

**EXPLORING BLOOD REVENGE PRACTICES AND  
COMMUNITIES PERCEPTION: THE CASE OF  
TEDBABEMARIAM COMMUNITY IN SAINT WEREDA OF  
SOUTH WOLLO ZONE**

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This is to certify that the thesis prepared by Mekides Wonduante, entitled: Blood revenge practice and communities perception: in the case of Tedbabemariam community in Saint wereda of south Wollo zone and submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Sociology complies with the regulations of the university and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

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## Abstract

*This study was intended to explore blood revenge practice and communities perception, to examine the cause, consequence, intervention mechanism, societies view and reasons for the continuation of blood revenge practice. To this end, relevant literature has been reviewed to shade light on the issue under study.*

*This study employs a qualitative research approach, particularly key informant interview, in-depth interview, focus group discussion and case studies were used as tools for data collection in order to obtain the data needed for the study. Samples of 28 people are selected using a purposive sampling technique based up on their knowledge and experience on the issue under study.*

*The findings of the study have shown that blood revenge practice caused family, economic and societal problems in the community. Disputes and conflicts arise because of land, alcoholism, tradition of having extra marital sexual practice. Land conflicts, society's perception towards blood revenge practice and socialization process lead to disastrous effects on individuals as well as on group's contribution to blood revenge among family members at the highest number. Regarding with contributing factor for continuation of blood revenge practice still now blood revenge, weakening of indigenous mechanisms and poverty play crucial role. The number of people who lost their lives in blood revenge killing is huge in the community due to illegal weapon smuggling (SWCIO). So, from perspective of minimizing risk o of blood revenge, this study emphasizes the need to seriously take into account the impact of blood revenge upon the communities. The need to strengthen indigenous intervening mechanisms, providing continuous awareness, to reduce blood revenge wants emphasis.*

**Key Words:** *Blood revenge, Dem adraki-Komite, conflict, Tedbabemariam community.*

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## **Acronyms**

NURC.....National Unity Reconciliation Commission

SWSO .....Sayint Wereda Security Office

SWIMC MP.....Sayint *Woreda* Media and Information Compilation Management  
Process

## **Abbreviation**

E.C..... Ethiopian calander

FDRE.....Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia

KM ..... kilo metere

SWCIO..... Saint Wereda Crime Investigation Office

## **Glossary of Local Terms**

**Aboled:** - it is collection consanguinity blood relatives for solving blood revenge and other disputes.

**Yeager shimagloch:** - assembly of local elders established to settle blood revenge and other conflicts.

**Shimgelina:** This literally means elderliness, denotes dispute solution by elderly persons.

**Intervention Mechanism:** - it is a system of preventing blood revenge or other conflicts or means of mediating two Disputing groups or individuals.

**Minisha:** - it is member of security force selected by community member.

**Got:** - it is an administrative division unit under kebele.

**Wereda:** - administrative unit above kebele.

**Tella:** - a traditionally brewed alcoholic beverage.

**Mahiber:** - a religious association in which members get meals and contribute money to be used to Support members and their families during times of adversities such as death in the Family together once a month in the saint's day to share.

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# Chapter One

## 1 Background of the study

The term blood revenge is usually synonymous with terms like feud, vendetta, blood feud, vengeance and simply revenge. But some scholars make distinctions among these terms. According to Kutscher (1993), for instance, blood revenge is different from blood feud both in its course of events and in its scale of consequences. However, the Miriam Webster Third International English Dictionary makes no distinction between blood revenge and vengeance (Webster, 1976). And similarly, Grutzpalk (2002), in his article entitled "Blood Feud and Modernity," terms such as blood feud, vendetta, and blood vengeance have been used as synonyms.

According to (Emil, Souleimanov and, Aliyev H.2015), typical definition of blood revenge, also requires that its practice be individual, reciprocal (in the sense that it is triggered by an offense against oneself or one's relatives), selective (in the sense of selecting the targets of revenge), equivalent (i.e., grounded in the principle of "eye-for-an-eye"), and resulting in, or at least with the intention of, causing death.

Blood revenge practices are existed throughout the world but the magnitude of the practice varies from country to country, it is still practiced especially in developing countries where the formal legal institutions barely exist (Grutzpalk, 2002; Price, 2009, McKnight, 1986). People who practice blood revenge customs are not "primitive" and are not as such far from the realm of "modern" formal legal institutions. In Albania, for instance, blood revenge is practiced not due to its statelessness, but due to the widely held belief that blood revenge is the means of being honor (Masluk, 1954, quoted in Keizer, 1972, pJ2), in Albania failure to avenge severely criticized by society. Keizer (1972, p.43).

Traditionally, blood revenge constitutes an individual act of revenge against either the perpetrator of an offense or a member of a group associated with the offender through blood kinship. But, when would-be avengers are unable to identify or locate a group associated with the offender through blood kinship, they may seek blood revenge against the narrowest group that they are able to associate with the offender. Specifically, blood revenge is an

individual act of revenge against the perpetrator of an offense, a member of a group associated with the offender through blood kinship (Elster, 1990).

In Ethiopian context even though blood revenge is also practiced for the sake of glorifying honor, it brings unconstructive outcomes to the family members and the society at large. It suffers destruction of properties; dislodged communities, death, fermented fear, spoil social relation, and a drum beat of uncertainties (Keizer, 2005; Yihune, 2010).

According to Bitweded (2017), The problem is also a social and legal issue in Amhara National Regional State, because it causes life loss, physical injury, property loss and social instability. It disrupts the life of individuals and peaceful existence of groups. Blood Revenge involves initial victims and perpetrators, families, close and distant relatives of both victims and perpetrator Disputes lead to conflicts, and blood revenge becomes a potential result of conflict in turn in the saint wereda. Those conflicts end up with blood revenge, when vengeance killing is motivated by social norms it invariably gives rise to counter- vengeance or feuds, because the act of revenge itself is an affront that must be avenged.

Blood revenge involves initial victims and perpetrators, families, close and distant relatives of both victims and perpetrator. Initial victims may search for opportunities to retaliate blood for blood or any other ways. Hence, it becomes a circular social problem where victims at one occasion will be perpetrators on the next having retaliated the initial perpetrator (ibid). In order to alleviate such kind of problem societies use a set of conflict resolution strategies according to Dereje (2010) conflict resolution is suppression of conflict, searching for solution that would reduce the levels of violence and prevent its intensification either through formally or using indigenous conflict resolution mechanism. But, it is not effective. And, the issue doesn't take proper attention in line with this the practice is still exist within societies and brings challenges so, this study were made to explore blood revenge practice and communities perception in the case of Tedbabemariam community in saint wereda of south Wollo zone.

## **2 Statement of the problem**

Blood revenge is a very serious act that involves the killing of the former killer or his kin by the family of the victim. Blood revenge is primarily a tradition for many people in the world, and its connection to honor is illustrated by the fact that failure to respond is deemed a sign of moral weakness, and may imply whole kinship groups being seen as lacking in moral character. If the victim side negotiating for financial compensation with the perpetrator's family can be interpreted as weakness and as indicating that the group is not strong enough to defend its honor (Elster, 1990).

Blood revenge practice, brings unconstructive outcomes to the family members and the society at large. It causes destruction of properties; dislodge communities, death, fermented fear, spoil social relation, and a drum beat of uncertainties (Keizer, 2005; Yihune, 2010). These consequences are principally harsh for societies. When specifically coming to the study area, blood revenge practice is frequent and pervasive. In this community failed to counter killing is considered as a sign of fear, submissiveness, or weakness.

Through the process of blood revenge practice in Sayint wereda specifically 016 Tedbabemariam community, individuals or families who kill someone have experience of leave their homes and migrate to different areas looking for safe shelters, children's drop out from the school because they are obligated to live in hidden area, in line with these problem, as an agrarian society, this highly weakens both local economy by reducing the labor force required for grain production in specific case generally the agricultural sector. Though blood revenge brings about the above depressing consequences and other countless sufferings to the society as a whole, generally in Ethiopia and particularly in Saint Wereda of Tedbabemariam community,

In the course of assessing previously conducted studies, attempts have been made by some researchers to understand the diverse issues of blood revenge in Ethiopia. For instance, Jajew, (2003) conducted a study on the myth of ideal masculinity and blood revenge practices and its impact on women in particular, Levin (1966) also conducted research on concept of masculinity in Ethiopian culture by giving emphasis on cultures associates with an ideal man and its aspiration to a rationalization of the qualities of hardness are affirmed with the killing

of enemies, Shimeles and Getachew (2008), also conducted study on customary dispute resolution by giving emphasis to blood revenge practice in Ethiopia throughout some case studies of different Regional States. Likewise, a more recent attempt was made by Bitweded, (2017) cause, consequence and intervention mechanism of revenge in general.

Even though, similar studies were conducted on issues that revolves around destructive conflicts that end up in blood revenge or the causes and consequence that resulted from revenge in general. They highly emphasis on blood revenge practice with in aspects on honority or culture of being an ideal man rather my aim is to draw attention to what the I believe to be a gap in the research focus, which is that sufficient attention has not been given to impact of blood revenge practice, Coupled with that, assessments of blood revenge have received little research focus. Even under conditions where there are researches, almost none of these previous researches' recommendations have been taken seriously by governments due to this the practice exists still now, so far the gap in the spatial focus of most researches is also in the case of cultural violence but it also linked with issue of poverty, preferring approach and situation of intervention mechanisms. Bearing these gaps in mind, this study were made to explore blood revenge practice and communities perception in the case of Tedbabemariam community in Saint wereda of south Wollo zone. By investigating the major cause, consequence, challenges on intervention mechanism, contributing factor for the continuation of blood revenge practice and communities perception to wards blood revenge practice.

### **3. Objective of the study**

The main objective of this study is to explore blood revenge practices and communities perception focusing on Saint Wereda of South Wollo Zone, Amhara region. The specific Objectives are:-

- ✓ To examine factors contributing to blood revenge practices in the study area
- ✓ To identify major consequences of blood revenge practices in the study area
- ✓ To investigate intervention mechanisms of blood revenge practices
- ✓ To explore the communities' views towards blood revenge practices in the study area.

- ✓ To identify reasons contributing to the continuation of blood revenge practices in the study area.

## **4. The scope and significance of the study**

### **4.1 Scope of the study**

Given the issues under blood revenge, defining the scope and focus of this study is particular importance. This involves setting geographic and thematic boundaries and sharpening the focus within those. The blood revenge can be studied by looking the practice and view of the community, However, the thematic area of this research project is exclusively delimited to the cause, consequence, intervention mechanism, societies view and reason for the continuation of blood revenge still now. Geographically, the study is limited to Tedbabemariam community found in Saint Woreda of south Wollo zone, Amhara Region. Methodologically, the study has employed qualitative research approach (the rationality behind choosing this method is explained in chapter three).

### **4.2. Significance of the study**

Blood revenge brings about depressing consequences like individual's or group leave their homes and Migrate, children's school drop, as an agrarian society, this highly weakens the local economy by reducing the labor force required for grain production, and other countless sufferings to the society as a whole, the problem exists still now, it did not get enough attention.

As result, this study can break new ground in bringing the issue to the academic world. And, it may inspire other researchers to look into the issue further and in the course of action; therefore, it will also be used as an input for similar studies too. Apart from this, by conducting study about this issue, it is possible to insight for stakeholder's governmental, non-governmental organization.

## **5. Ethical Considerations**

Ethics is an integral part of a research process in most social science researches. Even some writers argue that it is compulsory for a social researcher conducting research involving humans to apply for ethical clearance. Whatsoever, the following ethical considerations have

been taken throughout the course of this study. First, without any deception or exaggeration about the aims and objectives of the research, full consent was obtained from the participants prior to the study. In all cases of data collection, it was made clear to participants that they would remain anonymous to ensure that they felt as comfortable as possible to openly express their experiences and views. In a few cases, people explicitly made clear that they were willing to be identified, but kept anonymous in this study. Hence, protection of research participants' privacy and adequate level of confidentiality of the research data was ensured, and was continue to be ensured, to the maximum possible. Last, any type of misleading information, as well as misrepresentation of primary data findings is avoided.

## **6. Limitation of the study**

Because of the study is conducted in rural area the woreda and Kebele office have not modern data base to organize their data. As a result, there were problems to get appropriate secondary data from the concerned offices.

Moreover, Conducting Focus Groups and interviews were stressful for me during collecting data because some participants were hesitant to release information freely and elaborately because of sensitivity of the issue. Therefore, enticing the quiet participants during focus groups so that every participant gets the chance to contribute, and probing them to tell me more was a difficult and stressful task.

## **7. Organization of the thesis**

This paper has five chapters and each chapter has its own sub topics and sections. For the sake of simplicity, the contents of each chapter are briefly discussed below. In chapter one, the thesis tried to present background information on the issue under study, the extent of the problem, the significance of the study, the delimitation and limitation of the study, the ethical considerations and finally the key terms that the researcher seeks to define for the audience.

In chapter two, various related literatures are reviewed on the major cause, consequence, challenges of intervention mechanism, societies perception to wards blood revenge practice. In chapter three, the methodology, the study design, the population and the sampling technique, data gathering methods and data analysis techniques have been discussed. In

chapter four, the data analysis, presentation and interpretation. The findings are communicated through narration. In chapter five, based on the study findings, conclusions have been drawn and in line with this, to alleviate the problem, some recommendations have suggested. Finally, materials used in the study are listed in the reference section, and interview and focusgroup guides and other materials annexed at the end.

## **Chapter Two**

### **2. Review of Literature**

This section deals with review of literature related to the issue under study. starting from conceptualizing terms, and theories whose assumptions are used in the study are presented, other countries experience on blood revenge practice are presented, and also related studies in Ethiopia are also reviewed in order to identify gaps which have not been filled by previously done researches.

#### **2.1 Conceptualizing conflict**

According to NURC (2008) conflict means an inverse relationship or a disagreement between two or more Persons, between groups, regions or even nation originating from different insights and interests. Conflict is not a new social phenomenon in the history of human being. Conflict always exists as long as human beings live together and it is an unpreventable human practice. According to Imobighe (2003) conflict can be defined as a condition of disagreement in an interaction process and usually occurs because of clash of interest between the parties involved. Clash of interest could occur because either they are pursuing their incompatible goals to pursue their chosen goal. On the other hand Conflict can be understood as engagement in a fight or confrontation between two or more parties aspiring towards incompatible or competitive means or ends (Bitweded, 2017).

Conflicts are inherent, because human beings have varying interests and needs. They are also inherent at the same time, because it is impossible to meet the needs and desires of all people simultaneously. Conflict results both constructive and destructive consequences.

Constructive Conflict are behaviors that are adaptive to the situation, person and issues of the moment are functional and constructive. Many conflicts are a mixture of competitive and cooperative impulses. Constructive conflicts appropriately balance the interests of both parties to maximize the opportunities for mutual gains. Constructive conflicts contain an element of creative adaptation born from a realization that one must know both one's own and the other's interests and goals to be able to find a road both parties are willing to walk to

discover a mutually acceptable outcome. Focusing on the process, not just the outcome one person desires, is key to productive conflict management (Wilmot and Hocker, 1998). In the case of destructive conflict behaviors that escalate a conflict until it seems to have a life of its own are dysfunctional and destructive. Destructive conflicts may degenerate sufficiently so the conflict parties forget the substantive issues and transform their purposes to getting even, retaliating or hurting the other person (Wilmot and Hocker, 1998). In destructive conflict, no one is satisfied with the outcome, possible gains are not realized and the negative taste left over at the end of one conflict episode is carried over to the beginning of the next conflict—creating a degenerating or negative spiral. Destructive conflicts are more likely to occur when behaviors come from rigid, competitive systems. Destructive conflicts that end up in blood revenge often flows from narrowly defined or rigid goals, and most often produces negative results (Wilmot and Hocker, 1998).

## **2.2 Conceptualizing blood revenge**

The words “revenge,” “feud,” “vengeance,” “retribution,” and “retaliation” have many meanings. In contrast, the term “blood revenge” typically refers to a more specific, context-bound form of revenge—that is, the desire to kill an offender or relatives in retaliation for a grave offense committed against oneself or one’s relative (Souleimanov and Aliyev 2015:158).

Blood revenge constitutes an individual act of revenge against either the perpetrator of an offense or a member of a group associated with the offender through blood kinship. When would-be avengers are unable to identify or locate a group associated with the offender through blood kinship, they may seek blood revenge against the narrowest group that they are able to associate with the offender (ibid).

The custom of blood revenge exhibits common characteristics across societies that practice it. First, it is closely tied to the notion of honor. According to Elster (1990) Honor is central in all feuding societies. Blood revenge is practiced by the indigenous population against an external invading force such as a foreign military or against an incumbent government.

When blood taking occurs as part of an internal conflict within indigenous communities, a single act of blood revenge can lead to reciprocal acts of blood taking—that is, a blood feud.

The failure to exact blood revenge in honoric cultures is tantamount to losing one's honor (Lang,2002:52-66).Palestinian custom of revenge-taking, Lang (2002:65) explains that "to avenge the murder of a close kinsman is honorable; to fail to do so is dishonorable."<sup>1</sup> The honor-based role of blood revenge in many cultures is socially sanctioned.<sup>2</sup> For example, "in Corsica, the man who has not avenged his father, an assassinated relative or a deceived daughter can no longer appear in public. Nobody speaks to him; he has to remain silent."<sup>3</sup> Blood revenge is thus obligatory. Not seeking it may result in social sanctions targeting not only the individual who failed to retaliate, but also his entire kinship group.

Second, as discussed in ethnographic studies by (Hoebel and Cormack, 1973:69-85), blood revenge is reciprocal . This principle of reciprocity is also embedded in contemporary blood revenge practices. For example, it is present in Albania's customary code *Kanun*, which sanctions blood revenge for spilt blood <sup>4</sup> According to Souleimanov and Aliyev (2015) It is also encoded in the Albanian saying "Blood is never lost," the Chechen saying "Chechens never forgive blood," and the Arab saying "Blood demands blood." Third, blood revenge is grounded in the notion of equivalence. That is the biblical principle of an eye-for-an-eye,which is used to justify most acts of blood revenge prescribes.

