

HIGGU ABBU: AN INDIGENOUS CONFLICT RESOLUTION MECHANISM AND ITS CULTURAL ASPECTS AND VALUES AMONG THE OROMOS' OF DEGEM RESIDENTS

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Abstract: This study mainly focused on analyzing the *Higgu Abbu* Cultural Aspects and Values in Degem *woreda* of Oromo People up to 2009. It is written on three topics. The first lesson deals with conflict Resolution mechanism in Degem *woreda* (district), and the dispute create among society and solution for it. It also includes the process of conflict management with in the society of Degem *woreda* and the impairment person by someone via the process of giving blood of money for them. Secondly, it focused on the origin of *Higgu Abbu* of Degem *woreda*, Oromo indigenous mechanisms of dispute settlement. It deals with a system of “*Jaarsa Araaraa*” the selection and the role of *Jaarsa Higgu*. Lastly, it highlights the *Higgu Abbu* in pre of 2009, and even after the changes post of 2009 that the *Higgu Abbu* continued to play its role as major conflicts resolution mechanism in area of Degem *woreda*.

Keywords: Oromo; *Higgu Abbu*; Conflict; Culture and Values; Degem *woreda*

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Origin of *Higgu Abbu* in Degem *Woreda*

It is believed that, the original home land of the Oromo was the present day southern Ethiopia highlands around Lake Abaya, the area of the upper of Genale River to the east of the valley lakes; in the area of present day bale especially Madda Walabu. Between 12th century and 15th century and long before the mass movement of expansion began the Oromo were already organized in to two confederacies known as Borana and Barentu [1].

Presumably they began expansion in different directions in the Horn of Africa owing to the transhumance nature of their economy. The main directions of their drift were to the east, North, west and south. From the two confederacies the Barentu Expanded to Hararge, Arsi, eastern and North Shewa, the Oromo people speaks a Cushitic's family language. Throughout the 16th and 17th century, it was the Oromo military strength and social organization that enabled them to easily adapt themselves to anew environment. As elders said, from Mecha and Tullama group a person known as *Higgu Abuu*, with his family reached Dagem area, for the first time [2].

Higgu Abbu Have nine (9) Sons

1. Ellamu
2. Dhanqa
3. Boneya
4. Rasso
5. Itteya
6. Saqo
7. Ano
8. Doro
9. Anna

And while they arrived at the area they started waging their life and after this family another Mecca and Tullama group reached the area and all of them started work in order to improve their life style. While *Higgu Abbu*'s Son's and younger they start to search to have the: own family and began to divide the wide land among themselves. Like this, men and women formed a family and the number of the family formed a house hold at last, they created village. The village needs to form political (How to live) by Goti or quarter economic improvement and to create their own socio-cultural system [3].

It is obvious that one village come together and from to solve their problem either in economic and another things. Just like this the created village start to form theirs culture how to carry out marriage with each other's, how to solved dispute, if one person conflict with other, the way of dressing, economic and political life.

Those people called their culture *Higgu Abbu* which was derived from a first person settled in Dagem those name was called *Higgu Abbu*. The name of this culture Cleary started to use the last quarter of 20th century and from that own wards,

Higgu Abbu culture was served the society of this area really benefited from it in regarding to economic, political and socio-culture.

The main reason that convinces us to write about this culture is that nothing was written as a document or reference material about this cultural aspect; and my reference is only the old men or women whom they orally transferring their cultural history from generation to generation. That is why it is often commented, "For the Oromo each an old man or women dies mean one library is lost" [3].

The Degem people fear their culture rather than the government role and they give more attention to it. To tell the truth the culture of Higgu Abbu have long history which are many years ago before the rule modern government and today the administration of government with this culture system have strong relation by solving the problem of the society in regard to economic, political and social affairs. This culture has also a hierarchical order from bottom to top.

The people of north Shoa, Degem woreda from the very beginning have been waging continuous struggle against many affairs, such as foreign invasions, internal centrifugal tendencies, securing self- sustenance, cultural preservation and etc. To aid rampancy, if people are only to point out cultural affairs it will be beyond the scope of individual subject matter to be studied by studying culture in broader and specific areas has had a pivotal point for its maintenance [4].

