

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF DEVELOPMENT STUDIES



Heritage Politics and Its Implications on Heritage Tourism
The case of Emperor Minilik Monument and Red Terror Museum

By

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February, 2021

Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

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**THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE COLLEGE OF DEVELOPMENT
STUDIES OF ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY IN PARTIAL
FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD
OF THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN TOURISM
DEVELOPMENT AND MANAGEMENT**

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Table of Contents

Acknowledgment	i
Table of Contents	ii
Abstract	iv
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Background of the Study	1
1.2 Statement of the Problem.....	4
1.3 Research Questions.....	7
1.4 Objectives of the study.....	7
1.3.1 General Objective	7
1.3.2 Specific Objectives	7
1.5 Scope of the Study	8
1.6 Significance of the Study	8
1.7 Limitations of the Study.....	9
1.8 Definition of key terms	9
1.9 Organization of the Study	11
CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW LITERATURE.....	12
2.1 Heritages	12
2.2 Statues and Museums.....	12
2.3 Statues in Ethiopia	13
2.4 Museums in Addis Ababa.....	14
2.5 The Concept of Political Science	14
2.6 Remembrance (Memory) of Heritage	16
2.7 Commemoration of Heritage	17
2.8 Political Interpretation of Heritages.....	17
2.9 Heritage Controversies around the World	20
2.10 Heritage Tourism	22
2.11 Trends of Heritage Tourism.....	22
2.12 Conceptual Framework.....	24

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	25
3.1 Introduction.....	25
3.2 Background of the Study Area.....	25
3.3 Research Approach	30
3.4 Research Design.....	30
3.5 Source of Data and Data Collection Instrument	31
3.5.1 Data Sources	31
3.6 Methods of Data Collection.....	31
3.7 Sampling Design.....	32
3.8 Population, Sampling Unit and Sampling Frame	33
3.8.1 Population	33
3.8.2 Sampling Frame	33
3.8.3 Sample Size.....	34
3.9 Methods of Data Analysis.....	34
3.10 Ethical Consideration.....	35
CHAPTER FOUR: PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS, AND DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS ...	36
4.1 Introduction.....	36
4.1.1 Heritages and Political Interpretations.....	37
4.1.2 Citizens’ Perceptions towards the Heritages.....	42
4.1.3 The Effects of Heritage Politics on Ethiopian Tourism Business.....	44
4.1.4 Coping Strategies	46
CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS, AND	
RECOMMENDATIONS	48
5.1 Introduction.....	48
5.2 Summary of the findings.....	48
5.3 Conclusion	51
5.4 Recommendations.....	51
REFERENCE.....	I
Annex	VIII
Appendix.....	X

Abstract

Heritage can be understood as an important political and cultural tool as well as empowering discourse in defining and legitimizing the identity, experiences and social / cultural position of a society. In Ethiopia also in three consecutive regimes different statues were erected to represent the political system of the time. On the other hand it is important to recognize Heritage tourism as the world's most important segment of tourism with multi billion dollars revenue. As far as the type of research is concerned, this study employed a qualitative research approach and used a combination of descriptive and explanatory inquiries. Research findings based on data from both primary and secondary sources of information are presented under sections and subsections reflecting the thematic analysis of the data. As to respondents, in different regimes and different political ideologies, heritages will have different interpretations. Following that politics can have both positive and negative relation with heritages as politicians will favor and take a good care of those heritages that can add value for their political ideologies and disfavor those which are against their ideologies. This is because in the long history of multi-ethnic Ethiopia, politics fell under the control of few. On the other side, respondents who are not politicians mention political interpretation can affect heritages for good and for bad. Beyond that the interpretation given can make heritages the property of all not of a certain group. These two heritages are exposed to different political disputes because of politics and heritages attachment. Heritage and cultural tourism is becoming a multibillion-dollar activity in spite of the fact that they are interwoven with politics. Heritage tourism is not only of economic significance but also stands out for having an important role to play with the facilitation of reconciliation, inclusiveness, commemoration and the formation of a national identity. Whilst it is important to address heritage issues through all those ways, as long as there are people or groups who are using heritages as tools of political sabotage and used to amplify their political interest, heritage politics issues need to be addressed. The Government should open up political and social vacuums particularly for those who hold different perspectives, before they are forced to reflect it in wrong ways. Finally, society should be mindful enough to hear and accept from the professionals who are specialized on the issue of heritages than fraud politicians.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

The UNESCO World Heritage Centre defines heritage as our legacy from the past, what we live with today, and what we pass on to future generations. Heritage can be understood as an important political and cultural tool in defining and legitimizing the identity, experiences and social/cultural standing of a range of subnational groups as well as those of the authorizing discourse (Smith, 2006). It meets individual and group needs and it helps explain how a person think and live (Mirna, Anne and Marijana, 2015).

Heritage is a highly politicized process that is subject to contestation and bound up in the construction, reconstruction, and deconstruction of memory and identity (Whelan, 2003). It is framed by the values and agendas of the individuals, communities and societies who invest the objects, sites, places, and practices that are present in their environment with importance. By defining 'heritage', whether cultural or natural, we engage in debates regarding power, capitalism, democracy, identity, and place. As such, heritage forms the basis of the emergence of democratic nation states in the west during the nineteenth century.

Notions of class, gender, and ethnicity structure the concept of heritage that is formed in the nineteenth century, as it constitutes a politics of vision. In Britain, France and Germany as well as the United States, to look upon 'heritage', in the form of a landscape, place, or object, and appreciate it fully as a category of value, required a masculine, middle class, and 'European' ethnic identity.

This use of heritage supported an imperialist structure of power as current inhabitants of these sites were removed from a sense of connection with this past as the empires of Britain and France appeared to be the rightful heirs of such illustrious forebears. The display of objects from traditional societies was used to reinforce racial notions of superiority.

According to Lasswell, (1936), politics is who gets what, when, and how. This definition of politics is the most accepted in the discipline. The struggle involved in allocating the scarce resources, and determining what to produce, how to distribute, and how to use is said to be

politics. Modern political theories conform to this definition as it establishes the unique connection of politics and power. Politics is a decision-making through public facilities and the making of a decision by public means.

The formation of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, as a specialized agency of the United Nations in 1945, brought the politics of globalization to what had been a nationalist program within cultural heritage. The Nubia Campaign from 1960 saw cooperation between Egypt and Sudan with other nations across the world to protect ancient sites from the development of the Aswan Dam. This promotion and preservation of heritage encouraged the development of international protocols, which has encouraged the concept of 'world heritage'. In this manner, heritage becomes a tool for global cooperation and diplomacy as nations recognize the value of the past from other areas of the world and each are accorded the same significance.

Notions of power are central to the construction of heritage, and consequently identity. What to forget and what to remember is defined or detected by the one who has the greatest power. The authority to create, define, and interpret collective pasts through tangible representations can be achieved through localized territorial struggles. The victor often symbolizes one group's tangible definition of identity while excluding other group of the society (McDowell, 2016).

According to Svensson, different groups and actors have different value for things and have different attachments to sites. Their positions reflect their different interests and needs to remember and forget certain aspects of the past. Goulding & Domic understands monuments and memorials as a political art; generating this psychological and intellectual room becomes ever more crucial, since political art affects the larger social context in which history is studied and remembered. The other important issue raised in the research is Heritage Tourism. According to Southall and Robinson, it is defined as "visits to and experiences of places of historical importance and significance". It provides opportunities to visitors to reveal a country's identity and a symbol of national pride. Organizations such as UNESCO play an important role in promoting destination images and sustaining national inheritance. Cultural and natural heritages identification, preservation, and protection should be encouraged globally as they have significant value to humanity (UNESCO, 2013).

Heritage tourism is the highest intensifying segments of the tourism industry globally. Nevertheless, many of these treasures are susceptible to damage or destruction due to wars, constant terrorist attacks, and political riots. Hence, tourism officials in those politically uncertain countries should not only implement policies to preserve and protect heritage, they also need to impose appropriate crisis management to avoid the disappearance of heritage tourism.

The Red Terror (Qey Shibir) was an attempt to consolidate Derg rule during the political instability after the overthrow of Emperor Haile Selassie in 1974 and the subsequent Ethiopian Civil War. The Qey Shibir was based on the Red Terror of the Russian Civil War, and most visibly took place after Mengistu Haile Mariam became Chairman of the Derg on 3 February 1977.

The Red Terror in Soviet Russia was a campaign of political repression and mass killings carried out by the Bolsheviks—chiefly through the Cheka, the Bolshevik secret police—in mid-1918 after the beginning of the Russian Civil War.

Arising after an assassination attempt on Vladimir Lenin, the Red Terror was modeled on the Reign of Terror of the French Revolution and sought to eliminate opposition, political dissent, and any other threat to Bolshevik power.

Some might argue that the Museum emerged out of the EPRDFs justification for their rule and hence, is tied to their political legacy. More importantly, RTMMM tells a story of the extremes of brutality that a state can achieve in order to silence alternate views. Recognizing the losses from the past re-opens a sense of indeterminism for the future; this can fuel instability, but it is also the grounds of possibility for yet another transition.

The major historic narratives of Minilik II statue revolve around the commemoration of the Emperor's contribution in state building. The normative narratives of his equestrian statue tells about the military conquests of Southern, Eastern and Western parts of the country in the process of building modern Ethiopia. It also tells the brave accomplishment of the Emperor in safeguarding the sovereignty of the country from Fascist Italy. The deconstructive narratives mainly arise from the war of conquest in the process of building the modern Empire of Ethiopia. This process affected mainly the Arsi Oromo who strongly resisted Minilik's war of conquest.

Following the normative and deconstructive narrations, political views are reflected around Minilik II monument. The extreme pan nationalist view with an intention to create strong Ethiopian Nationalism and an ideology of hegemonic discourse considers Ethiopia as one ethnic, one language and one religion state and express Minilik II monument as symbol of a great Ethiopian nationalism. On the other side, the Ethno nationalist view supporting strong ethno nationalism emerged to deconstruct the extreme Pan nationalist discourse. For the conquered people Minilik's war of conquest was a process of internal colonization that competes with European colonizers. For the proponents of this view, Minilik II monument is seen as a symbol of colonization, which should be deconstructed and condemned (Muluaem, 2019).

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Heritage becomes not only a tool of governance, but also a tool of opposition and subversion (Smith, 2006). Works of art that are meant to convey political messages, like monuments and memorials, have a unique power to shape public discourse on certain issues (Goulding & Domic, 2009). There is always a choice involved as to what to keep and preserve, and what to discard and forget about the past. The choices are based on cultural, economic, and political considerations on both the individual and collective level. Ideology and power shapes the decisions on what to remember and preserve, and how to preserve and display (Svensson, 2006). The Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington caused controversy when it was built, because it did not use traditional heroic imagery. Instead, it had a capacity to recall rather than resolve painful memories. The memorial's alleged success cannot rest on a particular interpretation, for there are other tragically mistaken interpretations about the Vietnam War and the memorial itself that one can, and many do, come away with interpretations engendered by the memorial in context (Rowlands, 1999).

According to Luke (2002), the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum is an exceptional, but also contradictory, enterprise. First, it is a museum and memorial in North America for what was essentially a European event. And, second, during a decade marked by spirited public outcry against widely perceived undercurrents of politicization in many major museum exhibitions across the United States, the generally positive reception of the Holocaust museum's displays

stood out as a clear contradiction. Perhaps this is because the museum is one sort of monument to political correctness.

As Hassen explains different ethnic groups inhabit the majority of Sub-Saharan African countries. A new government may represent only one group or a minority of the population. Usually, they give priority only to the culture of their own ethnic group. Not in the remote past, but in recent times, we have seen that the replacement of one social group or ideology by another has led to the destruction of all cultural assets associated with the old regime (Hassen, 1999). Political actors have been contested for the political victory through constructing monuments that support their political ideology and altering, ignoring, or removing former monuments that have highly political connotations. In different regimes political leaders and interested groups have been fixing meanings and interpretation for the same monuments (Mulalem, 2017b). Some of the erected statues during the period of Ethiopian People Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) are not unanimously welcomed by the society due to their representations create contention among the different ethnic based political parties found in the country. Statues constructed in this period mainly depend on the narratives of inter-political conflict between Derg, the socialist, and EPRDF the multi-party system to gain the political power (Mulalem, 2017a).

