and Sturken and Cartwright(2001), there are three widely accepted theories of representation approaches attempt to answer how meaning originates and how we can discern the "true" meaning of a word or image

- A) **Reflective Approach:** This approach assumes that language or image is used as mirror to show or reflect the meaning of things already exist in the real world (Hall, 1997). Therefore, the meaning of objects, events, ideas and others are embedded in the thing we see so that the receiver or encoder can directly understand the meaning from the thing itself.
  
- B) **Intentional Approach:** Contrary to reflective approach, intentional approach focused on the individual thought to the real world as the base for meaning that represents the world through language or images. As Hall (1997: 25) states, "it is the speaker, the author, who impresses his or her unique meaning on the world through language. Words mean what the author intends they should mean." However, this approach contradicts the concept of common culture and man is a social animal that share experience a lot of things in common.

**C) Constructionist Approach:** the constructionist approach believed that neither things in the real world by themselves nor individual users of a language can fix meaning in language (Hall, 1997). The meanings of the material world are specific to cultural context and it is represented through language system (writing, speech or images) that the society or group of people use it. Hence, the constructionist approach to representation emphasizes on the socially constructed meanings among the society who share same cultural context. Not the material world is the source of meaning, but the system of the language that the people use to represent the concept in their mind (Sturken and Cartwright, 2001).

What is more, representation is not just about the way the world is presented to us but also about how social actors engage with media texts in order to interpret and assimilate such portrayals. In this case, there are two systems of representation. First, there is a system in which social actors use to connect the concept in their mind with the material objects, events, and others. Second, there is language in which the meaning of all represented is produced and exchanged (Hall, 1997 and Sturken and Cartwright, 2001).

Different symbols and images are included in the language system. Hence, monuments are symbols which carry meanings that are communicated and interpreted among the society who had common cultural background. However, the social change affects the meaning fixed to the monument. Due to this, Hall (1997: 9-10) insists,

Meaning of these symbols are always putting off or deferring their rendezvous with absolute truth. They are always being negotiated and inflicted, to resonate with situations. Often contested and sometimes bitterly fought over. There are always different circuits of meaning circulating in any culture at the same time, overlapping discursive formation from which we draw to create meaning or to express what we think.

Thus, the narratives of the statues are deconstructed and contradictory interpretations emerge at different time and context. This dynamic and unstable change over statues narratives often come from the struggle for 'power'. Thus, the concept of politics of representation focuses on the issues of power and control over one's own self and its representation and reproduction by others. This is where the Foucaultian theory of 'power/knowledge and truth' comes in the context to further explain how monuments are used as power base symbols.

### **2.7.2. Foucaultian Conceptualization of "Power, Knowledge and Truth"**

Foucaultian theory of 'Power, Knowledge and Truth' emphasize on the relationship between power and knowledge, and how this relationship leads to the production of particular 'truth' about the human 'subject'. For meaning or /and narration of symbols are reproduced, and rearticulated power plays a pivotal role. As Foucault (1972) stated that power is conceptualized as a complex strategic situation that produces social realities, practices, and forms of subjectivity. Contrary to classical Marxism, Foucault (1972 & 1977) and Paul (1984) argued power is productive, multidirectional and progress rather than oppressive force, possessed and one directional (flow from top to bottom).

On the other hand, 'knowledge' is socially-mediated and product of discourse. Different discourses count different things as equating to valuable knowledge. The acceptance that is given to different kinds of knowledge reveals more about power of the discourses in the context it is produced. Knowledge is seen as linear, progressive, generative and productive power. Thus, knowledge is continually developed within different discursive practices and produces reality. What is more, truth (not absolute truth of classical Marxism) but, rather, a 'regime of truth' are not outside of power and produced through discursive practices and supported by discursive formation (Foucault, 1972 & 1977 and Paul, 1984).

In short, the interplay between power, knowledge and truth of Foucaultian is relational or chain form. Knowledge is an important technique of power. It reinforces and supports the existing régimes of truth and discourse and discursive practices form and support this regime of truth. From this perspective, dominant discourses may be considered as regimes of truth that determine what counts as important, relevant and 'true' knowledge. Hence, regimes of truth cannot be understood and exist outside the knowledge and power relations of discourses. A particular view to truth depends on the history, culture and power relations of the society.

### **2.7.3. The Interplay between Theory of Representation and Foucaultian Conceptualization of Power/Knowledge and Truth**

The theory of representation vis-a-vis the Foucaultian theory emphasize on the production of knowledge through discourse. As Foucault (1980) in Hall (1997:41), "discourse is group of statements which provide language for talking about a way of representing the knowledge about particular topic at particular historical moment". Thus, discourse is the system of language that focuses on the production, practice and regulation of language to represent knowledge in the frame of focal historical periods. Hence, discourse rules the process of knowledge production.

However, the Foucault concept of discourse departs from scholars like De Saussure and Roland Barthes and focuses on historical specificity. As Foucault (1980: 43) notes that “for ones point of reference should not to be the great model of language (langue) and sign, but that of war and battle. The history which bears and determines us has the form of war rather than that of language”. Since the Foucaultian theory is reliant on historical specificity, historical materials like monuments that exist in the society either in a spontaneous or consciously organized form are the emblem of power.

The discourse in specific historical and cultural context produces the knowledge of that specific time and context. Once the knowledge of something is produced, it is accepted as truth, not absolute but the regime of truth (Foucault, 1980). This regime of truth also changes through time as social, economic and political of the society changes. For all multi directional changes, power plays a crucial role. Hall (1997:51) summarizes the interplay between representation theory and Foucaultian power/knowledge and truth as,

Foucaultian theory in representation more inclined to analyze the whole discursive formation to which a text or practice belongs. Knowledge is provided by the human and social sciences which organizes conduct, understanding, practice and belief, the regulation of bodies, as well as whole populations...the Foucaultian work profoundly influenced by constructionist approach to representation though the concept of discourse is much broader than the language and includes many other elements of practices and institutional regulation. Foucault is always much more historically specific, seeing forms of power/knowledge as always rooted in particular contexts and histories. Above all, for Foucault, the production of knowledge is always crossed with the questions of power and the body, and his greatly expands the scope of what is involved in the represent

## **CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY**

This study aims at examining the politics of representation focusing on Menelik II and Aanoole statues. Under this chapter, research method, participants of the study, sample and sampling techniques, tools of data gathering, method of data analysis and ethical considerations are discussed.

### **3.1. Research Design**

Before deciding the method for the study, it is better to mention first the paradigm in which the study fall to decide the relevant and appropriate method and methodology for the study. As it has already been stated, the study is about the politics of representation focusing on Menelik II and Aanoole statues. The study critically examines the political representation of these statues through analyzing their historical narratives related to power. Hence, the study falls under critical realism paradigm. As Creswell (2009:9) states, “advocacy / participatory or critical realism inquiry needs to be intertwined with politics and political agenda”

Besides, knowing the research problem clearly, the nature of the research question and how this problem is going to be investigated /examined also helps to decide the methodology of the study (Vanderstoep and Johnston, 2009). Thus, the research questions of the study intend to find out answers for the ‘what’, ‘how’, ‘why’ questions on the representation of both Menelik II and Aanoole statues. Hence, the study employs qualitative research method.

As Denzin and Lincon (2005 cited in Creswell 2007: 36) notes, “qualitative research consists of a set of interpretative, material practices that make the world visible. These practices transform

the world. They turn the world into a series of representations, including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings and memo to the self.”

The above definition indicates two major important points: the characteristics of qualitative research and tools of data gathering. The qualitative approach is a means of understanding the participants’ view in depth and explores the meaning of the world through interpretation. It is an emergent design that includes the interpretation of the researcher, the participants and the reader. As a result, a qualitative research uses multiple tools to gather multiple forms of data to create a holistic account. However, qualitative research is criticized for the researcher’s attachment to the study and its dependant on a small sample which makes it difficult to generalize and replicate the study.

Having taken all these vital points into consideration, a qualitative approach was used in this study to explore and examine the perspectives of elites in the Ethiopian polity towards the political representation of Menelik II and Aanoole statues. Besides, multiple data gathering tools such as in-depth interview, document, and textual analysis are used. The gathered data were then analyzed qualitatively through discourse analysis.

## **3.2. Data Sources and Sampling Techniques**

### **3.2.1 Primary Data Source**

The study uses informants from academic, political and Oromia Culture and Tourism Bureau as primary data sources. First, these domains and, then, the participants from the domains are selected through purposive sampling method. As Cohen and *et al* (2005) notes, purposive

sampling is one of the most common sampling strategies in which participants are selected depending on their importance to a particular research question. Thus, the researcher selects these domains due to the fact that they are the potential source of data to meet the objectives of the study. The participants from these domains also have an informed opinion and would provide first-hand information to respond to the research questions of the study.

Again, from academic domain, three departments (History, Political Science and Fine Arts) are purposively selected from Addis Ababa University. As Addis Ababa University is where the study is conducted, these three departments are chosen for professional /intellectual explanations on the historiographical, socio-political and architectural design of both statues. Again from the selected departments, six participants (two from each) were intended to be interviewed. However, only three (3) participants were interviewed due to a lack of cooperation from the remaining selectees.

In addition, from the political domain, one participant from the ruling party (OPDO) and two participants from opposition parties (Blue party and AEUP) were purposively selected for an in-depth interview due to they had different political manifesto and, thus, had different political implications of both statues in the Ethiopian polity. In addition, one participant from Oromia Culture and Tourism Bureau purposively selected for interview on the issue related to Aanoole statue construction as this organization was in the forefront in ideologically and financially backing its construction.

### **3.2.2. Secondary Data Source**

Official documents and magazines were used as secondary data sources. Though all official documents that deal with the issues of Menelik II and Aanoole statues were proposed to be examined; only a few documents from the Oromia culture and Tourism Bureau, and Addis Ababa city government were examined owing to lack of accessibility. In this way, *Aadaa fi Tourism* (Jildii 1ffaa, Bitotessa, 2006) and *Addis Ababa City of Glamorous Culture* (2011/12) were examined.

In addition, four (4) currently closed down private magazines (*Fact*, *Inqu*, *Addis Guday*, and *Lomi*) were purposively selected and examined because of the frequency and the context in which they gave coverage on the subject. Government owned magazines and newspapers were excluded for two reasons: government owned publications rarely discuss the subject and first-hand information on the subject was already obtained from key government officials through the in-depth interview.

**Time Frame:** the researcher intended to include the study period from Aanoole inauguration (8 April 2014) up to the last publication of the selected magazines (5 August 2014). However, due to the repetitions of the story angle and unrelated stories coming in the publications, directly related stories were selected using convenience sampling method.

### **3.3. Data Gathering Instruments**

Data collection in qualitative research involves a variety of techniques: in-depth interview, document analysis, unstructured observations and others (Jensen and Jankowski, 1991). Among

these, the study used the following tools to gather relevant data from participants/subjects of the study:

### **3.3.1. In-depth Interview**

Interview is one of the most widely used data collection methods in media and communications research and it is mainly applied in the qualitative research method. The qualitative interview provides opportunities for both interviewer and interviewee to discuss some topics in more detail. It allows the participant to share their experiences, attitudes, and beliefs in their own words (Gunter, 2002).

There are different types of interviews. Among of these, the study employed an in-depth interview. In-depth interview involves conducting an intensive individual interview with a small number of respondents to explore their perspectives on a particular idea, program, or situation. It can be used in the place of focus group discussion when key informants are not included in the focus group discussion or /and when key informants are not interested in discussing the issue freely in the group (Gray, 2004; Wimmer & Dominick, 2006; Boyce & Neale and *et.al*, 2006). Thus, the study focused and employed an in-depth interview to dig out detail information from the participants about the representation of Aanoole and Menelik II and the participants were not willing to take part in the focus group discussion.

Using in-depth interview has its own advantages and disadvantages. As Wimmer and Dominic (2006) note, in-depth interview provides detailed information about the issue from key respondents. It is also useful to explore and elaborate the needs, motivation, values and opinions

of the respondents. On the contrary, as Boyce and Neale (2006) state, in-depth interviews are prone to bias as the respondents stick to the issue for several reasons. It is a time-consuming process and difficult to generalize due to small size sample of participants.

### **3.3.2. Document Analysis**

Document analysis is another tool of qualitative research in which documents are interpreted by the researcher to give voice and meaning around the issue under study. It is often linked to hermeneutics, an approach which seeks to analyze a text from the perspective of the person who penned it, whilst emphasizing the social and historical context within which it is produced (Jonathan, 2003).

Document encompasses different kinds of written materials and found in several forms. As Grix (2004:131) argues that “documents evidence comes in all shapes and sizes, ranging from official and private documents to personal letters or memo.” Thus, the official documents from Oromia Culture and Tourism Bureau, and Addis Ababa City Governance on Menelik II and Aanoole statues were used as potential data to trace the historical background in which these statues were erected and the intention of the organization or concerned bodies for their construction.

The use of documents for scientific research has its own merit and demerit. Document analysis is a good resource of background information and may bring up issues not noted by other means. It is also employed for historical studies and used when the meaning of the material and organizations are the major focus of the study. On the other hand, document analysis is a time-consuming instrument to identify, organize, review and analyze information. It is also difficult to

get exact and factual information from the document as the organization purpose, goal and needs are interwoven in the document. The researcher, therefore, take precautions to the origin of the document, the authors of the document, the intention behind the document and for whom the document was written while analyzing documents related to the Aanoole and Menelik II statues.

### **3.3.3. Textual Analysis**

Text is a broader term that includes cultural products. It is not totally regarded as a closed, segmented object with determinate, composite meanings, but rather as an indeterminate field of meaning in which intentions and possible effects intersects (Deacon, and *et al* 1999).

Vanderstoep and Johnston (2009) also define textual analysis as identification and interpretation of a set of verbal or nonverbal signs. It encompasses various things from clothing to books to food to architecture and it compels one to think about something other than itself. Stressing this, Lindolf and Taylor (2002) argues that textual analysis emphasizes how qualitative researcher is inherently concerned with describing and interpreting the symbolic qualities of social action. In this regard text refers printed and audio visual documents.

Therefore, the main textual data used in the study were five closed down private magazines (*Inqu, Fact, Lomi, Addis Guday and Jano*) from(8 April 2014) up to the last publication of the selected magazines (5 August 2014). In addition, Aanoole and Menelik II statues are parts of texts that carry interpretative meanings, and the researcher uses the description written over the statues as the source of data.