Student and instructors (teachers) of history should engage in securing historical reconstruction and most importantly also societal or cultural history. To me most historians are devoting much of their time in political history. One of the conflict Resolution Mechanisms that helps people in arbitration is Higgu Abbu, it is an aspects system of Degem woreda (North Shoa, Oromia) Degem Woreda of all factors that dictated me to opt for this topic is that, there are no written sources with special to the areas in spite of their foundation or in the orbit of the political coverage from ancient Ethiopia to the present, with the exception of certain periods like in Zemene Mesafint when Degem was autonomous. Higgu's culture and social order have been practiced and preserved in the region to keep community arrangements and identity.

In Degem Woreda, Higgu Abbu culture gives grantee for both legal affairs or legal protection and immoral deeds (that lack grantee) for which we are not accused off but drastically affect the socio- cultural value of the society. In accentuating the fact there are so many legal affairs but greatly immoral.

Only Owing to the presence of Higgu Abbu community based social orders and securities were really regulated to admirable extent from the past to the present. Especially, areas on which government cannot take measurements immediately after certain good or bad things have taken place are those who make profit to epitomize the government with its dying breath rests in their shoulders: this is because systems are proved and become smooth even government could get how to be assigned their (meant to they respect assailant moral affairs in addition to legal matter with no indignations). We couldn't assign professional judge for each kebele. But on its behave Higgu Abbu has appointed even without payment to serve people on such areas as judgment (local) economic, advices, social and cultural briefs for youngster at level that proceed below quarters for six house hold [4].

In other affairs where robbers and bandits, hinder socio- economic and cultural affairs of people experienced and interested groups are organized by Higgu Abbu for the maintenance of peace and security in absence of police men (in isolated and unmanageable areas). According to the system who ever loves instruction lacks knowledge of education but those who hates correction is stupid and an isolated. Moreover, this proves "wise sons hear fathers' instructions but scoffer does not listen to rebuke" is commonly used. With regard to economy also in addition to natural convinces (relatively) the economic advices justify their consultation process fruitful since they have not been waiting for government aid including the past series of drought periods. It is too political affairs.

The original term of Higgu Abbu while one person dispute with the other and how this culturally manage such dispute with the government from 1972 up to now.

The wedding system in Degem and the role of Higgu Abbu culture regard to political economic, socio- culture in the society and as well as Higgu Abbu in the post- 2009. Having said so let us confine ourselves to the last issue, this kind of sustaining wellbeing and relied against the chaos gives a bright lesson for next would be society, virtually, wearer going to be supposed to reconstruct to proceed over to next generation.

1.2 Indigenous Mechanisms of Settlement

The Degam wareda Oromo culture encourages the disputants to settle their case on their own through negotiation. This kind of indigenous negotiation is called ilaaf-ilaamee such /a negotiation. The is possible between parties who have no difficulty in communicating and negotiation over the issue at hand, and who really want the matter amicably settled, illaa means 'look or listen' uttered by one of the two parties to start talking. It is a way of calling for attention. The second party uses ilamee to respond to the first one. The suffix me approximately means 'please' simply qualifies the politeness of thee approach [5]. As such there is no specific and very strict rule to beg in which and proceed by negotiators. Rather the first party may start with ilamee, while the second possible say "ilaa mee na dhaga"please your attention. Hence, ilaaf-ilaamee refers to the whole negotiation process and not the strict procedure to be followed which is of course less important.

Ilaaf-ilaamee negotiation is effective to settle cases, which the disputants want to keep secret from others for what so ever reason. It is also employed for minor cases, which seem trivial others to interface and for the disputes to invite others. Disputes between individuals or groups whose relationships are relevant to preserve are often resorted to ilaaf-ilaamee.

In the course of negotiation the disputants try all their best to persuade each other appealing to the potential outcomes of the failure to settle the case. Finally, they seek to arrive at the decision acceptable to both parties only such a decision can be final [5].

1.3 The System of “Jaarsaa Araaraa”

The second local mechanism of dispute settlement among the Degem woreda is jaarsaa araaraa system. The terms jaarsa and araaraa literally mean elder and reconciliation respectively. Thus, jaarsaa-araaraa refers to reconciliation through elders, in this context the term elder does not necessarily show age, but role. Any person who plays the role of mediator at a given araaraa proceedings is jaarsaa regardless of his age [6].