According to Ayele (2018), Anoole memorial has varying meanings. Government representatives say that it is a tribute to the victims of the Oromo people by the Neftegna system during the campaign of Emperor Menelik II, the Shewan Amahara. Some scholars disagree on the mutilation issue. Based on these arguments the statue with a cut off hand holding a mutilated breast is a fabrication or a legend not a real history. Mulalem (2017b) also argues that, there are two views on Anoole monument. The first is the view that supports the construction of Anoole memorial monument. In this view Anoole is seen as symbol of freedom and independence and also perceived as an emblem and outcome of the contemporary Ethiopian political system. The second view is against the construction of the monument because several counter-narratives have emerged on its construction due to the historical base of the statue being emphasized on the negative side of the civil war during the reign of emperor Menelik II.

Co-opting, creating, altering, contesting, ignoring, or removing particular monuments can gain prestige, legitimacy, and influence. It is in such a way that political leaders and interest groups

define and establish the historical incidents that frame state identities. It is in this way that monuments become weapons in the political battle for hearts and minds (Forest and Johnson, 2010).

In Addis Ababa, according to Mulalem (2018), an equestrian statue of Menelik is a symbol of liberty, victory, and freedom for Ethiopians and other black people. The statue epitomizes the Ethiopian people heroism and patriotism for the rest of the world. However, the depiction of Menelik II statue has been deconstructed as it could not be an inclusive and representative of all ethnic groups particularly affected by the conquest of emperor Menelik in the process of building the modern Ethiopian empire. There are two views regarding Menelik II statue an Ethiopianist and Correctionist view. An Ethiopianist (Extreme Pan-nationalist) view argues that Menelik II statue is a symbol of great Ethiopian nationalism and emperor Menelik II was the political architect for the creation of sense of strong nationalism among the Ethiopian people during his reign. The correctionist (Extreme Ethno-nationalist) view has emerged to deconstruct the extreme pan-nationalist (Ethiopianism) view and construct the corrective political narratives in the political history of modern Ethiopia. This view considers the Menelik war of conquest as the process of colonization.

Heritage and cultural tourism is one of the fastest emerging competitive niche tourism segments both locally and internationally in spite of the fact that they are interwoven with politics. It is becoming a multibillion-dollar activity by maximizing tourist spending in the areas of accommodation, food, admission fees and shopping and employs millions of people contributing to the global economy directly and indirectly (Timothy and Boyd, 2003).

Numerous tourism researches like Teeger and Vinitzky-Seroussi (2007), Meskell and Scheermeyer (2008), Grobler (2008), Khumalo, Sebatlelo, and van der Merwe (2014) are shown in support of the notion that heritage tourism is not only of economic significance but also stands out for having an important role to play with the facilitation of reconciliation, inclusiveness, commemoration and the formation of a national identity. Whilst it is important to address heritage issues through all those ways, there are also heritage politics issues that need to be addressed. As indicated by Mulalem (2017a) there is no academic research that examines the political representation of iconic statues constructed starting from the modern Ethiopian history.

Since little is known and explicitly investigated about the political representation of iconic heritages in Ethiopia, the expected growth of heritage tourism is hampered however; this has to be insured in empirical evidence.

Therefore, unavailability of a research work that precisely fit with what is raised up in this thesis and the existence of politics on the construction, protection and interpretation of heritages in Ethiopia motivated the researcher to disclose the existing heritage politics in Ethiopia and the harm it shadowed on the growing tourism sector. Particularly, heritages, which are found in Addis Ababa and with controversies and arguments because of the political influence, are investigated. Accordingly, the study assessed the current political interpretation, the political views, and values of the heritage sites to help understand the influence it has on heritage tourism.

1.3 Research Questions

Taking the above problem, the researcher attempted to answer the following research questions:

1. Why heritages are attached with political interpretation?
2. What are the citizens' perceptions towards the heritages?
3. How do heritage politics affect Ethiopian tourism business?
4. What would be the coping strategy?

1.4 Objectives of the study

1.3.1 General Objective

Thus, the overall aim of this study is to assess heritage politics and its implications on heritage tourism in Ethiopia, with a focus on Emperor Menelik II Statue and Red Terror Museum in Addis Ababa.

1.3.2 Specific Objectives

Based on the above general objective the following specific objectives were drawn: To assess the current politics and heritages attachment.

1. To identify residents' perceptions towards the heritages.
2. To show the effects of heritage politicization on Ethiopian tourism business.
3. To figure out the way forward.

1.5 Scope of the Study

As mentioned above the research is all about heritage politics and its implication on heritage tourism however, it should be framed thematically, geographically and methodologically. Therefore, the research is *thematically* bounded on heritage politics in general and for the purposes of analysis the research particularly focused on heritages of monument and museum. Though there are many monuments in Addis Ababa, the researcher picked Menelik's statue because this statue is exposed for various arguments within the society and among politicians. The other one is Red Terror museum; this museum is recently built and considered as it is created to magnify political purposes. Thus the research work with great emphasis on identifying the political views towards the heritages, assessing the current political interpretations of the heritages and identifying the effects of the heritages politicization on tourism and the coping strategies. The study is also confined *geographically*, since the unit of analysis is found in a place where the statue and the museum are found. The study is confined to selected heritage sites, which are based in the capital. Therefore, the study area is bounded in the city of Addis Ababa. Following that the selected samples are also all from Addis Ababa.

1.6 Significance of the Study

In spite of the limitations referred below, this study has a number of areas in which the results of the study contribute to the existing knowledge and understandings. Thus, the study can open the door for discussion for different stakeholders, those who have the interest on heritage politics and tourism issues. **For Policy Makers and Practitioners:** the paper is expected to shed light on the possibilities of conservation and protection of heritage sites, which can help to fully tap the benefits out of it such as political stability and economic gain. Above all, the result of the study is going to alert concerned bodies particularly, Addis Ababa Bureau of Culture and Tourism to protect its heritages from wrong political narratives and promote the right historical significance of the studied heritages. **For Academicians and Researchers:** since academic literatures in this particular topic are not available, the finding of the study can serve as a springboard for other researchers who are interested in further researches in the area of heritage politics. **People in the area:** This study will have an advantage in creating awareness on the idea of heritage politics and the impact it has on heritage tourism, which is rare to find in Ethiopian literatures.

1.7 Limitations of the Study

Research limitation is the possible weak spot of the study, which is out of the control of the researcher. Since there is no research without limitations, this study in spite of useful insights with regard to heritage politics and tourism; it has limitations of inputs to support the research with prior research in the study area. The other limitation of the research is related to data collection, it was difficult to access study informants to interview. The cardinal reason behind for this limitation was the fact that time of data collection coincided with the international epidemic of Covid-19 Corona Virus spread. Moreover, because of the current state of emergency (during data collection time) and physical/social distancing (recommended by health experts) the researcher was unable to get the respondents in their stay at home challenge. Due to this, the study was not completed as planned and it may not be large enough to represent the entire region of Addis Ababa. Hence, the finding of this study may not have the ability to generalize, the researcher wishes to be understood within this limited scope and perspectives. In spite of these limitations, the researcher believes this research finding in the study area is expressive and present important insights about heritage politics and the damage it can have on heritage tourism.

1.8 Definition of key terms

Heritage: The Oxford English Dictionary defines ‘heritage’ as ‘property that is or may be inherited; an inheritance’, ‘valued things such as historic buildings that have been passed down from previous generations’, and ‘relating to things of historic or cultural value that are worthy of preservation’. The emphasis on inheritance and conservation is important here, as is the focus on ‘property’, ‘things’, or ‘buildings’. So heritage is something that can be passed from one generation to the next, something that can be conserved or inherited, and something that has historic or cultural value. Heritage might be understood to be a physical ‘object’: a piece of property, a building or a place that is able to be ‘owned’ and ‘passed on’ to someone else (Harrison, 2010).

Heritage is the occupied range of our inborn tradition, monument, object, and culture. Most important, heritage is the range of contemporary activity, meaning, and behavior that we draw

from them; It includes much more than persevering, excavating, displaying, or restoring a collection of old things (Fikadu, 2018).

“Heritage” in the broadest sense is that which is inherited. Everything, which the ancestors bequeath, may be called heritage: landscapes, structures, objects, and traditions. Humans have understood the concept of heritage ever since they developed artifacts and language (Tonkin, 2012).

Politics: Politics in its broadest sense is the activity through which people make, preserve, and amend the general rules under which they live. Politics is inextricably linked to the phenomena of conflict and cooperation. On the one hand, the existence of rival opinions, different wants, competing needs and opposing interests guarantees disagreement about the rules under which people live. On the other hand, people recognize that in order to influence these rules or ensure that they are upheld, they must work with others.

Tourism: There are a number of ways tourism can be defined. Recently, the United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) embarked on a project from 2005 to 2007 to create a common glossary of terms for tourism. It defines tourism as follows: A social, cultural and economic phenomenon which entails the movement of people to countries or places outside their usual environment for personal or business/professional purposes. These people are called visitors (which may be either tourists or excursionists; residents or non-residents) and tourism has to do with their activities, some of which imply tourism expenditure (Skripak, 2016).

Monument: building, or other structure erected to commemorate a notable person or event.

Statue: A statue is a freestanding sculpture in which the realistic, full-length figures of persons or animals or non-representational forms, which are carved in a durable material, like wood, metal, or stone.

Museum: Non-profit, permanent institution in the service of society and its development, open to the public and exhibits the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and its environment.

1.9 Organization of the Study

This research paper contains five basic parts, which are classified by chapters. The first chapter deals with an introduction, background of the study area, statement of the problem, the objective of the study, research questions, and scope of the study, the significance of the study, limitation of the study and definitions of basic terms. The second chapter is fully intended to give a reader with the related literature that is relevant to the study. The third chapter states methodology of the study that is/are used by the researcher in conducting the research; Chapter four deals with the data analysis and the final chapter is all about interpretations and scientific recommendation based on the finding.

CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW LITERATURE

2.1 Heritages

In addition to physical objects and places, there are also various practices of heritage that are conserved or handed down from one generation to the next. Language is an important aspect of who we understand ourselves to be, and it is learned and passed from adult to child, from generation to generation. These invisible or 'intangible' practices of heritage, such as language, culture, popular song, folklore, are as important in helping us to understand who we are as the physical objects and buildings that we are more used to think of as 'heritage'. Another aspect of these practices of heritage is the ways in which we go about conserving things – the choices we make about what to conserve from the past and what to discard: which memories to keep, and which to forget; which memorials to maintain, and which to allow to be demolished; which buildings to save, and which ones to allow to be built over. Practices of heritage are customs and habits, which, although intangible, inform who we are as collectives, and help to create our collective social memory. We use objects of heritage (artefacts, buildings, sites, landscapes) alongside practices of heritage (languages, music, community commemorations, conservation and preservation of objects or memories from the past) to shape our ideas about our past, present, and future (Harrison, 2010).

2.2 Statues and Museums

Statues are symbols that represent dynamic societal values. They serve as a rallying point for shared common memory and identity and, hence, are used as a collective remembrance. They also have a power to immortalize an intended ideology. Statue is an object that represents the religion, history, culture, art, socio-economy and political practices of one nation (Whelan, 2001).

According to ICOMOS (2007), museum is a non-profit, permanent institution in the service of society and its development, open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and its environment for the purposes of education, study and enjoyment.