That one life be taken for each life lost or for an offense of similar gravity, such as rape or grievous injury. Islamic criminal jurisprudence explicitly recognizes the concept of equal—and therefore just—retaliation (*qisas*) applied against the offender but not his relatives.

### **2.3 The prevalence of blood revenge practice in global view**

Blood revenge is one of the traditional harmful practices still existing in the four comers of the globe particularly, however, it is common and frequent in largely lawless societies or in areas where tribal rules hold more sway than the national government or in places where

there is no any other means of obtaining justice (McKee Cited in price, 2009). But Otterbein and Otterbein (1965, p.1476 cited in Kuschel, 1993), based on the crosscultural analysis of fifty societies, maintained that "there is no any verifiable connection between the degree of political complexity and the appearance or absence of blood feud". Religious texts are also full of revenge accounts. For instance, the story of Cain and Able is one of the revenge stories in the Bible. In Quran also there is a similar account on revenge. When Islam came, the main modification introduced to the Bedouins was that all Muslims were obliged to avenge a Muslim who was slain and to defend a Muslim slayer against all outsiders (Pockscn cited in Patton, 190 I).

#### **2.4 Blood Revenge Practices: the Ethiopian Context**

Blood revenge practices are strewn throughout the world. In Ethiopia also, irrespectively of the magnitude of the problem, blood revenge is practiced in the country (Alula &Getachew, 2008). In a study conducted among Waliso Oromo, however, blood revenge is rarely practiced due to the nature of their customary dispute resolution methods which favor reconciliation over other personal means of averting injustice (Dejene, 2002). Among the Afar society blood revenge is common. Though nowadays it becomes obsolete, a person who killed someone is extradited to the slain's family so as to kill him in a similar way as he killed their member and thus circumvent further killing (Getachew & Shimelis, 2008). In his book entitled "Traditional Mechanism of Conflict Resolutions in Ethiopia," Giday (2000) and Melaku and Wubishet (2008) revealed that revenge killing is still functional in Amhara, Tigray, and other regions of the country. Other studies also confirmed that it is common to Burji, Konta, Koma and Majangir societies (Cerulli, 1956; Tipper, 1970 cited in Alula & Getachew, 2008, p.67).

## **2.5 Factors contributing to blood revenge practice**

### **2.5.1 Social norms across cultures**

Every society has its own standardized norms. These norms are institutionalized and ossified with proverbs, sayings and myths that anchored in the society's long standing culture (Yeshi,1995; Reminick 1974; Hussein 2005). According to Elster (1990), Blood revenge senses an obligatory, When vengeance killing is motivated by social norms it invariably gives rise to counter- vengeance or feuds, because the act of revenge itself is an affront that must be avenged, Revenge is an attempt, at some cost or risk to one self, to impose suffering upon those who have made one suffer, because they have made one suffer-is a universal phenomenon, proximate and ultimate causes of this behavior is First, people can act in a rational, outcome-oriented manner, choosing the best means to achieve their ends, Rational individuals follow the principles of letting bygones be bygones, cutting their losses and ignoring sunk costs, whereas the avenger typically refuses to forget an affront or harm to which he has been exposed.

Second, people often act in impulsive, unreflective ways, under the sway of emotions too strong to be resisted. Impulsive behavior can be irrational, as in weakness of will, although it need not be so. Clearly, much revenge behavior is impulsive, conceived and executed in the rage of the moment. Often, it appears to be strongly against a person's interest to carry out an act of revenge. "Who sees not that vengeance, from the force alone of passion, may be so eagerly pursued as to make us knowingly neglect every consideration of ease, interest, or safety (Elster, 1990).

Third, people can act under the sway of social norms. These, too, are mediated by emotions-shame, embarrassment, anger, contempt. In this case, however, the role of the emotions is not to goad us into impulsive acts which we would not have carried out had we stopped to.

So, the custom of blood revenge exhibits common characteristics across societies that practice it. It is closely tied to the notion of honor. Described in anthropological studies as

an inseparable attribute of honor in honor cultures, blood revenge is, above all, exacted to defend or restore one's honor (Souleimanov and Aliyev, H. 2015, 2017).

Due to Blood revenge is a tradition for many people in the world, and connected to honor which is illustrated by the fact that failure to respond is deemed a sign of moral weakness, and may imply whole kinship groups being seen as lacking in moral character. If the victim side negotiating for financial compensation with the perpetrator's family can be interpreted as weakness and as indicating that the group is not strong enough to defend its honor (Elster, 1990).

Based on the norms of the society The notions of ideal masculinity are relativistic (Connell, 2005; Coles, 2009; Liar, 2009; Sai, 2007). It is culture-specific. Across cultures, there are various traits considered to be ideal masculine

Scholars in the field warned that blood revenge is not merely an instinct driven barbarous practice. But it has some cultural and adaptive behavioral patterns (Eisner, 2009). McCullough (Cited in Eisner, 2009 p.49) asserted that blood revenge solves the following three interrelated problem.

First, revenge deters aggressors from attacking again. A person known for taking revenge against his enemy is less likely to be repeatedly attacked than a person who is not. Thus, according to McCullough (Cited in Eisner, 2009), revenge has a preventive strategy for further aggression or bellicosity.

Second, revenge warns would be harm doers to back off revenge. Therefore, it has a deterrence effect on bystanders. This rationale also confirms the study conducted by Williams (1969) on the Orokaiva society.

Third, it invigorates the smooth existence of altruistic behavior by safeguarding it from external aggression. Furthermore, citing the recent research that has been conducted by de Quervain and his colleagues, Eisner (2009) noted that feeling of belongingness or the enthusiastic desire to secure the societal ties that keep them intact attributes to frequent bloodshed across various cultures. The obligation of blood revenge also arises in a society where ideal masculinity is closely associated with a culture of honor that attributes pride in manhood, masculine coverage, assertiveness, physical strength and warrior virtue (Figuerdo and et al cited in Eisner, 2009, p.50; Herdt, 1987; Sai, 2007). For instance, in Sambia and Chilas societies, a payback killing against a slayer brings prestige to the avenger, usually

male (Herdt, 1985; Sai, 2007). Among Amharas, the competition for winning titles such as *gegana*, *hay/egna* in terms of physical exertion instigate males to engage in fierce fighting (Reminick, 1971). Moreover, the culture of masculine assertiveness among the Suri of Southern Ethiopia is one of the attributes of ideal masculinity (Abbink, 1998, cited in Eisner, 2009, p.50). Among the Waliso Oromo the male relatives of the Slain is expected to embark on vengeance (Dejen, 2002). The Albanian code of honor also dictates that the slain relative ought to reinstate their threatened honor through vengeance killing (Arsovka, 2006, cited in Eisner, 2009, p.50). Thus, according to Eisner (2009), Tumey (1971), and Williams (1969), the ability to retaliate effectively is valued highly. Those who lose in fights are linked to lose face, honor and reputation. Those who win are respected, gain in social status, and are often admired by women.

In contrary to the above notions of blood revenge, Patton (1901) also suggests that the custom of blood revenge has a religious element. The Arabs, according to Patton, equate the slain of the tribe with that of the violation of their god's rights. To them, the tribe god forbids to let kinsman's blood remain unavenged. Inability to embark on vengeance, therefore, will cause him to break off the generation old communion with them. To the Witotos of North Western America, blood revenge is also a means for appeasing the ghosts of the deceased (Murdock, 1957). Besides, the Arabs believed that the spirit of unavenged man who has been slain finds no peace in the grave until "the death bird," which hovers at the head crying, "Give me to drink," has been satisfied with the blood of the murdered or one of his tribe" (Patton, 1901, pp. 712-713). So they take revenge against the slayer's tribe or the slayer out of the conviction that the spirit of the dead man must be propitiated. In a similar vein, among the Gilayak, "if a death has not been avenged, may become a hostile spirit and bring trouble upon the clan" (Czaplicka, 1969, p.26). The Orokaiva society also believed that "the unpaid debt of blood probably entailed a painful sense of inferiority which could only be removed by the satisfaction of killing one of the aggressors" (Williams, 1969, p.170). Grutzpalk, citing the Italian ethnographer's work, also maintained that "the universal basis of every blood vengeance is the idea that "only blood may wash away blood". However, sheds the blood of men by men shall his blood is shed (Grutzpalk, 2002, p.117).

In Weber's view, the very existence of clan structure is guarded by blood revenge. Thus, attempting to dismantle blood revenge practice is taken as threatening the stability of the clan-based societies. Apart from this, according to Weber, blood revenge remains the main source of securing individual justice in societies that do not have an integrated and efficient legal apparatus used for effectively rendering justice (Weber, 1978 cited in Grutzplak, 2002). "Blood vengeance, for Durkheim, is a phenomenon that can only be understood in relation to mechanical solidarity'. Organic solidarity<sup>2</sup> doesn't know the passions that breed blood vengeance. Blood revenge is a very passionate and coarse reaction against external threat and it helps to distinguish group members and allies. It is not a real social Mechanical solidarity is the quality of social bond found in traditional society. <sup>2</sup> Organic solidarity is the quality of social bond common to the "modern society" (Schaefer, 2000). sanction as it is executed by individuals. Yet society most often accepts the use of vendetta as an implementation of morality in Mechanical Solidarity" (Durkheim, 1893 cited in Grutzpalk, 2002, p.128). To conclude, various conceptions lie behind the custom of blood revenge. These conceptions motivate men to engage in counter vengeance and thus directly or indirectly sustain further killings. Then it follows that, therefore, the blood of a man cannot be spilled without any be it moral, cultural ( social norms) or religious grounds.

In the United States, according to Brannon (1976, cited in Anselmi and Law, 1999), men who are anti-feminine, inexpressive and independent, adventurous aggressive, and striving for success are symbolized as ideals. Among the Aboriginal Mehinaku in Brazil, an ideal man is one who is efficient in everything, gets up early, go for fishing expeditions over dangerous terrain, active competitor in sports and games, has many lovers, generous, and who satisfies his wife sexually (Deaux, 1999). The Buid society, in contrary, treats those adults as ideal who believe in personal autonomy, equality, and continuously perform the material and ritual obligations to their society (Gibson, 1989).

Furthermore, in Brazil, ideal men are those who are financial providers for their family, courageous, adventurous, competitive, and heterosexual (Medrade, Lyra, and Monteiro, 2000). And in Philippines, the attributes of ideal masculinity are virility, physical strength, good looks, and a capacity to take risks (i.e. gambling and having illicit affairs), trust worthy, helpful, decent and understandable (Pingol, 2001 cited in Aguilar,2005).

However, in Orokaiva, the attributes of ideal masculinity are enemy slayer, courtesy, practical honesty, good temper, and married chastity (Williams, 1969). Similarly, among the agricultural Massai of the Northern Tanganyika, ideal men are conceptualized as physically strong, daring temper, and adventurous disposition (Gulliver, 1968).

In Ethiopia, the Amhara concepts of masculinity embrace aggressiveness, courageous, forcefulness, and over confidence as the core values of ideal masculinity (Levine, 1966, p.20). The Amhara men have also a belief in masculinity called '*wandnat*.' This involves "aggressiveness, stamina, and courageous action in the face of danger; it means never backing down when threatened" (Reminick, 1982, p.108). Amhara youths are forced to participate in whipping contests called *Buhe*. It is similar with other rituals common to primitive cultures that inculcate the spirits of ideal masculinity into the youngsters through fierce beatings and wrestling competitions (Levine, 1966; Reminick, 1982; Strecker, 1988). Other studies also show that the core features of ideal masculine traits among Amharas are military prowess, aggressiveness, and fearlessness (Messing, 1957; Levine, 1966 and 2006). Surprising enough, during the battle of Adwa, the Amhara soldiers refused to get down in trenches, they preferred to fight out without any strong hold so as to befit the image of 'a real man' (Levine, 2006). Contrary to the Amhara and Hamar notions of ideal masculine traits, in the Awramba community, autonomous behavior, predictability, honesty, and obedience are treated as the ingredients of ideal masculine traits (Mulat, 2005; Lydall, 1992).

### **2.5.2 Land related conflicts fueling blood revenge**

According to Noah (2010) Disagreement over the inheritance of land among members of family leads conflict and sometimes members were killed each other. The importance of land issues is found in cases brought to the courts as well, and in many countries more than sixty percent of the cases in court are the issue of land and land related problem. In rural areas land inheritance is common with regard to sharing of lands the land belonging to the kinship group has been formally divided among its extended family members, and these divisions continue in fixed form for generations.

Due to the land inheritance system conflicts are raised. And, family members and relatives kill each other under inheritance system demanding over the use of a piece of land both by

ignoring the inheritance system arrangements and need to take fertile land that will end up in killings and lead to blood revenge group (Mar kakis: 1975).

In other cases blood revenge are triggered land demarcation due to personal violence, sometimes deliberate, that arises out of a dispute. In other words it is not the dispute itself but actions arising from it that start blood revenge (Coburn, 2014).

### **2.5.3 Socialization processes and familial attitudes to wards blood revenge**

Socialization plays a vital role in shaping ourselves, how we see ourselves and how others see us. The perception and practice of blood revenge is attributed with socialization process and familial attitudes. In the vicious cycle of conflict and blood revenge killings has started an earlier time (Bitweded, 2017). According to (Bitweded, 2017), the family is one big source of the problem for revenge killings by providing all the necessary teachings, guidance and direction for the grown-up teenager:

A family teaches and provides proper guidance to a small child continuously and stimulate him to take revenge against his father's perpetrator. If he did the revenge, he will be highly appreciated by the family. He will be considered as a hero, valiant, courageous, gallant, fearless, appreciated, praised and prized by both the family and the surrounding people. The community will have prized him by inspiring and blood revenge provoking poem.

To reproduce the status quo values, norms, and traditions associated with gender, whether right or wrong, children ought to be socialized with culture -appropriate patterns of behavior. Thus, for the successful indoctrination of these bundles of expectations, the early socialization processes is often escorted with rewards and punishments based on one's level of conformity to the established codes of behavior. "Socialization plays a vitalrole in shaping ourselves, how we see ourselves and how others see us. Being masculine is apparently upholding male values by following norms set for male behaviors. Socialization into gender roles from childhood to adulthood shape men's liking for certain things like guns, forms of behavior like womanizing, and forms of leisure like long range shooting, gambling and drinking" (Angeles, 200 I, p.19 cited in Aguilar,2005).

This type of socialization is common in gendered societies, whereas in egalitarian society like Sarnai, there is no gender difference in access to knowledge, no purely male (female

personality attributes, and there is no puberty rite or other rites of passage defining differential ideals of manhood (Willis, 1989). And in Arapesh of New Guinea, "men and women were found to be trained to be competitive, unaggressive and responsive to the needs and demands of others" (Berry, et al, 1992 cited in Mulat, 2005, p.7). However, in Shavante, belligerence is systematically instilled in males as proper behavior from a very young age, and boys and girls are separated from one another as playmates. Boys are encouraged to be small tyrants, to react violently if thwarted, to endure sufferings, participate in duels and display physical prowess (Maybury-Lewis, 1971 cited in Overing, 1989). Among the Samburu, "if a boy cries while his flesh is being cut of so much as blink an eye, he is shamed for life as unworthy of manhood" (Gilmore, 1989, p.216). The Samburu boy, therefore, to escape embarrassment, is expected to stand the pains during the rites of circumcision (Gilmore, 1989).

Similarly, in the high mountains of Melanesia, young boys undergo similar trials before being admitted into the select club of manhood. They are forced to undergo a series of brutal rituals including whipping, bloodletting, and beating, all of which the boys must endure stoically. The Tewa peoples of New Mexico also believe that boys must be made in too manly by whipping them mercilessly (Gilmore, 1989, p. 218). Moreover, among the Nuer, "when a boy passes into the grade of manhood his domestic duties and privileges radically altered. From being ever boy's servant and interior, he becomes an independent adult. "" He becomes a 'true man' when he has fought in war and has not run away, has quarreled with his age mates, has cultivated his garden and has married" (Eisenstadt, 1971, pp.31-32 cited in Mazrui, 2009).

In Ethiopia, males are socialized to be brave and courageous while females are socialized to be shy and submissive (Eshetu, 1997). For example, among the Hadiya people, boys are socialized to be brave. For the inculcation of this trait, boys are expected to engage in various fighting like wrestling (Gubancha). The victorious boy in the fighting will be rewarded with special food and milk, and if he continually becomes triumphant over the game, he will be honored by the community as a hero (Dessalegne, 1983). An Amhara father teaches his son, from the time he begins to walk and talk, about the virtue of warriors, the qualities a good

father, and about heroic deeds. The child's parents praise him for displaying imitations of heroic deeds and courageous behavior. On the contrary, the parents of a weaker and more submissive boy will be scolded for unbecoming behavior. Even he may be reprimand or beaten, for his cowardly performance, while a boy who succeeds in pummeling someone will be welcomed by his parents and will be praised as a *gwobaz*. Due to these cultural expectations and rewards, a child always strives to maximize opportunities to express dominance and superiority (Reminick,1971).

For their successful imitations and acquisition of superior masculine qualities, the Amhara and Gurage people encourage boys through proverbs, praise chants by minstrels, and folk poetry (Messing, 1957; and Shack, 1981). For instance, among shallallas (warcries) couplet in Amhara society:

*If a male child is born, and is not like his father  
Give him a spinning stick; let him spin like his mother  
(Levine, 1966, p.20)*

Besides, naming of children in Amhara society has its own latent function in glorifying masculine traits. Among these names some of them are mentioned below:

*Azbitachew - 'make them bend'  
Ashenafi - 'conqueror'  
Admachew - 'bleed them'  
(Messing,1957, p.112)*

These expressions of masculinity concept are widely seen in the names of the *Manz* of Amhara tradition. All of them are exhortations on how to behave in terms of the cultural values espousing masculinity (Reminick, 1971). Moreover, "proverbs play an important role in reinforcing the cultural ideal of masculinity such as competitiveness, dominance, forcefulness, endurance, confrontation, and self reliance" (Hussein, 2005, p. 67). The cross cultural review of socialization processes, especially in gendered societies, helps to understand how male children rearing practices are designed to equip them with a 'true masculine' qualities. And above all, it shows how the early introduction of male children with 'the true traits of masculinity' manifested in their later years involvement in lethal conflicts.