### **3.4. Data Analysis Method**

The researcher follows procedures while collecting, analyzing and interpreting data. Some of the data gathered through the aforementioned tools were in Amharic and Oromiffa. Hence, before the categorization and analysis procedure, the researcher transcribed them and translated into English. First, the audio recorded individuals in depth interview were transcribed and some of them were translated into English to capture the main idea into words of the interviewees. Second, the selected official documents from Oromia Culture and Tourism Beruea and Addis Ababa City Governance and texts from private magazines (*Inqu*, *Addis Guday*, *Jano*, *Lomi and Fact*) were organized and some of them were translated into English.

Then the data were categorized into themes based on the aim and the objectives of the study and thematic (i.e., in terms of their major ideas or themes) interpretative analysis was made. As Bryman (2004) notes, thematic analysis is the most prevalent approach to interpret documents, texts and interviews. Lastly, the researcher has also tried to correlate the findings of the in-depth interview, document analysis vis-à-vis textual analysis and qualitatively discussed.

### **3.5. Ethical Consideration**

Throughout all the research stages, the researcher has maintained the ethical standards such as giving official letter for the concerned body, asking permission from the stakeholders, informing all the participants about the objective and keeping confidentiality. Besides, the researcher was guided by basic criteria such as authenticity, credibility, representativeness and meaning while dealing with documents.

## CHAPTER FOUR: PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS, AND

### INTERPRETATION OF DATA

#### 4.0. Introduction

This chapter presents data along with their analysis and interpretation. The essence of the research focused on how Menelik II and Aanoole statues serve as site for contestation and reproduction of historical relation of power in the Ethiopian polity. To achieve the intended objective, official documents of Oromia Culture and Tourism Beruea and Addis Ababa City Governance and four nongovernmental magazines (*Addis Guday*, *Inku*, *lomi*, and *konjo*) were selected and examined. In addition, seven participants were purposively selected from Oromia Culture and Tourism Beruea, academic and political arenas for an in-depth interview to support the text. Using discourse analysis, the collected data were presented, discussed and interpreted thematically along with the research objectives in the following sub-sections.

#### 4.1. Theses and Antitheses of Menelik II and Aanoole Statues Representation

Aanoole and Menelik II statues have become an agenda for discussion and controversy among the elites in the Ethiopian polity. The Ethiopian singer Tewdros Kassahun album '*Tikur Sew*' (Black Man) released in 2004 E.C triggered discord over the reign of Menelik II. Particularly , the song '*Menelik 'Tikur Sew*' (Menelik the Black Man) and the singer's response on the interview held with *Konjo* magazine (December 2013, Volume 107) about the civil war during the reign of Menelik II as a 'Holly War' upset the victims of civil war.

As a result, a mass protest was held on social media and around 18,000 people signed petition in a day to boycott of Bedele Brewery (the sponsor of the singer's concert) was made in different parts of Ethiopia. Besides, Oromo Diasporas also highly condemned the singer adoration for the deeds of emperor Menelik II during the civil war. Particularly, Kemer Yosuf single song '*Menelik Bineensa*' (*Menelik the Butcher*) denounces Tewdros kassahun's opinion and the reign of Menelik II in general. The protest movement also aimed to dismantle the equestrian statue of Menelik II erected at *Arada Goirgis*. Moreover, the construction of Aanoole statue in April, 2006 at Arsi, Hetosa aggravated the controversy over the reign of emperor Menelik II. The Aanoole statue was constructed to memorialize the alleged horrible death of Arsi Oromo during the emperor's civil war. On the inauguration ato Muktar Kedir, the president of the Oromia regional state said that the erection of the statue is to commemorate those Oromo heroes and heroines who were cruelly massacred for strongly resisting the then oppressive regime.

Thus, both an equestrian statue of Menelik II and the Aanoole martyr's monument are the two sides of one coin in representing the reign of Menelik. And, several contradictory narratives have been reproduced and rearticulated over the statue's historical background, architectural design and political representation.

#### **4.1.1. Historiographical Contradiction**

Ethiopia has a complex and dynamic history which have been manipulated according to political motivations of successive governments. In this regard, monuments play great role to transfer history from one generation to next generation. In Ethiopia, several statues have been constructed based on internal and external war histories. Historians more or less write war

histories the country fought with external forces in similar ways. However, they take a side on the history of different civil war. The narratives of civil war histories have been reproduced by the victim and perpetrator side at different focal points. Stressing this, respondent from History department (Personal interview, 09 April 2015) asserts “historians mostly select one part of the fact and write history, but history should be a compressive understanding of all parts and developments that took place in particular time framework”

Several civil wars took place in the Ethiopia in the three successive regimes for economic, political and religion upper hand. During the monarchial period, different civil wars took place for the expansion of religion and land (economy). Similarly, during the period of *Derg* military junta and EPRDF, different civil wars took place for economic and political dominance. As a result, the civil war affected implicitly or explicitly the ethnic group found in the country at different time. To this effect, different contradictory historical narratives have been emerged at different focal point to redress the unfair historical phenomena related to power. In this regard, monuments as one of historical sites, their narratives often open to debate and their representation is subjected to political power. Among different statues erected in Ethiopia, the historical background of an equestrian statue of Menelik II and Aanoole memorial monuments have become controversial in the Ethiopian polity. Several contradictory arguments have been produced over the statues historiography.

## **I. The Normative Historical Narrative about Menelik II Statue**

An equestrian statue of Menelik II is one of the three monuments first erected in Ethiopia. As informant from History department explains, Menelik II statue is the second erected statue in the

country. It was constructed after the death of emperor Menelik II during empress Zawditu period. The idea of the construction probably came from Afwork Gebreyesus and Hakim Workineh who visited Europe and saw different types of monuments constructed to commemorate various kings, monarchies and victories in different parts of Europe during the reign of Menelik II. Then, they proposed the idea and consulted Tafari Mokonen. Finally, the equestrian statue of Menelik II erected in 1928 and inaugurated in 1930 on the coronation of emperor Hailesilasse (Personal interview, 09 April 2015).

The major historical narratives of Menelik II statue revolves over the commemoration of emperor Menelik II contribution for Ethiopia. Emperor Menelik did a lot for the country during monarchical period. However, the construction of Menelik II statue has often attached only to the battle of Adowa. Several works of literatures (Getachew and Paulos, 2005; Marcus, 1994; Markakis and *et al*, 2011) also asserted that an equestrian statue of Menelik II was constructed to commemorate the battle of Adowa. However, refuting the above argument, an informant from History department (Personal interview, 09 April 2015) mentions:

The purpose of Menelik II statue construction was not for the battle of Adowa. People most of the time misunderstood due to the ceremony of the battle always take place around the statue of Menelik II. It is the statue of Victory at *Arat kilo* erected particularly to commemorate the battle of Adowa. But, an equestrian statue of Menelik II is constructed in general for the good deeds that emperor Menelik II brought to the country.

Though still there is confusion over specific historical representation of Menelik II statue, in fact, the battle of Adowa is one of heroic deeds of the emperor. Besides, as informant from academic sphere (History department) asserts, modernization and the expansion process to integrate the disintegrated people before 16<sup>th</sup> C are the major contribution of emperor Menelik II in the modern Ethiopian history (Personal interview, 09 April 2015). In this case, the emperor's good deeds can be seen from two broader themes.

First, it can be critically looked from the process of building an Ethiopian empire. The emperor made several campaigns to different parts of the country to build a nation. In this process, he took both peaceful and forceful measures in order to subjugate different independent landlords from their power. For instance, Abba Jifar of Jimma, Kumsa Moroda of Wellega and others peacefully subjugated their power while Kawo Tona of Wolita and the *Abba Gadaa* of Arsi and Harar Oromo subjugated their power under coercion. Stressing this, a participant from history department (Personal interview, 09 April 2015) says:

The first phase of Menelik expansion was the most hostile expansion. For instance, the conquest of Gibe, Harar area, Arsi, and Bale were bad. The Oromo people around that area whether organized or unorganized, Oromo's with state or without the state, without no doubt they resisted the conquest. However, when Menelik II conquered these areas, he was contemplating and then most of his nobilities were thinking as they were conquering the land which belongs to them before 16<sup>th</sup> C. Therefore, Arsi, the highland areas of Bale and Harar were tributary of Christian kingdom before 16<sup>th</sup> C, the war between Libne Dingil and Imam Ahmed

Hence, the campaign of Menelik II was a reunification of the people who were an offshoot of Christian kingdom and recovery of territories that were once part of the Abyssinians. This campaign was again seen as the expansion of Ethiopia's boundary. Stressing this, Tekletsadik (1983) and Bahiru (1991) argue that few letters emperor Menelik II sent to European powers showed the emperor ambition to reestablish of ancient boundary of Ethiopian up to Khartoum, and as far as Lake Nyamza with all Oromo highlands up to the limits of the Somalis, including the province of Ogaden. Therefore, the emperor campaign to different parts of the country including Arsi is the process of reunification.

Second, emperor Menelik II was the first person who introduced modern technologies in Ethiopia. Different communication technologies like telephone, telegraph, and postal service, and infrastructures such as electricity, railways, hospital, school and bank were constructed in the country during the reign of Menelik II. Besides, the country had begun the use of money in the commercial transaction. As a result, Kebede (1928), Bahiru (1991), Tekletsadik and *et al* (1983) see emperor Menelik II as the father of modernization in the Ethiopian history.

The theses of the normative narrative of the reign Menelik II, therefore, emphasize on the emperor's contribution in building an Ethiopian empire within its contemporary topography and introducing modernity in the country.

## **II. The Deconstructive Historical Theses about the Reign of Menelik II as Represented by Aanoole Statue**

The construction of Aanoole statue at Arsi, Hetosa deconstructed the normative theses of the reign of Menelik II and his contribution to the contemporary Ethiopia. The statue erected based on the history of the civil war between emperor Menelik II and Arsi Oromo. The elites in the Ethiopian polity also insist the atrocity of Menelik II conquest to Arsi areas. As a result, different deconstructive theses are reproduced and rearticulated on the reign of Menelik II based on his conquest to Arsi Oromo.

To begin with the major deconstructive thesis, the campaign of Menelik II to Arsi and southern part of the country is seen as ‘conquest’ not ‘expansion’. From the terminology, conquest is a forceful control of territory. Thus, the march of Menelik II to Arsi areas affected the people in several ways. First of all, the war of conquest abolishes the *Gadaa* system. As official document from Oromia Culture and Tourism Bureau (2006: 2-3) shows,

Jalqaaba irratti Aanooleen lafaa Gadaan Oromoo Arsii kan daame dhaddacha Qiixibee jedhamuuf iddoo woggaa saddet sadeetin balli irrattii waali dabarfamuu ture. Akka carraa ta’ee bara loltoonni Menelikii mo’anii dirree waraanaa argaatan Gadaan Arsii robaleen woggaa saddeeti hojjate fixee, baalli gara Birmajiitti dabarsuudhaaf yeroo itti qophawu ture. Menelikii fi hojjatani isaa jalaa turan osoo sirni Gadaa jiruu ummani akka bulchinsaa isaanii hin fuudhanne waan hubbataniif, marii Daargee, Gobbana Daacce, Tuukkee Mama waalin torbaan tokko ool taasifamen ..... ajjessu caala qaluun fi muurun namoota jilchuun sirna Gaada dhabsisuuf waali gaalan.

Aanoole was the place where the *Gadaa* system is practiced. Unfortunately, when Menelik army crushed the resistant Arsi Oromo, it was the period of power transition of *Gadaa* system which took place every seven years. It was the period when Arsi '*Roobaale*' power ended and transferred to '*Birmajii*'. Menelik II and his soldiers then understood that they would not enslave the Arsi people if the *Gadaa* system exists. Menelik and his companions like Ras Gobana Dace, Ras Darge, and Tuke Mama over week discussion decided to end the system through traumatizing the people by mutilation and massacre (translated).

The '*Gadaa*' system is the socio-political system of Oromo people. Several scholars claim it as an example of traditional African form of democracy. There are five generation groups and once in a system it took each forty (40) years to complete the cycle of eight periods of the calendar. At each stage, the members learn the Oromo history, military strategy and governance. Keller, (1995) and Assefa (2014) also argued that *Gadaa* system is one of the Oromo administrative systems that all the Oromo people obeyed and governed since its emergence. However, this system declined mostly through the prohibitions imposed by Menelik soldiers and his companion to control the majority Oromo resource and rule them accordingly. As a result, the Arsi people became '*Gebbar*' (serfdom) under the '*Neftegna*' system. Stressing this, informant from Oromia Culture and Tourism Beruea (personal interview, 24 March 2015) says:

Aanoolee was strategically chosen because it was a symbolic site of Arsi power and what is reverently referred to as '*Arsooma*', a custom by which the Arsi Oromo made laws, deliberated on war and peace, elected their leaders and settled their inter and intra-clan disputes. It is the superglue that held the Arsi tightly

together. As the power transition of the *Gadaa* system ceremony begun at this crucial place, the Menelik soldiers surrounded the people. Then, they propose two options for the gathered people whether to accept Menelik's rule or maintain their *Gadaa* system. Menelik delivers the ultimatum that they would be annihilated if they do not accept his rule.

Thus, the abolishment of the *Gadaa* system created dire consequences on the Oromo people. It affected the culture, language, religion and the mentality of Arsi Oromo. Baxter, Hultin and Triulzi (1996) also argue that the domination of Abyssinians over the indigenous Oromo people undermines the Oromo identity and suppressed the Oromo political and religious institutions. As a result, the Oromo people are assimilated to Abyssinians' culture, language and religion.

Second, the conquest of Menelik II not only abolishes the Arsi Oromo's socio-political system (*Gadaa*) but also confiscate their economic resources. As an informant from Oromia Culture and Tourism Bureau (personal interview, 29 March 2015) says, "Menelik II and his soldiers exploited the Arsi Oromo's natural resources, took a large number of cattle and make them slave labor on their own land." Stressing this, De Salviac (1901: 349) argues, "During the protracted war of conquest and the pacification that lasted for several decades, vast amounts of property belonging to the conquered people was confiscated or destroyed, and millions of head of livestock were looted. Tens of thousands of captives were deported and sold into slavery." Hence, the Arsi people became economically weak and dependent on the Abyssinians who already controlled their resource.