2.3 Statues in Ethiopia

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. Moreover, statues are symbols that represent political contexts in which the society function. Their constructions are contingent on political system of the particular regime. They are used to legitimize the functioning political system in order to the public support and obey the system. In Ethiopia, different statues are erected in three consecutive regimes to depict the political system of the era. In the monarchial regimes, from Menelik II to Haile Silassie I (1889-1974) several iconic statues were constructed to glorify the emperors and at the same time to legitimize the political dominance of the aristocrats over the majority peasant. Not only the statue for emperors, but also the statues of emperors' family were also constructed during the monarchial period in Ethiopia. In the Derg regime, the military Junta (1974-1991) who advocates Ethiopian socialism, the statues of previous regime were dismantled, dislocated and their names were changed to denounce the monarchial regime and promote socialism in Ethiopia. As a result, several new statues such as Marx and Lenin statues were constructed along with the socialism political manifesto. Similar to the former regimes, in the regime of EPRDF (1991presnt), various statues are erected at different regional states of the country. This shows the outcome of the ethno-linguistics line based federal structure that EPRDF adopts to attain the quest for political, economic, and cultural autonomy of multi ethnic groups. Due to this, in Bahir Dar, capital city of Amhara regional state, Amhara people martyrs monument is constructed for the Amhara people's martyrs. Again, in Adama and Mekelle cities, martyrs' monuments are constructed for the people of Oromo and Tigray respectively. However, some of the erected statues during the period of EPRDF are not unanimously welcomed by the society as their representations create contention among the different ethnic based political parties found in the country.

2.4 Museums in Addis Ababa

A museum is a place where exhibits and artifacts of the past are on display. As stated by Mesfin (NI), Museums are corridors into the past allowing a rear view mirror to see what the world was; and when one visits such museums emotions rekindle, and carries one away to the far past, and place him to judge history as “it is and as it was”.

It is possible to say that nearly all the historical, cultural, and natural heritages of Ethiopia are exhibited in Addis Ababa, which is very well served with museums. Tourists/visitors can find here the highlights of regional or local destinations and sites prior to their departure to specific destinations. In terms of ownership and administration, museums in Addis Ababa fall into various categories: government, religious institutions, and private. They can also be grouped as Zoological, Natural, Historical, Archaeological, Ethnological, Historical/Cultural, and Religious. Including the museum in the premises of Trinity Cathedral, the total number of officially visited museums in Addis Ababa is now nine (Teferi, 2017)

2.5 The Concept of Political Science

The term politics is derived from the Greek word ‘Polis’, which means the city-state. According to Greek Philosophers, Politics was a subject, which dealt with all the activities and affairs of the city-state. Their City States were known as ‘Polis’. City-state was an all-inclusive term, as the ancient Greeks made no distinction between the state and the Government on one hand, and State and Society on the other. They never differentiated between personal life and social life. Hence according to them Politics was a total study of man, society, state, morality, and so on (Tola, 2017).

Meaning

Man is a social animal. He cannot live in isolation, because he is not self-sufficient and the natural instinct to survive compels him to live a collective life. According to Aristotle, this collective life necessitates a political mechanism of rules, regulations, and leadership. An organized society needs some system to make and enforce rules for orderly behavior in society. This led to the evolution of a political system with elaborate governmental institutions &

procedures in each society. Therefore, man is also a political animal. Political science is one of the oldest subjects of study of this political life of man.

Nature Politics is not only a mere institution of governance but also a mechanism for achieving societal goals. Political science is a social science concerned with the theory and practice of politics and the description and analysis of political systems and political behavior. It includes matters concerning the allocation and transfer of power in decision-making, the roles, and systems of governance including governments and international organizations, political behavior and public policies. Political science is thus a study of the state in the past, present, and future; of political organization, political processes, and political functions of political institutions and political theories.

In terms of definitions Political Scientists have given us numerous definitions of politics. Below I present several definitions of politics, and argue for using the broadest, most far-reaching, of those definitions. The broader understanding of politics helps us recognize the two broad categories of political problems – conflict and collective action, to recognize that politics is an activity that is not solely confined to the human species. Here are four definitions from eminent political scientists: Politics is “the authoritative allocation of values for the society” (David Easton). “The essence of politics lies in power...of relationships of super ordination, or dominance and submission, of the governors and the governed. “Politics is the process through which individuals and groups reach agreement on a course of common, or collective, action— even as they disagree on the intended goals of that action” (Samuel Kernell, et. al). “The study of politics is the study of influence and the influential” (or, as the title of the book has it, “Politics is who gets what, when, and, how” (Harold Lasswell).”

Politics as the Study of the Government

Some Political Scientists like Paul Janet, George Catlin, and Hans Eulan have accepted the view, which states that politics deals with the state and the government. Paul Janet writes “Political Science is concerned with the foundations of the state and principles of government. George Catlin states “Politics means either the activities of political life or the study of these activities. And these activities are generally treated as activities of the various organs of government.”

Hans Eulan considers in his definition of politics that the study of formal government is a fundamental concern of politics. The Oxford English Dictionary defines Political Science as “the study of the state and systems of government.” (Grobler, 2008).

Politics as the Study of National Institution

Bridal expressed the view that “Political Science is, above all, descriptive study which brings together the description of national political institutions, their history, their ideological principles, their working, the forces that direct them, the influence they undergo, the results they obtain and their effect on the life of the country and its relations with neighboring states.

2.6 Remembrance (Memory) of Heritage

Memory and commemoration are constructed according to the social, cultural, and political nature, as well as the needs and experiences of the society and individuals producing them (Whitmarsh, 2001). Monuments have long sought to provide a naturalizing locus for memory, in which a state’s triumph and martyrs; its ideals and founding myths are cast as naturally true as the landscape in which they stand (Young, 1997). Monuments are nothing if not selective aids to memory; they encourage us to remember some things and to forget others (Ladd, 2008).

As with heritage, memory is not an object to possess, memories are not like books in a library that we can pull down, open up, and read (Conway, 1997). In reconstructing memory there is evasiveness, contradiction, ambiguity, induced silences and deliberate gaps (Pickover, 2014). Identities are the names we give to the different ways we are positioned by and position ourselves within the narrative of the past (Hall, 1994).

Memorials help us engage in commemorations and interpretations of the past. Such processes may easily change over time and trigger complicated debates that reveal the political aspect of memory and its memorial forms what is to be remembered and silenced, where, and how, who is to remember and for whom. Memorials give expression to a people’s changing needs in relation to what they want to remember and how, and what they feel they can forget and for how long. The politics of memory are influencing which aspects of collective memory are to be promoted and which are to be excluded (Hog, 2008).

2.7 Commemoration of Heritage

Savage (2007), defines commemoration as to commemorate is to call to remembrance, to mark an event or a person or a group by a ceremony or an observance or a monument of some kind. Commemorations might be ephemeral or permanent; the key point is that they prod collective memory in some conspicuous way.

Monuments and their associated commemorations are best thought of as devices of communication rather than aesthetic representations as such, they underscore the power of dead-body politics and the reworking of memory (Osborne, 2001). Museums play a significant role in commemoration. Their displays confer legitimacy on specific interpretations of history, and attribute significance to particular events (Noakes, 1997).

The commemorative aspect of war museums directly affects their style of interpretation, particularly in relation to a number of related but distinct themes. Commemoration may focus on individuals, or may focus more on a group, whether the nation or a specific military unit. War museums have often been accused of sanitizing or glamorizing war, through their depiction of heroes and their portrayal of death. The museum's interpretation of technology can also play a part in creating a sanitized version of the past, and its portrayal of former enemies can reinforce wartime attitudes, both of which are part of traditional patterns of commemoration (Whitmarsh, 2001). Commemoration has both an aesthetic and political function as well as a personal one. The commemoration of war requires a relatively simple, morally uncomplicated narrative (Young, 1996).

2.8 Political Interpretation of Heritages

According to Young (1993), monument building is a living process, in some sense always unfinished. No matter how much a monument may pretend to be eternal and unchanging, its meaning always evolves as its viewers bring new concerns and understandings to it.

Monument and its significance are constructed in particular times and places, depending on the political, historical, and aesthetic realities of the moment (Young, 1997). 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 (Forest & Johnson, 2010). In interpreting and identifying cultural heritage there is a struggle between different actors and powers. The issues of cultural and economic capital, resulting in ideological, economic, and political contestations are related to cultural heritage (Svensson, 2006).

A memorial, whether it is a simple monument or a museum, contains within it not only the superficial gesture towards remembrance of the past and the dead but also a wealth of information about the priorities, politics and sensibilities of those who built it. A memorial will tell us more about its builders than about those to whom it is dedicated (Heathcote, 1999). The monument's sustaining illusions, the principles of its seeming longevity and power. But in fact, neither the monument nor its meaning is really everlasting (Young, 1997). According to Kammen (2011), more often than not, monuments tell us more about the moment they were created than the past they claim to preserve. Societies reconstruct their pasts rather than faithfully record them, and they do so with the needs of contemporary culture clearly in mind manipulating the past in order to mold the present.

Monuments have always been ways of mediating between particular types of pasts and futures, intended to forever define a particular interpretation and maintain influence in the present. At times, they may appear invisible, forgotten in the backdrop of everyday urban landscapes, but they maintain authority, telling the public explicitly whom to remember and implicitly whom to forget (Anderson, 1978). Art and politics are linked in particular and problematic ways in memorials just as they are in public space and in public art more generally. Nevertheless, the significance of memorials is ultimately personal and in the context of memorialization both art and politics are ideally made to serve personal ends. The narrative meaning conveyed is crucial to the success or failure of any large-scale public monument or act of memorialization. The ability of a memorial to function rests in part in its ability to convey such meaning and in part for such meaning to be appropriately apprehended (Haskins & DeRose, 2003; Curtis, 2004).

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. In the case of 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 (Bodnar, 1992). In Africa, statues erected intend to represent several social values. In the pre-colonial era, statues are carved for religious ceremony and to honor their ancestor and kings. During the period of colonization, the statues of colonizers were erected in several African countries to legitimize their political and economic upper hand. For instance, the Queen Victoria statue, and the two King George V statues were erected in Kenya for British monarchs during colonization period (Larsen, 2013). In Ethiopia in three consecutive regimes (Monarchy, Derg and EPRDF), different monuments have been erected to represent the country's history, culture, political and even statues of famous individuals from inside and outside Ethiopia are constructed to dedicate their contribution they made for Ethiopia at different historical junctures (Mulalem, 2017a). Different statues are erected in those three consecutive regimes to depict the political system of the era. In the monarchial regimes, from Menelik II to Haile Silassie I (1889-1974) several iconic statues were constructed to glorify the emperors and at the same time to legitimize the political dominance of the aristocrats over the majority peasant. Not only the statue for emperors, but the statues of emperors' family were also constructed during the monarchial period in Ethiopia. In the Derg, the military Junta (1974-1991) regime which advocates Ethiopian socialism, the statues of previous regime were dismantled, dislocated and their names were changed to denounce the monarchical regime and promote socialism in Ethiopia. As a result, several new statues such as Marx and Lenin statues were constructed along with the socialism political manifesto.

Similar to the former regimes, in the regime of EPRDF (1991presnt), various statues are erected at different regional states of the country. This shows that the outcome of the federal structure that EPRDF adopts based on ethno-linguistics lines to attain the quest for political, economic and cultural autonomy of multi ethnic groups in the country. Due to this, in Bahir Dar, city of Amhara regional state, Amhara people martyrs monument is constructed for the Amhara people's martyrs. Again, in Adama and Mekelle cities, martyrs' monuments are constructed for the people of Oromo and Tigray respectively. However, some of the erected statues during the period of EPRDF are not unanimously welcomed by the society due to their representations create contention among the different ethnic based political parties found in the country. Thus, the statues erected in these three consecutive Ethiopia regimes are highly representing these regimes political system (Mulalem, 2017a).

2.9 Heritage Controversies around the World

The Smithsonian Institution is the national museum in the USA and its National Air and Space Museum planned an exhibit to marking the 50th anniversary in 1995 of the end of World War II featuring a restoration of the Enola Gay, the bomber that helped to end the war by dropping the first atomic bomb on Hiroshima. A fierce controversy developed over how this event should be presented. For military veterans it had been a justified act that had achieved decisive victory and finally ending an appalling war in which so many of their comrades had been killed or injured. But others questioned the necessity for using that terrible bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in a nearly defeated Japan (Mirna, Anne and Marijana, 2015). The Enola Gay controversy transcended the politics of the moment and became a classic confrontation between history and collective memory (Savage, 2007).

