

**Understanding Local Community, Tourism and Conflict Nexus in  
National Parks Governance in Ethiopia: Case Study of the Awash  
National Park**

**Fikirte Adugna Andargie**

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**Institute for Peace and Security Studies (IPSS)**

This is to certify that the Thesis prepared by Fikirte Adugna Andargie, entitled: **“Understanding Local Community, Tourism and Conflict Nexus in National Parks Governance in Ethiopia: Case Study of the Awash National Park”** and submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) in Peace and Security Studies complies with the regulations of the University and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

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Examiner \_\_\_\_\_ Signature \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

Advisor \_\_\_\_\_ Signature \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

Advisor \_\_\_\_\_ Signature \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

**Director, Institute for Peace and Security Studies (IPSS)**

Name \_\_\_\_\_ Signature \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_

## **Abstract**

This study aimed at examining whether or to what degree the Ethiopian government national park governance policy facilitates or debilitates local communities' involvement to conserve the biodiversity of their surroundings and benefits the tourism industry. The study adopted a qualitative approach with particular methods such as semi-structured interviews with critical informants and Focus Group Discussion with different actors including local communities. Moreover, data was collected from secondary sources written about Awash National Park (ANP) that include reports, the General Management Plan of ANP among others. The data collected were then transcribed, translated, and analyzed using content analysis method. The result subsequently shows that the national park governance policy that has been used in ANP, Fortress/conservationist, or Community-Based Conservation (CBC) approach, could not give due attention to the local community. Local communities' have not been empowered to manage the NP even though officials wrongly claim that community based conservation approach is practiced in ANP. Thus, the ANP governance policy, which has been introduced since the reign of Emperor Haile Selassie, has never met the twin target of natural resource conservation and benefiting the local community from tourism to date. It has, instead, become a source of conflict. Even though the CBC approach supports the local community participation to running the ANP theoretically, it failed to actualize this in to practice. This research has come up with a proposal for national park development where communities are an integral part of the national park protection and, at the same time, beneficiaries form the national park through park-based benefits and various tourism development activities.

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## **Acronyms and Abbreviations**

ANRS	Amhara National Regional State
ANP	Awash National Park
AVA	Awash Valley Authority
CBC	Community Based Conservation
CBET	Community Based Eco-Tourism
CBNRM	Community-Based Natural Resource Management
CEWARN	Conflict Early Warning and Response Network
CBAs	Critical Bird Areas
CITES	Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild fauna and Flora
CPR	Canadian Pacific Railway
EBI	Ethiopian Biodiversity Institute
ECOSOC	UN Economic and Social Council
EPE	Environmental Policy of Ethiopia
EPRDF	Ethiopian People Revolutionary Democratic Front
EWCA	Ethiopia Wildlife Conservation Authorities
EWCO	Ethiopia Wildlife Conservation Organization
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FPS	Fauna Preservation Society
GDP =	Growth Domestic Product

GMP=	General Management Plan
IBA =	Important Bird Area
ICDP =	Integrated Conservation and Development Projects'
IGAD=	Inter-Governmental Authority on Development
IUCN=	International Union for Conservation of Nature
IUPN =	International Union for the Protection of Nature
KII=	Key Informant Interview
MAB	Man and the Biosphere program
MASL =	Meter above sea level
MEA=	Multilateral Environmental Agreement
MoNRDEP =	The Ministry of Natural Resource Development and Environment Protection
NGO=	Non-Governmental Organizations
NP=	National park
OMP=	Omo National Park
PA=	Protected Areas
PMAC =	Provisional Military Administrative Council
SPFE =	Preservation of the Fauna of the Empire
SMNP=	Siemen Mountain National Park
UN=	United Nations
UNECE=	United Nations Economic Commission for Europe

UNESCO=	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
US=	United States
UNWTO=	United Nations World Tourism Organization
WCA =	Wildlife Conservation Act
WCS =	Wildlife Conservation Society

# **Chapter One**

## **1. Background of the Study**

As a part of the protected area, a national park can be defined as “certain crown land characterized by its predominantly unspoiled landscape, and its flora, fauna, and other features (biodiversity), that should be reserved, preserved, and protected permanently for the benefit of the public” (IUCN, 2005: 34). This shows that people residing around the protected area seem to depend on the biodiversity as it is a source of food and fiber they use for their livelihoods and well - being (Ash et al. 2007).

According to the 1971 International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN) declaration, a National park should have a minimum size of 1,000 hectares within zones in which protection of nature takes precedence. The national park requires legitimate protection, a financial plan, and staff adequate to deliver suitable protection and prevention of any misuse of natural resources. However, it allows qualified activities for instance sport and fishing that are favorable to the management of different facilities (IUCN, 1971).

The 5th IUCN World Parks Congress of 2005 highlights the centrality of National parks for biodiversity conservation and sustainable development. Besides this advantage, national parks around the world are increasingly attracting visitors to experience spick and span natural environments. While an increase in national parks tourism provides

business opportunities both to the park and to adjacent communities, there are several economic, social, and ecological aspects that need to be monitored to sustain a high-quality visitor experience (IUCN, 2005).

To meet the goal of the establishment of national parks or protected areas, conservation activities are one of the prevalent undertakings in managing these areas. To bring this into effect, people follow two different approaches advocated by various schools of thought. The conservationist (protectionist) approach, argue the biodiversity in national parks provides a range of goods and services to humanity and that the displacement of resident communities raises the levels of biodiversity protection (Terborgh, 1999). They also argue that advocating the pristine wilderness of the park could be an engine for tourism-centered economic growth and contribute to poverty reduction (UNDP, 2003). This approach promotes the eviction of the local community from the park. The other approach of social scientists criticizes the conservationist philosophy that apparently separates human society from nature and leads to the eviction of local stewards of habitats, wildlife, and related resources (Colchester, 1997). They also point out that the displacement of local resident communities from national park exposes them to risks of impoverishment, heightens conflict, and places conservation goals in peril (Pimbert & Pretty, 1994).

In 1872, Yellowstone national park of the United States of America, the first in the world had been established. The intended goal of the establishment of the NP was for nature conservation and economic development. However, at the time of its establishment, the

then government of the US advocates and applied the approach that separates humans from nature, which is commonly called fortress conservation. The feature of fortress conservation has usually appreciated the evictions of local dwellers (Spence, 1996). Establishing national parks through applying this approach had been since then spread to other parts of the world. This was because of colonialism and the rise of the agenda of sustainable development. Although colonialism was the central reason for the widespread development of national parks in different parts of Sub-Saharan Africa (Adams & Hutton, 2007), the establishment of new national parks through the fortress conservation approach continued after the decolonization period as well. As evidence of this, between 1900 and 1999, nearly 3000 national parks were established all over the world (Reid & Miller, 1989).

Although several national parks were established, there were lots of challenges specifically on the management and development of national parks required to empower the local community. Those who lost the power of accessing the natural resources in the name of NP establishment had developed resentment and begun to fight against governments who controlled their land. Grievance from land and water expropriation can be the driver and structural causes of conflict. The policy had also negatively affected the customary land right of the local community. Scholars believed that it is challenging to manage the NP coincided with the increasing human population around it (Terborgh, 1999). However, preserving wilderness via excluding humans from nature was not acceptable by local communities whose livelihood, culture, and spirituality are strongly

interconnected to the environment. In addition, it also affected the attractiveness of the place when it is detached from the history and culture of the people that give meaning to the site. In support of this, Cronon (1997) writes that the conservation site or NP without people and their history is meaningless or does not give a sense for visitors. Conserving the wilderness without the consent of the local community is never feasible and might be very difficult to sustainably manage the area; this will also be the main cause of conflict and will affect the conservation agenda (Cronon, 1997; Iwai, 2009).

Ethiopia is one of the countries endowed with rich biodiversity in the world (Mulugeta, 2017). Besides, it has different types of landscapes that result to have a wide variation of climate and various kinds of plant species which amount to 6000; from these, 10-12 percent are found only in Ethiopia (GMP, SMNP, 2008; Multi-stakeholder committee, 2012). The faunal diversity of the country is also many; some of them are endemic to Ethiopia (Solomon & Dereje, 2015). This demonstrates that Ethiopia has a long history of conservation.

The first recorded indigenous conservation-oriented activity took place during the reign of Emperor Zerea Yacob (1434-1468) (Young, 2012). It was expanded after Ethiopia's victory over Italy at the Battle of Adwa that took place at the northern frontier of the country (Gebre-Michael et al. 1992). In 1909 the legal conservation effort was begun by Emperor Minilik by prohibiting the killing of wildlife without having official saying from the government (Gebre-Michael et al. 1992). In 1944, the Ministry of Agriculture had begun issuing licenses to manage hunting. In 1965 to manage game reserves and national

parks (NPs), the Ethiopian Wildlife Conservation Organization (EWCO) was established. Most of the NPs and PAs were developed within a short period (Hillman, 1993).

The 1970 wildlife conservation regulation prohibited human settlement and hunting in the NPs and PAs. It had also excluded the local community from resource use (Moore, 1982). Such exclusion has created a problem since it was the main grazing land and water source of the local communities (Lane et al. 1993).

Awash National Park (ANP) that is endowed with various biodiversity including 76 mammal species, more than 460 bird species, and several plant species (Solomon, 2014) was legally gazetted as a national park by the state in 1969 in the Upper Awash Valley on the area of 752 km<sup>2</sup>. This national park located between Matchara and Awash Arba enclosed a vast area of dry and wet season grazing land that was used by the Oromo (Karrayu) and Afar pastoralists. During the NP establishment, the government applied a conservationist approach, and thus, the government forcefully evicted the local community who resided in the area (Solomon, 2014). This eviction deprived the local communities of access to grazing land that they use in critical periods which the main cause to spoil the relationship between the local communities and the government from the beginning (Ayalew, 2009). At the same time, the government had intended to develop various projects in those localities, including agricultural farmlands. For such a development project, the government has selected kobo, Harari region, and migrated the Ittue community who were residing there for a long period to the present location that was occupied by the Karrayu and Afar communities around ANP. The Karrayu

communities welcomed the Ittue to settle in their locality. Soon after the establishment of ANP, the local communities lost their right to access the land, water, and grazing resources, and this intensified conflicts amongst Afar, Karrayu, and Ittu communities over resources (Solomon, et al. 2014). This has raised the issue of the ancestral domain by the Karrayu and Afar.

Historically, struggle over territory has been the most prevalent form of conflict in and around the ANP (Ayalew, 2009) and natural resources often underlie those territorial struggles. Scholars have used two theories to explain the role of natural resources in conflict: scarcity and abundance. According to the neo-Malthusians argument, scarcity of natural resources such as land and water due to the rapid growth of population, environmental degradation, resource depletion, and unequal resource access exacerbate poverty and income inequality. These deprivations are easily translated into grievances, increasing the risks of rebellion and societal violence (Bruch, et al., 2016). In addition, when the number of migrant population increases, the demand for limited resources of water and land also increases; it leads to ethnic conflict. In the other point, an abundance of natural resources such as fossil fuel and certain minerals, lead to getting less economic growth, democracy, and worse development outcome. Plenty of natural resources can also lead to corruption and stagnation, even economic contraction. According to Collier and Hoeffler (2005), to mitigate the problem that will come up due to natural resource abundance, good governance and the best political structure are essential in order to properly manage and use it for public advantage and country development. All these will

be a cause of conflict in a specific locality (Collier & Hoeffler 2005). Though the abundance of natural resources is the cause of conflict in a particular locality, it does not work in my research area ANP. The conflict that has been occurred in ANP is regarded as the neo-Malthusians arguments specifically Homer Dixon's theory that advocates scarcity of natural resources coming from inconsiderate government policy that disregards the local community (Homer-Dixon, 1999). This study tries to investigate the national governance system that can address the problems of local-level conflict in ANP via accommodating the interest of all actors.

## **2. Statement of the Problem**

National parks are usually developed for the conservation of biodiversity and use it for visitation by people who are coming for spiritual, scientific, educational, and recreational purposes (IUCN, 2005). They are, therefore, valued assets for wildlife resources that promote other activities like wildlife tourism with spin-offs for the wider economy (Tomicevic, et al, 2010). Though national parks establishment had many advantages such as increasing government revenue and conservation, different national park governance policies various governments enacted can cause problems on local communities living in and around the park-- for example-- relocating the people away from their original areas of residency and sources of livelihood, depriving them of access to resources in the national parks such as meat, grazing areas, and firewood (Mombeshora &Le Bel, 2009).

ANP was established in 1969 to preserve and conserve the biodiversity that found around the Awash valley. Beside preservation, the government had intended to make the area the best tourist destination and research area that can bring a lot of benefits to the local community and country. However, the government employs conservationist approach to enact policy to manage ANP without heeding the local context. The policy has emphasized the conservation of natural resources via excluding the local community from any kind of activity inside the NP. Based on such policy the local communities of Afar and Karrayu who were residing there long years ago had been forced to leave the area and they were also deprived of their power of accessing the grazing land and water resources from the NP (Solomon, 2014). So, these people had encountered a shortage of grazing and agricultural lands. Those who lost their power of accessing the lands due to establishment of ANP without getting any alternative livelihood opportunity had developed resentment to the park and went against conservation (Jacobe & Sheloeder, 1993). They lost their responsible behavior since the park was out of their access and management. The local community has expressed their disappointment to the NP establishment through engaging in illegal hunting activity (killing wild animals randomly as revenge without having permission from the government), encroachment, and destruction of natural resources. Such activities develop a conflict between the local community and the government body. In addition, the local community who couldn't access the natural resources from the established NP and doesn't get any alternative livelihood opportunity has been encountered resource scarcity. It took them into a competition to control the best watering and grazing area. The competition that comes up

from the resource scarcity had become a cause of conflict among the local community itself. The conflict that has taken place between the government and local community and the local community by themselves has affected the biodiversity conservation and sustainable tourism development in ANP.

The researcher has related such difficulty with the problem of lack of good governance that mutually treats the interest of all actors over the natural resources (Anteneh et al, 2014). Scholars such as Solomon, Aklilu, & Eyualem (2014), (Ayalew, 2001), Ayalew (2009), Jacobs and Schloeder, (1993), pointed out that unresolved issues of compensation payment, animal raids on farmlands, and exclusion of local communities in the management process have been the causes of local-level conflict in ANP. They identified the conflicts between the local community and government and among Afar, Ittue, and Karrayu, with various reasons. However, these researchers overlooked the conflict between tourists and the local community, local community, and wild animals, and also the conflict between the two regional governments that the NP exists. In addition, they did not see the impact of the conflict for the destruction of biodiversity that is an input for tourism development in ANP. The researcher believes that all these conflicts and problems raised on ANP could come up with a deficiency of good national park governance policy. The national park governance policy that has been applied in ANP both fortress conservation and CBC approach could not empower the local community to access and manage it in their traditional system. However, little has been researched on the area of national park governance policy that takes the power of the local community

and its implication to biodiversity conservation that is an input for tourism; this study tries to address the gaps of the NP governance policy that has applied and a cause for the destruction of ANP.

### **3. Research Questions**

The questions this study will attempt to answer are as follows:

1. How does the government define, operationalize and implement national park governance policy in Ethiopia, ANP? How does it affect the livelihood of the local community?
2. How does the local level conflict dynamics in Awash national park affect the park management and development?
3. How the national governance policy able to address the problem of the local level conflict in the national park and make the local community beneficiary?

### **4. The Objective of the Research**

The overall objective of this study is to investigate the national park governance policy that accommodates the interest of all actors in the Awash national park.

#### **4.1. Specific Objectives of the Study:**

1. To examine the governance of ANP.

2. To analyze the national park governance policy of ANP in terms of making the local community beneficiary from the established tourism industry?
3. To assess the local level conflict dynamics and its effect on the park management and tourism development?
4. To describe the extent of CBC approach through addressing the problem of the local level conflict in the NP?

## **5. Significance of the Study**

The national park governance policy that has been applied in the NP has an impact on the well-being of the natural resource conservation and benefiting the local community. The best NP management system has respect for the indigenous governance system in the NP. It also advocates the introduction of new ideas and technologies that helps to resolve conflicts and other social problems raised due to NP establishment. Likewise, it also motivates and coordinates the tourism development process by encouraging partnerships amongst the community-private sector and government. Generally, it will help to reach an agreement between the local community and the government in the area of equitable benefit sharing from the established NP (Mulugeta, 2017). Active involvement of the local community in the utilization and management of resources in NP has provided a lot to solve problems regarding sustainable resource management (Geoghegan & Renard, 2002). In Ethiopia, during policy formulation, the participation of local communities in the management of national Parks has been minimal (Hurni et al., 2008). Though,

researches like mine are needed to understand the ongoing governance system of the National Parks and evaluate the participation level of the local community and recommend a suitable management strategy to ensure the sustainability of the natural resources at Parks.

The study attempts to propose the methods that help to restore and maintain the natural resources in ANP and solving the conflicting arenas. In a broader sense, it will contribute to sustainable natural resource management in the country and beyond. Similarly, Awash National Park is located between two administrative regions, managed by the Federal government and the local communities, living around. The local communities are engaged in various activities of pastoralism and agro-pastoralism provides a unique opportunity to evaluate the interplay of the multiple actors. Besides, the study will generate baseline data that will strengthen research on NPs in Ethiopia and in other countries with similar socio-economic conditions and share similar conditions with regard to pressure on natural resources of NPs.

## **6. Scope of the Study**

National park governance as a system developed by the government used to manage and govern the NP. ANP policy seemed to have failed to achieve much in terms of the NP development or in making the local community empowered or benefits from the established NP. Instead, it is a cause of conflict among various actors in and around the national park.

The main reason for doing this case study is to examine the structures and arrangements of national park governance that has adopted and implemented in the ANP of Ethiopia. Besides, it explores the roles of the actors in sustainably managing natural resources. In addition, it examines the participatory level of the local community in terms of contributing their traditional knowledge in managing the natural resource and being beneficiary from the established NP and its linkage with national park governance policy. Despite the vast scope of governance, this study is limited to the national park governance policy that has been applied in ANP and its implication for local-level conflict and destruction of biodiversity that is an input for tourism development. The ANP focused, mainly on Illala, Dehti and Dudub (in the Afar side) on issues of representativeness, manageability, and accessibility.

## **7. Rationale**

The rationales for the selection of ANP for this research are multiple. Firstly, since the Parks' establishment, Awash national park, amongst the two national Parks in Ethiopia, is to be gazetted as areas of ecosystem protection and recreation. It would be ideal to evaluate the status of all the country's national parks regarding community participation in the area of management and benefit-sharing from resources across over 50 years. Secondly, the Awash national park is located between Afar and Oromia regional states which share borders and at times experience ethnic group conflicts. Studying the governance system of the Awash national park could then put forward potential solution to resolve such unwanted conflicts that could also be applied in other similar parks found

in the country. Third, many researchers have revealed the engendered faunal and floral resources of the Park; but little has been researched on the issue of national park governance and its implication to the sustainable development of Awash National Park.

Developing appropriate national park governance systems for the country's national parks requires a site-specific investigation that takes into consideration the relevant socioeconomic and cultural aspects of local communities within the context of ongoing conservation efforts and degree of success.

## **8. Conceptual Frameworks used for the Study**

The national park governance policy that has applied in ANP has given due emphasis on the preservation of biodiversity. This policy seems to have neglected the interest of the local community who inhabits the area and whose livelihood depends on the natural resources within ANP. This entails that this governance system has taken the power of the local community by prohibiting them from accessing and managing the natural resources in the NP. Here the local community has encountered a shortage of resources that use to feed their cattle. This is because of the drawback of the system that unable to balance the power of the actors (local community and national government) around ANP that shows the existence of an unequal power relationship between actors. The actor, the local community who felt marginalized, develops networks and fights against the actor, thenational government (the national park officers), that have dominant power. This conflict between the two actors have sparked conflict and affected the sustainability of

biodiversity conservation inside the national park. This in turn debilitated the opportunities of the national park to use scientific, educational, and recreation (tourism) development. Thus, the researcher takes national park governance as a central theme to balance the power of actors and to minimize local level conflict that potentially affects the sustainable resource management and the tourism industry. The study has deployed a conceptualization of the theory of political ecology and natural scarcity related to conflict as a lens to look into the problem in ANP.

The general idea of political ecology has stresses that the power relationship between the local community and the government in the access and management of the Awash National Park should be balanced. The theory further maintains that such conflicts in the access and management of the ANP can be resolved from symmetric power relationship. So, this theory serves to examine the existing national park governance policy that potentially causes the problems that happened in Awash national park such as local level conflict and destruction of natural resources in ANP that in turn affects the tourism development.

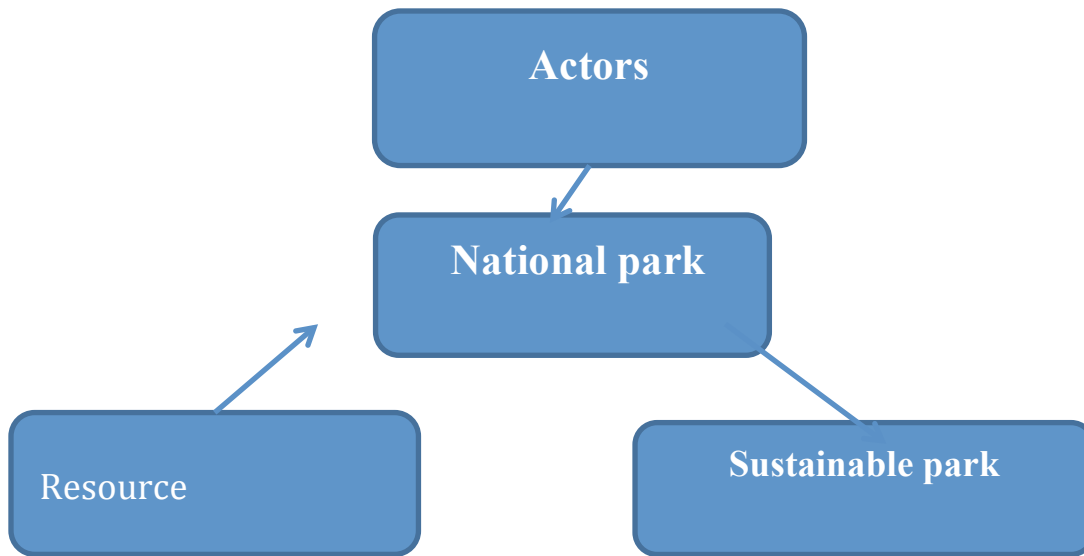


Figure 1 conceptual Framework

Here the local community and government are the main actors. Their power relation regarding accessing and managing the natural resources in the NP is asymmetric. The power of the local community in the area of managing and accessing the natural resource in the national park is very limited. But, the power of park management is in the hands of the government. The local communities who lost their power of accessing the natural resources that their livelihood depends on due to the national park governance system have encountered a scarcity of resources. Scarcity of resources coupled with population growth aggravates the problem. Then, they developed resentment towards the founding ANP and going into the destruction of natural resources. Such action can raise conflict between the local community and the government. It also affects the sustainable development of the park and tourism. The diagram describes a good national park governance policy able to balance the power relation between the government and the local community. It gives equal power to the local community to manage and access the natural resources in the NP. It also helps to develop ownership of the ANP in the minds of the local community and they began to take care of it as they did before. Then, the conflict is also minimized and able to manage natural resources in a sustainable way that is an input for tourism development.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **2. Theoretical Frameworks and Literature Review**

#### **2.1. Theoretical Frameworks**

In order to make the NP as an input for the country's development from an ecological, social, and economic perspective, sustainable use of natural resources is central. The complexity of institutional structures, rules, and policies, being formal or informal, has usually influenced the management of the national park (Gibson, 1999). A country's poor institutional structure and gaps of national park governance policies are one of the most important things to deal with the needs and aspirations of resource users living in and around the national park (Pimbert & Pretty, 1994). The national park governance policy that has been applied in Ethiopia made the local community detached from the protected area; this in turn became a cause of conflict and then exerted a negative impact on the park's biodiversity. To amend this, national park management authorities and government officials should adapt globally promoted theoretical frameworks that enable them to see the major problems the country is experiencing and manage the natural resources in the NP in a sustainable way (Gibson, 1999). The system used to evaluate the effectiveness of national park management practices to achieve the expected goal of conservation can be called theoretical frameworks (Parrish et al., 2003).

### **2.1.1. Political Ecology Approach**

The radical development of geography and cultural ecology in the 1970s and 1980s was the result of the beginning of the field of political ecology (Bryant, 1998). Beginning from its conception, it is concerned about the events that impact the developing countries. Bryant (2001) acknowledged that many researchers have been done to know the political dynamics associated with the material and ideological struggle in the third world over the environment (Bryant, 2001).

The broad scope and interdisciplinary nature of political ecology contribute to having multiple definitions and understanding though all the assumptions are closely related. First, the costs and benefits that come from environmental change are shared unfairly. This means the problem regarding environmental changes does not affect society in a similar way. For example, the political, social, and economic variations are responsible for the unequal share of costs and benefits. Second, this unfair share supports or reduces the existing social and economic inequalities. In relation to this, political ecology goes into the existing political economy as any change in the environmental situation affect the political and economic condition (Bryant & Bailey, 1997). Third, the unfair share of losses and benefits that support or reduce the inherent inequalities holds political implications in terms of the changing power relationships.

This is a discipline that provides a detailed analysis of the interplay of the environment as well as the political, economic, and social factors. Robbins (2004) asserts that the

discipline has a “normative understanding that there are very likely better, less coercive, less exploitative, and more sustainable ways of doing things” (Robbins, 2004:7).

From what has been stated above, one can analyze that political ecology is able to provide something important for the policymaker to do better environmental governance policy. This helps the policymakers to know about the formal judgment that the local community makes about the natural environment based on their societal regulation, political condition, and economic pressure. It also helps them to see how inequalities between and among the local communities affect the natural environment, particularly when it comes to government policy.

With the creation of these conservation units such as a national park, political ecologists should sacrifice their time to study the NP, its access to, and the holdings of the resource (Hanna, 2003). In some cases, the local communities have shown their importance to the place they hold, though they the conservationist considered them as harming. People have stayed in a certain place for many years and have a good practice of managing their living area in a sustainable way. In light of this, Dove (2006) states local communities have good environmental knowledge that could enhance maintenance of the natural resources. Though the local people have such important experience and knowledge to manage the land, they are forced to evict from the land for the sake of national park establishment. Now a day, most governmental and non- governmental organizations understand that managing the natural resources via evicting the local communities who were residing

there for several years and managing it through the traditional way, is an option to destroy the forest ecosystem rather than preserving it (Dove, 2006).

As it has been discussed in the statement of the problem and background of the study, natural resource conservation is not only environmental but also political in nature. This implies that the policy that denies the power of the local community in the area of natural resources conservation and access to it is usually a cause for conflict. Thus, the political ecology theory that advocates the importance of the balance of power between the government and the local community in accessing and managing the natural resources in ANP is a lens to look into the research problem.

The reason I prefer to use the political ecology as a theoretical framework of the research is to examine if the political approach of the government considers the power of the local community to access the resources or is a cause for local-level conflict around the NP. It has also been used to find out if the power relationship between the local community and government affects the conservation of biodiversity in the national park or protected area

### **2.1.2. Natural Resource Conflict Theory**

In the current global context of increasing consumption, growing populations, and a declining availability of many natural resources, numerous analysts have noted that disagreement over natural resources such as water, timber, and oil will become more prevalent. In other words, the natural resource-related conflict has happened both locally with the share of the water hole and internationally with cross border waters (Green,

2005). Theories from social science over the last two centuries provide insight and explanation regarding the sociological, political, and economic factors that can be used to understand or perhaps predict the contexts in which conflict over natural resources is likely (Barnett, 1974).

The availability of natural resources (particularly food) is ultimately surpassed by human consumption needs, which in turn resulted in a lot of harmful social outcomes such as war, disease, and famine (Malthus, 1978). Based on the Malthusian view of violence and war, it is sometimes important to balance the need for natural resources with the increment of population. Environmental sociologists, along with various individual political scientists, economists, geographers, and others, have, since the 1960s, stressed the importance to regulate the interaction between nature and society. In other words, they have posited that the deterioration of natural systems, like water, air, and soil, could have negative effects on social, political, and ecological security. Over the last decade or so, the field of environmental security has emerged to study the effects of environmental degradation and scarcity on international safety. Although originally understood as the effects of environmental depletion and degradation on violent conflict, environmental security now commonly refers to the relationship between the state of the physical environment and the general state of social, ecological, and political well-being in societies (Dabelko, G. D., 1996; Græger, N., 1996; Homer-Dixon, T. F., 1999; Wolf, A., 1999).

The scarcity of natural resources may result in conflict, a harmful social effect (Homer-Dixon, 1999). Based on more than a decade of research on environmental causes of severe conflict, Homer-Dixon (1999) concludes that the dearth of natural resources can cause conflict indirectly through its harmful societal corollaries such as human migration and eviction, interest to an uprising, reduced economic productivity, and a weakened state. The problem of scarcity of natural resources takes the local community into a competition to control the limited resources of water and land which ultimately leads them into conflict. This conflict between the groups that have a big number of populations has played a great role in the destruction of the environment. In the other direction, the conflicts coming from the marginalization of a certain less developed group may have affected more on this environmental problem (Homer-Dixon, 1994; 1999). In the global context of capital accumulation, such limits on development may cause dissatisfaction on the part of those who are comparatively marginalized. This dissatisfaction could potentially cause conflicts. In the same way, poor management or unfair share or negligence of context and communities when putting into action can contribute to anxieties that can escalate the pre-existing conflict dynamics. Besides, population growth and environmental degradation are also intensifying competition over already scarce resources, such as land and water; climate change may further threaten to increase such competition. It appears presumptuous for many experts and governments to assume that natural resources are major drivers in a growing number of disagreements, with potentially significant consequences for international, regional, and national peace and security.

Natural resource scarcity can cause conflict indirectly by causing social breakdown, the negative social consequences associated with natural resource scarcity. Negative consequences of scarcity include human migration and expulsion, receptivity to the insurgency, decreased economic productivity, and a weakened state (Homer-Dixon, 1999). In Homer-Dixon's framework, "scarcity" does not necessarily represent a deficient supply of or an excess demand for a resource. It rather represents purely "structural" sources that are basically social or political behavior. The policy deprives the rights of the local community of accessing natural resources such as their use of farm and grazing lands on their locality that they were using it before in favor of others. Such an incident shows how natural resource scarcity can lead to violent conflict (Homer Dixon, 1994; 1999). The governments change natural resources distribution for its own benefits by sidelining ethnic minorities with fewer resources, expelling the minority from their age-old lands, and causing ethnic violence (Homer-Dixon, 1994; 1999).

This study related scarcity of resources as a cause of conflict that came from the policy that deprives the property right of the local community in favor of others' interests. The study uses this Homer-Dixon natural resource scarcity theory coming from the local community inconsiderate policy as a lens to see the problem of the study site.

## **2.2. Review of Related Literature**

### **2.2.1. The National Park Governance Policies and Parks Development in Ethiopia**

#### **2.2.1.1. The National Park Governance**

Though the management and governance of national parks are closely related, they have different facts. The term management was only used when explaining the decision and action to conserve nature before the beginning of the new millennium. This shows the inclination to emphasize the technical rather than the political—that is, policy and power-related—aspects of conservation (Borrini-Feyerabend & Farvar, 2002). Governance is concerning who is responsible to decide what the objectives to be, the processes to follow to achieve these objectives and the means you employ; it is also about who seizes power, authority, and responsibility and about who should be held accountable (Eagles, 2009; Kelly, 2010; Borrini-Feyerabend et al., 2013). That is, governance needs to take into consideration who holds the real power that has the authority and responsibility to take and implement decisions that are important to conserve natural resources. This is true for natural resource management in general and NP in particular. The achievement of NP objectives, the sharing of responsibilities, rights, costs, and benefits, and the generation and maintenance of support have been influenced by the power, and capacity to make decisions. It has both financial and political powers that enable them to answer the question of the local communities in and around the NP (Eagles, 2009). Governance of NP is defined as the interactions among different ranks, procedures, and practices that

decide how power and responsibilities are exercised, how decisions are taken, and how citizens and other stakeholders have their say (Graham and Plumptre, 2003). To address this, they stressed several key concepts relating to protected areas or NP governance such as ensuring the full and effective participation of relevant stakeholders including local communities, and actors entitled to customary rights. It also gives special emphasis on gender and social equity and performs the national review by inventing a suitable form of conservation. Besides, it includes building site-based planning, development of national policies, and identification of relevant knowledge, resources, and institutions. Where necessary, this should include discarding problems by introducing legislation, policies, capacities, and resources; so that, all right holders and stakeholders can participate effectively. Moreover, it ensures the local community's right to get employed such as allowing them to contribute their traditional knowledge and experience in the area of natural resource conservation. It also establishes a mechanism to analyze the economic and socio-cultural costs, and the benefits obtained from the establishment and management of NPs, and to distribute equally to local communities (Borrini--Feyerabend et al., 2013).

The local community should be able to access the natural resources and those who were evicted must also be compensated for what they lost in the name of NP. According to national legislation and applicable international obligations, the principle of “good governance” of NPs to all decision-making activities should respect the rights and the rules of law, make constructive discussion and genuinely addressing the information,

render accountability in decision-making, and consider the existence of institutions and prepare guidelines for genuine conflict resolution (Bruch, et al., 2016). Borrini-Feyerabend et al. (2013) also believed that understanding and improving governance, if it is important, is the heart of effective conservation. In line with this, participation, innovation, respect, benefit-sharing, and free, prior, and informed consent are guiding principles for PA or national park governance (Borrini-Feyerabend, et al., 2013; Bruch, et al., 2016).

However, community-based conservation proposals require a strong effort to combine and build productive relationships between the people living in and around the protected areas. Currently, there is an interest among conservation researchers and practitioners towards local cultural taboos, which often appear to conserve species and landscapes of ecological importance. Detaching local taboos from the conservation program creates a problem in such culturally complex institutions of the community (Osterhoudt, 2018). Osterhoudt (2018) emphasized the under-estimation of cultural taboos that can exacerbate the already hostile relationships between communities and conservation organizations, and this could negatively affect the very environmental products that groups want to develop.

Several researchers (such as Knox, 2017; Domínguez and Luoma, 2020) believed that conservation projects must respect indigenous peoples right to self-determination and free, prior, and informed consent. Such projects must also devote funds to understand better how indigenous traditional knowledge helps preserve the environment, integrating

it into modern conservation science. Considering the indigenous knowledge is the greatest system for the conservation of the environment that could help to solve climate change. In the other words, it is an instrument to accommodate the interest of international human rights law.

### **2.2.1.2 Establishment of Good National Parks Governance in Ethiopia**

To establish successful natural resource management needs to build a structure that extends from Federal, Regional, Zone /Woreda to the destination. It needs the coordinated administration of all elements. The Ethiopian natural resource governance structure has been extended up to Woreda and in some regions up to the zonal level. This natural resource governance structure has neglected the destination, national park even though it is the most vital structure that helps tourism development. The destination is the main component of tourism that generates revenue both for the local community and the government. Disregarding the destination is one of the core reasons for the ineffective development of tourism (Mulugeta, 2017). Therefore, the establishment of governance structure that extends from Federal, Regional, Zone/Woreda down to the destination with a viable division of work must be a precondition to implementing a well- functioning and sustainable tourism development. However, the principle underlines greater mandate to the destination office to respect the decentralization approach. One crucial step in establishing good destination- level governance in countries like Ethiopia is the establishment of all stakeholders' inclusive learning and practice sharing platforms (Mulugeta, 2017). It is known that establishing destination administrative rules, which

accommodate all stakeholders, could be a challenge as there are different needs among them. Good natural resource management stem respect the indigenous governance system in the destination, supports the introduction of new ideas and technologies, help in resolving conflicts and other social problems, facilitates the coordination of the tourism development process, promotes partnership among the community-private sector, and the government, and eases the creation of consensus-based equitable benefit sharing among stakeholders in the destination. Another importance of creating the destination level learning and practice sharing platform is that it creates smooth working relationships and minimizes centralized bureaucracy (Paul et al., 2001).

Thus, the establishment of a good governance system in one way enables the implementation of tourism rules and regulations, and in another way satisfies the demands of all the stakeholders. Regarding its function, the responsibility of the federal and regional governments is designing broad-based policies on tourism and the development of infrastructure. This system of governance is also required to consider the full participation of stakeholders in tourism planning and in the development and management of the destination. Marketing and promotion of tourism service development should also be included in the destination level governance structure. It also has a responsibility to community business enterprises' development and building the capacity of the local community (Mulugeta, 2017). However, in the destination or ANP local community participation that is a key factor of managing the park is neglected. All the management work has been done by the government either the Federal or Destination

government. In other words, the power of management of the parks and protected areas is in the hands of the government.

### **2.3. Major National park governance approaches applied in Ethiopia**

In Ethiopia, three main approaches of national park governance such as Fortress, Neoliberalism, and CBC has been applied at different times. However, Fortress conservation approach is the first national park governance system that applied in the country.

#### **2.3.1. Fortress Conservation**

Fortress Conservation is an approach that advocates the preservation or protection of the natural being over the human/social needs and interests. The method this approach adopts to preserve nature is usually militaristic and building a fence (Fisher, 2005). This approach further contended that natural resources are best protected when they are free from any human touches. Since the start of the 20th century, the idea of fortress conservation has shaped the planning and designing of protected areas. Hence, this conservation approach restricted human beings from accessing natural resources and also facilitated the total eviction of local people who live in and around the protected areas (Neumann, 2000).

Ethiopia adopted this approach to the conservation of nature during the 1960s and 1970s. This approach facilitates the uplifting of human satisfaction stressing the aesthetic value of wild nature and considers the local community who lives in and around the wilderness

areas as the destructor of the environment. The policy had been supported and practiced by many government officials both in developed and developing countries. It promoted the importance of parks as the best place for nature conservation by sidelining human interference (Fisher, 2005).

Hence, it is argued that the Fortress conservation approach has given special emphasis to the value of nature to humans in general but neglecting, or give little attention to the interest of the poor local community who lived around it (Neumann, 2000). However, such an elitist point of view has become a serious problem for the livelihood of the poor local community, particularly in Third World Countries. When it combined with the argument of environmental theories, and thus: challenges to nature in developing countries were usually guided regarding the ‘ignorant behavior’ and ‘reckless management’ of rural peoples, and in the context of ‘uncontrolled population growth.’ Overgrazing, and exceeding carrying capacity, slash- and –burn agriculture, the impoverishment of vegetation leading to the disappearance of climax vegetation, as well as the poaching of wildlife is a problem identified as a challenge (Fisher, et al, 2008). Then, it needs a solution for protecting nature. In the early years of conservation funds financed preservationist approaches to conservation, such as establishing protected areas and reserves, removing local populations, supplying anti-poaching equipment, and conducting animal and plant surveys (Fisher, 2005).

Many developing countries adopted conservation policies that underpin the principles of this fortress conservation approach that evicted the local communities from the areas

designated as national parks. The colonial power first introduced this policy to Africa after it has been expanded by conservation experts (Hannah, 2004). Although colonialism was a central reason for the widespread development of national parks in parts of Sub-Saharan Africa (Adams & Hutton, 2007), the application of this fortress conservation approach, even after its abolishment, has been continued. Even though Ethiopia was not colonized, this fortress conservation approach was practiced for establishing and managing national parks and protected areas during the 1960s.

In Ethiopia, the expulsion and resettlement of some local communities to other locations as well as the restrictions made from accessing the natural resources inside the NPs like grazing, hunting, gathering, etc that their livelihood depends on was the practical manifestation of the function of this conservation approach. Due to the challenge, this resettlement had brought about, the traditional natural resource management system and social structure were collapsed. It also increased local conflicts and results in famine in the locality (Fisher, 2005). Consequently, resource extractions are no more accessible to the local people (Abyiot, 2009) and their management became under direct state control (Solomon, 2014).

The fortress nature conservation approach with its philosophy of viewing nature conservation and human habitation as inherently incompatible had prompted heated global debate both in an abstract way (relation between humans and nature) and on a more practical level (how to deal with the people living in and around protected areas) (Buscher, et al., 2012). According to Attwell & Cotterill (2000), raising the issue of

community stake in natural resource conservation is like questioning the role and legitimacy of conservation science. Sanderson & Redford (2004), however, argue that conservationists disregard the economic enhancement of the local people (Sanderson & Redford, 2004).

In support of this idea, Brockington (2008) contends that conservation should consider the immediate need of the local people, and thus should contribute to poverty alleviation. Ethical and practical reasons should be heeded in the creation and maintenance of NPs. Rolston III, a preservationist, stresses ethical responsibility for nature conservation in the developed Countries of North America and Europe (Siurua, 2006). Reinforcing this idea, Fisher (2005) criticized the fortress conservation approach due to its ethnocentric orientation favoring Western ideas of nature, its elitist approach ignoring the land rights of the indigenous inhabitants, its neglect of the wider ecosystem approach in which human is also a part in influencing landscape, and its separation of people from protected areas which may result in ecological simplification and pressure on resources outside the protected areas that finally impacts the protected areas. The livelihood of the local people of Baka Pygmies of southeast Cameroon depends mainly on hunting and gathering, but they have a system that manages the ecology in a sustainable way. Against the sustainable method the local community maintained, the government concluded the over exploitation of the forestry resources; subsequently, it created protected areas (fortress conservation). Considering the cultural attachment the communities have with the forest, the government allowed them to use specific hunting and gathering tools; the eco-guards

mistreated them when they found the local people use tools that were not allowed. Such actions of the government has changed the behavior of the local community and motivated them to organize hunting expedition that destruct the wild animals and biodiversity of the PA (Pemunta, 2019).

Consequently, the fortress conservation that disregards the local community has become a reason for the local people to protest against conservation agenda. Then, illegal hunting and grazing and other everyday forms of resistance became the signals of the failure of fortress conservation (Abiyot, 2009). This seemed to have led fortress conservation towards its own demise and then its acceptance was getting declined since the 1980s (Abiyot, 2009). The use of the fortress conservation approach is also a challenge in the national park management and benefit-sharing. The local community had expressed their disappointment by getting involved in different illegal activities such as hunting, overgrazing, cutting of forest and grass in the PAs. What is more, when some natural or political crisis happened, the local community invaded the protected areas and settled inside via constructing temporary houses (Abiyot, 2009). This shows how much the local community disregarded this conservation policy and consequently gave little care to the natural resource conservations. Following this resentment, the Ethiopian government has tried to apply another NP governance policy approach called Neoliberal

### **2.3.2. Neoliberal Conservation Approach**

The national government policy that excluded the local community from doing conservation natural resources is gradually faded up and substituted by the new approach,

CBC (Wright& Strum, 1994). This approach empowers the local community to manage and benefit from the natural resources. However, the implementation of this CBC seemed to have failed in Africa. Due to its improper practices, it failed to meet the main target of CBC projects that generate and distribute profits to local communities by empowering them to own and manage the natural resources around their locality. Thus, neoliberal conservation has used development as a conservation tool; and it considers economic growth and environmental protection as mutually compatible. It heeds ecological services as an economic asset. Because the natural resources in the Pas are not taken into account for commercial markets, they are often given too little weight in policy decisions. The marketing of the natural resources to bring more benefits to the surrounding community and to use this marketing as a means to protect the natural environment is the main concern of the neoliberal approach (Nishizaki, 2014). The practice of this approach has been rapidly increasing in Africa. The establishment of trans-boundary PAs that advocate the management and development of PAs with the agreement of neighboring countries has shown a significant development of PA governance in the region (Munthali, 2007). Besides, the privately owned land of Eastern and Southern Africa had played a significant role in the conservation of critical biodiversity (Newmark, 2008).

Neoliberal conservation underscores that extending the geographic area of PAs is believed to increase the size of the potential tourism market. Neoliberal conservation changes the focus from how nature is conserved to how nature is used through the expansion of capitalism (Büscher et al., 2012). Following this change, new types of

management such as co-management initiatives that incorporates private sectors, NGO and state have emerged. In the 1980s and 1990s, they have formed networks that encourage development-oriented conservation programs (Abiyot, 2009).

Although neoliberal approaches can influence positive conservation outcomes by giving emphasis on tourism, some highly market-oriented activities have created different problems. For example, some people, in South Africa, are involved in illegal hunting activity and began to destruct natural resources to get personal profit. Neoliberal conservation is further criticized for its little regard for community participation. In theory, this approach is expected to promote the participation of rural communities in business practices; but it actually works towards the eviction of the local communities. After 1995, the Federal government of Ethiopia has encountered serious budget and PA management difficulties. Ethiopia's economic growth between 2004 and 2010 (the country's GDP grew by an average of 11% per year) seemed to have paved the road for the government to apply the neoliberal conservation approach (Nishizaki, 2014). Since then some NPs of the country have come under the auspices of the management of the African Park foundation. African Park foundation is an NGO and established in 2003 to do international conservation work to manage the NPs in Africa including Zambia, Malawi, and Ethiopia (African Parks, 2007; Nishizaki, 2014). The approach African Parks employs is combining conservation practices with business expertise that brings significant economic advantages by promoting ecotourism. The main target of the Federal government of Ethiopia is to increase the foreign exchange obtained from

tourism. Since both the Federal government of Ethiopia and the African park work towards similar aims that promote tourism, the African park began to manage Nech Sar National Park in 2004. Following this, the flow of tourists visiting the Nech Sar NP increased (African Parks, 2007; Nishizaki, 2014). To further restore the biodiversity, the organization proposed the reintroduction of big games (such as conservation elephants and buffalo) and the erection of extensive game fencing. The African Parks and the government seemed to have agreed on the proposed idea of the eviction and resettlement of over 10,000 Kore and Guji people who lived inside the park to do the conservation work. Based on this agreement, the regional government had applied the old fortress conservation approach to forcefully re-locate the local community in 2004 and 2005 (Nishizaki, 2014).