Third, the war of Menelik II conquest causes a long-lasting psychological damage. The war between Menelik II and Arsi took long years (1881-1886). In this war, a lot of damages happened from both sides. However, emperor Menelik II and his army made inhumane act at the last war to traumatize the Arsi people not to resist again. They mutilated hand and breast of Arsi people to frighten them not to fight back. As informant from OPDO (personal interview, 3 April 2015) says:

It is known that the Oromo people were fighting against the oppression at several parts of Oromia region. Among of which Aanoole is one. What happened at Aanoole was shocking. The Arsi people were highly resisting the Menelik II conquest. As a result, a strong arm method was taken on the people of Arsi to accept the '*Neftegna*' rule. In this, breast of women and hands of men were mutilated. The act was happened not because killing was difficult, but it is needed to traumatize the people to be '*Gebbar*' (serf) for the regime and never protest against the regime.

As a result, the Aanoole statue design mutilated hand holding mutilated breast constructed to reflect directly the claimed act of emperor Menelik II during the conquest process. However, the claimed act of mutilation is the point of controversy among the elites in the Ethiopian polity. Several nongovernment magazines and official documents also portrait the Menelik II campaign to Arsi areas from opposite angle due to they have different political preferences. As the official document from Oromia Culture and Tourism Beruea (Volume One, March 2006, p.2) shows,

Gochii 'Harmaa fi Harka-Mura Aanolee 'jedhaamuu, xumuraa lolaa bara 1886 keessaa kan raawwatamee dha. Menelikiifi Ras Dargeen ajajaa dabarsanin ummata Arsii nagaaf walgahee irrattii harka mirgaa dhiirafi harma mirgaa dubartii gamoo adda adda keessatti kuutani mormaa isanii iraattii faanisaniru. kunis kan taasifame uummata Arsii yeroo dheeraf loltoota Menelik II mo'ata turee jilchuuf yaadametu dha.(Biiroo Aadaa fi Tourism Oromiya, Bitotessa, 2006, Jildii 1ffaa. fuula.2)

The act of hand and breast mutilation happened at the end of war in 1886. Ras Darge and Menelik's army ordered those in attendance at the "peace" gathering to enter a narrow pass one by one. Then, the right hands of all male and the right breasts of the women were cut off. The mutilated hand and breast also tied to the neck of the victims. This act happened to frighten the Arsi people who defeated Menelik II army for several time (Translated from Oromia Culture and Tourism Bureau, March 2006. Volume1. p.2)

Although the official document witnessed the Menelik II and his soldier's mutilation of hands of men and breast of women to horrify the rest of people do not resist again, an opposing argument raise from informants from opposition political parties on the evidence aspect of the mutilation. As participant from opposition party (AEUP) (personal interview, 12 April 2015) says:

Before 1879 Emperor Menelik fought with Arsi for four years. In September 1879, Menelik's uncle Ras Damtew fought the last war. At that time, Menelik was at Entoto. On this last war which stayed for three days, Menelik soldiers killed

elders and children, robbed and burned their material. On the war of '*Azule*' now called '*Aanoole*' around 12 thousand people were killed. Except showing the war was atrocious, there is no evidence that substantiate the mutilation of hand and breast.

Stressing this, an informant from Blue party states that the mutilation of hand and breast is a fictitious history. Tesfaye Gebreab's '*Ye Burqa Zimita*' novel is the only place where someone can find the historical background of Aanoole atrocities. There is no anthropological study further conducted on this issue that substantiates the claimed atrocities (personal Interview 15 April 2015). The view of the opposition parties (Blue party and AUEP) on the Ethiopian history was interlinked with their political ideology. Though there is lack of clear ideological bases on the political manifesto of opposition parties, All Ethiopia Unity Party (AEUP) and Blue Party in one way or another fall under the liberal umbrella. However, in the process of reading the modern Ethiopian history, these opposition parties deviate from the ideological base of liberalism.

In fact, politicians singled out history to enforce their political manifesto. Hence, OPDO and Oromia Culture and Tourism Bureau on one hand and opposition parties (AEUP and Blue party) on the other have contradictory view the on the historical background of Aanoolee statue that directly deconstruct the reign of Menelik II. The history of Ethiopia related to power also analyzed from the stand of their political manifesto.

However, a respondent from academic sphere particularly from History department also sees the historiography of Aanoole statue as popular history. According to informant from history

department (personal interview 9 April 2015) “the history of Aanoole mutilation is created along the introduction of ethnic politics in the Ethiopian history. In fact, several atrocious acts were happened in Ethiopia during the period of emperor Yohannis IV and Tewdros. There were always amputations of hands and legs and at worst there was an act of burning alive and took out an eye of people who resist the regime. However, the narratives that Menelik II and his army mutilated breasts of women do not exist and authentic historical sources do not show the act of breast mutilation of women”

Stressing this, currently closed down private magazines like *Inqu*, *Jano*, *Addis Guday*, *lomi* and *Fact* criticized the construction of Aanoolee though the level of critics is vary from magazine to magazine. In fact, these private magazines have the stand of extremely opposing the political exercise of the ruling party. Even though, it is difficult to know the nongovernmental political preferences, they oppose the political ideology of the incumbent government. Among of these, *Addis Guday* and *Fact* relatively tried to be critical on the current political system while the rest (*Inqu*, *Jano* and *lomi*) were less critical and emotion oriented magazines. With the regard to Aanoole construction, Among five closed down private magazines, for instance, *Jano* (April, 2006.Vol.2, No.29) opposes the history of hand and breast mutilation of Aanoole as fake history and saw the conquest of Menelik II and the carnage from the angle of nation unification.

On the other hand, informants from OPDO (personal interview, 3 April 2015) and Oromia Culture and Tourism Bureau (personal interview, 29 March 2015) strongly opposed the fictitious history of Aanoolee atrocity and argue that there were people whose hands and breasts were mutilated before 40 years and their children are still alive. Besides, as oral history is the main source of written history, Arsi oral history is replete with the story of the tragedy of the cold-

blooded massacre and mutilation at Aanoolee told and retold by grandmothers for generations. Thus, survey has made on the horrible act of Menelik II over the Arsi people during the conquest process and then Aanoolee statue was constructed.

Besides, there are several works of literature witnessed the atrocious campaign of emperor Menelik II to Arsi Oromo. For instance, Haji Abbas (1995: 4) state that “after the failure of four campaigns led by Menelik in person, the Shoan [Shewan] army was far from victorious so they introduced a systematic mutilation of the right hands of men and the right breast of women to terrify the Arsi and force them to abandon their hostility.” Thus, the mutilation of hand and breast was a well-thought strategy to increase the psychological impact on the resisting Arsi Oromo and fall apart their stubborn resistance. Stressing this, De Salviac (1901:349-50) who physically saw the civil war states that “men in the huts or in the fields are three-quarter massacred and horribly mutilated; the women, the children, and many men were reduced to captivity.....the conduct of Abyssinian armies invading a land is simply barbaric.”

#### **4.1.2. Architectural Contention**

Different architects use different designs of statues to symbolize the same historical occurrences. However, the architect’s professional interpretation on the design play great role in order to create common understanding over the signification of the statues design. Owing to lack of constant historical background and professional symbolism, the architecture of both Menelik II and Aanoolee statue is another point of controversy in the Ethiopian polity. Different interpretations have been given to the design of these statues. This creates discord over the representation of Menelik and Aanoolee statues among the elites in Ethiopian polity. Thus, the

following sub-sections deal how the design of both statues was understood and interpreted by the elites, different nongovernment magazines and official documents.

## **I. The Symbolism of an Equestrian Statue of Menelik II**

Menelik II statue is an equestrian type of statue. As Curl and Stevensen (2006:3), the term '*equestrian*' came from the Latin word '*equus*' meaning '*horse*' and an equestrian statue is a statue which portraits rider mounted on a horse. Historically, the crafting of an equestrian type of statue goes back to Archaic Greece.

An informant from the academic sphere (Fine Art) also argues that molding of an equestrian statue was begun in Greece, but it was predominantly crafted during the renaissance period. They were mainly erected during monarchical period. However, the construction of an equestrian type of monuments declined sharply in 20<sup>th</sup> C, as monarchies fell and the military use of horses virtually vanished (personal interview 10 April 2015).



**Figure.1 an Equestrian Statue of Menelik II at 'Arada Goirgis', Addis Ababa.**

The above figure shows the imposing equestrian statue of Emperor Menelik II portrays Emperor Menelik in his coronation robes riding glamorously on his horse *Abba Dagneu* looking to the north where the victorious battle of Adwa took place. The statue erected in front of Genete Tsige Menagesha St. George church by German architect Hertel Spengel after 34 years later of the Adowa battle and inaugurated by Emperor Haile Selassie on the day before his coronation 2nd November 1930, in memory of his great predecessor (Bahiru, 1992, *Mirror of Addis Ababa*, 1950 and Addis Ababa City Administration, 2005).

According to informant from History department (personal interview, 9 April 2015) the constructions of bronze standardized statues like Menelik II and Lion of Judah begun during empress Zawditu period in Ethiopia. The erection of these statues was a new phenomenon in Ethiopia architectural artifact regardless of the indigenous people unique artifacts like obelisks

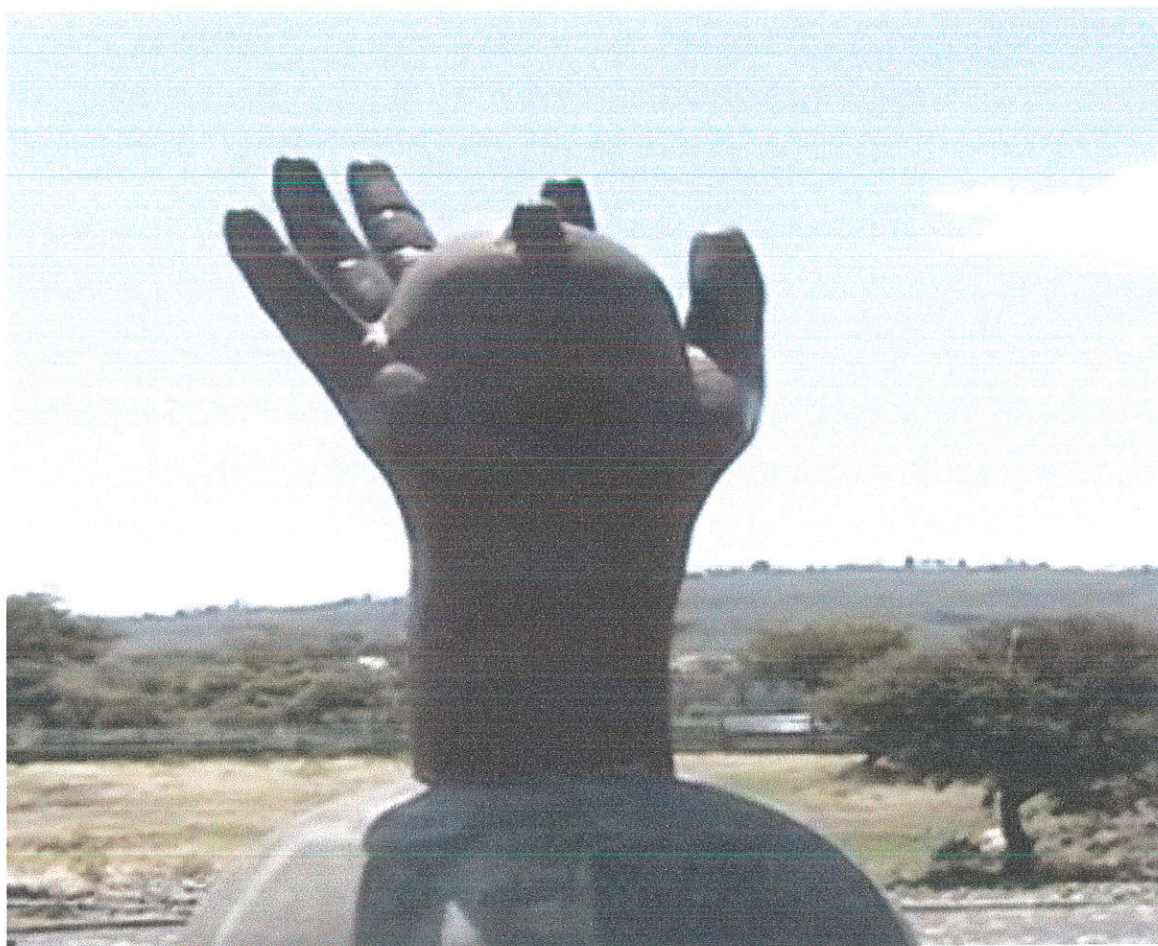
and tombs. There is no King erected monument for himself and Ethiopians did not construct statue for their kings. The Orthodox Church was also opposing the three-dimensional (3D) representations. The people utmost construct the church as a commemoration of their emperor. However, the equestrian statue of Menelik II is the first statue to be erected for emperor Menelik II in the Ethiopian history. The church also did not oppose the construction of the statue due to its secularity. In fact in 1930s, most of well-standardized statues were erected in Ethiopia. Concurrently, the equestrian statue of Menelik II was constructed in 1930 by German architect Hertel Spengel (Bahiru, 1991; Meskerm, 2013; Pankhurst, 1982; ተክለጻዲቅ, 1951 ዓ.ም.; ከበደ and *et.al* 1939 ዓ.ም.). As an informant from Fine Art (personal interview 10 April 2015) says:

An equestrian statue of Menelik II was basically molded to represent the good deeds of the emperor. Among the good deeds, the battle of Adowa is one. Menelik II was the leader of the war and it is obvious statues are representing the leaders. At the time, horses were used for war purposes. Like supersonic aircraft loved for war in the contemporary world, the horse also loved by the time. The horse represents king and power. Therefore, an equestrian statue of Menelik II represents the authority and heroism of emperor Menelik II.

Thus, an equestrian statue of Menelik II was erected to epitomize the heroism and victory of emperor Menelik II over colonial powers during the monarchical period. Stressing this, Curl and Stevensen (2006) argue equestrian types of statues are signifying heroism and authority. They were mainly erected to honor the military and civic achievement of different emperors in the monarchical period. However, the design of Menelik II statue that symbolize the contribution of emperor Menelik II deconstructed by the narratives that embodied in the design of Aanoole statue.