A visitor survey conducted in the mid-1990s at Australia's national war museum, the Australian War Memorial, found that visitors who either had or had not been personally involved in the Second World War had very different attitudes towards former enemies of Australia, specifically the Japanese. Veterans and others affected by war believed that any attempt to humanize the former enemy would be inappropriate, and might have the effect of trying to excuse Japanese maltreatment of Australian prisoners of war. In contrast, the other group of visitors wished to understand the motivations, culture and behavior of former enemies, to be able to see the war from the enemy's point of view, and to focus on the humanity of the enemy (Ferguson, 1997).

In 1995, a vociferous debate occurred in Richmond over a proposal to integrate the Avenue, still considered to be the South's grandest Confederate memorial site, with a statue of the late African American Richmond native, tennis star and human rights activist Arthur Ashe. While on the surface, the main issue in the debate was where to locate the Ashe statue, the underlying debate over Richmond's symbolic landscape centered on issues of race relations, identity, and power at the end of the twentieth century (Leib, 2002).

To have an African general insight, Africans are creating a rich memorial landscape. As stated by Muluaem (2017), statues are erected intending to represent several social values. In the pre-colonial era, statues are carved for religious ceremony and to honor their ancestor and kings. Across the continent, there are monuments, museums, and memory processes remembering mass

atrocities, from slavery and colonialism, to postcolonial conflicts, apartheid, and genocide. During the period of colonization, the statues of colonizers were erected in several African countries to legitimize their political and economic upper hand. For instance, the Queen Victoria statue, and the two King George V statues were erected in Kenya for British monarchs during colonization period. Voortrekkers monument was also erected for Voortrekkers in South Africa who colonized the interior of South Africa. Most of statues constructed in Africa during the period of colonization are dismantled or replaced after African countries got their independence. Memory is increasingly associated with reconciliation, healing, justice and conflict-prevention (The African Union Human Rights Memorial, 2012).

The establishment of Ethiopian national heritage was characterized by a continuous internal and external politicization of heritage. A continuous process of regime centralization characterized Ethiopian history throughout the twentieth century. The politicization of heritage is best interpreted along the trajectory of the centralization of power. Establishing national heritage, as a state domain in Ethiopia was an act of manifesting political power, aimed at invoking national unity and identity in a fragile and multi-ethnic Ethiopian state that was struggling to hold territorial authority in several areas. The concentration of the main heritage sites in the northern part of the country was no coincidence. Rather it served a two-fold purpose: the installation of a physical governmental presence and the establishment of a historical narrative of a "Greater Ethiopia". Moreover, statues are symbols that represent political contexts in which the society function. Their constructions are contingent on political system of the particular regime. They are used to legitimize the functioning political system in order to the public support and obey the system (Tola, 2017).

Historiography and heritage making became substantial elements in the domestic and regional political conflicts that evolved before and after the 1974 revolution— for all the stakeholders involved. To externally politicize heritage within the context of international relations, the narrative of the colonized empire was employed to maintain and bolster the image of a politically strong, independent country. The symbolic charging of Ethiopian history in the context of the African liberation movement supported the establishment of heritage making as a political strategy and the use of heritage to create an image of a strong country. This image was supposed to balance out the appearance of economic weakness and environmental crisis, while at the same

time still allowing for the attraction of foreign investment and development assistance.

2.10 Heritage Tourism

Jamal and Kim, (2005:56) suggests that in this globalized restless world and full of identity conflicts it is necessary to better understand the concepts of 'heritage' and 'heritage tourism' in particular.

The conceptual notion of heritage carries particular values in the historical space, which are considered to be part of the cultural traditions of society. Heritage undoubtedly plays a fundamental role in enhancing the identity of a region or a nation, and can be seen as a key vector in expressing national and regional unity and cohesion.

While Tourism can be defined as the practice of traveling for pleasure, education, or business, Heritage tourism is considered as part of cultural tourism and is considered one of the oldest and most widespread types of tourism in the world. Heritage tourism, due to its scale and richness of great global importance is considered one of the most important types of tourism attracting hundreds of millions of visitor each year.

2.11 Trends of Heritage Tourism

From a socio- cultural perspective, tourism is viewed as a large- scale phenomenon that brings people with diverse backgrounds into close proximity and contact. In practice, tourism can reinforce the reality of the global village and facilitate national and international contacts, while fostering interactions among "hosts" and "guests" (Smith, 1977). Regardless of their race, gender, and religion the so called First, Second, and Third World countries Political, cultural, and economic boundaries separating societies are regularly crossed by tourists In the 1980s. Tourism studies began to examine an array of social and cultural issues (Brown & Jafari, 1990) deriving from this large international movement, including heritage tourism, sometimes referred to as ethnic tourism (Adams, 1984; Esman, 1984; MacCannell, 1973).

Since the early 1980s, tourism scholars have focused on the interrelationships between tourism and the array of diverse social and cultural issues (Brown & Jafari, 1990). In this context, a substantial amount of work has appeared in the area of heritage tourism.

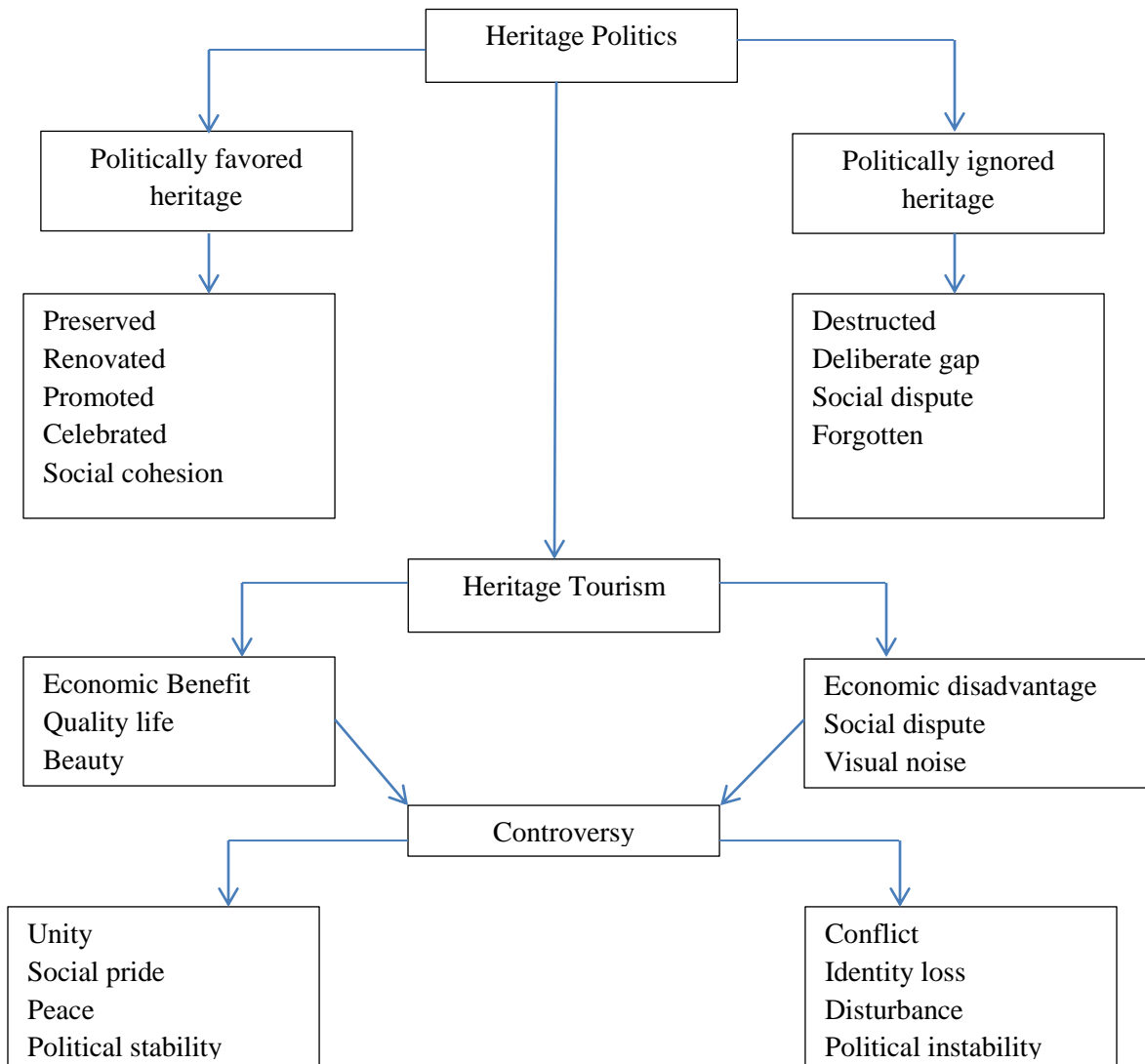
The growing interest in heritage tourism in Africa is reflected in the Cairo Declaration of 1995, which was adopted under the auspices of the World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). The objective was for African countries to identify, develop, and preserve a number of World Heritage Sites in cooperation with international agencies and special interest groups. Ultimately, it was expected that such development would enhance the promotion of cultural, thus heritage and ethnic tourism as part of the continent's economic development strategy. A number of forts and castles built by Europeans are currently being restored for heritage tourism in Africa and the continent also has several vital cultural resource sites that are critical components of the heritage tourism.

Ethiopia is one of the developing country in Africa proficient with an assortment of natural and cultural heritages which are very impressing attractions from north to south and east to west. Foreign visitors were interested in Ethiopian tourism attractions and have been increasing since Menilik's (II) time after the victory of Adawa in 1896.

The tourism industry in Ethiopia could be legitimately described as one that is still in its infancy. Its current low level of development is often attributed to changes in governance systems and development policies, weak promotion, lack of trained manpower, finance, and knowledge and management capacity. In particular, the sudden and dramatic shift of the country's political leadership and development ideology from Monarchical absolutism and markets to military dictatorship and socialism in 1974 had a dramatic arresting impact on both foreign and domestic tourism development. In 1991, the assumption of power by the Tigrean Peoples Liberation Front (TPLF) and the subsequent creation of a broader front under the banner of Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) introduced yet another major shift in governance and development ideology in the direction of 'ethnic' federalism and a more market-oriented economic development and management system. The highly truncated system of tourism development under the previous administration was changed when the new government allowed the participation of the private sector and strengthened its institutional guidance through the creation of a new ministry of culture and tourism in 2005.

2.12 Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework shows the existence of heritage politics, which creates favorable and unfavorable situations for heritages as shown in the chart. To aggravate situations the direct impact that heritage politics can have on heritage tourism results in unbalanced social and economic differences, which in turn can cause controversy between societies. If there is controversy on the heritages, the outcome can be both negative and positive. The negative is it can cause conflict with in the society as it creates a disadvantaged and disadvantaged groups. This might lead to heritage destruction whereas the positive is the society can be united after the controversy by reaching to agreement that can lead to peace, stability, and unity among societies.



Source: Researcher's own compilation, 2020

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

According to Kothari (2004), Research methodology is the way to systematically solve the research problem. In conducting, research the researcher deals not only with the research methods and the methodology but also its relevance to the topic selected as well as the reason behind. He also uses the term ‘method’ to refer to particular techniques that are used to collect and analyze data. Putting this in mind, this chapter contains a description of the research methods that are applicable to an empirical study on the theme that the researcher used in collecting and analyzing data. The chapter outlines description of the research design, research methods, data collection instruments, as well as data analysis strategies and ethical considerations. So this chapter deals with study design, data types, and sources of data, methods of data collection, population, sampling unit, and sampling frame, data analysis and finally it also explains about ethical consideration of the study.

Research methods are the philosophical bases on which research is based. Kothari (2004) stated that research methods may be understood as all those methods/techniques that are used for conduction of research. Research methods or techniques thus, refer to the methods the researchers use in performing research operations. According to Kumar (2011), it is the purpose of research rather than the paradigm that should determine the mode of enquiry.