#### **2.5.4 Political corruption**

Political corruption becomes the root cause of many conflicts that leads to revenge killing the World today especially for developing countries. The point here is that Politician's use the resource of the nation for personal interest and this results the mass worsens its poverty situation. Because of this reason, this corrupt practice leads serious shortage basic needs to provide for the people. Corruption results horrific things for the mass such as; it generates social unrest; restrains economic development, and hinders the establishment of government and strong financial institutions that needed for stability and growth (Arthur, 2009).

### **2.6 Consequences of blood revenge practices**

#### **2.6.1 Economic impacts**

Blood revenge is practiced brings unconstructive outcomes to the family members and the society at large. It bring sufferings such as destruction of properties; dislodged communities, death, fermented fear, spoil social relation, and a drum beat of uncertainties (Keizer, 2005; Yihune, 2010).

These consequences of blood revenge practice is bring negative consequences to the residents and the society in especially men leave their homes and migrate to the urban areas looking for safe shelters (Cori, 2014).

For agrarian society, the practices highly weakens the local economy by reducing the labor force required for grain production, and generally the agricultural sector. In addition to the above cases due to blood revenge practice the nation lost their productive human power due to their death and in other side the productive man power became spend their prodctive time under prison. So, It is harsh for once nation economic progress (Cori,2014).

According to him Apart from this, in most cases women are exempted from revenge killings, exceptions can be found to this rule, most of the times they remain in their houses covering both domestic and productive works like weeding, hoeing, mowing, trampling and other activities. Those women who are unable to cope with the burden of tedious agricultural works and rural poverty migrate to urban areas and engaged in prostitution, petty trade and begging (ibid).

### **2.6.2 Social impacts**

Blood revenge is thus obligatory. Failure to pursue to it may result in social sanctions targeting not only the individual who failed to retaliate, but also his entire kinship group. Writing about Iraq, Patricio Asfura-Heim states that an individual's "failure to fulfill the obligation of *that* [blood revenge] badly damages the group's reputation; it is a loss of honor that weakens the group vis-à-vis other groups (Elster, 1990). According to him blood revenge senses an obligatory, when vengeance killing is motivated by social norms, the one who has not avenge for his harm labeled as weak.

the social capital that is damaged as a result of the conflict. Those conflicts end up with blood revenge, when vengeance killing is motivated by social norms it invariably gives rise to counter- vengeance or feuds, because the act of revenge itself is an affront that must be avenged. Even though blood revenge is also practiced for the sake of glorifying honor, it brings unconstructive outcomes to the family members and the society at large. It suffers destruction of properties; dislodged communities, death, fermented fear, spoil social relation, and a drum beat of uncertainties (Keizer, 2005; Yihune, 2010).

### **2.6.3 Psychological impacts**

This is characterized by fear and trauma. The perpetrator will feel no longer at ease after gunning down his victim. The perpetrators families and close relatives will be exposed to the danger of blood revenge killings. The families of the perpetrator will soon realize that the families of the victim would avenge them hence they should disappear from their farmlands and dwellings. The perpetrator already abandoned his residence and obscures himself somewhere until reconciliation is made. Not only the perpetrator and his families that suffered from psychological trauma, and fear similar effect rests on the side of the family of the victim (Bitweded, 2007).

### **2.6.4 Political impacts**

Crime victimization may cause individuals to withdraw from society, decreasing their participation in civic and political life. At the societal level, extremely high rates of violent crime and impunity are thought to generate a sense of "civic helplessness," which can

“engender paralysis” among citizens (Rotker 2002a: 7, 15). At the individual level, fear of violent crime is believed to lead people to “develop survival strategies that restrict interpersonal contact” (Cárdia 2002, 163), and research in the United States suggests that crime victimization reduces interpersonal trust (Brehm and Rahn 1997). Beyond the above information in the study area individuals who commit revenge killing practice have a probability to engage in other crimes in relation with isolating from community members which affects stability and peace for once nation.

## **2.7 Intervention mechanism to reduce blood revenge**

To address counter vengeance, in areas where blood revenge is common and frequent, various indigenous formal and informal sanctions are imposed on the victim's and the slayer's relatives. These indigenous sanctions are preferred over the more formalized legal techniques and methods of conflict resolutions due to their nature of accessibility, timeliness, legitimacy, restorative capacity, community-based sanctions, and in their ability of building community cohesion (Alula & Getachew, 2008).

For instance, in order to deter further killings, the Orokaiva society enforces the slayer to adopt the name of the slain and the Aboriginal Siberians also cool the tension by taking a man from the slayer's family to replace the slain and assume his responsibilities as the slain did (Williams, 1969; Czaplicka, 1969). Nwanunobi (1992) stated that in Africa there are a lot of conflict resolution strategies which can be categorized into four. These strategies can be settled by individuals, when their kin, property, and interest have been violated.

Secondly, conflicts can also be handled by peer group assembly. This is mostly associated with societies typically organized on age grades out of the conviction that such groups ' best understand the intricacies of issues in which members are involved. Thirdly, village council is the other means of conflict resolution in Africa that settles conflict through the mediation made by contestants, their kinsmen, and other allies. Finally, Nwanunobi (1992, p. 155) forwarded that "the council of elders is the most effective customary mechanism of conflict resolution in Africa due to the rationale that in environments where experience and wisdom tend to be correlated with age and decisions by the elderly are the best to be expected. "

In Ethiopia, apart from the formal legal institutions, various indigenous formal and informal sanctions are established to curb conflicts and thus restore the endangered social order. For instance, among Afars, murder cases are handled before they intensified into revenge killings either by allowing the victim's relative to kill the murderer in the same way as he murdered or through offering blood compensation- it may range from 100 head of cattle for men and 50 head of cattle for women (Getachew & Shimeles, 2008). The former means of deterring blood revenge is also common among Burji, Konta, Koma and Majangir societies (Tipper, 1970, cited in Alula & Getachew, 2008, p.67). The latter is common among Amharas, Oromos, and Tigreans (Melaku & Wubishet, 2008; Areba & Berihanu, 2008). Money compensation along with carrying stone of penitence, usually by the slayer, and prostrate him before the victim's family is the most favorable means of avoiding further killings among Amharas, (Melaku & Wubishet, 2008).

Unlike to the above intervening mechanism of blood revenge, the Nuer and the Irobs in Tigray region settled murder cases through arranging marriage between the slayer's and the victim's families (Dereje, 2008 ; Shimeles & Taddese, 2008). Furthermore, the Shinasha people deter counter-vengeance by obliging the killer to move to another location where it is supposed to be inaccessible to his relatives and the relatives' of the deceased. Besides, the killer is demanded to pay a blood compensation worth up to 2000 *Birr* to the relatives ' of the deceased (Bayisa & Lemessa, 2008).

Generally, in Ethiopia, these indigenous mechanisms of conflict resolution associated with blood revenge, according to Alula & Getachew (2008), can be categorized into blood wealth complex- compensation for the death, bride compensation complex providing a bride to a relative of the deceased, and ghost marriage complex- using the blood wealth for a relative to marry in the name of the deceased.

### **2.7.1 Indigenous blood revenge resolution mechanisms**

According to Bitweded (2017), Conflicts are inherent, because human beings have varying interests and needs. They are also inherent at the same time, because it is impossible to meet the needs and desires of all people simultaneously. Conflict results both constructive and

destructive consequences. Destructive conflicts that end up in blood revenge often flows from narrowly defined or rigid goals, and most often produces negative results.

In order to tackle those negative results Indigenous conflict resolution is one of the most prominent methods of conflict resolution in many countries especially in developing nations. A study conducted by Eshetu and Getu (2009) describes that indigenous conflict resolution process is qualitatively distinct from judicial process. It is a process where conflicts are managed with the assistance of a neutral third party and the neutral third party is depend generally on parties own choice. After choosing the neutral third parties based on the willingness of the conflicting parties, conflict parties have starting to discuss on the issue that leads them to involved in to conflict (Volker, 2007). After discussing on different issues, facts have to be established and the truth has to be exposed. Once a consensus regarding the facts and the truth has been achieved, perpetrators can declare their illegal behaviors say sorry and ask for forgiveness, and victims can understand and accept the apologies and forgive.

Over and over this processes lead to the exchange of material and goods as compensation, be it In blood money (paid in compensation to the family of someone who has been killed)|| or other payments; depending on the culture and norms of particular society and these might be cattle, goats, pigs (Volker, 2007). The advantage of this exchange lies in the makeover of exchanging things with others for mutual benefit.

Compensation obtains the place of violence or violence is replaced by compensation, conflicts are settled by compensation of a symbolically comparable amount, which then is acknowledged to have restored order to the community. That acknowledgment has two-pronged acceptance by the distressed party depends on acceptance that is punishment by the attacker (Zartman, 2000). The conflicting parties frankly engage in discussions on conflict extinction and in the search for a solution that would bring mutual benefit. During the process to solve the conflict, a third party can be invited to lead the process; in any case the process to solve the dispute is public, and the participation of individuals or groups in the process and the approval of its results is voluntary. The process to settle conflict through indigenous means is lead by traditional kings, chiefs, priests, sheikhs‘ healers, big men, elders (being a social elder, not a biological category) (Volker, 2007). These authorities are highly honored

for their knowledge of custom, tradition, the history of the communities and the relationships of the conflicting parties. They are rich in experiences of conflict resolution, their skills in interpreting symbols of reconciliation and their ability as orators and their social capital as leaders of the communities authorize them to negotiate a resolution to the conflict that is acceptable to all the society. Since conflict solution is depending up on voluntary consent and agreement, everybody has to be in agreement to a solution, including god and the spirits of the ancestors to say in other words, indigenous conflict transformation is consensus-based (Zartman, 2000).

When conflict resolved and results have been attaining, they are preserved in highly ritual forms. Celebrating ceremonies are of great symbolic and practical importance to strengthen the social the relationship of the community (Eshetu and Getu, 2009). There are different types of activities that included under the celebrating of the ceremony such as exchanging of assets, prayers and sacrificing to god of the spirits of their ancestors and habitual activities such as breaking spear and arrows, drinking and eating jointly, playing and dancing mutually or consuming certain drugs (Volker, 2007).

Even though the process of resolving the problem are similar situations In the case of blood revenge killing a local community will not consider a revenge killing legitimized by tradition to be a criminal act. If the death is the result of an accident, involuntary occurred between closed kin the victim's family may be entitled to compensation (Country of Origin Information Center, 2011).

Accordingly the research conducted by ( Bitweded,2017) on revenge killing the traditional conflict resolution practices to mitigate revenge is implemented by performing a cultural practice called 'Dem Madreki' literally translated in Amharic as 'drying blood revenge' by the reconciliation and peace committee. The reconciliation and peace committee employed the traditional systems of Dem Marek when a person causes death to another person. The peace and reconciliation committee usually organized randomly which are more likely blood revenge vulnerable areas and usually arrange a meeting and discuss the causes of the death whenever such kind of problem exists in the community. The peace and reconciliation committee evaluate the damages caused by the perpetrator and appropriate compensation would be given to the family of the victim.

### **2.7.2 Formal intervening mechanism of blood revenge**

Helvard (2011) described that conflicts are part of everyday life; they form in our close relations, at a group level and on global level. It has manifested in diverse formats for a long period of time (Slabbert, 2004). Though it is almost impossible to avoid conflict in human relations, to reduce its negative consequences people tend to solve conflicts, which we call it conflict resolution.

According to Sanson and Di (2007) conflict resolution is a set of strategies which can be used to satisfy human needs of security, identity, self determination and quality of life for all people who are engaged in a conflict. In similar context Dereje (2010) explains conflict resolution as the suppression of conflict that has already broken out in the form of searching for solution that would reduce the levels of violence and prevent its intensification either through formally,(engagement of courts) for arresting the one who commit crime. or using indigenous mechanism.

In Amhara the government's justice court also does not erase from the disputants' minds what may have been a long-running feud between them murderers sent to prison if he engage in blood revenge practice. For the sake of preventing the cotinuity of blood revenge practice Immediately after the murderer release from prison he sent elders to the families of the murdered man. A study by Julie (2007), elaborates that, in many countries particularly in Africa formal justice system is inefficient and because of this it takes the second place to informal systems in many parts of the continent.

### **2.8.3 Challenges of blood revenge resolution mechanism**

According to Gebreyesus (2014), African countries and the Ethiopian officials have popular dispute resolution mechanisms in their countries' justice systems. There is a need for careful and systematic comparison of the formal and informal approaches of conflict resolution in all aspects in order to take the merits of each and design justice system that serves the people. Those dispute resolution mechanisms faced challenges like the negative attitude of societies and institutions towards popular dispute resolution mechanisms, the absence of policies and laws that recognize, legitimize or specify the level of administration popular dispute resolution mechanisms, the unclear interconnection of popular dispute resolution

mechanisms with the formal courts and other state structures, and unregulated financial transactions within popular dispute resolution mechanisms.

In addition Indigenous conflict resolution mechanisms does not essentially put an end to hostility in the long term. An everlasting pacification of the conflicting parties as it is given in the circumstance of the formal system with its monopoly over the lawful use of violence is not practicable in the indigenous conflict resolution (Volker, 2007).

Indigenous approaches to conflict resolution may disagree with universal principles of human rights and democracy. If committees of local elders for example settling disputes among or between conflict parties and the members of these committee actually consist of old men only, this method of conflict resolution rule is difficult by modern democratic principles, members of the society including the young and the women who are expelled from decision making processes become the subjects of these decisions passed by these elders. In many developing countries women's are victims of indigenous conflict resolution processes because the process of conflict resolution under this method is dominated by males. Exchanging of women between conflict parties or gift of girls as payment or compensation agreed by local leaders to solve the conflict is becomes unsupportable practice by human right principles (Volker, 2007).

In addition to the above idea driving the intervening the case of blood revenge practice beyond excluding womens it also ignor the murders and only the rest members of the murders family are agreed to the victims family so, in this case women play great role both interms of socializing children and have able to pushing both her young boy to engage in revenge killing and enforce her husband to respond his relatives blood so, this informal intervention mechanism of conflict in general and blood revenge in particular miss the main agents.

In other case Indigenous approaches to blood revenge and their end result sometimes open to abuse. Predisposed approaches on the part of elders, chiefs and other participants are sometimes simply motivated by personal greed these days are often legitimized with reference to custom. With particular reference on developing countries the significance and practical implementation of indigenous strategies have been very much disenabled by the politicization, corruption and abuse of traditional structures, especially traditional leadership,

which have progressively affects negatively conflict management built around them in the eyes of many and minimized confidence in their efficiency (Volker, 2007).

In the case of formal institution to settle disputes especially for rural peoples is very difficult because these rural people expending more time in these justice system and administrative institutions that led them to economic disaster (Fekadu, 2009). This formal justice system is not only affecting their income but also deteriorates the social relationship of the rural society. In addition to this, the decision render by court system does not consider the background of conflicting parties. Therefore, the kinship relation becomes hostile and relatives' relationship is highly affected by it and encountered by tension. According to Haftom (2011) formal dispute resolution mechanism is not participatory unlike other indigenous dispute resolution methods. Despite the fact that a public hearing of trial has gotten a prevalent cognizance almost across the globe, it is not safe to conclude that a formal system covers the desired room for public participation. The <sup>inaccessibility</sup> of courts to the rural poor dwellers exposes them to unbearable costs, particularly expenses to lawyers and transportation (ibid). In addition to the above information decision in the governmental judicial system does not necessarily exclude the risk of violent retaliation. The victim's family can still be expected to kill the murderer when he is released (Country of Origin Information Center, 2011).

## **2.9 Theories associated with blood revenge practice**

### **2.9.1 Social learning theory**

Social learning theory is a theory that attempts to explain socialization and its effect on the development of the self. There are many different theories that explain how people become socialized, including psychoanalytic theory, functionalism, conflict theory, and symbolic interactionist theory. Social learning theory, looks at the individual learning process, the formation of self, and the influence of society in socializing individuals (Crossman, 2019).

According to Ceossmann, Social learning theory considers the formation of one's identity to be a learned response to social stimuli. It emphasizes the societal context of socialization rather than the individual mind. This theory postulates that an individual's identity is not the

product of the unconscious (such as the belief of psychoanalytic theorists), but instead is the result of modeling oneself in response to the expectations of others. Behaviors and attitudes develop in response to reinforcement and encouragement from the people around us. While social learning theorists acknowledge that childhood experience is important, they also believe that the identity people acquire is formed more by the behaviors and attitudes of others. Social learning theory has its roots in psychology and was shaped greatly by psychologist Albert Bandura. Sociologists most often use social learning theory to understand crime and deviance. Social learning theory postulates that there are three mechanisms by which individuals learn to engage in crime: differential reinforcement, belief and modeling.

### **Differential reinforcement**

Differential reinforcement can be broadly understood as the process by which individuals experience and anticipate the consequences of their behaviors'. That is, a person's actions are in part determined by what they perceive the consequences of their action or lack of action will be. "Whether individuals will refrain from or commit a crime at any given time (and whether they will continue or desist from doing it in the future) depends on the past, present, and anticipated future rewards and punishments for their actions" (Akers and Sellers, 2004: 87). Reinforcement of attitudes, beliefs, and values occurs through both differential association and imitation can be either positive or negative. Positive reinforcement occurs when actions are rewarded through positive reactions to the behavior as well as through positive outcomes. Positive reinforcement can increase the likelihood of criminal behavior through these rewards. Negative reinforcement, on the other hand, involves the removal of negative consequences or responses, and this may also increase the likelihood of taking certain actions.