## II. The Symbolism of Aanoole Memorial Monument

More than Menelik II statue, the design of Aanoole statue is the main cause of discord among the elites over the representation of the reign of Menelik II in the Ethiopian polity. The statue is crafted to signify the mutilation of hand and breast of Arsi Oromo during the civil war of Menelik II conquest.



**Figure.2. Aanoole Memorial Monument at Arsi Hetosa, Oromia Region**

The above figure shows the mutilated hand holding the mutilated breast. Aanoole memorial monument was dedicated in Hetosa, Arsi zone, Oromia region on April 6, 2014 as a tribute to the

Arsi Oromos' whose right hand of men and right breast of women were mutilated during the Menelik II war of conquest in the 1889.

According to informant from OPDO (personal interview, 3 April 2015), Aanoole statue is the direct depiction of the fact. The Oromia regional government also wants to symbolize the history of mutilation directly through the statue whether it is good or bad to preserve it as history since it has its own advantage for the society. Thus, Aanoolee statue is the replica of the horrible act happened due to civil war during the reign of Menelik II. Hence, reshaping the design of Aanoole statue from its current portrait is perceived as the reformation of the history.

However, the direct representation of the claimed history through monuments is highly criticized from Fine Art perspective. As informant from Fine Art department (personal interview 10 April 2015) explains,

For the history of hand and breast mutilation, an artist has several decent languages in order to memorize it forever. This is the point where and why art is needed. Artistically, when histories are depicted through statues/monuments, artists should transform, not translate the history like photographic form. In this case, Aanoolee statue is a failure due to it is one to one representation and translation of the history. Therefore, Aanoole statue lacks the artistic transformation into an everlasting visible object.

Thus, Aanoole statue is not architecturally standard. It lacks an artistic quality. In the process of commemorating an atrocious history through the statue, the history must be transformed to add

an artistic quality not to disturb the peoples' feeling. Hence, the statue lacks aesthetic value and has a psychological impact for generations to come.

Stressing this, an informant from the opposition party (Blue party) opposes the design of Aanoole statue. The informant argues that the statue inculcates hatred and vengeance rather than preaching forgiveness, tolerance, and peaceful coexistence among the society. The statue is the symbol of lost and defeated history even for the people whom the statue was erected for. For instance, more than 'Yekatit 12' statue erected at *Arat Kilo*, 'Dilachin' statue at *Sidist Kilo* give pride and winning mentality for the society (Personal interview, 15 April 2015). Hence, the design of Aanoole statue has a negative impact on the people who live around there and for Arsi Oromo in general. It instills a looser mentality as a result the coming generation lacks confidence, trust and always wants to avenge.

Moreover, different nongovernmental magazines also criticize the architecture of Aanoole statue. As *Addis Guday*, (April 2006, Volume 8, No. 124, p. 14),

የወደፊቱን የአገሪቱን ወይም የአሮሚያን ብሩህ ተስፋ የሚያንጸባርቅ ሳይሆን ያለፈው ን የታሪክ አስቀያሚ ገጽታ የሚያሳይ አስቀያሚ ሃውልት መሆኑን ዘመኑ የሚጠይቀውን ይቅርባይነትን መቻቻልን እና አንድነትን ሳይሆን በደልን የሚያስታውስና ለቁም በቀል የሚ ጋብዝ መጪውን ትውልድ ባለፈው መጥፎ ታሪክ የሚመርዝ የእኩይነት መታሰቢያ ሃውልት ነው።( ሚያዚያ 2006, ቁጥር 214, ገፅ 14)

Rather than forecasting the bright future of the Oromia and symbolizing forgiveness, transparency and unity, Aanoole is a disgusting statue which flashback the past awful history and epitomizes hate and poison in the mind of generations to come to avenge over the past deed (translated).

Stressing this, *Lomi* magazine (April 2006, Volume, 102, p.12) also states, the design of mutilated hand holding mutilated breast have no any positive impact but rather it has a psychological impact particularly for the children who grow up around the statue (translated).

Thus, the design of Aanoolee statue is not crafted in a civilized way to create an everlasting memory and at the same time to be the source of peace and reconciliation. It lacks thorough examination on the impact of the statues' design from the side of both perpetrators and victims. For instance, the holocaust memorial is constructed in several Europe countries through artistically transformed manner. The design of holocaust monuments did not directly reflect the horrible massacre of Jews people during the Second World War. On the contrary, the design of Aanoolee statue directly depicts the atrocious act happened by emperor Menelik II over Arsi Oromo during the monarchial period.

#### **4.2. The Political View on Menelik II and Aanoole Statues in Ethiopian Polity**

Ethiopia has a long political history filled by internal and external conflicts. As Merera (2003) states, the modern Ethiopia political history had been shaped by wars of incorporation and state formation in second half of 19<sup>th</sup> C. This war again replaced by class and nation struggle intended to end the existing asymmetric relations in second half of 20<sup>th</sup> C. The political struggle shows the centrality of the competing ethnic nationalist claim for an equitable share of power and resource. Thus, several competing and contradictory political narratives have been emerging at different successive regimes in Ethiopia.

As Markakis (2012) stated that there is a contestation and contradiction between the hegemonic center dominated by the empire builders and their descendants, and the counter-hegemonic

narratives and struggles of the periphery in modern Ethiopia. The contention between empire builders on one hand and the conquered people on the other happened to get political dominance. These two historical conjunctures create two fundamental contradictory perspectives in the Ethiopian polity. On the one hand, there is a perspective that pronouns Ethiopia as a nation which crushed the colonial powers ambition of colonizing the country. On the other hand, deconstructing the former theses, it articulates Ethiopia as multi- ethnic groups in which some of them were politically dominated, culturally marginalized and economically exploited during the reign of Menelik II. Stressing this, Sorenson (1993) pointed out the contradictory and competing history related to power in the Ethiopian polity concentrating on describing the great Ethiopia nationalism and competing discourses from the Eritreans and Oromo's point of view.

In the modern Ethiopian political history, the contradictory views focus on the reign of Menelik II and his campaign to different parts of the country. As Greenfield (1965) states, the interpretation of emperor Menelik's expansion policy varies widely. On one hand, the agenda of Menelik II expansion has been viewed as a participator in the 'scramble for Africa'. On the other hand, scholars disagree and argue that expansion process was the desire of Menelik II to occupy many areas as possible before the land seized by European powers. Thus, the action of Menelik II was to some extent response to the scramble for Africa. Undoubtedly, Menelik II also saw his campaign as re-occupation of providences long previously subject to Ethiopian suzerainty.

As a result, two contradictory perspectives have been emerged on the representation of Menelik II and Aanoole statues in the Ethiopian polity. On the one hand, Menelik II statue is seen as a symbol of unification, freedom and independence that the emperor contributed for the country. On the other hand, as opposed to the first argument, Aanoole statue represented Menelik II as

symbol of allies of European colonizers and epitomizes the horrible act of the emperor during the civil war. From the two rivalry views on the reign of Menelik II, the third perspective has also emerged in the Ethiopian polity opposing the political discourse constructed through these statues by the ruling party. Basically, the third argument concentrates on the formation of Ethiopian federalism and its misuse by the ruling party. As informant from political science department (personal interview 19 April 2015) says:

The current government federal system is convoluted. In some part like Oromia, Amhara, and Tigray regions the division depends on ethno-linguistics. However, in the case of SNNP, it lacks the ethno-linguistics criteria. The federal structure of the country does not particularly consider either number of population, geographic location, or the psychological set-up of the people. For instance, the Sidama population is greater than the Harar which is one of regional state. In addition, due to political exacerbation, two dominant classes are formed (Oromo and Amhara). On the other hand, the rest ethnic groups are downgraded. Thus, the federal system of Ethiopia has no underlined division and still controversial from the political and economic advantage of the people in their respective regions. It is simply done for cheap political ends. Indubitably, this complicated federal structure and its practice is creating political chaos in the country.

In this context, the newly constructed statues and the deconstruction thesis of already erected statues related to power in the period of EPRDF has been creating the problem of political correctness among different political groups or/and ethnics. It is obvious that monuments play a pivotal role as an entity of political symbolism to signify the political ideology and legitimize the

political power in the political arena. However, in the country like Ethiopia where the multi-ethnic groups are contested over political power, the construction of statues related to power has manipulated and became the source friction.

Accordingly, the political representation of an equestrian statue of Menelik II and Aanoole memorial monument center on polarized political perspectives. Thus, in the following subsections an attempt is made to examine the political representations of both statues from three points of views in the Ethiopian polity.

#### **4.2.1. Ethiopianism (Extreme Pan-nationalist) View**

Ethiopianism (extreme pan- nationalist) is an old phenomenon in the Ethiopian nationalism. As Tronvoll (2009:130) states that “the subsequent Christianization of the Axum king and his subjects at the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> C A.D consolidated the feature Ethiopian (Abyssinian) state. This developed into a well-organized Christian Ethiopian state, which conducted international trade and possessed an indigenous script, a well functioning peasant army, and a feudal aristocracy.” Thus, Ethiopianism views originated since the emergence of Axum kingdom in the Ethiopian history. Stressing this, Markakis (2012), Vaughan (2003), Clay and Holcomb and *et al* (1986) argue that the Ethiopianist or an extreme pan- Ethiopian group is dominantly represented by the Amhara elites. This group claims the history of Ethiopian state dates back to some three thousand years ago. They contend that Ethiopia is a nation state existed for millennia successfully countering colonial power.

Thus, an Ethiopianism (extreme pan- nationalist) view sees Ethiopia as the country which had a long political history and ancient society welded by its history and devotion to Christian faith.

Hence, this ideology has a tendency of continuing the hegemonic discourse that stress Ethiopia as one ethnic, one language, and one religion state and through this it intends to create strong nationalism. As a result, they revere the normative narratives about the historical phenomenon took place in the reign of Menelik II embodied in Menelik II statue and opposed the deconstructive theses rearticulated over the reign of Menelik II reflected by Aanoolee memorial monument in the Ethiopian polity.

In this regard, an equestrian statue of Menelik II represents the political contributions of emperor Menelik II in the Ethiopian empire. As an informant from political sphere, Blue Party (personal interview 15 April 2006) says:

An equestrian statue of Menelik II is the sign of victory! It signifies the victory of Ethiopians over the colonial fascist Italy. This victory considered as a victory of all Black Africans and contributed for emergence of pan-Africanism. The battle of Adowa showed the strong leadership, military tactic and mass organizing skill of Emperor Menelik II. The battle also stores the social, cultural, language, norm and value of contemporary Ethiopia from distortion. Hence, the statue of Menelik II is the pride of all Ethiopians.

Thus, the equestrian statue of Menelik II could be seen from three broader political perspectives. First, Menelik II statue is seen as a symbol of great leadership in the Ethiopian history. At the battle of Adowa, citizens from all ethnic groups and gender gallantly fought to defend the colonial power through his leadership. Hence, an informant from political sphere, AUEP (personal interview, 23 April 2007) insists the emperor recognized for his high degree of

inclusiveness and decentralization in his army leadership. Besides, the emperor made a political reform in the country that the former emperors failed to accomplish. Stressing this, Batch (2014) argues that Menelik II was the first Ethiopian monarch to introduce a government run by cabinet of ministers with respective ministries. In this case, Menelik II statue has been seen from Ethiopianism perspectives as a symbol of modern administrative system in the Ethiopian political history.

Second, Menelik II statue is a symbol of great nationalism. Under emperor Menelik II strong leadership and great mobilizing skill, a strong sense of nationalism created among the people of Ethiopia. Before Menelik II unification process, different parts eastern and southern areas were self-governing states. Emperor Menelik II built a great Ethiopian empire through both peaceful and forceful strategy. As a result, the sovereignty in the modern era that started at the battle of Adowa help Ethiopia to secure an independent future. As the respondent from History department (personal interview, 9 April 2006) argues that it was during Menelik II a great nation was built. Menelik II used both diplomacy and war to unify the country and create strong nationalism. In the unification process though some ethnic groups are harmed, but there is nothing bright comes without facing the darkness. Stressing this, an informant from political science department (personal interview, 19 April 2015) said that whether the sense of nationalism emerged through peace or coercion, all citizens patriotically fought against the colonial power.

Third, Menelik statue is seen as the symbol of freedom. The success of emperor Menelik II in defeating the colonial power is seen as the victory of Ethiopia in the age of colonial empire. This also gave a moral boost to many colonized countries. The battle gives an impetus, energy and

courage for the colonial countries to fight back. Stressing this, Getachew and Paulos (2005:193) asserts “a victory of Adowa is a symbol of independence and resistance against colonialism. Ethiopia and Ethiopianism became a rallying point and remained the unifying core for Africans. It is a symbol of resistance for African Americans in their political struggle to free themselves from slavery.”

As a result, the Ethiopianist elite (extreme pan- nationalist) adhere to the contribution of emperor Menelik II with its entire concomitant for the contemporary Ethiopia. They argued that the consequence of the civil war during the reign of Menelik II was the ultimate option and hence what emperor did to unify the people should not be condemned. Stressing this, respondent from History department (personal interview 9 April 2006) argues the global and local political context should be taken under consideration before deploring the great contribution of emperor Menelik II.

On the other hand, an Ethiopianist view refutes the representation of Aanoole statue that deconstruct the reign of Menelik in the Ethiopian polity. As *Addis Guday* (April 2006, Vol. 8, No.214, p.15), the mutilated hand holding mutilated breast statue not only its architectural value although the time frame in which it is constructed has a problem. It smashes the spirit of Ethiopianism and eliminates the common history of the people. In addition, the statue’s representation of the past ethnic tyranny shows simply radical racism in the 21<sup>st</sup> C. Thus, the construction of Aanoole statue is seen as space of nation disintegration and distortion of Ethiopianism. It is also seen as the secessionist’s political symbol.