3.2 Background of the Study Area

Addis Ababa

Addis Ababa was established in the late 19th century and in comparison, to other capital cities it is relatively young. Addis Ababa has evolved from a small rural settlement up to the 1950s into a vibrant modern metropolis today. In late 19th century, Emperor Menelik II and his wife Empress Taitu founded the City of Addis Ababa (Addis Ababa means ‘New Flower’ in English). The emperor selected the Finfinne area for its fertile land, mild climate, geographically strategic and defensive position, and ancestral history. It is alleged that the royal couple was attracted to the Filowa hot springs that were believed to possess curative powers (United Nations Human Settlements Program, 2017).

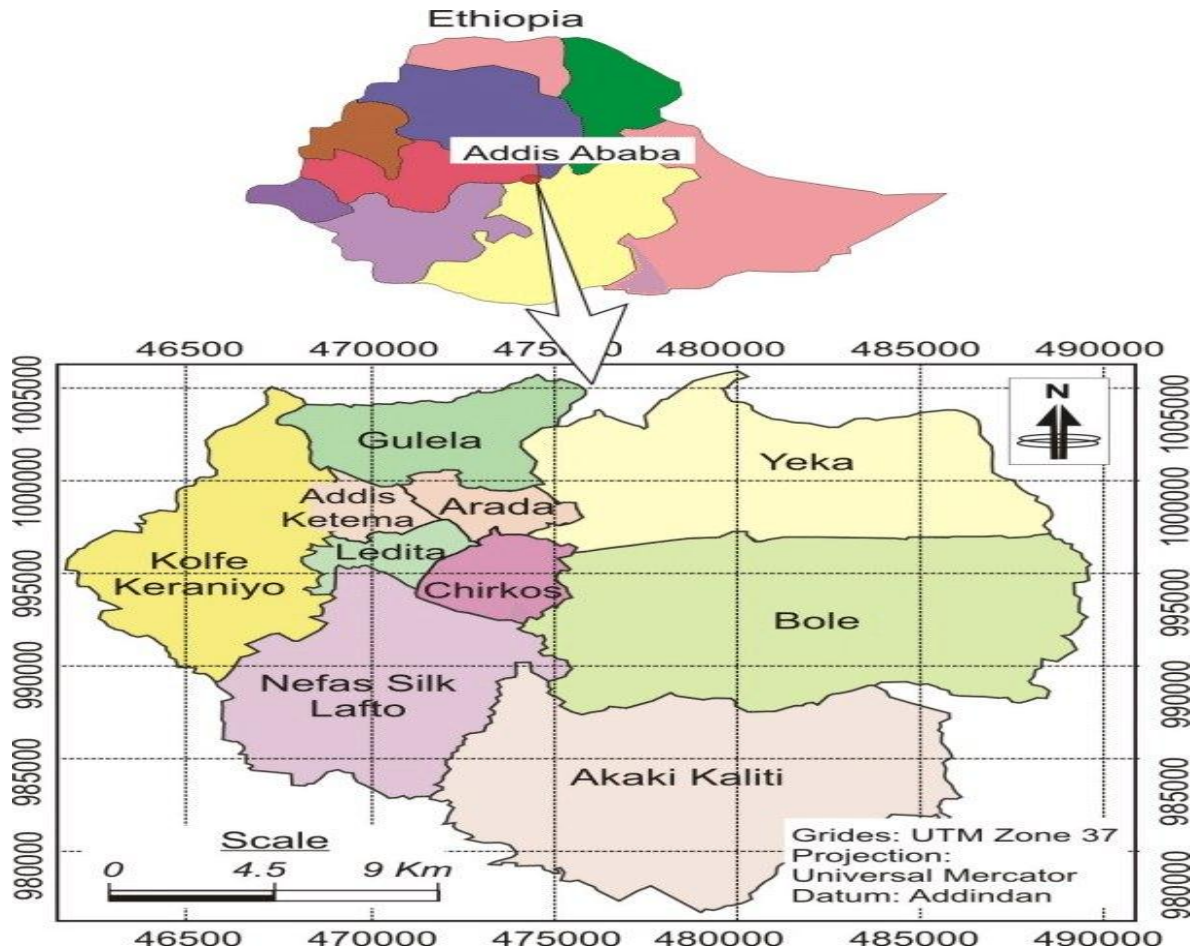


Figure 1 Map of the Study Area

Addis Ababa comprises 6 zones and 28 woredas. The city is divided into 328 dwelling associations (Kebeles) of which 305 are urban and 23 rural. The city council is made up of 18 bureaus, offices, and authorities. Amharic is the working language of the city administration. Addis Ababa is the diplomatic capital of Africa. More than 92 embassies and consular representatives cluster in the city where the Organization of African Unity and the UN Economic Commission for Africa have their headquarters. Addis Ababa covers about 540 Km² of which 18.2 Km² are rural. Addis Ababa lies between 2,200 and 2,500 meters above sea level. The city lies at the foot of the 3,000 meters high Entoto Mountains. Despite its proximity to the equator, Addis Ababa enjoys a mild, Afro-Alpine temperate and warm temperate climate. The lowest and the highest annual average temperature are between 9.89 and 24.64celcius. The city rambles pleasantly across many wooden hillsides and gullies cut through with fast flowing streams especially during the rainy seasons from July-September (Addis Ababa City Administration, 2019).

Statue of Emperor Menelik II

In the period of Imperial Monarchy, the feudal aristocrats for the purpose of reinforcing their economic and political dominance over the majority peasants constructed different statues. Since emperor Menelik II found Addis Ababa in 1887, foreign architects from India, Greek, and Italia built different architectural works such as the palace of the Emperor and various edifices. Thus, the history of constructing different sizes of statues in the capital began from the reign of Menelik II. However, the erection of well-standardized monuments took place when Emperor Haile Silasse I came to power. Out of many well-known statues erected in the period of imperial Monarchy, one is the Equestrian Statue of Menelik II (Tola, 2017).

The imposing equestrian statue of Emperor Menelik II was erected for the commemoration of battle of Adwa (1896), which is regarded as historic battle of black Africans. The statue stands in front of Genete Tsige Menagesha St. George church. The bronze casted statue was built by German architect Hertel Spengel on the orders of Queen Zewditu, the daughter of Emperor Menelik II, in memory of her father (Teferi, 2017). Emperor Haile Selassie inaugurated it 34 years later of the battle of Adwa on the day before his coronation 2nd November 1930. The statue portrays Emperor Menelik in his coronation robes riding glamorously on his horse Abba Dagnew looking to the north where the victorious battle of Adwa took place (Mulalem, 2017a).



Figure 2 An Equestrian Statue of Emperor Menelik II.

The statue symbolizes the anti-colonial struggle of Emperor Menelik who waged the Battle of Adwa, the battle of the First Italo-Ethiopian War. Sadly, before the statue could be erected, Queen Zewditu died in 1930. Thus, the then crown prince (later Emperor Haile Selassie) attended the inauguration ceremony on the eve of his coronation day in the same year (ibid).

In the 1936 fascist invasion, Benito Mussolini gave his personal order that this statue should be pulled down and hidden somewhere so that the humiliating defeat of the Italians at Menelik's hand in the Battle of Adwa could be forgotten. However, in 1941 when the invaders were ousted by the patriots and allied forces, the statue was restored to its original place (Teferi, 2017).

Red Terror Museum

Red Terror Martyr's Memorial Museum, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, honors the victims of the 1977-1978 killings. It was established in 2010, an initiative of the surviving family and friends of the victims; the museum's motto is 'Never Ever Again' (The African Union Human Rights Memorial, 2012). It is found in the corner of one of Addis Ababa's landmark Mesqel Square, where the communist regime ordered the Red Terror campaign.

The small but powerfully displayed 'Red Terror' Martyrs Memorial Museum, which is located at the corner on the Mesqel Square started to operate in 2010. Over a couple of rooms, the museum reveals the fall of Emperor Haile Selassie and the horrors of life the eerie sensation of such feelings under Mengistu's Derg regime.

Nothing more than the walls of photos and names of the estimated half a million killed under the Derg and the display cabinets filled with human belongings dug out of mass graves, but the museum is well laid out and incredibly moving. Some of the skulls and other bones are displayed alongside a photo of the victim and the personal artifacts they had on them when they died.



Figure 3 Red Terror Museum

It is inside a mediocre building and can go almost unnoticed as one walks or drives to the Bole Airport. At the gate, there is a monument of a woman with two daughters with an under caption “Never, ever Again” it is to mean that “An egregious atrocity and crime against humanity will never, ever again be repeated in our beloved country Ethiopia or on our planet for that matter”. The martyrs willingly gave their life for what they believed in, and discretion for them was never the better part of valour, as some in the spirit of Falstaff would decry. It was the ultimate price they paid for the freedom of their fellow citizens. Those were heroes ready to repeat the same sacrifice as long as oppression and subjugation prevails. “Red Terror” is the natural response of a derelict fascist government to a genuine and honest uprising of oppressed people.

3.3 Research Approach

This study employed a qualitative research approach. Qualitative approach is a process of building a complex and holistic picture of the phenomenon of interest, conducted in a natural setting. Qualitative (a non-numerical data collection) research is a method of inquiry appropriated in many different academic disciplines, traditionally in the social science, but also in market research and further contexts (Mittal and Saxena, 2012:55).

Qualitative research not only involves completely different techniques from those used in quantitative research, but also requires a radically different cast of mind and basic philosophy. Moreover, there is a paradigm shift, from positivist to the interpretive (Corbetta, 2003). Qualitative research is often used for social issues since it can answer certain important questions more efficiently and effectively than quantitative approach (Mittal and Saxena, 2012). This is particularly the case for exploring and explaining why and how certain political interpretations took place in tourism heritages of a given nation state.

The main interest of the researcher was to gather in-depth information about the overall heritage politics so that it would be easy to investigate why and how heritage politics come to exist. To this effect, smaller but focused samples are needed, rather than large sample. The researcher was well aware of the fact that many qualitative methods require researchers careful coding of data and discern and documenting them consistently and reliably. Moreover, the researcher did not speak much about the techniques or stages since qualitative research cannot be reduced to particular techniques or to the set of stages, but rather that dynamic process involves linking together problems, theories and methods (Bryman and Burgess, 1994).

3.4 Research Design

Research design is a basic step in conducting reliable and valid research. Therefore, selecting appropriate research design should be the primary activity of any researcher. Accordingly, the researcher tried to choose an appropriate research design which suits to the objective of the study and which also helps to obtain relevant information. As far as the type of research design is concerned, this study has particularly used a combination of descriptive and explanatory inquiries. Descriptive design sets out to describe and to interpret in detail “what” is the status.

Descriptive answers questions of what and where. It looks individuals, groups, institutions, methods, and materials in order to describe, compare contrast, classify, analyze and interpret the entities various field of inquiry. On the other hand, as an explanatory inquiry, the research also tried to explain the effects that show how politics affect heritage tourism.

3.5 Source of Data and Data Collection Instrument

3.5.1 Data Sources

As illustrated above, the type of data is qualitative, which includes both primary and secondary data. For obtaining primary data, the researcher focused on recognized institutions and actors that have major stake in the heritage management. Documents such as various printed and non-printed documents including researches, articles, institutional reports, booklets, magazines, and websites were also used as source of secondary data.

3.6 Methods of Data Collection

Qualitative research may use different approaches in collecting data but it typically relies on the following methods of data collection: participant observation, non-participant observation, structured interview, semi-structured interview, unstructured interview, and document review. However, the researcher has only interested to use two methods of data collection for this purpose. To obtain firsthand information, interview (two type: semi structured and unstructured interview) was appropriately applied. Interviews are a frequent and important part of empirical research in political science due to the fact that quantification of ideas in the political studies believed will not create understanding of the process. Therefore, the aim to provide in depth information regarding heritage politics in this case, made the interview to won.