The degree to which differential reinforcement occurs is related to the degree, frequency and probability of its occurrence. That is, reinforcement is most likely to happen and contribute to repetition of the behavior when it occurs with greater value, occurs frequently as a consequence of the behavior, and when the probability that the behavior will be reinforced is greater (Akers and Sellers, 2004: 87). Reinforcement can occur directly and indirectly. For

example, direct reinforcement would be the result of the effects of drug or alcohol consumption, while indirect reinforcement would occur through, for example, anticipation of rewards valued in subgroups. This notion of indirect reinforcement is important for understanding the role of symbolic social rewards and punishments. However, the most important reinforcements tend to be social (resulting from interactions with peer groups and family members)

### **Imitation or modeling**

Imitation, as its name implies, is the notion that individuals engage in behavior that they have previously witnessed others doing. The extent to which behaviors' are imitated is determined in large part by the "characteristics of the models, the behavior observed, and the observed consequences of the behavior" (Akers and Sellers, 2004: 88). It has indicated that mainly based up on witnessing the actions of others, in particular people that are close to us, can affect our participation in both conforming and non-conforming behaviors' (Donnerstein and Linz, 1995). Imitation has also been found to be "more important in the initial acquisition and performance of novel behavior than in its maintenance or cessation of behavioral patterns once established" (Akers and Sellers, 2004: 89).

### **Beliefs Favorable to Crime**

According to (Crossman, 2009) Individuals can also teach a person beliefs that are favorable to crime he suggest that beliefs favoring crime due to the approval of justification of certain forms of crime, including some serious crimes. These people believe that crime is generally wrong, but that some criminal acts are justifiable or even desirable in certain situations. For example, many people will say that fighting is wrong, however, that it is justified if the individual has been insulted or provoked.

Blood revenge results destruction of properties; dislodged communities, death, fermented fear, spoil social relation, and a drum beat of uncertainties (Keizer, 2005; Yihune, 2010), it exhibits common characteristics across societies and it is closely tied to the notion of honor and is practiced by the indigenous population against an external invading force such as a

foreign military or against an incumbent government, In contrast, when blood taking occurs as part of an internal conflict within indigenous communities, a single act of blood revenge can lead to reciprocal acts of blood taking—that is, a blood feud. The failure to exact blood revenge in honoric cultures is tantamount to losing one’s honor Elster (1990). According to Nisbett and Cohen (1996) *culture of honor thesis*, honor-based cultures develop in response to economic precariousness, social insult and minimal state protection against theft of property, culture of honor thesis argues that the elevated level of violence observed in the American South stems from the material characteristics of the herding economy, which requires particular vigilance against threats to property.

Social learning theories recognize that cultures and other social environments vary as to the extent they condone revenge, and individuals within cultures vary in their propensity to engage in vengeful behavior. While revenge may ultimately reflect moral emotions shared by all humans, revenge behavior is triggered by external stimuli and is conditioned or suppressed by what actors culturally construe as legitimate responses to provocation. The relevant processes reflect deep socialization practices in a culture, and it is sometimes difficult, if not impossible, to identify the historical sources of specific learning outcomes.

In other socially transmitted cultural beliefs have been implicated as a source of vengefulness Social learning theory expects vengeful behavior to be sustained by its rewarding consequences. If significant others praise or admire acts of revenge, the behavior is likely to persist and become habitual. If third parties witness that avengers are admired, vicarious reinforcement may ensue. The cycle of violence perspective argues that children abused by their parents learn pro-violent attitudes and modes of problem-solving (Dodge et al., 1990). As parents typically punish their children in response to disobedience, physical punishment can be understood as reactive violence (Tedeschi and Felson, 2009). From this perspective, individuals exposed to physical punishment are socialized to engage in retaliatory violence as a legitimate way to enforce social norms.

In the same way in the study area eventhough blood revenge is also harm full and destructive results due to its linkage to honority, it is used for preventing kin members from insult, against property threats from enemies it is justifiable to take revenge killing.

## 2.9.2 Theories of socialization

“Socialization” is a term used by sociologists, social psychologists, anthropologists, political scientists, and educationalists to refer to the lifelong process of inheriting and disseminating norms, customs, and ideologies, providing an individual with the skills and habits necessary for participating within his or her own society. Socialization is thus “the means by which social and cultural continuity are attained.”<sup>5</sup>

Socialization is the means by which human infants begin to acquire the skills necessary to perform as a functioning member of their society and is the most influential learning process one can experience. Unlike other living species, whose behavior is biologically set, humans need social experiences to learn their culture and to survive. Although cultural variability manifests in the actions, customs, and behaviors of whole social groups, the most fundamental expression of culture is found at the individual level. This expression can only occur after an individual has been socialized by his or her parents, family, extended family, and extended social networks.<sup>i</sup>The looking-glass self is a social psychological concept, created by Charles Horton Cooley in 1902, stating that a person’s self grows out of society’s interpersonal interactions and the perceptions of others. The term refers to people shaping themselves based on other people’s perception, which leads people to reinforce other people’s perspectives on themselves. People shape themselves based on what other people perceive and confirm other people’s opinion on themselves.<sup>6</sup> Blood revenge is the practice which is exercised within the group of communities so, if the one who killed the others kin societies are expected that family/kin from the victims are must avenge the earlier offender.

George Herbert Mead developed a theory of social behaviorism to explain how social experience develops an individual’s personality. Mead’s central concept is the self: the part of an individual’s personality composed of self-awareness and self-image. Mead claimed that the self is not there at birth, rather, it is developed with social experience.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> <https://courses.lumenlearning.com/boundless-sociology/chapter/theories-of-socialization/>

<sup>6</sup> <https://courses.lumenlearning.com/boundless-sociology/chapter/theories-of-socialization/>

<sup>7</sup> <https://courses.lumenlearning.com/boundless-sociology/chapter/theories-of-socialization/>

As the researcher discussed about factors contributing to blood revenge practice it is resulted Socialization plays a vital role in shaping ourselves, how we see ourselves and how others see us. The perception and practice of blood revenge is attributed with socialization process and familial attitudes. According to (Bitweded, 2017), the family is one big source of the problem for revenge killings by providing all the necessary teachings, guidance and direction for the grown-up teenager:

A family teaches and provides proper guidance to a small child continuously and stimulate him to take revenge against his father's perpetrator. If he did the revenge, he will be highly appreciated by the family. He will be considered as a hero, valiant, courageous, gallant, fearless, appreciated, praised and prized by both the family and the surrounding people. The community will have prized him by inspiring and blood revenge provoking poem.

## **Chapter Three**

### **3. Background of the Study Area and research method**

#### **3.1 Background of the Study Area**

Sayint wereda is one of the districts of south Wollo zone in Amhara Region. It is named after the historic district of Amhara Sayint. Part of Wollo, Sayint is bordered on the south by Debre Sina and Mehal Sayint, on the west by East Gojjam Zone, on the northwest by South Gondar Zone, on the north by Magdala, on the east by Tenta and on the southeast by Legambo. The major town in Sayint wereda is Sayint Adjibar seat of wereda administration..

Under Sayint wereda there are 32 kebeles, among them 31 kebeles are rural and only one Kebele is urban. Here, Tedbabemariam community (kebele 016) is one of the members of 31 rural kebeles (SWIMCMP, 2009 E.C) covered by this study. However, blood revenge practice has existed in all kebeles in Saint worda. Among these kebeles, Tedbabemariam community (016 kebele) is particularly chosen for the study because of its pervasive and highest frequency of revenge killings according to data from crime investigation office of the Woreda. Based up on the data obtained from crime investigation office the following data presented in table shows the number of people who lost their lives due to blood revenge practice from 2007-2011 E.C.

Table. 1, Prevalance of blood revenge in Sayint woreda.

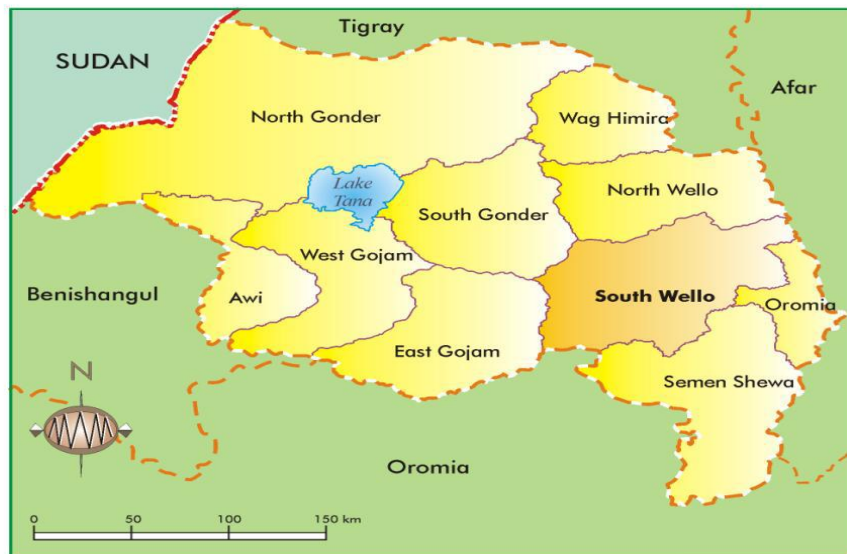
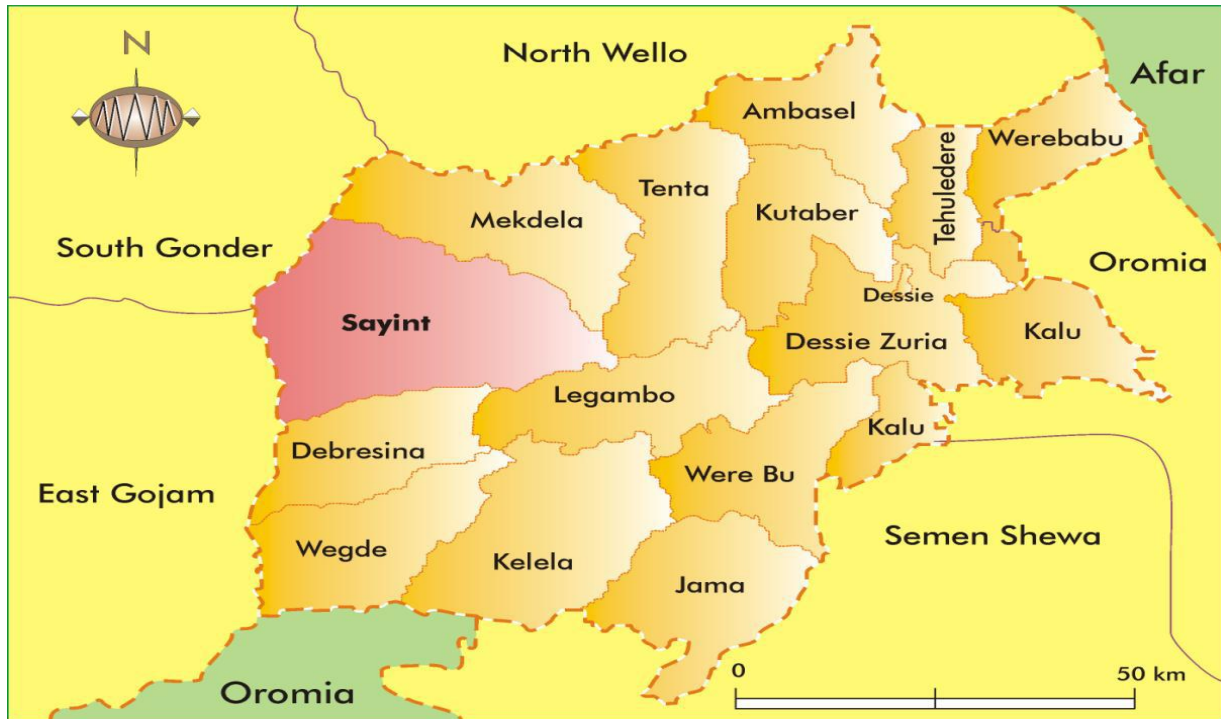
| Number | Name of Kebele      | Number of died individuals through blood revenge across years |          |          |          |                    | Total |
|--------|---------------------|---|----------|----------|----------|--------------------|-------|
|        |                     | 2007 E.C  | 2008 E.C | 2009 E.C | 2010 E.C | 2011 E.C (6 month) |       |
| 1      | 1                   |   | 1        |          |          |                    | 1     |
| 2      | 2                   | 1   |          | 1        | 1        |                    | 3     |
| 3      | 3                   | 4   | 3        | 2        | 2        | 1                  | 12    |
| 4      | 4                   |   |          | 1        | 1        |                    | 2     |
| 5      | 5                   | 1   |          |          |          | 1                  | 2     |
| 6      | 6                   | 1   | 1        | 2        |          | 1                  | 5     |
| 7      | 7                   |   | 1        | 1        | 1        |                    | 3     |
| 8      | 8                   |   |          | 1        |          | 1                  | 2     |
| 9      | 9                   |   | 2        |          | 2        |                    | 4     |
| 10     | 10                  | 1   |          |          | 1        |                    | 2     |
| 11     | 11                  | 3   | 3        | 4        | 3        | 2                  | 15    |
| 12     | 12                  | 4   | 3        | 2        | 2        | 1                  | 12    |
| 13     | 13                  | 3   | 3        | 2        | 3        | 2                  | 13    |
| 14     | 14                  | 1   | 1        |          | 1        |                    | 3     |
| 15     | 15                  |   | 1        |          | 2        |                    | 3     |
| 16     | 16 (Tedbabe Mariam) | 7   | 5        | 7        | 6        | 4                  | 29    |
| 17     | 17                  |   |          | 1        |          |                    | 1     |
| 18     | 18                  | 1   |          | 1        |          |                    | 2     |
| 19     | 19                  |   |          |          | 1        |                    | 1     |
| 20     | 20                  | 1   | 1        |          | 1        |                    | 3     |
| 21     | 21                  |   | 1        |          | 1        |                    | 2     |
| 22     | 22                  | 1   |          |          | 1        |                    | 2     |
| 23     | 23                  | 1   | 1        |          | 1        |                    | 3     |
| 24     | 24                  | 1   |          |          |          |                    | 1     |
| 25     | 25                  |   | 2        |          |          | 1                  | 3     |
| 26     | 26                  |   | 1        |          |          |                    | 1     |
| 27     | 27                  | 1   |          | 1        | 1        | 1                  | 4     |
| 28     | 28                  |   | 1        | 1        |          |                    | 2     |
| 29     | 29                  |   | 1        |          |          |                    | 1     |
| 30     | 30                  |   |          | 1        |          |                    | 1     |
| 31     | 31                  |   |          |          |          | 1                  | 1     |

|    |       |    |    |    |    |    |     |
|----|-------|----|----|----|----|----|-----|
| 32 | 32    |    | 1  |    | 1  |    | 2   |
|    | Total | 32 | 33 | 28 | 32 | 16 | 141 |

Source; Saint wereda crime investigation office (2011E.C)

According to Sayint Woreda information and media compilation management process office revealed that Tedbabemariam, was named after the church of Tedbabemariam, The the kebele is located 25 Km away from the Woreda capital, which inturn is located 189 Km away from Dessie, capital of south Wollo zone. .

**Maps showing South Wollo Zone in Amhara Region and Sayint in South Wollo Zone**



Source; Saint wereda media and information complication management office (2011 E.c)

### 3.1.1 Relief and climate

Sayint wreda is one of 17 districts in the South Wollo zone of the Amhara region. The district has a very diverse topography constituted of mountains, river valleys and scattered plains separated by deep-cut gorges and steep slopes. Valley relief features characterize a large percentage of the district (70%). Plains and mountain relief features constitute 17% and 13%

respectively. The altitude of the district ranges from <1500 m.a.s.l. at Meka administrative area to 4247 m.a.s.l. at the top of the Tabor Mountain. In the lowest parts of the area, the climate is tropical (Kola) while in the higher parts a temperate (Dega) climate prevails (Rural Development and Agriculture Office Report,2009).

At the intermediate altitude, the climate is subtropical (Woyna Dega). Thus, the climatic zones of the district are classified into Dega (above 2500m.a.s.sl) that refers to highlands, Woyna Dega (1500-2500m.a.s.l.) that refers to the intermediate and Kolla (below 1500m.a.s.l.) that refers to the lowlands. The Kolla agro-climatic zone constitutes 34.6% of the total area of the district while Woyna Dega and Dega agro-climatic zones constitute 22.6% and 42.8% respectively (Rural Development and Agriculture Office Report,2009).

Sayint District has mean annual temperature of 22°C. Areas in the middle altitude range have favorable weather, while the high and lowland climates are characterized by extreme weather conditions.

### **3.1.2 Economic activities**

Most farmers in the Ethiopian highlands depend on rain-fed agriculture. Some areas have the favorable situation of having two rainy seasons, Belg (February-May) and the long rainy season Kiremt (June-september), which is the case in some parts of Sayint District. Agriculture is the single most dominant means of livelihood in the district, and 65% of the population dependson it. Both crop cultivation and livestock rearing are the dominant economic activities, with some 26% of the population engaged in business activities and in handicrafts.

According to the District Rural Development and Agriculture Office, the main crops grown here are wheat, barley, teff, maize, beans, chickpeas, sorghum and lentils. The type and pattern of crop cultivation is affected by altitude. Barley, wheat, beans and peas are the major crops in the highlands while sorghum, maize and haricot beans are widely cultivated in the lowland *kebeles*.

At every altitude, households try to plant all of the crops considered suitable for the area. Both men and women carry out all farming activities except plowing and sowing, which is

done by men. Women typically process and prepare food. Rearing livestock is the other important economic activity performed in the area combined with crop production.

### **3.1.3 Social services**

There are very limited social services in Saint district According to the Education Office Report 2007 E.C there are 78 primary schools and one secondary school in the district. On average, there is one teacher for every 55 students, and the average class-student ratio and student-books ratio is 1:55 and 1:5 respectively. The major diseases in the area are respiratory diseases, skin rashes, malaria, intestinal parasites and sexually transmitted diseases including HIV/AIDS (District Health Office Report 2007 E.C). Furthermore, transport is very limited. There is only 385 km of all-weather roads, which account for 20% of the total road coverage of the district. There is only one banking service, so people have to go travel to Dessie to get additional banking service.

Each kebele is served by a police station but due to transportation problem, the police cannot reach on time at the time of conflict, and also the police may not have timely information when conflict occurs. This negatively affects efforts to prevent blood revenge activities in the area.