As a result, the construction of Aanoole statue is seen as vengeance or retaliation of racist Oromo towards the so-called 'Naftegna' people. Most of nongovernmental magazines also accuse the current political system of the country for the construction of Aanoole statue. As 'Inqu' (April 2006 Volume 6, No.116, p.6) asserts,

ኢትዮጵያችን ብሄረሰብ ተከል የሆነውን ፌዴራላዊ ስርዓት መከተል ከጀመረችበት ጊዜ አንስቶ በአገዛዙ በኩል በከፍተኛ ትጋት ሲሰሩ የቆዩት ኢትዮጵያውያንን የሚያለያዩ ተግባራት ናቸው። አሁን በሩዋዳ ዜጎች "ቱቲስ ነህ ወይስ ሁቱ" ተብለው አይጠየቁም። እንዲያውም በዚያች ሃገር እንደዚህ ብሎ መጠየቅ የሚያስቀጣ ተግባር ነው። በኢትዮጵያችን በአንጻሩ "በማንነት መከራት" "ማንነት መንከባከብ" በሚሉ አማላይ ግን እጅግ አደገኛ አስተሳሰቦች ተውገርግረን "ምንድነህ" "ምንድነሽ" የወቅቱ ኡብይ ጥያቄያችንና መለያችን ሆኗል። ብሄረሰባዊ ማንነታችንን በየመታወቂያችን ተመዝግቦ ይገኛል። የቀደሙት ስርአቶች "የዜጎችን ልዩነት በሃይል ለማጥፋት ተንቀሳቅሰዋል" እየጠባ ይከሰሳሉ። ይህ በተወሰነ ደረጃ ትክክል ነው። ፡ ቀደሙትን የሚከሰው ይህ አገዛዝ አንድነታችን በግድ ለማጥፋት መንቀሳቀሱ ደግሞ በጣም ግልጽ ነው። " አንድነት አትበሉ" ተብለናል (ዕንቁ ሚያዝያ 2006, ቅጽ 6, ቁጥር 116, ገፅ 6) ።

Since Ethiopia started following ethnic based federalism, a lot of things that disintegrated the spirit of Ethiopianism have been done by the ruling class. In Rwanda, it is forbidden to ask someone whether he/she is from Tutsi or Hutu. On the contrary, in Ethiopia by rhetoric of “pride of one’s ethnic” or “promoting oneself” slippery notion but dangerous and poisonous at same time, people become suspicious of each other and ask one another who belongs to which ethnic group. Besides, the name of their ethnic group is identified in their ID card. The former regimes blamed for fighting to abolish ethnic diversity and the current government has been working hard to abolish our unity (translated)

Thus, the practice of Ethiopian federalism (ethno-linguistics based federalism) by different ethnic groups, which were oppressed in the monarchial period considered as the main source for the deconstruction of Ethiopianism. Hence, as extreme pan-nationalist view, different ethno-nationalist groups who have secessionist tendencies has emerged to disintegrate the nation. Though democracy is taken as best political systems where different multi-ethnic groups live in peaceful coexistence, the stance of nongovernmental magazines recognize the monarchial system for the formation of '*Ethiopianisness*' (being an Ethiopian). However, it is difficult to stand as nation without recognizing the distinctive history and culture of each ethnic group in the multi-ethnic nation like Ethiopia in the contemporary world.

#### **4.2.2. Correctionist (Extreme Ethno-nationalist) View**

The correctionist view has emerged to deconstruct the extreme pan-nationalist (Ethiopianism) view and construct the corrective narratives about the reign of emperor Menelik II. As Markakis (2012), the modern Ethiopia state was created by the Abyssinian or Christian highland rulers largely through the twin process of political subjugation and economic exploitation in the 19<sup>th</sup> C and early 20<sup>th</sup> C. Stressing this, Holcumb and Ibssa (1990:15) argue that “the construction of modern Ethiopia state dating back to the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> C when emperor Menelik II conquered the southern, western and eastern people of current day Ethiopia in a race of colonialism against Britain, Italy and France”.

Thus, the narratives over Menelik II conquest to build an Ethiopian empire deconstructed as contestation for grabbing the land which was not in his suzerainty before European colonizers controlled it. Hence, the correctionist view sees the civil war during the reign of Menelik II as the process of colonization. Refuting Menelik II from being the forefront on the last war of

conquest (1886) to Arsi people where an atrocious act took place. Greenfield (1965:81) also argues that “Menelik II armies were far better equipped than those of both his predecessor and his adversaries and thus he was able not to raid and withdraw as had been the previous pattern, but to establish garrisons in the lands over which he extended his sway in much the same manner as did colonialists from Europe in other parts of Africa.”

The comparison of Menelik II conquest with European colonialism comes due to the asymmetric relation of political, economic, culture and language between the conqueror and conquered people. As Clay and Holcomb (1986:15) also states,

The Abyssinians considered their own culture and religion superior to those of the conquered peoples who lived south and east of them and developed a corresponding ideology of superiority. They strove to ‘*Amharicize*’ the conquered peoples through various programs....The settlers' economic and political organizations replaced those of pre-existing polities, which were officially denounced as "pagan" and "primitive". In short, the Amhara created and dominated empire dismantled the pre-conquest economic, political, and social systems of the conquered peoples throughout the Cushitic and Nilotic western, southern, and eastern regions.

However, the Menelik II war of conquest is not only carried out by the Amhara ethnic group, but also people from Oromo and other ethnic groups were the main architect of the conquest process. The clear categorization as Amhara and Oromo is though inaccurate, in fact, the Amhara-Tigre

culture, language and histories were superior. Stressing this, Sorensen (1993) insists, Ethiopianism view is the historical and political creation of the Amhara political elite.

Thus, the correctionist view (extreme ethno- nationalist view) compares Menelik II expansion process with Europeans colonialism in Africa. They argue that though Ethiopia was not colonized by external forces, Menelik's II war of conquest to different southern and eastern parts of country had much in common with colonial experiences of other countries colonized by European powers. In this, they are trying to state firmly Menelik and his forces took part in the scramble for Africa by competing with the French, Italians and British along Ethiopia's borders. Hence, the conquered people just like any western colonial empire needs to undergo decolonization. As result, the correctionist (extreme ethno-nationalist) view emphasizes on building strong ethno-nationalism because they believed Ethiopian state is an exclusionist one and the oppressed and marginalized groups need to have the right to self-determination to the extent of secession.

In this regard, the political representation of Aanoole monument is critically seen as a site for the construction of the sense of ethno nationalism and deconstruction of the normative narrative of civil war during the reign of Menelik in the Ethiopian polity. As a document from Culture and Tourism Bureau (2006) shows, Menelik II forcibly subdued the Oromos, the Welaitas, Kembatas, Afars, Somalis, Aderes and many other nations and nationalities in the south, southwest and east of present day Ethiopia. He forced them to change their religion, values, norms, and cultures and in some instances their truly democratic traditions like the *Gadaa* system. The nation building process was not an inclusive of all ethnic groups in the country. It centered only on the political and economic interest of a few ethnic groups.

Stressing this, Greenfield (1965), Ezekiel, (2014), Merera and *et.al*, (2003) assert that the imperial system by itself and the Menelik II conquest had much in common with European colonization. Thus, the political representation of an equestrian statue of Menelik II is seen as glorifying internal colonialist.

An informant from the political science department (personal interview, 19 April 2015) argues that both Menelik II and Aanoole statues are representing the political system of monarchial period in opposite ways. Menelik II statue glorifies the defense of emperor Menelik II from European colonizers. On the other hand, emperor Menelik II was another internal colonizer. He forced the Arsi Oromo people to accept the '*Neflegnas*' rule through the mutilation of hand and breast. As a result, the people became serfdom on its own resources. The act of Menelik II oppressing the people on their own territory, assimilating their culture and language, and devaluing their socio-political system is not different from the act of colonialism. Hence, Aanoole statue could be seen as commemoration of Arsi people whom their hand and breast were mutilated for freedom and equality. It is the reminder of the horrible act happened in defiance of oppression during the monarchial period.

As a result, an informant from OPDO and Oromia Culture and Tourism Bureau highly supports the construction of Aanoole statue for they believe that it is the outcome of the democracy. In fact, democracy plays a significant role to liberate the people from political and economic marginalization and promote equal distribution of resource and political participation of all citizens. In this regard, an Aanoole statue is seen as the outcome of democracy. However participants from opposition parties (Blue party and AEUP) saw the construction of Aanoole

statue as a deliberate act of the government to create friction between the two major ethnic groups in the country than as emblem of democracy.

Ethiopia has experienced different forms of democracy at different focal points since the period of EPRDF. Whatever the form would be, it recognized and guaranteed the basic rights of Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples of Ethiopia than the past regimes. However, there are still lots of work left to fully guarantee democratic rights of Nations, Nationalities and Peoples as compared to the fundamental principles of democracy.

Besides, the construction of Aanoole statue is seen as representation of ethnics. As informant from opposition parties (Blue party, personal interview, 15 April 2015) and (AUEP, personal interview, 23 April 2007), the role of Aanoole statue in the Ethiopian polity is simply creating disparity between Oromo and Amhara ethnic groups who had large number of population in the country. Sorensen (1993), Clay and Holcomb (1986), De Salviac(1901), Ezekiel and *et al* (2014) also assert the decimation of people and exploitation of resources from Oromia and other parts of conquered area during the monarchial period as the acts of Amhara (Abyssinians).

As opposed to the ethnic representation of Aanoole statue, an informant from the political spheres (OPDO and Oromia Culture and Tourism Bureau) and academic arena (Political Science) insist that Aanoole statue represents the political system of the time and its dire consequences on the people who resist the system. The Menelik II war of conquest affected the culture and socio- political, and economy of different ethnic groups particularly the Oromo. Therefore, Aanoole statue represents the resistance and scarification of Arsi Oromo towards any unfair, injustices and inequality practices. Thus, the correctionist view sees Aanoole statue as one

ways of correcting the hegemonic political discourses over the reign of Menelik II and reconstruct political narratives in the current Ethiopian political geography as a quest for comparative political power.

#### **4.2.3. Government's (EPRDF) View**

As EPRDF came to power in 1991 overthrowing the *Derg* military junta, the federal system was introduced to resolve different ethnic groups' tensions and conflicts in Ethiopia. Many scholars also argue that federalism is a solution to the problem of governing multi-ethnic states, multi-racial and multi-religious which have been plagued in inter-communal conflicts and tensions. It creates peaceful coexistence among society who have distinct culture, religion, language, and socio-economic preferences (Vaughan, 2003; Hashim, 2010; Merera and *et al*, 2003). Thus, the federal system based on ethno- linguistics introduced to meet the interest of multi-ethnic groups in Ethiopia. To this effect, article 2 of transitional charter gave recognition to the right of Nations, Nationalities and Peoples to self-determination, including the right to independence. The charter has ensured the right of multi-ethnic groups and decentralization of power.

Accordingly, by proclamation No. 7/1992 fourteen national regional self-governments whose borders were determined based on the settlement structure of Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples were established. As a result, Vaughan (2003), and Assefa (2006) claimed that the transitional charter formalized ethnicity and ethnic politics and endorsed the country's political geography in line with ethno-linguistic divisions. In addition, the right to self-determination got constitutional guarantee in December 1994 on the constitution of FDRE. Article 39 of the federal constitution constitutes the rights of every Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples in Ethiopia to preserve their identities and administer their own affairs. Thus, the federal system is intended to make it

possible for Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples to exercise self-rule within the framework of greater Ethiopia.

However, since the introduction of federal system, several contradictory theses are produced on the practice and impact of federalism in the contemporary Ethiopia. The elites in the Ethiopian polity have been contending for the interpretation of the federal structure of the country. As a result, polarized interpretations have been forwarded on the role of Ethiopian federalism to administer multi-ethnic groups in the country and thereby resolving the conflicts and tensions among them. On one hand, as an informant from OPDO (personal interview 3 April 2007) and Culture and Tourism Bureau (personal interview, 19 March 2015) said, the role of federalism aims to establish a lasting peace, build democracy and advance the socio-economic development of Nations, Nationalities and Peoples of Ethiopia. It creates an opportunity for different ethnic groups to maintain and promote their unique collective identity and build economic and political support among different ethnic groups for common interest of the country.

On the other hand, participants from Blue party (personal interview, 15 April 2015), AUEP (personal interview, 23 April 2007), Political Science department (personal interview, 19 April 2015) and History department (Personal interview, 09 April 2015) doubt whether the federal system of Ethiopia is correctly resolving the dispute among ethnic groups and build an integrated society. Merara (2003 & 2007) also argues that the Ethiopian federalism is failed to achieve its historic mission of creating both shared-rule and self-rule. Contrary to the claims of the ruling party, what it has achieved is facilitating the divide and rule policy of the regime by pitting one ethnic group against the other. Thus, the practice of the federal system of the country has been creating problem of ethnic fragmentation.

As a result, different statues constructed during the period of EPRDF and the deconstructive narratives over already erected statues in the past regimes is seen as the government deliberate act for cheap political ends. As *Addis Guday* (April 2006, Volume 8, No.214, p.14), “the constructed martyr’s monument in the period of EPRDF are not only representing the political agenda of the government but also they become the space for political friction” (translated).

In fact, monuments are constructed to legitimize the political ideology of superior in position group. The construction and destruction of different statues in Ethiopia is highly politicized. For instance, when *Derg* military Junta removed the statue of Emperor Haileseilasie, the political implication was undermining the feudal system. Again, when EPRDF dismantled the statue of Lenin, the political implication was the end of socialism. Besides, different martyrs’ statues were erected in different parts of the country during the period of EPRDF.