Tadele (2017) argues exclusive reliance on one method may bias or distort the researcher's picture of the fact under investigation. Since the exclusive reliance on one method may bias or distort the researcher's picture of the fact under investigation, no single research instrument was adequate in itself in collecting valid and reliable data on a particular problem, rather the use of a multiplicity of techniques is the best method, and it facilitates complementation and supplementation of data. Therefore, the researcher used the following source of data:-

Semi-Structured Interview: for the purpose of obtaining firsthand qualitative information, interviews were applied appropriately. "Interviews provide in-depth information pertaining to participants' experiences and viewpoints of a particular topic" (Turner, 2010. p.56). Moreover the interviewer to overcome resistance of the respondents, samples was controlled more effectively and non-response generally remains very low. This method helps the interviewer in order to gather more information in greater depth and provides greater flexibility in restructuring questions whenever necessary (Kothari, 2004). In addition, for the sake of support in getting the heart feeling of respondents other methods of interviews were used.

Document Analysis: In order to triangulate the validity and reliability of primary data, the researcher employed document analysis as a secondary source of data collection instrument along with the primary data collection instrument. This technique facilitated crosschecking of the accuracy of the firsthand information regarding heritage politics and heritage tourism. Various published and unpublished documents which can show the existing relation between heritage politics and heritage tourism, such as policies, strategies, programs, project, journals, articles, documents, reports and other written sources were the focus of analysis.

3.7 Sampling Design

Since the research approach is qualitative, the sample's representativeness is not an issue but the concern was to find units that would help the researcher learn about the issues at hand (Neuman, 2000). For this reason non-probability sampling design, specifically quota and purposive/ convenience sampling types were applied. Purposive sampling occurs when elements selected for the sample are chosen by the judgment of the researcher. Researchers often believe that they can obtain a representative sample by using a sound judgment, which will result in saving time and money (Black, 2010).

The application of quota sampling in this case ensured that sample group represents certain characteristics of the population chosen by the researcher. Whereas the process of drawing individual subjects for interview from the sample was purposely dependent on certain qualities and characteristics, using convenience sampling which involved choosing the institution at the convenience of the researcher based on their experience, exposure and reputations in their previous work, easy access (geographical proximity), availability at a given time and the

willingness to participate are used as the point of reference. This method were employed for the reason it reduces the time and cost of data collection.

3.8 Population, Sampling Unit and Sampling Frame

3.8.1 Population

The target populations of the study are Historians, Tourism Experts, Political Science Scholars and Political Activists, and Ideal Leaders.

3.8.2 Sampling Frame

In view of the theme of this thesis – Heritage Politics and concerns Related to Heritage Tourism, the constraints of the available research time and capacity of the researcher forced a selection among the broader actors (in tourism, politics, activists, ideal leaders and government tourism experts). The unit of analysis is individuals and the sample selected as major actors are framed as follows:

- **Historians:** people who basically studied history and professionally engaged in teaching, and writing history. Moreover, historians who are famous and accepted by the majority of the society for their professional contribution.
- **Heritage Experts:** people who are professionally working registering, maintaining, and preserving heritages.
- **Tourism Experts:** people who studied tourism and tourism related subjects and work professionally in the tourism sector. It can be tour guides, tour operators, travel experts, and generally people working, consulting, and teaching on tourism.
- **Political Science Scholars:** personalities who contribute on the existing knowledge of politics and renowned personalities for their political views.
- **Political Activists:** people who are involved in the political process for the sake of promoting, impeding or raising awareness of a certain issue or set of issues. Political activism typically involves engagement beyond just voting, whether it be through protest, demonstration or lecture.

- **Prominent personalities:** people who are accepted in the society and engaged themselves in motivating the society towards social change, peaceful coexistence through different ways mostly in publishing books, journals, articles and public speech.
- **Government Culture and Tourism Office Experts:** staffs of Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Tourism Ethiopia and Addis Ababa City administration Tourism office and their profession is in tourism sector and working adopting, implementing and monitoring tourism policy.

3.8.3 Sample Size

Qualitative analyses typically require a smaller sample size than the quantitative analyses; however, how much small is not clear. Moreover, there are no specific rules when determining an appropriate sample size in qualitative research. Though the size can best be determined by the time allotted, resources available, and study objectives (Patton, 1990), qualitative sample sizes should be large enough to obtain feedback for most or all perceptions. The proposed sample size for this study was 20 interviewees though 50 interviews were the upper limit that some scholars recommend for qualitative analysis (Tadel, 2017). Nevertheless, the data was collected to a point of data saturation where the researcher was not getting new information or it was negligible (Kumar, 2011). Therefore, the saturation stage determined the proposed sample size to fall from 50 to 35.

3.9 Methods of Data Analysis

To analyze the data the researcher used thematic analysis. Thematic Analysis is a type of qualitative analysis. It is used to analyze classifications and present themes (patterns) that relate to the data. It illustrates the data in great detail and deals with diverse subjects via interpretations (Boyatzis, 1998). Thematic Analysis is considered the most appropriate for any study that seeks to discover using interpretations. It provides a systematic element to data analysis. It allows the researcher to associate an analysis of the frequency of a theme with one of the whole content. This will confer accuracy and intricacy and enhance the research's whole meaning. Qualitative research requires understanding and collecting diverse aspects and data. Thematic Analysis gives an opportunity to understand the potential of any issue more widely (Marks and Yardley, 2004).

3.10 Ethical Consideration

For research funded by the European Union (EU), ethics is an integral part of research from beginning to end and ethical compliance is pivotal to achieve real research excellence (EU, 2013). Moreover, the EU declared that:

Ethical research conduct implies the application of fundamental ethical principles to scientific research. All possible domains of scientific research can raise ethical issues. Ethics is not just about the theories and the complex philosophical reasoning. Ethics is everywhere. In everything we do there can be an ethical component. When conducting research, there is clear need to make a thorough ethical evaluation (EU, 2013:3).

In recent years, there has been an increase in legal actions by members of the general public against professionals for alleged misconduct. Researchers must recognize the possibility of such legal action if they infringe the rights and dignity of participants in their research (www.gla.ac.uk/media/media_326708_en.pdf). Bloom and Crabtree (2006) and others have provided the principles given below to be applied to research with human participants: influencing the consent of the participants reasonably - effectively informing all participants the objectives and nature of the study, deception- the withholding of information or the misleading of participants is unacceptable if the participants are typically likely to object or show unease once debriefed, reducing the risk of unanticipated harm, protecting the interviewee's information, and reducing the risk of exploitation.

Therefore, in all circumstances, this research considered the ethical implications and psychological consequences for the participants in the research. The essential principle is that the investigation was made from the standpoint of all participants; foreseeable threats to their psychological well-being, health, values or dignity was eliminated. Specifically, concerns and respondents stand rising from the sensitivity of the research and the impact of physical distancing as a result of COVID 19 epidemic were handled carefully. More importantly, the aforementioned ethical principles were made to rule in this work.

CHAPTER FOUR: PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS, AND DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on results and discussions of research findings based on data obtained from both primary and secondary sources of information. Therefore, data, which was collected through interview and document analysis, was presented, interpreted, and analyzed to answer the research questions. After extensive data collection, the researcher took the position to begin to test ideas about what is going on and to identify pattern of issues by critically evaluating how to organize the research process. This involved thinking about how a range of factors might impact on the collected data, generally about the validity of the findings. Then, by interpreting and describing the findings, the final qualitative account of the study is emerged. Thus, this section goes to the report and discussion of the findings. The findings are presented under sections and sub – sections that reflect the thematic analysis of the data. Moreover, proper attention was given to meaningful comparison and immediate conclusions.

Regarding the response rate, even though qualitative research is not rigid about the number of respondents like that of quantitative research, as long as enough data is gathered, large number of respondents may not show the strength of the research. Unfortunately, the time of data collection is not convenient to get people who are sampled in the mind of the researcher for this study. The cardinal reason behind for the limitations was the difficulty to get permissions of proposed respondents due to the international epidemic of Covid-19 Corona Virus spread. Moreover, because of the state of emergency (during data collection time) and physical/social distancing and home stay advices (recommended by health experts) the researcher was unable to meet the proposed respondents.

For that very reason, though initially proposed to interview a minimum of 25 individual respondents from each category, the researcher forced to generalize the research with almost 15 interview respondents from each group of actors and tried to highly compensate gaps by document review about the issue. In spite of this problem, the researcher believes this research

finding in the study area is expressive and present important insights about heritage politics and heritage tourism.

4.1.1 Heritages and Political Interpretations

Statues are symbols, which represent dynamic societal values. They serve as a rallying point for shared common memory and identity and, hence, are used as a collective remembrance. They also have a power to immortalize an intended ideology. Statue is an object that represents the religion, history, culture, art, socio economic and political practices of one nation. Accordingly, the statues of Menelik II and Red Terror Museum are part of heritages that are found in the capital city of Addis Ababa. Behind their existence, these two heritages are exposed for different political disputes. The statue of Menelik II among other monuments in the city is historical and directly attached with the victory of the Battel of Adwa. Hence, on the day of Adwa celebration, special attention is given to the monument and the area where the monument found serves as a place where people celebrate this vibrant Black People Victory Day. Heritages can define a given country, for instance Menelik II monument as a heritage can define Ethiopia and Ethiopians as a brave „nation that punishes the mentality of white supremacy. In the colonization manifested Africa, Ethiopia, and Ethiopians shine in victory of Adwa by their determination of saying no for colonization. This fact has a strong message for the world and most importantly for Africans. The Great Emperor who shows brave leadership in mobilizing his people and leading the way to victory should be commemorated and taken as a sign of unity and solidarity and his monument should be understood that way. (Teferi, 2011)

In relation to political attachments with this historical monument, it is mostly an issue of young and ethnocentric the so-called “politicians and activists”. This was witnessed in different times when the political situation is in ill-condition, young informal groups oriented by “politicians and activists” marched to attack this historical monument found in Arada (Piassa). According to tourism and heritage experts who were respondents, other than Adwa Mountains (which is not reserved as a tour product) there is no better place to explain about this Africans’ pride than going to Menelik II Statue. It is one of the tangible heritages that they used to demonstrate when they talk about Adwa Victory. Therefore, in the eyes of tourist experts almost all informants mentioned as they have concern and conceived Menelik II Statue as their main city-tour package.

Historians also state that all the statues including Menelik II Statue are a mirror reflection of the society of a given period. No historical heritages in the country can be judged in the eyeglass of outsiders and present situation. Because they all represent the time and the society where they were all established, they all reflect the past and give lesson for the new generation and also help to predict the future. Disregarding these facts, misleading political and historical narrations attached with heritages fuels the existing political upheaval.

According to historian informants, heritage politics is recent fashion that some politicians and activists use to manipulate and take public attention. Basically they used to narrate fabricated interpretation than the original history. Those fraud political and historical narrations faked by some politicians and activists do not cheat people who have logical thinking and good knowledge of their history. However, everywhere there are people who are illiterate and easily exposed for such historical and political narrations. For that very reason, political views towards the heritage sites can be fused. As there are heritages, which are acknowledged by the society, there are also heritages, which are politicized. Ironically, while they have potential as a tourist attraction and source of income, heritages served as source of conflicts in different parts of the country and even outside of the country. Among many heritages particularly Anole Statute (found in Arsi), the Statue of Ras Mekonen (found in Harer), H/Selasse's monument outside of London, and Menelik II Statute, are worth mentioning.

Menelik II Statute is more historical than others are; it signifies the symbolic representation echoed throughout the world since the statue symbolizes the anti-colonial struggle of Emperor Menelik II who waged the Battle of Adwa, the climactic battle of the First Italo-Ethiopian war. As stated by informants the main problem related with this victory's statue is the reflection of our immature politics. The existence of the statue was not a problem since the statue was established in 1930 but recently following political unrests and chaos, criticisms began to rise. Surprisingly, almost all the critics emanate from politicians, activists and informal groups who promote their political interest. As indicated by the informants, recently more than three threatening attempts were made by informal groups to dismantle Minilik's monument. Thanks to the Federal and Addis Ababa police, it is still in place. This shows how heritages are politicized and abused to amplify political interest. Thus, the society should be mindful and question the reasons behind politicizing Menelik II Statue and all other heritages throughout the country.

Red Terror Museum on the other hand, reflects recent history as compared to Menelik II Statute. It is a memorial for Ethiopian internal political instability and its effect that happened during the Military Junta.