As a result, around 1,020 Kore families were relocated without having any compensation payment, and other promises such as, land, clinic, schools, and other infrastructure development for substitution should made by the government (Nishizaki, 2014; Abiyot, 2009). These denials by the government ignited considerable criticism from international human rights organizations. Following this criticism, African Parks made an attempt to relocate the Guji people but with no success and the African parks attributed the problem to the Oromia regional government's uncooperative negotiations with the Guji people (African Parks, 2012; Nishizaki, 2014).

After this failure, the African Parks in 2005 began to work in Omo National Park that was established in 1966 with area coverage of 4,068 km<sup>2</sup>. The African park failed to win

an agreement to manage the ONP and then left the area in 2008. They also acknowledged the disagreement with the local people's unwanted use of the natural resources of the park as a reason to stop the management work (African Parks, 2012; Nishizaki, 2014).

The neoliberal conservation approach used by African Parks has also reignited the fortress conservation approach that had been applied in the previous years and that assumes the local people as the destructor. For example, the Guji was forcefully evicted from the park in 1982; after a decade in 2004, they were also re-evicted when it was under Africa Parks' management (Getachew, 2007; Abiyot, 2009; Asebe, 2012; Nishizaki, 2014). Thus, this phenomenon puts the acceptance of the neoliberal conservation approach in question.

### **2.3.3. Community-Based Conservation (CBC) Approach**

Environmental organizations such as the UNESCO's Man and Biosphere Program (1971) and the World Conservation Strategy (1980) have put forward the concept of CBC to address their concern about the conservation and ecological balance of the world (Redclift, 1984). Among the conferences they conducted in the area of the national park, the 1982 third world congress in Bali had emphasized the expansion and consolidation of PAs. The fourth conference that was held in 1992, after ten years, seemed to have changed the tone of preservation and advocated the involvement of the local community on the issues of PAs and biodiversity under the theme "Protected Areas for life". The 1992 United Nations Earth Summit that was held in Rio de Janeiro also confirmed that

PAs or national parks could play a part in the sustainable development process (McNeely, 1984).

As a premise to formulate its theory, CBC has taken the expropriation of the local communities who are rather viewed as a spoiler to the natural resources in the PAs or NPs and its impact on the survival of the community. It also considers the lack of benefit the existing NP renders to the local community and the succeeding exclusion of the community from participating in the management process to devise its theory (Gibson, 1999). Thus, to reverse these situations, the CBC has devised principles that pay attention to the local community as a partner in the NP management process and that bring benefits to the local community from the NP (Gerov, 1987).

CBC can be expressed in various ways such as integrated conservation and development, community conservation, collaborative management, or co-management. For this study, the term community-based conservation (CBC) is understood as the finding of support of the local communities to run the NP in their vicinity through employing different activities that could raise their conservation awareness and make them beneficiaries.

In order to make the conservation methods successful, several researchers have noted that the responsibilities and benefits of managing NPs should be shared between both government agencies and neighboring communities (Adams & Infield, 2001).

Schmink (1999) points out that community-based conservation should use community participation as its strategy to achieve social equity and recognizes community-based

conservation from other forms of development projects. She focused on resource use by taking into consideration both the community and the environment (Schmink, 1999).

Various scholars have defined CBC program in terms of the interconnection it has between non- human and human systems. Barrett and Arcase (1995) define CBC by integrating conservation and development; for example, they linked species conservation and rural development. As a distinguishing character of their approach, they use the notion of exchange of access to natural resources by local communities for material gains (Barrett and Arcase, 1995).

Following these definitions, collaborative management (CM) has become a conservation discourse. CM is a form of community-based conservation that builds a harmonious relationship between resource users and conservation authorities in the management of the PAs. It targets to work conservation by giving more governing power to stakeholders in terms of decision-making (Barrow & Murphree, 2001). To understand and define CBC, it is important to know the level to which the local community participates. Pimbert and Pretty (1994) suggest seven levels of participation ranging from self-mobilization to passive participation (Pimbert and Pretty, 1994).

Considering community participation in conservation can make nature and natural resource conservation beneficial and meaningful to rural/local communities. It is believed that only when conservation directly benefits the local community who are assumed to incur costs of conservation, they will take the responsibility of resources management

(Bell, 1987). Most conservationists understand that communities who are responsible for natural resource administration are better managers than state institutions. They also noted that such conservation practices could improve the local community's economic well-being in a natural way (Wright and Strum, 1994). After the realization of the failure of the top-down approaches of conservation over the past several decades in the developing countries, the government was forced to get the local community involved in the conservation work (Agrawal & Sivaramakrishnan, 2000).

Ethiopia is endowed with a wide range of natural, biological, cultural, and artifact diversities that could enrich the tourism industry. Throughout the last decade, the country has been promoting ecotourism/sustainable tourism targeting tourists from the homeland and abroad. However, the implementation of national governance strategies and regulatory frameworks of ecotourism in Ethiopia has been found challenging. The people in the country are highly dependent on natural resources in and around the protected areas (NPs). Hence, developing sustainable ecotourism needs an approach that meets the interest of the local community and natural resource conservation. The two main approaches-- preservation and CBC-- have been used for doing sustainable tourism or conservation of biodiversity in National Parks. The former was an influential approach until the 1980s, but it has now been substituted by community-based conservation (McNeely & Miller, 1984) to ensure sustainable ecotourism and its development. Sustainable/ Ecotourism development is a tool used to achieve a community-based conservation approach (Diamantis, 1999).

However, a community-based conservation approach that empowers the local community to access and manage natural resources in the NP and PAs found in Ethiopia exists only in the idea but never gone to implementation. Ethiopia, being a member of IUCN, has a responsibility to copy and use the approach that the institution developed to manage the NP and PAs in the world. But, similar to other countries in the world, Ethiopia has failed to develop its NPs and PAs management strategy based on what is suggested by IUCN. Consequently, the NP governance bodies such as EWCA or the park offices found in each region have not been able both to develop a community-based conservation strategy and to make the local community beneficiary (EWCA, 2014). This is due to less attention the Ethiopian government paid towards NP development and the local community around it and thus it was unable to provide enough budgets to activate CBC in all national parks and protected areas including Awash NP. In ANP, though the EWCA and park officers have accepted the idea of community-based conservation and put “developing ANP by making the local community beneficiary” as their mission to accomplish sustainable resource management, they have not yet produced strategies that empower the local community in natural resource management and benefit-sharing from the NP because of budget constraint (EWCA-ANP, 2018). Hence, the local communities are found going against the conservation agenda in the NP and use it destructively as a grazing land (Solomon, 2014).

For example, SMNP and Menze Gosa community protected areas have developed strategies or policies that empower the local community to manage and access resources

in line with their context to get approval (legality) from the Regional council. However, like other PA & NPs, SMNP and Menze Gosa community protected area were also facing difficulties to manage the area due to the policy that prohibited them to access the natural resources that resulted in a serious conflict between the park officials and the local community. The local communities who lost their power of accessing the natural resources in the PA to get livelihood alternatives from the established NP had turned into various illegal activities such as encroachment, hunting, and similar others. Such action took them into conflict with the park officials that put the sustainable development of the park in jeopardy. This had also a negative impact on tourism development.

However, when the government started to empower the local community to manage the PA & NP based on their age-old wisdom and to lead their livelihood opportunities from ecotourism, things had been changed in the communities' favor. The local community by themselves took the responsibility of sustainable development of the park because of the benefits the park or PA renders to them (ANRS-EWCA, 2019).

#### **2.4. Sustainable/Ecotourism Development Approach**

Tourism is categorized among the biggest industries of the world and is also identified as one of the fast-growing economic sectors (UNWTO, 2013). Tourism has grown steadily and become an important economic center for the Eastern African regions such as Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, and Rwanda that have attractive tourist destinations. In the tourism industry, more than 258 million people in the world are employed both directly and

indirectly. This implies that the tourism industry is accountable for 8.8 percent of the world's jobs. In addition, it controls 9.1 percent of the world's Growth Domestic Product (GDP) (US\$6 trillion), 5.8 percent of the world's exports (US\$1.1 trillion), and 4.5 percent of the world's investment (US\$652 billion) (UNWTO, 2013; Baporikar, 2020).

Sustainable tourism is an enterprise that attains the balance among the environmental, economic, and socio-cultural features of tourism development to guarantee the long-term benefits of the host communities. Further, it facilitates the appropriate use of environmental resources that comprise a key element in tourism development. It also advocates the conservation of important ecological processes such as natural heritage or biodiversity. The theory of sustainable tourism respects the socio-cultural authenticity of the host communities and conserves the cultural heritage and traditional values to use it for inter-cultural understanding and tolerance. Besides, it ensures feasible long-term economic operations by providing fairly distributed socio-economic benefits to all stakeholders. Such socio-economic advantages include employment and income-earning opportunities to the society that has an impact on poverty alleviation. Moreover, the main target of sustainable tourism is also maintaining tourist satisfaction by providing meaningful experience from conserved resources (UNEP & UNWTO, 2005). To achieve this, sustainable tourism should comprise three core values: quality, continuity, and balance (see Figure 2 below).

# Sustainable Tourism



Source: Adapted from UNEP and UNWTO (2005).

Figure.2: Sustainable Tourism development

Holistic approach consisting of quality experience for visitors, quality of life for the host community, and protecting the quality of the environment; integration of time element by ensuring continuity of natural resources, continuity of the culture of the host community and thus safeguarding the long-term dimension; the balance between the needs and interests of the stakeholders including the tourism industry, protectors of the environment, and the local community and thus providing balanced priorities.

## 2.4.1. Community Empowerment and Sustainable Tourism

To develop sustainable tourism, the communities need to be active players in all steps of the tourism development process. An involved community means active players in the tourism development process and a beneficiary from the tourism industry. To do this knowing the community's existing culture, social makeup, livelihood strategy,

knowledge of the environment and the existing indigenous governance system is very important (Bien, 2003).

The community empowerment process, therefore, covers all the steps from profiling the existing cultural, social, economic, and environmental context of the community; identifying the gaps that hinder community engagement in tourism development up to designing the necessary capacity building needs and offering the necessary training needs to the community. A living community is the result of several years of learning from each other, peaceful coexistence and support to one another. Any new development must acknowledge all goods' past experiences and must add value to what exists. Therefore, new initiatives in tourism development must not destruct the social cohesion and indigenous government system of the community. Instead, it should lead to nurturing the existing value, encourage peaceful competition, and fair benefit sharing and development from tourism. In other words, tourism development in a destination should bring both individual and group benefits to dwellers of a destination while maintaining the peaceful coexistence of the community. Benefits could come from an individual or organized involvement in tourism activities and services but what is important to note is that tourism development in a destination should support the social cohesion of communities and help in generating additional income from various tourism activities and services. Benefits from tourism should help to build new schools to solve educational problems, establish new clinics to solve local health problems, build new community based recreational centers, purchase new technological input for agriculture, build better

facilities and infrastructure, promote local tourism resources and products, and should enable getting an additional source of finance for the community living in a destination while maintaining the existing social bond of the community (Mulugeta, 2017). In the sense of development, tourism is serving as an essential instrument to develop a certain locality or Urban area in the form of creating an economic advantage and protecting the environment for the advantage of the urban community too. Consequently, the main target of tourism development is mainly focused on local-scale development. The growth of the global industry and its capacity to assist communities, their development, and well-being in destination regions are expected to go down to the local level. Since tourism is a way for the sustainable development of the local communities, it is important to incorporate the idea of sustainability in the tourism industry's policies and development and governance view (Shereni & Saarinen, 2020). According to Farrell and Twining - Ward (2005), sustainable tourism is a form of adaptive management but needs debate and discussion among the policymakers for effective knowledge transfer and implementation.

The adoption of the western approaches such as the forceful eviction of the indigenous population around the protected area had been the major problem for African national park to implement the sustainable resource management approach. More recent expansion in those developing countries also lacks the idea of sustainable development where the protection of biodiversity plays a central role to enhance economic development through investment and tourism (King, 2007). The grounded theory of Commitment to Change is the mediating force between acknowledging a need for

tourism and determining the appropriate methods to guide tourism expansion concerning the essence of rural areas (Sebby, 2020).

## **2.5. Community-Based Ecotourism Development in Ethiopia**

### **2.5.1. Origin and Development of Ecotourism**

The adverse environmental and socio-economic consequence of tourism development has been a cause of the concept of Ecotourism development (Belachew, 2016; EGA, 2008). The formal definition of ecotourism, that later taken by the International Union for Conservation of Nature as their official definition in 1996, was provided by Héctor Ceballos-Lascuráin (1993a). Ecotourism is traveling to somewhat undamaged or clean natural areas with the exact objective of experimenting, appreciating, and experiencing the landscape and its wild plants and animals as well as any existing cultural demonstrations (both past and present) discovered in these areas (Hector, 1993a). Based on this definition, ecotourism can comprise both cultural and environmental tourism and the benefits the local population gets (Hector, 1993a; Belachew, 2016).

Ziffer (1989) also recommends a more constrictive definition with an emphasis on different types of activities that can be regarded as ecotourism. According to her, ecotourism is a form of tourism inhaled mainly by the natural history of an area and the indigenous cultures of the resident. The Eco-tourist visits are comparatively new areas in the attitude of admiration, involvement, and sensitivity. The Eco-tourist exercises are a non-consumptive use of wildlife and natural resources and provide the visited area via

labor or financial methods aimed at directly supporting the conservation of the site and the economic advantage of the local communities (Diamantis, 1999; Belachew, 2016).

### **2.5.2. Development of Ecotourism in Ethiopia**

The model of ecotourism is a new fact and adapted in Ethiopia in 2001. The Ethiopian government has also acknowledged the development and promotion of ecotourism and offered consultancy work for several potential developers of ecotourism sites of the country. Based on such an opportunity created by the government, some investors started to involve in the development of ecotourism in different regions of Ethiopia. Similarly, in (2003), the Ecotourism Association of Ethiopia (EAE) has been established by the committed private sector organizations. The main target of the association was to address the challenges that have faced the tourism sector of the country by adopting and promoting the principle of ecotourism. The mission of EAE is to facilitate the establishment of an eco-cultural destination with the highest tourism standard inline with alleviating poverty, improving human resources, marketing Ethiopia's rich cultural and natural attractions, and recovering environmental resources. Based on such initiation, EAE has established Bishangari Eco-Lodge located in the Eastern part of Langano Lake in the Oromia Region, and village Ethiopia located at the Afar Region (Bilen) (Theodros, 2004). However, the association has never provided anything to ecotourism development in the country because the government couldn't support the association technically and financially (MoCT, 2006: Belachew, 2016).

### **2.5.3. Potential of Ecotourism Resources in Ethiopia**

Ecotourism is one of the recently growing tourism alternatives (Schaller, 1998). Ethiopia has many Natural and Cultural attractions that can be an input for Ecotourism development. The ecotourism potentials of the country include lakes with different features, the interesting Mountains that are suitable for individual trekkers, hiking parties, and professional climbers have great power to attract eco-tourists (MoCT, 2006; Belachew, 2016). In addition, watching the African big wildlife and the spectacular landscapes in the NPs creates un-measurable happiness for the Eco-tourists. Likewise, underground caves and rock arts are also categorized among the ecotourism potentials of the country. In addition to these, battle sites such as Adowa and Maqḍala as well as places of politically significant events such as Boru Meda, Entoto, and Ankober, etc are the most interesting sites that attract eco-tourist who admire history (MoCT, 2006). Ecotourism also has immense potential for rural economic development and environmental conservation. Various scholars (Anderson, 1996; Agrusa and Guidry, 1999; Ngese, 2014; Kiss, 2004 and Weggoro, 2008) identified the economic benefits of ecotourism that include employment opportunities, creating new jobs, and diversifying regional economies. It also offers profitable domestic tourism products such as hotels, restaurants, transportation systems, handicrafts, and guide services. It minimizes leakage, contributes a great deal of gross domestic product, foreign exchange earnings, development of infrastructure, and transfer of income. If it is properly managed and applied, it benefits the environment in various ways (Anderson, 1996; Ngese, 2014; Kiss,

2004 and Weggoro, 2008). In light of this, ecotourism has contributed a lot in bringing economic advantage to a certain destination. For instance, it can provide job opportunities to the local community who are living around the destination. It also facilitates infrastructure development like road and electricity in some destinations. It has also brought foreign currency advantage to the country( Belachew, 2016).

The main concern of Ecotourism is developing the conservation and promotion of natural and cultural heritage. It fosters responsible tourist behavior by conserving the ecosystem and the habitats of wildlife. As compared with environmentally damaging activities such as farming, logging, and mining, it is the best alternative activity regarding the conservation of the environment (Anderson, 1996). Although ecotourism has brought lots of advantages to the environmental development in Ethiopia its implication from natural resource conservation is very limited. Ecotourism has also played a great role in the development of the social well being of the community. It promotes the value of the local community by creating an opportunity to communicate and understand local people with different backgrounds. It enhances the political empowerment of local communities and promotes admiration for different cultures and tolerance. It is then possible to say that ecotourism is an important mechanism for encouraging cultural exchanges (Agrusa and Guidry, 1999; Nepal, 2002; Weggoro, 2008).

Though Ethiopia has such eco-tourism potential that has enormous social, environmental, and economic advantages to the country, its' development is found in its infant stage. For instance, according to Belachew B (2016), the sector needs to empower the local

community to access and manage the natural resources in the national parks and to build ownership by diversifying their livelihood from eco-tourism activities.

#### **2.5.4. Challenges of Community Based Ecotourism in Ethiopia**

Different scholars described the challenges that affected community-based ecotourism development in Ethiopia. Conflict of interest among stakeholders who live around the ecotourism site over resource usage and ownership has been one of the challenges of community-based ecotourism development in Ethiopia.

In Lake Zengena of the Amhara region, there is a serious ownership problem between the Banja Woreda Culture and Tourism Office and the church communities. These bodies put forward their claim for the entitlement of the Lake. Due to this disagreement, the area was left unfruitful and failed to serve as a tourist destination and thus, it failed to benefit the local people from tourism (Bires, 2014). A similar conflict of interest on the ownership of Wonchi Crater Lake that is situated in Oromia Regional State occurred between the government and the local community (Ketema, 2015). Ambelu (2011) also noted a challenge to build community lodges in some of the ecotourism sites in Meket, Wollo, Amhara Region due to the land ownership issue. In addition, the conflict has occurred between the local community, which has farmland adjacent to the trekking route, and the government who run the ecotourism. Ambelu further suggested that the resource ownership problem should be solved by arranging frequent village meeting, discussion, and negotiation. Otherwise, it might be very difficult to conserve tourism resources sustainably. Moreover, Eshetie (2012) in his study about the Borena Sayint

National Park, the local communities who are living around the park were against the establishment of NP. This is because of the policy that excludes the local community from using various leaves like *Festuca gilbertiana* in the NP that they were using it for making thatch, rope, matt, and as fodder. To get what they were restricted, the local communities resorted to illegal activities that will damage the NP (Eshetie, 2012). Regarding the ownership of the natural resources in ANP, conflicts used to occur between the local community who were living around ANP and the government that resulted in the destruction of the biodiversity in the NP (Alemayehu, 2011; Ayalew, 2011; and Solomon, 2014).

Moreover, there is a problem of collaboration between stakeholders that in turn affects the community-based ecotourism development in Ethiopia. This lack of cooperation between stakeholders was a challenge for community-based ecotourism development in Meket Woreda North Wollo Zone ecotourism site, Alatish National Park, Awash national park, and Choke Mountain (Ambelu, 2011; Berhanu, 2013; Alemayehu, 2011; and Aynalem, 2013).

Similar researches have also revealed the limited participation of the local community who were living around the ecotourism development site and the lack of awareness about its importance as a challenge for the development of ecotourism in Ethiopia. Alemayehu (2011), Demeke, and Ashok (2013) have shown the limits of community empowerment as a serious problem for the development of ecotourism in their respective study areas.

Basic components of ecotourism are accommodation, transportation, health services, and other support facilities. It is necessary to increase the length of stays of eco-tourists by increasing their level of satisfaction. However, most researchers emphasized the problem of the existing tourism facilities in quantity and quality in most ecotourism destinations of the country. Confirming this, different researches (For instance, Alemayehu, 2011; Eshetie, 2012; Demeke & Ashok, 2013; Bires, 2014; Berhanu, 2015; and Ketema, 2015) have shown the absence of the basic components of tourism in their study sites and its negative implication for tourism development.

Moreover, having skilled manpower is vital to facilitate eco-tourism development in a certain locality. To effectively utilize the ecotourism potentials of the country, a well-prepared management plan which is developed and organized by tourism professionals is needed. However, in Ethiopia, most of the ecotourism sites including the national parks, protected areas, and other cultural attraction places are not managed by the tourism professional which is still a major obstacle for tourism development in the country (Alemayehu, 2011; Ambelu, 2011; Berhanu, 2013; Aynalem 2013; and Bires, 2014).

Besides the lack of skilled manpower, the inadequate financial allocation is the other challenge to the eco-tourism site development. Conservation of wildlife and park management is an expensive task that requires an adequate budget to make it the best tourist destination. However, due to the insignificant attention given by the Ethiopian government, the NPs and the PAs are less financed (Berhanu, 2015). Different

researchers on the area of ecotourism have raised the issue of a limited budget as the main constraint to ecotourism development (Aynalem, 2013).

Other researchers have mentioned the unfair benefit-sharing as a major problem of the ecotourism development in the country. When the government established a tourism destination, it seizes lands from the local community whose livelihood depends on it. The problem of the re-location of the local community to another land without providing livelihood opportunity and fair compensation to the lost land makes the local community to face resource scarcity problems; and this, in turn, has created a conflict between the government and the local community that endangers the existing biodiversity and tourism industry (Asteray, 2011; Eshetie, 2012; Asfaw, 2014; Berhanu, 2015; Kassahun, et al., 2015; and Ketema, 2015).

I also argue that all those challenges that are described by various researchers in different eco-tourism sites of the country are the main challenges that affect eco-tourism development.

The conflict between the local community and the government indicates the gaps to sustainably manage the biodiversity and other attractions in the destination including the national parks. To redress such challenges the destination that is designate as a tourist attraction should first bring some economic, social, and environmental benefits to the local community.

## **2.6. The Park to People Conflict and Resolution Mechanisms**

### **2.6.1. Nature Conservation and Conflict**

The most commonplace for the wildlife and their precious products like ivory or horn was the colonial game reserves though it has recently become the PAs and the NPs and thus, hunters frequently visited these places to do hunting; such hunting activities will destruct the precious nature and natural resources (Adam, 2001). To protect this destruction of the natural resources, the fortress conservation approach has been applied to the NPs or PAs; this conservation was done by restricting the local community from entering and doing any activity inside the parks. The policy that has been engraved based on this approach has not usually been accepted by the local community and researchers particularly by historians and anthropologists as it violates human rights and brings annoying costs to poor rural people who are living around the PAs (Adam & Infield, 2001).

The European and North American conservationists who fund the conservation of ‘wild’ Africa were mainly interested in controlling the wildlife and natural resources (Brockington, 2002). He sadly described that these conservationists were enjoying life via drinking champagne and wearing precious jewelry made of wildlife that was confiscated from such wilderness areas of Africa. Mkomazi Game Reserve was created in 1951 and few pastoralists were allowed to stay there. After a while, the resources had been well reserved and became the best grazing land to the cattle of the surrounding

people and good resources to grow the local and regional economy. Following this, the number of cattle and people living around there increased. However, in the mid of 1988s, succeeding the suggestion of the conservation planners about the threatening impact of overstocked pasture on the natural resource, the pastoralists were forcefully evicted from the park and relocated to different places (Currey, 1996). The same was true in Tanzania in the Selous Game Reserve. In 1959, more than 1000 Maasai and 25,000 head of cattle were also evicted from Serengeti Game reserves. Such forced relocation of the local community from the NPs incited the local community to go against the conservation agenda and raised conflict towards the conservation planner (Homewood & Rodgers, 1991).

The establishment of Omo national park in Ethiopia in 1978 unreasonably evicted the Mursi communities who lived around Omo valley despite their economic wellbeing depend on the natural resources found in ONP (Turton, 1987; Adams, 2004). The Mursi people lead their life by engaging themselves in cattle keeping, rain-feed cultivation, flood-retreat farming on Omo River, and hunting for ivory and animal skins for trade. However, the establishment of ONP has restricted the local community from accessing the natural resources found in the park. The impact of the eviction of the local communities on natural resources was not properly examined. This approach for conservation has presented conservation and development as mutually exclusive and is 'narrow, defeatist, and fundamentally are pessimistic' (Turton, 1987; Adams, 2004).

Nech Sar NP is unspoiled and practically inhabited by the man though, during its establishment as NP, the Gudji and Kore people who were living in its vicinity were forcefully evicted (Kelboro & Stellmacher, 2012). The area has been free from human settlement till 1991, change of government occurred. Following this event, similar to other protected areas and NPs in Ethiopia, the degradation of the Nech Sar NP natural resources was accelerated.

Karrayu and Afar were also evicted from ANP during its establishment and resettled in different areas around it (Ayalew, 2011). And after a while, they were going against the conservation agenda in 1991, in the transition period; and such action of the local community demonstrated the resentment they developed towards the fortress conservation approach (Ayalew, 2011). The researchers also showed the incapability of the government to help the local community take part in the use, management, and conservation of the ANP (Hillman, 1993).

A similar phenomenon was observed during the establishment of national parks in North America, Australia, and Russia. These countries followed the 'Yellowstone model' which safeguards the 'pristine' quality of land by prohibiting the traditional land uses and opening the area for visitors with the maximum care-controlled situations (Poirier and Ostergren, 2002). However, this model had played a significant role in changing the economic activity of the local community. Because of the establishment of the Grand Canyon Forest Reserve in 1919, the lifestyle of the Havasupai people was transformed from subsistence hunting and farming to wage labor for survival (Jacoby, 2001; Adams,

2004). By the 1920s, the plateau lands above the Havasupais' reservation were used by the tribe as a hunting ground, and for gathering wild pieces. At the time of the establishment of Grand Canyon Forest Reserve, the area began to serve as a tourist attraction site, and thus, the local community began to give service to the tourist as a daily laborer (Jacoby, 2001; Adams, 2004).

Following the establishment of Forillon National Park in Quebec, Canada, in the 1960s, around 200 families were removed from the NP. Likewise, when Kouchibouguac National Park was established in New Brunswick, 228 households (1200 people) were also relocated. The Policy that fosters the eviction of the local community when NP was established had been survived in Canada till the 1970s. However, due to the complaints and violent acts of the local community who were evicted from the NP that continued until 1988, the policy was revised (McNamee, 1993).

The major conservation cost that the local communities were forced to lose due to the establishment of PAs and NPs encompassed the loss of homes, the asset value of lands or resources, and a stream of benefits. Illustrating this idea, Adam and Infield (2003) noted the economic cost the people around Mgahinga Gorilla National Park in Uganda paid. Before the establishment of the NP, the local communities used to intensively farm and harvest various kinds of crops. However, after the establishment of the Mgahinga Gorilla National Park in 1991, the local community lost their agricultural land and began to suffer from shortages of food. According to the local community, the compensation the

government made for them was incomparable with the income they used to get from the agricultural land they lost (Adams & Infield, 2003; Adams, 2004).

Religious and cultural values are another cost the local community paid due to the establishment of the NP. To illustrate this idea, Neumann cited the exclusion of the members of the Meru Mbise clan from the ritual sites in the Mount Meru Crater, in Arusha National Park, in Tanzania. The park administrator planned to establish a 'cultural site' for visitors against the intention of the local community of building a church there (Neumann, 2000).

The problem of crop-raiding by wild animals was another cost the people who were living around the NP and other wildlife-rich zone are paying. Sekhar, 1998 has also raised crop-raiding as the problem the local community who are living around the edge of the Montana forest protected area faced. Since the area is too mountainous, the local communities invested a lot of effort and labor to farm and harvest; and when they lost their produce by crop-raiding of the wild animals, it appears unbearable for the local communities (Sekhar, 1998).

Moreover, defending some wild animal such as elephants or buffalo that raided their farmland and crops are extremely dangerous for the local community (Trapper, 2006). The same is true in Ethiopia. Melese and his colleagues witnessed the Human-wildlife conflict in and around the SMNP by exemplifying the domestic animals that were reared by the local community have been killed by the dangerous wild animals. Such incidents

have affected the livelihood of the local community whose livelihood depends on farming and animal husbandry within that limited land (Melese et al, 2009).

Although the establishment of NP or conservation areas has lots of importance to the country, the NPs usually have an unwelcoming effect on the people who live in their vicinity. The resentment and sense of injustice are redoubled if the protected area is located within the area that these people use for their livelihood. In the protectionist approach of conservation, the protection of nature by excluding the local community from accessing resources in NP has negatively affected the livelihoods of the poor people. National parks and protected areas are traditionally associated with the conditions of poverty and underdevelopment that surround them (Neumann, 2000).

The local communities who are residing around ANP have been affected as their grazing and agricultural lands that their livelihood depended on were taken away. This was because of the natural resource conservation approach the government adopted. The local community felt rejected as they lost their farming and watering lands to benefit others. This policy has exposed the local community to the shortage of natural resources. According to the World Bank's (1984) definition, natural resources include water, air, land, forests, fish and wildlife, topsoil, and minerals that are found in nature and important for human use. The main natural resources that drive conflict among the local community who are living around ANP are drinkable water and land. Land, in its broadest terms, includes the exterior parts of the earth, the natural resources located above or under, houses, buildings, and all things that are attached to the soil (Dale and

McLaughlin, 1999; Lormon and Barfield, 2019). Land that is the main resource for livelihoods of the communities has been connected to other natural resources like water. Based on this assumption, it is an important economic asset that has been closely fastened with the issues of community identity, history, culture, and livelihoods (Dale & McLaughlin, 1999; Lormon and Barfield, 2019).

The set of relationships that exist between individuals and groups concerning land and other resources is termed as land tenure. The community has determined a system of resource usage underlining questions such as ‘who can use the land’, ‘for how long’, and ‘under what conditions’. This system has been divided into private, communal, open access, and state. However, in any of the tenure systems, the problem of access to land or vague land rights have usually contributed to the exclusion of individuals that leads to conflict (EU-UN, 2012).

From what has been stated above, it is then possible to infer that the policy that advocates the eviction of the local community has affected the interest of the local community even though it maintains the advantage of others, government, and tourists; and thus, the local community who lost their land has encountered a shortage of land that their livelihoods mainly depend on. The problem that comes from a shortage of land forced the local community to go into conflict against the government and conservation agenda as a whole.

### **2.6.2. Conservation Related Conflicts**

Natural resource conflict could begin a war of words or may intensify into a serious conflict that may cost a life. When the fundamental needs of the nearby communities' (such as their needs for grazing land, firewood, building materials, fodder, etc) prevails over the conservation needs of the park, conflict could occur in the national park (Lewis, 1993; Mukherjee, 2009). The other situation that leads the local community into conflict is the poor park management strategies considered in the decision- making process (Borrini-Feyerabend & Farvar, 2002). According to the Studies done by the Caribbeans by Geoghan and Yves Renard recommendation, it is better to merge the protected area management to the wider landscape management practice and to the policy that involves the local community members so as to avoid any conflicts to occur (Borrini-Feyerabad, et al, 2013). The decision that isolates the local community and disregards their needs, are likely to result in conflict. Such conflicts were also raised in the Amboseli national park. Due to the establishment of the park, the local community lost their traditional rights to graze cattle inside the park. Protesting against this decision, the Maasai people destroyed important components of wildlife resources such as spearing rhinos, lions, and other wildlife that the tourist industry in Amboseli NP depended on (Colchester, 1997). They also continued to enter the park to water their cattle and begun to work with professional poachers and ivory traders and supporting them to kill rhinos and elephants trespassing the enacted law. The same was true in Nagarhole and Keoladeo national parks (Middleton et al, 1991; Mukherjee, 2009). In the case of latent conflict, it has aligned

with the daily passive expression of negative emotions as hidden violence. It has been described as an individual's reaction against any form of oppression or domination (Turton, 1986; Scott, 1990; Adams, 2004).

To conclude, denial of access, land grievances, customary and statutory land tenure systems, land-use changes and migration, ineffective dispute resolution, and others were found as the main causes of land-related conflict in various localities especially in the NP or PA. In the area where the national park was established, the local community encountered a shortage of land as they were evicted from their ancestral lands. It seemed obvious then that the government gave little or no regard to the interests and wants of the community while establishing national parks. Soon after taking the land to establish national parks or other development projects, the government immediately blocks the local community from accessing their grazing lands and tilling their agriculture lands within the parks. Such actions expose the local communities to unwanted competition to control the small plots of land that remained from the bounded national park; this competition, in turn, could lead them to conflict via raising the issue of customary land rights and others.

Although most conflicts took place due to NP establishment in a certain locality, or the shortage of natural resources such as water and land, it is still possible to make advantage of the establishment of NPs as a means to create economic advantage or livelihood alternative opportunity to the local community.

## **2.7. Park Development and Positive Impact to the Local Community**

After the 1950s different ideas that can potentially create mutually beneficial relations between people living close to the PAs and officials responsible to manage the protected areas were reintroduced. The newly launched ideas are against the previously practiced fortress conservation approach to conservation as if one dispossessed the other in some kind of ecological succession (Wright & Strum, 1994).

The influential point of this new idea of CBC was initiated in the 1971 UNESCO's 'Biosphere Reserves', developed under the 'Man and the Biosphere' (MAB) program. This international Biosphere Conference passed a resolution that emphasizes the importance of traditional wildlife conservation methods for sustainable development (Adams, 2001; Adams, 2004). Following this conference, Biosphere Reserves were created targeting conservation of the natural areas and core zones that contain genetic information. Likewise, it allows suitable human activities in the outer zones. Here, the current nature reserves could be managed to fit the MAB framework as Biosphere Reserves. This activity has linked traditional wildlife conservation to the idea of the conservation of natural resources and the sustainable use of resources by humans (Batisse, 1982).

Based on such an important idea of zoning and core area establishment in the national park, the 2013-2016 intern-management plan of ANP, the 2018 GMP, and the ANP development team suggested a pilot zoning scheme in ANP. This scheme that divides the

Park into zones where various alternative strategies for management, development, and sustainable use were accommodated would best accomplish the Park's management objectives. In light of this scheme, The ANP has been divided into Biodiversity Protection and Recreation Zone, Integrated Resource Use Zone, and Community Use Zone (EWCA-ANP, 2018).

Based on zone types used in other East African protected areas that permit community resource use, three management zone categories were identified for application in ANP as part of a pilot multiple-use zonings scheme--Biodiversity Protection and Recreation Zone; Integrated Resource Use Zone, and Community Use Zone (EWCA-ANP, 2018). The final listing of prescriptions and demarcation of the zones were accomplished with the full participation of the local community. However, due to budget and time constraints, it was impossible to make the community consultation program that helps to implement zoning in ANP (EWCO, 2003).

In the third and fourth International Congresses on National Parks and Protected Areas that takes place in 1982 and 1992, the principles of community-oriented park management were developed (McNeely & Miller, 1984; Adams, 2004). At Bali, in 1982, the congress approved the important role of the sustainable development of protected areas in preserving nature and benefiting the local community. The Caracas congress, in 1992, has developed the approach that promoted the idea of 'parks for life'. The central point of the discussion was about the method that encourages partnerships between the local community and the management of the protected areas (Phillips, 2002).

Emphasizing the significance of protected areas for providing benefits to the local community, Sir Sridath Ramphal, President of IUCN, cautioned that if local communities do not support the protected areas, then these protected areas can easily vanish (Ramphal, 1993; Adams, 2004).

This shift had a positive impact on the establishment of NPs in the developed countries and helped them to consider the rights of the indigenous people. The idea of the National park that was intended to treat the problem of land claims has been introduced by the Canadian park service in 1972. This opened up the possibility of joint management of parks and encouraged the officials of the Pacific Rim National Park Reserve on Vancouver Island and GwaiiHaanas/South Moresby National Park Reserves to apply this joint management (Berg, et al, 1993; Adams, 2004).

The General Assembly of IUCN that was held in Zaire in 1975 has declared a resolution to safeguard Traditional Ways of Life in the NP and PAs. The resolution had invited and advised the government not to remove people from protected areas; instead, the government needs to provide some sort of assistance to keep the interest of the indigenous communities (Poirier & Ostergren, 2002; Adams, 2004). In the same year, the UNESCO World Heritage Convention also brought specific provisions for the conservation of places that have historical and cultural importance. In 1984, the World Bank had prepared guidelines that stop funding to develop projects that work towards the resettlement program (World Bank, 1984). Following the Caracas Congress, IUCN published a policy on 'Indigenous and Traditional Peoples and Protected Areas' that

stresses the need for incorporating the local people in the management work of the PAs and NPs (Beltran, 2000). In the Fifth World Parks Congress which was held at Durban, in 2003, the issue of ‘community-controlled’ protected areas was the main agenda of the conference (Adams, 2004).

Any system established to conserve the natural resources in the protected areas or NPs should develop partnerships between the protected area and the local community (Adams, 2004). In order to maintain the existence of protected areas, it seems vital to consider the benefits the local community gains. Adam subsequently concluded that without the support of the local community, it appears impossible to sustainably manage the natural resources of the protected areas or NPs (Adams, 2004). Moreover, this idea of community conservation created a link and partnership between the private landowners and the government. Since 1979, the government of Canada begun to purchase lands that contain unique biodiversity from private landowners. The numbers of NPs were increasing in Canada by purchasing grasslands from willing landowners (McNamee, 1993; Adams, 2004). Similarly, by purchasing lands from the private landowners, Agulhas Plain was established in South Africa (Barry et al, 1999: Adams, 2004). Besides purchasing land from the landowners, NGOs also made a contractual agreement with the state to do conservation work in the NP. For instance, the Greater Agulhas National Park has been working on partnerships with NGOs. A private firm, Fauna & Flora International (FFI), also purchased Flower Valley of the Cape in 1999 (Magome & Murombedzi, 2003; Adams, 2004).

During the 1980s, the community conservation discourse and a shift to the influential narratives of economic development became important. The ‘top-down’ techniques of planning that failed to deliver economic and social development were rejected; and bottom-up planning and participatory development became the basic principle of NP establishment. Participatory approaches were adopted by donors and development planners in the 1990s. The connection between conservation and development convinced the conservationists and urged them to do the same. Certainly, it brought an opportunity to international and domestic NGOs that work on the conservation of nature to get new sources of fund that helps them to link their activities to ‘development’ (Roe, 1991; Adams, 2004).

The community-based conservation theories comprised two different elements. The first narrative has approved of the local community’s property right to land and other resources. The second element also allowed the local community to do their spiritual activities within the parks. Generally, the CBC supports ‘people and parks’ projects. Based on ‘people and park’ initiatives, many projects have been developed in East Africa. For example, at Amboseli National Park Kenya, the wildlife extension project in the 1970s and African Wildlife Foundation’s Tsavo Community Conservation Project in 1988 were established (Lindsay, 1987; Adams, 2004). Besides, in 1991, the Kenyan Wildlife Service Community Wildlife Program and the USAID-funded COBRA project (Conservation of Biodiversity Areas), and the African Wildlife Foundation’s ‘Neighbors as Partners’ Program were also established (Barrow & Murphree, 2001; Adams, 2004).

The parks to people projects are working with the participation of the local community in park management and operation. These projects also provided public services such as education and health care to the local community. Likewise, they allowed the local community to apply their traditional land use wisdom of hunting and gathering, agriculture, religious practices, and rearing of cattle. The projects mainly allowed the local community to be involved in park-related tourism (Adams, 2004).

The other component of community-based conservation discourse has linked conservation with local development, which is known as conservation-with-development projects' or 'integrated conservation and development projects' (ICDPs) (Barrett & Arcese, 1995). For example, in Uganda, in 1988, the CARE's 'Development through Conservation' project was launched; the project was carried out with the involvement of the local communities living around the gorilla parks (Hannah, 1992). ICDPs work mainly by connecting conservation with sustainable development (Adams, 2004).

However, the central point of these two components of CBC was the attainment of the conservation goal by making the local community beneficiary that could minimize the local-level conflicts to happen. That is, conservation goals should integrate the development objective with human wants. The 1980 World Conservation Strategy was found connecting the concern of conservation with the community's economic interest. This emphasizes the concept of sustainable development that has got acceptance in the Brundtland Report of 1987 and central to Agenda 21. Based on this understanding of

sustainable development, the conservation of biodiversity and the accommodation of human needs must be integrated (IUCN, 1980; Adams, 2004).

According to Barrow and Murphree (2001), while running the community conservation approaches, 'park to people' projects should be applied. The NP management authorities should involve and work through a wide range of programs with local communities and 'community-based wildlife management projects'. Similarly, the authorities need to work towards community-based natural resource management (CBNRM) projects (Barrow & Murphree, 2001). Here, the focus of conservation has changed from state-centered to society-centered work (Davis & Moore, 1945).

Moreover, the conservation planners need to take into consideration the surrounding landscape and the local community neighboring the NP. They need to be familiar with the Biosphere Reserves that are out of the NP and establish buffer zones which include the landscapes surrounding the NP to protect natural resources inside the zone. Therefore, the neighboring communities were considered as stakeholders working with the park office towards conserving wild animals in and out of the buffer zone (Western, 1989).

In the Fifth World Parks Congress that was held in Durban, in 2003, the importance of creating linkages between protected areas and their surrounding communities as a means to solve poverty has been emphasized (Adams, 2004). The conference main target was benefiting the local communities who were living around the protected areas. Adams (2004), citing Achim Steiner, the then Director of IUCN, asserted that the biodiversity

found in the ocean need to be conserved to benefit the local community who are residing around it.

The other innovation in national park planning was the involvement of private parks was growing once again at the end of the 20th century. In the Medieval period lots of private parks, were established by the king. Similarly, at the end of the 20th century, many protected areas were found at the hands of private individuals or companies like the game ranches or conservancies owned by NGOs. For example, the Nature Conservancy has protected 6 million hectares of land in the United States, and the Caribbean, Indonesia, and Central America have protected around 41 million hectares of land (Adams, 2004). In 1962, the World Wildlife Fund has bought the first Farm that has been found around Arusha National Park in Tanzania from the European farmer who owned it during the colonial rule (Neumann, 2000). Likewise, in 1971, the 40,000 hectares land of Nairobi national park was sold to the County Council with one pound per acre. Following these, in 1974, WWF has purchased the land surrounding Lake Nakuru to protect its big flamingo collection (Adams, 2004).

The Area de Conservación Guanacaste in Costa Rica is the best example of such privately funded national conservation. Its area extends to 120 square kilometers (plus 70 square kilometers of the sea). It comprises 230,000 species that is 65 percent of the biodiversity of Costa Rica. The area contains lots of national parks and protected areas of the country. Based on the idea of Dr. Dan Jansen of the University of Pennsylvania, The Guanacase project was developed in the mid-1980s. The main focus of the project was rebuilding the

small and fragmented protected areas of the remaining tropical forest to form a continuous block (Allen, 2001; Adams, 2004). Likewise, in Ethiopia, in 2004 and 2007, Nechsar national park and OMN were run by African Park. Even though African park has delivered important effort to conserve the natural resources in the NP, the uncooperative behavior of the Federal and regional government could not make it effective; and African park finally ceded its work within a short period of time (African Parks, 2007; Nishizaki, 2014).

To conclude, natural resource conservation through having the local community take part in every management work and benefit-sharing is a major conflict resolution mechanism. This implies that the government, to make conservation works sustainable, should do conservation activities in and around the national park with the willingness and benefits of the local community. Besides, leasing the land that is endowed with a unique biosphere to the private organizations or NGOs with the full agreement of the local communities is found to be a good idea. It helps the country to conserve and manage the unique biosphere or landscape that is beyond the capacity of the government. Such private organizations will make the area more productive and attract environmentally friendly tourists. However, the government should be co-operative to work together with private organizations in every place that requires its help. The African Park program in Ethiopia that agreed to manage Nech Sar NP and Omo NP abandoned its developmental activities due to a lack of cooperation on the government side. This shows that the Ethiopian government seemed to have failed to apply the best conservation strategies that

empower the local community to take part in developmental activities for its sustainable tourism development. Even though the country is a member of IUCN and tries to apply the guidelines developed by the organization that help to conserve the natural resources and make the local community beneficiary, there is a serious problem of implementation. As a result, the conservation levels of the natural resources in the NPs or PAs are found in its infant stage.

Thus, developing an economic advantage to the local community through improving the policy is the best way to smoothen the relationship between the park officers and the local community. Improving the policy to bring economic advantage to the local community can result in resolving the conflict that has already happened in and around ANP. Besides the policy, to mitigate the conflict that is usually raised among the local communities due to a shortage of resources, applying the traditional conflict resolution wisdom is advisable. However, to build sustainable peace, make ANP an alternative livelihood opportunity to the local community that brings economic advantage to them.