However, the style of EPRDF statue construction is subjected to critics by elites and several nongovernment magazines in the Ethiopian polity. As *Inqu* magazine (April 2006, Volume 6, No. 116, p.6),

በኢህአዴግ ዘመን የሚገነቡትን ሐውልቶች ከቀደሙት ሐውልቶች የሚለያቸውን ነጥብ ብንመረምር የዛሬዎቹ ሃውልቶች ብሄረሰባዊ ማንነት ማእከል ያደረጉ ብቻ ሳይሆን ሁሉም እርስ በእርስ ጦርነት ለወደቁ ወገኖች የቆሙ መሆናቸውን እንገነዘባለን። ለኢትዮጵያውያን በአጠቃላይ ሳይሆን ለትግራይ ህዝብ፣ ለአማራ ህዝብ፣ ለሲዳማ ህዝብ፣ ለአሮሞ ህዝብ ... ወዘተ " ነጻነት" የሞቱ ወገኖች ለማስታወስ በተናጠል የቆሙ ሃውልቶች ናቸው። አንድን ወይም የአንድን አካባቢ ህዝብ ብቻ ማእከል ያደረጉና ሌላውን ያገለሉ ሀውልቶችም ናቸው። ሀውልቶቹ የሚናገሩት፣ እነኚህ ኢትዮጵያውያን ለጠባብ ብሄረሰባዊ ወይም አካባቢያዊ አጀንዳ የተዋደቁ መሆናቸውን እንጂ የሞቱትን ወገኖች ታሪክ ሰሪነት በጭራሽ አይደለም። እንዲያውም "ለዚህ ነው እንዴ የሞቱት" የሚያሰኙም ማለት ይቻላል። (ዕንቁ ሚያዝያ 2006, ቅጽ 6, ቁጥር 116, ገፅ 6)

If we examine the difference between the monuments erected in the period of EPRDF and the former regimes, the agenda of their construction in current regime is not only contingent upon ethnicity but also depends on civil war. All martyrs statues constructed during the period of EPRDF are not representing the nation. They are constructed for each ethnic group separately for martyrs of Oromo, Amhara, Sidama and etc in the name freedom. They are representing only specific ethnic group and ignore the others. Thus, they undermined the struggle of the people for the country and depicted the scarification of the citizen only for the ethnic they belong. This implies the sense of extremism (translated)

Thus, the constructed statues during the period of EPRDF centers ethnicity than nationality. In fact, the current federal system encourages ethnicity due to ethnic related problems were the cause of different ethnic groups struggle. Hence, different constructed statues in the country for two decades represent a struggle of single ethnic group during the civil war than the nation as a whole. On the other hand, this is seen as source of nation disintegration and calculative system of government to divide the ethnic groups for political survival.

To this effect, Menelik II and Aanoole statues have contending and contrasting the political representation in the Ethiopian polity. On one hand, there are elites who have seen the trend of EPRDF monument construction based on ethnic group as an outcome of federalism. As a result, Aanoole statue is seen from giving recognition for the past ethnic tyranny to maintain better and stable political environment. Stressing this, an informant from OPDO (Personal interview, 3 April 2007) says:

In the process of nation-building, facts should not be denied whether they are good or bad. Unless consensuses are made on the past history, it is difficult to step forward as a nation. Therefore, the political agenda of Aanoolee statue construction is to give recognition for the Arsi people who suffered a humiliating defeat of the '*Neftegna*' system. In doing so, the statue plays a significant role in the process of creating an integrated society through educating them from the past experience not to repeat it again in the future.

Hence, Aanoolee statue contributes to the nation building process by recognizing the past atrocious act happened to Arsi Oromo to create the sense of inclusion in the political participation. As the former Prime Minister, Meles Zenawi also once said, like former regimes denying Nation, Nationality and Peoples' identity in order to be an Ethiopian has danger. Therefore, accepting our Ethiopian identity while simultaneously speaking our own language and administering our own respective regions strengthen Ethiopia's nationalism.

Stressing this, Bach (2014) argues that there are three main factors for the EPRDF's discourse basis on Nations, Nationalities and Peoples in the country. First, the EPRDF's ideological background emphasizes on the narratives of national oppression. Second, other states like Oromo, SNNP and others are expecting a reward for their struggle. Hence, EPRDF has been giving attention for these ethnic groups. Third, there is no need of mobilizing broad Ethiopian against an "external" enemy due to the relatively peaceful regional context. As a result, for EPRDF, the eradication of any national 'oppression' through 'multinational federalism' and the rethinking of the notions of state and nation in terms of NNPs had to respect Ethiopian diversities and preserve the country from any future conflict.

On other hand, the role of the constructed monuments during the period of EPRDF criticized from maintaining peace and stability in the country. In this regard, the construction of Aanoole that embodied the deconstructive narrative over the reign of Menelik II is condemned for its destruction of Ethiopian state. As an informant from Blue party (personal interview, 15 April 2007) says:

In the current government system, the erected statues do not benefit the society. Not the statue by itself harms the people but the purpose behind erecting it would harm the society. Particularly, Aanoole monument was not constructed for peace and reconciliation. It is erected to aggravate enmity among the society. Hence, behind the erection of statue, there is EPRDF/OPDO political agenda. If the statue was really erected for the goodwill of the people, there would be several best alternatives for OPDO/EPRDF. For instance, the government could build hospitals, schools, parks, recreational centers, and others which simultaneously give service for the public and use as a commemoration of the so-called mutilation of hand and breast. Therefore, EPRDF/OPDO erected monument that is serving as space for animosity and disintegration among ethnic groups for the purpose of divide and rule.

Thus, Aanoole statue is built to aggravate ethnic conflict among different ethnic groups who had contrary view on the civil war during the reign of Menelik II. The monument perceived as it initiates the victim side to avenge on the perpetrator groups who did the act of mutilation. Stressing this, a respondent from opposition party (AEUP), sees the construction of Aanoole statue as systematic agenda of EPRDF to create enmity between the major ethnic groups in the country. Due to this, people who have lived together for millennia are divided based on their

ethnicity and they developed deep mistrust among each other (personal interview, 23 April 2007).

Different nongovernment magazines also assert the problem of ethnicity aggravated through monuments that recap controversial history related power. As *Konjo* magazine (April 2006, Volume 3, No.66, p.5) report the effect ethnic classification for political goal:

በዩኒቨርሲቲዎች ውስጥ ወጣቶች አንተ የእገሌ ነህ አንተ የእንቅጫ ነህ ተባብለው ፀብ ሲነሳ ጉዳዩ የመጨው ትውልድ እና የአሁኑ ትውልድ አደገኛ አቅጣጫ ነው ብሎ የችግሩን ስር ለመፍታት ከመጣር እና የጉዳዩን አስከፊነት በመገናኛ ብዙሃን ከመግለጽ እና ከማስተማር ይልቅ ፖሊስ ይልቁን ከአንደኛው ወገን ቆሞ ሌላውን ሲያስር እና ሲቀጣ መመልከት ዘግናኝ ተግባር ነው። ህዝብ ለዘመናት ከኖረበት የእርሻ ቦታ የእገሌ ዘር ነህ ተብሎ በክልል መስተዳድሮች ጭምር ሲባረር ለጉዳዩ እንደ መንግስት ለመፍታት ሳይሞከር ከአሰሳ እስከ ሃረር፣ ከሀረር እስከ ጅጅጋ፣ ከጅጅጋ እስከ ቦረና ጉጂ፣ ድረስ በብዙ አስር ሺህ የሚሆኑ ኢትዮጵያውያን በኢህአዴግ የጎሳ ፖለቲካ ተሰደዱ ተገደሉ። ይህ ሁሉ ሲሆን ግን መንግስት ጉዳዩን እንደ ትልቅ ችግር ሳይሆን እንደ አንድ ማስተዳደሪያ ዘዴ እንደቆጠረው በእርግጠኝነት መረዳት ይቻላል። (ቆንጆሚያዝያ 2006: ቅፅ 3 : ቁ. 66)

In the universities, students are fighting each other in the name of the ethnic group they belong. Rather than the government resolving the problem safely, it sends police force to control the situation. It is shocking looking the police force hit one ethnic group standing with the other in the universities. Besides, people are migrating from the place they have lived for many years due to they belonged to specific ethnic group. As a result, from Asosa to Harar, Jijiga and Guji Borana people have been migrating and scarified for the ethnic federalism of EPRDF. However, the government overlooks all the problem and use as one of management systems (translated).

However, contrary to the opposition parties' argument, a respondent from Oromia Culture and Tourism Beruea (personal interview, 3 April 2015) and OPDO (personal interview, 19 March) argue that Aanoole statue only represents the political tyranny during the monarchical period and the strong resistance of Arsi Oromo's. Thus, the statue helps as an exemplary site of fighting inequality, injustice, and dictatorship as favor to democracy and good governance among the Oromo people and the nation as well.

Moreover, the OPDO/EPRDF criticized for being extravagant for the construction of different statues including Aanoole statue at different parts of the country just for cheap political ends. As *konjo* magazine (April 2006, Volume 3, No.66 p.11) reports,

ባለፉት 23 ዓመታት የተገነቡት ሃውልቶች የትችት ኢላማ የሆኑት በሚያስተላልፉት መልእክትና በኪነጥበባዊ ፋይዳቸው ብቻ ሳይሆን በወጣባቸው ገንዘብ ጭምር መሆኑ ይነገራል። ለምሳሌ የመቀሌው የሰማኢታት ሃውልት በተገነባበት ዘመን ወደ 12 ሚሊዮን ብር የሚገመት ገንዘብ በወቅቱ ከነበረው የኢኮኖሚ ችግር አንጻርና ቅድሚያ ሊሰጠው ከሚገባው ጉዳይ አኳያ በመታየቱ የሃውልቱ ግንባታ ተተችቶ ነበር። በነዚህ አመታት በትግራይም በአማራም ሆነ በኦሮሚያ ለሃውልት ግንባታ የወጣው ገንዘብ ለክልሎቹ ህዝቦች አንገብጋቢ የልማት ተግባሮች ሊውል ይችል እንደነበር ከመነገሩም በላይ ነገ ጠዋት ደግሞ ሌላ መንግስት ሲመሰረት ሊፈረሱ በሚችሉ መታሰቢያዎች ላይ ከፍተኛ መጠን ያለው ገንዘብ መፍሰሱ አርቆ ማሰብ ወይም ሃላፊነት የጎደለው ውሳኔና እርምጃ መሆኑ ሲተችበት ቆይቷል። (ቆንጆ ቅፅ 3 ቁ. 66 ሚያዝያ 2006)

Statues erected in the country for the past 23 years are not criticized only by their political representation and lack of artistic quality, but also they are taken as an economic crisis. For instance, EPRDF spent around 12 million birr for Mekele martyr's monuments. Similarly, others martyrs' statues are also erected in Oromia

and Amhara regions. These statues are constructed when the country is in the rampant economic situation and the society has the problem of infrastructural services. Moreover, they are dismantled when another government comes to power. Thus, the current government is not critical and responsible for the future of the country and the people as well (translated).

Though constructing martyrs' statue for the specific ethnic group has its own benefit, it is difficult to erect martyrs' monument for each and every civil war took place in the country. Besides, as an informant from Fine Art, different statues in the country has been dismantled due to they are highly contingent to political purpose and had no common value that the society puts in it. Therefore, they are economically and politically loss (personal interview, 10 April 2015).

On the contrary, informants from OPDO and Oromia Culture and Tourism Bureau insisting the construction of Aanoole as the Oromo people's interest and they believe that the statue has its own economic value. It is constructed to be as one of a tourist sites, and Oromo studies and research center. In this regard, the construction of Aanoole monument has two basic contributions. First, Aanoole statue is used as a tourist site. In this regard, it benefits the society live around there socially and economically. Second, it contributes to the academic sphere as the construction of Aanoole statue includes different research center for departments like Anthropology, History, Linguistic, Cultural studies and others.

The above contrary narratives from the ruling on one hand and opposition parties on the other over the representation of Menelik II and Aanoole statues show the contest of political actors to hold and/or legitimize political power in the Ethiopian polity. As informant from political

science (personal interview, 19 April 2015) EPRDF/OPDO constructed Aanoole statue to win the mind and heart of Arsi people where OPDO loss election for long time. Some nongovernment magazines also see the newly erected Aanoolee monument as EPRDF contempt for emperor Menelik II and deconstruction of the emperors' political contribution in the Ethiopian political history. As *Addis Guday*' (November 2006, Volume 8, No, 193, pp.14-15) asserts,

የራሱን አስተዋጽኦ ከፍ ለማድረግ ብለውም በህዝብ ዘንድ ከብርና ተቀባይነት ለማግኘት ሲባል ያለፉትን ታሪክ ማጥላላትና ማሳነስ ወትሮም የነበረ አሁንም ያለ ነው። ነገር ግን ኢህአዴግ በአጼ ምኒልክ ላይ ያለው ጥላቻ ወደር የማይገኝለት ነው። የነፍጠኛ ስርዓት ቁንጮ አድርጎ ስለሚቆጥራቸው ይህን እንዳንል ደግሞ አጼ ዮሀንስ 4ተኛ የነፍጠኛ ስዓት ቁንጮ ነበሩ። ከፋን ያስገበሩት ራስ ወልደ ጉዮርጊስና የሐረርና ገዢ ራስ መኮንን የነፍጠኛ አጋፋሪም ፊታውራሪ ከሆኑ ራስ አሉላም እንዲሁ ነበሩ ናቸውም። ምኒልክ ለደቡብ ለምዕራብና ለምስራቅ ኢትዮጵያ ህዝብ ወራሪ ከሆኑ ደግሞ የወረራው አቅጣጫ ወደዚያ እንዲሆን የቀየሱት ፈረስ ጫን ጦር ስበቅ ያሉት አጼ ዮሀንስ 4ተኛ ናቸው። ( ቅጽ 8 ቁጥር 193 ህዳር 2006)

It is obvious belittling the deeds of past political eras to give value for the current political system as to get public acceptance. However, what EPRDF doing to devalue the deeds of Emperor Menelik II is unimaginable. If it is for being *Neftegna*, before emperor Menelik II, emperor Yohannis IV, Ras Wolde Giorgis of Kafas, Ras Mokenen of Harar, and Ras Alula all are *Neftegnas*. For Menelik II conquest the southern and eastern parts of the country, it was emperor Yohannis IV who is the architect of the conquest and motivate Menelik II (translated).

Thus, the reign of Menelik II is used as the focal point for deconstructive narratives over the past regimes by EPRDF. Stressing this, an informant from history department (personal interview, 09 April 2015) argued that the reign of emperor Menelik II has become the turning point for EPRDF to deconstruct and compare itself with the past regimes. This is due to emperor Menelik II left some parts of Tigray like Mereb River abandon to the Italians. As a result, the government singled out historical phenomena related to power that enforces its political manifestation through producing deconstructive discourses and creating comparison over the past regimes.

Bach (2014) and Tronvoll (2009) also argued that the current government had convoluted perspective in the process of conceptualizing historical events as national symbols due to the past political autocracy. For instance, while the battle of Adwa symbolized and was celebrated as the success of Ethiopia's resistance against European colonization, but emperor Menelik II, the hero of the battle of Adowa was not celebrated as a national hero.

## CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter of the study presents the conclusion of the key findings of the thesis and thereafter forwards some recommendations that would be helpful for further studies on similar issues.