It was only in 2010, a very different museum opened in the center of Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, just off historic Meskel Square. Unlike the collections dedicated to the cultural and religious heritage of the country, the Red Terror Martyrs Memorial Museum was designed as a testimony to the victims of a dark period of Ethiopia's recent history and as a means of educating the public to avoid the recurrence of such events. In 1974, Marxist military leaders who called themselves the "Derg," translated as the "Committee," staged a coup d'état and ruled Ethiopia and what is now Eritrea until the regime's overthrow in 1991. From 1977-78, the Derg engaged in a campaign against the Ethiopian people, which consisted of torture, imprisonment, and executions. The number estimated killed during the Red Terror varies from tens of thousands to Amnesty International's stunning figure of 500,000. Irrespective of the precise count, the Red Terror unleashed an unfathomable quantity of anguish upon a large portion of the population.

According to the informants, tour operators are not interested to include the Red Terror Museum in their City-tour package. That was the cardinal reason that the researcher was eager to know whether it is political reason or not. Interview informants had mentioned three reasons about the existing political interpretations of the museum. First, tour experts believed that Red Terror Museum constructed in time of EPRDF, which they believe a government against Ethiopian historical and cultural attribute. Which did not recognizes the long history of Ethiopia and envisioned to promote the so-called "The New Ethiopia" (interested to promote the Ethiopia that they built since 27 years ago). Secondly, according to tourism experts, Red Terror Museum is one-sided. In the very beginning the construction of the museum like any other museum was not to display the religion, history, culture, art, socio- economic and political practices of one nation. Rather it was intentionally built for political propaganda to exaggerate political hostility of the predecessor (Dergu).

As reflected by experts, obviously, monuments have always been ways of mediating between particular types of pasts and futures, intended to forever define a particular interpretation and maintain influence in the present. Nevertheless, the Red Terror Museum instead of displaying

facts of what has happened, it was built for political reason, and that is why people who know the facts of both sides did not positively accept the objective of the museum. Finally, since the Red Terror Museum holds a single issue (Military Terror); it lacks variety, which is important to create a relaxed experience for tourists. Moreover tour operators do not feel comfortable since the museum demonstrate our back history, which show how we Ethiopians killed each other (while the other world was exercising democracy and modernization). To worsen situations as to the respondents, it is not sure if EPRDF politicians are ready to learn from the agony demonstrated through the displays of this museum. At this point looking at the bright side of the situation and learning how other nations who faced similar realities are making the best out of their dark history, the researcher recommends Dark Tourism as a potential. It is the best way to share to the world and the new generation how the passed affects the present. While it helps to learn from passed mistakes, it is also contributes economically as a tourism activity.

Political Science Scholars and Political Activists

Heritage is a keystone of any culture that plays an important role in politics, society, business and worldview. It is both a record of life and history, determines who we are and giving us both identity and values that will guide our lives in a changing world. Moreover, heritages are important to transfer our historical and religious values to the next generation.

According to political scholars the fact that Ethiopian heritages are looted and destructed inside as well as outside of the country is a fact that needs no further explanations, it can be observed here and there (H/Selassie's monument outside of London, Ras Mekonen monument in Harar). While some try to protect, others motivated by some political groups destruct the heritages. This can tell the gap in political interpretations given to a single heritage. In Harar Ras Mekonen's monument dismantled by certain political groups while this fact negated by other political groups. There are also heritages still under different political interpretations and end up to be sources of political arguments.

Even in history politics and heritages have a strong relation. Ancient kingdoms use heritages as a sign and seal of their territory. Whenever a political upheaval arose between kingdoms, heritages were targeted as immediate causes to go to war. In this aspect we can see old towns, castles and monuments burnt and destructed in different moments of world history.

Political scholars strongly argue that as there is no island country, which can escape worldwide phenomena, Ethiopian heritages are also politicized just like in the other world. Especially with ethnic based federalism it is easier to develop a mentality of ‘theirs and ours’, which can be used by politicians to motivate their supporters. Following this they eye witnessed different heritages given different interpretations in the course of different politicians that hold the key position to control the countries politics.

They added, in different regimes and different political ideologies, heritages will have different interpretations. Following that politics can have both positive and negative relation with heritages as politicians will favor and take a good care of some of the heritages that can add value for their political ideologies and disfavor some heritages which have interpretations against their ideologies. Politicians need tools to control not only the present situations but also the past. That is why they use heritages to create and recreate stories that can favor their political ideology. If the politicians need to split a certain group of the society in their favor, they can create stories narrating that this group is not represented in that heritage instead negatively connoted.

They further argued heritage and politics defines how the understanding of values attributed to a sense of the past are formed through negotiations of power and identity with in contemporary society. To preserve, protect, present and examine heritage is a political act framed by the values and agendas of individuals, communities and societies that invest importance in objects sites places and practices in their environment.

The same respondents believe there are different interpretations given to heritages in different political situations. Those who have control over the politics give different interpretations to the heritages in a way favoring their party. Don’t go far, you can notice the interpretations given to Minilik II monument by present day politicians and compare it to the interpretations given to it at the time of the last emperor.

According to politicians, its obvious most of Ethiopian heritages are exposed to different political interpretations. This is because in a country of multi-ethnicity, politics fell under the control of few ethnic groups. In the long history of the country, heritages as they are strongly related to political power and decision, they most likely represent the group on power. So,

whenever political ideologies are changed the interpretations towards the existing heritages also get changed.

On the other side, respondents who are not politicians mention political interpretation can affect heritages for good and for bad. For good, if heritages are well interpreted politically, attention will be given in safeguarding, preserving and if needed renovating them. Beyond that the interpretation given can make heritages the property of all not of a certain group. In that case it can be an attraction for both domestic and international tourists that can generate income for the country. If the interpretation is bad, it will expose heritages for destruction and social disputes which can result in political upheavals. In such cases let alone the economic advantage they can generate through heritage tourism, they will be a threat for the peaceful existence of a country.

They finally argued heritages are exposed for political arguments because from the beginning they are products of different political ideologies and regimes. Because of that, they are expected to represent only certain group of the society, which is favored by the political leaders. That is the main reason for heritages being exposed for political arguments.

4.1.2 Citizens' Perceptions towards the Heritages

Heritage and Tourism Experts

As discussed in the methodology chapter target populations of the study are Historians, Tourism Experts, Political Science Scholars and Political Activists, and Ideal Leaders. For the point that the researcher rose about citizens' perception towards heritages, selected heritage tourism experts (tour operators, tour guide and travel experts) mentioned that heritages are mirrors to see the past. Ethiopian heritages help a lot to understand our past history and build citizens value for themselves as Ethiopians. Besides, if not for the heritages, Ethiopia may not get the chance to be promoted as a tourist destination. It is because of the heritages that we are benefiting from the tourism business, which is assisting our economy.

They strongly argue that heritages and politics have a very bad relation. Even in the bible, say it in the New Testament or the Old Testament, we know grief stories, which seemed happening because of religious reasons but the true cause is political issues, which happened between rulers

and emperors. According to the informants the news in Yemen, Iraq, Syria, Mali and even in our country recently in Harar, Shashamene, Jigjiga and even in Addis Ababa tell us that heritages are under destruction because of political antagonistic views.

As some of the respondents in this group stated, so far Ethiopian heritages are not politicized. The reason for that is most of the heritages that we have are under the ownership of the church and in most part of our history the church and politics were in different tracks. One cannot get into the other business. However, they recently noticed political groups are influencing people to celebrate cultures and traditions just for their own political gains. On the other side few political groups are attaching bad stories to certain heritages and mobilize their supporters against people, which they think represented by the heritages.

They further elaborated heritages as exposed to political arguments because they have economic and social importance. To take the benefits of heritages to their advantage politicians set agendas and mobilize their supporters to get social acceptance by favoring or by standing against heritages. In this regard, the respondents determined citizens' perception of heritages among residents particularly Addis Ababa is very low. Let alone the ordinary citizens those people working very close to heritages understand only the economic advantages that heritages have. They have little or no idea of their importance in building national pride and being primary source of data for researchers in different fields of study. They don't understand their importance in transferring passed histories to the coming generation.

Political Science Scholars and Political Activists

The researcher attempted to include various politicians and political activists. The respondents were asked to reflect their view on citizens' perception for the existence of heritages in the city of Addis. A somewhat contrary to the expertise view given above, politicians also argue the citizen at large and the resident of Addis Ababa in particular have no problem with the heritages found in the city. This can be seen from the history of the heritages, especially Minilik's monument as it comes from the monarchial time there were no such bold arguments other than perceiving heritages as a tool of commemoration. However, through time some people and groups who are trying to use heritages for their political activity began to emerge. Of course this

people are part of the society and they intended to use heritage politics not for the reason they hate heritages rather to amplify their political interest.

They also argued that citizens' perception is not good enough to maintain or protect heritages. If citizens' perception was good enough, they probably could understand the intentions of political groups who are trading with the heritages. They added that citizens' perception should be strong enough until those politicians lost hope of playing their bad games.

They added, it's like Karl Marx's Conflict Theory when political, economic and social stages are congested, they may look for the greener pasture to reflect their interest. This is the case in every corner of the world. Heritages are not only politicized but also taken as their enemies. That is because heritages are the reflection of society's value, civilization, socio-cultural, economic, and political reflections. So it is understandable that politicians, who couldn't get public attention, will look for sensitive issues like heritages to draw public attention. Though people or some groups, who promote heritage politics, cannot represent the citizen as well as the residents of Addis Ababa, concerned bodies should keep eyes on to protect heritages from potential damages. They finally concluded that citizens' perception toward their heritage is not questionable. Nevertheless, this does not mean there is no interest to use heritages to uphold his or her political interest. So the society should be alert enough to understand the fundamental cause than the immediate one. On the contrary the other respondents also believe that these days residents' perception towards the heritages is improved. Thanks to the ethnic politics, everybody is learning what he/she wants to learn about heritages that he/she think represent him/her. They are also learning about heritages that they think they are not represented in, though not in a positive way.

4.1.3 The Effects of Heritage Politics on Ethiopian Tourism Business

Heritage and Tourism Experts

As discussed above target populations of the study are Historians, Tourism Experts, Political Science Scholars and Political Activists, and Ideal Leaders. For the point that the researcher raised about citizens' perception towards heritages, selected heritage tourism experts (tour operators, tour guide and travel experts) revealed that Addis Ababa is benefiting from heritage tourism, as it is better positioned as the capital of the country hosting many international

organizations like the AU and ECA, and an international airport which gives the city an advantage to benefit from heritage tourism. Besides, the presence of many historical monuments and museums like the National Museum sheltering valuable heritages can easily attract tourists. However, this day's different political interpretations of heritages are damaging the tourism business. If political interpretations are negative and do not end up peacefully, they can go beyond control and result in conflicts. Tourism business can go well in a peaceful situation and no tourist likes to go to conflicted areas. If interpretations are positive, they can create social unity and coherence that is important in preserving the heritage as well as promoting the tourism business. They remarked, this shows the importance of positive political interpretations and there should be more efforts to tap the tourism advantages that the heritages have.

Other informant said that tourism business is directly affected by political interpretations of heritages. Tourists before visiting a given destination they first read about it. Building good image of a given destination is a priority of politicians as they have the power to promote and communicate with the rest of the world about what they have. If interpretations promoted or communicated about certain heritages are not sound for tourists, then they don't want to come and invest their currency on those destinations. Additionally, they argued politicizations of the heritage by some groups who are striving to negatively affect the heritage in order to get political attention, can affect the government and the society as income from the tourism sector will decline.

Politicians and Political Activists

The researcher raised the same questions for politicians and political activists to evaluate their opinion on the effects that heritage politics can have on heritage tourism. According to them, tourism by nature is peace dependent sector. Without peace and stability, it is difficult to imagine about tourism. To provide tourists with all the necessary amenities like accommodation, attraction, accessibility, transportation, hospitality, and the likes peace and stability is very fundamental.