## **2.8. The Peace Making and Conflict Resolution Mechanisms**

When parties are unable to solve their conflict by mutual engagement or negotiation, third party intervention becomes almost inevitable. Third-party intervention can occur at any stage of the conflict spectrum; but the earlier constructive and credible intervention, the better. The most common methods are conflict prevention. That is, proactive actions, measures, and processes should be progressively taken anticipating the outbreak of

violent conflicts. Conflict Settlement emphasizes working towards reaching peace between the parties through negotiation and bargaining. Conflict management is a variety of activities and processes aimed to contain and mitigate the negative and destructive capacity of conflicts. Conflict management measures include diplomacy, negotiation, concession, appeasement, force, etc; i.e. the use of care, carrot & stick (Udezo, n.d.). Conflict resolution (CR) is a method that terminates conflict through working towards solving specific problems believed to be responsible for violent and hostile behaviors. The outcomes of CR are that cessation of violent and hostile behaviors; solutions are relatively acceptable and satisfactory to parties (Burton, 1990; Udezo, n.d.). Lucuta (2014) describes peacemaking as a peace treaty that can be established through negotiation by incorporating the legitimate new entities committed to furthering the peacekeeping and peace building works. She further notes that general peace treaty can solve the complaints and build new institutions that can make the parties live jointly; to do peacemaking activities, it is also vital for parties involved to make consent- based acknowledgment of legitimacy. It needs the local interested groups' involvement to build sustainable peace. Likewise, to realize the peace-related activities such as promoting human rights, economic, and social development, the involvement of foreign aid agencies coming from the international community is important (Lucuta, 2014). Mediation, conciliation, and judicial settlement are the main activities to denote peacemaking (Lucuta, 2014).

The traditional approach of conflict resolution that is grounded in the culture of conflict-affected locality is the one that can play an important role in contemporary conflict transformation. In the pre-colonial and pre-contact societies, local indigenous societal structures, traditional institutions, and mechanisms of conflict transformation were incorporated and used to solve conflicts (Jeffery, 2017).

In general, conflict is understood as an unwanted interruption of the peaceful relationships of the community (Boege, 2006). Thus, traditional conflict transformation that aims at the restoration of order and harmony of the community does not necessarily mean the return to the status quo; but it can imply some sort of transition to new arrangements. It also guaranteed the future cooperation of the conflicting parties. As a result, the concern at post is not the punishment of criminals for the deeds done in the past, but it is for compensation and resolution (Wanjohi, 2014). The main focus of reconciliation is the restoration of social harmony and relationships between the conflicting parties. It sometimes uses the spirits of the ancestors and gods to restore good relationships among the warring parties (Boege, 2006).

Generally, the traditional method of conflict resolution has adopted the idea of restorative justice instead of (western-style) penal justice (Boege, 2006). Restorative justice has advocated the concept of returning the lost instead of revenging the criminals (Zartman, 2000b). Thus, to achieve the main goal of restoration of relationships and community harmony through the traditional conflict transformation system, mediation is one of the

main tools used to apply to create smooth relations between the conflicting parties (UNDP/UNEP, 2015)

### **2.8.1. Mediation**

Mediation is a process of the involvement of third parties to settle disputes that have happened amongst two different parties through developing an ‘interest-based’ negotiation (UN, 2012; UNDP/UNEP, 2015). Interest-based negotiation focuses on a joint agreement that met the interest of both conflicting parties for mutual gain (Moore, 2014). Mediation can take place in a wide range of contexts, conflict dynamics, procedural settings, and cultures. Mediation can use various types of approaches to settle various types of disputes (UN, 2012).

The role of the mediator is determined by the type of relationship between mediators and the parties in the conflict. The three types of mediator roles are insider mediators, authoritative mediators, and independent mediators. All are important to consider for this study to help to mediate the natural resource competition conflict. In a given mediation process, one may use all these types of mediator roles at different moments (UNDP/UNEP, 2015).

The well-respected individuals that have close affiliations with the community and who are already known by the parties are called insider mediators. They are highly respected and known for their fairness and impartiality behavior. They have a reputation and are genuine in the minds of society; and most of them are community leaders, religious

figures, or other honorable members of the community. Their wisdom, which comes from understanding the local community and their cultural and interpersonal dynamics, helped them to bring resolution. The stability and durability of community and interpersonal relations is a priority given by the inside mediator to win an agreement (UNDPA/UNEP, 2015; Moore, 1996). The authoritative mediator role is the other type of role of mediation. Here some kind of authoritative relationship exists in the mediation role. In an authoritative mediator, the parameters and procedures that have substantive contents of resolution have prepared by the experts (UNDPA/UNEP, 2015). At this point, mediators have been selected based on their superior position in an administrative structure. The other type of mediator role is an independent mediator who has no prior contact with the actors or conflicting parties before the engagement in the process. Based on a common agreement, the parties accept and engage the mediator whose role is to help them to reach a resolution that will satisfy the needs of the conflicting parties through a voluntary process (UNDPA/UNEP, 2015).

Generally, mediation is the best mechanism to solve conflicts occurred in a certain locality between different ethnic groups. Traditional conflict resolution activities that have been practiced through the involvement of the local community leaders have been more successful in developing countries including Ethiopia. Culturally, the local communities have given special respect for the wordings of those mediators and accept their saying with due respect.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **3. The Study Area Description and Research Methodology**

#### **3.1. General Description of ANP**

In 1969 with the proclamation No. 54/1969 ANP was established and legally gazetted as a national park (Tessema et al., 2011). At the time of its establishment, land use by the local community was not allowed (Moore, 1982). The park is found 225kms east of Addis Ababa, the capital city of the country. It is also situated between latitudes 8050' and 9010' north and longitudes 39045' and 40010' east (Solomon, 2014). Awash River that demarcates the park's boundary from the south is a reason for the park to get its name, ANP (Tessema et al., 2011).

The total area of the park, at the time of its establishment, was 752 km<sup>2</sup>. The park is bordered by the Sabober Plain in the west, by the Addis Ababa-Djibouti Highway and the Awash River to the south and east, and is also bordered by the Kesem River and the Filwuha Springs in the north. Besides, various wildlife control and protection areas such as Yangudi Rasa National Park, the wildlife reserves of Awash West, Alledeghi, and Mille Sardo, the controlled hunting areas of Awash West, Afdem- Gewani, and Erar Gota are surrounded the ANP (EWCA, 2014).

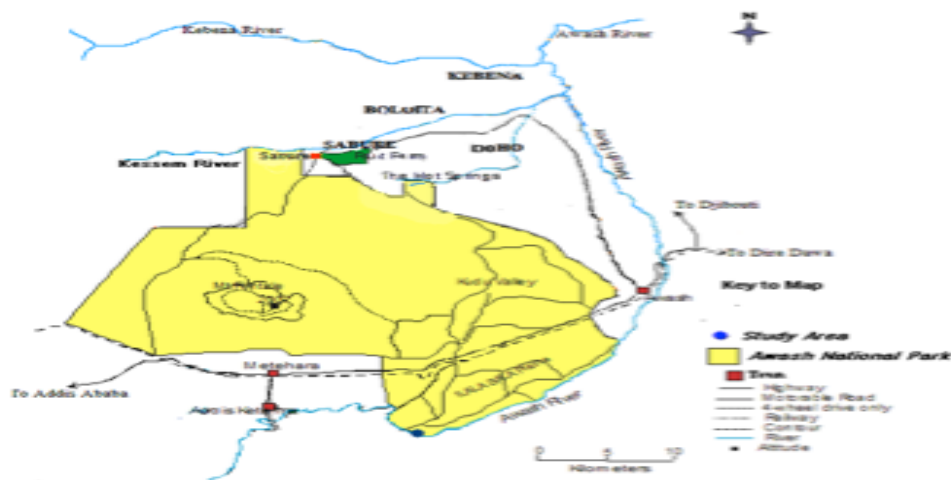
According to Jacobs and Schloeder's explanation, the main cause of ANP to be gazetted as a national park is because of its abundance of wildlife. Consequently, before the

establishment of the park, the area was serving as a hunting ground to Emperor Haile Selassie. Some people believed that the main reason for Emperor Haile Sillase I to reserve the area as a hunting and recreational ground in 1966 because of his very influence from British government national park history. In British, lots of privately national parks were found in the 20th c. In the 20<sup>th</sup> century in British, almost all the national parks were privatized and the management system was changed and begun to manage by the local community council (Asnake, 2010).

However, most of the researchers in ANP believed that the main reason for the establishment of ANP as a hunting and recreation area for Emperor Haile Selassie I after 1966 was because of the recommendation of the UNESCO mission who visited the country in 1964, but the area was a hunting ground for the local community before using by emperor Haile Selassie I (Grimwood, 1965). When the area served as a hunting ground and recreational center to the Emperor the exact area coverage was not known but the southern half of ANP (Moore, 1982).

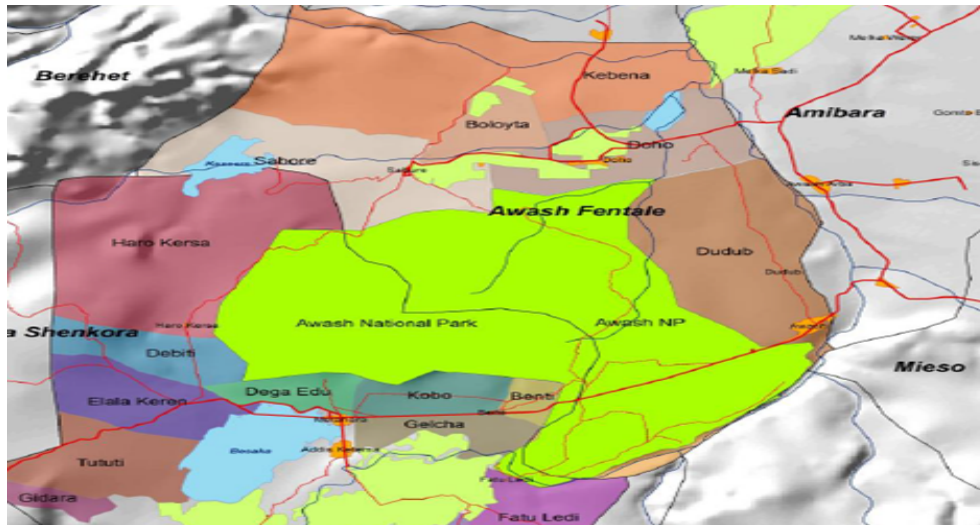
The existence of a huge amount of wildlife that needs special conservation work such as the Beisa Oryx, Grevy's Zebra, and Soemmering's Gazelle, its proximity from the capital city Addis Ababa also played a great role for its gazzettion. Its attractive landscape and geology like Mt. Fentale and the Filwuha Springs had also a big contribution to the establishment of ANP in 1966 and legal gazzettion as a national park in 1969 (Jacobs and Schloeder, 1993). At the time of establishment in 1966, the total area coverage of the park was 827 Square Kilometer and its southern part was serving as a hunting ground and

recreation center to Emperor Haile sillasie I. However, when it legally gazetted as a national park in 1969, the area coverage of ANP was diminished to 752 km<sup>2</sup>. After a while due to various researchers' recommendations in 2011, new boundary demarcation was taken place, and it minimizes to 591 km<sup>2</sup>. Consequently, the current feature of the Park includes the Fentale Mountain, a dormant strata volcano with a large caldera in the west, the Ilala Sala plains to the southeast, approximately 28 km of the Awash River Gorge on its southern boundary, and the Filwuha Hot Springs in the north. But it leaves the Sabober plains to the west of the Fentale Mountain. Now a day 161 km<sup>2</sup> of the original 752 km<sup>2</sup> of park stay free or use for grazing. From all areas of the NP Ilala Sala plain has taken as ‘core area,” it is found to the south and southeast of the Awash-Metehara Road. However, it is found under serious pressure from the surrounding local community/pastoralist (EWCA, 2014).



Map of ANP in 1969 or before re-demarcation, Area=752km<sup>2</sup>

Source: Hillman (1993). Ethiopia: Compendium of Wildlife Conservation Information.



Map of ANP after re-demarcation in 2011, Area= 591km<sup>2</sup>

Source: Solomon, (2014).

### 3.1.1. Fauna

Birds and mammals that are exceptionally important and found to the park are called Fauna.

#### **Mammals**

EWCA identifies 76 mammal species (EWCA, 2011). The mammals found in the ANP that are listed on the IUCN Red List as endangered but endemic to Ethiopia are; Swayne's hartebeest (*Alcelaphus buselaphus swaynei*), Five vulnerable species: Lesser horseshoe bat (*Rhinolophus hipposideros minimus*), Trident leaf-nosed bat (*Asellia patrizii*), Spot-necked otter (*Lutra maculicollis*), Lion (*Panthera leo*), Soemmerring's gazelle (*Gazella soemmerringi*); the other that is endemic to Ethiopia and Eritrean is

Trident leaf-nosed bat (*Asellia patrizii*). The other mammals that played a great role for the uniqueness of ANP are mainly the Key antelope populations such as Beisa oryx (*Oryx beisa*), greater and lesser kudu (*Tragelaphus strepsiceros* and *T. imberbis*), in addition to those listed above (EWCO, 1993). Based on the 2002 aerial survey estimation, the population of Beisa Oryx is 1,395, Lesser kudu is 189, and 97 Soemmerring's gazelles are found but the other species didn't seen in the survey. The Oryx were only found in the southeast of the park in the Ilala Plains similarly on the eastern side of the park the Lesser kudu was found. Due to the suitability of the habitat and the lack of human habitation and activities in this area, wildlife is mainly found in the 'core area' in the southeast and east part of the park. The case of human habitation and activities in this area is in part a function of this area being a conflict zone between pastoralists as well as it is the location of EWCO park headquarters and their law enforcement activities. Resource competition and harassment from pastoralists resulting in the displacement from traditional range areas, and the increasing prevalence (commonness) of unpalatable forage is the proposed reasons for the apparent decline in Lesser kudu (Solomon, 2014). According to the recent survey data, the number of animal species within the park has declined, either through direct mortality or else by migration elsewhere. The main point has risen as conservation threat and decline of the number of wildlife in ANP is likely the habitat loss through increasing human habitation, high livestock densities, and excessive cattle grazing. This competition between livestock and ANP's grazers and browsers has led to the range and food loss. Tourism officers reported that visitors to the park are continuously disappointed by the absence of large animals and

seeing a huge number of cattle in the ANP. However, the contrary the bird watchers are always happy via seeing different types of birds (EWCA, 2014). Methods should be found to increase the range available to wild mammals by reducing the density of livestock populations within the park or by introducing zoning. Finding the way used to minimize competition between livestock and wildlife will help to conserve the habitat.

Investigations into how competition between livestock and mammals may be minimized will help efforts to expand the range of wild mammals, which will need to be closely linked to the conservation of habitat. Likewise, it creates a possibility that helps to decrease the level of conflict between the local community/pastoralists and conservation bodies (EWCO, 2003).

## **Birds**

ANP is an Important Bird Area (IBA) with over 460 species (Yidnekachew, 2018). More than 50% of the total migratory bird species listed in Ethiopia are also found here. ANP was placed second highest on a list of Critical Bird Areas (CBAs). Moreover, ANP is found at the base of the Afar Triangle places it squarely on the route taken by many Palearctic migrant bird species as they head south in September. Large numbers of warblers, irinia, the Great grey shrike, and the Golden oriole are identified. Also, the remarkable and rare species considered below, ANP is home to a cliff swallow believed to be new to science as well as an unidentified serin with a white rump (EWCO, 1993). Lappet-faced vulture (*Torgos tracheliotus*), Imperial eagle (*Aquila heliaca*), Lesser

kestrel (*Falco naumanni*), Basra reed warbler (*Acrocephalus griseldis*), Yellow-throated seedeater (*Serinus flavigula*) are some birds that exist in ANP, endemic and found in the IUCN's endangered list. The three near-threatened species include Lesser flamingo (*Phoenicopterus minor*), Pallid harrier (*Circus macrourus*), Sombre rock chat (*Cercomela dubia*). Wattled ibis (*Bostrychia hagedash*), Golden-backed woodpecker (*Dendropicos abyssinicus*), Banded barbet (*Lybius undatus*), White-winged cliff-chat (*Myrmecocichla semifufa*), Thick-billed raven (*Corvus crassirostris*), Yellow-throated seedeater (also a vulnerable species) are also the six endemic species (Council of ministers, 2008).

Habitat loss and disturbance of nesting sites are the main reason that threatens ANP's bird populations.

### **3.1.2. Flora**

According to Jacobs and Schloeder, 1993 around 8 major vegetation types dominated by grass and acacia land type that categorized under Acacia-Commiphora woodland are found in ANP. Influence from grazing pressure doesn't affect the total abundance of woody species in the Park. The most found vegetables in alluvial soil are the bushland and woodland (Jacobs and Schloeder, 1993; Solomon, 2014).

### **3.1.3. Invasive plant species**

The park boundary has been invaded by imported plant species. For instance, *Parthenium hysterophorus* plants are found in adjacent fields that are used for livestock grazing and sometimes for cropping (Hillman, 1993). In the arable and grazing land in the Gelcha,

Benti, and Kobo areas, the significant impact of Parthenium has been seen. Consequently, due to such invasive plant species, able to lose the important amount of forage production for livestock and sorghum grain. In addition, it also affects the existence of the wildlife population. It has no economic value in terms of using as forage or other purposes in the area (EWCA, 2014).

#### **3.1.4. The Natural and Cultural Attraction of ANP**

Scenic resources are those that contribute to the overall physical appearance of the park and its aesthetic and conservation desirability. In many cases, the very features that contribute to a park's scenic beauty also contribute substantially to the park's uniqueness via the habitat that they create. Indeed, the ANP's physical beauty is one of the justifications used for the park's existence. The most remarkable physical features in ANP are the products of rifting and volcanology, including Mt. Fentale and its various satellite volcanoes, the Filwuha Springs, and the lava fields (Jacobs and Schloeder, 1993). It is not that much promoted about volcanic 'blisters' - the surface of magma bubbles that have been exposed to the park's surface as a result of erosion; The riverine features, particularly the Awash River valley, which is particularly spectacular where the Arbar River joins it, and the Awash Falls. Various botanical features, including gallery forest and the impressive Doum palm forest around the Filwuha Springs and Lake Basaka. The ANP is surrounded by a rich culture that includes the three ethnic groups (Karrayu, Ittu, and Afar), with their traditional pastoralist lifestyle and knowledge. ANP has particular cultural significance to these groups with the Gabela area in the south of the ANP (for the

Gada system of the Oromo) and the Belaadas for the Afar. Fentale Caldera is noted as a prayer site and the hot springs are stated to be a traditional healing location. Also, there is a Late Stone Age anthropological site (11,000-15,000 years ago) around the shores of Lake Basaka (EWCA, 2014). Within the wider region, anthropological studies into Hominid remains are of international significance, with “Lucy” (Australopithecus Afarensis, 3.3 million years old) discovered 220km away at Hadar. Concerning paleontology, there are the vertebrate fossils contained at the Chorora Formation to the east of ANP, which are important to know the evolution of mammalian groups in Africa. At present these cultural resources are not developed and promoted for the tourism market (Hillman, 1993).

### **3.1.5. Tourism Facilities**

Around 4,000 people visit the Awash National Park (ANP) annually, yielding nearly 60,000 Birr a year in gate revenues (EWCA, 2011). Many of these are day-trippers or stay one night at one of the campsites along the Awash River near the park offices, or use the Karrayu Lodge. Visitors are usually very disappointed by the low levels of the game to be seen and do not wish to see pastoralists and their livestock within the park. The current tourism facilities and infrastructure at ANP are limited. There are several attractive campsites located along the Awash River close to the park headquarters (Grimwood, 1965). Visitors can also stay at an old modeled Karrayu Lodge, perched on the edge of the Awash River gorge, with attractive views over the area that connect the Awash and Arba Rivers. The lodge had been contained a series of broken steel caravans

that had no air-conditioning material. With daytime temperatures climbing to over 30oC, and the swimming pool empty of water, it was perhaps likely that visitor numbers to the lodge were fairly low, between 75 and 100 visitors stayed at the lodge a month (EWCA-ANP, 2018). The Ethiopian Government owns the lodge but was trying to sell it due to low visitor numbers to the park and many complaining that they didn't see any wildlife. However, there has been very little interest expressed so far to buy it. After a while, one investor had bought the Karrayu lodge but he didn't do anything to improve the facilities. Instead, the equipment had stolen by the local communities and now it stopped giving service. Another lodge named Awash lodge has built by an investor who is from the Amhara region. The lodge is the only accommodation that gives service to the visitors. It is well equipped. But almost all the employees including the janitors and security guards are out of the local community.

Visitors to the ANP can visit the small park museum at the park Headquarters and drive around the park following a series of trails. The trail network is best in the southeast of the park in the core area, and the east of the park. A long circuit links this network to the Filwuha Springs in the north and Mt. Fentale (EWCA, 2014).

### **3.1.6. Surrounding Rural Communities**

The communities surrounding the ANP are mainly pastoralists and agro-pastoralists in which their livelihood depends on the income gained from the sale of animals. From the 11 sub-districts or Kebles three of them are inhabited by the Afar and the rest eight are by the Karrayu-Ittu. Besides, the ANP is found between Oromiya Regional state and Afar

Regional state, a conflicting place among tribes, nations, and nationalities (Asnake, 2010).

### **Afar**

Afar, one of the largest pastoral groups in Ethiopia settled in the Awash-Fentale District. Afar is inhabited in the north and northeast of the Park. Their livelihood has depends on pastoralism, though now a day they are a shift to agro-pastoralist activities. Recently, they began to exercise crop production by using irrigation rather than rain-fed agriculture (Ayalew, 2009). As a whole, their interest to get additional income from farming and other activities is increasing. The Afar women are trying to generate money from the selling of palm, charcoal, and fuel-wood on a daily base (Alemmaya & Tobias, 2008; Solomon, 2014).

The palm tree is exclusively found within the western boundary of the Awash-Fentale District. The Afar community especially women whose residence near to the Filwuha area generate money by selling palm leaves. The palm trees are sustainably used by using their own traditional management system that organize by the community. In a worse time, the palm trees serve as a fruit for human consumption (EWCA-ANP, 2018).

### **Karrayu**

The Karrayu belongs to the Oromo ethnic group and an indigenous community to the Awash valley. Till the early 1950s, the dominant land users of the Fentale district and the

Metehara plain were the Karrayu (Jacobs and Schloeder, 1993). They are mainly involved in pastoralism work but recently they began to exercise both rain-fed and irrigated agriculture (Ayalew, 2001). In the different social and economic aspects, the Karrayu community is highly marginalized. Their interaction and integration with the surrounding society also very limited (Jacobs and Schloeder, 1993). The main problem of the Karrayu community is land alienation (Ayalew, 2001). The drought had been affected so many times (Piguet and Hadgu, 2002). The Argoba tribes, who are also engaged in animal husbandry have restricted the movement of Karrayu to the northwest of Fentala and restrict them to stay in the area of Lake Beseka, Sabore Plains, and Metehara (Jacobs and Schloeder, 1993). They have very good behavior such as non-provocative and tolerant in nature. The interaction with the Afar and other surrounding communities is good.

According to Ayalew, 2009, the lifestyle of the Karrayu has been changed due to the establishment of large-scale agricultural development in their locality. Their economy mainly depends on the selling of their animal products like butter and milk to the surrounding urban population. Selling of firewood and raring charcoal the means for Karrayu women to make money. Farming or working for plantation and other conservation entities in the region is another means that the Karrayu community used to earn money (Jacobs and Schloeder, 1993).

## **Ittu**

With the goodwill of the Karrayu, Ittus are migrated from the west Harrerge (AsebeTeferi) area over the last twenty-five to thirty years to Awash valley. They inhabited on the Karrayus' land and shared their farming practice and permanent living style to the Karrayu (Ayalew, 2009). Their skill in farming is better than Karrayu. Ittus are agro-pastoralists and their attitude towards, and skill in farming is better than that of the Karrayu have. Consequently, they are taking the lion share for changing the ecology of the area (Jacobs and Schloeder, 1993). They are highly involved in the selling of charcoal and firewood to those who transport it to Addis Ababa and other towns. Even though Ittues had been settled around Kobo, due to the establishment of ANP and other development projects in the surrounding, they moved to the current location (Alemmaya & Tobias, 2008; Solomon, 2014). Like karrayu, they also belong to the Oromo people.

### **3.1.7. The Surrounding Urban Community**

The existing urban center expansion found in the other part of Ethiopia also affected the small towns located around Awash Park. Awash Sebat Kilo & Sabure in Awash Fentale district and Metehara & Haro Adi in Fentale district are the four urban around the park. Since these towns are along the main highway from Addis Ababa to eastern towns, most of the urban populations have their own private business. A big part of the urban population also works for the government and non-government organizations.

Through their physical expansion to the Park territory, these towns have a direct impact on the Park (EWCA-ANP, 2018). Similarly, they have an indirect impact such as the extraction of charcoal and fuelwood from the park. The people especially, from Sabore town do charcoal activity via extracting wood from the Park. Most of the charcoal makers are living in these towns. Usually, there is an agreement between Charcoal makers living in urban centers and the rural communities in the production of charcoal and share the income from it (Solomon, 2014).

### **3.1.8. ANP Establishment and the Local community**

When ANP was proposed as a national park in 1966, the UNESCO consultant pointed out that to succeed with this plan the local community along with their livestock needed to resettle outside of the proposed boundaries (Grimwood, 1965). This requirement had come immediately after the Dutch government had converted the Karrayu's most critical dry season grazing habitat along the Awash river flood plain to fields of sugarcane, which was the single most important obstacle to the successful establishment of ANP (Hillman, 1993).

While the EWCO offered some compensation for resettlement, primarily the purchase of 600 gasha's of land (100 hactar= 2.5 gasha) near Borchata at 60,000 ETB and the granting of an additional 25.5 gasha from his Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie's I private reserve of land along the Kesem River. This was a little in the way of mitigation since the lack of water and/or the presence of inter-tribal conflict precluded (prevent) their use.

Some relief, however, was offered when the government agreed to resettle the Ittu and Somali's back to Harar but this was short-lived (Grimwood, 1965).

Like elsewhere in Ethiopia, the drought of 1975-76 hit the Karrayu seriously, primarily in the number of livestock holdings. It resulted in the degradation of areas outside of the boundaries of the park and forced them to start seeking forage on the national parklands. As a result of the drought, several development schemes for the Karrayu and Afar were proposed. Though the government had proposed such development schemes before the implementation of the program, the pastoralist moved back inside the park's boundary in the Sabober plain area (Hillman, 1993).

For various reasons, the programs that were implemented failed almost completely. The most significant reason was the lack of funding and lack of interest or cooperation from both the donor and receiver. The latter could have been alleviated or at least minimized if socio-anthropological surveys had been undertaken before the actual implementation of any of the programs. Also, at that time, little was known with regards to tribal territories or conflict areas, information which would have precluded implementation of several of the programs (Daniel, 1977).

In 1984, through the EWCO experts' revision and recommendation about the status of ANP, along with the other conservation areas in the middle Awash Valley, the Biosphere reserve was created (Solomon, 2014). The result of their survey was that ANP and the other conservation areas qualified for the man and Biosphere program, however, it again

recommended that resettlement was” urgently needed since ANP and other conservation areas were uncontrolled over-run by the hard-pressed nomads which were bringing about the same land degradation as existing outside the park”. Again, the recommendation for resettlement was doomed to failure in that the team failed to fully grasp the multi-faceted problems of the pastoralist in the upper and middle Awash valleys. Again, due to the civil war, this recommendation was never put into effect.

After two years, EWCO with the assistance of ANP staff has attempted to improve the line of communication between park staff and the Karrayu and Ittu. An attempt was also made to improve communication between the pastoralists and the various land authorities (Jacobs and Schloeder, 1993). The Karrayu and Ittu, in general, responded well to these efforts primarily because they recognize that conflict between them and the local communities cannot go on forever. They express an eagerness to arrive at a working solution with the EWCO, but only if there were opportunities for their community to receive some sort of benefits. They stressed that they would be willing to accept the presence of conservation areas, but only if the EWCO were willing to accept working with them to redesign the park’s present boundaries and to modify their current management strategy. So, the Karrayu would receive some sort of benefits from the conservation either through direct use or revenue sharing. They further stressed that in the future, they will be included as part of a team that would be responsible for the administration and management of the conservation areas (Hillman, 1993).

### **3.1.9. The Legal Boundary of ANP**

The legal boundaries ANP that the EWCO presently attempting to manage, are remarkably different from that which has been described in the 1969 Negarit Gazeta. The reason for this is that while an amended boundary description was proposed for ANP numerous times but (Hillman, 1993) it was never legally ratified. This was because of the vagueness and accuracy problem of the geographical boundaries described in the Negarit Gazeta. Consequently, EWCO now has to face the fact that since the boundaries were not legally amended and they did not have a sufficient operating budget, they have since lost control of almost two-thirds of the area to the pastoralist settlers. Today, they no longer have power nor the authority to maintain or attempt to gain back those areas once considered within the boundary lines (Abdi, 2009). In addition, over the years ANP has become increasingly isolated from the surrounding habitats and other conservation areas. This fragmentation, by settlement, plantation, and transportation lines, and several power lines raises questions about the validity of conserving Awash as an NP, under the current definition and boundaries (EWCA, 2013).

## **3.2. Methodological Framework**

### **3.2.1. Methodology**

The study used a deductive approach that approves the validity of the grounded theory. It is used to further see the problem. This study is mainly based on relativism and interpretive-constructivist philosophical paradigms, which imply high value for

individual perception and experience (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). This paradigm is premised on the social construction of reality. The idea that views the world in relative difference in perception and consideration is called Relativism. According to relativism, there is no universal, objective truth, but every attitude has its reality. A method in which the researcher suspends or brackets his/her own cultural biases while attempting to understand beliefs and behaviors in their local contexts is called Anthropological relativism. It regards itself particularly free from the application of one's cultural standards to the evaluation of other cultures (Harry, 1998). I used the relativist approach to collect data through reframing myself from cultural biases or positioning towards a certain entity. This approach helps me to take the facts from the lived experience of the local community or concerned body about the problem of the study site.

Constructivism is a paradigm or worldview that posits learning as an active and constructive process. In this context, the learner is an information constructor. Constructivist underlines that knowledge emerges through the individuals' interaction with the environment in the course of experience (UNISAEDGE, 2020). Social constructivism takes the attitude of interpretivist that meaning is developed and converted by human actors, and it takes the same objective of explanation of lived experience. Like other methods, the interpretivist approach follows an ordinary data collection approach such as interviews and observations. The method applies a secondary source as an instrument to collect the data. In such kind of research, meanings are established most likely at the end of the research process (Myers, 2008).

Thus, through binding these two approaches, interpretive and constructivist, interpretive-constructivist epistemology is created. Application of this epistemology helps me generate data (attitude, knowledge, and experience) from the knowledgeable person who is regarded as a point of reference that meets the process of interaction among individuals (Jhon, 2013).

Consequently, I chose such a methodological approach to examine the major concerns associated with the study theme. This interpretive-constructive approach has been used to gather data from the lived experience of the local community and the government officials about the method that has been applied in ANP and its impact on sustainable development, biodiversity conservation, and local community involvement. The data collected from those key informants and focus group discussants that have lived experiences supported me to give meaning about the problem. Understanding their lived experience helps me to triangulate and interpret the data elicited through the case study method that involves studying a small number of subjects through intensive and prolonged engagement to identify the patterns and relationships of meaning.

### **3.2.2. The Study Methods**

There are two types of research approaches: qualitative and quantitative. The study employed a qualitative case study research methodology. Qualitative research has no agreed definition. But scholars such as Denzin and Lincoln (1994) define qualitative research as a situated activity that locates the observer to the world. It contains a piece of interpretive tool used to make the world visible and then transform it. Thus, the

qualitative research method is used to interpret the ANP governance system from the lived experience of the local community and government as a reason for local-level conflict and biodiversity destruction.

Qualitative research involves the use and collection of a variety of empirical data. To describe the routine and problematic moments and meanings in individuals' lives, qualitative research can employ case studies, personal experiences, introspections, life stories, interviews, artifacts, cultural texts and productions, observational, historical, interactional, and visual texts as tools to collect the data (Jhon, 2013).

From all these tools of qualitative research, the researcher used a case study as a tool for collecting the required data. To understand the complex issue, extend the experience, or add strength to what is already known from previous researches, doing case study research is viable. It stresses the in-depth contextual description of a limited number of happenings or situations and their relationships (Yin, 2009).

Ethiopia has more than 20 national parks (Mulugeta, 2017) which makes it difficult to collect data and do research over all the national parks. I then prefer ANP as a case study to have a holistic understanding of the situation, event, site, phenomenon, and the community.

As a result, based on the tool that I chose to collect the required data, I have chosen the empirical data from both secondary and primary sources. To ensure the reliability and validity of the data, I used triangulation.

## **Secondary Data Collection Instrument**

Unpublished and published materials, reports and documents, primary sources of archives, Negarite Gazeta, media, letters, newspapers, progress reports, meeting minutes, project proposals, project evaluation, General Management Plan (GMT), and other related materials were used to discuss the cases of Awash national park specifically about its governance system that affect the livelihood of the local community and became a cause of conflicts.

## **Primary Data Collection Methods**

Focus group discussion, key informant interviews, and observation were used as a tool to collect primary data. A combination of focus group discussions and key informant interviews are the most frequently used methods of data collection in social sciences research. These methods are found to be essential to explore the opinions and experiences of the group members as whole and personal experiences of individuals over time (McNabb, 2008).

## **Focus Group Discussion (FGD)**

National park governance and local-level conflict were very sensitive issues which demand a critical weighing of information. Thus, for data triangulation and methodological merit, FGD has high face validity. The researcher had to employ it as one data collection tool. The FGDs were used not only to generate fresh information that

would complement the data coming through other methods but also to check and counter-check the reliability of data gleaned from individual key informants.

A total of six focus group discussions, three in the sampled village and two with government officials working in ANP and EWCA, have been conducted. Besides, one focus group discussion was made with ten government officials working in ANP and EWCA and individuals from local community who were participating in the 2018 GMP of ANP in Awash Arba city. Illala and Dehti (with the Ittue and Karrayu communities) and Dudub (with the Afar community) were sampled for FGD as they are close to the park and easy to access and observe the impact the park exerted on the local community's livelihood. All FGDs in the sampled villages were conducted in March 2018. Participants of the FGD are local community leaders such as village chiefs. A total of six local individuals participated in each FGD group.

The other FGD that has taken place in ANP was done with six NP officers that have various duties and responsibilities. These are the tourism, community development, and wildlife conservation experts that are working there for more than four years. It was conducted at the ANP office, in December 2019.

In addition, another focus group discussion was made at EWCA, Addis Ababa, in April 2018 with six government officials who are now working in EWCA, but who were also working in ANP in different positions before they joined EWCA.

To select the FGD participants, I use purposive sampling. To increase its quality, I used snowball sampling. Snowball sampling is where research participants recruit other participants for a study. Here I used their judgment to choose participants. It consists of two steps first identify potential subjects in the population. Often, only one or two subjects can be found initially. Next, ask those subjects to recruit other people (Kumar, 1999; 2011).

This is a technique where I first used to identify contact persons. The ANP officers in turn introduce me to knowledgeable persons. The park officer specifically the community development expert and park wardens were used as a contact person to identify the elders and knowledgeable persons in the Afar and Ittu/ Karrayu Oromo communities. The park office has to try to implement a community-based conservation system by establishing the tourism council that incorporates the local community as a member. The local community leaders from the nearby Kebeles are members of the council. So, it helps the park warden and community development experts to identify the knowledgeable person that has information about the history of ANP, its governance system, their relationship to the park, and conflicts around Awash valley. Then, the park officers helped me directing the first informant from the elders. Thus, the elders interviewed were willing to direct me to the other more knowledgeable person and community leaders in the community thereby serving as a link through the community. This was the method that I used to find a knowledgeable person in my study area around ANP through snowball sampling.

Since the research focus included historical perspectives, I selected mainly elders and village chiefs that consisted of youths and elders both from Afar and Ittue/Karrayu and who were members of the 2014 peace committee and members of tourism council of the ANP in 2009 as FGD participants.

Despite constraints in resource, time, and accessibility during the fieldwork, the interviews were conducted in each of the rural selected kebeles. However, few individual elders were contacted in Awash Arba city for their own reasons. The EWCA and ANP officers were also contacted in their office at Addis Ababa, in April 2018 and at ANP, in December 2019, respectively.

Both the FGD and the key informant interviews were conducted in Amharic. Though the local language of the participants from the local community is Affan Oromo and Afarigna, most of them can listen and speak Amharic. As a result, I did not use any translator. But, some of my FGD participants, particularly from the Ittue community, can only listen and understand Amharic, but they cannot speak Amharic. At this time, the other participants from the FGD members who can speak Amharic have interpreted to me in Amharic. Regarding the transcription, I translated directly from Amharic to English and edited by the professional language editors.

### **Key Informant interview**

According to Yin (2009), key informant interview is an appropriate method to investigate the complex nature of views and perceptions of respondents by presenting unstructured

and in-depth questions. The approach is also crucial to assess the present attitude of the respondents and it gives a highlight of what they may think in the future on those questions. Furthermore, conducting open-ended interviews with key informants allows respondents to explain their thoughts and avoid the language barrier (Jhon, 2013).

I made a series of unstructured and semi-structured interviews with individual key informants. Key informants were selected principally on the bases of the knowledge they have on the research theme. Thus, those individuals who are well versed in the culture, tradition, and history of their respective groups were selected as key informant interviewees. Oral interviews with key informants were conducted through direct contact.

The key informants, in this case, were from the ANP offices such as officers, scouts, and the park warden. I made the interviews with ANP officers including the park warden and scout in December 2019 at the ANP office. The other key informants were the local community leaders such as village chiefs, religious leaders, and the local community members both from Afar and Oromo community. Most of them were members of the peace committee established in 2014. These elders were known for their ability to recall past events and for their good oratorical skills. In most instances, the elders are the opinion leaders in the traditional arena as they are used to participate in the daily management of community affairs. Besides, the interviewed elders were willing to direct me to the other more knowledgeable elders and thereby serving as a link to the community. In the first encounter, I sought the consent of the key informants to participate in the interview, further explaining to individual respondents what information

being sought and for what purpose. When approached, the elders and government officials were in most cases willing to participate in the interview. However, for security reasons, they did not sign the informed consent form, rather they expressed their willingness orally.

The interviews with Afar, Ittue, and Karrayue community leaders were made in March and May, 2018, at their village for the Afar Dudub and Karrayue and Ittue at Illala and Dehti Kebele administration office respectively; and I also made an interview with some of them at Awash Arba city. In addition, the Awash Fentale Woreda land administration head and officers were also key informants. I made an interview with the Awash Fentale Woreda land administration head and officers in March, 2018 at Awash Arba city. Likewise, the EWCA higher experts were part of key informants. In June, 2018, I made an interview with the EWCA higher experts who were working in ANP in various positions including in the park warden level that has in-depth knowledge about the park at their office, Addis Ababa. I did a key informant interview with lots of people who have in-depth knowledge about the study site. I also used Amhara National Regional State (ANRS), Environment protection and development (EPD) office higher expert, conservation area and park development officers as a key informant to compare the local community participation and empowerment level in SMNP and Menze Gosa community conservation site to ANP and to see its impact on the park development. Key informants were selected using a purposive sampling technique; the interview was conducted with each informant for about two hours of. The ANP warden and community development

experts helped me to select and contact the first knowledgeable individuals from the local community and EWCA experts. During the interview, questions were clarified and the informants were allowed to interpret the question the way they understood it since the discussion was conducted in Amharic. However, I tried to guide the interview towards certain key topics during the discussions.

### **Observation**

An intensive field survey was conducted four times in the study sites. At the time of the field survey, I got an opportunity to observe the current situation of resources in the Park, the involvement of the local community, and the government in the conservation activities. It also helped me to know the social, economic, environmental, and political implications of the conflict for the community and the ANP development. I was also able to observe issues related to boundary demarcation of the Park as a cause for conflict between park authorities and the local community, Afar and Oromo community who are living around the NP. I also saw the local community feeding their cattle inside the national park and making confrontation with the park officers that lead them to a conflict. This approved me of how much the park is a place for grazing land than a tourist attraction. Also, during my frequent visit to the Awash national park, I did not see tourists that visited the park. Only very small numbers of tourists were visiting it as a day trip since it lost its attractiveness due to the destruction of biodiversity, especially wildlife. My formal and informal contact with local communities helped me to understand the perception of the local community towards the Awash National Park, the cause and

potential solutions of conflicts. I took lots of pictures and recordings about the park to use them as evidence.

Moreover, I was participating in conferences held in Awash Arba city from March 17 to 19, 2018, between the local community and ANP GMP 2018 consultants. It was a good opportunity for me to know the exact opinion of the local community regarding their participation level in ANP and what they want to get from it. In addition, it helped me to get an interview with some of the local community members from the sampled village.

### **Field Experience**

To secure permissions to get pertinent documents and to effect the field observation and other interviews, officials in the EWCA were systematically approached through revealing myself and supplying them with the support letters I produced from Addis Ababa University, IPSS, as it could depict the sole purpose of the research. I subsequently had informal discussions, both cordial and professional, with the experts and the research and publication directorate that further assisted me to secure a good rapport.

The director and the experts were courteously informed that information gathered during the field observations in the ANP as well as the interview both in the EWCA and ANP would be strictly kept confidential and anonymous. Following this, the research and publication directorate volunteered to provide me with the pertinent documents. He also allowed me some time to have the documents until I get them photocopied. I gave back

the documents on due time. A compromise was also made with the director about the dates that suit him for interview.

What is more, the director volunteered to write me a support letter to the ANP office to easily obtain the required data. We further won agreement for the support letter to include points which could allow me to freely move and observe the park as well as to pave me the road to obtain both primary and secondary data sources. Ultimately, the EWCA office provided me the names and telephone numbers of the officials working at the ANP as well as the locations and the specific routes I should follow to reach the park including the written support letters for ANP. The director in turn wanted me to submit a copy of my dissertation work, and ensuing this, I signed a memorandum of understanding with him.

Soon after I obtained the support letter, I went to ANP following the route I was provided; and when I got lost in between, I called the officials at the ANP to redirect me the ways I should follow. I finally safely reached at the main gate of the ANP. I then called and informed the park warden that I arrived at the park, and he told me to wait for a while at the gate until he arrived. I then introduced myself to the gate keepers by revealing my ID and explaining the purpose of my visit. I subsequently had informal discussions with the gate keepers by creating friendly atmosphere; they told me the gate is more than 10 km far from the main offices and to stay patient until the warden arrived. It was a good opportunity for me to have profound discussions with the gate keepers on issues that are pertinent to my study. I soon asked the gate keepers to introduce me to the

elders who have good knowledge of the park including the historical and contemporary issues related to the park. They, however, told me that they were not certain about their knowledge of the park, and they subsequently advised me to talk to the park warden and experts in the park.

When the warden finally arrived and escorted me to the office, it took us more than two hours with their 5L car to reach to their office traveling on the gravel road. I then produced the support letters I had gathered from EWCA office and the letters I collected from AAU and my school ID card that convinced the ANP gate keepers as well as the warden and experts to allow me to conduct the interviews and the field observations.

The warden who is in charge of the ANP under the EWCA was formally approached. Through being courteous and respectful, I tried to get their consent for interview and to providing me their genuine accounts with regards to the conservation and preservation of the natural resources in the ANP. This was further effected through revealing the purpose of the research and guaranteeing interviewees that the information captured is kept confidential and anonymous.

Based on the information I received from the gate keepers, I asked the warden and the experts to introduce me to the elders who are supposed to have good knowledge of the park. They then told me that they had good contact with some village leaders and community elders who have been working with them during the attempt to implement the CBC approach. They simultaneously listed me some of the elder's names and telephone

numbers. I and the elders finally decided a date that suited them to meet me. The elders of the local communities were further approached through the warden and the experts; they informed the elders that I was from AAU to make research on the ANP and they earnestly asked them to collaborate with me by answering some questions I could raised. They also noted them to discuss their accounts about the ANP-how cordial or otherwise was their relation with the park officials, if there were any benefits their communities obtained and similar other issues. They then volunteered to conduct the FGD and the interview in their respective village where I was escorted by the community development officer. The FGDs, interviews I made with the elders, experts, the warden and scouts as well as the gate keepers generated data that are used to witness what was actually happening in the park.

### **3.2.3. Method of Data Analysis**

A general rule has been established to ensure a systematic application for the presentation, analysis, and interpretation of all data. Data gathered through interviews and Focus Group Discussions has been transcribed to narrate participants' lived experiences. By using narrative, verbatim, and thematic analysis technique, the transcription and other forms of data have analyzed (Jhon, 2013). This study takes Awash national park governance as a unit of analysis with a multi-level analysis at various national park governance levels. To this end, I have gone through a series of steps. It begins with grouping the transcribed data according to key themes; then identifying bases for interpretation, and developing generalizations to that specific issue from the data. The

transcription has been made as soon as the interview and observation are completed. Once all the data have been reviewed, I have given a code to the data.