### 5.1. Conclusions

This study sets out to investigate how statues of Menelik II and Aanoole serve as a site for both reproduction and re-articulation of historical relations of power in the Ethiopian polity. In other words, the study examines the representational struggle of both statues' historical narratives related to power among the elite in Ethiopia. In doing this, on one hand five nongovernmental magazines (*Inqu*, *Addis Guday*, *Jano*, *Lomi and Fact*), and on other, two official documents (Oromia Culture and Tourism Bureau and Addis Ababa City Governance) were selected and examined. Besides, seven informants, three from academic sphere (History, Political Science and Fine Art), three from political sphere (OPDO, AUEP and Blue Party) and one from Oromia Culture and Tourism Beruea were interviewed to triangulate the textual analysis. Using the aforementioned tools, the collected data through were analyzed and interpreted thematically. The time frame for the analysis of the selected media outlets ranges from Aanoole inauguration (8 April 2014) up to the last publication of the selected magazines (5 August 2014).

The study revealed the contradictory narratives about the representation of statues of Aanoole and Menelik II. In this regard, the study found out three major themes (historical background, design and political representation) where the elites in the Ethiopian polity locked in controversy over the representation of the statues.

In this way, the normative historical narratives about the statues of Menelik II focused on the contributions of Emperor Menelik II for the country. These contributions were the emperor's victory over colonial power, construction of modern Ethiopian empire, introduction of modern technological equipments and infrastructures. Emperor Menelik II was also seen as a rallying figure for different divided nation states in Ethiopia and a driving force for black Africans movement to overthrow colonialism. In this regard, Menelik II statue was considered as the symbol of heroism, patriotism and courage in the course of keeping the country's territory and nation and nationalities from external oppression. In addition, the emperor's quality of leadership, strong military tactic and skill of mobilizing and managing the mass was reflected by the statue of Menelik II.

However, there was confusion over the representation of the statue of Menelik II especially concerning the purpose it had been erected for. In this regard, on one hand, the agenda of Menelik II statue construction was attached to the commemoration of the battle of Adowa, on the other hand, it was related to commemoration of the emperor's contributions for the country in general. The study also found out the deconstructive narratives over the taken for granted normative narratives of the statue of Menelik II. The Tewdros Kasahun's album, *Menelik 'Tikur Sew'* (Menelik Black Man) which is released in 2004 E.C was triggering factor for the deconstruction of the reign of Menelik II and his contributions. However, the contrary arguments embodied in the statues of Aanoole aggravated the controversy over the reign of Menelik II.

Aanoole memorial monument was erected to symbolize the political system of imperial monarchy and the atrocious act in the civil war that took place during the reign Menelik II. In this case, the abolishment of *Gadaa* system, confiscation of economic resources and the act of

hand and breast mutilation of Arsi people were deconstructive narratives reflected by the statues of Aanoole. Besides, the Menelik II war of conquest affected the culture, value and norms of Arsi people and put them in the identity crisis. In this regard, Menelik II statue was deconstructed as symbol of an oppressor for Arsi people including the '*Calanqo*' area. Moreover, the Menelik II peaceful and forceful subjugation of different local states to build the great Ethiopian empire was counter narrated as eradication and repression of multi-ethnic states for legitimization of one specific ethnic group dominance over the others. The alleged act of hand and breast mutilation was also intended to traumatize the Arsi Oromo for their stubborn resistance of Menelik II conquest.

However, the study indicated as there was a strong opposition over historiographical narratives and architectural design the Aanoole statue. First, the alleged act and the historical narratives embodied in the statue of Aanoole were considered as popular history. Besides, the design of the statue was criticized for its direct translation of the claimed atrocious history and, thus, lacks aesthetic quality. Moreover, the purpose of the construction of the statue of Aanoole was taken as a deliberate act of the builder to denounce the contribution of emperor Menelik II. It was also seen as a site of creating friction between the victims and perpetrators group. From the above contradictory narratives over the historical background and architectural design of both statues, the study found out three major political perspectives contested over the statues of Aanoole and Menelik II representations.

First, the study revealed the Ethiopianism (extreme pan-nationalism) view. This view generally saw the reign of Menelik II and his deeds as a focal point where the country's political geography was defined and different independent local states were integrated as a nation. Besides, different

external and internal wars of the emperor were seen from unification process. As a result, an equestrian statue of Menelik II symbolized the emperor as an architect of modern Ethiopia and liberal society. It was also seen as a symbol of strong nationalism that established one nation. However, the study found out, on one hand, taking the emperor as a national hero, and, on the other, the deconstructive narratives forwarded on the reign of Menelik II and his contributions are out of context and time frame.

Second, the other point that the study pointed out is the correctionist (extreme ethno-nationalist) view contrary to Ethiopianism (extreme 'pan-Ethiopianist') view over the political representation of the reign of Menelik II as reflected by the statues of Menelik II and Aanoole. This view had an opposite stand on the reign of Menelik II and his contribution for the contemporary Ethiopia. In this regard, the finding of this study indicated that the reign of Menelik II and his deeds are considered as exploitation and even as colonialism. The dire consequence of the civil war during the reign of emperor Menelik II was also the base for the deconstructive narratives emerged over the political representation of the statue of Menelik II. What is more, the Menelik II conquest of Arsi Oromo compared with colonialism process due to economical exploitation, political and cultural marginalization. Besides, their human rights were violated and their identities were diminished. Furthermore, the study showed ethnicity as one of the key factors in the *modus operandi* of the Ethiopian state during the reign of Menelik II. The Abyssinian culture, language, and religion were dominating the rest ethnic groups in a manner hitherto unprecedented in the Ethiopia's history.

Third, the study found out the government's (EPRDF) view towards the political representations of the reign of Menelik II as a manifestation of power struggle in the Ethiopian polity. With this

view, the construction of Aanoole was seen as an outcome of the democracy. Under the EPRDF political system, the federalism was seen as the best solution for the problem of governing multi-ethnic states. It allows power decentralization and ensures the right of the nations, nationalities and peoples to self-determination. As a result, the government saw the construction of Aanoole statue as an outcome of the federal system that allowed multi-ethnic state to use their languages, to develop their cultures and to preserve their history. In doing so, Aanoole statue was used as site for legitimizing the government political power in Ethiopia.

Another point identified in the study is the statue of Aanoole taken as means to delegitimize the contribution of past Ethiopian regimes particularly the reign of Menelik II as abusers of human and democratic rights of different ethnic groups. However, the study also found out criticisms over the structure and practice of Ethiopian federalism. The federal structure of Ethiopia that based on ethno-linguistics division was seen as it has a convoluted structure and manipulated by the ruling party in the process of political power struggle. As a result, the construction of the statues of Aanoole was seen as the government's system to create disparity between the two major ethnic groups in the country.

Taking the overall findings of the study into account, the study concludes that the statues of Aanoole and Menelik II were highly engaged in the political contestation in Ethiopian. Their architectural symbolism and historical narratives has been reproduced and rearticulated in line with the view of different political groups contested for political power in the country. Due to this, the very begging of the role statue as a commemorative purpose has been manipulated according to the political ideology of political power holder.

## 5.2. Recommendations

Under this subsection, points that were found important during the research work would briefly be recommended. The recommendations might address to government, academic institutions, media organizations, students and communication researchers. Accordingly the following points are recommended:

- Several monuments or statues had been dismantled at different focal points after they were constructed by spending huge money for they are just simply constructed for political purposes. Hence, the government should give due attention before construction of any statue and make genuine discussion among different stakeholders on the purpose, historical background and architectural design of any statue.
- Due to lack of national consensus, several statues constructed in the period of EPRDF become causes of controversies. The purpose of their construction also looked as the way of creating ethnic tensions. Hence, the government should work hard to build national consensus in the country to minimize the disparity among different ethnic groups over the representation of different media texts including statues.
- Hand in hand with government, academic and research institutions should work hard to overcome the controversy raised on the representation of statues.
- Various media platforms should cover the issue with package information based on scientific research. Broadcast media particularly should produce documentaries and organize different events on which professionals give scientific explanation in order to create awareness among the society on the representation and the role of the constructed statues.

- This study did not explore all the issues of representation of the statues of Aanoole and Menelik II. Even though, the issue is on the progress, the study did not include all the dimensions from the society who have attachment with the representation of both statues. Hence, students of journalism and communication, and researchers in other field too can play a positive role through further researches.

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## APPENDICES

### Appendix I- Guiding Questions For In- Depth Interview

#### 1. For Academics

##### a) For History Department

1. Different historians and scholars account the period of modern Ethiopian history from the reign of Emperor Menelik II. How do you view the reign of Emperor Menelik II in Ethiopian History?
2. There are contradicting narratives on Menelik II unification process. Some say even from the terminology it was “harsh military conquest” while others argue it was an “expansion process”. How do you see Menelik II unification process in Ethiopian history?
3. A history of a nation or society has been transferred from generation to generation through various forms. Among which are statues, offering symbolic representation of history. What is the role of statue in the process of historical representation?
4. Statues are erected in different parts of Ethiopia as a representation of war memorial or violence and atrocities. What do you think is the significance of such statues?
5. Among various statues erected in Ethiopia, Menelik II statue is one. Would you explain the historiography of Menelik II statue?
6. War memorial statues are often become a point of contestation among nations or ethnic groups. What do you think is the reason behind this contestation?
7. In April 8, 2014 Aanoole statue was erected at Arsi, Hetosa. The erection of the statue was creating controversy. What is the historical background behind the erection of Aanoole statue?
8. There are people who claim that Menelik II purpose was unification while others argue that it was expansion. From historical point of view what is your point about this?
9. Why has the erection of Aanoole statue become a point of controversy among the public, academia and politicians?

10. What do Menelik II and Aanoole statues symbolize or represent?
11. Do you think the construction of Aanoole statues deconstruct the normative narratives of emperor Menelik II and his statue? How?
12. Any points you would like to say about the two statues?

**b) For Fine And Arts Department**

1. In different parts of the world, several statues with various types and designs are erected. How and where did such artifacts begin?
2. What do statues mean to a nation or society from artistic perspective?
3. In Ethiopia various statues are erected at different focal points. How and when did an artifact of statue erection begin in Ethiopia?
4. Menelik II statue was erected in 1930 by German architect Hertel Spengel for the good deeds of Emperor Menelik II. From artistic perspectives, how do you view the design and representation of Menelik II statue?
5. An Equestrian type of statues are found worldwide in different parts of countries and erected obviously at public gathering places. What do such statues epitomize?
6. In the contemporary Ethiopia different statue have been erecting. However, they are artistically abstract and difficult for an ordinary person to interpret or make meaning out of it easily. Do you think the design of statues is understood by the public as it was intended to be?
7. In 2014, Aanoole memorial statue is erected at Arsi, Hetosa. The design of the statue was the point of controversy among different publics. What is your reflection on the design of the statue? And what does the statue design symbolize?
8. Any points you would like to say about the two statues?

### **c) Political Science Department**

1. What was the socio-political context in Ethiopia during the monarchial period?
2. How do you view the political structure during the reign of Emperor Menelik II?
3. What is the political contribution of Emperor Menelik II for the contemporary Ethiopia?
4. The current Ethiopian government has been erecting statues (even few days back at Calanqo) and in different parts of the country. Can you say something about the political significance of the statue for the government and the public at large?
5. There are various methods that politicians use to transfer their political ideology to get the public support. In this regard, statues can be taken as an instrument for political communication. What is the role of statues in the political sphere?
6. How do politicians manipulate the erection of statue for political ends?
7. Would you mention some of the statues which serve political ends in the Ethiopian context?
8. How do you view Menelik II and Aanoole statues from political perspectives?
9. The Aanoole statue erection has raised controversy among the public. What do you think is the base for the controversy?
10. The government, particularly OPDO, spent 20 million birr for the Aanoole statue construction. What does this imply?
11. Don't you think that the construction of different statues in our country would contribute hate and quarrel between two or more ethnic groups than it would bring harmony? If no, why? If yes, How?
12. Any points you would like to say about the two statues?

## **2. For Political Sphere**

### **a) For OPDO (Oromo People's Democratic Organization)**

1. How do you view different monuments erected at different parts of the country at different regimes?
2. What do the statues of Menelik II and Aanoole symbolize?
3. What are the significance of both statues for the public and the current government?
4. Statues that are built in the period of EPRDF are becoming the space for friction of different ideologies. What do you think the cause of this discord?
5. Your office incorporation with Oromia Culture and Tourism Bureau budgeted around 20 million birr for the construction of the Aanoole statue. What do you intend to achieve through the construction of the statue?
6. Have you done a survey before constructing Aanoole statue?
7. Why government spends such a massive amount of money for the statue construction while different other burning issues such as infrastructural problems are not yet solved?
8. The construction of Aanoole was the point of controversy among several publics. The design of the statue was perceived as an eerily reminiscent of other statues erected in the country. How the design of the statue thought is and what does it imply?
9. Different people see the Aanoole statue's symbolization from various perspectives. Some say Aanoole statue is erected to create an ethnic conflict among the major ethnic groups in the country while other see it as a public space for peace and reconciliation. How do you reconcile these two ideas?
10. Some of the closed-down private newspapers and magazines have reported the construction of Aanoole memorial statues as deliberate action of government for cheap political gains. What is your reflection on this?

11. Most of the erected statues in the country (Aanolee and newly erected Callanqoo) indicate the bad deed of the previous government/s. Do not you think that this is devaluing the good deeds of these governments for generations to come?
12. What have you done so far to refute all the argument raised on the interpretation of Aanoole statue?
13. Whom do you think the statue serve more? Government/public/and how?
14. Any points you would like to say about the two statues?

**b) For Blue Party and AEUP (All Ethiopian Union Party)**

1. Let's begin from the political agenda of your party. What are the political manifestations of your political organization?
2. How do you view the federal system of contemporary Ethiopia?
3. How do you view statues erected in Ethiopia?
4. How do you view statues erected in the EPRDF regime?
5. Among various monument erected in the period of EPRDF, Aanoole statue is one. How do you view Aanolee statue?
6. OPDO and Oromia Culture and Tourism Bureau spent around 20 million birr for the construction of the Aanoole statue. What do you think intended to be achieved through the construction of the statue?
7. Whom do you think the statue serve more? Government/public/and how?
8. Most of the erected statues in the country (Aanolee and newly erected Callanqoo) indicate the bad deed of the previous government/s. Do not you think that this is devaluing the good deeds of these governments for generations to come?