They revealed if there was a peaceful coexistence between different ethnic groups and political ideologies, heritage tourism could have been playing a major role in supporting the economy. Concerning Addis Ababa, by its mere existence as the capital of the country and broad get way

for international arrivals and departures; it could get the chance to be visited by tourists. If heritages of Addis Ababa were well preserved and promoted, the domestic tourism flowing to visit heritages can be more important than the gains from international tourism. This is because in case of domestic tourism beyond the economic importance, there is also an element of identity building by knowing the heritages that can accentuate the feeling of oneness and unity.

On the other side, our political culture as we have observed so far is distractive. We did not develop the culture of accommodating differences. Such immature politics incurs sacrifices be it human life or properties. They further elaborated the bad attachment between heritage and politics in anyway cannot help the tourism business. They finally argue that politicians and groups, who use heritage politics as strategy, should know that it couldn't be a strategy for political struggle. In this regard, as heritages are closely attached to citizen's identity, by affecting heritages one could not get political profit. How come, one wins the heart of citizens while affecting their identity?

4.1.4 Coping Strategies

To the best of their knowledge, almost all of the respondents initially have argued that there are many risks threatening heritages mainly because of lack of public awareness. As they stated, heritages are found everywhere freely without security and protection by concerned bodies. Unless there are serious disputes, which call for the care of security bodies, heritages are mostly protected by the society. And even those who are against heritages are part of the society. Therefore, the major focus point should be creating awareness in the surrounding society. Hence, lack of cognizance in the mind of the society is one major reason for this problem of heritage politicization. So all the concerned bodies either directly or indirectly should work in collaboration to enhance the awareness of the society so as to enable the society stand to protect heritage damage and oppose those who are working to boost their political profit through heritage politics. Despite the economic values, heritages are symbols, which represent dynamic societal values. They serve as a rallying point for shared common memory and identity. Therefore, working to alert the society about their heritages and the overall benefit they can have by treating them as a tourism resource and managing them accordingly is the best option.

Secondly, indicated by interview informants is concerning peace and stability building. They believe that peace and stability are the fundamental solution for the wellbeing of the heritages because according to the respondents people intend to exercise their negative agenda when there is political disorder. In this regard, government should be aware of instabilities, as they are causes of heritage politics and heritage damage. Therefore, the respondent strictly argued that government had better strive to build peace and stability for the safety of heritages and for the progress in heritage tourism.

Finally, informants have said the society should develop the culture of entertaining differences in their social and political life. Thus Ethiopian tourism business need politicians that promote shared values of heritages than differences, need citizens that can think twice before driven by false propagandas, need to enroll the subject of heritages in academic curriculums, need historians and heritage professionals who can reveal facts not like the ones who tell our kids the Semein Mountains are located in Tigray region. In such ways we can find the way out from the threats heritages are facing. Likewise, advancing societal consciousness to live peacefully and in co-existence is very important.

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

The overall aim of this study is to assess heritage politics and its implications on heritage tourism in Addis Ababa, with a focus on Emperor Menelik II Statue and Red Terror Museum. In particular, the study planned to assess the current politics and heritages attachment, tried to identify citizens' perceptions towards the heritages, to show the effects of heritage politicization on heritage tourism business and lastly to forward coping strategies. Hence, the last chapter of the thesis deals with the summary of the findings, which is presented and discussed, in chapter four, and come up to conclusion based on derived facts of the findings. Then finally forwards possible recommendations are all presented in this last chapter.

5.2 Summary of the findings

This section contains the core findings of the study and summarizes it contextually, in reference to theoretical and empirical evidences observed in the preceding sections. So this section has briefly summarized accordingly to address each research questions developed in the very beginning of this thesis.

In the case of checking the current politics and heritages attachment, reviews made on various documents indicated that heritages are symbols, which represent dynamic societal values. They serve as a rallying point for shared common memory and identity and, hence, are used as a collective remembrance. They also have a power to immortalize an intended ideology. Heritages can be an object that represents the religion, history, and culture, art, and socio- economic and political practices of one nation. Accordingly, Menelik II monument and Red Terror Museum are part of heritages that are found in the capital city of Addis Ababa. These two heritages are exposed for different political disputes because of politics and heritages attachment. Historians and heritage and tourism experts argued on politics and heritages attachments. Accordingly, various issues were raised as a reaction; one is that heritage politics is recent fashion that some politicians and activists manipulate it to take public attention. That is why the existing political

ups and downs here and there are fueled by misleading political and historical narrations, which are attached with heritages found in Addis Ababa as well as all over the country. Thus politicized heritages despite their significances are ironically served as source of conflicts in different parts of the country for instance Anole Statute (found in Arsi), the Statue of Ras Mekonnen, (found in Harer), Haylesilasse monument (found in London) Menelik II Statute, Red Terror Museum, etc.

Regarding the Red Terror Museum the experts group had mentioned four main reactions, one they believed that Red Terror Museum is constructed in time of EPRDF, which they believe a government against Ethiopian historical and cultural attribute and did not recognizes the long history of Ethiopia and envisioned to promote the so-called “Newly Ethiopia” (27 years history). Second, it was intentionally built for political propaganda and political hostility of the predecessor (Dergu), not for touristic purpose. Third, Red Terror Museum holds a single issue (Military Terror) it lacks variety of treasures, which can make their tourist feel happy. Finally, it show how we Ethiopians killed each other (while the other world exercising democracy and modernization) it is the witness how we are a butcher not for each other.

Political scholars and activists strongly indicated that ethnic based federalism is ideal to develop a mentality of ‘theirs and ours’, which can be used by politicians to motivate their supporters. Following this they are eye witnessed different heritages given different interpretations in the course of different politicians that hold the key position to control the countries politics.

Informants add that in different regimes and different political ideologies, heritages will have different interpretations. Following that politics can have both positive and negative relation with heritages as politicians will favor and take a good care of some of the heritages that can add value for their political ideologies and they can also disfavor some heritages which have interpretations against their ideologies. As the data reveled political and heritage attachments should not be seen side the attachment can good to preserve, protect, present and examine heritage is a political act. All of the respondents, however, indicated that Ethiopian heritages are exposed to different political interpretations and in most cases affected negatively.

The other point was about citizens’ perceptions towards the heritages. The findings have shown two different views. Experts reflect on citizens’ perception of heritages among residents particularly in Addis Ababa is very low. Let alone the ordinary citizens those people working

very close to heritages understand only the economic advantages that heritages have. They have little or no idea of their importance in building national pride and don't understand their importance in transferring passed histories to the coming generation. Somewhat contrary, the other views argue that citizen at large and the resident of Addis Ababa have no problem with the heritages found in the city. However, some people having good knowledge of it purposely use heritage politics to amplify their political interest.

One key question posed to informants was 'how do heritage politics affect Ethiopian tourism business?' Accordingly, various issues were raised as a reaction to this question but main reactions are drawn from the responses provided. The presence of many historical monuments and museums and valuable heritages are easily attracting tourists to the capital. However, this day's different political interpretations of heritages are directly damaging the tourism business. Because political interpretations if negative and do not end up peacefully, rather they go beyond control and result in conflicts. Tourism business can go well in a peaceful situation and no tourist likes to go to conflicted areas. As to the findings politicizations of the heritage is technique/ political game used by some individuals or groups as political sabotage and used to get public attention.

According to politicians, tourism by its nature is a peace-loving sector. Without peace and stability, tourism is difficult to imagine. When heritage politicization is for bad it is clear it directly affects the tourism business. Moreover they argued Ethiopia tourism let alone attached with political interpretations it is lagging behind besides all the abundant resources that the country has.

The last critical point associated with the way forwards, the data revealed four coping strategies. The first one is that public awareness should be the center because heritages are everywhere and should be protected by the society. Second, peace and stability is the fundamental solution for the wellbeing of the heritages, so they advised to work for it. Third, the society should develop the culture of entertaining differences in their social and political life. Citizens should think twice before driven by false political narrations. Finally, professional historians, heritage and tourism experts should work to reveal facts concerning heritages to the society.

5.3 Conclusion

Based on the findings the following conclusions are drawn:

Based on the review of documents and interview data, various heritages found in the capital city of Addis Ababa, are exposed for different political disputes due to heritage politics. Heritages all over the country are ironically politicized and served as source of conflicts. Consider Anole Statute (found in Arsi), the Statue of Ras Mekonnen, (found in Harer), Haylesilasse monument (found in London) Menelik II Statute, Red Terror Museum, etc.

The findings have shown citizens' perception of heritages among residents particularly in Addis Ababa is very low. Let alone the ordinary citizens professionals only recognize the economic advantages of the heritages. They ignored their importance in building national pride and don't understand their importance in transferring passed histories to the coming generation. Even some people having good knowledge of heritages, use them to amplify their political interest.

Supported by the study, the researcher's stand on the issue firmly confirms that tourism by its nature is a peace dependent sector. Without peace and stability, it is difficult to imagine about tourism. Hence, the researcher believes that heritage politicization is a technique used by some individuals or groups as political sabotage to get public attention. Therefore, some remedy is expected to save the heritages. Such remedies as creating public awareness should be at the center and peace and stability is needed as basics for the wellbeing of heritages. On the Public side, the society should develop the culture of entertaining difference in their social and political life. Citizens should think twice before driven by false political narrations. Finally, professional historians, heritage and tourism experts should work to reveal heritage facts to the society.

5.4 Recommendations

Given the findings, the researcher at this end takes the position to recommend certain actions to be in place for the better contribution of heritages to enhance heritage tourism business: -

For Ministry of Culture and Tourism Institutions

1. As long as there are people or groups who are using the heritages as tools of political sabotage and used to amplify their political interest; it is highly recommended for public awareness to be enhanced.
2. Ministry of culture and tourism institutions should work and coordinate professional historians and heritage and tourism experts to work proactively to reveal facts to the society before wrong information reach to the society.
3. Since heritage politics affects heritages negatively, to safeguard the wellbeing of heritages, government and all the concerned bodies should strive to detach politics from heritages.

For Government Political Leaders

4. Government better to open up political and social vacuums particularly for those who hold different perspectives, before they are forced to reflect it in wrong ways.

For the Public Particularly the Young Generation

5. Finally, concerning heritages, society should be mindful enough to hear and accept from the professionals who are specialized on the issue than fraud politicians.

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Annex

Addis Ababa University College of -----

Interview Questions

The research is about *Heritage Politics in Ethiopia: the case Emperor Menelik II Statue and Red Terror Museum in Addis Ababa*. The objective of the study is to investigate the existing status of Heritage Politics in Ethiopia. And I thank you in advance for your genuine contribution and willingness to respond to my questions as it will play an essential role in the successful accomplishment of the study.

Name of the respondent -----

Name of your organization -----

Position in your organization -----

1. How do you evaluate the values of heritages for the country?
2. How do you see the relation between politics and heritages?
3. Do you think Ethiopian heritages are politicized?
 - a. If “yes”, how do you explain it?
 - b. If “no” explain why?
4. From your experience and from what others think, why heritages are exposed for political arguments?
5. How do you explain residents’ perceptions towards the heritages?
6. Do you believe existing Ethiopian heritages are exposed to different political interpretations?
 - a. If “yes”, how do you explain it?
 - b. If “no” explain why?
7. How do you see Menelik II Monument as a heritage?
8. Do you think political interpretations of heritages affect tourism business?
 - a. If “yes”, how do you explain it?

- b. If “no” explain why?
- 9. Do you think Addis Ababa is benefiting from heritages tourism?
 - a. If “yes”, how do you explain it?
 - b. If “no” explain why?
- 10. What solution do you propose for the threats that heritages are facing?
- 11. If you have any comments regarding the issue, you welcome. -----

Appendix

Code	Respondents	Age Group	Educational status			Occupation		
			BA	M A	PhD	Teachers	Gov. officers	Private
PSS 010-020	Political Science Scholars	40-45	2	6	2	6	4	
PA 030-034	Political activists	35-50	1	3	1		3	2
HE 040-049	Heritage experts	40-65	3	6	1	3	4	3
TE 050-059	Tourism Experts	30-60	2	5	3	2	4	4