There are two levels of coding within data analysis and presentation: first-level coding, which deals with the concrete ideas evident in the transcript, and second-level coding, which looks for and interprets the more abstract underlying of these ideas (Williams, et al, 1998). During the first-level of coding, I have carried out activities such as identifying meaning units from the transcription; creating categories from the meaning units identified; assigning codes or names to the categories; and refining and reorganizing categories. Then, collect the assigned code and put in different subtitles that I already prepared based on the research questions. After that, I do the transcription activity of the collected data. The next step, what I did is analyzing the collected data and organized it via supporting them through related literature, theories, and adding my view. It helps to give meaning to the collected data that is the lived experience of the local community. Moreover, such activity was important to solve the exact problem of the study area. Developing conceptual classification systems and presenting themes of theory or models using matrix are the two tasks that have been carried out during this step.

### **3.3. Validation**

The trustworthiness of research bases on the personal credibility of the researchers, the dependability of the data, and free from own biases and preconceptions (Williams, et al, 1998). Denzin and Lincoln (1994) and Jwan & Ong'ondo (2011) also suggest four factors

to be considered in establishing the trustworthiness of findings from qualitative research: credibility, transferability, dependability, and conformability. To gain credibility, I have used data and methodological triangulation, peer debriefing, negative case analysis, and presentation of preliminary findings to the participants to build confidence in the findings. About triangulation, I have gathered data from multiple sources through multiple methods such as in-depth and focused interviews, focused group discussions, direct observation, and document review, which enable me to draw adequate study conclusions.

In this research, to provide transferability, the findings of this research about Awash National Parks, Local communities, Tourism Development, and Conflict in Ethiopia will put in the ANP park office and EWCA office to serve as a reference. Dependability refers to the extent to which the procedure is clear to enable other researchers to replicate the study and get similar results while confirmability denotes the extent to which the findings of the study are free from both internal and external influences (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994).

### **3.4. Ethical Consideration**

For this study, ethical considerations are seen from my side. I have considered the relevance and usefulness of the research undertaking as stated in the rationale and significance of the study. Then, I have also provided informed consent to the participants voluntarily and without any kind of pressure. Informed consent implies that the

participants are made adequately aware of the researcher's identity; type of information the researcher wants to collect from them, the reason and purpose of finding such information (Kumar, 1999). But for the security case, my informants didn't want to sign the informed consent what I have prepared to approve their interest rather they were expressing their willingness to give information orally or I made oral informed consent with them. As a result, I can collect the information that I want just freely from them.

The third ethical issue concerns seeking sensitive information that invade privacy and confidentiality. I believe that as long as the informed consent is granted, any request for confidential information cannot be labeled as unethical. Besides, despite the obligation of the researcher to maintain confidentiality about the respondents' information, I disclose the name and address of the interviewees and participants of the focus group discussions on their consent, when required. Finally, I have also refrained from activities that cause harm to the participants that might involve things such as anxiety, harassment, invasion of privacy, or dehumanizing procedures.

Hence, research bias, provision or deprivation of treatment, make use of inappropriate research methodology, correct reporting that is divergent from the participants' response, make use of information that affect the respondents negatively are considered as unethical. Thus, I have refrained from involving in such unethical activities.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **4. Historical Development of Natural Resource Conservation and National Parks Establishment**

#### **4.1. Conception of Natural Resources Conservation**

##### **4.1.1. Legislation and Conservation of Natural Resources**

The establishment of legislation for natural resource conservation began a long time ago. The first game legislation to protect animals such as hippopotamus and vermin was introduced in Cape by the Dutch in 1657. The Cape mountain zebra is also doomed like quagga and then its chasing was formally prohibited in 1742 (Akeley, 1929). The colonialists destructed forests and various animals in Africa, but later, they began to understand the impacts of deforestation on climate (Fitter & Scott, 1978). In the 18th century, forest protection began to be institutionalized in British Caribbean lands, but the formal environmentalist forestry developed at a great level in India. By understanding the importance of forests and the timber shortage, soil erosion, and climate change which occurred due to deforestation, forests became an important aspect of the imperial policy in India. Succeeding this, in 1890, a formal, scientific forestry regime was developed (Akeley, 1929).

Various laws were consecutively enacted trying to protect the wildlife in southern Africa during the 19th century. The Game Law Proclamation reintroduced in July 1822, to protect wild mammals and birds that are believed to carry diseases and to be harmful to crops, farm animals; license fee was also required to hunting some species such as elephants. This game law also provided rights to private landowners and for excursionists to hunt for food. Legislations to safeguard open areas close to Cape Town and to conserve forests were enacted in 1846 and in 1859, successively. Deriving from a mix of Indian and Cape Colony philosophies, the method of conservation was introduced in South Africa in the 1880s (MacKenzie, 1997). The enactment of the law for the preservation of the game that became a shield to several species including the quagga (which was already extinct in the wild) was begun by the genuine conservationist project in 1886. The provisions of this act in the 1880s and 1890s were duplicated in the Transkei, and other areas including Natal to protect the remained small number of wild animals in the Cape colony (Akeley, 1929; Adams, 2004).

By the end of the 19thC, the preservation and conservation initiatives were widespread all over the world. The Yellowstone National Park and the Sierra Club, in the United States, were established in 1872 and 1892, respectively. National Parks were also established in the 1880s and 1890s in the British control of Canada, South Australia, and New Zealand. The International Ornithological Congresses that were held in Vienna and Budapest in 1884 and 1895, respectively, passed a treaty to protect bird species that are useful in agriculture (Butchart, 2010). The Swiss League for the Protection of Nature and the

Swedish Society for the Protection of Nature that was established in 1909 to predominantly raise funds for a National Park were realized in 1914.

Many African colonies, for example, Kenya in 1898, 1899, and 1900 and Rhodesia in 1898, enacted regulations for the preservation of the game. Colonialists viewed hunting as the major problem encompassed in their postmodern duty (Lindahl, 1964; Adams, 2004). To redress this problem, the British issued regulations about what could be shot, and by whom, to fit the southern African approach. At the end of the 19th century, wildlife preservation rules were put into practice in British Central Africa, British East Africa (Uganda, and Somaliland, and in its other African territories (Anderson & Grove, 1987; Adams, 2004).

The main reason for developing legislation and proclamation about natural resources conservation in the game reserve was to preserve the wild animals that were illegally hunted by the settlers, especially the colonizers. African colonizers such as Europeans were the main demolisher of natural resources particularly wild animals through illegal hunting. Their strong desire for hunting reduces the number of wild animals like elephants in Africa. Colonizers ratified a law to stop illegal hunting and to safeguard the extinction of wild animals in Africa and other parts of the world. However, the ratified law gave protection to only the wildlife disregarding the local community whose livelihood depends on these natural resources. Even though passing laws to protect natural resources is commendable, I argue that the process should address the interests of

the local community. The policy that neglected the right and interests of the local community is unlikely to be viable.

#### **4.1.2. The Concept of National Parks**

By controlling places which were serving the local community as grazing and agricultural lands, colonialist have established game reserves which could not permanently preserve the wildlife. This showed that the conservation of natural resources through just building boundaries without involving the local community seemed to be destined for failure.

Establishing protected areas was not the end by itself for the conservationists, they viewed these PAs as long-term projects, and this idea made the conservationist confront the colonial governments whose intent was not only conserving the resources but looting them by sidelining the local community. Yellowstone national park was the first national park established in the US in 1872. The idea of national park development influenced the outdated belief of the colonial conservationists that mainly focused on the conservation of natural resources (Adams, 2004). Reserves should exist not only for the satisfaction of the sportsman but for the preservation of interesting types of animal life too (Maurice, 1938; Adams, 2004). According to Maurice, national park establishment is the only method used to preserve nature but not through commerce and sport. He also believed that the tedious process of development through commerce and sport is playing a great role in the destruction of species (Maurice, 1938). The main attraction of national parks in the colonial context was the permanent existence of wildlife in the sanctuaries. They proposed the probability of safeguarding land for the game that was proof against the

urges of Governors and the requests of development. In 1930 the Society for the Preservation of the Fauna of the Empire (SPFE) Executive Committee argued that game preservation required a great deal further than before, conservation needed something more than a game reserve, 'to stabilize the reserves and make actual sanctuaries or National Parks' (Adams, 2004:76). The Society for the Preservation of the Wild Fauna of the Empire (SPWFE) was inspired by the virtues of the US model constantly. Following this, many countries including British and Canada established national parks in their colonies. British established NPs in east Africa by taking a huge amount of land from the local community (Adams, 2004).

The American experiment of national parks was immediately reproduced in Canada (Banff National Park, 1887), Australia (Royal National Park, 1879, Belair National Park, 1891, and Lamington National Park, 1915) and New Zealand (Fitter & Scott, 1978; Adams, 2004). Following the establishment of Yellowstone and Yosemite NPs in the United States, different countries, understanding the advantages it renders, slowly developed their own NPs. National parks were significant not only by the beauty of their scenery but also by the economic activity they actively promote (Jacoby, 2001; Adams, 2004).

In 1916, the National Parks Service was established and the Federal bureaucracy took the management of national parks and monuments from the Department of the Interior (Runte, 1990). However, with their limitations, the management of the early US National Parks illustrated a good lesson about what could be attained with a plan, by being

resolute, and with minimum government resources to conservationists in Europe and elsewhere in the world.

To attain the main plan of NP development, the US government established three institutions. First, they created a national park from the land that has rich natural resources (wilderness); next, they applied the militaristic (aggressive) approach to manage the place, and finally, they do tourism development activities (Adams, 2004).

The American conviction of establishing NP in the remote and untapped natural areas has been widely transformed into other milieus, sometimes, with highly detrimental effects. For example, the Indians who were residing in the Yellowstone landscape were evicted though early tourists were impressed to see the Indians decorated with materials in the wilderness areas. To make the area free from any human touch, the people who were residing in the national park were forcedly evicted from the area (Jacoby, 2001).

The second legacy of the American national parks was the use of military forces to evict the local community and to safeguard the NPs. Yosemite Valley was penetrated and further cleared first by the military and the army in 1852 (Runte, 1990; Adams, 2004). Analogous to Yosemite Valley, the management of Yellowstone, in 1886, was handed over to the US Army that stayed for 32 years until 1918 managing the park (Jacoby, 2001). The importance of tourism also was felt from the very beginning of the establishment of US national parks. Tourists began to arrive in the Yosemite Valley in 1855; following this, in 1857, primitive hotels were established opposite Yosemite Falls

and began to accommodate guests. The advancement of the development of the Yosemite Valley was magnified after 1864 when the Yosemite Park Act was passed (Runte, 1990). Succeeding the first National Parks Conference held at Yellowstone in 1911, the railroads started to facilitate the marketing of the surroundings of the West. In the Glacier National Park that was established in 1910, Swiss-style tourist lodges were built. Similarly, in the periphery of Canada, a small reserve, 26 square kilometers, around the Banff Hot Springs, was founded in 1885; but later its area was stretched to 700 square kilometers. In 1887, this reserve was developed as a public park and a pleasure ground for the benefit, advantage, and amusement of the people of Canada (Nelson, 1968; Adams, 2004). Further parks were founded close to the Glacier and Yoho in 1886, Water ton Lakes in 1895, and Jasper in 1907. The Authority of Forest Reserves and Parks Act of 1911 harmonized the management of these parks under a Commission. The first National Parks in Canada grew out of broader policy for the development of natural resources, mirroring the principle of 'usefulness' that worked in the United States (Brown, 1968). Banff National Park was destroyed and burned in the same manner as most of Western Canada and the United States in the first days; since then, natural resources have got a chance to be preserved (Nelson, 1968: 112; Adams, 2004).

Following this, the national parks particularly the mountain parks became a means for economic development for the Canadian government, and the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) created luxurious mountain tourist resorts such as Banff Springs Hotel and Chateau Lake Louise for the survival of the business (McNamee, 1993). The business

grew rapidly and established Swiss mountain guides to lead the tourists (Sandford, 1990). The huge program of road construction, the creation of hotel resorts and formal campgrounds, and the supply of entertainments for tourists became the main complaints of the conservationist (Runte, 1990; Adams, 2004).

The infant International Union for the Protection of Nature (IUPN) took tourism and conservation as the main agenda at its third technical meeting in 1953. This conference activated the joint venture work; which that means, in contradiction to the idea of conservationists, traveling to the wilderness areas, enjoying the fresh air and nature, as well as preserving the area was possible (Davidson, 1957; Adams, 2004).

The major purpose of establishing national parks, were the conservation of natural and cultural resources and transfer them to the next generation. With this conception, the first National park, Yellowstone, was established. After observing its benefits on the conservation of nature, various countries in the world established national parks. However, the wilderness areas that were endowed with different natural and cultural beauties that were planned to be conserved were a residence for the local community. When the government established national parks in these places, the local communities were forced to leave from their indigenous places, and these made the local community dissatisfied. Various nations began to use their national parks as tourist attraction sites through building infrastructures such as transportation and accommodation facilities that negatively affect the wilderness areas. Such actions of the different nations upset the

conservationist who underscored the conservation of nature by keeping it away from any kind of human touch (Adams, 2004).

I argue that the conservation of natural resources through establishing national parks is a good idea, but evicting the local community from their indigenous places that their livelihood depended on never makes the conservation sustainable. The local community should be the first beneficiary from the conserved resources. Thus, tourism development is the best way to preserve natural resources and create new jobs for local communities to benefit from. The government should use environmentally friendly raw materials to build tourism facilities and infrastructure. The number of tourist arrivals at a time in the national park should also be consistent with its carrying capacity. In my view, this reciprocity between the local community and the natural resources made the benefits and the conservation sustainable.

#### **4.1.3. Recognition of National Park and Conservation Area Establishment**

For the promotion of national parks worldwide, the foundation of IUCN played a great role. The General Assembly of IUCN that was established in 1958 in Athens had a provisional committee with eleven members who were mostly from third world countries, five from Africa, and three from Asia (IUCN, 1971; Adams, 2004). In 1960, it grew to IUCN Commission on National Parks, and later, it develops into the World Commission on Protected Areas. In the 27th Session of the UN, the Economic and Social Council was held in 1959 in Mexico and gave recognition to National Parks and Equivalent Reserves (Holden, 2008; Adams, 2004).

The first World Conference on National Parks was conducted in Seattle in 1962 to attain a more valuable global understanding and support of the national parks movement. The ensuing World Parks Congresses were held at Yellowstone and Grand Teton in 1972, at Bali in 1982, at Caracas in 1992, and at Durban in 2003 (Adams, 2004).

The World Commission on Protected Areas delineates its responsibility as advocating the founding and effective running of a worldwide representative network of earthly and marine protected places. The IUCN description of protected areas and its categorization was given in detail particularly to provide more space to cultural aspects of protection. It describes a protected area as an area of land and/or sea primarily dedicated to the protection and continuation of biological variety and of natural and related cultural assets that are managed through authorized or other effective means (IUCN, 1994; Adams, 2004). The IUCN further clarified the implication of different types of protected areas under six management categories.

**Table 1.1 Categories of protected areas and targeted management objectives**

<b>Category</b>	<b>Type</b>	<b>Primarily management objective</b>
Ia	Strict natural reserve	Scientific purposes
Ib	Wilderness areas	Wilderness protection

II	National Park	Ecosystem protection and recreation
III	Natural monuments	Conservation of specific natural feature
IV	Management Area (Habitat/Species)	Conservation through management intervention
V	Landscape/seascape protection	Landscape/seascape conservation or recreation
VI	Managed Resource Protected Area	Sustainable use of natural resources

**Source; IUCN 1994; Table 1.1**

The places that were formally safeguarded by one or more of the IUCN classifications increased year by year at a rapidly growing rate. In the 1970s, lots of national parks were established in the world. For example, in 1975 many NPs were established in the Arab world; in the 1980s, establishment of NPs was also spread in Latin America, and in USSR. By 1991, around seven NPs that covered 3.65 million hectares of land were established (Poirier & Ostergren, 2002; Adams, 2004).

By the end of the 20th century, all countries formed safeguarded places of a certain type. The formation of safeguarded places was grown to be a worldwide phenomenon. This accomplishment, in turn, resulted in harm.

The national park governance policy should address the most important points of the national park establishment. For instance, for whom the park is established by giving attention to the local community who could be relocated to different areas from the park. In addition, it needs to make an analysis of the exact costs and benefits of national parks (Adams, 2004).

## **4.2. The National Park Development in Africa**

### **4.2.1. Proximate Causes of National Park Establishment in Africa**

The North American model of establishing national parks is the main motivating power of the widespread establishment of National parks all over the world (Hobley, 1924). In South Africa, the establishment of the Kruger National Park was the typical example of the prevalent occurrence of national park establishments out of Europe and the US. When the South African government tried to establish the Sabi Game Reserve with the help of the Society for the Preservation of the Fauna of the Empire (SPFE), the conflict was raised between the local settlers and the game officials. Though there was a serious conflict, James Stevenson-Hamilton tried his best to upgrade the status of Singwitsi and Sabi Game Reserves to a national park. SPFE, in London, supported, and was working with Hamilton for a certain number of years (Hamilton, 1930; Adams, 2004). However, they got opposition from various agents, most frequently by Boer farmers, fearing the tsetse flies that the game might shelter and the freedom to hunt for meat and hides the game might block (Hamilton, 1930). However, later on, the government gave special care

to the game reserves and began to nationalize them. Then, the Transvaal Land Owners Association agreed to give their lands to the government around the Sabi Game reserves (Adams, 2004).

Similarly, in 1921, the Native Affairs Department accepted the establishment of unique boundaries on the west side of the Sabi Game Reserve. In the next parliamentary meeting of 1922, Prime Minister Jan Smuts announced his intention to develop a National Park and Game Reserve though it stayed until 1926 to establish the park (Hamilton, 1946; Adams, 2004). During the time of establishment, white Voor trekker politicians supported the project and presented officially the importance of its establishment of fulfilling the aim of Paul Kruger, a nationalist politician. The national park promoters set protection skillfully within the complex national politics of the 1920s (Carruthers, 1995). Kruger, who was working as a conservationist to make conservation of land in the hands of Afrikaaner, was a good hunter and an expert of biltong (MacDonald, 1954; Adams, 2004). Deneys Reitz, Minister of Lands (1921-1924), assured the conservation of natural resources in the NP as the major national duty. In the 1920s, protection of land and natural resources particularly in the Kruger National Park was considered as something used to unite the classes of Afrikaaner society in South Africa (MacDonald, 1954; Adams, 2004). In addition, Kruger National Park was used to serve as a recreation site only for the white tourist coming from different parts of South Africa. Although Kruger was the pioneer for the establishment of national parks in South Africa, Henrik Verwoerd, the next president of the country, established the Augrabies National Park,

following the foot of the previous government. The main agenda for the South African president was to control the land in the name of the national park establishment, but not to the conservation of natural resources. Kruger was established not just as a national park, but it was part of the broader political drama (MacDonald, 1954).

Later, as the apartheid government came under increasing pressure, the Park and other wildlife reserves were used as symbols to remove the black peoples from the land. As a result, by conserving nature in a large park, the white racist government killed two birds with one stone. This action of the government helped them to catch the eyes of the Western and got the advantage of raising funds for the conservation of natural resources in the NP (Raymond, 1993).

Through time, the view of wildlife was changed. On the first level, wild animals were viewed as a source of revenue. In the 1890s, the first reserves were created with the fear of the total disappearance of the wild animals that were the cause for the Sabi Game Reserve to be famous. The creation of reserves was also a strategy to assert competing land claims (Carruthers, 1995). James Stevenson Hamilton was employed as the Game warden for the Sabi Game Reserve from 1902 till 1946. After him, most of the game wardens were from the South African police (Rangarajan, 2003; Adams, 2004). Black peoples were not allowed to carry firearms and were punished when they crossed the fence and fed their cattle inside the game reserves. According to the Afrikaner nation of conservation, Black Africans were considered as a cause to suffer and damage wild animals. The black African was residing in the larger Sabi Game until the 1950s; but

afterward, they were forcefully evicted from the area. The Makuleke community, however, fought against the park expansion for more than ten years until they were defeated in 1969 and resettled out of the park. Such dislocations were part and parcel of the highly annoying and racially skewed land allocations in the apartheid era. People living out of the land were not the only ones who felt the brunt of exclusion. There were even segregated camps for white and black tourists with far worse facilities and services for the latter (Anderson and Grove, 1987; Adams, 2004; Rangarajan, 2003). The park was used to be an artifact of politics until the 1990s when the apartheid government, unexpectedly, fell down and a new democratic South Africa was established by the statesmanship of Nelson Mandela and his successors. It was, however, very challenging to make the Park the heritage of all South Africans regardless of their color, status, and income (Rangarajan, 2003). The regaining of the rhino and elephant under well-managed conditions was not the end of the apartheid era, but it was taken as a positive contribution to the conservation of wild animals (Adams, 2004).

Interestingly, the idea of commercialized hunts and game culls was seen as a product of the unique mix of large blocks of landed estates and exclusive land ownership in South Africa's recent past (Rolfes, 1998). Most of the Southern African states supported the unwelcoming forms of management by inferring from the standard practice of the 1980s conservation model. After the abolition of apartheid, some of the countries applied the conservationist approach. More important is the notion of Peace Parks along the border, and Kruger is the centerpiece of a major initiative with South Africa's adjacent nation-

states (Rosaleen, 1997). The influence of the apartheid was not eliminated; but the new socio-political rule based on the world franchise and a multi-party form of government helped to revise the harsh conservation approach of the past (Adams, 2004).

However, like the United States, the Kruger National Park has ultimately become an attraction for urban white tourists (Beinart & Coates, 1995; Rangarajan, 2003; Adams, 2004). The park had administered by the Board of Trustees that was under the Minister of Lands. Stevenson-Hamilton who was assigned as warden began to work with the government and with the member of the board (Adams, 2004). After a while, he got back to the United Kingdom to work with the SPFE and the Zoological Society, but he returned to the park in 1927 and administered it until 1946. Tourism began slowly with an income of three pounds in 1927 that later in 1929 increased to £850 obtained from every tourist. In the 1930s, nine hundred cars were ready for tourism services and five hundred kilometers of new roads were constructed (Carruthers, 1995; Adams, 2004). At this time, the South African Railways took the responsibility of providing tourist facilities such as transport and catering. Similarly, the Board prepared camps, guides, and guards for the visitors. As a result, the tourist arrival increased at an alarming rate and the government provided hut and tent to the tourists as alternative accommodation (Adams, 2004).

As a Warden, Stevenson-Hamilton did not accept the luxurious facilities and entertainments in the park. He rather tried to safeguard the wilderness experience for visitors. In 1928, he described Kruger as a preserve that should be free from any human

touch who is considered as an enemy of wildlife (Hamilton, 1930; Adams, 2004). At this time, 9 European and 100 natives policies were employed in the park and the administration cost was around £7000 per year with an income of £1000 from gate fees, fines for poaching, and fees from Africans who illegally settled inside the park (Hamilton, 1930). This showed that the revenue obtained from the park could not cover the administrative cost. When Stevenson-Hamilton retired, the idea of the wilderness experience for visitors was expired, and camps became more luxurious with electricity and improved washing and cooking facilities. By 1954, lots of people began to visit the Kruger NP, and to increase the satisfaction level of the visitors the park began to provide necessary facilities such as catering, trading, and garage services. The park subsequently became a big business center (Carruthers, 1995; Adams, 2004).

In the heyday of apartheid, Kruger National Park became a long-lasting symbol of Afrikaaner nationalism, a place of enjoyment, and a sacred place where the urban white South Africans could approve their God-given role as the legitimate protector of the wilderness. James Stevenson- Hamilton observed Kruger National Park as a showcase of pure nature before the white man came to it (Hamilton, 1946; Adams, 2004). The story of Paul Kruger, the conservationist, was related to the Afrikaner identity. It was especially politically important in the post World War II years when the policy of apartheid caused South Africa's political isolation (Adams, 2004).

I argue that in the history of national park establishment in South Africa, Kruger national park was more political as it was mainly used to control the lands of the indigenous South

African people by evicting them from their ancestral lands where their living depended on. The South African colonizer's major objective of the establishment of national parks was not the conservation of natural resources; it was rather for the exploitation of the natural resources of both animals and plants. It was a strategy for the colonizers to systematically control the lands of African people in the name of conservation through establishing a national park. However, such an approach that was used to control natural resources through evicting the indigenous community was transferred to the other African countries including Ethiopia. Establishing national parks via evicting the local community who resided there for a long period without their consent has been a cause of conflict between the local community and the park workers. Though establishing a national park and conserving nature is a blessed idea to control the bad impact of deforestation and climate change and to profit from tourism, it needs to give priority to the local community. The local community should be consulted and agreed on the pros and cons of the establishment of national parks in their locality. Their participation in the management of the national park should also be heeded.

#### **4.2.2. Natural Resource Conservation Law in the 19th & 20th c Africa**

At the end of the 20th century, in the Colonial era, the number of wildlife population was decreased due to hunting of Elephants for commercial Ivory trade and rinderpest that causes the death of around 90 percent of East African ungulates (Gichohi et al., 1996). Based on these reasons, the Germans applied regulations to sustainably manage wildlife and use it for recreational hunting and commercial purpose (Nelson et al., 2007). In 1891,

the first hunting rules were invented from the colony's laws (Majamba, 2001). By 1896, the legislation required a license for all kinds of hunting banning customary hunting practices such as the use of nets, pits, and snares in the territory (Koponen, 1994; Nelson et al., 2007). Following this legislation, the power of accessing and managing the wildlife and natural resources for the first ten years of colonial time was put under the legal control of Europeans (Nelson et al., 2007).

The establishment of PAs for conserving wildlife was the best strategy, for colonizers, to control lands. After World War I, the British colonized Tanganyika, which was the former colony of German. By regulating the utilization of natural resources and the establishment of PAs, the British colonizers upgraded the Germans' concept of centralizing control over wildlife (Majamba, 2001). Then British regazetted game reserves that were established by the German to include other areas and produce 'complete' game reserves. In the game reserves that the British established, hunting, settlement, and cultivation of the land were forbidden. In 1930, lots of game reserves such as the Serengeti, Ngorongoro Crater, Mount Meru, and Mount Kilimanjaro, and the Selous were established. Following this, different levels of restrictions such as denying the local community to access the land and the wildlife were made (Adams, 2004; Nelson et al, 2007).

These European wildlife policies showed the series of steps the colonizers took to move the power of control of the precious resources from Africans to Europeans (Neumann, 2000). The most precious and big places of jungle forests of East Africa were under the

direct control of colonial administrations. In Tanganyika, the Land decree of 1923 made all land the property of the British Crown, and the customary land rights were held at the decision of the Governor. Such a legal arrangement was made to control the indigenous lands that favored the colonial government's political and economic goals (Shivji, 1998). Despite these broad trends, conflicts were here and there against the colonial administration in Tanganyika amidst controlling key resources and measures taken to avoid excessive local restlessness (Nelson et al, 2007).

By the 1930s, the colonizers applied and took more strict conservation measures. In 1933, the Convention for the Protection of the Flora and Fauna of Africa that was propagated in London was established. The responsibility of the colonial administrations towards establishing national parks, a place where wildlife is protected, was transferred to it (Neumann, 2000).

Due to the northern pressure of the 1940s, Game Ordinance was enacted and then national parks as a legal entity for the first time in East Africa including Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda, and others were established (WSRTF, 1995a; Adams, 2004). Traditional hunting was still in place in game reserves, and the wildlife use rights of hunter-gatherer tribes were specifically preserved. In the government's attitude, applying restrictions on these people not to access the wildlife could have destroyed the group; and it was against the provision of the trusteeship (Mchome, 2002). Under the 1940 decree in Africa, the customary land rights of the communities living in areas demarcated as national parks or

game reserves were not kept; the law gave the power to the governor to annihilate the land rights of the community (Nelson, et al, 2007; Adams, 2004).

As a result, by applying such strict preservationist measures, in the first thirty years of the colonial administration, the local's customary right to accessing natural resources including wildlife was denied. This signals due attention to Africa's wildlife and Edenic scenes were given by the European conservationist; but, following this, the conflict amongst the wildlife and the community increased (Anderson & Grove, 1987; Nelson, et al., 2007). At the same time, the independence movements in East Africa mainly dedicated to issues of land rights and resource access were gaining momentum (Neumann, 2000; Adams, 2004).

Although the local people were moving against the strict conservation law in East Africa, the Serengeti National Park, in 1959, was re-gazetted the relocation of Maasai pastoralists from the park (Raymond, 1993). The new National Park decree that annihilates all customary land rights of the communities living in the Serengeti was passed on that year. It means that local people beginning from that time were not allowed to live in these areas. This decree seemed to have led to the end of the colonial era (Adams, 2004).

The wildlife conservation law in Africa was developed to control illegal hunting that was responsible for the decline of the number of wild animals in various regions. This law also assisted colonizers to have control over the land via evicting the local community in the name of natural resource conservation. The law, by prohibiting the local

communities, allowed the colonizers to exploit the huge natural resources of Africa. Consequently, the local community who were leading their life through hunting wild animals were upset. This demonstrates that the law that was produced by the colonizers to conserve natural resources was the other method of controlling the lands. But, it has been a standing point that motivates African people to think of conservation law that favors both a natural resource and a human.

#### **4.2.3. Wildlife Law and Policy in Post-Colonial Africa**

The Western conservationist approach that applied in Africa seemed to have damaged the wildlife of Africa. As result, the governments of Africa developed strategies that suited the political environment of the post-colonial era. Mobilizing foreign resources to support wildlife conservation in Africa was the first strategy managed by the new organizations such as the International Union for the Conservation of Nature, the World Wildlife Fund, and the African Wildlife Foundation. The foreign donors that support Africa today also provided a lot for the establishment of strong conservation policies for the last 40 years of Africa (URT, 1998; Nelson, et al, 2007; Adams, 2004). They provided training on conservation of wildlife to the African people living around the established NPs (Adams, 2004).

The next plan of post-independence Africa was promoting conservation and working by taking into consideration financial issues. Different African leaders (such as Nyerere of Tanzania, Banda of Malawi, Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia) showed their strong support for establishment of conservation of wildlife by enacting conservation policy (Adams, 2004;

Nelson, et al, 2007). President Nyerere, for example, subsequently approved wildlife tourism as Tanzania's good source of income next to diamond and sisal (Nash, 1982; Nelson, et al, 2007).

Within ten years of its independence, Tanzania has established a wildlife policy that had little difference from the colonial era. However, the European rules for prohibiting local use of wildlife and traditional hunting practices continued, and the establishment and expansion of PAs also widespread. For example, Tarangire National Park was established out of the Tarangire Game Reserve in 1970 by evicting the local pastoralists from the dry season grazing land (Igoe & Brockington, 1999). PAs increased significantly and the closely protected Game Controlled Areas were also improved to more exclusive Game Reserves and National Parks (Swai, 1996; Nelson, et al, 2007; Adams, 2004).

The Wildlife Conservation Act (WCA) that was established at the end of the 20th century in most African countries revoked the Fauna Conservation Ordinance of 1951, but this act was not different from the colonial wildlife management framework. The WCA had no desire to restore the traditional use rights to wildlife or to put back the local management and access to the resource.

On the contrary, the main uses of wildlife were developed and promoted under the legal framework of the WCA that focused on commercial uses; and it was administered under the government controls sidelining local residents. Most African countries developed a tourist hunting industry. Of these countries, Tanzania is the one that has the largest in

sub-Saharan Africa that generates about \$27 million in total annual revenues (Baldus & Cauldwell, 2004). Beginning from the mid-1980s, the hunting industry was opened to private companies; the Wildlife Division in the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism took the responsibility of supervising the allocation of hunting agreements to those outfitters. The game reserves and game controlled areas were managed according to the WCA (that was designed in 1974 in Tanzania) with about half of the concessions located in game reserves and the other half in game controlled areas (Barnett & Patterson, 2006). The WCA put a rule that no land use prohibition was in place on game-controlled areas, and thus areas were continued to be used and occupied by local communities.

### **4.3. History of Natural Resource Conservation and National Park Development in Ethiopia**

#### **4.3.1. The Wildlife Resource in the Past Ethiopia**

Wildlife resource in Ethiopia, before 1944, was the self-sustained natural resources and was used as a period for an infinite source of food and other material. Hunting wildlife was made for sport by the upper echelon of the society and more recently by the expatriate of the country. To regulate the hunting of wildlife, legislation was passed on Negarete gazette in 1944. But it was begun in 1908 during the reign of Emperor Haile Sillassie II. He declared wildlife protection law that was used to regulate hunting, especially of elephants. It is an indication that wildlife resources were showing signs of finiteness and thus giving cause for concern (Grimwood, 1965). The information on the

quantity and quality of wildlife resources in Ethiopia in the past was relatively scarce. There are two major zones in the country- the two highland blocks of the rift valley, and low-lying areas surrounding these. Culturally these areas were very different from relative agrarian cultures evolving over the past 4000 years in the highlands, especially in the west, and less stable pastoralist cultures in the lower-lying areas (Tewelde Birhan, 1989).

Written information about the highland culture pertaining to wildlife was not included, possibly because most of the larger species of wildlife in the highlands were exterminated earlier since the local people were competing with cultivations and livestock rearing. The highlands that were not intensively modified by man include Siemen, Arsi, Bale, and some densely forested areas (Pankhurst, 1968).

Although these highland areas were densely settled and extensively modified by man, they represented very extensive areas of unique ecological conditions. According to Tewelde-Birhan (1989), more than 80 percent of the lands in Africa with an altitude of over 3000 MAS is found in the Ethiopian highland massifs, an extensive plateau; and this could be the major reason for so many endemic animals and plants to be found in Ethiopia. Similar landscapes as isolated Mountain peaks of a small individual area occur elsewhere in Africa. The wildlife evolving on the Ethiopian plateau, therefore, can adapt to very different conditions; and as a result, the highlands are rich in endemic species forms of wildlife that are not found elsewhere in the world. Based on the fossil resources that have been discovered by archeologists, it was possible to know the existence of

many more endemic species in the natural ecosystem of the country before the modification of these places (Tewelde-Birhan, 1989).

#### **4.3.2. History of Natural resource Conservation in Ethiopia**

The area coverage of Ethiopia is 1.12 million square kilometers. The topography of the country is ranged between the Top of Ras Dashen Mountain 4620 m ASL to the Danakil depression 116 m below sea level. This altitudinal variation brought wide variations of temperature, humidity and rainfall. Thus, the country contains nine ecosystems that range from afro-alpine at the highest elevations to desert and semi-desert ecosystems at the lowest elevations (EWCA, 2014). The various physical features of Ethiopia have resulted in broad disparity in climatic conditions. Besides, Ethiopia is one of the countries with the richest biodiversity in the world (General Management Plan 2009–2019, SMNP). More than 6000 higher plant species exist in Ethiopia, from which about 10-12 percent is found only in Ethiopia or endemic (Multi-stakeholder committee, 2012). Ethiopia is also endowed with various types of wild animals. Some of them like wolf (*Canis simensis*), Walia ibex (*Capra walie*), Gelada baboon (*Theroptheucus gelada*), are endemic. To conserve this biodiversity and use them to develop its tourism industry, the Ethiopian government has established national parks, wildlife reserves, and sanctuaries, and controlled hunting areas in the 20th century through a legal framework that cover 16.4 percent of the country's land (Ashenafi & Leader-Williams, 2005; Multi-stakeholder committee, 2012).

The term wildlife embraces all wild large and small animals (mammals, birds, reptiles, amphibians, fish, and invertebrates) and wild plants including the habitat that is necessary for their self-sustained existence. Wildlife, however, is perceived by the Ethiopian populous and officials as biased against the normal definition. This is due to the Amharic term publicly used ‘ye dure arawit’. This word has a negative implication that large animals are destructive towards man’s development especially towards cultivation and wildlife rearing. Wildlife is considered as the misfit of natural resources that cause damage to agricultural production systems. The term ‘dure arawit’ is broadly misunderstood and is a cause for insufficient agricultural production. Consequently, conservation and preservation of wild animals that are important asset for the ecosystem were limited in Ethiopia (Hillman, 1993). The local communities rather were involved in the destruction of wild animals that they considered them as destroyers of their agricultural yields.

To eradicate such negative connotations about the wildlife, various other terms have been proposed and are still under discussion and the decision on a new name in Amharic is seen as one important in the future. Another proposal has been “ye dure ensessat” (literally animal of the bush) and “ye dure hiwote” (literally sprite of the wild) (Pankhurst, 1968).

Wildlife conservation has embodied both the utilization and maintenance of natural wildlife resources. Therefore, wildlife conservation in Ethiopia must comprise both the continuous utilization and preservation of natural wildlife (EWCA-ANP, 2018). The need

for wildlife conservation became apparent between 1900 and 1945 when the first Ethiopian conservation legislation was produced. However, before 1900, due to the shortage of natural resources for firewood and construction services, conservation practice was little known all over the country (Pankhurst, 1968). Following such destructive practices, during the reign of Emperor Zere Yacob (1434-1468), the forest cover of 'Wuchach Mountain' near Addis Ababa was damaged (Tadesse, 2007). To counteract this problem, he imported seeds and seedlings from abroad and replanted in 'Menagesha' areas and established forests. Since this establishment occurred before 400 years ago and the area is now known as the 'Menagesha forest national park', it could be considered as the oldest national park in Africa or at least the oldest recorded conservation effort on the continent (Tadesse, 2007; Daan et al, 2012).

During the Italian invasion (1936-1941), various attempts to safeguard wildlife primarily aimed at hunting animal species were introduced. These included the delimitation of various wildlife conservation areas such as the 'Gouh-Setit, Yob & Nakfa wildlife reserves' in Eritrea which led up to the legislation of 1959. This has been inter-related with the present system of wildlife conservation in the rest of Ethiopia that has been developed since the late 1960s (Petrides, 1963).

Over the same period, pressure for hunting sport by both Ethiopians and expatriates caused concern for the continued existence of some species. The preservation of game proclamation in 1944 was enacted to control the hunting of different animal species. During this time, the present area of ANP was the imperial hunting ground under the

forestry department in Addis Ababa that was established by law to regulate the hunting of wild animals (Hillman, 1993).

In 1961, Dr. George Petrides, sponsored by the New York Zoological Society and the US-based conservation foundation, visited the country and made recommendations to the establishment of protected areas for the larger mammalian wildlife of the country (Petrides, 1963). The next development was the visit made by the UNESCO mission headed by Sir Julian Huxley and his colleagues in 1963. They also recommended the establishment of the conservation board responsible for the conservation and development of natural and archeological resources of the country. In addition, they suggested the establishment of a conservation bureau that was responsible to organize national parks and other conservation areas. Besides, they suggested methods to measure Ethiopia's rare large wild mammals in the NPs and controlled wildlife areas (Ashenafi, and Leader-Williams, 2005).

Mr. Jhon Blower, who was appointed as adviser and senior game warden of Ethiopia in 1965, was responsible to follow the implementations of the recommendations made. The UNESCO mission recommendation focused on the area of natural resources conservation, but not on wildlife conservation. The Ethiopian government provided less attention to wildlife conservation and this disappointed the UNESCO mission Grimwood (Grimwood, 1965)

Further action as a part of the UNESCO missions resulted in expeditions (Nov. 1964- Feb 1965) by the well-known naturalist and agriculturalist, Dr. Leelie Brown, and wildlife conservationist, Ian Grimwood. These journeys included the Bale and Arsi Mountain, Abijata- Shalla lakes, Gambella, and Omo areas. Detailed reports were produced in addition to the report made by Jhon Blower, the senior game warden, in 1966 that laid the foundations for the establishment of several of the wildlife conservation areas. Several expatriate wardens such as Peter Hay and David Anstey in ANP, Clive Nicol in Siemen, George Brown in Omo, and Jhon Bromely in Eritrea were employed in the earliest national parks (Hillman, 1993).

In the absence of experienced field staff, the US Peace Corps, in the late 1960s, provided young volunteers for several of these protected areas. These people did the basic inventory work in the proposed wildlife conservation areas especially in the Bale Mountain, Awash, Siemen Mountains, and Abijata-Shalla lakes NPs from 1966 to 1974 (ibid). Other scientists from Swiss and Japan also contributed to the management of SMNP and Omo national parks in the 1970s (EWCA, 2009).

This was followed by the return of the first batch of two Ethiopian trainees from the college of African wildlife management at Mweka, Tanzania (Ash and Atkins, 2009). These formed the core of the original staff of the Ethiopian wildlife conservation organization; they were until recently in senior positions (Tadese G/Michael, acting manager, and Daniel Tiruneh, head of conservation education service). They first worked in the field as assistant wardens, then as wardens before taking managerial positions at

Addis Ababa headquarter. They paved the way for the appointment of the Ethiopian staff with military and hunting experience; Major. General Gizaw Gedelegeorgise, Birhanu Tessema, and General Mabratu Fisseha were chosen as general manager of what was by then known as the wildlife conservation department. They were also followed, at Mweka, by a succession of Ethiopian nationals trained in wildlife management ever since (Prtridges, 1963).

All these activities have played a great role in laying the foundation for the establishment of the current wildlife conservation system in Ethiopia. One very significant difference that is apparent from other countries of Africa is the lack of wildlife management experience from a colonial past (Ash and Atkins, 2009). This lack of experience was exacerbated by the comparative youth of the wildlife conservation system in Ethiopia, 27 years dating from October 1964, when compared with well over 80 years in neighboring Kenya, for example. This has been further compounded by the 17 years of general disruption, warfare, and scarcity of development resources over the “Revolutionary” period in the country (1974-1991) (Hillman, 1993).

Wildlife conservation in Ethiopia was evolved from the initial awareness of the finite nature of the wildlife due to the pressure for hunting for its own sake and by the expatriate tourist desire for hunting. The basis was laid for a system of wildlife conservation areas that encompassed the most important large mammal wildlife species. Wildlife tourism began in Ethiopia after the establishment of the system for game hunting (Ashenafi, and Leader-Williams, 2005).

## **4.4. Protected Areas and Wildlife Policy in Ethiopia**

### **4.4.1. Historical Development of Protected Areas Management**

In Ethiopia, the first wildlife regulation was introduced in 1908 during the reign of Emperor Menelik II. The main target of the law was to prohibit the hunting of young Elephants (EWCA, 2011; Azmeraw, 2018). In Ethiopia, ivory export increased between 1909 and 1910, but after the passing of the regulation in 1910, it significantly decreased (Duckworth, 2002). The first Preservation of Game Proclamation that was issued in 1944 defined wildlife as finite natural resources. After realizing the importance of wildlife as a valuable resource, the hunting license office under the ministry of agriculture was established in 1944 (Nishizaki, 2014). The increment of hunting and land use pressures necessitated the establishment of a wildlife conservation section alongside the utilization department for sustainable use of wildlife. Then, the Department of Forestry, Game, and Fishery was established in 1945 and began to endorse wildlife management issues. This idea was discussed during UNESCO general conference that was held in Paris, in 1962 by an Ethiopian Delegation:

*It is our wish to manage and develop (national parks and wildlife reserves) in such a way as to secure the preservation of their flora and fauna provide centers of biological and ecological research, and contribute to the growth of the national economy, especially through the development of tourism and game cropping (Grimwood, 1965)*

Following this announcement, in 1963 and 1965 two UNESCO missions visited Ethiopia and offered advice on how to form this new section by identifying areas suitable for the establishment of national parks and wildlife reserves. The 1965 advice of UNESCO was

undertaken by the government of His Imperial majesty, Haile Sillase I, with the formation of the EWCO within the MoA. However, the EWCO, until 1970, was not formally recognized as an autonomous body (Negarit Gazeta, 1970).

The first step that the newly created EWCO took was to establish several NPs, wildlife reserves, sanctuaries, and controlled hunting areas following the advice of the UNESCO team. In 1969, they legally established ANP & SMNP (Negarit Gazeta, 1969). No other national parks have been gazetted since that date.

In 1974, the Ethiopian monarchy was overthrown by Marxist revolutionaries and declared socialism; during this regime three PAs were established. Analogous to the previous government, the new government also applied a fortress conservation approach to wildlife management policies. Based on this policy, the local communities were banned from accessing and managing the natural resources in the PAs and NPs; and this took them into conflict against the conservation agenda. Consequently, in 1975 chaos ensued which made several of the EWCO's conservation areas to be overrun, and in most locations, the wildlife was heavily poached. For the next several years following, little was done by anyone with regards to conservation and natural resources management.

In 1978, the Ethiopian government publicly adopted the policy that stated,

*Wildlife has the right to exist and that wildlife resources are national heritages to be conserved and developed for the continued benefit of the present generation and the generations to come (Hillman, 1993).*

In 1979, the EWCO resumed its conservation efforts and prepared a document outlining a conservation policy known as the 1st “wildlife manager policy” for Ethiopia (EWCO, 2003). The main content of the policy included:

*The government is committed to conservation, and that the development and utilization of wildlife as a renewable natural resource should be undertaken with in the framework of social and economic planning process (EWCO, 2003;12).*

However, due to limited budget, the wildlife management policy was not formally ratified. After 1979, several revisions to this document were made (Hillman, 1993). In 1980, the Forest and Wildlife Authority was established, and in 1989, the Convention on International Trade of Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora (CITES) was ratified (Abdi et al., 2009).