## **3.2 Research approach, methods, and procedures**

This section deals with the informants back ground, research approach and research method used in the study, it describes how the data is collected or generated and, how it was analyzed.

### **3.2.1 Informants' background**

Overall twenty eight informants participated in the study. Among this 18 (64.3%) of them were males and 10 (35.7%) were females. The age distribution of the the informants is respondents ranges from 18-72. In terms of occupation 20 ( 71.5%) of them are farmers and

others are government employees 5(17.8%), traders 3 (10.71 %). With regard to educational status, 5 (17.8%) of the informants are illiterate,7 (25%) have church education, 16 (57%) completed elementary and above education.

### **3.2.3 Research approach**

The main objective of this research is to understand major causes, consequences, intervention mechanisms and communities view towards blood revenge practice in Saint wereda of Tedbabemariam community.

Therefore, the research approach is informed by qualitative research design since Qualitative research usually help us understand social phenomena in natural (rather than experimental) settings, giving due emphasis to the meanings, experiences, and views of the participants (Yeraswork, 2010). So, due to the complex nature of the issue the qualitative research approach is important for deep and precise understanding of the about experience and view of participants on the issue under investigation..

Therefore, a qualitative approach with cross sectional study design is used to understand meanings associated with blood revenge practices using data collected through focus group discussions, key informant interviews, indepth interviews and case studies.

### **3.2.4 Data sources**

A combination of primary and secondary data sources will be used to ensure triangulation of data sources and to collect robust information pertaining to the issue under investigation. Primary data constitutes the information that is collected the researcher in any form for the purpose of the research at hand. On the other hand, secondary data indicates the data that originates from sources other than own data collection activities. Thus, while primary data is collected from selected community members and administrative officials in Saint wereda and from the selected kebele, secondary data is collected from documentary materials, previous researches, and official documents in the wereda related with blood revenge practices. Also literature review on the topic is an other of secondary data

### **3.2.5 Data collection tools**

In order to get relevant information data gathering tools of case studies, key informant interview, indepth interviews and focus group discussion are used.

### **3.2.5.1 Case studies**

A case study entail the detailed and intensive analysis of a single case, which may be a single community, a single school, a single family, a single organization, a single event, a single person (Yeraswork, 2010). Case studies are used to describe different stories and events associated with blood revenge practices on single person or family and participants are selected for the case study due to their focus on direct and verifiable life experiences.

By assuring unanimity and establishing cordial relationship, a detailed account of personal life stories, encounters, and experiences from five cases have been developed and used in this study. At the beginning, these informants were selected for interview. But due to the strong bond that was established following frequent contacts, I got the chance to excavate more information outside of the mainstream interview processes. This helped to gather agood deal of information about these informants which cannot be otherwise gained through the utilization of other data gathering techniques.

### **3.2.5.2 In -depth interview**

In-depth interviewing is perhaps the most common type of interview used in qualitative research (yearswork,2010). This method of data collection is important to gather more more explanation from respondents. Using in-depth interview is the best solution as a method,which offers the opportunity to acquire information directly from the study population. So, in order to get a detail information about the issue under study indepth interview was used to collect a data form study population. In so doing a total of five in-depth interviews with victims and kin members from killers, were conducted.

### **3.2.5.3 Key informant interview (KIIS)**

Based on their professional expertise in relation to the issue and positions/status in the community Atotal of 7 key informant from religious leaders, kebele administrators,communityleaders/elders, local government bodies (milita, one to five

leader) in the selected kebeles. And, crime investigation officer from saint wereda were conducted by KIIS. To get information on the major causes, consequences, and challenges of intervention mechanisms taken to alleviate the problem and to reduce negative impacts.

#### **3.2.5.4. Focus group discussion (FGD)**

Focus group discussion is "a valuable and time-efficient method for gathering qualitative data from multiple respondents at one time. Thus, "it allows the qualitative researcher to unearth individual narratives and group narratives that are larger than the sum of their parts" (Bibber & Leave, 2006, p .22 3).

In addition, focus group discussion is selected for this study owing to its cost effective techniques of gathering information, its efficiency in bringing individuals together who share a common attribute, be it age, experience or gender, and in its ability to generate diversities and differences either within or between groups (Dayon & Holloway, 2002). This helps the researcher to grasp the unanimous views of the participants and to draw the individualistic understanding of the issue as well (Dayon & Holloway, 2002). Accordingly, Three focus group discussions, each group having six members were held with the women, elders and youth from both the victim's and non victim members of the community and the participants were selected based on their knowledge about the issue. The themes of discussions also focused on major causes, and consequence by giving emphasis to communities' views towards blood revenge practice and reasons why these practices is common in the study area.

To enhance the validity and reliability of the focus group discussion, the researcher recorded (following their consent) communication, developed ground rules, controlled the balance between individual participants, focused on participants' personal view, encouraged in-depth exploration of emergent issues, and looked into contradictory views.

#### **3.2.6 Qualitative sampling technique**

The aim of this study is not to be statistically representative, but rather to give detailed insights about blood revenge practice. The purpose here is to study the major causes,

consequences and intervention mechanisms qualitatively where a thicker and richer description of the issue.

Qualitative Samples, therefore, need to be selected to ensure the inclusion of relevant constituencies, events, processes and so on, that can elucidate and inform that understandings (Ritchie & Lewis, 2005, p.82). Therefore, qualitative sample involves a small number of people which cannot be generally governed by the principles quantitative (Ritchie & Lewis, 2005).

As, the goal of qualitative research is extracting detail information from few, rather than the many (Kaloz ... et al, 2008; Ezzy, 2002) study participants. Based on the participants' relevant knowledge and experiences on the issue under investigation, the study participants were selected using drawn from the population by purposive sampling method. All the study participants are from Tedbabemariam 016 kebele of sayint wereda, south Wollo zone.

In order to obtaining adequate information on the issue under investigation different groups of residents of the *kebele* have participated. For the focus group discussion, the informants have been divided into three groups. The group members were recruited based on the participants' knowledge of the research questions and their gender. Thus, a total of 18 individuals participated in the focus group discussions from the 18 participants of the focus group discussion, two individuals from focus group discussions were chosen for in-depth interviews.

In addition interviews were conducted with a police man and a lawyer who closely work with blood revenge cases.

### **3.2.7 Procedures in data collection**

### **3.2.7.1 Focus group discussion**

For the focus group discussion, three focus group discussions were organized; one held youth with age of 18-29, group two held women with age of 30 and above and group three held community leader/elders those are called in local language “Minisha”, Mengsitawi budin (governmental group) and leaders of community service like edir, and mediators. selection of the participants was the interest of the researcher with the help of and the kebele officials.

#### **Stage One: Scene setting and ground rules**

For the successful handling of the focus group discussions, the researcher had prepared the necessary pre-conditions such as recruiting potential participants, designing strategies of dealing with difficulties later in the discussion, and structuring the overall discussions. At the beginning of the discussion, as the participants have arrived at the place in which the discussion was about to take place, the researcher thanked them warmly for their coming, welcomed them and tried to make them comfortable with a friendly conversation. When all the participants arrived, the researcher began the discussion with a personal introduction and then researcher briefly described the research topic, background information on the purpose of the study. Confidentiality was stressed, and explanation was given about what will happen to the collected data. The researcher also included an indication of expected roles of the participants. For this purpose, ground rules were established. These rules stressed that there are no right or wrong answers, participants should feel free to say what they think, seek for explanation on unclear topics, avoid to talk to each other, and not to seep out what a participant say as confidential.

#### **Stage two: Participants' introduction**

The researcher asked participants to introduce themselves in turn by saying their names, occupation, educational status and religious background. This helped the researcher to start the discussion easily.

#### **Stage three: Opening the discussion**

After the participants' introduction, the researcher started off the general discussion by asking them to talk about why the blood revenge practice is common in these kebele and how often it occurs, following this, questions related to major causes, consequences, intervention mechanisms and perceptions of the community towards blood revenge practices were presented for discussion. Attempts to probe the participants for more information and to balance the contribution of each participant was made to minimize the dominance of some individuals.

### **3.2.7.2 Interview Stages**

#### **Stage One: Introducing the research topic/ objectives**

The researcher started interaction by introducing the study topic. This involved briefing the nature and purpose of the study, reaffirming that what they say would be kept confidential and seeking permission to record the interview.

#### **Stage Two: Beginning the interview**

The interviewer began by greeting the informant at the same time, the researcher asked the interviewees' background information about their occupation, religion, and whether they were affected by revenge killing.

#### **Stage three: The interview**

This is the most important stage in the interview processes where the researcher captured the interviewee's thoughts, feelings, views and experiences about the issue under study. At this stage, the researcher raised questions related to the major cause, consequence, intervention mechanism, and societies as well his/her view towards blood revenge practice and associated reasons for continuation of blood revenge practices and personal suggestions. Each theme was explored in-depth with a series of follow up questions and probes. These themes were anticipated by the researcher and those which emerged from the interviewee's response. After the end of the interview, the researcher thanked the interviewee and finally assured that information they provided will be kept confidential.

## **3. 2.8 Data analysis**

The data acquired through focus group discussions, key informant interviews, and individual case studies were analyzed using qualitative data analysis techniques. The process involved preparing the data for analysis, conducting different analyses, moving deeper and deeper into understanding the data, presenting the data, and making an interpretation of the larger meaning of the data.

After the completion of the data collection processes, the researcher organized and prepared the data for analysis. For this purpose, field notes and tape recorded interviews were transcribed and depending on the sources of information the data were further arranged into different categories. Based on these categories, similar topics were clustered together and the unique ones were used for checking generalizations. As a result, greater care was taken to understand the general sense of the whole participants' idea through a detailed examination of the participants' tone of expression, mood and experiences.

Finally, the major themes, personal interpretation, and the cross checked findings with the information gleaned from related literatures were interconnected in to a story line and then the researcher used her level best to convey the findings through narration.

## **Chaptre Four**

#### **4. Data presentation, interpretation and analysis**

This study was intended to explore blood revenge practice and communities perception. Specifically, contributing factors, consequences, intervention mechanism, communities view and reason for the continuation of blood revenge practice. This chapter presents the resulting data and interprets them with respect to specific objectives. Each of the specific objective is simultaneously analyzed qualitatively.

##### **4.1 Blood revenge practices and communities' perceptions**

According to Elster (1990) norms of revenge and custom of blood revenge exhibits common characteristics across societies that practice it. First, it is closely tied to the notion of honor. Described in anthropological studies as an inseparable attribute of honor in honoric cultures, blood revenge is, above all, exacted to defend or restore one's honor. As Elster (1990:867) observed, "Honor . . . is central in all feuding societies the failure to exact blood revenge in honoric cultures is tantamount to losing one's honor". Describing the Palestinian custom of revenge-taking, Lang (2002:52 ) explains that "to avenge the murder of a close kinsman is honorable; to fail to do so is dishonorable." The honor-based role of blood revenge in many cultures is socially sanctioned. For example, Corsica, the man who has not avenged his father, an assassinated relative or a deceived daughter, can no longer appear in public. Nobody speaks to him; he has to remain silent, Blood revenge is thus obligatory. Not seeking it may result in social sanctions targeting not only the individual who failed to retaliate, but also his entire kinship group.

Second, as discussed in ethnographic studies by Adamson Hoebel and Geoffrey Mac Cormack cited in Emil Aslan Souleimanov, Huseyn Aliyev, (2015:161) blood revenge is reciprocal, that is, the principle of reciprocity is also embedded in contemporary blood-revenge practices. For example, it is a component of Albania's customary code *Kanun*, which sanctions blood revenge for spilt blood. It is also encoded in the Albanian saying "Blood is never lost," the Chechen saying "Chechens never forgive blood," and the Arab saying "Blood demands blood."

Thirdly, blood revenge is grounded in the notion of equivalence. The biblical principle of an eye-for-an-eye, which is used to justify most acts of blood revenge, prescribes that one life

be taken for each life lost or for an offense of similar gravity, such as rape or grievous injury. Islamic criminal jurisprudence explicitly recognizes the concept of equal—and therefore just—retaliation (*qisas*) applied against the offender but not his relatives. In the case of the study area, in addition to the importance of honor, economic considerations play a crucial role in the practice of blood revenge that community seems to believe that blood revenge is one way of hitting two birds so that returning blood is not only protecting honor with one stone they believe that returning blood is not only getting honor but also a way of getting better life in prison. A 58 year old woman said the following:

*“if an individual returns his kins blood, he is considered as a hero for revenge killing and then joins better life because he can get new profession like preparing cloth, getting enough food people say he is wedded or temoshere”*. (FGD #1: March, 2019).

Economic situations of individuals have greater potential for societies perceiving blood revenge practice as an opportunity. The Amharic saying “temoshere” indicates this.

In addition to economic situation due to the difficulties to manage the kebele by police officers; since there is small number of available polices and other securities does not match with area coverage of the kebele, the local people have access to fire arms presented for the people by illegal smugglers. Key informants from saint wereda crime investigation office stated that, as compared to other neighboring areas most people legally or illegally hold guns in this kebele. Due to this reason, minor disagreements have the chance to escalate in to killing of each other. Hence, killings have a tendency to contribute for a reciprocal killing, this further accelerates revenge killings in the study area.

In an interview held with Sayint Woreda crime investigation office, the officer revealed that:

*“the area is notorious for staging revenge killings because of illegal weapon smuggling. Surprisingly, unlike other kebeles within Sayint Woreda, in this kebele the magnitude of retaliatory killing leading to spiral of killing is huge. But bear in mind, how ever, in Saint wereda as a whole any killing will not remain unavenged, it only waits for suitable time.”* ( Respondent #1:March,2019).

Like wise among the Chilas people in Afghanistan, illegal weapon smuggling exacerbates the intensity of revenge killings (Azam, 2000). Similar to other societies such as the Oromos of Arsi, Waliso, Bellonese and Chilas women, children, and aged people are exempted from revenge killings (Azam, 2000; Dejene, 2002; Kuschel, 1993 as cited in Yihune, 2010). Though this rule applies as long as the enemy is refrained from killing them.

"Blood revenge in many societies entails elaborate rules that specify who is obligated to avenge death and, sometimes the range of kinsmen (brother, cousin, and so forth) of the killer that is an appropriate target for retaliation" (Chagnon, 1988:992). Thus, the rules dictate whom to kill and whom to spare. In Tedbabe mariam community , any killing is avenged by killing the murderer's father, brother, nephew, cousin, uncle and it has also the tendency to extend up to seven generations down, sometimes up to twelve generations. This is also the case in the Bellonese people but contrary to the Arabs to whom revenge extends up to five generations (Kuschel, 1993; Patton, 1901).

However, in the study area, any person who killed a woman is overtly criticized and exposed for ridicule. The killer is liable to pay two fold of a blood wealth he would to pay for killing a man for a man. There are also special cases that women and children in this study area become target for revenge killing. The avengers could take action on the women, children and distant relatives if they are available during actual happening of the incident.

A 42 year old man explained the situation as follows:

*“ Women and children whose age is above 7 years old would became target for counter killing, if they are present during actual happening of the incident.”* (FGD #2: March, 2019).

This is contrary to the blood money payments made for women in Afar and Somali societies, which dictate half of the payment paid for men (Alula & Getachew ,2008 :22). Therefore, killing a woman nothing to the avenger. Thus,, most of the time women are not targets of killing including revenge killing. Akin to the Bellonese, Massai, and Aboriginal Siberians (Kuschel, 1993; Williams, 1969; Gulliver, 1968; Czaplicka, 1969), in the study community

the closest kin of the injured party is supposed to take revenge on the slayers' fathers, brothers, cousins, nephews and uncles both from the matrilineal and patrilineal.

## **4.2 Factors contributing to blood revenge**

### **4.2.1 Social norms**

Every society has its own standardized norms. These norms are institutionalized and ossified with proverbs, sayings and myths that anchored in the society's long standing culture (Yeshe,1995; Reminick 1974; Hussein 2005). These norms sanction,, how individuals or groups get privileges when they conform to the standardized qualities of a "family" and impose sanctions on non-conformists.

Blood revenge is defined as "retaliatory killing in which the initial victim's close kinsmen conduct a revenge raid on the members of the current community of the initial killer, dispatch the original killer, a suitable target among tribal community and highly tied to norms of the community (Chagnon, 1988). Blood revenge involves initial victims and perpetrators, families, close and distant relatives of both victims and Perpetrator. Initial victims may search for opportunities to retaliate blood for blood or any other ways. Hence, it becomes a circular social problem where victims at one occasion will be perpetrators on the next having retaliated the initial perpetrator, this problem is also a social and legal issue in Amhara region because it causes life loss, physical injury, property loss and social instability. It disrupts the life of individuals and peaceful existence of groups or communities (Bitwedded, 2017)

Revenge has been one of the social problems practiced in the district of Sayint wereda specially Tedbabemariam community,even though other types of disputes leads to conflict.The customs associated with blood revenge are common across cultures. Because, to every culture, avenging a death is believe to serve certain functions. Such as to ward off the wrath of gods, to let the slain rest in peace, to deter further aggressions, and for the sake of prestige (Eisner, 2009; Herdt, 1985 ; Patton, 1901; Chagnon, 1988). In the study area, however, blood revenge is practiced for the sake of honor and economic issue. Because there is a myth that males are begotten to defend themselves and their families from attacks or any humiliation by using any means even up to risking their lives, issue of being honor( societies

norm), and economic situation of individuals plays a crucial role in the continuation of blood revenge in Tedbabemariam community.

Every society has its own standardized norms. These norms are institutionalized and ossified with proverbs, sayings and myths that anchored in the society's long standing culture (Yeshi,1995; Reminick 1974; Hussein 2005). These norms sanction,, how individuals or groups get privileges when they conform to the standardized qualities of a "family" and impose sanctions on non-conformists.

Likewise, the Tedbabemariam residents have their own social norms associated with blood revenge practice. These social norms contribute the continuation of blood revenge practice,

One of the community residents, a 28 years - old man explained the norms of the community as follows:

*“By any reason if an individual loses one of the parents, the victim must avenge the killer, unless the society would label him as female. The society would simply say that he cannot payback his brothers blood and this situation paved the way for others to take his wife.”*  
(FGD #2: March, 2019).