Jaarsummaa system is mainly characterized by the presence of a neutral third party who mediates between the disputants. The role of a third party as a mediator varies in degree from case to case and the nature of the relationships of persons in the dispute. Where the disputing parties have no serious problem in negotiating face-to-face discussion but are unable to settle their own. A mediator simply facilitates so that the negotiators arrive at a decision on which both parties agree.

Mediator or mediators of ten consult disputing parties by referring to norms, values, and rules to move them to an acceptable end. In jaarsaa araaraa go further up to proposing solutions. On the other hand a third party plays a more active role similar to what historians call arbitrator. The role of the third party as an arbitrator evolves either from failure as a mere mediator or required from the very start owing to the nature of the issue is conflict where the disputants have serious problems of communication third party plays a pivotal role [7].

1.4 The Selection and the Role of Jaarsaa Higgu

Personal relations with the “qaalluu” one’s good reputation, wisdom, honesty, thoughtfulness and willingness to serve at qaalluu court if the spirit validates the case and make a decision [8].

A Qaalluu acts personally as a Higgu elder either with others or alone. As a secular judge the people around assist the qaalluu. He often invites them to voice their opinion and make judgment. The final verdict is pronounced by the qaalluu. This final verdict is not necessarily the decision of the qaalluu or his Higgu leaders; rather, it could be proposed and substantiated by one of the attendants of the qaalluu court [9].

The court is an assembly of followers of the qaalluu who have full right to comment on any case that appears before the court. It is believed that what matters is not who speaks, but the supervision of the spirit from above [10].

Generally if one person killed another person they will negotiate each other by calling “jaarummaa”. “Jarummaa” means negotiating by elders, a clan that killed another person can take expense called Guma and clan that lost person can take guma by the known elders called warra higgu [11].

The term guma loosely used for different concepts. Taking into account strictly, the context in which it is employed captures a wide range of meanings. For the speaker of Affan Oromo language, the term has the meaning of vendetta. Vengeance and revenge “Gumaan koo hiin haftuu” literally means my guma would not remain contextually, it means would arrange.

Guma also refers to blood price or compensation that follows homicide or serious bodily injuries. Guma baasaa, meaning they paid blood price and gumaa fudhtan, means they received blood price also gumaa is employed to mean feud, nuti warra gumati, meaning we are feud with them. [12]

2 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

To collect, analyze and interpret the data obtained from the descriptive objectives of the study, qualitative research method was employed. The researchers tried to investigate the changes and continuities, challenges and prospects of Higgu Abbu indigenous conflict resolution and management systems on the study area. In this study sources were consolidated from both primary (interview from the local elders, key informants, focus group discussion and archive materials and field observation) and secondary (from book, article, magazine, local government reports and other published and unpublished materials) sources of data.

Purposive sampling technique was used to gather relevant data from selected knowledgeable informants with balancing sex and age ratios. Data were analyzed mainly through qualitative method of analysis in accordance with the leading research questions and objective of the study.

3 DISCUSSIONS ON THE CONFLICT RESOLUTION MECHANISMS IN DEGEM WOREDA

3.1 Why One Person Dispute with Other Person?

Human being is a political animal under they differ from animals by thinking for future and by speaking. Human as human being live together from one family up to the larger groups. But sometimes as our color is different from others our behaviors are also different from one another; some person may dispute with their family they are living in one home end in the market

also the conflict may arise depending on different causes. Like dividing by clan, by drinking much alcohol, in Degem Woreda during the winter most of the people spent their time by drinking different alcohol like local bear, *caticala* and etc. At night they become out of control and the conflict is created among them, as a result many people wounded even some people lost their life [13].

The farmers might quarrel with each other over their land border. Not only the problem arises at the level of farmers stand, but also among the worker of government and religious differences and fundamentalism also may lead to disputes and chaos. Generally speaking, the people of Degem but also all over Salale the problem will be created daily. The important thing is that even though one person knowingly or unknowingly creates the chaotic, but the most important thing is how to improve such situation is the most vital way. In Degem, the government and their egalitarian culture known as Higgsu Abbu, played approval role to solve the conflict created among the society. Even in the situation of death they cooperatively work with one another to preserve the security and integrity of the society. We can see the role detail in the following writing [14].

3.2 The Process of Conflict Management with in the Society in Degem Woreda

All human beings are not perfect in nature; they might make a mistake, so how to solve the problem come on top of the main issue when crime is committed. In Higgsu Abbu culture there are a number of rules or ethics consideration that helps to resolve a conflict peacefully.