However, in the political transition period of 1991, the local community tried to regain their land that they lost due to the establishment of PAs and NPs by destroying the natural resources and by attacking the park officers inside the PAs and NPs. After a while, the new government led by the Ethiopian People’s Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) started to rehabilitate the destroyed facilities of the park and protected areas (EWCO, 2003).

In 1993, the responsibilities of the Forest and Wildlife Authority were transferred to the Ministry of Natural Resources Development and Environmental Protection. In 1995, when the Ethiopia Constitution was established, the accountability of natural resource management was transferred to the Ministry of Agriculture (Nishizaki, 2014). The

constitution promoted ethnic states and regions by consolidating and extending government decentralization (The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, 1995). As a result, management of wildlife and PAs except the two federally administered areas, Awash and Yangu Derasa national parks, were transferred to the regional governments. This reflects a shift to a more community-oriented approach, perhaps influenced by global CBC trends (Hillman, 1993).

In 1998, the Biodiversity Conservation and Research Institute received the duties and responsibilities of the Wildlife Conservation Authority. In 2003, the responsibility was transferred to the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development; following this, between 1997 and 2008, ten PAs were established which increased the total area coverage of PAs (Nishizaki, 2014). The Ethiopian Wildlife Conservation Authority (EWCA) with a goal of facilitating active participation and unification of parks and other PAs in the name of wildlife conservation was established in 2007 (Nishizaki, 2014). Now a day, more than twenty national parks and three sanctuaries are found in Ethiopia. The area coverage of the PAs is estimated to be 52,478 km<sup>2</sup>, which seizes 4.7 percent of the total land area of Ethiopia (Mulugeta, 2017).

#### **4.4.2. Challenges of Protected Area Management in Ethiopia**

Forest degradation, conflict, grazing, and uncontrolled fire are amongst several challenges the management of protected areas in Ethiopia face.

The interference of human being is one of the main reasons for the changing of the forest resources of Ethiopia. Cutting of trees by the local people to use them for fuel, hunting, agriculture, housing development were widespread (Tewelde Birhan, 1989; Belachew, 2016). In Ethiopia, population increased at a rate of 2.6 percent annually (2007 population census report). It contributes lots for the existence of deforestation. The need for cultivated land, wood for fuel, and wood for construction materials increased with a rapidly growing population (Barry et al., 1999; Belachew, 2016).

For a long time, the relocated local communities were sparsely settled in the conservation areas; and they were also required to make use of resources beyond the safeguarded areas (Fiallo & Jacobson, 1995). Due to population increment, the unsustainable land use customs beyond the safeguarded places made the local communities' existence hard. Thus, the need for resources led the local communities to unlawfully make use of and subsequently tore down the natural resources within the safeguarded areas; and this brought them into conflict with protection authorities (Ayalew, 2001; Belachew, 2016). This implies that the eviction of the local communities from the resources they depended on in the name of protected areas establishment brought them in conflict with the government. The major bottleneck in wildlife conservation is the inadequate benefits that local communities derive from wildlife-related tourism (Asebe, 2012).

The country's geographical location and its physical feature have contributed a lot for the diversification of wildlife (Shibru, 1995; Negese, 2014). Most of the protected areas of the country are found on paper, but are diminished in their physical size or quality

(Schloeder & Jacobs, 1993; Belachew, 2016). The protected areas of Ethiopia faced with different challenges such as conflicts, increasing human pressure that impacted the habitat available to the native wildlife (Solomon, 2014).

Grazing is another essential concern for the management of the national parks and protected areas. In arid and semi-arid ecosystems, overgrazing by domestic livestock is an important cause of land degradation (Shibru, 1995; Fitsum and Bikila, 2018). Many wildlife species of Awash, Abijata-Shala, and Nechsar national parks were migrated to the other places due to encroachment of domestic cattle and over grazing that increased the competition with the wildlife for forage. These are also the main challenges for the conservation strategy of the country (Jacobs & Schloeder, 2001; Belachew, 2016).

Grazing is the main problem for Nechsar NP development. It negatively affected the biodiversity of the NP by exhausting the available grasses and related resources. The common use of the grassland plains by wildlife and domestic animals also increased the risk of disease transmission to and from wildlife. Similarly, the presence of domestic animals in the park made the park less attractive to tourists (Fitsum and Bikila, 2018).

Our Earth's ecosystem is highly affected by fire (Shibru, 1995; Belachew, 2016). Even though wildfires (non-controlled fires) repeatedly present a significant danger to public security, properties, and forest resources, one may still think that fire is a natural part of the environment. Bushfire that was caused by the local peoples was the major destructive agent in the Ethiopian protected areas. In the Nechsar National park, for example, fire by

Guji Oromo community was one of the main challenges of the park development (Desalegn, 2008; Fitsum and Bikila, 2018). Their culture of burning grasses before the rain season was one of the main causes of the bushfire that could destroy trees and grasses at the early stages of their growth. Fire bans result from well-meaning initiatives taken by politicians and technicians who have a good understanding of the role of fire in the ecology of dry land ecosystems (EBI, 2014).

#### **4.4.3. Legislation for Natural Resource Conservation and Utilization in Ethiopia**

Ethiopia has signed and ratified several multilateral international conventions including ‘The Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage’ (The World Heritage Convention, October 1977), ‘Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Fauna and Flora (CITES), July 1989’, and ‘Convention on Biological Diversity, June 1992’.

A review of Ethiopia’s wildlife legislation was conducted as part of this International Planning (IP) planning process. The national laws that are currently applied to wildlife conservation in Ethiopia are ‘Proclamation No. 94 of 1994’ to provide for the conservation, development, and utilization of forests, ‘Proclamation No. 192 of 1980’ for Forest and Wildlife Conservation, and ‘Proclamation No. 94 of 1994’ for Development Regulations for Wildlife Conservation. The gazetted notices for National Parks include the Awash National Park (Order No. 54 of 1969), and the Simien Mountain National Park (Order No. 59 of 1969).

The existing wildlife legislation in general neither reflects the changes that have occurred in Ethiopia over the past decade nor provides an enabling framework for EWCO to address the underlying problems facing wildlife conservation. One especially problematic issue for NP in this regard is a community use of natural resources within the Park. In general, the legislation prohibits community to use within national parks as is outlined in the 1980 Wildlife Conservation Regulations (Legal Notice No. 192),

Article 5(2):

“No person shall reside, hunt, cultivate, graze cattle or livestock, fell trees, burn vegetation or exploit the natural resources in any manner within a National Park unless such activities are used for the development and management of the park [emphasis added]”.

#### **4.4.4. Conservation and Environmental Policy of Ethiopia**

The Constitution for Ethiopia (1994), the National Conservation Strategy (1994), the Ethiopian Forestry Action Program (1994), and the Environmental Policy (1997) are the four key documents that provide the basis for the continuing development of conservation and environmental policy in Ethiopia (EWCA, 2014).

The Constitution for Ethiopia was approved by the Constituent Assembly, in December, 1994, and came into effect in mid-1995. Amongst other things it maintains land under the ownership of the Ethiopian people and government but protects the security of usufructuary tenure; it reinforces the devolution of power and local participation in planning, development, and decision making; it ensures the equality of women with men;

it ensures the appropriate management as well as the protection of the well-being of the environment, and Maintains an open economic policy.

Both the National Conservation Strategy and the Ethiopian Forestry Action Program have clear strategies for regionalization, and they also encourage the decentralization of authority over forests and protected areas.

The Environmental Policy of Ethiopia (EPE) also reflects the decentralizing approach and provides far greater support for local community participation in the protected area management and benefit sharing than is found in the legislation. The policy's overall goal is

*To improve the health and quality of life of all Ethiopians and to promote sustainable social and economic development through the sound management and use of natural, human-made and cultural resources and the environment as a whole so as to meet the needs of the present generation without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs (Environmental Policy of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, 1997:3).*

Concerning the planning and management of the PAs, the policy stresses promoting the participation of local communities inside and outside the protected areas.

*“To ensure that, the conservation of biological diversity outside the protected area system is integrated with strategic land use plans, local level plans and sustainable agricultural and pastoral production strategies; [and] to ensure that, park, forest and wildlife conservation and management programs which conserve biological diversity on behalf of the country allow for a major part of any economic benefits deriving there from to be channeled to local communities affected by such programs...” (Environmental Policy of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, 1997:10).*

The policy also emphasizes community participation, aiming to ensure that all phases of environmental and resource development and management, from project conception to planning and implementation, to monitoring and evaluation

are undertaken based on the decisions of the resource users and managers. The necessary legislation was developed, training, and financial support were given to empower local communities; so that they could acquire the ability to prevent the manipulated imposition of external decisions in the name of participation; and it can also ensure genuine grassroots decisions in resources and environmental management (Environmental Policy of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, 1997:19). Although Ethiopia has such legislation and law regarding natural resource conservation, there is a serious challenge of implementation to natural resource development. Some of the challenges are described as follows.

Nevertheless, the above policies, an enabling environment for community natural resource management, have neither been formally implemented nor converted into legislation. In addition, the Federal Ministry of Agriculture has been developing policy and legislation for protected areas/wildlife which is also adapted for the present-day conditions and emphases. A draft policy has been awaiting refinement for several years that is supposed to form the basis for more up-to-date legislation (Belay, 2015).

I argue that the conservation and environmental policy of Ethiopia encourages local community participation in natural resource management and benefit-sharing. For its implementation, the policy needs to develop strategies based on the real situation of the NP or protected area. These implementation strategies should be prepared by involving the local communities, so that their can easily be addressed. Be this as it may, most of the conservation and environmental policies adapted seemed to have been directly copied from the IUCN without

taking into consideration the real local situation. Though Ethiopia as a member of the IUCN should follow the guideline and policies developed by this organization, it needs to develop its own guideline based on the real fact and problem of the natural resource conservation in the ground. Besides, the policy should be legalized and implemented by providing sufficient budget.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **5. National Park Governance in Awash National Park**

This chapter describes the definition of national park governance in the minds of the local community, and experts and tries to compare with the existing and accepting definitions in the world. It also observes the governance policy that has been applied in ANP and its implementation strategy. In addition, it also sees the operationalization process of NP governance policy and its implication in the national park development and bringing advantage to the local community.

#### **5.1. Competing Definitions of National Park Governance in ANP**

In 2003, Graham and his colleagues; Borrini-Feyerabend et al, (2013) and Bruch, et al, (2016); defined national park governance in various ways. However, they have given similar meanings. They all emphasized the full and effective participation of relevant rights holders and stakeholders such as the local community, indigenous people, and other actors entitled customary rights from the NP. Also, to keep the full engagement of the local community or right holders, legislation and policy that used to conserve natural resources in the national park should incorporate the traditional and indigenous knowledge of the local community. Those scholars believed that if the policy emanated from the traditional knowledge of the local community, empowered the local community to access the natural resources that helped them to compensate costs incurred due to conservation regimes, as appropriate.

Though all these are the definition of the national park or protected area governance by scholars, my informants from the Afar community define national park governance as “it is the system that established by the national government used to conserve the natural resources in the NP”<sup>1</sup>. According to them the conserved and preserved natural resources or biodiversity has been used for tourism. They also believe that the advantages of tourism should be an alternative livelihood to the local community from eco-tourism by providing job opportunities and infrastructural development to the locality. The other informants from the Ittue and Karrayu community leaders also described the national park governance, “it is a system developed by the government to manage the NP through making the local community beneficiary”<sup>2</sup>. Likewise, the ANP office officers including the park warden, and EWCA wildlife conservation experts and researchers, have also explained NP governance as;

*It is a policy that has been established by the government in order to manage and develop the NP. They also include in their definition; the NP governance policy should give special emphasis on making the local community beneficiary and participatory from the established NP in order to build sustainable tourism development*<sup>3</sup>.

Both the government officials and the local community also added in their definition, good NP administration system ables to minimize the local level conflict that has been

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<sup>1</sup>FGD with Afar community leaders in March 2018, at Dudub village, Kebele administration office

<sup>2</sup>FGD with Karrayu community leaders in March 2018, Dehti village, Kebele administration office

<sup>2</sup>FGD with Karrayu community leaders in March 2018, Dehti village, Kebele administration office

<sup>3</sup>FGD with the previous ANP staff and current EWCA officers April, 2018, at EWCA office, AA,

happened in and around NP due to the shortage of resources such as water and grazing land by providing alternative livelihood to the local community from eco-tourism development.

The Afar community leaders have also added in their definition that,

*The NP governance policy that give due attention to locality development able to settle the conflict among the local community and the government that have been raised from the local community in order to protect customary right. In addition, the policy should allow us to contribute our traditional methods of natural resource conservation in ANP<sup>4</sup>.*

To conclude, all the key informants and FGD participants from the local community and park office believed that, the national park governance system should invite the full engagement and participation of the local community beginning from the national park establishment, interpretation, administration, and development till sharing the advantages from the conserved natural resources. They also emphasized that the NP governance should allow the local community to contribute their traditional methods of natural resource conservation. The main focus of the informants' assertion is that the NP governance policy in place should empower the local community in accessing and managing the natural resources in the ANP. This makes the local community accountable for the sustainable development of the NP. It will also minimize local level conflict in and around the ANP that has been raised due to a shortage of resources and fear of losing the customary land right.

This shows that the national park governance policy is developed by the government to

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<sup>4</sup>FGD with Afar community leaders in March 2018, at Dudub village, Kebele administration office

protect biodiversity in the national park by keeping all the advantages and rights of the local community who are living around. The other information that I got from the FGD participants and key informant interview also emphasized the NP governance policy should give priority to keep the advantages of the local community in accessing natural resources, and compensation for all costs incurred at the time of conservation and other activity. The policy should also allow the local community to contribute their local knowledge and practices in the conservation process. It approves the political ecology approach that advocates, the important contribution of environmental knowledge of indigenous people to conserve the natural resources in the NP or PAs (Dove, 2006).

## **5.2 National Park Governance Policy and Implementation Strategy in ANP**

There are four main types of NP governance policies that have been applied in the world: these are, Governance by the government (at various levels); Governance by various rights-holders and stakeholders together; Governance by private individuals and organizations; and Governance by indigenous peoples and/or local communities. When we come to the national park governance policy in Ethiopia, before the establishment of the national parks and protected areas as a legal institute, the natural resources of Ethiopia governed by the indigenous or local communities. The natural resources had been in the hands of the local community. Or the local community had been empowered and had a right to access and manage it in their traditional way.

That means in ancient times, among four different types of governance systems,

governance by indigenous peoples and local communities had been applied in ANP. In ancient times the local communities had been developed their natural resource management strategies that fit the opportunities and challenges of their environments. Most cultures created by humans were developing around the 'fitting' process by generating precious biocultural diversity (Posey, 1999). The local communities have done this not for the conservation of biodiversity rather for other purposes such as survival, security, spirituality, and beauty. However, on the way, they could achieve the conservation of ecosystems, species, and ecosystem-related values. So, around ANP the communities that are Karrayu and Afar had their traditional strategies used to manage, conserve, and enrich natural resources. Traditionally, access to pasture land was managed collectively. All the members of the society both from Afar and Karrayu had equal right to access the pastureland and water. They believed that grass and grazing areas are gifts of God. So protecting any person from accessing pastureland is considered as denying God. However, there was a rule developed by the local communities that accept the denial of accessing pasture, for instance, when a man's cattle are got sick (Ayalew, 2001). As a whole in ancient times before the legal establishment of ANP, the governance and management duty of the natural resources was done by the indigenous or local community.

At the beginning of 20th c, however, before the legal gazetion of ANP, parts of the Awash Valley have been governed by Emperor Hayle Sillasie I. Due to its abundance game reserve Imperial majesty Hayle Sillasie I had been protected and used it as hunting

ground (Grimwood, 1965). At this time, the third type of governance, governance by private individuals and organizations was applied to manage ANP. Private governance that allowed the monarchs and the aristocracies to preserve areas of land or the privilege to hunt wildlife had a long history in the world. Such private ownership has also continued until now. Today, many NGOs working on conservation buy, lease, or manage land particularly for conservation seeks to promote the welfare of others (Borrini-Feyerabend et al, 2013). Due to their sense of respect for the land and their desire to maintain the beauty and the ecological value of the area, individual landowners practice conservation works (Borrini-Feyerabend and Hill, 2015). So, to maintain the natural beauty of the area and use it for recreation purposes, Emperor Haile Sillasié I have been leased and manage the area till it's legal gazette as a national park in 1969 (Hillman, 1993).

After the legal establishment of the national park at the end of 20th c, the national park governance system is different from one regime to the other. But it governed by the government or it has been applied the type of governance system, governance by government. Here, the government has the responsibility to develop NP governance policies for each national park depending on their contexts (Solomon, 2014). But the national park government system that has been developed by the government in Ethiopia is the same across all national parks that are directly adopted from the IUCN without contextualization.

The area that endowed with beautiful flora and fauna that needed to be conserved and

preserved and also able to fulfill the criteria of IUCN that can be categorized as a national park can be gazetted as a National Park (IUCN, 2005). ANP that endowed with such attractive flora and fauna was gazetted as NP in the reign of emperor Hayle Selassie in 1969. ANP is among the first legally gazetted NPs of the country. Consequently, the then government didn't establish any specific management policy to manage ANP. Then, by taking the NP governance system that had been applied in the other African countries the government had begun to manage it.

The national park governance policy adopted from other African countries was known as conservationist/protectionist/fortress. Fortress conservation has followed an exclusionary approach that advocates the relocation of the local community from the NPs or PAs to conserve the natural resources effectively and efficiently (Spence, 1996). So, during the reign of Emperor Hayle Selassie I, all the managerial and management acts of the national park were done by the national government. It applied the type of national park governance system, governance by the government.

According to FGD participant and Key Informants description from the former ANP staff and current EWCA researcher, when the national government established the national park, the government started managing the national park based on proclamation. The proclamation had been considered as a policy. The government had declared officially to the public about the establishment of the NP in Negarete Gazeta. Regarding ANP, the national government officially declared through proclamation about the establishment of ANP in Negarit Gazeta order No 54 in 1969. The proclamation states that

*The preservation of Ethiopia's wildlife requires that national parks be created within which adequate protection will be afforded to these natural riches of the nation; and it appears to us appropriate that such a park be established in the vicinity of Awash station in the province of Shoa: now therefore, in accordance with Article 130 of our revised constitution and on the advice of our council of ministers "Awash national park" order 1969; there is hereby established within the province of Shao, the Awash national park, to be composed of the area defined by geographical longitude and latitude in degrees and minutes. ANP shall be administered in accordance with all applicable laws and regulations by the department of our government thereunto duly authorized" (Negarit Gazeta, order No 54 of 1969. Awash national park, page 24".*

So, at this time the proclamation was taken as a policy that used to manage the national park. The rules and regulations that used to manage the NP also reached the people including the local community who are residing around the park by such proclamation. Though all proclamations developed by the government, the rules and regulations developed to manage the national park strictly implemented without taking into consideration the local communities' interest. According to my informant, who is a former park warden, the then government believed that *"land is for the government"* and *"the government has a right to do what he wants on every land that believed as important to the country"*<sup>5</sup>. As a result, based on such declaration, the national government had established ANP by taking lands from the local community who were living in and around Awash Valley and begun to manage it by excluding the local community. When the government legally gazetted ANP in 1969, the power of the local community regarding accessing the natural resources and managing it traditionally had been limited.

In principle, when the government intended to establish NP in a certain locality, it should

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<sup>5</sup>Interview with the former ANP warden (1989-1992), now he is working in EWCA, June 2018, EWCA, AA,

discuss with the local community who have been residing there (Jacobe & Shoelder, 1993). Also, the government should provide fair compensation and substitution for the lost land. Though the government had such kind of responsibility to do before the establishment of the national park, the then government did not do it.

Based on my informants' description from the Karrayu community, the then government had given any information to the local community about the development projects including ANP that had planned to establish on their ancestral place. However, the government had taken their lands without having any agreement from the local community and established ANP. After a while, the government forced them to leave the area<sup>6</sup>. Hence, upon the expropriation of the land for the sake of ANP development to conserve the wildlife, the Karrayu community who lost their vast lands expressed their complaint to the Emperor and officials of EWCO many times. As a result, forty-two thousand Birr was promised to be given as compensation for the Karrayu community who was settled in Mogassa, Koboo, Sogido, and Dega Iddu areas whose properties and houses were destroyed during the eviction. The Emperor also instructed that sixty-three *gasha* of land located to the northwest of Mount Fentale to be taken away from the "rest" holdings of Dejazmach Woldegebrel Abaseitan and given to the Karrayu as a compensation for the loss of their grazing land. The area covers the bank of Kesem River and places like Choba, Melka Jillo, Foksso, stretching as far as Borchetta in Boset district. However, the promise will be accomplished after paying 60,000 Ethiopian Birr

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<sup>6</sup>Interview with elder from Karrayu community, March 2018, at ANP office, ANP

as compensation for the heirs of the said landlord (Ayalew, 2011).

However, regarding the discussion and reaching in agreement in the local community, some of my informants from the Afar community leader said that EWCO had a discussion only with the community leaders. According to them, the discussion was only for formality and fearing of uprising from the local community. According to my informant, *“the reason why EWCO in the reign of Emperor H/Selassie made a discussion with the community leaders of Afar and Oromo about the ANP establishment was because of his fear of conflict with those communities”*.<sup>7</sup> If emperor H/Selassie I failed to discuss with the local community leaders about the Awash National Park establishment on their locality, the community leaders would have mobilized the local community and had created confrontation against the government. Such action could have been an obstacle for the national government to establish the ANP. Through fearing such action, the then government had a discussion only with the community leaders. However, the community leaders that had a prior discussion with the government had a gap in fully transferring information and knowledge to the local community about the importance of national park establishment in their locality from conserving the natural resource and use it for tourism.

Besides, such information gaps the local communities' interest to live in their ancestral place was a problem for the establishment of ANP around Awash valley.

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<sup>7</sup>FGD with Afar community leaders in March 2018, at Dudub village, Kebele administration office.

According to my informant, from Karrayu community member “*despite the government had provided land for substitution, we have never accepted leaving our ancestral place. Rather, we had preferred to live in the very narrow places in and around the park that was our ancestral place*”<sup>8</sup>. Even if the local community had such kind of mentality and didn’t accept the establishment of the national park at the cost of their land, the then feudal government had established the Awash national park without having any consent from the local community. The dispossession of the customary right of the land could be among conflict drivers at both local and regional levels (Unruh & Williams, 2013).

The other informant from the Afar community leader has a different fact about the ANP establishment. According to him, the national park was established through agreement and consent of the local community leaders. The local community leaders convened with the importance of the establishment of NP in their locality that will help to conserve their natural resources and promote their locality as the best tourist attraction site that will be visited by many people from abroad. Also, it will open a new alternative livelihood through creating job opportunities to the local community by allowing them participate in various jobs of eco-tourism development and management activity in the park. According to them, as a result of the reign of Emperor H/Selassie, the natural resources of the ANP better conserved and look great<sup>9</sup>. That was because of the local communities’ great interest in the natural resource conservation in ANP. The local communities were also beneficiary from the conserved natural resources. They were allowed by the park officers

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<sup>8</sup>Interview with the Afar community member, former driver of ANP, August 2018 at ANP office,

<sup>9</sup>Interview with the Afar community leader, March 2018, at Dudub kebele

to cut and take grass that is well preserved inside the national park in the dry season. This advantage made the local community happy concerning the establishment the NP in their locality. Another informant from the Karrayu community has a different argument concerning the establishment of the NP in their locality. To him, although the conservation is good, its establishment is in contradiction to the interest and consent of the local community. He further states that, *“the reason why the natural resources had been best conserved not because of the cooperation of the local community in the natural resource conservation inside the national park, but the number of populations was small and small plots of land was enough to the local community to survive on”*<sup>10</sup>.

When the population increased and the policy couldn't provide any alternative livelihood opportunities to the local community as well as it involved taking away of their power of accessing the natural resource inside the ANP, it had changed the attitude of the local community. This made the local community to go against the ANP's establishment and conflict with the ANP officers.

Even though the local communities had such kind of mentality regarding the establishment of the NP in their locality, ANP was established in 1969 and began to manage and govern by the IUCN guidelines by the full engagement of the government. As Ethiopia is a member of IUCN and EWCO that was responsible for the management and development of the national park had followed and used the IUCN guideline as a way to manage the national park. Based on the guideline of IUCN, the Ethiopian

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<sup>10</sup>Interview with elder from Karrayu community, March 2018, at ANP office, ANP

government applied various national park governance policies. Fortress conservation and community-based conservation approaches have been the main national park governance strategies that has been applied in ANP and other NPs that exist in Ethiopia

### **5.2.1 Exclusionist Governance and Local Community Reaction**

Exclusionist or conservationist governance was the first NP governance policy that has been applied in Ethiopia. It is a managerial work that focuses on protecting and defending its borders from outsiders who are living around it (Spence, 1996). So, such kind of national park governance policy has been applied in Ethiopia in the reign of Emperor Hayle Selassie I. This took effect when the two national parks, ANP and Semen Mountain National Park (SMNP) established legally. The policy had transferred to the local community who were living around ANP and other people in the country about the national park governance policy through proclamation. The main contents of the proclamation were about the legal gazettion of ANP, the boundary delimitation, and also the area coverage. It also contained the strategy used to conserve natural resources. The proclamation had prohibited the local community from accessing resources in the park. It also denied the local community from entering the NP to feed their cattle, cutting trees, and other activities.

Based on the proclamation, the ANP office had established a rule and regulation about the park management especially the penal measures that had been applied to the local community who crossed the fence and feed their cattle inside the park. According to my

informant description, based on the rule and regulation that was established and applied by ANP office, *“someone who had been entered and feed his cattle in ANP was punished and forced to pay 10 birr for each cattle, 15 birr per each camel and 5 birr for each sheep and goat”*<sup>11</sup>. Due to this punishment the local communities reserved from entering and feeding their cattle in the NP. Such actions used to preserve biodiversity. According to them, at this time it was possible to find lots of wildlife in number and type in ANP. The land was also covered with huge forests and long grasses that serve as a shelter and food for the wildlife (Solomon, 2014).

According to my informant from Afar community explanation

*At the reign of Emperor Hayle Selassie, even if the local community didn't accept the establishment of NP at the cost of their land and the direct control of their land by national government, the biodiversity conservation was good or possible to say that it had meet the target of ANP establishment*<sup>12</sup>.

In addition, the local community had a great opportunity of cutting and taking grasses from the NP legally without disturbing the existence of biodiversity. But sometimes the conflict had been raised between the local communities who feed their cattle inside the NP via violating the law and Awash NP officers. According to my informant description from Ittue community, *“such conflict was raised by the local community in order to save the money they obliged to pay when they crossed the boundary of the NP”*<sup>13</sup>. But the conflict between the government and the local community was not serious. According to

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<sup>11</sup>Interview with the elders both from Afar and Karrayu communities, March 2018, at ANP office, ANP

<sup>12</sup>Interview with the Afar community member, at ANP office, ANP, August 2018

<sup>13</sup>Interview with the Ittue community member, March 2018, at Genet Hotel, Awash city

the information from the first FGD with the Afar community leaders,

*In the reign of Emperor Haile Selassie the reason why minor conflict had happened between the local community and ANP officers or among the local community itself was not because of the national park governance policy. It was because of the smallness of the number of populations living in and around the national park that only wanted small plots of land for farming and grazing<sup>14</sup>.*

From this, we can understand that in the reign of Emperor Haile Selassie, the national government had directly controlled and managed the natural resources of ANP. It curtailed the power of the local community from accessing the natural resources in the NP. Although the policy was good in preserving and conserving the natural resources, the local communities were not happy about the national park governance policy that excludes them from accessing and managing the natural resources based on their traditional way. Consequently, the policy had sometimes been a cause for conflict between the local community and government.

Besides the national park governance policy, the local community had a great complaint about the foreign park warden. Since there was no trained manpower to manage national parks in the country, the then park warden and other experts who were responsible to manage in ANP were foreigners. Such a thing had developed frustration on the minds of the local community that they were losing their ancestral places forever in the name of NP establishment. In other words, they were feeling like they were under colonization.

According to the informant from 2<sup>nd</sup> FGD with Karrayu community,

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<sup>14</sup>FGD with Afar community leaders in March 2018, at Dudub village, Kebele administration office.

*When the national government excluded us from any NP management activity and brought foreigners and other people out of our locality to manage it, gradually we had developed frustration of losing our ancestral places in the name of conservation<sup>15</sup>.*

The national park governance policy that excluded the local community from accessing and managing the area coincided with employment of foreign park wardens and other experts have made the local community to feel unhappy about the park establishment and went against conservation.

Unlike the sugar cane factory, the local community felt that the establishment of the park has provided nothing for them. Although the former itself had deprived them of their grazing land and access to water, it provided some support by hiring community members, mostly as guards. Moreover, the Estate supplies cane leaves and tops for the herders to use as animal feed. Besides that, the Karrayu were allowed access to the grass around the cane fields particularly at the time of the dry season. Whereas the ANP has provided nothing to the local community in this respects.

Consequently, the park development had got back. The local communities from Afar, Karrayu and Ittue communities said that, “the wildlife that was supposed to protect was being depleted at an alarming rate. We also lost our meager resources on fines for livestock trespassing”<sup>16</sup>. They believed that the park had no significant value either as an

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<sup>15</sup>FGD with Karrayu community leaders in March 2018, at Dehti village, kebele administration

<sup>16</sup>Interview with the elders both from Afar and Ittue communities, March 2018, at Genet Hotel, Awash city

institution of wildlife conservation or as a provider of some support to the community. Thus, the local communities' attitude towards the park became against to ANP. Their hostility has been further aggravated by their long-standing fear that the park authorities are still determined to push ahead with their claims that the Mount Fentale area and the Sabober plain lie within the originally gazetted park boundary.

The local community had expressed their grievance on the national park through lyric songs. As Ayalew, 2001; 216 Quoted from his informant's line, the line had deep emotive power used to express their disappointment to the Emperor at the time of his visit to the Abadir Fruit and Sugar cane plantation in 1970.

*Gadamissafi saalaa gaadi'uun elman bineenissa,  
Rabbiif janooi male maalittu nu jaalata hiyyeessa,  
Girmaayee kiyya diittaaan, summidhaan fixee loon dheessee biyyaa.*  
The deer and the Oryx cannot be tied up and milked like livestock,  
No other person except God and the Emperor loves us,  
My dear, your Majesty, the rich and powerful are killing off our animals by  
poison (Ayalew, 2001; 216).

Based on such lyrics the local community express their criticism about the national park governance policy that exclude them from using the area as grazing land for the sake of wildlife and tourism. It shows the injustice of national park governance that favor wild animals that doesn't give milk, butter, and meat like livestock (Ayalew, 2001; 216-217). "For your information, though contrary, to the pragmatic as well as the moral arguments in support of putting the local people first and of making conservation an integral part of human development, and that conservation goals should not be targeted at the expense of development goals". It therefore provides us with an impressive exemplification of

environmental injustice at work, with non-human fortune granted higher value than that of humans (Salih, 1999:52).

Therefore, in the reign of Emperor H/ Selassie I, the national park governance policy such as fortress conservation policy had no any acceptance by the local community in various ways including developing frustration that might be a cause for losing their ancestral places.

During *Derg* reign, the government had followed the same national park governance policy of the prior regime, the conservationist approach. Similar to Emperor H/Selassie I regime there was no any policy that has been used to manage the national park, but used the proclamation as policy to govern the ANP. The proclamation also supported the separation of the local community from nature that their livelihood depends. The government had applied fortress conservation approach and expropriated the local community from their lands that they used as a dry season grazing land without providing any alternative livelihood opportunity. At this time the local community who lost their lands without any alternative livelihood opportunity were went against the ANP establishment. They were crossing the fence and feed their cattle inside it with in irresponsible manner. When they were caught-up by the scout or other experts of the park, the local communities were forced to pay fine to the park in each and every ones cattle. Then, serious conflict between the local community and the park officers had taken place. According to my informant from the former ANP officer,

*Even though the physical situation of the NP was look good, the local community was not happy with the conservationist policy of the NP that had separated them from their grazing land. The other main reason that forced the local community to develop resentment against the NP was the punishment measures taken by the government when the local community committed mistake by sending their cattle in side the NP<sup>17</sup>.*

My informant from the Karrayu community leader emphasized that;

*Besides losing our land due to ANP establishment, when we had crossed the fence and feed our cattle inside the NP, the park officer had punished us. Such punishment measure taken by the park officer against the local community had never accepted by us. So, in order to escape from such punishment, our community members whom caught up by the park officers when they were feeding their cattle inside the NP and obliged to pay punishment payment had open a conflict against the NP officer. Some times, our community member had shoot and killed the scouts and other officers of the NP. He also remembers one event, one day the national park officers had made a patrol in side the park that they did every two weeks in order to know the situation of biodiversity via counting the number and type of wild animals. Or they were doing their regular job. Unfortunately, they saw herders that feed their cattle in the NP. They were running to them and trying to catch them up for punishment. At this time, the herders who were afraid of any punishment from the park officers and government were throwing a stone and kicked up one of the experts and seriously wounded him<sup>18</sup>.*

Here, we can understand that the policy that took the power of the local community to access natural resources inside the park coincided with the punishment measure made them disappointed and felt irresponsible towards ANP development.

The other main incident that made worse the situation in the reign of Derge about the local community and national park interaction, the proclamation that nationalizes all rural lands. As a result, sixty-three *gasha* of land including Mount Fentale area had become

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<sup>17</sup> Interview with the former ANP officer, from 1986-1989, June 2018, EWCA, AA,

<sup>18</sup> Interview with elder from Karrayu community leader, March 2018, at ANP office, ANP

under the control of the national government. The area was part of ANP at the time of the legal gazettion of the park. However, through the frequent appeal by the Karrayu and the promise made by Emperor Haile Sillassie I, the area was given to the Karrayu community. In the *Derge* reign, due to the government policy of nationalizing land, the national government took the area around Fentale Mountain and made it part of ANP (Asnake, 2010). When the government took this much land from the Karrayu territory, the land getting narrow and the community encountered a shortage of grazing land. This was aggravated after the migration of the Ittue and Somali community to Awash Valley and settled around it. Such land policy that expropriates the local community who were living around Awash Valley for the development of the commercial farm and national park, left the Karrayu territory to be overcrowded and overgrazed. The area came to be grazed or inhabited beyond its carrying capacity. As we know, in overgrazed land, the productivity and ability to sustain livestock has declined. According to Mohamed Salih (1997), such kind of conservation call as” conservation without a human face” and the resultant displacement of the herding population to marginal areas are very dangerous to the environment. According to Mohamed (1997), such conservation-induced displacement with the disempowering development intervention, in the cause of Karrayu, will make worse environmental degradation and it will also destroy the main source of income and livelihood of the community (Salih, 1997). Consequently, the area around Awash Valley had been degraded from time to time and unable to be a good place for the conservation of wildlife and domestic animals around it.

According to the information from FGD with Afar and Karrayu community leaders: “ANP officers couldn’t protect the existence of the wildlife rather they were the cause for the destruction of the wildlife and their habitat”<sup>19</sup>. The local community further argue that the park is unable to protect the ever habitat of wildlife. However, based on such reason, it had been pushing human residence out of the area. The national park officers, on the other hand, accused the local communities that were responsible for decreasing the number of wildlife in the NP through poaching. In response to this, the local communities claimed that the park authorities were the ones to be blamed for this as they encouraged licensed hunters to operate in the hunting zone for leisure and for food to the tigers and lions. So, in spite of the huge size of the protected park area, the local community says, “the number of wild animals particularly that of Beisa Oryx, Soemimering’s Gazelle, and Defarssa waterbuck had significantly decreased due to migration to the other place”. The local communities argued that before the establishment of the NP, the wild animals used to co-exist with their livestock without being threatened by and causing harm to the livestock and the community. Specifically, the herbivorous ones like the Oryx and Gazelle freely mixed and peacefully grazed with the domestic animals. The local community said that they protected such wild animals with regarding to their own livestock and never caused harm as claimed by ANP officers. Because they believed that mistreating the wild animal will bring about evil on their livestock. They argue that such a traditional belief of theirs about the evil consequence of badly treating wild animals had

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<sup>19</sup>FGD with Afar and Karrayu community leaders at Dudub village, Kebele administration office and Debti village, Kebele administration office respectively and FGD with Ittue community leaders in March, 2018, at Illal village, Kebele administration office

a great conservation value.

However, regarding the destruction of the natural resources and decreasing of wild animals, the local community related to the anger of God (*Waaqa*). They believe that *Waaqa* saw the injustice those park authorities' immoral action in favoring wild animals over humans and throwing the local community out of their settlement. However, both the local community and park management admit the decline of number of wildlife in ANP. In response to this problem, it is better to adopt an alternative community-based conservation strategy (Ayalew, 2011). Community-Based Conservation (CBC) has come to dominate conservation discourse since the 1980s. Here it is argued that local people should be empowered in the area accessing and managing the protected areas or NPs. This has been the result of development thinking wherein participatory and bottom-up approaches have been put forward. With that in mind, the focus of conservation has consequently shifted from preservation to sustainable use, with income creation through controlled resource extraction, ecotourism, regulated trophy, and subsistence hunting, and other activities integrated with conservation objectives playing a central role (Siurua, 2006).

As a whole, in the reign of the Derg the local community attitude towards the NP governance policy and ANP establishment was also negative. As a manifestation, at the transitional period of the Derg to EPRDF, the local community had crossed the boundary of the NP and settled inside the park. That action taken by the local community could seriously damage the NP and the biodiversity (Jacobe & schloder, 2001).

Since the fortress conservation approach had not accepted by the local community and couldn't bring the expected result of national park development, the Ethiopian government adopted another type of national park governance policy. This is a Community based national park governance policy.

### **5.2.2. Community Based National Park Governance and its Livelihood Impact**

At the current regime, Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF), the government has used other types of national park governance approach such as community-based conservation that is completely different from the previous one. Community-based conservation is a natural resource conservation approach that advocates a bottom-up way of conservation that empowers the local community to involve in conservation work and benefit-sharing (Adams, & Infield. 2001). The central point of this approach is sustainable development. CBC approach emphasizes that to bring sustainable development it needs to integrate the conservation of biodiversity with human needs (IUCN, 1980). So, starting from this date, IUCN member countries began to use such a community-based conservation system at different times.

Ethiopia, as a member of IUCN, has applied a community-based conservation system of national park governance at the end of the 1990s. CBC governance system is a little bit different from the governance by indigenous peoples and local communities that used before the legal establishment of the ANP. In such governance the involvement of the national government in bringing new technology regarding natural resource conservation and legalization was limited. The local community only managed through their traditional

experience and knowledge. Every activity of management and benefit-sharing was in the hands of the indigenous or local community.

When we are coming to ‘community-based conservation’ or participatory management’ system that is introduced in Ethiopia in 1990s, have some sort of difference from the previous ones that were governance by the indigenous or local community and governance by the national government. This strategy has empowered the local communities to be involved in conservation work. It helps to settle hostile relations among the local residents and the Protected Areas (PAs’) or NP by motivating the local community participation in NP management that able to keep their economic advantage (Strickland--Munro, & Moore, 2013).

Based on this approach, the Environmental Policy and the Conservation Strategy of Ethiopia that was developed in 1997 has been recognized customary rights of access to and use of land and natural resources by the local community. The policy also ensured that the development and management of environmental resources are undertaken based on the decision of the resource users and managers. Besides, it recommended that traditional community institutions of resource management, constitutionally acceptable, and preferred by the local people should be legally empowered to regulate the use and management of natural resources. The strategy has also raised the value of local indigenous knowledge and encouraged communities to play a leading role in assessing and conserving places or heritage. The policy incorporates the management of natural resources by understanding all the elements of the system and their interrelationship. For

instance, the development of important legislation that needs to provide training and financial support to empower local communities. It will also assess the environmental impacts of public and private sector development programs and projects by introducing the precautionary principle by analyzing the possibility of bringing damage to the pastoral areas. The policy is generalized that the procedures of environmental impact assessments should be independent and incorporate public components, such as social, socio-economic, political, and cultural dimensions<sup>20</sup>.

The environment policy and the conservation strategy have advocated the indigenous governance system. It supports the idea of bringing new ideology and technology that helps settle conflicts and other social problems. It helps to coordinate and make a simple tourism development process in a certain locality through building partnerships among the community-private sector and government. It promotes the establishment of an agreement between the local community and the government in the area of equitable benefit sharing (Mulugeta, 2017).

The environment policy of the country advocates local community participation and empowerment. Then, it shows the application of the CBC system in Ethiopia. However, the CBC system that has been applied in Ethiopia since the 1990s has no implementation strategy and frameworks or pillars. According to my informant from Amhara National

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<sup>20</sup>Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (April 2, 1997). Environmental Policy. Addis Ababa: Environmental Protection Authority in Collaboration with the Ministry of Economic Development and Cooperation.)

Regional State (ANRS), Environment protection and development (EPD) office higher expert explanation;

*In Ethiopia, including ANP there is no legal policy and proclamation that has approved by the national government regarding the application of the community-based conservation system that empower the local community to access and manage the NP based on traditional knowledge. The government has agreed up on CBC system that IUCN implemented and give opportunity to each NP and PA to develop their own strategy of managing NP or PAs based on their exact situation. Based on this strategy each NP including ANP offices has got a chance to establish their own policy that will make the local community participatory in natural resource conservation and ratified or approved by the Federal council. However, except SMNP and Menze Gosa Conservation area, almost all the NP and PA of Ethiopia have never established policy that gives power to the local community and legalized it at Federal or Regional council<sup>21</sup>.*

The same is true in ANP.

The then park warden also assures the problem of having applied CBC policy in ANP.

According to him,

*The office has included CBC approach in the mission section of the five years strategic plan of the ANP. The mission of the office also adopted from the strategic plan of EWCA. It incorporates CBC system in one sentence. The mission said that, "Conserving the biodiversity and Developing ANP by making the local community participatory and beneficiary". But, it has no any legal system or guideline that shows how the local community will be participatory from the NP management. As a result the local community couldn't be involved in the management or other activity in the NP<sup>22</sup>.*

According to the information from FGD with EWCA staff description;

*The policy that advocate the community participation from the management and accessing of natural resources has been found as policy in the paper via taking directly from IUCN. It doesn't modify and implemented based on the exact situation of NP or PA in the country. Similarly, it doesn't make the local*

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<sup>21</sup>Interview with the current Amhara National Regional State (ANRS), Environment protection and development (EPD) office higher expert, May 2019. Bahir dar

<sup>22</sup>Interview with the current ANP warden, serving 2013- 2019, December 2019, ANP office.

*community empowered to participate in management issues. It means, the local community involvement including the natural resource management is very limited. In the other direction, it doesn't creat job opportunity to the local community*<sup>23</sup>.

The local communities who are living around the park also emphasized the negligence of the local community from having employment opportunities from the park.

According to my informants from the Afar and Karrayu community;

*Based on the CBC approach, the job that has been created in the national park should give priority to the local community. But almost all the park officers including the natural resource conservation experts are employed out of the local community. A small number of the local community members are employed in the NP as a scout with a very small salary that is a gross salary of 2333 birr per month. However, the other staff members working in ANP such as the park warden and other experts who are coming from other places have got good salary as compared to the scout that is between 5000 and 9000 birr per month*<sup>24</sup>.

Overall, there was a sense of disappointment because of the unfulfilled expectations of the locals concerning the benefit of the ANP from direct employment (Tessema et al., 2007). At Laikipia National Park, Kenya, despite differences in the level of education and wealth among respondents, direct benefit to the community was reported as a leading factor to influence the attitude of local communities towards wildlife (Gadd, 2005). As a result, direct benefit to local communities has been put forward as a solution to improve Parks (Jones, 2005).

According to them, besides losing such job employment advantage, now-a-days, the local communities are not allowed to take a fodder for their cattle from the national park legally. They only take the fodder from the national park through illicit ways such as

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<sup>23</sup>FGD with current EWCA officers in April 2018, at EWCA office, AA,

<sup>24</sup>Interview with the Afar community and Karrayu community member, at ANP office, ANP, August, 2018,

looting in an unorganized and careless way that damages the NP. They also feed their cattle inside the NP. Such action damages the national park and became a reason for the loss of the natural beauty of the park. This is because of the lack of the feeling of belongingness among the local community. They never take the NP as their property rather a property of others. One of my informants from Afar community leader describe the insignificant of ANP as a livelihood opportunity in the following way;

*In fact, we feel that the survival of our livestock is directly linked to the fate of wildlife. He explains the stark contrast between current resources conditions and earlier times, citing degraded pastures as a primary reason for trespassing with in ANP. I by myself has proud of ANP's contribution to the national economy through tourism, but the local community received little direct and indirect benefit from the tourism industry. ANP hired few locals onto their staff and we believed that the local community should have a priority for jobs. It is noted that many ANP to local community conflicts has been raise from misunderstandings because many ANP staff haven't been from the locality. I believed that the ANP's future depends on improved community relations. I wished to see more local jobs and local ownerships right over some ANP resources including access to pasture and water during dry season<sup>25</sup>.*

This shows the limitation of the policy regarding empowering the local community in accessing and managing the natural resources in the NP. The management system is still in the hands of the government. It doesn't allow the local community to manage natural resources in ANP based on their traditional knowledge. Then, it doesn't develop ownership in the minds of the local community to wards the park. As a whole, it does not apply the political ecology approach that emphasis on the significance of incorporating local community decision (Hanna and the Property Relations Group, 2003).