Similar to other societies (Kuschel, 1993), in the study area members of the descent group begin to call a person who refuses to embark on revenge as coward, a lazy and a worthless individual. This public labeling is also mired to Arabian, Israeli, Bellonese, Orokaiva and Aboriginal Siberian males (Shimel is & Taddese, 2008; Paton, 1901; Kuschel, 1993; Williams, 1969; and Czaplicka, 1969). Every member of the descent group considers themselves as exclusively responsible for avenging his/her kin's blood.

A 25 year old woman interviewee whose family member has been slain, said:

*“no one sleeps in peace unless he avenges his kins' killer.”*

In the study area no one lets the slayer to lead his normal life while the slain battles with warms. According to the informants, even if a boy from the family of victims has been wounded (face physical injury) while attempting or economically unable to avenge his

brother's killer, he would not remain silent there after. The boy would instead engage in looking for another powerful individual (“shifta”) who can kill the early avenger through paying money.

The time interval in which the death occurs has also an impact on the type of revenge. According to the informants if a member of the victim get anybody from the killers family, either a female or male, straight away the death has occurred, he will shoot them. However, if there is a time interval the avenger will wait another individual who can fit well with his brother blood, since the local tradition demands males, in any case, to rectify any shame done to their relatives.

One of the local elders, with age of 67, also remarked that individuals who are under low economic status have a greater chance to take revenge for his kins killer. He mentioned the case of his neighbor who did not have land, because he was not here at the time of land redistribution during FDRE, and could not survive when he returned to his palce, suddenly lost his kin and did not waste time to take revenge. He had a greater tendency to do criminal act and go to prison, in this community being prisoner is considered as an opportunity to develop new profession like “waving” and the society says he is lucky and free from economic difficulties or in other words “wedded”.

Communities norm associated with gender role expectations that draw a line on men's and women's roles. These roles are appropriated based on the societal beliefs, expectations and attitudes towards a man and a woman. These expectations are envisaged through sanctions and rewards; conformity is highly encouraged, whereas deviation is severely criticized.

In the study area, women are expected to do household works, take care of infants, and be submissive to their husbands. And men are expected to do outdoor works, defending family members from enemy attack, humiliation and any incidents. Thus, if something humiliating is done to their family members, the male members are expected to take retaliatory actions against the offender or his family members. In a similar talk, if one of the family members is killed, they are anticipated to avenge their relative's death. Letting a killing unavenged is not a manly behavior. Consequently, if a man refuses to avenge his kin's killer, women will question his manliness through different ways. For instance, his sisters, his wife, or one of his female relatives may offer him a spindle to spin. This is a symbol for his cowardice or

feminine manner. Sometimes they may also request him to put on a dress. This means "you are a female and no one expects you to avenge your relative's blood. You are no longer a man; thus put on a dress like us."

Furthermore, they would also scatter the deceased man's clothes all over the compound. When their male relatives asked them why are they doing this? They respond "could you inform me a man to rectify the mess?" Metaphorically, they request them to avenge their deceased relative's blood.

In an individual interview a slayer's male relative told the researcher that in extreme case, wives disallow their husbands' to sleep with them unless they avenged their relative's blood. And symbolically it also means that "you are a female. So, how can a female sleep with a female. It is unnatural." The slain's female relatives also pressure their husbands and other male relatives to embark up on revenge day and night resentfully nagging or crying and by displaying a negligent attitude towards caring for their beauty.

#### **4.2.2 Socialization Process and Community's Perceptions**

According to Coorsman (2019), Social learning theory considers the formation of one's identity to be a learned response to social stimuli. It emphasizes the societal context of socialization rather than the individual mind. This theory postulates that an individual's identity is not the product of the unconscious (such as the belief of psychoanalytic theorists), but instead is the result of modeling oneself in response to the expectations of others. Behaviors and attitudes develop in response to reinforcement and encouragement from the people around us. While social learning theorists acknowledge that childhood experience is important, they also believe that the identity people acquire is formed more by the behaviors and attitudes of others. Social learning theory has its roots in psychology and was shaped greatly by psychologist Albert Bandura. Sociologists most often use social learning theory to understand crime and deviance. Social learning theory postulates that there are three mechanisms by which individuals learn to engage in crime: differential reinforcement, belief and modeling.

Similarly in the study are the practice of taking blood revenge is attributed to the socialization process and familial attitudes. In Tedbabemariam community, conflict and blood revenge

killings have started an earlier time. Some of the informants claimed that revenge killings were common practices and even encouraged by the feudal political system in the previous times. Since the system was traditional and monarchical, political power was controlled by people with close family ties and revenge was appreciated. He who failed to revenge was undermined and hated by the ruling traditional monarchy whereas the one who takes revenge would be highly appreciated. Perpetrators were not brought before the law. The role and function of the justice system was undermined and dysfunctional. When we come to the perception of blood revenge killings at the familial level in particular and the socialization process in general, blood revenge killings are highly appreciated.

In the view of a 37 year- old man key Informant the family is one major source of revenge killings by providing all the necessary teachings, guidance and direction for the grown-up teenager:

A family teaches and provides proper guidance to a small child continuously and encourages him to take revenge against his father's perpetrator. If he did the revenge, he would be highly appreciated by the family. He would be considered a hero, valiant, courageous, gallant, fearless, appreciated, praised and prized by both the family and the surrounding community, according to the police officer interviewed for this study.

The police officer further stated that blood revenge is almost a tradition of the communities and killers, use 'stick and axes' to attack their enemy. The community socializes their children to be tough and to be energetic in fighting, and recite with passion the so called 'fukera'. Fukera is usually accompanied by a dispute provoking poem to energize the young not to fear to take blood revenge. Young people are socialized by inculcating the tradition of blood revenge in their mind.

The culture embraces aggressiveness, bravery, courage, forcefulness and vengefulness through socialization, these practices are instilled commonly in children's mind during their early childhood. One of the community residents (42 years old woman) and victim of blood revenge also explained the way children learn blood revenge:;

*My parents had 5 children among them four are female and one was male. Accidentally, I lost my brother because of dispute between*

*individuals with in the community occurred and he was going to the place for the purpose of mediating conflicted individuals but, he lost his life, and the killer got 12 years in prison, even though it has happened sometime ago, I tell my son that he must avenge his uncle's blood. I do not have chance to see this, surely my bone glorifies him throughout his life. (Resopondent no. 4, March, 2019).*

A 55 year - old man who served as a mediator (“shimagle”) and also victim of blood revenge stated as follows:

*My brother was killed by a man and individuals involved in the killing are still in prison now, at the time of killing I have no capacity to return my brothers blood but know even though I am a mediator I am waiting the day that killer released from the prison to kill him, if I live until the killere is released from prison because of may age, I am teaching my children to return the blood. (Respondent, 5: march, 2019).*

Therefore, the process of socialization of the young plays a crucial role for the continuation of blood revenge practices in the community.

#### **4.2.3 Land related conflicts fueling blood revenge**

In rural areas land inheritance is also another factor since land which belonged to kinship group has been formally divided among its extended family members, and these divisions continue in fixed form for generations but among them one of the child may not accept the land arrangement and may lead to conflict and end up with blood revenge (Bitwoded, 2017)

One of the women aged 40 (case study, 2) and is victim of revenge stated the following:

*“For our parents only my brother and me was their children, and they died before 30 years. After our parents died we were living with our uncle (our fathers brother). Once we grow up and want to separate with our uncle, we plainly told him the fact that we want to separate. He then agreed to give our father's land, but swaped our father's land*

*with his barren and unfertile land and gave that to us. Although we request him to give us fertile land for a living our uncle stayed firm. My brother was short tempered and annoyed by our uncle, he later killed my uncle but again got killed by the son of our uncle three years ago.*

Another discussant from the FGDs aged 35 also stated the following on how dispute overland could lead to blood revenge.

*“Stiff dispute over border demarcation of land could lead to deaths of persons, which inturn enters in to the blood revenge cycle. Shortly put, land is the ultimate source of many blood revenge a disputes. (FGD, 3: March, 2019)*

Conflicts over a piece of land in the community occur in many forms. There are conflicts among family members. This is mainly connected with land inheritance from the one who died. Family members and relatives can kill each other demanding over the use of a piece of land that will end up in killings and blood revenges. Such kind of land conflicts are complex and difficult to solve at the start because the one who claims the land could be a family member who gets the land from his own parents.

However, this will be considered by other family members as illegal possession of the land by him/her. Land inheritance is the passage of title and ownership of property from the one who died to people whom the law designates. However, against the law one of the family members may take the lion share of the land and exclude other family members. Such kind of circumstances would put them in violent conflict.

The combination of many things like debt, poor flows of capital towards a given nation from abroad and inefficient aid for different programs often leads to conflict (Adeleye, 2012). Similarly in the study area poor people who have no land are beneficiary to the national safety net programs, discussants with age of 45 man how aid is associated blood revenge. corruption during the delivlery of safety net services became an incident for revenge killing . In this regard, a member of the local militia said the following.

*“ The members of the community who can not able to support their family have a chance to include different aid programs like safety net but due to imbalance between the number of people who want aid and available aid the distributor prefers selecting based on his/her interest rather than addressing the needy people so, due to this the people who can not get aid kill the distributor and other members also engage in counter killing”.*

*(FGD,3,March,2019).*

The above information shows that in the study area minor disputes leads to counter killing which is resulted due to cultural violence with in this community every community member engage in counter killing easily for every attack.

#### **4.2.4 Multiple sexual partners**

Having multiple sexual partners is also another cause of blood revenge in the area. According to informants, different men might maintain sexual relationship with a single woman even knowing that the woman has another sexual partner. Men dream snatch the woman from another man (most of them are girls who make a living by selling local alcoholic drinks like areke and tella) and simultaneously they also engage in commercial sex activities leading multiple sexual relationship with men and this is one of the causes for blood revenge practices in the area. one of the informants with age of 42 who were asked to reflect on the cause of blood revenge. He was victim of blood revenge practice, in that he has lost his friend through this. He strongly stated that blood revenge is caused due to habit of having extra marital sexual partner (having multiple sexual partner).

*My friend had a sexual relationship with another women apart from his legal wife. He was famous in our village for his physical appearance being nice, and one day he goes to the local alcohol drinking hut, where a beautiful lady was serving. When the day gets darker and darker he want to spend all the night with that woman. Yet, there was also another man who want to do so. The two people were*

*confronted each other due to interest on that girl. In the middle, that man who was confronted with my friend has got killed. The family of the victim had latter killed a brother of my friend, who was very old, in response to this. The tragedy never stoped by this, the avenger latter want to kill some young members of the killer that can substitute the the loss occurred against their family. In this process the avenger has killed two individuals while one is dead by the first family. The first family are now looking for another individual to make it equal (Respondent #6: March, 2019).*

In the focus group discussions issues related to land dispiutes, alchol consumption, extra marital affair of spouses and sexual partners (in the case of sex workers) and dispute over farm land boundary are the major causes for initiating conflicts that ultimately lead to killings. (FGD #3: March, 2019).

In relation to alcohol consumption, one woman informant with age of 28 said the following;

*“My father and our neighbor were drinking “tella” [which is an alcohol beverage prepared in traditional way] together. They were confronted with each other due to the fact that my father was getting a child from our neighbors wife in secret. The neighbor was in confusion as to whom the child belongs to. They both were drunk at that time and thinking of the child in the womb, they agitated for conflict among eachother. Due to the conflict in that moment our neighbor has died. He wouldn’t have been died if they were sober (Respondent #7: March, 2019).*

### **4.3 Consequences of blood revenge practice**

### 4.3.1 Migration

Blood revenge is an individual act of revenge against the perpetrator of an offense, a member of a group associated with the offender through blood kinship, or a broader group associated with the offender but not necessarily related to him through blood kinship. As with more typical definition of blood revenge, ours also requires that its practice can be individual, reciprocal (in the sense that it is triggered by an offense against oneself or one's relatives), selective (in the sense of selecting the targets of revenge), equivalent (i.e., grounded in the principle of "eye-for-an-eye"), and resulting in, with the intention of, causing death (Emil Aslan Souleimanov 2015).

The kebele administrator during the interview, also explained that consequence of blood revenge practice in the study area as follows:

*Blood revenge practice is serious issue in our kebele. When an individual kill someone, all family members and close kins are forced to migrate into another areas to secure their life. Here, even the victims are selective of the target person to kill. For immediate killing, there is no selection of the target, and all the kins are obligated to migrate at this time in fear of being killed". (Respondent #8: March, 2019).*

According to him even there is a selection to kill someone for blood revenge. The family of the victims kill without selection for hot blood by saying "abro yemikeber enfelg" here, the situation is very difficult for both groups, for on time killing everybody may die but they do not stop for searching another person for killing because of by assuming that the early return is not fit with for their blood, and the practice became continued and never lasting.

An expert on security issues at Tedbabemariam community has also stated that most of the migratory trends follow a rural-rural migration pattern. Because both the slain's and slayer's family's relatives mostly reside in rural areas. However, he said, it does not mean that no one migrates to urban centers. An undeniable number of women and men also migrate to the adjacent or far away urban areas and engage in various income-generating activities. A local elder also noted that women migrate or move to other places not because of choices but

out of necessity. There is no one around them who can help and take care of them as their husbands do. Therefore, they migrate to other places where they thought it is suitable.

Thus, blood revenge, by eroding both the instrumental and expressive needs of the family system, speeds up family disorganization and leads its members to migration, and related problems. In addition, it weakens the affinal kin ties that are established through the union of a husband and a wife. By doing this, it restrains, especially, blood revenge widows, from obtaining further assistance from affinal kin in times of harvest and ploughing seasons. Due to this reason, these widows change their place of residence and migrate to their close relatives' homes where the necessary support and care are thought to be available. In relation to the slayer's female relatives, apart from constant threat from the slain's family, they migrate to other places in search of safe shelters and better support. Due to fear of reprisal from the slain's relatives, in a place where the killing has been taken place, no one raise his hands to help them in every aspect. Such type of help is, according to the slain's family, tantamount to the slayer's accomplice. Therefore, fearing of this labeling, every resident of the *kebele*, other than close relatives, refuse to offer help in the harvesting of crops and ploughing of the farm lands of the slayer's female relatives.

In the study area, however, the blood revenge practice also difficult for remarriage. However, widows are not secluded from any social relations, but implicitly they are discouraged from remarrying before their husbands' death is avenged. As one of the female interviewees told the researcher that blood revenge widow who shows a strong desire to form a new marital relation with a man is considered by the society as having lust, selfishness, and ingratitude. They, therefore, eliminate the idea of remaiage from their minds soon. Surprisingly enough, if the deceased husband's relatives suspected that she is plarming to remarry another man, they will discourage her through verbal insulting, threatening to confiscate her husband's possessions, and threatening to kill her new would-be husband. On part of a widow, there is an unbending decision to remarry another man unless her husband's death has not been avenged. During the personal interview, one of the female interviewees hypothesized that such attitudes indirectly prompt the slain's male relatives to take revenge on the slayer or his relatives. With regard to the slayer's wife, if she is divorced from her husband, no one dares to establish any marital relationship with her. Because of fear of

attacks from her previous husband or the slain's relatives. Especially remarriage is mostly impossible for those women who had children from their previous marriage. Thus, their remained alternative is to migrate to far away urban centers and begin their own life afresh.

#### **4.3.2 Economic crisis**

Economic crisis is one of the strenuous economic problems caused by blood revenge practices. In the focus group discussion held with the women, it was said that blood killings force killers and their families to leave the area and this prevent them from harvesting their crop on time. The economic structure of the family is weakened.

A member of FGD and also a slayer's female relative said that their cattle are confiscated and butchered and their houses are burnt down by the slain's family. In areas where blood revenge is practiced like in the Afghanistan, and Orokaiva (Azam, 2000; Czaplicka, 1969), families involved in blood revenge lose their jobs or their businesses destroyed. A man who is a neighbor of the slayer said, since male members leave their home early, the slayer's female relatives are not able to defend their cattle from the slain's relatives. Currently, his neighbor (slayer) is without adequate number of oxen required for plugging.

A religious leader (who is a mediator at the time of conflict or “dem adraki” in Amharic language), said that in the community main assets like land, sheep goat are depilated due to blood revenge since killers are obligated to pay compensation (Yedem Kassa) in the form of other assets.

Furthermore, because the revenge practice is a continuous process the blood feud is not often settled easily, all members of the slayer's descent group would not be allowed to take part in agricultural activities. During this time, the families from the killer (like women, children) have the right to partake in the tedious agricultural works, they can request the local people to help them harvest crops. Sometimes they rent their land to other farmer because most of the time rural agricultural lands are too far away from their homes and very risky to continue cultivate distant fields as it exposes them to further killings. This erodes their economic base and reduces the amount of product they would gain from their farm.

The kebele administrator also emphasized that due to the fact that young and productive people are mostly involvd in blood revenge they are not able to participate in economic activities like ploughing farm lands and hence migrate to another place. In return, the local people and non-targeted families pay an extra amount of money from their asset for harvesting purpose. This exposes them to economic crisis.

In Ethiopia, "ploughning is an activity women usually do not undertake, but they would have take on this task when there is no male assistance available" (Dicks & Eddle, 1995:95). In the study area, however, women are not allowed to plough the fields and household labour becomes scarce when male members leave their home because of blood revenge.

According to the kebele administrator, if a member of the family kills another man, all men of the Kin group leave the area and hide somewhere else fearing of a reciprocal killing. But Women with their children remain in their home. Most of the time a cash money is kept by men. Thus, when a killing occurs, women and children's are without cash to cover immediate expenses such as to buy food.

In other way, focus group participant also unveiled that due to the constant intimidations from the victim's group, they are not able to harvest their crops in time. So that the ripen crops are dropping and are also damaged by wild and domestic animals.