When one person murder some body, according to this culture he should pay 2000 (two thousand) birr for the victim parents when this is done the feel compensated. This payment is called blood money or ransom. The blood money was also true for women, but if they died women is pregnant, the blood money would pay for her parents are 4000 (four thousand) birr because as the double sows.

Whether they did this action knowingly or unknowing, the blood money payments have many processes. As seen as the murder kill someone he is disappeared from that area and hidden far from the area. Then the elders, who have a role in Higgsu Abbu culture with the government body try to investigate the hidden person and after they got him, they take to prison punishment he would release to the society and directly go to the Higgsu Abbu elders to solve his mistake like he took the punishment in jail, also to give blood money a regard to their culture. The elders of Higgsu ask the parents that man was died to become reconciled with the murdered and ask them to take blood money.

The parents of died man would take 2000 birr and they didn't refuse to take the decision of Higgsu, because the murderer first finished his punishment in jail, secondly he would voluntary to pay the blood money or ransom for the victim soul.

The elders of Higgsu (Peace Makers) are call the two groups to Mediate them and this system is known as "Harka Bafanna" (hand to hand greeting) and they had greeting would limit by elders.

At that day on both side the blood relative call to become reconciled. The two groups prepare the especial food and the local beer in their house. The person who killed man had buy ewe sheep and this sheep come with them the place of hand to hand greeting additionally many people call to that place on two side, i.e the murdered and Victim side. Those people did not inter mingle. Rather side by side only the elders of Higgsu sit between them.

The murder is called by elders and he should slaughter the ewe sheep after the skin af this sheep would be taken off by someone the killer hand with the victim parent hand greeting with in the abdomen or stomach of the sheep. This is done only when the Higgsu abbu's elders present among themselves and this process is called" Harka bafanna".

The main idea to do such things is that to solve the problem created between two sides, so, the elders of Higgsu to improve (solve) the problem and they work day and night to keep the place and security of society.

After greeting their hands on one of them eat the sheep's meat both side go their own house and as soon as they reached their house slaughtered the other sheep and this sheep's meat must eaten and should finished at that time. This system in Higgsu Abbu Culture known as "Faloo" and after all the process are completed, the elder of Higgsu call the murder and victim parents to become each other's house turn by turn. Firstly, the murder parents and blood relatives come to the victim's parent's house.

After they reached there the owner of the house give honey to all people to their mouth and the reverse was also true, secondly the victim parent with their blood relative goes the murderer house in return and also has before eating the honey, in addition at both house, they prepare especial food and drink, the local beer or Tela and Catikalla. This surprising thing is done by the egalitarian Higgsu Abbu culture and the main cause to bone such is that if those persons i.e. the murdered and the victim's parents or blood relatives saw each other on the read in the market at the wedding place and everywhere they didn't create the other problem. If the above process did not finish the other huge problem might be arise [14].

3.3 The Process of Giving Blood Money

Higgsu Abbu culture did not focus only on the death (the problem regard to soul), but also on the disabilities. When we say disable in this context, it is lack or loss of the physical structure of human being by some body. As it is tried to explain above, every human being lives together in a family level. Since human being is not perfect, the dispute, may arise between or among people [15].

As a result of dispute arise between or among individuals, one member might cut the hands of the other person by gun or by another things and also cut legs. According to the rule of Higgu, a person who cut the hands or leg(s) of other person should pay 2000 (two thousand) birr for a person who lose part of this body and he should buy sprocket or horse. Again a person may loss his eyes by some body and he would in return receive for this eye 2000 birr.

The above all things are done according to the rule of Higgu Abbu culture and when we the rule of government on these people who create a problem among the society, they also take the action from simple to large. Higgu Abbu culture is shortly, the home of people by managing the problem of the society. From the problem of the society one is in regard to the teeth one person might broke the teeth of others and according to this culture, he should pay 2000 for (two thousand) birr for each teeth.

Not only this one but also in case of ears, noses and fingers of both legs and hands should pay 2000 for each finger and nose. When we see this culture critically it would be help the government in keeping the place and security of Degem people. It means that even though both of them have a different name they stand for the people to follow the good direction in their economic, Political and cultural system.