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<sup>25</sup>Interview with Afar community leaders in March 2018, at Genet Hotel, Awash city

### **5.3 Operationalization Process of the Governance and Management Strategy in ANP**

Management and governance of national park have different narratives but they are closely related. Management has mainly focused on technical aspect of conservation. However, governance is more related with political issues such as power related with policy development in the area of conservation (Borrini-Feyerabend and Hill, 2015). However, both management and governance are importance for sustainability of the NP. Consequently, the two Naturalists James Stevenson (1946) and Peter Chalmers (1931) explain about the importance of NP management in order to sustain the life of the biodiversity in the NP.

The two naturalists James Stevenson (1946) and Peter Chalmers (1931) believed that the park warden or the management staff in the NP has a right to do what seems important to natural resource conservation. They have also a possibility of shooting unhealthy animals in the NP that can affect others' wellbeing (Adams, 2004). Such type of management system that empowered the park wardens in managing the natural resources in the NP also applied in Ethiopia. The national park office officers and the park wardens have a right to manage the NP via developing management structure. Based on such an assumption, at the time of ANP establishment in Ethiopia, the government had developed the management structure and employed various experts including the park warden. All the experts on the NP had been responsible for the park development. At the reign of Emperor Haile Selassie I, the park wardens, and most experts were foreigners. In the next

reign, Derg & EPRDF, the policy had tried to incorporate Ethiopian as an officer and park warden in ANP but not the local community. However, those wardens and park officers from Ethiopia or abroad had totally controlled the power of managing the natural resources and never allowed the local community to access the natural resources in ANP. Rather punishing them when they were crossing the fence and feed their cattle inside the park.

Even though the park wardens or experts have such rights regarding natural resource conservation, they have operationalized the NP governance policy based on the established structure. The policy and strategy of ANP were formulated by the Ethiopian wildlife conservation organization (EWCO). But it was adopted from the guidelines of IUCN since Ethiopia is an IUCN member. The EWCO was a government organization that was under the ministry of natural resource development and environment protection (MoNRDEP). It had the authority and responsibility for the management and development of Ethiopia's natural resource and conservation areas. Its objective was to ensure the conservation and development of Ethiopia's natural resources, to educate and integrate the local people in the process, and to contribute to the future progress of the people of Ethiopia in relation to its economy, science, and recreation (Hillman, 1993). In order to achieve its mission, EWCO has been working with various international, private, and governmental organizations that are committed to the preservation of biological diversity. Among those organizations one is the wildlife conservation society (WCS). WCS is a private organization based in the US that is dedicated to the

preservation of biological diversity, maintenance of the ecological processes, and the maintenance and sustenance of the environment by planning of human activities and use of the world's natural resources. Internationally, it provides assistance to foreign governments, institutions, and local authority, in the form of wildlife conservation research, training programs, and advisory expertise. With the help of various international organizations working in the area of natural resource conservation and protection, ANP has got a chance to develop the general management plan in 1989 (Hillman, 1993).

The Awash National Park, the first protected area of Ethiopia had a chance to develop a general management plan. Protected area general management plans (GMPs) are intended to guide and facilitate the management of park resources, the uses permitted in the area, and the infrastructure development needed to support that management and use. An important underpinning of a GMP is the setting of goals and objectives to guide the management and development of the NP. These objectives in turn provide a framework for determining what activities need to be implemented when to take them, and the human and other resource requirements needed to implement them. A GMP is, therefore, an essential tool for identifying management needs, setting priorities, and organizing an approach to the future. The first plan was completed in 1990 (Lane et al, 1993). But few of its recommendations were carried out due to lack of resources and the political instability within Ethiopia at the time.

In the early 1990s, EWCO identified the need for a new management plan to ANP, which

was prepared with support from the Wildlife Conservation Society (WCS) by two American zoologists over a period of two years (Jacobs & Schloeder, 1993) and covered the period 1993-1997. The aim of the planning process was to conduct research into the ecology of the park and its wildlife as well as to find the main problem that happened in the local community. The planning process also intended to provide the training opportunity to ANP staff in the area of research, conservation, and management techniques. The training includes the development of an educational program and tourist plans. The plan gave recommendations for both the management of ANP and the development of local communities. Although this second plan was complete and, in many respects, it was an innovative document, it had shortcomings, specifically on the reflection of the local communities' views and needs. Nor did it create or advocate specific mechanisms for the future involvement of communities in resource management.

In recent years conservation experts have argued that the long-term sustainability of many areas of value for conservation will depend on a significant redistribution of benefits and responsibility towards the people that are dependent on the resources for their livelihoods. Furthermore, many communities had effective tenure and natural resource management systems in the past which may form the institutional basis for sustainable management in the future (Lane et al., 1993: 3). Based on such ideas Awash National Park interim management plan from 2003 – 2006 was established.

The structure has contained the organization of the working staff, their specific duty, and

responsibility. According to the structure, the scouts has selected from the local community. Scouts are working as a guard mainly responsible for taking care of the biodiversity and wellbeing and behavior of tourists in the park. This includes protection of tourist from the bites of wild animals and also protecting the biodiversity from the misuse of the tourists such as cutting flowers, hunting animals, feeding animals, and others. The scout have gun and accompany tourists when they are moving inside the park. The other responsibility of the scout beginning from the NP establishment at the reign of Emperor H/ Selassie till the current government is protecting the local community from entering the park with their cattle. But such action has also been the responsibility of the park officer including the park warden. Similarly, the NP has employed lots of professionals who graduated from various related disciplines of natural resource conservation and development; tourism, and social development. But, most of them are not from the local community. Because most of the local community members couldn't fulfill the criteria of employment opportunity in the NP or they have no BA degree or Diploma in the disciplines that the park office needed to accomplish the works in the NP. In addition, the national government couldn't provide any special criteria that help the local community to be employed as an expert or officer in the NP. Because like other civil service organizations, the ANP office has also managed by the rules and regulations developed by the national government in order to employ the civil servants. The competent ones will be employed as an expert in the national park office. Those experts have a responsibility of doing research and developing the biodiversity of the NP through keeping the interest of the local community. According to the information from FGD

with the Afar and Ittue community leaders, the local communities were not happy with the government employment system. They said:

*At the time of the NP establishment, most of the park office workers including the park warden were foreigners. It had created frustration in the minds of the local community. We thought, like our land has invaded legally by foreigners in the name of natural resources conservation. Now days, though the government has stopped employing foreigners in the NP, almost all the experts in the NP are out of our community. We, the local communities who are living around the NP are employed only as a scout with a minimum wage. The other professional jobs including natural resources conservations are on the hands of other people. As a result, we all are not happy about ANP that doesn't bring any job opportunity advantage to us<sup>26</sup>.*

The government takes as a reason why the local communities are not employed as an expert and warden in the NP, because they are not graduated from the university or they are not professionals. According to my informant from EWCA an expert of Research and training facilitation department,

*EWCA had asking the Civil Service & Social Affairs commission to improve the employment strategy and criteria, specifically in the national parks and protected area. The office has been suggested some important points that help the local community to be employed as an expert in specific jobs that can perform by the locals from the traditional experience. These are natural resource conservation and community mobilization and development areas without having a BA degree or other official certificate. However, till now the government never improve the employment criteria of NP and provide an opportunity to the local community to be employed as expert with a good salary. And the park couldn't provide alternative livelihood opportunity to the local community by creating job. This also made the local community to reframe from applying their traditional natural resources management knowledge to ANP<sup>27</sup>.*

But it couldn't be a reason for not employing them. The local community has its

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<sup>26</sup>FGD with Afar community leaders in March 2018, at Genet Hotel, Awash city& FGD with Ittue/Karrayu community leaders in March 2018, at Genet Hotel, Awash city

<sup>27</sup>FGD with EWCA officers in April 2018, at EWCA office, AA

traditional knowledge of the conservation of natural resources. They were conserving natural resources through traditional knowledge for a long period before its establishment as an NP. So, the government should take into consideration the traditional knowledge as an input for biodiversity conservation and try to employ them as expert specifically on the natural resource conservation and community development area. Employing the local community as an expert and use their traditional knowledge as an input for the conservation of natural resources is vital from the perspective of empowering the local community and make them responsible for the existence of the park. It also the best method used to minimize local level conflicts around ANP.

Similarly, it can meet the target of its establishment that is natural resource conservation and local community development. Menze Gosa community conservation area and SMNP are the best examples that able to empower the local community from accessing the natural resources in the PAs and managing it. They have developed their strategy or policy from their current situation perspective and get approval (legality) from the Regional council. These are SMNP and Menze Gosa community protected areas (ANRS-EWCA, 2019). They have also got an alternative livelihood opportunity from the eco-tourism development.

SMNP is the only natural resource-based world heritage site in Ethiopia (Mulugeta, 2017). It is also the oldest and first NP of the country like ANP. In the SMNP, the local community has been empowered and allowed to participate in the management and other

activities in the national park. The local community has participated from the NP in various ways and it becomes an alternative livelihood from eco-tourism. For instance, members of the local communities have served as tour guides, scout and have got a regular payment per day. They also involved in the community lodge that has been established by the park office in four campsites of the NP via providing various services to the tourists, such as food preparation, renting cookerries, providing firewood and renting tent, mat, and sleeping bag to the tourist. Also, the community provides mule renting and riding service to the tourist and being beneficiary in two ways such as from the rented mule and the service who provides as mule rider. Also, there is an ecotourism Association in SMNP.

Almost all the community who are living around the park is a member of the association. The association is totally in the hands of the local community. It is a legal institute (ANRS-EWCA, 2019). They have their council, rule, and regulation of managing the NP and making their community participatory. They do everything by their plan but they only get technical support from the government. Here in SMNP, the local communities who are living around are empowered to manage and access the resources of the park (ANRS-EWCA, 2019). Then, conflicts between park officers and the local community will be minimized. Consequently, as compared to other NP in Ethiopia including ANP, the biodiversities are well conserved and tourist flow is high (EWCA, 2014).

Like SMNP, Menze Goza community conservation area has made a similar achievement

in the area of conservation of the natural resources through empowering the local community in biodiversity conservation and accessing (ANRS-EWCA, 2019). Menze Goza community conservation area is found in Siemen Shewa Zone, Menze Gera Mider Woreda 265 km far from Addis Ababa in the Northwest, and 135 km far from Debre Birhane (the main city of the Zone). The total area of the Menze Goza community conservation area is about 7800 Hectare and its elevation is 3200-3700 MASL (ANRS-EWCA, 2019). The place had traditionally conserved by the local communities for more than four hundred years. However, in 2012 with the proclamation number 97/2004 legally established as a protected area by ANRS Council (ANRS-EWCA, 2019). The community conservation area has managed by the members of the council that are collected from the Nine-border kebele of the area.

Also, they have an office that contains around 65 employees that are responsible for the conservation of natural resources and making the local community development. All the employees of the office are recruited from the local community. The office independently collects revenue from the park in various ways and it is fully responsible for managing the protected area. The money collected by the office from the PA in various ways is used to build infrastructure and tourist facility development such as road and lodge. Here the local community is beneficiary from the PA directly and indirectly. On the other hand, it is under the full control and management of the local community. The only thing that the government involved is for technical assistance and paying salary for the PA officers. The employment process such as recruitment of the employees has done by the

office and the Council. Consequently, the local community is so committed and responsible for the conservation of PA. They never participate in illegal hunting, grazing, and cutting of trees.

Based on ancestral trends that have been accustomed in cultural traditions that they used to manage their natural resources, the council allows the local community to cut the grass and take the fodder from the conserved area once every four years. The local community also allowed to do grazing activity inside the protected area only for two months within the four-year interval. As a result of this, the Menze Gossa community conservation area is well conserved and the number of tourists is increasing from time to time. Motivated by their success in conserving the 7800 Hectare land and able to keep the ecology of their locality, the community council is planning to add more lands from the community grazing area into the conservation site (ANRS-EWCA, 2019).

These two places are the only NP and PA that fully empower the local community in Ethiopia. As a result, they are successful in conserving biodiversity. Likewise, it has better local community participation and tourist flow. So, to conserve the biodiversity in the ANP, I argue, the local community should be empowered and directly involved in the NP management and be a direct beneficiary from the park.

#### **5.4. The Pillars and Frameworks of Awash National Park Governance**

The worldwide existence of national parks alone however is not enough (Wells, et al, 1992). To be functional, national parks need well mature management including the appropriate management plans. The natural resources conservation framework in Ethiopia has many and varied facts to it, and currently little by way of an integrating mechanism, land use and development, and the exploitation of natural resources, are the main factors that affect conservation. The activity has done independently by various responsible departments and ministries' (EWCO, 1993). The frameworks of ANP have been organized and taken from the established management plan. The function of the MP is to balance the use of natural resources, tourism, and the needs of the people living in the ANP (Holden, 2008). Each management plan should ensure that the concerned national park has "a clearly defined direction for resource preservation and visitor use" (EWCO, 1993: 23).

ANP has specific frameworks that used to manage and develop the park, such as strengthening the park surveillance activities and creating effective patrolling force through re-organizing the existing staff. It performs a consistent intervention, monitoring, and evaluation programs by the national parks and sanctuaries and other concerned directorates. It also works in improving the park logistics that are necessary for effective management to establish a task force that includes key stakeholders to devise mechanisms that help to reduce the ongoing pressure on the park. The framework includes the facilitation of collaborative works and law enforcement by creating a mutual

understanding with the local administrations, security forces, and the judiciary bodies. It also intended to establish community-based conservation systems by creating a mutual understanding between the community and the park management to enhance collaborative works for conservation (EWCA, 2009). Also, zonation and core areas establishment has been part of the framework in the ANP governance. The following are the schemed zone of the ANP. The scheme that divides the Park into geographical units (zones) where various alternative strategies for management, development, and sustainable use will best accomplish the Park's management objectives. Such zone types have permit community resource use. Three management zone categories have been identified for application in ANP as part of a pilot multiple-use zone scheme. These are the Biodiversity Protection and Recreation Zone. This zone will include what is presently referred to as the core area of ANP and will focus mainly on the conservation of biodiversity and for tourism use. The zone is also likely to incorporate smaller areas in the park where unique resources need to be strictly protected. These areas included Ilala Sala Plains, Fentale Caldera, Volcanic Blisters, Hot springs, Doum palms, Awash River falls, gorge and riverine forest Gedda, Degaga, Seblala & Kudu Valley areas. The main things allowed to do in the Zone are Tourism and other low impact recreational purposes. Here also able to do management-oriented research especially on limited community use. Though the biodiversity protection and recreation zone are primarily a conservation zone, the zone is not allowed for community use. However, certain exceptions will be made with the approval and monitoring of ANP management, including Cutting & carrying of grasses during dry (drought) season, traditional/ cultural ceremonial places, and

collection of medicinal plants. All other forms of community use, and in the particular settlement, construction of services, cattle grazing and watering, farming, and fuel-wood collection are all prohibited within this zone (EWCA-ANP, 2018).

Integrated Resource Use Zone. This zone will provide a buffer zone between the community and biodiversity protection zones and will be managed by EWCO in collaboration with the communities according to a set of both conservation and development-oriented guidelines and prescriptions. It located; Mount Fentale, Doum palms area, and Dunkuku area. The main uses to be allowed in this Zone are Tourism and other low impact recreational purposes; Research, especially applied management-oriented research; and also community use, for example, cattle grazing and watering, cutting & carrying of grasses during dry (drought) season, domestic fuel-wood collection (collection of raw materials, including the sustainable use of Doum Palms, collection of medicinal plants and wild honey collection, fishing, and beekeeping (EWCA, 2009).

While a significantly wider range of community uses is permitted in this zone than in the Biodiversity Protection and Recreation Zone, there are prescriptions against more major and long-term forms of community development activity in the Zone. In particular, construction of new settlements and social services (schools, clinics, water) is prohibited in this Zone, and commercial cattle rearing and farming activities are also not permitted (EWCA-ANP, 2018).

Community Use Zone. The responsibility for the management of this zone will be transfer to the local communities. This has done based on the management guidelines and prescriptions that are still working and developed by the agreement of the local community and EWCO. The zone has included areas within ANP already being used intensively by the communities. These are Sabober Plains, Qobo & Benti Plains, Halaka Plains, Sabure village area, Kara area, and Daka-Ake area (Girmi). The main management targets for the community use zone are reducing the impact of the local community over the natural resources of ANP. It also aimed to enhance the local community's livelihood through the creation of realistic and appropriate community development and sustainable natural resource management opportunities. It also focused on improving the rangeland conditions of the Park and surrounding areas. Besides, it emphasizes the rehabilitation activity in the degraded habitats in and around ANP. Besides, the management system mainly focused on establishing Park-community cooperation and collaborative management systems. It has been intended to establish Community natural resources management institutions empowered to promote and enforce sustainable use of ANP resources. It adapts the political ecology approach that advocates the importance of the local community as the area they occupy. Most people have settled the same areas for many years and generations and take their practices as an important aspect of the area's existence (Hanna and the Property Relations Group, 2003). Dove (2006) also states, "indigenous people have important environmental knowledge which could contribute to conservation" (Dove, 2006:193). So, establishing park-community cooperation and collaborative management systems will able to resolve the

conflicts between the local community and national park officials; and among the local community itself through making the local community beneficiary. It also provides a good opportunity for natural resource conservation in ANP by making the local community responsible. The zone is intended to provide for the needs of the local communities within ANP through the sustainable use of park resources and the promotion of conservation-compatible development activities. In this Zone, the highest level of community use is permitted, although certain restrictions on activities that are incompatible with the conservation purpose of ANP and with the protection of the Park's exceptional resources will continue to be enforced. All the things that are allowed to do in an integrated resource use zone also allowed in the community use zone including the construction of social services (schools, clinics, water) (EWCO, 2003). However, the final listing of prescriptions for the zones as well as the demarcation of the zones on the ground will necessarily involve significant community consultation. Because of budget and time constraints, the ANP Community Conservation Program that has been established to act as an intermediary between ANP management and the local communities is not yet fully underway. As a result, conflicts coming from land ownership claim have been sustained in ANP (EWCA-ANP, 2018).

This shows that the national government has developed a framework adapted from GMP used to manage ANP by making the local community participatory which can balance the power relationship of the government and the local community. Here it advocated that the local community should get involved in the planning of NPs development and should get

definite economic advantages out of it thereby giving an economic stake for local communities in conservation. This approach puts forward development thinking by making the local community beneficiary by applying a bottom-up system that gives the management and conservation work in the NP to the local community. In the CBC approach, conservation work has shifted from preservation to sustainable use. According to such approach, sustainable use of natural resources in the NP will come from the creation of income through controlled resource extraction, ecotourism, regulated trophy, and subsistence hunting, and other activities integrated with conservation objectives (Siurua, 2006). At this time, the framework will be able to conserve the natural resources in the national park and make ready to use for tourism. In addition, it will solve local level conflicts in and around ANP by providing alternative livelihood from eco-tourism. However, due to the national government negligence to implement a management framework that empowers the local community in ANP, the conflict is continued and it also affected the biodiversity conservation as well as tourism development.

### **5.5 The Success and Failure of the National Park Governance Policy in ANP**

According to my informants from EWCA, the national park governance policy that was applied in ANP beginning from the conception of the national park in the reign of Emperor Haile Selassie I to the current government has its defects. The previous national park governance policy that was conservationist had rejected by the local community that took their power of accessing the natural resources and didn't provide any alternative livelihood opportunity from eco-tourism. On the contrary, the natural resources in the

national park were well conserved<sup>28</sup>. According to my informant from the Afar community leader description, *the natural resources in ANP were well conserved. As a result, at the dry season, we were allowed to cut the grass and feed our cattle outside the NP*. In the next reign, Derg, the national park governance policy, and its management structure were almost similar to the previous regime. It deprived the local communities' involvement and participation in the national park including park management. He emphasized *the policy had given an advantage to the others, not for us*. However, like the previous regime the physical situation of the NP was looked good and the biodiversity was well conserved. Since fortress conservation did not accepted by the local community, it didn't make them responsible to the park. The informant continues his explanation and stated that, "as a manifestation of their disappointment regarding the establishment of ANP in their locality, during the transition period from Derg to EPRDF regime they settled inside the NP and dismantled the conserved resources"<sup>29</sup>. The current government had observed the drawback of the conservationist system of NP governance and adopted a community-based conservation system. The pillars or framework of the policy has mainly given the power to the local community to access and manage it in both traditional and modern ways.

Even though the government has such a national park governance policy that able to addresses the ecological and land use issues in the ANP, there is a serious problem of

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<sup>28</sup> Interview with the current EWCA officer a former ANP officer, from 1987-1994, June 2018, EWCA, AA

<sup>29</sup> Interview with Afar community leader in March 2018, at Genet Hotel, Awash city.

implementation and making practical. This is because of the limited budget allocation by the national government in the area of NP and PAs. Implementation of the national park governance policy that empowers the local community requires a certain amount of money to provide alternative livelihoods opportunity and develop the area as the best tourist destination. Also, it needs to train the local community to manage it in a modern way besides the traditional. To do these, it needs budget. However, the government hasn't been allocated enough budget to implement CBC management by empowering the local community. Wells et al, 1992 emphasized that in developing countries national parks are usually insufficiently funded. As a result, conflict arises between the local community and NP officials (Wells et al, 1992).

This has been related to the government's less attention towards park development. Such attention problems coincided with budget constraints obliged ANP to exist in an underdeveloped situation and a place for conflict. Insufficient financing could be the main cause that hinders to implement the proposed policy and frameworks that helps the park to be well managed and provide alternative livelihood opportunity to the local community from eco-tourism. By observing the former and current governments' attitude towards NP establishment and the national park governance policy, reporter Magazine, in its February 27, 2018 printing describes the current situation of ANP by citing the interview the former coworker of the EWCA, Ato Leykun Abune, a guest in the Amharic bulletin 'dur ledur' (Vol.7 No.1)

*Omo National Park (ONP) that was established 50 years ago to look after the wild lives and their sanctuary is more than a resource for Ethiopia. It is a habitat for the big five mammals (lion, elephant,) found in the world. One day Ethiopian President Colonel Mengistu H/Mariam had made a survey around ONP. He had called the then park warden and ask him a question about the unfairness of preserving these much land for NP establishment especially in Ethiopia that have a serious shortage of land. The then warden of the ONP, Ato Leykun Abune, briefly answered 'the country rather experiences governance problem, and not land problem' which convinced the then president. Daniot wrote that this convincing reply of the warden resuscitated the life of the ONP to date. The proper functioning of the park is now found endanger by the undergoing plantation of Kuraz Sugar factory. Daniot further notes that activities like building canal, establishing villages for the workers, clearing of forests, limiting the area of the park from 4068 to 2318 km<sup>2</sup> hamper the proper functioning of the park. While explaining the severity of the problems the ONP has encountered, he further compares it with Awash national Park— if Omo were to speak, it would say 'If life were like Awash National Park, I better die'. This narration of the problem the ONP currently faces and the unwanted comparison the writer made with the ANP signals the problems ANP faces and the governance problem the country has witnessed in running national parks<sup>30</sup>.*

This shows how much the national park governance policy affects the existence of NP in Ethiopia particularly in ANP. It is a cause for its deterioration according to the experts and observer's explanation.

The national park governance policies that have been applied in Ethiopia including ANP fortress conservation or CBC have developed by coping directly from abroad without taking into consideration the local situation. Consequently, they couldn't meet the target of natural resource conservation and unable to bring alternative livelihood opportunities from eco-tourism to the local community. From these points, one can understand that the national government's interest is only establishing the national park and counting the

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<sup>30</sup>Reporter Megazen, February 27, 2018 printing citing the interview of the former coworker of the EWCA, Ato Leykun Abune, a guest in the Amharic bulletin 'dur ledur' (Vol.7 No.1)

number of national parks and protected areas in the country. As a result, in Ethiopia, only Siemen Mountain National Park and Menze Gosa community conservation areas (empower the local community to manage and access the resources from eco-tourism development) are well managed, provide alternative livelihood opportunities to the local community and minimize conflicts.

To conclude, the national park governance that has been developed in Ethiopia has intended to manage and develop the national park by making the local community beneficiary through establishing alternative livelihood opportunities from eco-tourism. However, the NP governance policy that has been applied in Ethiopia, including in ANP beginning from Emperor Haile Sillase I to the current government couldn't bring any advantage to the local community by providing alternative livelihood opportunities. Rather, it takes the power of the local community in accessing and managing the natural resources in the NP. It becomes a cause for scarcity of resources in the locality. Such a problem takes them into a competition to control scarce resources and brink into conflict. It has also a negative impact on the sustainable development of the park that is an input for tourism.

The local community has also raised some points that need to get from the established development projects of Awash National Park. A Karrayu elder summarized the feeling of the community by asking a question and answered it himself "What is the benefit for us from the Park except serving as scouts for the Park and security guards? We need development such as schools, health centers, potable water, and electricity for us and our next generation. However, the government has done nothing in this regard". Informants did recognize that the Park has twofold of importance serving as a source of pasture and water for emergencies during drought for the livelihood of the local community

compared to other economic sectors in the area. Also, infrastructure development such as roads built associated with the Park has made life easier for local communities.

Tessema et al. (2007) confirmed that the local communities were disappointed by the broken promise of non-governmental organizations working in and around ANP and Bale Mountains National Parks. Contrary to what our data showed, communities in Kenya living around parks communally managed, privately owned or by the government, were reported to have developed a positive attitude towards protected areas and the benefits local communities can receive from those parks (Makindi, 2010). At Bardia National Park, Nepal, an improvement in the standard of living of local communities was reported after the establishment of the Park (Baral and Heinen, 2007).

From the experience of the local communities in and around the ANP, the development strategy of the government regarding pastoral communities was not implemented as written in the law (Eyasu, 2008). For instance, the late Prime Minister Meles Zenawi in 2011, spoke on the 13th Annual Pastoralists' Day Celebration and stated that the government would sustain a strategy of working with local pastoralists for a successful implementation of development projects in pastoralist area. During the occasion, the prime minister announced the establishment of a new 150,000-hectare sugarcane plantation in the Afar region.

The local communities would provide the fertile land needed for this project and the project in turn would create employment for the people in the area. However, although the project was implemented as planned, the Afar continues to complain that the

government broke its promises regarding benefits to the community. The role of the local communities in conserving and benefit sharing from the PAs or NPs in Ethiopia is different from the experience in Kenya and Nepal (Solomon, 2014). Local communities in Lake Nakuru National park, Kenya, and Bardia National Park, Nepal, shared responsibilities for the conservation of resources (Makindi, 2010; Baral et al., 2007). Therefore, the national park governance policy should empower the local communities in managing the NPs and shall create an alternatives livelihood strategy for the local communities.

## **CHAPTER SIX**

### **6. Impact of Local Level Conflict Dynamics on ANP Management and Development**

This section describes the conflict dynamics that has happened in and around ANP. It also explains the main causes of conflict and its impact in ANP development. In addition, it analyzes the conflict resolution methods that have been taken by the government and local community to settle the conflict.

#### **6.1. Local Community Inconsiderate Policy and Conflict in ANP**

Effective national park management strategy and basic capacities are needed for the development of national parks. Basic capacities include fundamental knowledge such as collection and analysis of environmental data, technical solutions for environmental problems, know-how regarding organizational tasks, a legislative basis, and rules for participation (Borsdorff & Klute, 2011). Effective management is the heart of effective conservation. The key concepts of PA or national park governance such as participation, innovation, respect, benefit-sharing, and free, prior and informed consent as guiding principles (Borrini-Feyerabend, et al., 2013). However, missing participation and integration of the local community in the regulation have become a serious threat from meeting the national park objectives (IUCN, 1984). It also reduces the effectiveness of national parks in developing countries (Fiallo & Jacobson, 1995). A lot of these problems

result from the fact that the indigenous people were excluded from resources, which were once their property when the NP established (Kiss, 1990). Such action could be a cause of conflict between the local community and the NP management office. This is because of the policy that focused only on conservation of nature without taking into consideration the livelihood of the local community who are depending on the natural resources in the established NP. Here, the local community who loses their land and doesn't get any advantage from the established NP has gone into conflict against the government including NP. Besides, they do something illegal activity against conservation such as overgrazing, cutting trees, killing wild animals, and others (IUCN, 1984; Wells, etal, 1992).

Conflicts between the NP managers and the local community who are living around it generally infer from the system the NP officials adopt that has neglected the local community from integrating the overall management frameworks. The quarrelcoming from access to, and control over natural resources, loss of livelihoods, and food insecurity is called as conflict (Mukherjee, 2009). This is because of the policy that doesn't take into consideration the local community. It takes the power of the local communities from accessing and managing natural resources in a traditional way (Dove, 2006).

The problem raised from the inconsiderate NP policy also existed in ANP. As a result, there is a conflict between the local community and park officers beginning from its establishment until now. My informant from ANP office has described the conflict around ANP as follows:

*The Conflicts between officers and local communities in ANP is coming from the policy that excludes the communities from the NP and the resources they had access it before the establishment of the ANP<sup>31</sup>.*

According to his explanation, such a fight is coming from the claim of accessing the natural resources that they believed as their ancestral or historical lands. The main reason of the conflict is the national park governance system that deny the historical rights of the local community (Jesse, et al, 2013).

## **6.2. The Major Conflicts in and around Awash national park**

### **6.2.1 Causes of the Conflict and Conflict Dynamics in and around ANP**

It is accepted that conflict is a complex and dynamic social process. So, the investigation of its causes should not be single-cause. This means the causes of the conflict are different (Burton, 1990). However, it can be divided as inherent and proximate causes based on the degree of their regard to the prevalence, recurrence as well as the intensity of the conflict. The cause of conflict that has created in the dynamics process of the material condition is known as an inherent cause. Proximate causes are the psychological conditions resulting in behavioral changes for conflict. The two causes of conflict are highly interrelated that means inherent causes by itself do not lead to conflict. Likewise, the proximate causes cannot exist without inherent causes (Burton, 1990). The main cause of the conflict that has happened in ANP has been both inherent and proximate.

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<sup>31</sup>Interview with the current ANP officer, serving 2016- 2019, December 2019, ANP office.

The policy that marginalized the local community from their inherent (customary) rights of accessing resources in the NP that their livelihood depends has been an inherent cause that motivated the local community to go into conflict. The proximate causes are the problems coming from scarcity of resources and competition of the local community to control those limited resources. However, such marginalization activity has been the cause of structural violence in Awash Valley.

### **6.2.2. The Structural Causes of Conflict in and around the ANP**

The term structural violence has been invented by Johan Galtung and by liberation theologians during the 1960s. Structural violence is a social structure that protects certain group of the society from taking advantage of the economic, political, legal, religious, and cultural activities (Galtung, 1969). In general, violence means a physical image; however, according to Galtung (1969), it is the preventable injury of fundamental human needs or...the injury of human life, which reduces the actual extent to which someone can meet their needs below that which would otherwise be possible (Galtung, 1969).

Structural violence is usually attached to the event that existed for a long time. The existing social structures have taken as a normal and regular experience by the stable institutions (Gilligan, 1997). Because they seem so ordinary in their ways of understanding the locality, but they appear almost in a hidden way. The marginalization of a certain society from access to resources, political power, education, health care, and legal standing are the causes of structural violence. Social injustice and the social machinery of oppression are highly linked with the idea of structural violence (Galtung,

1969). The local communities who are settled in and around ANP such as Afar and Karrayu have been conflicting with each other for many years. It was coming from structural problems that marginalize the local community from accessing and managing the natural resources in the ANP. The policy that was developed to establish and manage ANP had deprived the local community of accessing the natural resources. The national government took land from the local community who were residing there and establish the ANP. The area used to serve the local community as grazing and agricultural area. Besides taking their land, the government forced them to resettle out of the boundary of the NP and forbid them from accessing natural resources inside it. Such action exposed the local community to the shortage of resources since their land has taken by the government and not allowed to access it. This is one of the major causes of conflict in the Awash valley.

#### **6.2.2.1 Exclusionist Conservation and Development Policies**

Conservation is the main tool used to meet the goals of national park establishment such as biodiversity conservation and sustainable tourism development. Such conservation work performed upon the national park has been the cause of the conflict among the beneficiaries. The most important reason that can be a cause of conflict in the Awash valley is the approach that the national government used to manage the NP such as conservationists. Conservationists believe that the biodiversity in national parks gives a range of goods and services to human beings. To raise the level of protection the NP local community should be displaced (Terborgh, 1999). They also persuade that conserving

pristine wilderness of parks could be an engine for tourism-centered economic growth and plays a great role in poverty reduction (UNDP 2003; Sharachchandra et al. 2010). Having this in mind, the then governor of Ethiopia, at the end of the 1960s took a huge amount of land from the local community that served as grazing and agricultural land and established various conservation development projects including ANP. However, the government considered the local communities or pastoralists as poor and forced them to leave the area without having a better understanding of their pastoral way of life. Hence, development interventions usually made without taking into consideration the issue of the local community's rights. Consequently, the local communities such as the Afar, Karrayu, and Ittue that are pastoralists and semi-pastoralists who are living in the Awash Valley have been repeatedly deprived of their right to hold and use their grazing lands and access to water points due to the inconsiderate state economic development policies and intervention strategies (Kassahun & Juhasz, 1970).

At the time of ANP establishment, the area was placed as a "strict conservation area". In Ethiopia "a strict conservation area" is defined as an area which "excludes all kinds of human use like settlement, exploitation of natural resources, grazing of livestock, mining, etc. except as vital for the management of the wildlife and conservation" (Moore, 1982; Jacob and Schloeder, 2001). In the first few years of its existence, an attempt was made to strictly adhere to this definition and to follow a management plan that had been prepared following its establishment (Hillman, 1993). However, at the 1972/73 droughts and famine, the situation was changed and the local communities who were living around

ANP were settled inside the national park to cope with the problem. According to Helmut Kloo (1982), the main cause of the 1972/73 famines in Awash Valley was not the failure of the rains or deliberate overstocking by local pastoralists. But rather it was as a result of the dam construction, large scale irrigation development that relied almost exclusively on migrant laborers from the highland and the ensuing loss of grazing lands and water resources and environmental degradation. So, to cope with the problem of famine, the local community developed new strategies. All members of the community engaged in gathering wild plants, hunting, cattle raiding, and sale of animals, the latter to buy grain. However, most hunting activities were done at the established game parks (ANP), it destructed the habitat of the wild animal and the national park (Kloo, 1982).

Similarly, in 1975 following the change of government, the management policies of ANP had physically challenged by the local pastoralist communities such as the Karrayu, Ittue, and the Afar tribes. The motivation behind their challenge was primarily in response to the exclusion practices that the ANP staffs were trying to put into effect. Eventually, this challenge was brought to the attention of the provisional military administrative council (PMAC) with both the pastoralists and EWCO presenting their cases. The EWCO through a team of wildlife experts was able to provide the strongest defense as to why ANP should remain a strict conservation area (Moore, 1982). Their justification was based on factors first, the southern half of ANP was formerly a hunting reserve of his Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I and as a result, wildlife was abundant with a low incidence of poaching. Second, ANP was considered the last protected stronghold of the

Beisa Oryx, Soemmerring's Gazelle and Grevy's Zebra. Also, "because of what the area has to offer in a variety of wildlife and scenery and its warm climate. It has come to be regarded as the capital's national park where the city dweller can enjoy nature and freedom." However, PMAC was not ready to hear the local community/pastoralist issue. At the end, the PMAC upheld the 1969 *Negarit Gazeta* order (Negarit Gazeta, No 192, 1969), and the pastoralists were ordered to voluntarily remove themselves from the NP or they would be forcefully removed by the military. Some peacefully complied while others did not. But either way, the park was eventually vacated (Jacobs & Schroeder, 1993). It did not stay after 1985 that the park's policy was once again challenged, following two consecutive years of no rain. This time however access to the western half of the park-the Sabober plains area was permitted to the Karrayu. Settlement was also allowed along the southern base of Fentale in what is locally known as the Dega, Edbi, Sogido, Koba and Gahanunu areas, and in the Ajo a borehole (i.e water well) was constructed in the Sobober plain and equipped with a diesel engine at the requests of the pastoralists (it is believed that the catholic relief services did the drilling)<sup>32</sup>.

In 1991, there were at least three attempts by Ittu villagers from both the Lega Bante and Mogasa areas and the Gumbi area across the River from Awash station to settle in the Ilala Sala area. When confronted by the park staff they argued that there was "no government now" so they were free to do what they wanted. After several meetings with

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<sup>32</sup>EWCO (1988). Ethiopian wildlife management policy document.

what was then the “Peace and Negotiation Committee” made up of Oromo townspeople as well as pastoralist leaders to settle issues peacefully, while those from the Gumbi area had to be moved by force back across the River, using a troop of the soldier from the Ethiopian People Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF). The main reason that makes the local community invade and settle inside the NP at that time of drought, famine, and political instability is because of the irresponsible feeling of the local community towards the NP. So, it becomes a cause for conflict between the local community and the park managers. This is because of the national park governance policy that excludes the local community from accessing and managing the natural resources in ANP. It exposes the local community for the shortage of natural resources such as grazing land and water.

Besides, it rejects the idea that advocates the importance of traditional wildlife management systems for sustainable management of the NP or PA. The theory that supports the new ideas of UNESCO’s ‘Biosphere Reserves’, has been developed under the ‘Man and the Biosphere’ (MAB) program and it launched publicly in 1971. In this program, the traditional wildlife conservation system has given due emphasis on the sustainable development of the protected areas or NP (Adams, 2001). It creates humanitarian crises. Generally, the NP governance that couldn’t make the local community responsible to the ANP has played a great role in ensuing conflict among the local communities themselves and with the ANP officials too.

Similarly, the other development projects such as the irrigational development and game reserves that found within the main fertile lands of the Awash Valley and its surroundings

were in the hands of the Awash Valley Authority (AVA). AVA had a legal power to administer and manage it (Asnake, 2010). Since, it was part of the development project in Awash Valley, to develop the area, the local communities were forcedly evicted from their traditional grazing lands and water stations (Ayalew, 2001). This was because of the economic policy that transforms the traditional sector of agriculture into mechanized ones that could attract foreign investors. Such a policy was being applied since the 1974 when the military government ascended to State power. At this time, the large-scale irrigation programs especially in the Middle and Lower Awash Valleys had been widespread. Moreover, the previously foreign-owned adjacent companies were nationalized and declared to be the property of the state (Tekele. et al, 1994). So, based on such economic policy various development projects such as *Kesem Kebena* development project and others were established in Awash Valley by taking lands from the local communities.

However, the project didn't provide an advantage to the local community as it was expected in terms of job creation. Besides, there was a problem of inequality in having jobs amongst the local communities, the Karrayu, and the Afar. It was the other reason that urged the local community to conflict. According to my informant description from Afar community leader, there was a problem with equal benefit-sharing from these state-oriented development projects. The local communities of the two antagonistic groups failed to equally benefit. According to the informant's description, in the *Kesem Kebena* development project the local communities, Afar, Karrayu, and Ittue were allowed to work as daily laborers. However, after a while, the Karrayu community has neglected and forced to stop working on the project in 2004. The main reason that made

Karrayu be neglected from the participation of work was a personal clash between Afar and Karrayu and mistakes have found from Karrayu. Thus, beginning from this time the Karrayu being disadvantaged and unable to get an equal job opportunity from the *kesem kebena* development project. Here, the Karrayu believed that they are relatively deprived, and then raise conflict against the development project officers and Afar community that have an opportunity to work on the project. Thus, conflict among the local communities has been aggravated<sup>33</sup>.

Though the government has been established ANP and another large-scale mechanized farm in the Awash valley, the policy didn't take into consideration the local community those lost their land that their livelihood depends. Losing of traditional land rights has generated scarcity that made the local community vulnerable to the augmenting inter-ethnic violent conflicts in the search for grazing lands and water-stations for their livestock and themselves (Asnake, 2010).

In principle, the development projects have been established to make the local community beneficiary. Besides, to be an alternative livelihood opportunity to the local community by creating jobs from eco-tourism and other development projects. However, when we are comparing the advantage that the local community around ANP has got from such a project and the lost land is incomparable. The local community has lost more than they acquired from it. This is because of the policy that couldn't make the local

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<sup>33</sup>Interview with the Karrayu community member, March 2018, at Illala kebele

community participatory (Solomon, 2014). Consequently, local-level conflict in and around ANP happened beginning from its inception such as at the end of the 1960s.

According to my informant from Afar community leader explanation:

*We the local communities who have been residing there before the NP and other development establishment were nomads. Our livelihood depended on raring animals. We wanted to have enough grazing land and water to our cattle. Before the establishment of the NP there was no any problem of grazing land, we have abundant amount of grazing land and water. At the time of the NP and other development project establishment, we have lost our lands that have been used for grazing. Such activity exposed us to the shortage of grazing lands. Then, we are going in to competition to control such scarce resources that led to conflict. This is because of the problem of the policy that couldn't bring any alternative livelihood opportunity from the established projects including job<sup>34</sup>.*

The local community who are losing their lands couldn't get any benefit from the established project as the NP. The government doesn't provide any alternative livelihood opportunity to the local communities from the established project, ANP. It doesn't also give any compensation payment or land for substitution. Rather, the government has forced them not to cross the fence and touch the natural resources in the ANP. Then, the local community goes into conflict with the park officers. This is because of the application of the local community inconsiderate NP governance policy i.e., protectionist, that exclude the local community from the natural resources which are under the NP through establishing fence (Kelboro and Stellmacher, 2012).

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<sup>34</sup>Interview with Afar community leaders in March 2018, at Genet Hotel, Awash city.

Though the government applied such policy and tried to protect the local community from entering the park, the local community have broken the law and feed their cattle inside the park. This aggravates the conflict between the local community and the responsible government body. Most conflicts have taken place between the local community and the park office workers, mostly with the scout.

According to my informant from the ANP office, *“Even though the conflict between the local community and the park officers have been started during the conception of the park establishment, it also continued till now”*<sup>35</sup>. This is because of the problem of the national park governance policy that takes the power of the local community from accessing and managing it. Or the asymmetric power relation between the park officers and the local community in the area of park management and development. The power of accessing and managing the park is in the hands of the government (Kelboro and Stellmacher, 2012).

One of the ANP warden remember the serious conflict that was happened between the local community and ANP officers in 2013 that caused for the death of one scout and physical injury of many park officials.

According to him,

*At this time the major job of the scouts in the NP is protecting the local community from entering the NP with their cattle. It means conflicting with the local community. Up on the conflict one scout was lost his life but almost all of the park office workers were kick out by the stone and other small arms on that day. However, the conflict and kick out of the park officers and scout by the local*

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<sup>35</sup>Interview with the current ANP officer, serving 2016- 2019, December 2019, ANP office

*community has been the usual events in ANP*<sup>36</sup>.

The park warden relates such a problem with weakness of the national park governance policy that excludes the local community from any kind of participation in the area of national park management, and benefit-sharing from the established national park at the cost of their land. He also emphasized that “though the government has applied a community-based conservation system of NP governance, it doesn’t implement all the pillars and never made the local community participatory in accessing the natural resource and participated in the conservation activity”<sup>37</sup>.

In ANP, the government tried to get involved local community to benefit from the ANP by employing them as scouts. The main duty of the scout in the cause of ANP is protecting the local community from entering and feeding their cattle in the park. The scout has also provided service to visitors when they are moving in the park by showing the direction and protecting them from a wild animal bite. Likewise, they also protect the cutting and taking of unique plants by tourists. Although these are the main duty of the scout in the NP, their salary is very small. Consequently, a man who is employed in ANP as a scout couldn’t satisfy the basic needs of his family. According to my informant from ANP scout association member: *our salary is very small that is a gross salary of 2333 birr per month and we can’t feed our family three times a day. Then, we are not happy*

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<sup>36</sup>Interview with the current ANP warden, serving 2013- 2019, December 2019, ANP office.

<sup>37</sup>Interview with the current ANP warden, serving 2013- 2019, December 2019, ANP office

*or satisfied with the job that we have from the park*<sup>38</sup>.

Since the salary paid to the scout is very small and unable to lead their lives, it doesn't possible to say the local community has got job opportunities to benefit from the NP.

As a whole, the policy that has taken the power of the local community from access and management activity made the local community irresponsible to the park development. It has taken them to go against the government's agenda of conservation and began to destruct the park by feeding their cattle inside the park in an irresponsible manner

One of the informants from Karrayu community leaders said;

*The government can employ army to keep the park but never stop us from entering and feeding our cattle inside the park because we have no any opportunity. As long as the government provided us alternative livelihood opportunity from the park, we are ready to cooperate on the conservation and preservation of national park. Otherwise we will continue feeding of our cattle inside the NP and the conflict between the local community and park officers will also continue*<sup>39</sup>.

He emphasizes that “without the participation of the local community from the NP, it will be impossible to stop the conflict and conserve the natural resources that is a value for tourism development”. My informant from Afar community leader also explains about the exact situation by referring the saying the “woman's house that have no husband” that everybody can open and enter in her house. Meaning, in Afar community, if the women is a widow and lives alone, no one doesn't give any respect to her. Everybody can open her door and enter in her house easily since she has no any man who protects her. According to the informant therefore, ANP has no owner, everybody can cross the fence

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<sup>38</sup>Interview with the current ANP scout association member, December 2019, ANP office.