In addition to the above depressing consequence issue of dependency is also one of economic impact which is resulted due to blood revenge practice, According to female key informants, among women after losing their husband to blood revenge, they go to their relatives for better care and support. Because, as a patrilocal marital residence, women have no any consanguine kin around them who can help them in time of need. As in the Massai of Northern Tanganyika(Gulliver, 1968), in the *kebele* the affinal relationships terminate or sour due to the loss of her husband, a woman prefers to live with her relatives for a better support. This is especially common among infertile women and those who did not give birth. the killer's wife too, she has to ask for the local people for harvesting and ploughing of her farm lands. Especially if she is a penniless, she has nothing to pay for a labor. So her livelihood more or less depends on the local people's openhandedness. She further said since some crops may have a short optimum period for planting, to fail to plant a particular crop within the favorable sowing season, inability to obtain a labor on equal sharing basis, through hiring labor for

cash or request bring a disastrous impact on the size of the harvest. During the focus group discussion, one of the revenge widows acrimoniously expressed her feeling as follow:

*“When the ploughing and harvesting seasons come, I have to knock everyone's door repeatedly. Otherwise, I will die in poverty. Debbo is no helpful for a widow, because it seeks reciprocity. As the custom dictates women are not allowed to participate in Debbo other than providing food and drinks for the Debbo participants, I cannot benefit from it.”* (FGD #2: March, 2019).

The killer's wife or his family is obliged plead others because the male members will not be around the area or they will not go for work in order to guard themselves from the slain's kin assault. In an interview with the *kebele*'s women's affairs chair women and other members, when the economic problem becomes serious, they said, the women go back to their parents home (some of them are with their children) and begin to lead their previous (pre marital) lives. From the discussions and interviews held with men and the local elders, blood revenge makes women also dependent upon their relatives and the local people. Their dependency ranges from seeking people's assistance in agricultural and related works to total dependence on close relatives for food and shelter services.

#### **4.3.3 Social isolation**

Social isolation is one of the social impacts of blood revenge practices in the study area. The killer's and the slain's relatives are not allowed to attend church services together, shop together, attend mourning and wedding ceremonies together and can be a member of community based associations such as *Mahiber*, *Equab*, etc. As community based institutions are primarily established to provide financial, social, emotional and spiritual support (Flemmen, 2008; Desalegn, 1991; Sintayehu, 2001), and losing membership associations in these institutions hinder members of a slayer group from accessing social support benefits. The can not drink coffee together, offer help in times of wedding and dath or other similar occasions.

In the advent of revenge killings, all these occasions are destined to be disrupted. Because the slain's families migrate to another place for fear of revenge attack, they are alienated/isolated from their earlier shared values; even if they go to another place, there is

no chance to easily integrate with a new community and share common values. A 67 year old who participated in FGD stated:

*“my son had killed someone before 10 years and at that time, I migrated to other places which I think was safe for me. Because the victim family has never stopped searching to kill female and children of our family at that time. And now I return back to my home, but I feel like “I am blind”. I miss the activities that I used to share with my neighbor. All I could do now is serving as servant at home rather than participating in social activities”.* (FGD #3: March, 2019).

Social isolation is a problem for both the victims and killers families. One of woman informant with age of 45 has stated the following cases;

*There was a dispute between son and father before 1 year, and uncle and aunt of the son (my daughter) have gone to their home to mediate them. Accidentally mediators were killed by the son, and then kids of the mediator immediately kill 2 sisters of the early killer. The situation then gets worse. In fear of the next outcome we have come together and dealt about how can we mediate them. We made a call to them through “church leaders, elders and shared family members “zemed dagna” on these mediating process. The rule we set to mediate them was isolation from our social activities, like attending at the time of risky, mahiber, wedding, church attending of the one who refuse to obey the agreement. At first, both of them has agreed up on these dispute resolution mechanisms. However, they block these rule before 5 month and kill another individual for payback of the person killed before. Now they are restricted from sharing common values.*

( Respondent #9: March, 2019).

#### 4.3.4 School drop out

This problem is common among students of both the victims and killer's kin group. According to the principal of Tedbabe mariam elementary school, blood revenge is one of the main causes of students' school dropout. It forces students to stop school when one family member kills another person. School is interrupted because children migrated to another area with their parents. Because the economy is disrupted, parents are not able to support their children's education.

In addition to the economic disruption as the information gained from focus discussions and indepth interviews, participants argued that though children are not targeted for revenge killings (this customary rule serves as long as women and children are exempted from any killing if there is no hot blood returning), it does not mean that they are also spared from verbal abuse, physical attack and sexual harassment and due to fear of these threats they are forced to stop school. Generally, blood revenge practices have psychosocial impacts and main reason for students dropping from school, and participants stated the following case. One of a woman informant with age of 37. she is one of the sisters of the murderer. The researcher asked to forward her views on the psych-social impacts of blood revenge practice. She indicated that it soures the social relationships that have existed for years. According to her, due to blood revenge, now a days, they are not able to visit patients, attend church services, pay tributes to deceased persons, and above all they are not able to offer their labor in times of wedding and other religious observances. She said:

*In the old good days, we have had lots of neighbors who come to our home for drinking coffee and for chatting as well. However, today those neighbors are turned into enemies and they no longer come to our home. Moreover, one of my little brother and sister drop their school by fear of physical abuse. One of my brother who murderd a man was grade 9 at that time, and, now he droped school because he is leaving the area to hide from victims. Attending coffee ceremonies together, helping counterparts in times of wedding and mahiber, and visiting friends were the enjoyments. we lost this opportunity and life event due to blood revenge practice. ( Respondent #10: March, 2019).*

One effect of psychosocial challenge of revenge killings is an erosion of trust among the victim and perpetrators family. Trust is vital in human relation to build social capital since the loss of trust leads to disintegration of kinship and family ties. This leads to increased individualism and a change of settlements from their permanent farm lands. The case of 016 Kebele is the best example to explain such cases one of 55 year old man stated the following;

*'Our reconciliations' may not always be successful. For instance, in one case, we decided to the killers family to pay money and one of the families of the perpetrators paid a compensation of fifty thousand Birr for the families of the victim. Hence, families of the killer were not displaced from their original farmland. However, after they paid the said compensation, they didn't ask to reclaim their land. This is due to loss of trust of killer families over the families of the victim.*

*(Respondent #11: March, 2019).*

They were also worried for the lives of their children and describe it with their own words *"how can we live next to the families of the victim"*

#### **4.3.5 Family break down**

Blood revenge is one of the major causes of family disruption in the study area. This is particularly common in the family of the slain. Informants stressed that the slayers family is also subject to family disorganization.

In other societies like the Aboriginal Siberian blood revenge disrupts to family organization (Czaplicka, 1969). But the way it disrupts varies. Unlike the family in 016 kebele, the Aboriginal Siberians' family is disrupted because the member of the slayer is taken by the slain's relatives to assume the deceased man's role.

One of the woman informant with age of 39 said that; she lost her husband 5 years ago. They have three children together. Today she lives with her younger daughter. Two of her sons live with their grandparents and aunts. She said:

*"We have not seen each other for two years, she regrets, "if the killing had not happened and If I would have lived with my children and my beloved husband, I would have been the happiest person on earth. But God did not allow that to happen." (Respondent #12: March, 2019).*

Beside from this, blood revenge does not let the killer's family to live in a decent social environment. Mostly the killer and his close male relatives go to distant places in fear of the victim's attack. This makes them vulnerable to various psychological Problems. A case to be mentioned is narrated by Tedbabemariam 016 kebele administrator in the following way:

*Beyond the murder being imprisoned, according to the customary rule, the rest family members goes to distant places due to fear of revenge attack. Male relatives have already somewhere only female relatives and aged return to their home when the victims are stop searching them for counter killing. But, the victims' relatives arrived at their home and they began to threaten and hit them. Due to extreme fear and emotional instability, even they have a chance to return to their home they prefer to go distance place. in this case the one may live to with their long distance kin, and the others such like.*

*(Respondent #2: March, 2019).*

As a basic social institution, the disruption of a family could further contribute for the fragility and sudden collapse of the social system as a whole. Since the basic values of the family as a social unit is protection, emotional support, love, and co-responsibility the absence of a husband, sooner or later, affects the healthy functioning of the family system (Olson& Defrain, 2000).

#### **4.4 Intervention mechanisms to prevent blood revenge practice in 016 kebele**

According to Sanson and Di (2007) conflict resolution consists a set of strategies which can be used to satisfy human needs of security, identity, self-determination and quality of life for all people who are engaged in a conflict. Dereje (2010) explains conflict resolution as the

suppression of conflict that has already broken out in the form of searching for solution that would reduce the levels of violence and prevent its intensification either through formally or using indigenous conflict resolution mechanism. In countries like Ethiopia elders and religious leaders are used to calm conflict. (Ewa, 2006). Indigenous conflict resolution mechanism is a social capital which appeals to social norms and customs to grasp members of a group together by effectively setting and making possible the terms of their relationship, sustainability facilitates collective action for achieving mutually beneficial ends (Fred, 2005).

In the study area, the people have various customary mechanisms of conflict resolution. One of the customary mechanisms of conflict resolution associated with blood revenge is *Dem Adraki Komite (blood drying commite)*. The committee is set up in collaboration with the government and the local people. The members of the committee are local elders and influential figures of the *kebele*, local wealthy men, priests and militiamen. The mandates of this committee are settling conflicts between the slain's and the slayer's relatives, passing binding decisions on the amount of money to be paid to the slain's family and preventing further conflicts. Among Oromo, Tigrray and other Amhara (Wubishet & Melaku, 2008; Gidey, 2000; Yihune, 2010), there is also another traditional institution primarily established to settle disputes - *Yeager Shemaglewoch* (council of elders). The members of this assembly are the local male elders who are believed to be well experienced and knowledgeable in handling conflicts.

The dem adraki committees consists of five up to nine Shimagles (elders) and aboled who are appointed by the disputing parties themselves based on their choice. To make the system more acceptable by the disputants at least one of the five Shimagles should be a priest who serves as chairman. If not, anone member of the commite serves as chairman. The chairman is responsible for making sure that both conflicting parties receive a fair hearing. After the process is completed and bears something good, former conflicting parties contribute something like preparing food and other local beverage or providing ten Ethiopian Birr as an expression of gratitude and invite the Shimagles and relatives of the conflicting parties to celebrate the end result of the conflict resolution.

However, studies conducted by (Wubishet & Melaku, 2008; Gidey, 2000; Yihune, 2010), states that both the blood-drying committee and the council of elders are elected to mediate conflicts based on the consent of both disputant parties. Thus, before attempting to settle a conflict, one of the neutral conciliatory persons asks both parties to submit their favorable elders' name for arbitration. And then he asks both parties: "Are you happy with these elders?" If both of them assent, they would say "we agree". But if one of the parties is not happy with the nomination another election will be held immediately,

But in contrary in O16 community such types of mechanisms are used to intervene blood revenge regarding with consent of disputant parties for selecting mediators the killers are exempted from selecting those individuals, because in the study area when they intervene blood revenge cases even though they wait until the killer is released from prison the killer kin members would agree with the victims to ignore the killer. One of the informants who is priest and is a local mediator stated this situation as follows:

*“If the kin members of the killer asks the family of the victim to agree each other by giving the necessary compensation after the killer is released from prison, the family of the killer would confess to exclude the killer from any social activities. The exclusion could go well beyond that and the killer would also be disregarded as akin from his own family. Only when this happens, the family of the victim would agree to make peace with the killer family”* FGD #3: March, 2019).

Due to this fact, families of both the victim and the killer would lead a normal life without seeing each other as enemies.

Fred, (2009) argues that indigenous conflict resolution is important by solving the issue while saving the relationship and minimizing revenge killings. However, nowadays customary mechanisms of conflict resolutions are less effective in handling conflict in the study area. That is why nowadays by ignoring the sanctions of mediators lots of conflicts and killings occur.

## **4.5 Factors contributing for the continuation of blood revenge practice**

In order to understand the dynamics of blood revenge practices, one has to carefully look into the cultural systems of the community which are believed to be responsible for the perpetuation and maintenance of these practices. As culture often rationalizes what is thought to be morally wrong or good to the practitioners, blood revenge practices are not exceptional in veiling under the umbrella of such principles. In the study area, there are traditions which are responsible for the continuation of blood revenge practices.

### **4.5.1 Fear of discrimination**

According to (Elster, 1990) the custom of blood revenge exhibits common characteristics across societies that practice it. First, it is closely tied to the notion of honor. Described in anthropological studies as an inseparable attribute of honor in honoric cultures, blood revenge is exacted to defend or restore one's honor. As Jon Elster observed, "Honor is central in all feuding societies."

As a source of pride and virtue in honoric cultures, it is "an attribute of free, independent men, not of women, slaves, servants, or other 'small men'". (Elster, 1990) "The failure to exact blood revenge in honoric cultures is tantamount to losing one's honor". Describing the Palestinian custom of revenge-taking, (Lang, 2002:65) explains that "to avenge the murder of a close kinsman is honorable; to fail to do so is dishonorable." The honor-based role of blood revenge in many cultures is socially sanctioned. For example, "in Corsica, the man who has not avenged his father, an assassinated relative or a deceived daughter can no longer appear in public. Nobody speaks to him; he has to remain silent." Blood revenge is thus obligatory. Not seeking it may result in social sanctions targeting not only the individual who failed to retaliate, but also his entire kinship group. "Failure to the obligation of (blood revenge) badly damages the group's reputation; it is a loss of honor that weakens the group at all."

In the study area, the qualities of warrior virtues (i.e. conquest, bravery, physical prowess, defending one's honor, confidence), a bread winner for a family, a household decision maker, rational, and others are mentioned by the study participants as "the person of an ideal

manhood." As a dominant and leading ideology in the study area, culture of honor, this cultural values are systematically ingrained in the local intuitions such as marriage, familial, economic, political and religious institutions.

Like Bellonese society (Kuschel, 1993), the study community, the members of the descent group begin to call a person who refuses to embark on revenge as coward, a lazy and a worthless fellow. The focus group discussion women participants from both women and youths indicated that a man who refused to avenge an earlier homicide done to his close relative will be exposed to mockery and veiled criticisms. Such types of criticisms are notable in wedding and memorial feasts where lots of people are usually present to attend. On the other hand, a man who has successfully avenged his relative's blood got lots of privileges from the society. No one dares to humiliate him. Also, in wedding and other public observances, he gets the upper hand in gaining respect and praises. Besides, he and his relatives are preferred for marital relations and other social alliances. Similar to male avengers in Southern Ethiopia (Alula & Getachew, 2008), in times of death, his mourning ceremony is colorfully celebrated through praises, battle cries and other occasions designed to honor his heroic deeds.

Women FGD participants with age of 28 indicates that the man who does not return his kins blood is exposed to discrimination from the community, he is given different nick names for him like weak, lazy etc.

He and his kins are not able to participate in different activities at including wedding, mahiber and do not engage in "fukera, kererto, mirkat and etc." and at the time of mahiber they are also alienated from he/his kin maintaining silent in public sphere.

It was noted further during FGDs that blood revenge is almost a tradition of the communities. The community teaches their children to be tough and energetic in fighting, and to recite with passion '*fukera*'. *Fukera* is usually accompanied by a dispute provoking poem to energize the young not to fear to take revenge. But those who are not above enough to avenge are not allowed to engage in *fukera*, rather they are discriminated and kept silent.

A 59 year old man from discussion supports the above view with the following cases ( case study,3) When he says that those who fail to avenge may not even find a girl to marry.

*“my younger brother was killed by his friend before 12 years and the killer is still in prison. I am tired of searching his family for a revenge and I tell to my sons the fact that if we don't return the blood of our kin it is going to be difficult to select girls for them. Because in the culture of our community, when someone else asks to marry a girl, her family deeply investigate the status of the grooms family with regard to blood revenge. If they found unreturned blood they would ultimately reject the request. We have asked a girl for my son but the family of the girl has rejected it when they found out that there is a revenge waiting to be done by our family.*

Generally, fear of discrimination is a contributing factor to the continued practice of blood revenge.

#### **4.5.2 Weakening of informal conflict resolving mechanisms**

Even though indigenous conflict resolution has its own advantage for individuals, groups, societies and communities concerned, it has faced many challenges from different directions and is gradually weakening. One of the concerns with indigenous conflict resolution mechanism is that it does not essentially put an end to hostilities in the long term. Pacification of the conflicting parties as it happens with the formal system, with its monopoly over the lawful use of violence, is not practical in the case of indigenous conflict resolution (Volker, 2007).

Indigenous approaches to conflict resolution may disagree with universal principles of human rights and democracy. If committees of local elders, for example, settle disputes among or between conflict parties this method of conflict resolution rule is difficult by modern democratic principles, members of the young and the women who are often excluded from decision making since committee members are elder men who sometimes may not give attention to the needs of young people and women.

Elders who participated in men FGDs indicate that mediations concluded with men might fail to materialize because the men who agreed during mediation are sometimes influenced by women who might reject the mediation but men are able to find out this after they return home. Women agitate their children by telling them continuously how their kin has died,

how vital it is to return their kins blood (by telling poems). Women and young children play a key role in the continuation of blood revenge practices. Women encourage their children engage in revenge killing as Amharic proberb goes “set yelakew jib ayferam”. Therefore, women have a huge role to play in efforts to prevent revenge killing and the effectiveness of informal indegenious conflict resolution mechanisms very much depend on the willingness and collaboration of men. The ability of council of elders to settle blood revenge cases is weakening because of the constant intervention from government officials in the elders' overall activities, lack of proper support from the local officials, people's preference to formal courts, and nepotism scandals. This exacerbates further conflicts, especially, blood revenge.

#### **4.5.3 Preference for formal conflict resolution approaches**

Constitutions legalize most important activities of states. For example, it recognizes innate rights of citizens with their duties, and also establishes government agencies together with its responsibilities. One of the pillars of citizens rights which is recognized by the Ethiopian Constitution, as it happens in all the constitutions of other nations of the world, is access to justice. Article 37 of the FDRE constitution says: Everyone has the right to bring a justifiable matter to and to obtain a decision or judgment by, a court of law or any other competent body with judicial power (Eshetu and Getu, 2009).