One gun might be fire the bullet to some body and according of Higgu this can be seen by two direction: one is a person who fire the bullet to kill human and secondly, a person who fire the bullet unknowingly or accidentally. In the first case, whether he kill the human or not he must pay 2000 birr for owner, because he already fired the bullet and secondly if the owner of gunfire bullet accidentally or un knowingly, the elders of Higgu could investigate the real one and make a decision by themselves and lastly punish the person who fire the bullet from simple to large one gan may hit other gan and wounded him [16].

The wound either small or big and according for this culture he promote for wounded person especial, hen, sheep or goat until he cure. After the wounded person recovered, the elders of Higgu call the two sides and tried to negotiate them. The Higgu culture requires the presence of concerned people to discuss the matters. In doing so, the state administration is also expected to give some advice.

Additionally, if we take in case of their house one person before married must construct the house and after they made their own house from a family because house is one of the basic needs for human being. But in this condition what we want to saying is that if one person burnt the house of others. What is the role of Higgu culture, was our question?. In this case the elders of this culture punish the person who burn the house of the man.

While on farmers plough his land he may cross the border and plough the proper of another farms. This is one of the great problems which are created among the farmers every year in Degem woreda, the elders of Higgu with the kebele working to investigate the problem and solved among themselves. If the children did not ordered to their parents they have their own punishment.

4 HIGGU ABBU IN THE POST 1991 E.C

Even after the change of regime in 1991 in the higgu Abbu continued to play it role as major conflict resolution mechanism in area of north shewa or Degam.

Some of the conflict common in post 1991 in Degem area including the conflict between husband and wife, that contributed to social instability in the area because in the process people spent their time accusing each other. This in turn took their time of work and paved the way for poverty. In an event conflict led to loss of life or it could result in the dissolution of a family.

4.1 The Causes of Conflict among the North Shewa, Degem Woreda Residents

It is natural to any society, people that live together to engage in various from of interactions including clashes of interest, in these interactions actions of one may violate the interest of others and could cause damage to them. These damages of interest may to be physical, material or moral pain. But these types of dispute are more frequent and to be motive among north Shewa [17].

The primary case of conflict seems to be in the area of economic interest that include dispute over territory of adjacent farm land, pastoral right and accidental damage to property. A branch of peace may be caused by cultural factors such as failure to carry out one's obligations to kinsmen or self-help association like, iddirs, and adult abduction and the like [18].

In addition officials of the police, judges and elders say that drunkenness is among the principal causes of most dispute cases, this is certainly a common idea among the general public too.

Alcoholism comes into play in two ways. The long standing ill feeling, which is insufficient to cause offense, could be flared up into violence due to drunkenness. The Oromo proverb to express this is, "biqillii farsoon waan garaa baasa", which means "in wine there is no truth".

Secondly the Dagem have experienced a number of cases that could be attributed to drunkenness alone, this is justifiable to a certain extent that in some of the dispute cases the disputants go into conflict in the context of beer drinking without any per-existing differences.

The consideration of place of beer drinking as an incitement to violence also indicates that some of the violence including homicide is not premeditated, rather it may be an unintentional outcome of quarrel in which alcoholic stimulation plays a significant role hence no single factor could provide sufficient explanation for the cause of conflict among Degam [19].

4.2 How the Higguu Abbu Elders Solve (Manage) Dispute Created Between the Husband and Wife

Currently, what we should have to remember is that as happiness among family, there also the opposite of it. Sad will be creating among a boy and a girl's marriage each other, according to the above explained rule. But the dispute may be created between them then the elders try to solve their problems by giving decision in front of them, and they try many times but if the solution is also become more conflict the elders starts to divided their wealthy equally and cut death of husbandless and wife.

The surprising is that if the conflict created wife and husband, they appeal each other to the government body.

Finally, the government body also write a letter to the Higguu Abbu elders to solve the problem created between husband and wife like this the government and the cultural system work together day and night to keep the peace and security of the society [20]. The culture of Degam included many things in itself. From this, one is the improvement and change of unnecessary culture not only in Degem but also in the country, there is bad cultural practices, among these, the one and the most problem in our society is abduction. In Degem also, there is a culture of abduction from earlier time up to now. If one boy want abduct a girl, he call his friends and will take the girl by force from the people, forced her to go separately from families and started to live with him; but marriage through abduction would not sustain long.