<sup>39</sup>Interview with Afar community leaders in March 2018, at Genet Hotel, Awash city

and feed cattle in irresponsible way<sup>40</sup>.

As a whole, the NP governance policy has made the local community irresponsible. This has related with the problem of applying political ecology approach that give power to the local community to manage the natural resource by using their traditional knowledge (Dove, 2006).

### **6.3. Scarcity of Grazing Land and Water**

The scarcity of natural resources in and around ANP is also another source of conflict. According to ‘neo-Malthusians argument, the rapid population growth, environmental degradation, resource depletion, and unequal resource access have been some of the reasons creating resource scarcity in a certain area (Malthus, 1978). From neo-Malthusians arguments’ Homer Dixon (1999), argued that the policy that deprived the local-communities from accessing resources that they used before in favour of theirs bring scarcity of resources (Homer Dixon, 1999). It also aggravates the risk of an uprising and societal conflict (Bruch. et. al, 2016). In the cause of the local community who are living in and around ANP, Karrayu, and Afar, Abdulahi (1998) estimated that these development programs have taken more than 55 percent of traditionally accessed land. The new development schemes have denied the Karrayu access to dry season grazing areas. In addition, it also affected the routes of the livestock movement in the dry season by blocking the watering areas around Awash River. Consequently, due to the lose of the

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<sup>40</sup>Interview with Afar community leaders in March 2018, at Genet Hotel, Awash city

important dry season grazing lands the local community who are living around Awash valley are suffering more at the time extended dry seasons and drought (Abdulahi, 1998). It also affected their ethnic composition, territorial boundaries, and process of interactions in the local community of the Middle Awash Valley. In such a place, pastoralists, agro-pastoralists, and cultivating groups are found. However, the central administration has continued to exercise greater control over pastoral areas, without taking into consideration the needs and interests of the local community. The 1950s development policy adopted by the imperial government focused on developing the River valley was the first step taken in this way. The existence of foreign capital in Awash valley in the following years has had affected the traditional resource use patterns. The biggest impact of these developments continues limiting the access by the local community to the natural resource base that they freely used in their way. The resulting powerful competition for the remaining scarce resources such as grazing land and water has greatly affected the interaction of the local communities with noticeable consequences to their system of changing nature, settlement models, traditional boundaries, and ethnic composition as well. Most important of all, the developments have extremely changed the nature of inter-ethnic relationships by bringing the groups into a spiral of conflicts characterized by fresh dimensions in the cause and nature of the conflict.

In Ayalew G. (2001) discussion, the political and economic policy changes seriously affected the pastoralist communities in the Awash Valley. The national government is

biased by developing large-scale mechanized farming and crop cultivation and against the less controllable, more mobile pastoral groups. As a result, the government made the small plot pastoral lands highly vulnerable to encroachment and appropriation by outsiders. Also, it changes the pattern of resource use. The local community goes into a serious competition to control the resources. It brings inter-ethnic tension and conflicts as well as the deterioration of the rangeland in the region (Ayalew, 2001; 245).

Hostility among the local communities in the Middle Awash Valley has been aggravated largely because of the expansion of large-scale irrigated agriculture and the expansion of conservation areas for ANP. For example, between two divisions of the Afar clan, Debine, and Weima on the one hand, and the Karrayu on the other side, conflicts were intensified. This was because of the Afar intruded movement to the south into Karrayu land following their displacement from the north of the development of concession agriculture at Melka Sadi, Melka Werer, Awara Melka. Similarly, hostilities between the Karrayu and Arsi Oromo grew more serious as a result of the ANP, which took most of Karrayu territory, forcing the group to move further south into Arsi Oromo-controlled resources. The Arsi Oromo are also forced to intrude into the Karrayu wet season grazing areas following their displacement by the ever-expanding Nura Era Plantation. Thus, starting from the 1960s, a period that the expansion of commercial agriculture was intensified in a great extent, there were continuous sudden attacks and counter-attacks between these groups and inter-ethnic conflict that took place inflicted heavy losses of life and property on competing pastoral groups (Kassahun & Juhasz, 1970).

Besides taking of the land that is used for grazing and agriculture by the government for ANP and other development projects, population growth is another reason for the scarcity of resources (Asnake, 2010). Population growth and environmental degradation are factors increasing competition over already scarce resources, such as land and water. Climate change is also becoming another threat to increase such competition even further (Homer-Dixon, 1999). Natural resource scarcity and competition to control it is a key driver of conflicts that potentially have significant consequences for international, regional, and national peace and security (Eliasson, 2015).

The number of populations is tremendously increasing in both Afar and Karrayu areas. This is because of the religious and cultural custom of polygamy and the absence or resistance of family planning practices (Asnake, 2010). Even though, the responsibility of raising and taking care of children is shared both by family and community levels, worrying about the future of children is not in the social psychology of the Afar and Karrayu community (Ayalew, 2001). Regarding the children's lives, both community members believed that children are coming with “the will of Allah and he will take care of them”.

Hence, parents consider having more children means having future potential for establishing more relatives within the community (Asnake, 2010). For instance, according to the 1994 population census the total population of both Afar and Oromia regional states was 1,106,383 and 18,465,449 respectively (CSA, 1994). Out of these figures, Awash Fentale Woreda constitutes 29,775 while Fentale woreda 60, 038. Based

on the 2007 population census the overall population of Afar was 1,411,092 and 27,158, 471 in the Oromia region (CSA, 2007; Asnake, 2010). From these the study Woredas i.e. Awash Fentale and Fentale holds 37, 835, and 82,225 respectively (CSA, 1994 & 2007). Here the number of population is increasing at alarming rate. However, the land is as it was when the number of population was very small. Hence, the local communities have faced resource scarcity that aggravates the competition to control the small plots of land.

According to my informant from the Ittue community leader:

*Besides over birth by the local community, migration of Afar and Ittue community from the Somalia region is also another factor for population increment. The Somalia warriors forced the Afar and Oromo communities to leave from their area. Then, the Afar and Ittue community who lost their lands due to the Somalia warriors have been migrated around Awash River and settled there<sup>41</sup>.*

Likewise, the migration of people from their original land to the other area has also another disastrous effect on inter-ethnic conflict. According to Ayalew (2001), the displacement of *Weima Afar and Ittu* by the further expansions of state commercial farms and the Issa Somali from (they were living in western *Hararghe* around Dire Dawa in the past). Now they control most of the resources of Afar (Bekele, 2010). Their intrusion into the traditional land of *Debine Afar* and *Karrayu* caused scarcity and aggravated conflict between these groups (Ayalew, 2001).

These conflicts were so frequent. Thus, population congestion in a particular area has a dual impact on the people in the area. It brought scarcity of resources and competition for

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<sup>41</sup>Interview with Ittue community leaders in March 2018, at Genet Hotel, Awash city

the use and control of the existing limited resources. Therefore, population congestion on the already scarce resource is like adding fuel into a fire. The final result is inter-ethnic conflict.

This has its impact on the increment of the population and narrowing the area in and around the ANP. These newly migrated community of Afar and Ittue has shared resources from the early settlers of Afar, Ittue and Karrayu communities. As a result, the situation of competition has been aggravated. Competition for pasture is also taking the form of bringing more stock to the border areas from both sides. Both communities are adopting a strategy of armed group herding for effective herd management. It can be a cause of conflict among the ethnic groups who are living around ANP.

The shortage of land and water coming from losing lands for commercial agriculture development and ANP establishment coincide with the rapid population growth and environmental degradation able to create unequal resource access and poverty among the local community who lived around ANP (Solomon, 2014).

Such unequal resource sharing has been affected the relationship between the local community who are living around ANP, i.e Ittue, Karrayu, and Afar, and can be a cause of interethnic conflict (Kassahun & Juhasz, 1970). To withstand the poverty raised from a shortage of grazing land, the Afar, Karrayu, and Ittue communities have engaged in looting of cattle of one ethnic group to another (looting the Afar cattle by the Karrayu or Ittue and vice versa) and used the looted cattle as an economic advantage.

According to my informant explanation from Karrayu community

*Previously, i.e, before and in the reign of Emperior H/Selassie I, looting cattle from Afar herd was taken as a proud and the looter considered as a brave by the Karrayu community. The same was true in the Afar community. Now a day's, the looting of the cattle has taken place in the Awash valley in order to fill the economic gap at home. The man who can loot the cattle, sold out it and use the money to improve his life. In the contrary, the person who lost his cattle through looting by the other ethnic group has also organized his team from his ethnic group and has also make revenge by taking cattle from the herds of the looters or others' cattle from that ethnic group. Such revenge has been escalated to serious conflict between the two ethnic groups. This is because of the existence of poverty in their locality due to population growth, scarcity of land and resource depletion. Consequently, looting became another cause for conflict<sup>42</sup>.*

Though the conflict between Afar and Oromo was taken place before the establishment of the ANP, the establishment of ANP and other development projects such as Metehara sugar factory has aggravated the conflict. Besides losing their land, drought coincided with population growth has been aggravated poverty in the locality and forced the local community to fight each other in order to survive via taking advantages from the conserved resources of the NP or looting others property.

One of my informants from Afar community describes the impact of population growth in their livelihood as follows:

*During the establishment of NP and development project, the then government (Emperor Haile Sillase I) was provided grazing land and water for our cattle and it was enough for all of us. We had no a serious problem of having water, grazing and agricultural land since the number of populations was small. Through time, due to the number of population increment, we encountered a serious shortage of resources such as grazing land and water and forced to feed our cattle on the*

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<sup>42</sup>Interview with the Karrayu community member, March 2018, at Illala kebele.

*conserved area of the NP. As a result, we do conflict with the park officers' everyday. We also conflicting each other among various ethnic groups in the locality in order to control the abundant resource such as grazing and watery areas<sup>43</sup>.*

He further stressed that population growth is the main reason that exposes the local community to the shortage of natural resources and go into competition over the existing resources.

Another informant from the Ittue community,

*We the local communities who are living around ANP have fighting each other many years ago. Our main reason is to get access of grazing land and water. Because, most grazing land that are remnant from ANP and other development project are degraded due to over grazing and not enough for those of us that our population is increasing from time to time. So, we are forced to do competition in order to control best grazing land and watery point in and out of the NP<sup>44</sup>.*

The local community who are residing around ANP or Awash valley has been conflicting each other in order to control such scarce resource and resourceful areas that are part of ANP. These are Kudu Valley, Elala Sala and Fental Mountain. For example, the local communities were fighting over the control of the Kudu Valley (swampy or watery area used to water their cattle) ever since. According to my informants from Afar community:

*In the dry season there is a serious shortage of water and we are suffering a lot and travel long distance to find water for our cattle. But around the Kudu valley, there is spring water. Both community members are trying to walk up early in the morning and send their cattle in the spring to watering them. The community who can walk up early, able to watering their cattle and able control the whole swampy area, in the contrary the community member who can't walk up early have no any possibility of watering their cattle. So, the community members whom unable to walk up early and miss the opportunity of watering their cattle begin to fight against the community whom wake up early and invade (control) the water*

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<sup>43</sup>Interview with the Afar community member, March 2018, at Dudub kebele

<sup>44</sup>Interview with the Ittue community member, March 2018, at Illala kebele

*and swampy area. Most conflicts raised due to watering have been taken place around the Kudu valley, locally “Agazen Sheleko”<sup>45</sup>.*

This is related to neo-Malthusians theory, such as scarcity of natural resources such as land and water due to the rapid growth of population, environmental degradation, resource depletion, and unequal resource access to exacerbate poverty and income inequality. These deprivations are easily translated into grievances, increasing the risks of rebellion and societal conflict (Bruch et al, 2016). In Awash valley, scarcity of natural resources due to population growth and depletion of resources has taken as the main reason for local-level conflict. Though the local community and park officials believed in such points, deprivation of access to resources in ANP is the main reason.

According to Bruch and his colleagues (2016), ethnic clashes can also occur when population migration increases and can increase the demand for scarce resources such as water or land. Such an issue is highly related to the problem that has happened in the local community who are living around ANP. In the ancient times, the local communities who were residing in and around the ANP were the Karrayu and Afar community. Due to the government’s plan of establishing agricultural farmland in the Harari region around Kobo that the Ittue community used to live, the Ittue communities were forced to settle around Awash River that was occupied by the Karrayu community. In the beginning, the Karrayu community had welcomed and accepted the settlement of Ittue community in their land. After a while, the population increased from both sides and affected the availability of natural resources such as grazing land and water. The shortage of resources

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<sup>45</sup>Interview with the Afar community member, March 2018, at Dudub kebele

could become a cause of conflict between the two communities, and Karrayu community also has raised the issue of customary rights. The Karrayu community felt that they have a customary right to feed their cattle around the Awash valley without any competition.

However, the Ittue community who are deprived of accessing the resources around Awash Valley has raised conflict against the Karrayu. Then the conflict between Karrayu and the Ittu communities has intensified (Solomon, et al, 2014).

The other place of conflict for Afar, Ittue, and Karrayu is grazing lands around Ilala Sala. Ilala Sala is a wide field that endowed with grasses and the best grazing land for both wild and domestic animals. Especially, it has been the most residence place of Beisa oryx locally called Sala (wild animal). Ilala Sala is an *Oromifa* word that means “*sightseeing place of Sala*”. Around this place, lots of Salas are found due to the existence of ample grasses. This is one of the best tourist attractions sites used to see Sala. According to my informant from former ANP officer explanation; “in the reign of *Derg* (the best conserved time of ANP), at Ilala sala area, we can see more than 200 Sala at one time. But now it decreases to 10”<sup>46</sup>. Such ample grasses have made the area a more preferable place for both the domestic and wild animals. Even though, Ilala Sala is found in the boundary of the ANP, the local community from both Afar and Ittue are fighting each other to control and feed their cattle at the Ilala Sala area. All of them have to compete with each other to settle around it and feed their cattle. Such competition among the local community became a cause of conflict.

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<sup>46</sup>Interview with the EWCA officer a former ANP officer, from 1987-1994, June 2018, EWCA, AA

Similar to other places, the Afar and Oromo community have been waked up early in the morning and send their cattle to Ilala sala. The community who lost the opportunity of feeding their cattle has been fighting against those who got the chance of feeding their cattle on Ilala sala. In the other direction, as the area is the best tourist attraction site that endowed with Sala, the most likely wild animals in ANP, the park authority has given special attention and protection to the area. Since the cattle of the local community have shared grasses from the Sala, the scout and other park officials always fight with the local community who feed their cattle in Ilala sala that damage the natural resources. So, Ilala Sala has been also another conflicting place.

This approves that the most causes of conflict in and around the ANP are a shortage of resources such as land, pasture and water. The problem has raised due to the establishment of the ANP and other development projects via taking land from the local community without providing any advantage to the local community from the established projects. Similarly, the government couldn't invent something important to the local community to substitute or support the livelihoods of the local community. The narrowness of the land coincides with the random population increment exposed the local community to a serious shortage of grazing and agricultural land that makes them unable to cope with life.

Consequently, the local community has broken the fence or boundary of the ANP and began to feed their cattle inside it. Such activity done by the local community could affect the existence of the ANP and the conservation of biodiversity. It became the main reason

for the ANP to lose its attractiveness and being a tourist destination. According to the 2018 general management plan (GMP) of ANP, settlement inside the national park and doing agricultural and grazing activity has strongly affected the existence of the ANP as a tourist destination. Settlement and agricultural activity have threatened the structure of plantation of endemic plants. The Planation of endemic plants that have been used as a tourism resource and food for wildlife has substituted with the crop plants that negate the tourism activity. Consequently, the endemic plants and wildlife that used to conserve in ANP for tourism and research have degraded from time to time. It also decreased the number of visitors in the ANP.

*According to Hillman, 1993, however, the park management faces many problems of which the most important has been and still is the inter-ethnic conflict between the traditional rights of the Karayu-Ittu and Afar pastoralists for dry-season grazing and access to water. The park employees are currently under great danger as the prolonged drought worsening the conflict between these rival groups. The majority of the Park area is out of control of the Park. The Park core area was serving as the battle - field. Hence the Park is unable to ensure the safety of tourists within the protected areas. The threat of being robbed while visiting or traveling to and from protected areas reduced tourism both nationals and foreign visitors alike. Tourism had been hampered by war-related security concerns, thereby limiting opportunities to generate income both locally and nationally to an even greater extent. Easy access to machine Gun increased the frequency and intensity of conflict between ethnic groups. Death and injuries increased as a consequence, as did the displacement of entire ethnic groups from disputed lands (Hillman, 1993).*

In my view, this is because of the lack of good national park governance policy that could accommodate the interest of all actors in and around the ANP. The policy that couldn't create alternative livelihood opportunities to the local community from accessing the natural resources through developing eco-tourism activity has raised as the main cause of

conflict and destruction of ANP. It makes the local community feel irresponsible about the park and the tourists who are visiting it.

The other cause of conflict that is related to the scarcity of resources, unlike scattered grazing, concentrated grazing had by itself resulted in rapid rangeland degradation in many areas leading to competition and confrontation. This means land degradation pushes the pastoralists to find another grazing land with more competition that mainly results in inter-ethnic conflict. Loss of cattle due to drought and animal disease also creates more demand for cattle raiding. Raiding is a form of conflict than competition. However, according to Ayalew (2001), it is the psychological interest of the local community to have more cattle at the cost of other communities (Ayalew, 2001).

The above conflicts show the changing situation of supply and demand. Because of the degradation of rangelands, increasing aridity, and desertification at the locality the supply of pastoral land is decreasing in the Awash valley. As a result, the local community raids their cattle into the areas of irrigated land and ANP. The intrusion to the ANP has not limited by the indigenous people who have been settled around it before the establishment of the development project. But it includes others from a very far place to find grazing land (Addisu, et al, 2014).



### **Pictures, Degraded lands of Awash Valley**

#### **Sources; photo taken by the researcher during the field visit**

Drought and famine are also a cause for a shortage of resources such as grazing land and water. Many cattle in the locality have died on such drought and famine. During (2002), one of the most severe droughts occurred in some pastoralist areas. For instance, in Fentale the local community lost more than 40 percent of their livestock (Piguet and Hadgu, 2002; Asnake, 2010). Such drought and famine exacerbate the conflict between the Afar, Karrayu, Ittue communities, and the national park office. According to my informant from ANP office description,

*During drought, the Issa community has invaded the Afar territory and community. At this time the Afar communities who lost their lands by the Issa warriors have also moved to Karrayu territory and occupy Karrayu's land. Similarly, the Karrayu and Ittue community who are invaded and lost their land has moved to the national park and settled around and inside it"<sup>47</sup>.*

The Issa communities were living around Dire Dawa in the past. Now they control most

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<sup>47</sup> Interview with the current ANP officer, serving 2016- 2019, December 2019, ANP office

of the resources of Afar. According to Bekele (2010), Issa has got training in Djibouti to displace Afar from their father's land (Bekele, 2010).

This action had seriously devastated the ANP and at this time the conflict between the local community and the national park Officials has aggravated. Likewise, it also escalates the conflict between Afar, Ittue, and the Karrayu. The other informant from Karrayu community has emphasized the situation by saying; *“in the period of drought and famine the local communities lost their cattle. This is the strong motivation of inter-ethnic raids. This is because of the local community's interest to substitute the lost cattle due to drought through looting other's cattle”*<sup>48</sup>. The key argument is built on the common belief and traditions, for whatever cause and reasons, is one of the most important driving forces of conflicts within the local communities. The increased frequency and intensity of drought in the past decades and associated heavy losses of livestock is believed to have increased the number of inter-ethnic conflicts and incidents of human killing in the recent times compared to the past (Beyene, 2006).

The other most important thing that causes scarcity of grazing lands is the time-to-time widening of Lake Besika. Lake Basaka is found 200 km South East of the capital city, Addis Ababa in the middle Awash River Basin, Central Rift Valley of Ethiopia. Opposed to other rift valley Lakes of Ethiopia, that are shrinking, Lake Basaka is expanding from time to time. Now, the likely the total area coverage of the Lake is 42 km<sup>2</sup>, but in 1960s it was 3 km<sup>2</sup> (Gulilat, 2000). The Lake was seems a small pool that happened in the rainy

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<sup>48</sup>Interview with the Karrayu community member, March 2018, at Illala kebele

season and it was serving as a grazing area and water point for the Afar and Karrayu/Ittue communities. However, after the foundation of Matahara Sugar Estate (MSE) in the 1970s with no clearly identified reason the Lake is expanding <sup>49</sup>. According to a certain researcher's report, the Lake is expanded due the releases of the irrigation excess of the Abadir and Nura Era irrigation (Eyasu, 2008). Others also related the cause of the expansion of the Lake with the geological changes existing in the Great African Rift Valley in general, and Ethiopian Rift Valley in particular. Its expansion damages the soil properties and ground water dynamics of the region. This threatened the sustainability of the farming work of the area around it (Olumana, et al, 2009).

According to my informant description, “the water of Lake Biseka is salty and couldn't use for drinking and irrigation. However, it controls a large area that has been served as grazing and agricultural land to the local community”. Then, the existence of Lake Biseka that is useless to the local community has also another threat to the locality. It aggravates the problem of the local community who suffers from the scarcity of resources. Besides natural resource scarcity, lack of specific boundary that delimits the area coverage and boundary of the ANP also another cause of conflict around Awash Valley.

#### **6.4. Border Delimitation Problem**

The boundary delimitation problem of ANP is also another cause of conflict in the Middle Awash Valley. The reason what makes complicated the ANP boundary is, the

park boundary that delimited in 1969 by Negarit Gazeta was not clear and legalized. The geographical boundaries in the Negarit Gazeta were vague and not accurate (Hillman, 1993). Also, it was not easily recognizable on the ground by the local community. Likewise, the boundaries haven't been easily understandable rather it had a possibility of subjective alternative interpretation since it had no related permanent feature. As a result, EWCO can't control the vicinity of the park. As a result, the local community has settled in almost two-third of the total area of the park. Such an unclear demarcation problem can be another source of conflict between the local community and the park officers; and the local community of Afar and Karrayu communities by itself (EWCO, 2003).

Similarly, there is no clear border demarcation between Afar and Karrayu Oromo who are living in the Awash valley. Such unclear demarcation is a way for the conflict to drop up between these historical adversaries. This has also complicated resource use and accountability of people in regional governments and acts as a breeding ground for conflict. The feature of a pastoral way of life has related to mobility; they are moving from one place to another to find grazing land and water for their cattle (Ayalew, 2011). They stayed in one place for sometimes even if the area is not part of their respective territory. Fentale Mountain and Awash National Park have been served as a custom boundary that demarcates the land between Afar and Karrayu (Asnake, 2010). Thus, people under the banner of the 'principle of effective control' over a certain territory, try to control the area that they settled for a temporary purpose and consider it permanently their own (Beyene, 2006).

By settling in some places for a certain time, they initiate conflict that ultimately causes boundary disputes. To depicting the historical grievance and animosity between the two pastoral communities about boundary claims, studies were conducted jointly by the Afar and Oromiya regional state in 2007. According to the study organized by Afar and Oromia regional states, in the early days the Karrayu Oromo used to live in Awash Fentale Woreda, Sabure kebele, currently inhabited by the Afar. This is because of the Afar pushing the Karrayu via defeating them with the war and settled themselves in Haro kersa - an area that entirely inhabited by the Karrayu. During that time, an attempt was made to defend the Afar pressure and it was a cause for continuous fighting between the two communities (Joint Report, 2007).

That is the reason for the Karrayu Oromo still asking to get back the land around Sabure Kebele that is theirs' land before and currently inhibited by the Afar. Such a claim became a necessary condition to exacerbate conflict between the two pastoralists. The conflict that arises as a result of the contested border is directly related to the absence of clear demarcation between the two regional states that ultimately brought constant insecurity problems in the region (Asnake, 2010).

Due to such an unclear demarcation problem, most community members from Afar and Karrayu have lost their life. The conflict has been raised when Afar crosses the boundary of Karrayue and feeds cattle and vise versa. According to my informant's explanation, such a conflict between the Afar and Oromo community in and around the national park due to border cause has been a normal event for a long period. But it was limited to their

locality or Woreda level. However, in 2003 the conflict that had been taking place in and around ANP by the two communities had escalated to the Regional state level. It is only at this point that the conflict got the attention of the Afar and Oromia Regional state leaders. The incident that changed the conflict into a serious case was when the Afar National Regional State president paid a visit to the ANP in 2003. He was moving inside the park to see all the tourist attraction sites such as wild animals and unique plant species. After he finished his visit, he went into the main gate. Unfortunately, he had seen the flag that is waving in the main gate of ANP. The flag belonged to Oromiya Regional State. He was upset when he has seen the Oromiya regional State flag in the ANP because he thought ANP belongs to the Afar regional State. He was disappointed with the situation and felt that he has given the Afar regional State's land to Oromo.

He immediately called the then park warden and ordered him to take down the Oromia regional State flag and instead put the Afar regional State flag on. According to my informant a former ANP staff description, the then Afar regional state president said to the Park Warden that, "if you don't take down the Oromiya flag and put Afar regional flag in the ANP within 30 minutes, you will get yourself in prison by tomorrow"<sup>49</sup>. The then park warden has done what was ordered by the Afar regional State president and put Afar regional flag on the gate of the ANP.

However, on the contrary, such action upset the Oromo community who have lived around the national park particularly, the Karayu and Ittu community and also the Oromo

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<sup>49</sup> Interview with the current EWCA officer a former ANP officer, from 1988-1995, June, 2018, EWCA, AA

regional state elites. This was because of the Oromo communities' thought as ANP belonged to them. When they saw the substitution of the Oromiya regional flag with Afar regional flag on the gate of the ANP, they felt like losing their land and submitted to the Afar. The Oromo community immediately begun retaliating against the Afar regional government via taking down and tearing into pieces of the Afar regional flag. Such action done by the Afar and Oromiya community around the ANP become a triggering factor for serious conflict between the Afar and Oromiya community and also to the two regional states. After a while, it was politicized and escalated into a conflict between the two regional states of Afar and Oromiya. This is because of the boundary delimitation problem that has no clear demarcation of the park.

It has also affected the feelings of belongingness and administration of the ANP by the Afar and the Oromiya regional state. Consequently, beginning from its establishment till now, ANP has stayed under the management and administration of the federal EWCA. According to my informant from the ANP office, such distant management and administration of ANP by EWCA has affected the development of the ANP. Since the EWCA officers couldn't make a frequent follow-up and unable to solve the problems that have happened in the NP<sup>50</sup>.

Likewise, the conflict has stayed for more than ten years and become the cause for the death and injury of many people from both community members. According to the then park warden description and information from FGD with ANP officers, "*in one day*

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<sup>50</sup>Interview with the current ANP officer, serving 2016- 2019, December 2019, ANP office.

*eleven Karrayus were killed by the Afar. In retaliation, the Karrayu also killed four Afar and looted many cattle and camel from the Afar*<sup>51</sup>. They emphasized that such a conflict between the two communities had restricted the movement of both the Afar and Karrayue community from one territory to the other. Because, they were fear each other. However, such a conflict stayed for a little while untill it was solved by the joint peace committee selected from Afar and Oromo community in 2014.

However, when we see the boundary demarcation of ANP, it has no clear feature of demarcation that can easily be recognized by the local community who are living around it and the ANP officers too. Although the area of ANP has decreased its size from 827 km<sup>2</sup> at the time of establishment in 1966 and serving as a hunting ground to 751km<sup>2</sup> in 1969 legal gazzettion as ANP, 521 km<sup>2</sup> in 2001, the demarcation is not clear. The local community always cross the boundary of ANP and feed their cattle inside it. When the park officials asked them to takeout their cattle from it, they responded that like this is their locality. Or we are out of the boundary of the ANP. The park officials are also in confusion and encountered some sort of difficulty to safeguard the boundary. Because, there is no clear demarcation feature that shows the exact boundary of the park. Also, the demarcation process was done with limited participation of the local community. It has played negative role regarding having testimony from the local community that shows the exact boundary demarcation of the ANP to the local community. If the boundary demarcation work is done by the participation of the local community, park officers could

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<sup>51</sup>Interview with the current ANP warden, serving 2013- 2019, December 2019, ANP office. & FGD with the ANP officers, December 2019

have never gone into confusion and never get difficult to know the exact boundary since they could have information from the local community.

This shows the limitation of EWCA in empowering the local community to participate in any managerial work including boundary demarcation. Getting communities involved in conservation including demarcation of the NP is important to make nature and natural resource conservation beneficial and meaningful to local communities (Bell, 1987). Though the national government has such a drawback of allowing the local community to involve in the park management, the conflict between the local community who resides around ANP and park officers continues to date. It has also affected sustainable development of the park.

#### **6.5. Claiming Customary Land right and Culture as cause of Conflict in ANP**

The term customary land is introduced during the colonial period. It is a land that is owned by indigenous communities and administered under their customs. It also included common ownership. But some scholars believed that communal land property could block development and a cause for the delaying. Such type of customary land right has been widely spread in Africa but it discourages individuals to invest in certain duties related to the common land (Igoe & Brockington, 1999). Similarly, common land that is preserved by a certain community has exposed to overgrazing and soil depletion. Furthermore, when land is controlled under customary tenure, the rights of the village clan prevail above the rights of the individual. Customary rights are not transferable so

people who do not belong to the clan cannot get a share (Igoe & Brockington, 1999). Such a backward type of investment does not produce dynamic change like a free market. By understanding the negative impact of accumulating land in the name of customary land right, the national government of Ethiopia took lands that are good for investment from the local community who believed the area as their customary land that inherited from their ancestor and uses it for national development. It has touched the customary right of the local community that was serving as communal lands used for grazing and agriculture (Beyene, 2006). However, when the government takes the customary land of a certain locality, it needs to develop a strong administration system that can able to accommodate the interest of the local community to minimize local-level conflict.

The weakness of the land administration system could develop a clash between the customary rights and formal legal systems. The formal legal system occasionally used as a tool to disinherit the local community from their ancestral places. The displacement of the customary right of the land could be among conflict initiators at both local and regional levels (Unruh & Williams, 2013). So, when the government dispossesses the local community from their ancestral land, it should provide awareness and convenes the attitude of the local community. Also, the government should provide equitable compensation payment for the lost grazing and agricultural land including harvest and arrange land for substitution. Likewise, the government needs to provide alternative livelihood opportunities to the local community. Otherwise, the local community who dispossessed from their agricultural and grazing lands in the name of development of national parks and another development projects without having any benefit ensue

conflict (Iwai, 2009).

In the cause of ANP, the area was inhabited and controlled mostly by the Karrayu, Ittue, and the Afar. In the northwestern part of ANP, the Afar has been lived for a long period of time. Whereas in the Southwestern part of Awash valley, there exists the Karrayu, and Ittue communities. Each community had its territory upon where they had a right to graze and water their livestock. In a time of resource scarcity, most of them were traveled long distances to find fodder to their cattle. Likewise, they do enter the areas of neighboring development projects including ANP (Lane, 1995).

The local communities are forced to enter in the ANP when their traditional dry season fodder continues to decrease due to the expansion of commercial farms. The Karrayu cross the park's boundary from the west, the Ittu from the east, the Debine Afar from the north, and the Wiema Afar from the northeast. At this time, conflict arises among the national park management and the local community. The pressure exerted on the NP varies with the length of the rains and intensity of the dry season. The problems are compounded or minimized depending on factors such as the number of livestock driven into the park, the duration of their stay there, and the size of the parking area trespassed on. For additional information see the following map.

## Pastoralist Movements in and Around Awash



Source: Adapted from Kahsay Gebremedihh EWCA, PPT (2018)

The ANP has never been free from human and livestock interference ever since its establishment, even when the effects of the dry season are less severe (Ayalew, 2011). The drought of 1973/74 hit the Karrayu, Ittu and Afar community as it did other parts of the country. It first resulted in the decline in the number of their livestock holdings and later on brought about deterioration to the natural resources outside the ANP. The adverse situation forced the local communities to find forage on the ground of the park and thereby trespass beyond boundaries. Upon this, the Ethiopian Wildlife Conservation Organization (EWCO) made several appeals to the military government of the time that resulted in the eviction of local communities from the boundaries of the ANP. The representatives of the local communities in the area had also presented their appeal but didn't get attention from the government (Lane, 1995).

In the 1984/85 droughts the local communities who are living around ANP, especially the Karrayu communities entered and settled in the ANP. After a while in 1991, when the government change and political instability created due to the downfall of the Derg, by considering it as an advantage, the other group of the local community entered deeply into the park (EWCO, 2003). Compared to the Karrayu community, Afar and Ittue had put less pressure on the park. These communities will have relatively large areas of grazing lands and better water access to the Awash River. They have not been as much affected by the expanding estate as the Karrayu did. As a result, the Karrayu have repeatedly entered with disruptive effect into the park. This is because of their feeling that this is their customary land besides finding grazing land and water.

When they are doing such grazing activity in ANP, the local community often punished and forced to pay fines. However, the local community doesn't seem to be afraid of paying fines. Rather some of them built their homesteads deep inside the zone of some sections of the park for so many years. Because they do not feel as they are entering and crossing the boundary of the ANP. They believe they are settling in their customary land. The tension and conflict that had persisted in the area confirm that the root cause of the problem lies in competing customary claims to the territory as well as the policy of protectionism, exclusion and policing adopted by the park. The three major local communities, Karrayu, Ittu, and Afar, who traditionally inhabited the area, have felt that their rights have been intruded upon the establishment of ANP (Ayalew, 2011). Before the establishment of the ANP, those local communities such as Karrayu, Ittu and Afar

lived together for the most part in the atmosphere of mutual respect, one group recognizes the customs territory of the other. There were occasions, of course, when tensions and conflicts broke out among them, when environmental stress struck, forcing the groups to compete with one another over access to diminishing resources of water and pasture. The relatively mild misunderstandings among these communities were intensified in the scope involving other parties following the alienation of their main grazing land by the establishment of the ANP (Solomon, 2014).

The national government took land from the Afar, Ittu and Karrayu community that is endowed with a huge amount and type of wild animals and plants used for establishing ANP. Such action was taken place without consulting the local community, providing fair compensation, and alternative livelihood opportunities. It has affected their livelihoods and customary rights. The local communities such as the Afar and Karrayu always claim about their customary right in and around ANP and other development projects.

According to a scout from the Afar community description

*Even if our forefathers were agreed for the establishment of the national park and other development projects in our ancestral place, we weren't interested to resettle out off our locality that our culture highly bounded to the place. Similarly, we didn't get any compensation payment and land for substitution. The national government never provided any compensation payment and alternative livelihood opportunity. Though the government provided grazing land that was located in the northern part of Metehara town as a substitution, never submitted it to the local community legally through the document. Besides, the local community had no any interest of losing the customary land that we took from our ancestors<sup>52</sup>.*

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<sup>52</sup>Interview with the current ANP scout association member, December 2019, ANP office

Even though the problem related to compensation payment and land for substitution had taken as a reason, the main fact for the local community staying in a very narrow place around ANP particularly in the reign of Emperor Haile Sillassie I and the Derg was to safeguard their customary land rights. They thought the area around ANP was, their heritage that they should keep and transfer to the next generation. Likewise, “they were always thinking about the lands that they have got from their ancestors to preserve and conserve as well as transfer to the next generation”. So, to get back the lost lands that they were claiming customary rights, the local community had used the destruction of the biodiversity in ANP as a means to express their grievances. Consequently, they were always doing against the conservation agenda, such as engaging in encroachment and poaching work. Then, due to such action, they are always fighting with the park officers.

However, after a while when the population increased and resource scarcity has happened, both the Afar and Karrayu have taken claiming customary rights as a method to control the well-conserved watery and grazing lands around ANP. Then, they were fighting each other to control those lands in the name of protecting their customary land right. For example, the place around Fentale Mountain is one of the conflicting places between Afar and Karrayu due to the customary rights issue. As a result, both ethnic groups have used the name Fentale as a distinct name for their Woreda, such as Fentale Woreda belongs to Karrayu or Oromo community whereas Awash Fenatle for Afar community. This shows how much both communities have been concerned about the

Fentale Mountain. According to FGD with Afar and Karrayu communities<sup>53</sup>, Fentale Mountain is the most conflicting area for both Afar and Karrayu communities.

They are competing with each other to control the area. Based on my informant explanation, especially in the dry season, since the area around Fentale Mountain that is swampy and has a good grazing site including ample water resources, the Afar and Karrayu communities tried to control the site. Afar or Karrayu community wake up very early and go to the Fentale Mountain to settle there, till the beginning of the rainy season. One of them who lost the chance of controlling the site always has raised conflict and tried to feed their cattle by force through invading the site. At this time, the community who already control the Fentale Mountain in advance often engage in conflict to defend the invaders. Such an event has continued until 2014. According to my informant's explanation from Karrayu community, the reason why both Afar and Karrayu interested to control the area around Fentale Mountain is beyond finding grazing land and water for their cattle. Rather it is connected with customary rights<sup>54</sup>. Both of them believed that Fentale Mountain is the ancestral place that they should keep it and transfer it to the next generation.

Fentale Caldera is noted as a prayer site and the hot springs are stated to be a traditional healing location. This is a whole matter of dignity for both (Ayalew, 2001). Such conflict and competition amongst the two communities to control the Fentale Mountain that

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<sup>53</sup>FGD with Afar community leaders in March 2018, at at Dudub kebele, Kebele administration office & FGD with Ittue community leaders in March 2018, at Illal village, Kebele administration office.

<sup>54</sup>Interview with the Karrayu community member, March 2018, at Dehti kebele

belongs to the boundary of ANP has also affected the NP development. According to the local community from the Afar community explanation, “the winners of the competition will send their cattle to the area around Fentale Mountain that is part of ANP and able to feed their cattle freely”. At this time their cattle damages endemic plant species of ANP that have been served as an input for tourism development and do scientific research. Besides, their cattle also share the food and shelter of wild animals and forced them to migrate out of the boundary of ANP. To safeguard the destruction of the ANP, the park officers often fight with the local community who resides around the Fentale Mountain.

According to a description of one of my informants from park office, “especially in the dry season, the local communities’ interest in controlling the area around Fentale Mountain increases. It helps them to take advantage of water and well-conserved grazing lands in the name of safeguarding customary right”<sup>55</sup>. The problem of scarcity of water and grazing land forced them to compete with each other to control it. Such a competition always took them into conflict. According to the park warden description, “*in the dry season, our main job is conflicting with the local community that entered to the NP with their cattle*”<sup>56</sup>.

Besides the customary right, culture has been another cause of conflict between Afar and Karrayu in the ANP. The existence of a culture of war and violence had been a cause and uphold factor for inter-ethnic conflicts in the Awash valley. The long-lasting culture of

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<sup>55</sup>Interview with the current ANP officer, serving 2016- 2019, December 2019, ANP office.

<sup>56</sup>Interview with the current ANP warden, serving 2013- 2019, December 2019, ANP office

revenge has a compounding effect and able to continue conflict cycles. According to my informant from Afar community leader, before the central government launched its development schemes in the Awash valley, cultural attributes were among the major conflict aggravating factors in the area<sup>57</sup>. Such culture-induced conflicts had been fought particularly between the Karrayu-Argoba, Afar-Karrayu, and Issa with Afar. These groups fought one another for the sake of hunting individuals or collective fame and display their bravery (Buli, 2001; Asnake, 2010).

According to my informant's explanation, the culture of conflict between Afar and Karrayu existed before the 1960s and continued until 2014<sup>58</sup>. The old generations inculcate this culture of violence in the minds of young generations. In the minds of the Awash valley community, if someone lost his family with someone attack and couldn't do revenge against the attacker/killer, he will be out-casted from the local community. He has been considered as weak and lazy. According to my informant description from the Afar community, retaliatory acts obtain a positive response and are often rewarded by the community. The feeling of humiliation and the subsequent retaliatory measures are usually perceived as collective responsibilities of the entire ethnic group concerned. Such cultural related war was the direct offspring of the much valued, revered, and praised culture. Its influence is quite distinct from conflicts over other issues at least on one basic ground. The distinction could be found from the fact that such war was fought based on mutual consensus of the conflicting parties. This means there is no room for the imminent

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<sup>57</sup>Interview with Afar community leader in March 10, 2018, at Genet Hotel, Awash city

<sup>58</sup>Interview with Afar community leader in March 10, 2018, at Genet Hotel, Awash city

combat to breakout accidentally. Instead, the belligerent ethnic groups were expected to capable themselves of the 'rule of the game'. The 'rule of the game' means that inhibited the warring groups from making any surprise attacks on their 'enemy'. Also, the 'rule' directed the groups not to hurt or offend the messenger sent from either side. To explain it in more concrete terms, any groups that wanted to take the initiative from such war sent a messenger to fix the date and place of the actual combat<sup>59</sup>. The messengers have the privilege of being immune from any form of maltreatment. Accordingly, he received a warm reception and due hospitality in the home of his 'enemy'. This is an agreed-upon war.

Likewise, cattle raiding have been the other cause for conflict between Afar and Karrayu. Culturally, killing the Oromo community or looting the cattle of Oromo in the Afar community has been considered as pride or the man who killed Oromo was taken as a brave. The same was true in the Oromo community. Besides culture, in the pastoral community of Afar and Karrayu, cattle rustling was generally considered as an acceptable means to acquire assets whether in times of retaliatory conflict or under normal situation. According to the Afar elders explanation

*'Cattle rustling have taken on a commercial character providing income to the youth and a means to acquire asset. It specifically supports the young men who have got very small inheritance from his family since his parents have many children, share what they have for all of their children equally and provide insignificant asset to their kids<sup>60</sup>.*

Therefore, to the pastoralist's, livestock is more than an economic asset. They are

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<sup>59</sup>Interview with Afar community leader in March 10, 2018, at Genet Hotel, Awash city

<sup>60</sup>FGD with Afar community leaders in March 2018, at at Dudub kebele, Kebele administration office

involved in all social interactions and provide a form of social insurance against emergencies and liabilities. Besides the economic function, livestock also serves to fulfill the pastoralist's social, emotional, and spiritual needs. The evolving rationale behind cattle raiding is multiple. One is the ritual advantage of acquiring enemy livestock as proof of masculine warriorhood (Alemmaya & Tobias, 2008). Consequently, cattle raiders are driven by symbolic and pecuniary motives. Raids occur in retaliation to prior attacks to reacquire stolen stock and to replace destroyed herds or they are simply deployed to intimidate enemy groups or they are simply deployed to frighten enemy groups. As Asnake (2010) taken from Irungu and Omiti's (2002) cootation that explain about pastoralist deep love for livestock stated;

*Pastoralists believe that all livestock on earth including those owned by other people are theirs by right and that there is nothing wrong with going after them and taking them by force. Accordingly, a pastoralist must be prepared to die in pursuit of their belief... that termed it as cattle-culture complex (Irungu & Omiti, 2002:18).*

As a result, such a practice had created conflict and makes the conflict continuous. The same to this practice, my informants from Afar and Karrayu community leaders describe the rationale behind cattle raids in their community and its relation in culture;

*When a young member of the local community has planning to get marriage, demand for more cattle and the subsequent raiding have happened specifically for those who have a shortage of property for show up. So, such raiding will increase their asset and also a means to get a culturally endorsed social status<sup>61</sup>.*

For having both cultural and economic advantages the Afar, Ittue, and Karrayu

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<sup>61</sup>Interview with the elders both from Afar and Karrayu communities, March 2018, at ANP office

communities were involved in the act of cattle raiding.

Such action of raiding has been taken place in-group or individually. Looting has done individually but they made robbery in-group. According to my informants from Karrayu explanation, most of the robbery and looting took place in the rainy season. The looter took all cattle, camel, sometimes including women of the victims. After a while, those who were victims of robbery and looting went after them into war to restore what they lost. This led to a new retaliatory attack and hence exacerbates conflicts<sup>62</sup>.

Previously such cattle raiding was taken as a culture to re-back the looted cattle or an act of bravery. After a while, when the ANP and other development projects established around Awash valley and narrowing the grazing lands and water points, such events bring an economic problem to the local community. Due to the shortage of grazing lands and water, the local community couldn't rear the cattle as they wanted. At this time, the local community who unable to accumulate lots of cattle due to the shortage of grazing land wanted to fulfill their ambition of having lots of cattle through looting. Such activity has increased from time to time.

According to my informant from ANP officer's explanation, most of the robbery/raiders after looting the cattle from their enemy place crosses through ANP. Also, most of the robbery takes place during night times. The looters' cross the park just randomly and in an irresponsible manner without following the walkways that have been used by the

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<sup>62</sup>Interview with the Karrayu community member, March 2018, at Debti kebele

tourist or park officer when they moving inside the national park. The walkway that was established by the park officers inside the ANP is very narrow that used to pass only one person at a time. It helped the visitor or park officer or researcher to reach to the tourist attraction sites without destroying the biodiversity of the national park (EWCO, 2003). Every visitor or individual should go along the wake way to protect biodiversity. But at the time of the cattle raiding, the looters have moved to their locality through crossing ANP and never keep moving on the walkway. Such action seriously affected the existence of biodiversity in ANP. In addition, sometimes the group that lost their cattle wake up and understands as they lost their cattle by the raiders from their enemy. At this time, they began to follow the footsteps of their enemies to get back the lost cattle. Then, sometimes they have met the looter/enemy in side ANP and open a war inside the national park. Such war seriously destructs the ANP and it plays a role in the loss of the beauty of the ANP. In addition, it has negatively influenced the tourist flow to ANP since the tourist considered the park as a battlefield<sup>63</sup>.