For ensuring justice among fueding individuals/groups, courts punish the killer either with money, prison or both, but, most of the time killers are punished with prison term with the length of staying in prison being determined how the crime is committed. Interestingly enough, people in the study communities often choose prison as a means for diversifying their coping starategy for their livelihood which is important to escape dire economic conditions. Engaging in revenge avaenging is a double opportunity for them. In this regard, informants with age of 48 man sated the following cases how much issue of poverty is linked to blood revenge practice (case study,4):

*“One of my neighbor was living with his elder brother, and one day they goes to the local Areke house together. Later on, his brother was engaged in conflict with another customer of that Areke house. Sadly, the brother of my neighbour died due to that conflict and my neighbor*

*began to live alone and life has become tough for him. Coupled with this, the community nags him to avenge the blood of his brother and enter to prison so as to escape the difficulty of life. People told him that prison is all about staying in the safe hands of the government and developing professional skills like “Shema sira” as well. Motivated with this, he avenges his brother’s killer and got imprisoned.*

Putting the killer behind bars is assumed by victims not an end by itself rather it is a means to buy time so that young members become mature to avenge the killing and it also gives them the opportunity to prepare for blood revenge by buying a gun.

*“Before 30 years two children were herding cattle together, because of their cattle they were disputed each other, after they return to their home they told to their parents about the conflicting issues, and the dispute has scaled up and reached to their parents. The family enters in to a whole new level of conflict. Thereafter, the one has killed the other and got imprisoned. At that point in time the victims were not capable of returning the blood and was no younger children. The killer finished the legal punishment and when he come back home he agreed with the existing family of victims by giving compensation for them in order to stop searching and killing him. However, after thirty years grandchildren of the killed man has become adults and killed the killer one and also get prisoned before 3 year. Now they still searching one another for revenge killing.” (case study,5).*

The main reason that many people use indigenous mechanism of conflict resolution is not to punish the wrong doer or crime taker rather it helps to restore good relationship of the conflicting parties or the ultimate aim of indigenous conflict resolution is the re-establishment of relationships. Annette (2009) also elaborates that indigenous conflict resolution is important by solving the issue while saving the relationship and minimizes revenge killings. In the study community, people prefer formal mechanisms because it leads

to arrest of those who committed the crime and subsequently impose punishment. This gives temporary relief for the victim in other side, in contrary to Annette (2009) However, indigenous mechanisms are used to saving relation ship and minimize risk of revenge killing in the study area community members, blood compensations are used for buying gun for counter killing rather than making harmony. .

For instance, one of the elders with age of 70 man held in focus group discussion described the situations related with lack of uniformity and its role for the continuation of blood revenge practice. with it is not only ignorance of decisions and sanctions but it is like “chikul geday bearba ametu yigedlal .” Meaning, it is the word of “mitset” but the message is act of attacking your enemy does not taken as an old phenomena, even the elders were mediating them early but they also telling these words for victim family when the kind become growing and this situation became facilitate the continuation of blood revenge practice, from generation to generation.

Another FGD discussant with age of 38 woman also described the situation of lack of uniformity and its role in the continuation of blood revenge practice especially the importance of economic condition as a contributing factor to the continuation of blood revenge practice.

She stated the following:

*“It is just a matter of time that the victim family agreed to make peace. The victims would use the compensation money and later on, they might provoke revenge killings. Hence intervening mechanisms does not guarrante to solve the problem of blood revenge practice.”* (FGD, 2, march 2019).

#### **4.6 Societies view towards blood revenge practice in Tedbabemariam community**

In the study area letting a killing unavenged is not a manly behavior. Consequently, if a man refuses to avenge his kin's killer, societies will question his manliness through different ways. For instance, beyond his sisters, his wife, or one of his female relatives, individuals who

know about the issue may offer him a spindle to spin. Sometimes they may also request him to put on a dress. This means the community would say to him *"you are a female and no one expects you to avenge your relative's blood. You are no longer a man; thus put on a dress like us"*

In an interview with a slayer's male relative the researcher understood that in extreme case, community member assume him as weak and even his male relatives will take his wife, and does not respect him and also his wives disallow their husbands' to sleep with them unless they avenged their relative's blood. And symbolically it also means that *"you are a female; so, how can a female sleep with a female"*. They would say *"It is unnatural"*

According to him failing to avenge is not an acceptable standard within the community, rather the man would lose acceptance not only among the community members but also with his own wife. Shortly put, they consider revenge attacking as an obligatory issue.

In addition to perceiving blood revenge as an obligation among the community members and as discussed earlier, revenge killing is perceived as an opportunity for avengers who have lower economic status and set to spend their life in prison as a means of livelihood for their survival. In another way some parties of the community members know that it is a harmful practice because they lost their friends, neighbor's, husbands and so forth. They assume that is it common and cannot be alienated from this practice.

One of the female informants aged 26 said that she lost her brother before 2 years and she stated her view towards blood revenge practice as follows:

*"I lost my only brother through this practice, and I understand the issue is harmful. However, I still wish to kill the slayer either after my kids grow up, or at the moment when I become economically strong and able to buy "shifra".*

(Resopondent no. 3, March, 2019).

## Chapter Five

### Conclusion and Recommendation

#### 5.1 Conclusion

The major objective of this study was to explore blood revenge practice and communities perception. To attain the objectives data were collected and analyzed qualitatively. Hence, based on the findings, the following conclusions are drawn:

It was conducted by focusing on the major causes, consequence, intervention mechanism, societies view and reason for the continuation of blood revenge practice still known in the study area.

In the study area social norms, land related issues, multiple sexual partner and socialization process and societies perception are found to act as a catalysts for revenge killings. The socialization process and societies perception towards blood revenge practice are highly responsible for it, because the cause for blood revenge practice simultaneously linked with societies perception towards the practice.

In the study area men who is failed to avenge labeled as weak, lazy, female, losing honor etc. These blood revenge practice are considered as normal in the local culture, and also it is taken as an opportunity for individuals to skip from low economic status, public criticisms throughout their life span and accepting the practice as a normal part of life. This factors contribute for the continuation of blood revenge directly or indirectly. In spite of its role in glorifying one's honor, blood revenge practice is found to contribute to migration, economic crisis, social isolation and family breakdown.

The study has also investigated the formal and informal intervention mechanism of blood revenge practice in the study area known as *DemAdraqi-Komite*, which has been formed in collaboration with the community and the local government. These conflict resolution institutions use various techniques and sanctions to enforce their decision on both parties.

However, these institutions are nowadays losing their influences and acceptance. Especially on their capacity of enforcing decisions they only look like enforceable in paper and but

largely disregarded by the people. It also lacks uniformity in terms of accepting the decision which plays a crucial role for the continuation of blood revenge practice.

In addition the study also investigates the contributing factor associated with why the blood revenge practice existed in the study area, weakening of indigenous intervention mechanism of blood revenge practice, preferring situation of formal intervening mechanisms, lack of uniformity in terms of accepting the decision of mediators among the kin member's, are the major one.

In conclusion, this study maintained that in the study area community's view in terms of accepting blood revenge practice as normal and counting it as means of diversifying their coping strategy for their livelihood by learning a new profession in prison. community and The researcher has forwarded the following recommendations based on the major findings of the study.

## **5.2 Recommendation**

- ✓ Giving proper and continuous awareness for the community members: As it has discussed in the previous section, the community members accept blood revenge practice as normal and as a means to glorifying honor . This condition, therefore, highly foster the continuity of blood revenge practice. Thus, through giving proper and continuous awareness that can be able to change communities' view of blood revenge practice, the problem of blood revenge could be erased.
- ✓ Enhancing the number of security force in the kebele: As it has discussed in the previous section, there is no sufficient number of police man in the study area. This could make blood revenge practice prevalent over the kebele. Thus, by increasing the number of police officials that maintain peace and order, it is possible to prevent further conflicts that can lead to killings and counter killing itself. Moreover, community policing should be there and be implemented. Because only a single police is there to handle conflicts arising over various gots in the keblle. Therefore, community policing that can involve the local people as responsible for protecting themselves in collaboration with the police officer should be implemented.

- ✓ Strengthening the influences of indigenous mechanism of intervening blood revenge practice institutions: Currently, in the study area, the influence of these institutions is questionable. They are not able to discharge their duty effectively. In violation of their decisions, now a day recurrent killing is breaking out in the study area. Therefore, stringed actions must be taken by the local government and people to restore the lost honor of these institutions to bringing harmonious relationship with in community and prevent blood revenge practice.
- ✓ Creating job opportunities for youths and ensure fair distribution of resource :- Blood revenge practice is caused due to economical problem in the study area. Most of the time youngs who are not economically rich and does't have jobs are too much sensitive to commit crime and counter killing. Therefore, this situation is highly prone to blood revenge practice. Thus, by creating job opportunities for unemployed youths and ensuring fair distribution of resources it is possible to stop the possibility of occurance of conflicts and counter killing.
- ✓ Involving the influential individuals for intervening blood revenge practice: in the study area socialization process is highly related to blood revenge practice. Womens play a great role for socializing their children to avenge killing of relatives but doesn't not have a chance to participate at the time of mediating that further affects the effectiveness of mediation. In other side most of the time youngs are exempted from mediating conflict at the informal level. This case also play a great role for continuity of blood revenge practice in the study area. So, by involving the influential individuals for intervening blood revenge practice it is possible to stop the continuity of blood revenge ractice after settling conflict.
- ✓ Finally, academic, governmental and non-governmental institutions should take proper attention and promote further large-scale studies aiming to investigate the root causes of the problem and to bring new, contextual, and comprehensive mitigating mechanisms to stop blood revenge practices.

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## Annex 1. Study Questions

### Discussion guides for focus group discussion

Date \_\_\_\_\_

Time \_\_\_\_\_

Place Keble/wereda \_\_\_\_\_

Duration -----

Number of participant \_\_\_\_\_

### GENERAL PROFILE OF PARTICIPANTS OF THE FOCUS GROUP

#### DISCUSSION

| Name/code | Sex | Age | Educational<br>back ground | Religion | Occupation |
|-----------|-----|-----|----------------------------|----------|------------|
|           |     |     |                            |          |            |
|           |     |     |                            |          |            |
|           |     |     |                            |          |            |

#### DISCUSSION GUIDES

1. Does blood revenge practice common is this Woreda? Why it is common?
2. How often people engage in blood practice?
3. When do individuals take blood revenge? Do you think that blood revenge practice is continued because of as our culture or the way we socialize our children?
4. What are the reward and Punishment for the conformity or failure to their expected practice?
5. Does every societies with in the community engage in blood revenge practice? How could an individual / groups engage in these practice? Up to what generation is continued? What is the societies' view towards blood revenge practice? Why these practice are existed still now within this community?
6. What are the privileges and benefit s of blood revenge practice? Is there any pro verb, war cry, praise song or anything that can glorify an Individual/group engage in blood revenge practice? How are these practice linked to honor?
7. What are the threats of blood revenge practice? Exercise these practice?
8. What will happen to the victim's family refused to avenge? Why?

9. What types of individuals/groups are targets of the of blood revenge practice to avenge? If they are selected, why? To what types of individual/ group.
10. Do you think that blood revenge brings justice to the victim's family? How? Why?
11. What are the impacts of blood revenge practice on both avengers and victims? And, also on Community, children and the family?
12. Which parties of the communities are encounter special problems in the course of a payback killing? Why? How? What are these problems?
13. What sort of preventive mechanisms shall in stall to tackle blood revenge practice?
14. What are the major types of intervention mechanism of blood revenge practice? Within these Community?
15. Do you think that intervention mechanisms for blood revenge practice are effective? If not why? What are the major problems of intervention mechanism of blood revenge
16. Is there anything else that you would like to share with the group?

**Thank you!!**

## **INTERVIEW GUIDE**

In order to get detail information about process of revenge practice, and different case related with blood revenge practice, and such any other issues the researcher will separate target groups and also prepare questions by taking in to account which information is get from whom with in three phase the first phase are from families of victims and families of avenger which might be neighbors or families which is deviated to avenge by the early victim, second phase from religious/community leaders, elders and the third phase of data's are collected from police officers and courts.

Interviewee -----

Date of Interview -----

Place/kebele \_\_\_\_\_ \_ \_ \_ \_

Time of interview \_ \_\_\_\_\_ \_

Duration of Interview \_\_\_\_\_ \_

## GENERAL PROFILE OF INTERVIWEES

| Name/code | Sex | Age | Educational<br>back ground | Religion | Occupation |
|-----------|-----|-----|----------------------------|----------|------------|
|           |     |     |                            |          |            |
|           |     |     |                            |          |            |
|           |     |     |                            |          |            |

### 1<sup>st</sup> phase Guiding Questions for families of victims and avengers,

1. Do you have children? How do we up bring children's, in terms of accepting norms/values of The society with in the community?
2. What do you expect from your children in terms of accepting and rejecting practice? How do you reward or punish if individual /groups engage in blood revenge practice? Which parties of the societies are deviate from these expectations? Do you know any probe Related with blood revenge practice?
3. What roles of up brining/socialization process probes related with blood revenge practicipate play In children's present and future lives and communities as well how?
- 4 . What do you think are the traits blood revenge practice? Do you think that every? Societies engage in these practice?
- 5, What are the privileges and benefits of having blood revenge Practice?
6. How could you describe blood revenge practice? What are the motives for individuals/groups Engage in blood revenge practice? Do you know any proverb, poem or any other means of Expression for blood revenge practice?
7. Do you think that the proverb, poem or have any relationships with blood revenge practice? How? What will happen to the victim's family refused to on avenge?
8. What do you think causes individuals to engage in blood revenge? What parties of the societiesAre targets of blood revenge to avenge? If there is any selection why?
9. Do you think that blood revenge brings justice to the victim's family? How? To What

extent do You believe in legal institutions and informal conflict resolution mechanisms efficiency of Handling homicide? Matters?

10. What do you think are the impact of blood revenge practice on both victims and avengers, Children, and the family? Which parties of the societies face special problems in the course Of Pay back killings? Why? How? Can you mention some other problems that is resulted due to Blood revenge practice?
11. Are you a victim or avenger of blood revenge practice? Can you tell me some of you? Experiences? (Starting from the initial cause, consequence/impact, and also how could you Cope up with the outcomes of blood revenge?)
12. What should be done to stop blood revenge?
13. What is your view towards these practice?

### **2<sup>nd</sup> phase Question for elders, community leaders and religious leaders,**

1. Do you know mediating individuals/groups of blood revenge?
2. What were the major cause for these practice?
3. How could you mediate, in terms of being impartial is there any compensation for victims?
4. What are the mechanisms that you use to stop the continuity of blood revenge practice with in the two conflicted parties?
5. Do you think that these intervention mechanisms are effective?
6. What are the major reasons for the existence of blood revenge practice still know?
7. What is your view towards blood revenge practice?
8. What should be done for the future to stop or reduce practice of blood revenge? If any other you can add,

### **Thank you**

### **3<sup>rd</sup> phase Question for police officers and courts**

1. How do you describe blood revenge practice in your professional context? What are the legal measures which is done for blood revenge?
2. What seems like the rate of practice from year to year? Which kebeles are mostly engage in these practice, why?
3. What do you think? About intervention mechanism of these practice, is it effective, if not why?
4. What is the most exercised mechanisms of intervening blood revenge practice, either

education/ awareness or punishment? If any other you can add,

5. Which one is preferable mechanism among you listed? Why?
6. What are the challenges to intervene blood revenge practice?
7. What are the motives/cause for blood revenge practice?
8. What are the impacts of blood revenge practice at every aspect/ levels of the community?
9. What do you think reasons associated with reasons for the existence of blood revenge practice still know within the community?
10. What is your view towards blood revenge practice? What should be done to stop /minimize the practice?

**Thank you!!**

**Annex two : Lists of key informants, FGD key informant interviewees**

| S.N | Research participants ID | Institution Or the whereabouts participants   |
|-----|--------------------------|---|
| 1   | KI #1                    | 1 selected key informant officer from crime investigation office sayint wereda who have knowlede on blood revenge practice.                                       |
| 2   | KI #2,3,5,6,11,12        | selected key informants from crime investigation office sayint wereda who have knowlede on the issue under the study.   |
| 3   | KI #4,7,8,9,10           | selected informants for indepth interview who are victims and kin members from killer.  |
| 3   | FGD #1                   | Selected youth (both man and women) whose age from 18 -29 from the community.   |
| 4   | FGD #2                   | Selected woman (both man and women) whose age from 30 and above from the community.   |
| 5   | FGD #3                   | Selected community leaders, simple dispute meadiators (milita with in the community), one two five leaders (mengsitawi budin in amharic term) from the community. |

**Figure 2: Geographical map of Tedbabemariam (016) kebele.**



በአማራ ወኪልነት  
የሚከተሉ ልዩነት ላይ ስለተደረገ  
ፀጥታ ጥያቄ ጥያቄ ጥያቄ  
ቁጥር 1

ቁጥር ለአም/ሳ/ወ/አስ/ወ/ 181 2011

ቀን 14/6-2011 ዓ.ም

016 ቀበሌ አስተዳደር ጽ/ቤት

ባለቤት

**ጉዳይ :-** ስለ ተማሪ መቅደስ ወንድ አንተ ትብብር እንድደረግላት ስለመጠየቅ

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“ከሰላም ጋር”  
የሰላም ጋር  
የሰላም ጋር  
የሰላም ጋር  
የሰላም ጋር



በአማራ ወኪልነት  
የአማራ ጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር  
የሥነ ምግባርና ጥፋት ጉዳይ ጥያቄ ጉዳይ ጉዳይ  
ቁጥር 1

ቁጥር ለአም/ሳ/ወ/አስ/ፀ/ 181 2011

ቀን 14/6/2011 ዓ.ም

016 ቀበሌ አስተዳደር ጽ/ቤት

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**ጉዳይ :-** ስለ ተማሪ መቅደስ ወንዱ አንተ ትብብር እንድደረግላት ስለመጠየቅ

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“ክብሩን ገብ”  
[Signature]

የደም ብተላ ጉዳይ ጉዳይ ጉዳይ

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