Even they may start live as wife and husband, but mostly they would not live for a long time because the girl may not have any love with the boy. Regarding to abduction the Higguu culture, have its own rule. If one person took girls by force and do sexual inter course without her permission, he would be automatically taken in to jail by government body and the government would give punishment to his faults.

But in this culture even though, he did not sexual intercourse with that girl, he would pay as a compensation of ox for the girl's parent or family and the girl would go back to her parent's house. Even this person who works such illegal rule, did not have any wealthy, he should pay such punishment by begging money from communities or his families.

4.3 The Social Value of Drinking

Most social gatherings and celebration such as marriage ceremony, Gada assembly, cooperative works and others, are accompanied by feasting and local drinking among Degam resident societies. Drinking is not only essential for the celebration of any especial occasions; but also guests, friends and relatives are entertained with beer. Beer plays a significant role in social life, in facilitating both long and short terms exchange.

It is a means of sociability and expressing one's respect and friend liens. Beer is available for free on ceremonial occasions and so it is for sale. It would be available in large amount for sale at market places on market days. So majority of the marketers buy and drink beer. In Degem alcoholic drinking has been a very recent development in the area; adopted following the regular contact with other people and probably diffused from other cultures.

Though, Degam consider drinking as a means of facilitating sociability and co-operation they are well aware of its adverse effect. Their feeling are apparent in the following saying "yaa araqee michuu sarage" (O! yaa araqee talila malakka keessa jaarsaa kuffiftee irraa gubbaa teessa", O! the liquor the pure in the cup (areqe), you give an old and nasty spill and areal dump. Drinking is relevant or focuses of this study, because it is the one that cause a conflict among Degam, from earlier times to now [21].

4.4 Forms of Dispute Resolution

As point of discussion in legal history, forms of dispute processing has been also emerged in parallel. Scholars have agreed that in every society, there are mechanisms of dispute settlement that substantiates the saying of, "society is impossible without conflict. But society is worse than impossible without control of conflict". Contends that, the fact of the necessity of conflict resolution is more obvious among the sedentary compared to the pastoralists.

Unlike the pastoralists whose economic life permits movement away from their rivals, the sedentary populations who could not easily avoid their enemies must have a better Higguu Abbu through which they control the escalation of conflicts. There are also conflicts that categorize conflict resolution mechanisms in to two, the violent and the peaceful.

The violent includes, self-help and dual; whereas the peaceful includes avoidance and burying the dispute in a symbolic process.

Dual is a violent mechanism in which contestants resort to either physical or verbal confrontation to prove the superiority of their case regardless of the facts that underlying the dispute. Evident self-help is also a violent way of managing conflict. Usually employed by groups with no or little social ties, it often appears as short- term solution among societies whose

residential mobility is relatively easy, similar dispute is buried in symbolic and super natural terms in the absence of any effective ways or fear of the potential outcomes.

The process of “burying the dispute in the dispute” in both cases, disputes are reflected not resolved. Negotiations are characterized by voluntary discussion between the disputing parties and the absence of a third–decision maker. According to Higgu abbu laws, the negotiation process can be classified into two forms: competitive and collaborative negotiations [7, 12].

In competitive negotiation either of the parties in dispute is benefited at the expense of the other. This occurs where there are no valuable relations among the disputants to preserve; on the other hand collaborative often called “problem solving or win–win negotiation” aims at joint gain of the parties through fair distribution of the pain of losing to an act that factors of good future relationships of the parties.

Mediation of Higgu culture describes is “an assisted-negotiation”, the intervention of a third party to resolve conflicting problems. However, the role of this process, is not decision maker rather they facilitate the negotiation process.

As opposed to mediation, a third decision maker to which the parties take their case is characterized as arbitration. Arbitration may or may not act according to the pre-established laws. Adjudication refers to a process in which a third party is an authoritative decision maker and the disputants are more informants to the adjudicator in an attempt to secure a relatively favorable decision [2, 3].

Even though, government in situations and civil laws were in place, the Higgu Abbu continued to be effective in resolving the conflicts mentioned earlier. This forced the administrative bodies to cooperate with the Higgu Abbu council whether to put a criminal under control or to settle any dispute while hiding from the police a criminal could not hide from Higgu Abbu [3, 18].

COMPETING INTERESTS

The authors have no relevant financial or non-financial interests to disclose.

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