9. Is the relationship between Aanoolee and Menelik II statues? What do the statues of Menelik II and Aanoole symbolize?
10. What are the significance of both statues for the public and the current government?
11. Any points you would like to say about the two statues?

### **c) For Oromia Culture and Tourism Bureau**

1. With OPDO cooperation, Aanoole statue was constructed at the cost of 20 million birr. How did the idea of constructing this statue emerge?
2. What is the role of this statue for the society at large and Oromia Culture and Tourism Bureau in particular?
3. Have you done different assessments on the importance of the Aanoole statue and its construction?
4. How would the design of Aanoole statue with “the mutilated hand holding mutilated breast” be interpreted?
5. Did the local people participate in the overall process of Aanoole statue construction? If yes, how? If no, why?
6. What effect do you think Aanoole statue would have on the local people and others who will visit it?
7. How do you see Aanoolee statue vis-a-vis Menelik II statue?
8. Any points you would like to say about the two statues?

## Appendix II

### Article from Magazines

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1	6/116	አንቁ	መጽደቅ 2006	ወቅታዊ አንተርቴይንመንት	የሌላ ታሪክ ተፈጥሮ ሐውልት ለሰራ አይችልም	-
2	3/111	ሎሚ	አኔ 14 - ሰኔ 20/2006	ማን ምን ስራ	አባካችሁ በአኖሌ ጉዳይ ዳግም አታቁሱሉን	መጻካ ሀሉቃ
3	3/66	ቆንጆ	መጽደቅ 2006	እንነጋገር	አህአዴግ/አህዴድ ህዝብ ለማቆጣጠር የገነባው የመርዝ ብልቃጥ	-
4	8/193	አዲስ ጉዳይ	ህዳር 2006	መሥሪያ ቤቅ ገለጻ	አህአዴግ፣ ምኒልክና የኢትዮጵያ ታሪክ	-
5	8/124	አዲስ ጉዳይ	መጽደቅ 2006	የተየ ታሪኩ - አወነ ቶች - ሐተታ	ሃወልቶቻችንና ታሪኮቻችን ከቁመኞች ይልቅ ይቅርባይነትን በዘክሩ	ጌታቸው በቀለ
6	2/29	ጃኖ	መጽደቅ 2006	አይታ	ሁሉን ብሄሮች ለማወቅ እየተሰራ ያለው ስራ ቀጥለዋል	አበባው አያሌው
7	2/32	ጃኖ	ግንቦት 2006	አንኳር	የአኖሌ ሃወልት ገለጻቸውንና ምሁራንን እያወዘገነ ነው	-

## Appendix III

### INFORMATION SHEET

#### **Research Title: The Politics of Representation: Menelik II and Aanoole Statues in Focus**

My name is Mulualem Daba. I am currently conducting a study on Menelik II and Aanoole statues political representation. The aim of my study is to examine how Menelik II and Aanoole statues serve as a site for both reproduction and re-articulation of historical relations of power in the Ethiopian polity.

I request your participation in some of the following ways:

- I will be conducting an in-depth interview that will take about 40-60 minutes to complete and would appreciate being able to interview you at a time that is convenient for you.
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- You will also have the opportunity to check the transcripts and make corrections.
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I do hope that you will agree to take part and that you will find this participation of interest. If you have any queries about the study, you may contact my Advisor at University of Addis Ababa. Here is the full information of my advisor.

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## Appendix IV

### Official Documents

AADAA FI TOURISM. (Jildii Iffaa, Bitotessa, 2006, Finfinnee.)

Mata Dure: Harmaafi Harka-Muraa Aanolee

Woraanattin lafa oromo dhuunfachuuhaaf lola baanen gochi suukkanessa ummata oromoo irratti raawwataniru. Isaan kessaas ummata oromo Tuulama, Arsii(1880-1886), Hararge – Calanqoo(1887) ALA fi kan biraas fakkenya kaasuun ni danda'ama.

Iddowwan gochi suukkanessa irratti raawwatan keessa Aanoleen kan adda isaa taasisu, bara 1880-1886 loltonii Menelikii kan lafaa Oromo Arsii humnaan qabachuu fedhaani fi ummata Arsi kan biyyaa isaani dabarsani kennu didan jiddutti lolli woggaa 6 adeemsifamere.

Gochii 'Harmaa fi Harka-Mura Aanolee ' jedhaamuu , xumuraa lolaa bara 1886 keessaa kan raawwatamee dha. Kaayyoon muraa sanille injifannoo woraanan argame gara injifannoo siyaasatti jijjiruudhaafi, Sirna Gadaa Oromoo Arsii diiguudhan olaantumma sirna naftanya diriirsuudhaf raawwatame.

Lolli Arsii fi Menelikii giddutti goodhame keessaa lolli bara 1886ALA garuu kan dhumaa ture. Bara sana Keessatti Menelikii humnaa waarana bayifachuun qofaa akka isaa hin baasne waan hubateef , toftaa haraa fayyadame daanga lafa Arsii seenuuf karrorfate . Tooftan kunis namoota dhalaata biyyaa ta'an aangoo isinii kenna jedhee gowomsuudhaan ittin gargaramuu dha. Sochii karaa kaanan goodhameen Menelikii osoo hin turiin milkaayee, nama dhalata Arsii hintaane kan maqaan isaa Tukee Maammaa jedhamu argate .... Sin muude jedheeni. Angoo 'qanyazmachi' jedhamu sii kenna jedhee christina kaase nitti firaa ufii itti herumsise.

Saniin booda Tukee Mamma loltoota Menelikiifi waan lama mijesse. Tokoffa ,yaadni ummata akka tokko hin taane godhee. lammata , namoota loltoota Menelikii karaa agarsisanii biyyaa keessa seensisaan bakkaa hundatti filee remade.

Haalli kun erga mijaate booda, Menelikii duula bara 1886 godheen , karaa dhiyaatin karaa haro Danbaalii akka seenu godhaame.....haala kanan waranni Menelikii yeroo gabaaba keessatti gidduu lafa Arsi Albaso, Gadabi, Laanganoo. Sirkaa, Diida'a keessaa nannawee ummata akka lafarra dhuumanitti fiixe.

Humni waarana lamata kaara kabbatiin aanaa siree fi Jajuu gidduun Daargee salasillaseetiin ogganame seene bakka Azuule jeedhamuu qabatee. Innilee dhalataabiyyaa keessa basasitota faayyidhan bitee odeefanno sobaa akka ummata Arsiif kenan goosisie, dogongoraa oggantonni fi loltonni Arsii dhuumanin , guyyaa tokkotti namni kuma 12 lola saana irraatti dhuume.

Injifannoo sanin booda, daargeen waan lama godhee. Tokkoffaa, namota lola Azuule irratti hirmatani qabee bakka tulluu Qadiida jeedhamutti waaliti qabee harkafi harma dubarti mure.

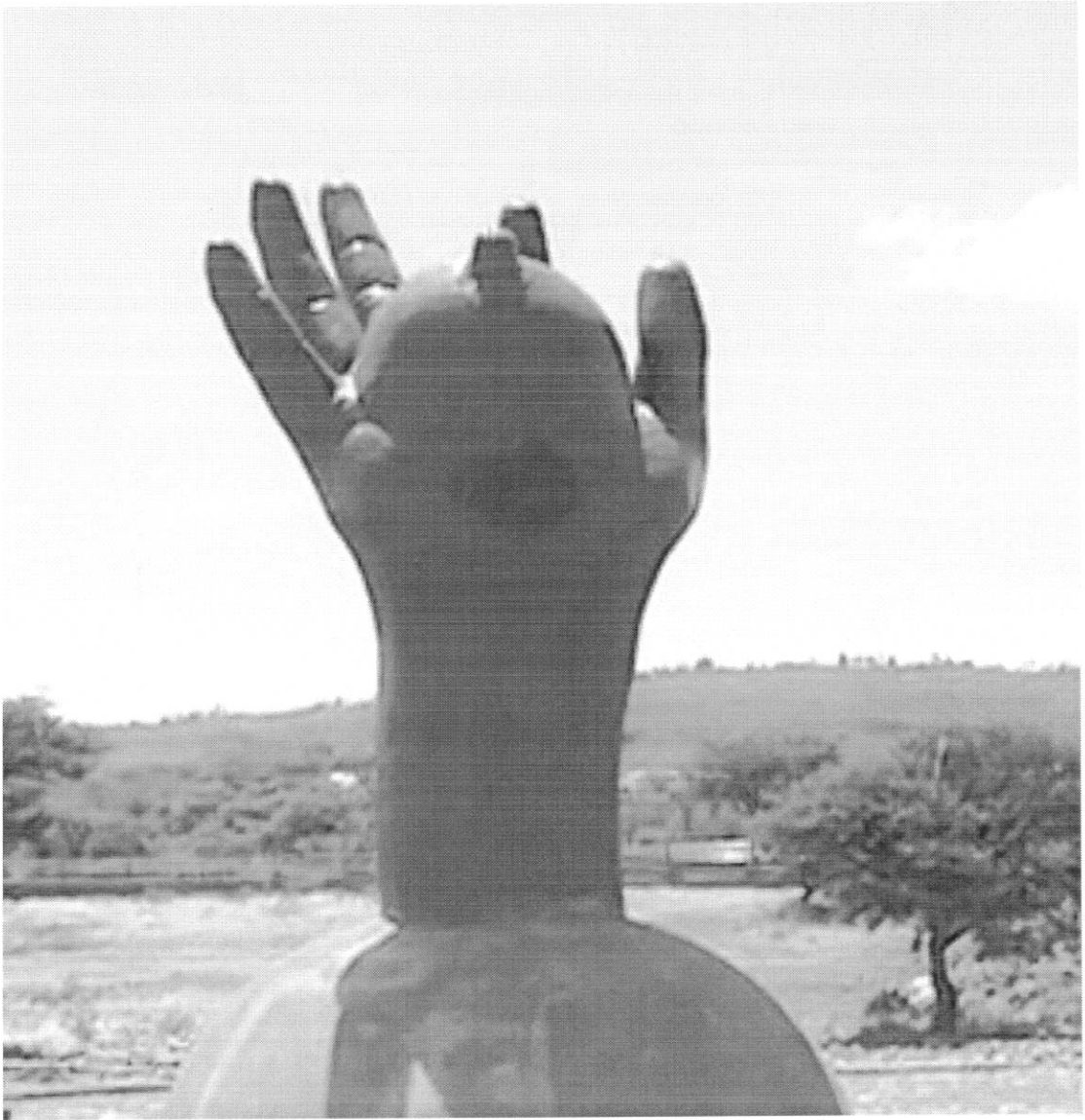
Lammaffa, bakka shorma-share jedhamu ( magaala siree biratti) ummata Arsii walitti qabee labsii akkas jedhuu baase 'lalaba! Labsii! Amma injifanera ! marti keessanu nu gabbartani achi booda galas yoo ta'ee nama ajjeessun haadhaabbatuu'

### **Adeemsa Muraa Aanoole**

Jalqaaba irratti Aanooleen lafaa Gadaan Oromoo Arsii kan dame dhaddacha Qiixibee jedhamuuf iddoo woggaa saddet sadeetin balli irrattii waali dabarfamuu ture. Akka carraa ta'ee bara loltoonni Menelikii mo'anii dirre waranaa argaatan san Gadaan Arsii robaleen woggaa saddeeti hojjate fixee, baalli gara Birmajiitti dabarsuudhaaf yeroo itti qophawu ture.( page 2) Menelikii fi hojjatani isaa jalaa turan osoo sirni Gadaa jiru Ummani akka bulchinsaa isaanii hin fuudhanne waan hubbataniif, marii Daargee, Gobbana Daacce, Tuukkee Mamam waalin torbaan tokko oolin taasifamen ..... ajjessu caala qaluun fi muurun namoota cilchuun surna gaada dhabsisuuf waali gaalan.

Akka waamichi karaa Abba Gadaa dhaddacha Qixiibe DilbatooBultum jedhamuun Ummata Arsi gosa 29f akka darbuu godhamen, ummani kuma heddutti lakahamu haaluma wamamen Aanooletti waal gahee. Akkuma uummanni Aanoolee gahee galmaa abba gadda ijaarate qubate booda , loltoonni menilikii ummata marsani. Saniin booda oggantoonni sirna naftagna ummata walitti qabani nama sirna gadaan hin bulu jedhe ni baadhafna jeedhani kan sirna gaadattin bula jedhe immoo caldhisan. Garuu sirni gadaa kanan booda akka hafuu ummatatti himaan ..... ergaa ummani Aanooletti baaye marinate booda, ejjanno 'gadaan bulla fi gaada haadhiifnuu' jedhuu qabatee kaa'e. .... Isaa booda namni dalla lamma ijarame keessa tokko kan gaddan bulla jedhaan kan immo hin bullu kan jedhuu addan qoodani kan gadaan bulla jedhan harmaa dubartiifi harkaa dhiira muran. (page.3)

Appendix V



**Appendix VI**



## INFORMATION SHEET

### Research Title: The Politics of Representation: Menelik II and Aanoole Statues in Focus

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Yours sincerely

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ቀን መጋቢት 22 / 2007

Date

ቁጥር ጋ/ኮት/004/2006/15

Ref.No

ለኦሮሚያ ባህልና ቱሪዝም ቢሮ

ጉዳይ: ትብብርን ይመለከታል

በት/ቤታችን የሁለተኛ ዓመት የጋዜጠኝነትና ኮሚኒኬሽን የማስተርስ ዲግሪ ተማሪ የሆኑት አቶ መ-ሱ-አለም ዳባ The Politics of Representation: Minilik II and Anole Statues in Focus በሚል ርዕስ ጥናታዊ ጽሑፍ እየሠሩ ይገኛሉ።

ስለሆነም ጥናቱን በተገቢው መልኩ ያከናውኑ ዘንድ ዳታ እንዲሠጣቸው አስፈላጊውን ትብብር እንድታደርጉላቸው በአክብሮት እንጠይቃለን።

ከሠላምታ ጋር  
አብዲህ ዘርዳይ /ዶ/ር/  
የጋዜጠኝነትና ኮሚኒኬሽን ት/ቤት ኃላፊ