Although culture by itself is not taken as a cause of conflict between the local community and park officers, it is another means to create conflict between them. Based on their culture, the local community has an interest in accumulating lots of cattle. To feed their floks cattle they need ample grazing land and water. However, there is a serious shortage of resources around them. So, they take ANP that accumulated well-conserved resources as a means to feed and water their cattle. Then the conflict between the local community

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<sup>63</sup>Interview with the current ANP officer, serving 2016- 2019, December 2019, ANP office

and park officers continues.

To conclude, in the Awash valley various kinds of conflict have taken place. However, most of the conflicts are caused by shortage of resources coming from population growth, degradation of resources, and disposal of the local community from their lands in the name of development projects. To control that scarce resource, the local community competed and tried their best to handle it. Such competition, controlling and losing activity, brings the local community into conflict. Scholars have been raised the governance policy as the main cause of conflict in the ANP. The policy that takes the power of the local community to access and manage the natural resources in Awash Valley played a role for the existence of conflict. The power of accessing and managing ANP is in the hands of the federal government. The local community's power regarding accessing and managing the natural resources in ANP is very limited. Besides losing their power, the established ANP couldn't bring any alternative livelihood opportunity to the local community in terms of eco-tourism development and job creation.

Hence, the establishment of ANP via taking lands from the local community that they used for grazing and farming without providing any alternative livelihood opportunity has affected the lives of the local community. They encountered a shortage of resources. Since the population is increasing, on the contrary, the resource is as it was and couldn't accommodate the interests of them. Here, the local community competes to control such scarce resources. Such competition has taken them into serious conflicts.

However, various government bodies and local communities have been involved to resolve the conflict around the Awash valley. The following are some measures taken by the local community and national park officers to resolve the conflict.

## **6.6. Conflict Resolution Process Around Awash Valley, ANP**

### **6.6.1. Conflict Resolution Attempts of Awash Valley**

Regional, national, and local organizations were involved in peacemaking processes in and around Awash Valley. At the regional level, even though the attempt was minor or inadequate, the Intergovernmental Authority for Development (IGAD) was involved in addressing the conflict between Afar and Issa in 2004. IGAD and its early warning strategy; Conflict Early Warning and Response Network (CEWARN) were making a regular announcement for potentially dangerous or difficult circumstances on these two groups (Muauz, 2018). But such regional organization doesn't give any attention to the other conflicts in the Awash valley, like between Afar and Karrayu, and the local community with the Development project officers such as ANP and Agricultural farms (Alemmaya & Tobias, 2008).

However, after 1991, the national government has tried to resolve the Afar-Karrayu conflict by establishing a joint peace committee. The structure of the committee has been tied from the Federal to Kebele association level. It also created the opportunity of making discussions of conflict management and resolution options and publicizing the prevalence of conflict to the general public (Joint Report, 2007). Often government media

does not report incidences of conflict as they occur. However, the public learns about the situation of conflict in this area and many other parts of the country when there is media coverage about peace and reconciliation attempts.

Secondly, documenting conflict occurrence and resolution meeting proceedings is a new beginning for the possibility of conflict analysis and assessment of possible options of conflict management and resolution. Also, it helps the government to employ the strategy of public participation in conflict management and resolution (Solomon, 2014). According to the information obtained from FGD with Afar community leaders, “Even if the attempt of the local authorities to practically implement this strategy had its shortcomings, realization of the need for active community participation is a big step forward”<sup>64</sup>.

Regarding the conflict resolution of the Awash Valley between Afar and Karrayu, there was a problem of realization through effectively deal with the conflicts concerning choosing between focusing on conflict management and resolution. Accordingly, the directions being pursued by the government seem to have missed the target of conflict resolution by giving due emphasis on conflict management. This is openly manifested in the contents of action plans and activity reports of the peace committees. These reports indicate that the activity of authorities mainly focuses on measures that may contain conflicts temporarily such as punishment of criminals, the return of lost property etc...(Beyene, 2006).

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<sup>64</sup>FGD with Afar community leaders in March 2018, at at Dudub village, Kebele administration office

Consequently, it has been the main duty of the government to regulate the inter-ethnic relation based on the constitution and provided a permanent solution. The constitution has provided the right to self-determination (FDRE 1995, article39) and public ownership of land (FDRE 1995, article 40) to the different ethnic groups and has taken these articles as a solution. But various experiences have approved the insufficiency of these legal frameworks and the need for reevaluation. Regarding effective conflict resolution, the institutional structures and functional division of tasks among different government strata have expressed its failure. Moreover, the need for effective community participation and exploiting the potentials of indigenous conflict management practices has been underestimated. To realize sustainable conflict resolution, the important roles of different sections of the society like elders, clan chiefs, religious leaders, pastoral youth, and women have not been well explored and exploited (Beyene, 2006; Asnake, 2010).

Though the government has ignored the indigenous conflict management practices in the main body of the constitution, in Awash Valley, the local communities have their conflict management methods that are inherited from their ancestors. Based on the description of FGD participants from the Afar and Karrayu community leaders, the local community of Afar and Karrayu have their own traditional conflict resolution mechanism and they have been using it to resolve the intra and inter-ethnic conflicts in their locality. In both communities, there was a practice named *Guma* that was used to resolve the conflict. *Guma* is a payment of blood money at the time of homicide based on the common penalty act of the community developed by elders, religious and clan leaders. *Guma* is

determined by the nature, state, and manner of homicides (murder) as much as the economic and another contingent elements-considered as informal courts.

Negotiation and further dialogue are the mechanisms used to determine the quantity and quality of *Guma*. Elders of the killer in the slain side perform rituals putting their hands in the contents of the slaughtered belly of cattle as purification of the intention of revenge and retribution. Even getting to marriage arrangements through the offering of one group's girl in formal marriage are considered as transformative rituals. By applying this tradition; *Kupha* (Oromiffa term) is the purification of an individual who commits homicide in unimportant but the *Aadda* (culture) prescribes for such cases one fellow suite. Otherwise, the *Aadda* set inclusion with fellow clansmen/women is unacceptable.

Consequently, the individuals who committed the homicide to get fellow clan's acceptance, he has to make *Kupha bassa*. This is a practice in which a man with another person's blood in his hand cannot get involved back into normal life like sitting for a meal. For one thing, it is assumed that one cannot remain hidden forever. Hence the *Aadda* prescribe to perform purification rituals of the type stated above to reconcile in prayers of forgiveness with the creator. Traditionally a theft of cattle is to be compensated by two cattle. Theft is one source of conflict. Both in spiritual and secular parlance, it is unacceptable. If cattle by some chance are included in someone's stock, it is expected to send back to the whereabouts of the cattle. Otherwise, he will be fined two cattle for one to the community that will then be used for the communal purpose; such cattle are taken as community budget. Therefore, the *Aadda* is almost similar among the

Karrayu Oromo and Afar clans.

There is an agreed-on social rule that theft is prohibited in tradition and even missing cattle is to be returned to its owners. Because of the above efforts, there has been encouraging progress and promising results. However, sometimes due to the problem of finalizing the negotiations on time, in the negotiations process, some irregular intentional or retaliatory incidents of lootings and killing have happened that lead to a more aggravated conflict<sup>65</sup>.

This traditional conflict management system has been applied in Awash Valley for many years. It could have been settled in the warring situation and establish peace. However, it couldn't establish sustainable peace in the locality. Such cultural conflict management measures were serving only to stop the conflict. Hence, the conflict between the two ethnic groups has stayed for many years. However, in 2014, with the full initiation of elders from the two ethnic groups the peace committee was established and able to resolve the conflict by applying their conflict resolution mechanisms.

#### **6.6.2. Traditional Conflict Resolution Mechanisms Applied in and around Awash National Park**

Traditional conflict resolution approach is the one that can play an important role in the current conflict transformation process. Here, the culture of the conflict-affected society

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<sup>65</sup>FGD with Afar community leaders in March 2018, at at Dudub village, Kebele administration office &FGD with Ittue/Karrayu community leaders in March 2018, at Illal Kebele administration office

has been taken as a means to solve the conflict. This is because of the nature of the conflict that negatively affected the relationship of the community. As a result, traditional conflict resolution methods build harmony among the conflicting parties through reconciliation. To restore good relations, sometimes they raise the sprite of the ancestors and gods and goddess as a reconciliation method (Oliver, 2000). Generally, traditional conflict transformation has been targeted to build harmony among the community.

Based on such facts, the peace committee of Afar and Oromo that were found in and around ANP was established in 2014 with the goodwill of the local community. The voluntarily committee members were selected from both Afar and Oromo community, such as Amebara Zone, Awash city, Measo Woreda, and Metehara city that are borders the park. The peace committee members had elected by the local communities who have been residing in and around the park. The involvement of the government was limited which was only organizing and legalizing the peace committee. The agenda for reconciliation formulated by the committee member based on their culture and religion. After developing the agenda for peace, the committee members had begun their work. The main agenda that has been used by the traditional peace committee was preaching and changing the attitude of the local community from hostile relations to peace. To perform such activity, first, the peace committee members had gathered the local community of Afar and Oromo who were conflicting with each other for many years.

According to my informant from the Afar and Ittue elders, they made preaching and tried to change the revenge mind of the conflicting party twice a week until the conflict was transformed. The informant further stated that;

*Killing is the work of Satan or Devil. We killed each other for many years but we couldn't get any profit from such an event rather losing lots of people and cattle from our localities. Also, we tell them this is the work of Devil that reinforce or motivate us to fight and kill each other. So, we should not obey the order of Devil that loves to see the bloodshed of humans. We are not for Devil rather we are for God. Someone who kills his brother/ sister due to this bad culture of revenge belongs to Setan<sup>66</sup>.*

Such a point served to change the mind of the local community and able to stop the conflict. Likewise, to make such conflict transformation or resolution method sustainable, the peace committee has established a mechanism that able to discourage the killer by excluding them from any social activity involved in the locality. According to FGD participants of the Afar and Ittue/Karrayu community members who were working as a member of such peace committee:

*We also used another social mechanism that made the killer and his family out of any social life in the community....the killer and his family had not allowed living in the locality as an ordinary person, they were not allowed to communicate with the society at the good or bad or in the happiness and sorrow time. They were even forced to leave the area and not allowed to feed his cattle in the communal land with the local community<sup>67</sup>.*

By saying this spiritual sentence and out casting the killer from the community, the peace committee members have achieved their goal of creating peace between the two communities. After a while, the Afar and Oromo community began to live together and support each other. According to my informant from the Afar community leaders, “now-a-days the two conflicting communities began to exchange spouse and able to produce or

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<sup>66</sup>Interview with the elders both from Afar and Ittue communities, March 2018, at ANP office

<sup>67</sup>FGD with Afar community leaders in March 2018, at at Dudub village, Kebele administration office & FGD with Ittue/Karrayu community leaders in March 2018, at Illal Kebele administration office

give birth lots of people more than they had lost at the time of conflict”<sup>68</sup>. Besides, they are planning to establish a school that will be used to teach both Afar and Oromo children. As a result, the peacekeeping mechanism was so successful and the probability of the conflict to relapse is very less.

However, there is a delay from the national or regional government in institutionalizing the peace committee. The committee has done all these with their interest. The government didn’t provide funds, fulfilled the necessary equipment such as office and necessary office materials. They have no salary and didn’t get any training regarding conflict resolution.

Even if the conflict between the Afar and Karrayu that was started before the reign of emperor Haile Selassie I has been solved through the peace committee, the conflict between the ANP officers and the development project officers with the local community who are residing around the park is still ongoing. Both regional and national organization doesn’t give any attention and try nothing to solve this conflict. Especially, the case of ANP that deserves due attention because of the degree of intensity from the destruction of biodiversity in the ANP and its recurrence; and also, its negative impact on the livelihood of the local community (Beyene, 2006).

However, the national government had also attempted to settle the conflict around the Awash valley many times by applying different mechanisms. Based on the previous

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<sup>68</sup>Interview with the elders both from Afar and Ittue communities, March 2018, at ANP office

explanation, the underlying causes of local-level conflict in the Awash Valley is shortage of resources due to the expansion of large-scale irrigated farms and ANP.

According to FGD participants from Afar and Ittue/Karrayu community leaders, the conflict between the two actors becomes serious from time to time. The main reason for the conflict as we discussed in detail previously, shortage of resources such as land and water due to the establishment of ANP and other agricultural projects without providing any alternative livelihood opportunity to the local community. Those development projects did not bring any advantage to the local community. Instead, it takes the power of accessing natural resources and managing based on their traditional knowledge. According to them,

*We lost our grazing and agricultural land for the advantage of others, not for us. We have never been employed in the park office as an officer or the Metehara sugar factory. A small number of people from the community have been engaged as a scout in ANP and as a guard in Metehara sugar factory within a very small salary. But most of us never got any benefit from the development project<sup>69</sup>.*

The community members who have a job in the NP or Metehara sugar factory have not been happy and satisfied with their job because of an insignificant monthly salary and their job status. Based on their explanation, “we are not happy particularly about the sugar factory<sup>70</sup>. This is because of the less involvement of the local community from the job opportunity and other advantages of the factory. The officers of the factory are not from the local community. The government has brought not only the officers but also the

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<sup>69</sup>FGD with Afar community leaders in March 10, 2018, at at Dudub kebele, around wash city & FGD with Ittue/Karrayu community leaders in March 10, 2018, at Illal kebel around Awash city

<sup>70</sup>FGD with Afar community leaders in March 10, 2018, at at Dudub kebele, around wash city & FGD with Ittue/Karrayu community leaders in March 10, 2018, at Illal kebel around Awash city

daily laborers from other places. The local community has no access to employment. According to them, the factory excludes the local community from minor works such as cutting the sugarcane. The factory has brought daily laborers from other places such as the southern part of Ethiopia. They have never obtained any benefit from the factory including straw of sugarcane for their cattle. The straw that is obtained from the planted sugar cane served as food for the cattle. Previously, the local community has got the advantage of collecting and taking the straw of sugar cane and used as fodder for their cattle. However, after a while, the local community has missed such advantage of straw. Because, the sugarcane field have been burnt before harvesting to make the process easier and require less manual labor. So, they couldn't get any advantage from the sugar plantation and sugar factory. As a result of this grievance, the local community attitude towards development projects such as ANP and Sugar factory has been negative and can be a cause for conflict in such locality.

However, such grievance has created a problem for the local community. The national government has used some mechanisms to solve the conflict particularly conflicts emanated from resource scarcity. To solve such a problem, the national government of Ethiopia had applied two different but integrated approaches. The first has been settlement schemes. The national government has designed a settlement program. Based on such a program, the government has tried to resettle displaced local communities that were affected by socially generated resource scarcity beginning from the 1960s. Based on such a program a certain number of people from Afar were resettled to Amibara and

Dubti areas in 1972/73. The settlers were expected to engage in modern agriculture, producing cotton in mechanized farming. However, since they were pastoralist, they couldn't cope up with such new job (UNDP, 1974). Such measures, even if repeatedly proved to be pointless because they were intended to settle pastoralists in an inherently contradictory manner of the very nature of pastoralism itself. The second project has been concentrated on the provision of grazing lands around the irrigated places (Ayalew, 2001). The place that provided for the pastoralist of Afar as grazing land was near Melka Sadi- Amibara irrigation area that was about 2000 hectares (UNDP, 1974). Such measures, however, were failures in comparison to what those pastoralists had. Moreover, the projects increased the concentration of livestock on the boundaries of irrigated lands leading to overgrazing and become a cause for environmental degradation (Ayalew, 2001). Hence, these projects might worsen the inter-ethnic conflicts even further.

Likewise, the park office in-collaboration with Non-governmental organization with CARE-Awash had tried to solve the water problem. Because the shortage of water was one of the main causes of conflict in the locality. CARE-Awash, Non- the governmental organization was the one that has planned to establish the water pond that serves the local community/pastoralist to water their cattle. Based on its program, CARE-Awash had focused on "Conservation and Development" in Awash valley the place that Afar, Karrayu, and Ittue communities were settled. It had done to solve the conflict that arises from shortage of water resource. It was also taken as compensation to substitute the lost

water points that the local community lost at the time of establishment of ANP and other project developments. Likewise, infrastructure development has an expected positive impact of NP and another project establishment in a certain locality. It provided an advantage to the local community by minimizing their major problem in the locality (Bien, 2003). Besides, it also minimized the local level conflict among the local community due to a shortage of water. Moreover, the program was able to secure the livelihood of the local community and promoting natural resource conservation in the ANP. The focus of the program was 'Conservation and Development' in the Awash and Fentale areas that Afar, Karrayu, and Ittue communities inhabited. In such a project the representatives from those communities were involved as a committee member. The main target of the committee was enhancing the local community conservation awareness and building their capacity to take the responsibility of conserving the environment. However, the progress made so far does not show the proposed participatory approach. The committee was led by the dominant interest groups, CARE-Awash and park management. The saying of the representatives of the three local communities was very limited. Besides, there was a conflict of interest among the stakeholders representing the committee. The park management didn't accept the construction of water ponds near to the park. They feared the extension program that will attract lots of the local communities to the park to water to their cattle and will destruct the biodiversity that was found around the NP. On the local community side, they required the construction of the water pond in Bonti, Koboo, Sogiddo, and Mogassa near to the northwest tip of the park that is nearby places from their residence. However, as CARE- Awash's main objective was to provide

extension service to the local community and work on water development, conservation of natural resources in the ANP was also another intended goal to achieve. As a result, the CARE-Awash's initiation and the steering committee had made a balance between these two cases to prevent the conflict that will happen at the time of implementation. In this regard, the agency found it hard to carry out its extension program of water pond development for the local community near to the conservation area<sup>71</sup>. In the meantime, the local communities were forced to migrate to the far distant place to find water in Gelcha and Dinkuku pond. Such action disappointed the local community and they have begun to believe that the CARE-Awash and the steering committee did nothing for them rather promoting the idea of park management. As a result, though CARE-Awash had such a plan of mitigating a problem of water in Awash valley, due to such conflict of interest among the steering committee it was never successful. The local community didn't like to move far to find a pond to drink water for their cattle rather they preferred to water their cattle around ANP and continue fighting with the park officers (Ayalew, 2009). Such an attempt used to mitigate the conflict in the Awash valley between the local community and the park management was not successful.

Moreover, the national government had made another attempt to solve such conflicts. The process involved re-demarcating of the ANP boundary. Various scholars including Jacob and Scheloden (1993) has been recommended the re-demarcation of the ANP boundary. Scholars believed that ANP sized a huge amount of land and could be a cause for the

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<sup>71</sup>Report of CARE Norway.Terminal Evaluation of Awash Conservation and Development Project II (ACDP II) 2000-2005).

shortage of land to the local community (Jacob and Scheloden, 1993). After a while, the national government took re-demarcating the park boundary as a solution used to minimize conflict (Abdi, et al, 2009). The original size of ANP at the time of its establishment in 1969 was 752 square kilometers and at the time of re-demarcation in 2011, it has shrunk and became 592 square kilometers (Solomon, 2014). However, such re-demarcation couldn't minimize the conflict between the local community and the park officers.

Now-a-days, the conflict between the local community and the government continued and become serious from time to time. According to my informants' from FGD with Afar community leaders' explanation, unless the government grants the power to access and manage the natural resources and providing alternative livelihood opportunities to the local community, the conflict will continue. According to them, the conflict will continue not only between the government (Park office) and the local community; but also amongst Afar and Oromo and within the Afar and the Oromo too. They emphasized that the only way to stop conflict is by empowering the local community by allowing them to participate in accessing and managing it<sup>72</sup>.

However, to make the local community participatory from the management of ANP, the national government in collaboration with the ANP office had established a tourism council, gathering from the local community. The tourism council of ANP was established in 2009. It consists of various stakeholders from government officials,

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<sup>72</sup>FGD with Afar community leaders in March 2018, at Dudub village Kebele Administration office

Woreda administrators (the boundary of the park such as Awash Fentale and Fentale Woreda), park officers, police, the local community leaders (from adjacent kebeles), youth, and women who lived around the NP. The Awash Fentale Woreda administrator was working as head of the council and park warden as secretary. This council had a legal recognition and working mainly for the development of the national park by making the local community participatory. The main target of the establishment of the council was to make the local community participatory in the national park management by making them contribute their traditional natural resource management knowledge. It complies with the theory of political ecology approach that empowered local community to access and manage the natural resources in the national parks. The government had given a responsibility to the council to study the major problems in the ANP and provided it to the national government to bring immediate solutions. However, after establishing as a council legally, the government had never institutionalized and arranged a budget to strengthen the council. Consequently, the council was unable to work properly and become dysfunctional (EWCA-ANP, 2018).

The other conflict resolution method that has been applied in the Awash valley by making the local community participatory is the establishment of the Ecotourism Association. Such association has established in 2018. The members of the association are local communities who have lived around ANP and are expected to be beneficiaries from the park. Such association has got technical and financial support from the park office and other NGOs, like GIZ. The members of the association are intended to

participate in various service giving areas of tourism in ANP, such as beekeeping (honey production), tour guiding, scout, providing cooking materials, lodging service, and others.

The local communities registered by the park office based on their interest in those services giving areas. However, except for one association that is involved in honey production, the others were not functional. Due to the destruction of the biodiversity that is an input for tourism development, the tourism business is dieing in ANP and couldn't make the local community participatory from such business. However, beekeeping has a longstanding tradition in Ethiopia and it is practiced almost throughout the whole country. It is one of the alternative forest-based non-timber income opportunities and it is compatible with forest conservation since bees feed on a great variety of forest flowers (Fikru, 2015). Based on such an assumption GIZ has to activate beekeeping work in ANP. In beekeeping around 47 associations are found in and around ANP and each of them comprises three individuals, one female, and two males.

They have got materials used for beekeeping and training on how to manage the honey production from the GIZ office. However, due to the destruction of the natural resources in the park, the flower that could be an input for honey production dewindled from time to time now totally become nonexistent. Hence, the ecotourism association that is involved in beekeeping works unable to benefit the local community and never become an alternative livelihood opportunity<sup>73</sup>.

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<sup>73</sup>Interview with the current ANP warden, serving 2013- 2019, December 2019, ANP office. & FGD with the ANP officers, December 2019

To conclude, the conflict resolution methods used to settle conflicts in the Awash Valley amongst the local communities such as establishing a peace committee was not successful. In the same vain, alternative conflict resolution methods used to build peace between the park's office, and the local community by making the local community participatory through water pond development, ecotourism association establishment, and tourism council development were not successful. This is because of the problem of the government that couldn't allow the local community to get the full power of accessing and managing the resources in the ANP and unable to make the local community responsible regarding the national park development.

### **.6.7. Peace Building and Community Development**

Peacemaking is a practical conflict transformation system that enables to establish equitable power relationships to prevent the recurrence of conflict. By making an ethical decision, it can bring the two antagonized parties into agreement. The thing that is expected from the peacemaking process is performing full agreement and new common understanding among warring parties and stakeholders. Mediation that supports the involvement of a third party between two parties is among the peacemaking process (Jeroen, 2010; UNDP/UNEP, 2015).

Fundamental knowledge concerning ecologies such as collection and analysis of environmental data, technical solutions for environmental problems, know-how regarding organizational tasks, a legislative basis, and rules for participation are basic capacities

needed to manage NP or PA (Borsdorff & Tabea, 2011). The participation rule is very important due to missing participation, integration, and regulation; anthropogenic pressures by the local community bring serious problems towards national park development in developing countries (Wells, et al, 1992). The local communities around ANP such as the Afar, Karrayu, and Ittue community are pastoralists and agro-pastoralist. They are a threat to ANP development because they lost their social and economic advantages that they used to get from the area before the establishment of the park. Such problems have resulted from the fact that the local communities were excluded from benefiting the resources that were once possessed by them. This entails that the ANP has been established by taking lands from the local community. Likewise, the management activities were directed with little or without due regard for the local communities.

The policy has taken the power of the local community from accessing and managing it in their traditional ways. The local communities who lost their power of accessing land and did not get any alternative livelihood opportunity from the established park have rather encountered a shortage of resources such as land and water. This resulted in the scarcity of natural resources, which local communities depend on, has become a root cause for the frequent conflict between the local community and ANP management. In resource-dependent societies with inconsiderate governance, environmental changes can change the distribution of natural and economic capital among people and local groups in ways that can motivate grievances that may purposely lead to violence (Boyden, 1987).

Consequently, the local community who lost their power of managing the natural resources in the ANP has brought lots of problems that have been a threat to the sustainability of the park. The local community has been engaged in various illegal activities that endanger the environment and the park. For example, making settlements within the park boundaries, livestock encroachment, and (over) grazing, expanding their farmland as well as deforestation and charcoal production are the most common illegal activities that threaten the conservation of biodiversity in the ANP. Such action can endanger wildlife populations by suffering especially from habitat loss and degradation of habitat quality. To mitigate the conflict between the local community and the park and ensure the effectiveness and existence of Awash national park, the local community must be involved in the park management and their needs have to be taken into consideration. Without their agreement, the conflict never stopped and natural resources in the NP could not sustainably be managed (Borsdorff & Tabea, 2011).

Hence, to solve the conflict, it needs to arrange diversified livelihood opportunities to the local community. According to the new modified definition of Ellis's (1998), livelihood diversification is the process by which rural households construct a various range of investment activities or social support capabilities to maintain or improve their ability to survive (Taufik, 2015). The activities of Livelihood diversification are mainly classified based on their roles as systems for coping, adaptation, and accumulation. There is a difference between livelihood diversification between the poor households struggling to survive and that of a rich household that is struggling to accumulate (Ellis, 1998). Brock

(1998) also framed the livelihood classification based on the two premises, such as diversification is relative (to diversify a livelihood, it is important to have an activity to diversify away from it). All activities have a spatial dimension (they are mainly performed within a certain area) (Brock, 1998). Based on such an assumption, it needs to diversify the livelihood of the local community who are living around ANP by changing their activity.

We can take ecotourism as the one diversified livelihood activity that will perform in ANP. Diversifying the livelihood of the local community through developing ecotourism activity is the best mechanism to solve the conflicts around ANP. The establishment of ecotourism within the NP serves to contribute to the growth and development of the country through the utilization of the abundance of natural resources (Lambi et al., 2012); whilst uplifting communities by ensuring there are opportunities for them to engage in alternate livelihood strategies, as ecotourism is based on community involvement (Venkatesh & Gouda, 2016). However, when it goes with the sustainable livelihood frame, where the vulnerability of communities will be reduced (Allison & Ellis, 2001), as communities will have access to different types of capital, such as financial capital from ecotourism related activities and natural capital from the protected area, which will insulate them from shocks and allow the sustenance of their livelihood (Morton & Meadows, 2000).

Applying eco-tourism activity in ANP is vital to empower the local community. It helps them to get the power of managing natural resources and accessing it. It will help them to

develop ownership and take the responsibility of the park management and development. The attitude of the local community towards the park will be changed and focused on the conservation of natural resources rather than destructing it. Generally, they are doing on the contrary of the March 2018 reports of the Ethiopian Television *ke Dalole eske Dashen* that narrates about ANP as the best place for cattle rearing<sup>74</sup>. We can take the case of SMNP as an example. In SMNP, the decentralization management system has helped the local community to get the power to manage the park. Decentralization can be defined as the transfer of power, in the arena of politics and administration, from a central government to a local government. Such kind of power transfer can take place mainly in two forms i.e administrative/deconcentration decentralization and political/democratic decentralization (Ribot, 2003). In an administrative type of decentralization government policy would be in line with the need and preference of local people through the transfer of power to appointees of the central government in addition to delegating ownership rights of the local (Loop, 2002). Political or democratic decentralization, the most effective form of decentralization, acknowledges the real decision-making power of the local community according to the stated jurisdiction and their prior preference in which power would transfer from central to local people through stakeholders or institutions (Ribot, 2003). In Ethiopia, there is a variation between the different regional states regarding the implementation of decentralization and its implications on national Parks.

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<sup>74</sup>EBC, March, 2018 by the program “Ke Dalole eske Dashen” Or in English term” From Dalole to Dashen” transmit in Ethiopian Television program

In the case of Simen Mountain National Park, Amhara Regional State, the regional government made a structural arrangement to implement decentralization to create a favorable environment for sustainable resource management (Hurni et al, 2008). After decentralization the management of ANP has been more difficult. Local communities acknowledge that the process of decentralization has implications at the district level at Awash Fentale and Fentale surrounding the Park (Solomon, 2014). However, the consequences of this decentralization on ANP have different faces. First, the working relationship of many regional and district officials with the Park administration is not smooth. Second, district-level officials support and encourage local communities' refusal and the question of the legality of the Park, especially as formerly demarcated by the federal government. Out of the total legally demarcated area of 752 km<sup>2</sup> of ANP, the local community is accepted only the inner core area of 250 km<sup>2</sup>. Also, local communities, more so in the Oromiya stateside, feel that the ownership of the Park and its resources rests in the hands of the federal government, and this shows the negligence of the national government regarding the resources of the NP. The same kinds of disappointments of the local community regarding the national parks have found in the other place of the country (Nishizaki, 2003; Solomon, 2014).

On the contrary, beginning from 1995 the decentralization Policy was applied in SMNP. Starting from this day, SMNP has been managed by the Amhara region Park development and protection office. The policy has helped the local community to get the power of managing the park and collect revenue. It also helps them to diversify their

livelihood through engaging in eco-tourism activity. However, at the time of SMNP establishment, during the regime of emperor Haile Sillase I and the *Derg*, the local communities' attitude towards the park was not good. The policy that had been applied by the government to manage the park; fortress conservation approach didn't get any acceptance by the local community. It made the local community to lose their power of managing and accessing the natural resources in the park (Hurni et al, 2008). Consequently, there was a serious conflict between the park officers and the local community. However, due to the decentralization management system, SMNP became under the management of the Amhara Region Park development and protection office. It has helped the office to make day-to-day follow up and to understand the exact problem of the local community. Then, try to make the park as an alternative livelihood to the local community by establishing eco-tourism (ANRS, 2019).

Now-a-days, almost all the local communities who are living around SMNP got involved in park management. They are working in various positions in the park, such as scout, guide, service provision work, and others. Such activities make the local community responsible for the existence of the park because the power of managing and accessing resources is in the hands of the local community. one of my informants recalls one event that he observed when he was visiting the park: He said

*One day when I was moving in the park with one scout, we have got a Chilada Baboone (one of the endemic animals to Ethiopia that found in SMNP) that her leg was broken and couldn't walk. At this time the scout went into her and embraced her. He immediately began to take care of her like his baby. I was surprised and asking him why he is doing*

*like this, he said" the Baboone helped me to grow-up my children and lead my life, that is why am giving special care to her<sup>75</sup>.*

This shows how much the local community has concerned and become responsible for the park and its biodiversity. Such livelihood opportunities made the local community to be responsible.

The same is true in Nyungwe National Park in Rwanda. In Nyungwe National Park (NNP), the revenue obtained from tourism has been allocated and shared with NNP and the communities in its surrounding Districts. For example, for the Rusizi district, it was US \$ 38, 824 in 2015-2016, and the US \$ 54, 539 in 2016-2017. Since the park empowers the local community by providing alternative livelihood advantage, they are concerned about the existence of the park by taking responsibility (Umuziranenge, 2019).

To conclude, when the government provides alternative livelihood opportunities from the park by diversifying the local community income and empower them to manage and access it, it is possible to improve the relationship between ANP and the local community. The local community will take full responsibility of Awash national park management and development. The livelihood opportunity will also improve the power relationship between the park officers and the local community. It also helps to solve the conflict between the park officers and local communities that lead to the sustainable management of the natural resources in the ANP.

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<sup>75</sup>Interview with the ANRS, Environmental protection and development office, Environmental protection and wildlife development officer, December 2019

## **CHAPTER SEVEN**

### **7. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION**

National park governance policy is developed by the government to protect the biodiversity of the Awash national park by keeping all the advantages and rights of the local community who are living around it. According to the data obtained from the interview and FGD, the NP governance policy should give power to the local community, for example, access to natural resources, having compensation for all costs incurred during conservation, and similar others. The policy should also allow the local community to use their local wisdom and practices in the conservation process. Or it will balance the power of the local community and the government in the ANP regarding access to and how to manage resources. Similarly, it should bring alternative livelihood opportunities to them. To achieve these goals, like SMNP and Menze Gosa Conservation area, the local community should be empowered and allowed to participate as a key actor in the national park governance policy development. Although these are the agreed norms of national park governance at all levels including at the local community level, in Ethiopia by taking it from the IUCN guideline, ANP governing body adopted and implemented the conservationist/ fortress conservation approach governance policy of NPs both in imperial and the Derg regimes.

The policy emphasizes the conservation of natural resources such as wildlife and other biodiversity by providing a fence that excludes the local community from any kind of

intrusions in the NP. Such a policy considered the local community as a spoiler and did not give them the power to manage it by applying their traditional knowledge of conserving the natural resources of their surroundings as they did before. When they lost their power of accessing and managing the resource in ANP, the local community began resenting the existence of ANP. They started to relate the situation as a type of domestic colonialism that the government or other invaders used to control their lands in the name of the establishment of NP. Particularly in the reign of Emperor Haile Sillase I, the management staffs of the park including the park warden were foreigners that increased the local communities' level of frustration as their lands were controlled by the foreigners. The same was true in the Derg and EPRDF regimes even though most of the management staff of the ANP were Ethiopians, out of their local community. This also strengthened their frustration and began to believe that they were losing their lands forever in the name of nature conservation, and this derived them against the conservation agenda.

Thus, the national park governance policy that denied the local communities' power of accessing and managing the natural resource in the ANP changed their attitude towards the ANP. Therefore, in the reigns of Emperor H/ Selassie I and Derg, the national park governance policy such as, the stronghold conservation policy was not welcomed by the local community.

Since the fortress conservation approach was not accepted by the local community and failed to bring the expected result of national park development, the Ethiopian

government adopted another type of national park governance policy which is called the Community based national park governance policy. However, the ANP office or the EWCA, like SMNP and Menze Gosa Conservation, did not apply this approach that empowered the local community in the area of accessing and managing it. The ANP has not yet allowed the local community to manage the park by applying their age-old traditional wisdom. This shows that the fortress conservation approach is still applied in ANP.

The study's finding reveals that the national park governance policy that has been used in the ANP, be it conservationist or CBC, has given little or no power to the local community to access and manage the natural resources. Therefore, the national park governance policy that has been proposed for ANP since the reign of Emperor Haile Sillassie I has never realized community empowerment. Due to this, the ANP failed to live up to its promises. It becomes not only incapacitated to protect the targeted natural resource but also negatively impacted the tourism activity that could be a livelihood opportunity for the local community around it.

Based on the above findings, I then recommend that the community-based conservation approach is viable to this context and should be used to manage the ANP by empowering the local community to manage and access resources. If the government has given the power of national park management to the local community, they will own the park and take full responsibility for park development. For its proper practice, it is better to take the experience from the Menze Gosa conservation site and SMNP as an example that

needs to be supplemented by the establishment of the council that has the legal power to manage the national park. In the Menze Gosa conservation site, the conservation activity has been in the hands of the local community. The legal council that was established from the representative of the local community has the full power of managing and accessing natural resources. The council members are salaried and have a formal office. All the management works including collecting revenues from tourism and other activities have managed by the local community. Then, the area is still well conserved. Similarly, in SMNP, the ecotourism Association that contains the local community as a member has the power of managing and accessing the livelihood opportunities in the park. Almost all the people living around SMNP is a member of ecotourism association and have benefited from the park by involving in various ecotourism activities such as tour guide, scout, cook, cooker, proving mule, being mule rider, providing firework, and other activities. It is the best alternative livelihood for a local community around it. Consequently, the local community has taken the responsibility of conserving biodiversity that is an input for tourism development. Like the two best example sites, the legal council member in ANP should be from the local community. The local communities in every kebele should elect a certain person as a member of the council that will represent them. The government should support the council and institutionalized it via the opening office, paying salary to the member of the council, and providing technical and financial support. The government should provide the legal right and power for the council to manage all the activities such as managing the natural resources in a traditional and modern way. Also, the government should empower the council to collect

the revenue from the park and use it for infrastructure development or similar other activities to meet the interest of the community.

The government should also diversify their livelihood by activating ecotourism in the area. Similarly, since the local communities who are living around ANP are pastoralists, the government needs to prepare livelihood alternatives. These include providing selected fodder seed that can grow within a short period and also establishing a fodder factory in their locality that can satisfy their livelihood needs in domesticating cattle.

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## **Appendices**

## **Appendix A**

### **Glossaries**

Aaddaa	Perform purification rituals
Guma	A payment of blood money at the time of homicide
Kupha	(Oromic term) that is a purification of an individual who commits homicide
Waaqa	God
Ye dure arawit	Wildlife
National Park	The area used to conserve and preserve natural and cultural resources that is very important and able to provide spiritual, scientific, educational, recreational and visitor opportunities
Protected Areas	An area that used to conserve ecosystems that have cultural and traditional values including natural resource.
Natural Resources	The World Bank, 1984 defines natural resources as a natural being that is very important for human. This includes water, air, land, forests, fish and wildlife, topsoil, and minerals.
Governance	It is a system that shows the processes of exercising power and making a responsible decision by respecting the sayings of citizens or stakeholders
NationalPark Governance	It is a system that manages the different interest of actors in a piece of land, including preserving the natural and cultural resources
Sustainable tourism	Indicated in and works as the engine to drive local community development and conservation of natural resources.

Conflict resolution	It is a method used to solve the conflict that happened between parties due to disagreement
Biological diversity (or biodiversity)	Is the variety of life on earth. It includes all living things, just the plants and animals that are common or easily seen.
Local level Conflict	Dispute between the community found in a certain locality and the government because of the distribution and manipulation of natural resources
Local Community	A local community is a group of interacting people sharing an environment in a certain locality

## Appendix B

### Description of Key Informants

No	Category of Interviewed	Place of interview	No. of interviewed	Date of Interview	Remarks
1	Afar community Leaders	Dudub Village, and Genete Hotel, Awash Arba city	4	March, 2018	The members of ‘peace committee’ and has detail knowledge about ANP& it’s impact. And two of them, were working as leader of the community before.
2	Ittue community leaders	Illala village and Genete Hotel, Awash Arba city	6	March, 2018	The member of ‘peace committee’ and has detail knowledge about ANP& it’s impact. Some of them are still working as a community leader or representative of the village.
3	Karrayu community leaders	Debti village and Genete Hotel, Awash Arba city	7	March, 2018	The member of ‘peace committee’ and has detail knowledge about ANP& it’s impact. Some of them are still working as a community leader or representative of the village. The others were working as leader of the community before.
4	Ittue community members	Illala village and Genet Hotel, Awash Arba city	5	March, 2018	Sometimes they are working with the park office & member of the GMP work of 2018, representative of the local community from Ittue. Some of them are elders have detail information about park to people relation.
5	Afar community members	Genet Hotel, Awash Arba city and Dudub village	7	March, 2018	Sometimes they are working with the park office & member of the GMP work of 2018, representative of the local community from Afar. Some of them are young boys that disappointed with the employment and system of the park that marignized them.

6	Karrayu community members	Genet Hotel, Awash Arba city and Debti village	3	March, 2018	Sometimes they are working with the park office & member of the GMP work of 2018, representative of the local community from Karrayu. He was working as leader of the village at a certain time.
7	Scouts of ANP	ANP Park office	8	March, 2018 & December, 2019	Member of scout association in ANP, working as a scout for more than 20 years. Chief scout, and ordinary scout (have no position)
8	EWCA, staff	EWCA, office, Addis ababa	1	June, 2018	He was working in ANP as officer and park warden (from 1989-1992,)
9.	EWCA, staff	EWCA, office, Addis ababa	1	June, 2018	He was working in ANP as wildlife conservation & community development officer (from 2010-2016)
10.	EWCA, staff	EWCA, office, Addis ababa	1	June, 2018	He was working in ANP as wildlife conservation & community development officer & delegate park warden (from 1990-2001)
11.	EWCA, staff	EWCA, office, Addis ababa	1	June, 2018	He was working in ANP as wildlife conservation expert (from 1985-1992)
12.	Awash Fentale Woreda land administration head	Awash Arba City	1	March, 2018	The head of the woreda land administration office have a good communication with ANP office. He also a member of GMP, 2018 team, representing the woreda. He was working with the park office specially on collecting fines from the local community who feed their cattle inside the park.
13.	Awash Fentale Woreda land administration officer, land administration experts.	Awash Arba City	2	March, 2018	They are working with the park office specially on collecting fines from the local community who feed their cattle inside the park and have detail information about the relationship between park and community.

14.	Amhara National Regional State (ANRS), Environment protection and development (EPD) office higher expert, conservation area and park development officers and the head of the Bureau	Bahir dar city	3	May, 2019	One of them was working for more than 30 years in various parks of Ethiopia in Nech sar, SMNP, Omo NP, as park warden, wildlife development officer, Park and community development officer. The other two are working EPD Office in conservation area and park development for more than 7 years.
15.	ANP Park Warden	ANP office		December, 2019	He is working as park warden (from 2013- 2019)
16.	ANP former driver	ANP office	1	August, 2018	He is from the Afar community and working as a driver (from 1986-2017)
17.	ANP tourism, community development, wildlife conservation experts	ANP office	1	December, 2019	She is working in ANP in such position (2014-2019)& she knows about the relationship between the park & community

### Description about FGD Participants

No	Discussants	Place of Discussion	No of Discussant	Date of Discussion	Remarks
1.	FGD with Afar Community Leaders	Dudub village, Kebele administration office	6	March, 2018	They are community leaders, most of them are member of “peace community of 2014”
2.	FGD with Ittue Community Leaders	Illala Village, Kebele administration office	6	March, 2018	They are community leaders, most of them are member of “peace community of 2014” and sometimes working with the park office
3	FGD with Karrayu Community Leaders	Debti village, Kebele administration office	<b>6</b>	March, 2018	They are community leaders and elders, most of them are member of “peace community of 2014”, Sometimes working with the park office and they a detail knowledge about the park community relationship in various regime

4	FGD with EWCA staff, who were working in ANP in various position	EWCA office, Addis ababa	6	April, 2018	They were working in ANP previously and have detail information about the park to community relation.
5	FGD with the current ANP officers	ANP office	6	December, 2019	They are working in ANP and they have live experience about the park community relation, and reason for the death of the park.
6	FGD with the participants of ANP, GMP 2018	Awash Arba city, Genete Hotel	10	March, 2018	They are from different position working in EWCA, ANP and the local community representatives that have detailed knowledge about ANP and problem of management structure, its impact for the local community livelihood

## Appendix C

### Unstructured questions used to collect the Data through FGD or Key informant

#### Interview

**1. How does the government define, operationalize and implement national park governance policy for mutual benefit of the local community, tourist and biodiversity conservation body.**

- How do you define national park governance in your words or what do you understand national park governance?
- What kind of the national governance policy has been applied in ANP?
- How has been the government operationalizes the national park governance policy in ANP?
- How the government defines and operationalizes national park governance in your locality (for local community)?
- How the government defines national park governance in ANP (for government officials)?
- What are the national park governance frameworks or pillars of the government?
- What do you evaluate the success of the government in applying those frameworks of the national park governance in ANP from ancient to present?
- In what way the government applies the national park governance policy in ANP?
- What are the positive and negative impacts of the national park governance policy from making local community beneficiary and biodiversity conservation and also minimizing conflict?
- How the national park governance policy became the case of the conflict in ANP?
- Who owns the national park?
- What are the feelings of the local community towards the park (in terms of ownership and the overall existence of the national park)?

**2. How does the local level conflict dynamics in Awash national park affect the park management and development.**

- What were the possible conflicts in and around the national park?
- When these were happened?
- What were the root cases and historical background of the conflict?

- Who were the main actors of the conflict?
- How long did it stay?
- Who were involved in escalating or de-escalating the conflict (external and internal actors of the conflict)?
- What was the effect of the conflict?
- Who were affected over the conflict?
- What peacekeeping mechanisms were applied to stop the conflict?
- Who were the peacekeepers?
- How the peacekeepers were successful?
- What do you think about the relapse of the conflict?
- What were the government actions in order to mitigate such a conflict?
- What do you suggest about the peacekeepers who should be involved in the future?

**3. To what extent the existing national governance policy able to address the problem of the local level conflict and able to build peace in the national park?**

- Are you happy with the current national park governance policy?
- What are the drawbacks of national park governance policy?
- How do you observe the local community involvement in benefit sharing and management of the national park?
- Who are the beneficiaries from the national park?
- What do you evaluate the current national park governance policy regarding to address the local level conflicts?
- What do you suggest about national park governance policy that able to address the problem of the local level conflicts? Who should be involved in conflict management? How they could involve?
- How can we make the local community involved in the NP management and development in order to build peace in and around ANP by making them beneficiary?

## Appendix D

### PHOTOGRAPHS TAKEN DURING DATA COLLECTION (FIELD WORK)



Livestock pressure on the park



TOURIST ATTRACTION PLACES, AWASH FALL, HOT SPRING POOL, PELICAN PONDS,



Parts of Degraded Areas of ANP