

# A PHILOSOPHICAL ANALYSIS OF THE IMPACT OF POVERTY ON POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN THE 2015 GENERAL ELECTIONS OF NIGERIA'S YOLA NORTH- LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA, ADAMAWA STATE

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**Abstract:** Political participation is very central in any democratic political process. It is the basic tool to measure democracy and to see how eligible citizens are involve in decision making processes, such is believed to have inherent capability of making the political process coherent and dynamic as the ability to promote good governance in the polity. This explains why political participation refers to voluntary and purposeful efforts by the members of a political system, either as individuals or members of group(s) to contribute to the determination of the kinds of political institutions to be established, people that will rule them as well as how societal resources will be mobilized and allocated. Socio-economic and political goals and strategies for achieving them are also determined by this means. The goals that may be set to be achieved through participatory activities are not only political but also include any other interest. For participation to be meaningful, individuals must make their choices based on ideology and conscience which assures their effort to influence governmental activities or policies. Where political participation is effective, it contributed to the smooth operation and stability of a political system. However, using interpretive-qualitative analysis of data drawn from both primary and secondary sources, records of interviews and field notes from a three-month research internship within the Yola North Local Government area of Adamawa state as a participant observer, poverty affected the political participation of citizens in Adamawa state, Yola- North Local Government area in particular during the 2015 general elections with a view to make meaningful recommendations that may subsequently help to boost the level of political participation among the citizens in Yola North Local Government area of Adamawa state.

**Keywords:** Political participation, political system, citizens.

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

Poverty is one of the major problems affecting the development of the third world countries and Nigeria in particular. Whereas democracy requires the citizens of democratic states to rationally participate in the political process, socio-economic factors such as poverty seems to be constraining their choices and therefore affecting their participation. The fact that poverty is a problem which seriously hinders political participation among citizens in a democracy, thus, creating room for disenfranchisement as well as leading to election malpractices. The state of poverty amongst the youths who

constitute about 55 percent of the population is worrisome due to high unemployment rate among them which is the scenario that was exploited by the Boko -Haram terrorist group before they were degraded. Therefore, paper examines how poverty affected the political participation of citizens in Adamawa state, Yola- North Local Government area in particular during the 2015 general elections with a view to make meaningful recommendations that may subsequently help to boost the level of political participation among the citizens in Yola North Local Government area of Adamawa state as well as Nigeria in general in the future.

## 2. METHODOLOGY

The study was based on secondary and primary data. The secondary data were obtained from systematic extraction of data of relevance in both published and unpublished sources. These included books, journals, theses.

The primary data was mainly drawn from field notes taken from transcription of respondent responses in oral interviews where there is refusal to be on audio-tape. The participant observation method was employed during the internship.

## 3. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

### The Concept of Poverty:

The concept of poverty has many interpretations. The diversity of interpretation is made by time and space factors, culture and conventions of the society (Hasbawn 1972) cited in Leonard (2006:13.); and also philosophical world view expresses many connotations which has relevance to notions like deprivation, insufficiency, deficiency and the like. Poverty takes different forms for different societies and varies over times and across cultures. Since all societies are more or less stratified according to some criteria, the consequences is that the poverty has to be at the bottom layer, is an expression of poverty and the people in inhabiting this bottom layer are considered poor depending on indigenous definition of poverty (Oyen 2003). However, the understanding of poverty and its measurement and analysis is crucially important for a number of purposes (Leonard 2006).

According to the World Bank (1990) poverty is defined as the inability to attain a minimum standard of living. Oxford dictionary defines poverty as a condition of having no wealth or materials possession, indigence, destitution, want in various degrees and also deficiencies. It also includes lack, scantiness, smallness of amount and deficiency in the desire and proper quality.

According to a World Bank study (1996) poverty is seen as the in ability of a society or individuals to meet their basis needs i.e. food, shelter, healthcare, education and other nonphysical amenities e.g. participation identity, those basic requirements for a meaningful life.

According to Marshall (1998:5-6) cited in the Central Bank of Nigeria, Poverty reports (2005), poverty refers to a state in which resources usually material but sometimes even cultural are lacking and this could be divided into two broad categories of relative and absolute terms.

a) Relative poverty: this refers to the deprivation of some people in relation to those who have more. Relative poverty is universal and unavailable because it depends on the values and standard of living that a society sets. It refers to that experience by those whose income falls considerably below the average for their particular society.

b) Absolute poverty: this means the deprivation of resources that is life threatening. It depends upon a universally accepted benchmark for adequate nutrition and living.

According to Streeten and Burke (1978) in their Book "Basic needs" some issues in world development poverty can be conceptualized in four ways;

1. Lack of access to basic needs or goods, in this regard poverty is viewed as lack of basic needs which are essentially economic oriented. It explains poverty in material terms and specifically employs consumption base categories to explain the depth of poverty and establish who is poor or not

2. The poor according to the Book is conceived as those individuals or household in a particular society that are incapable of purchasing essentials, basic needs, goods and services. These could be include nutrition, shelter, water, health care, access to productive resources including education, working skills and tools, political and civil rights to participate in decision concerning socio economic conditions.

3. Poverty from the perspectives of Streetens and Burke (1978) can also be the outcome of inefficient use of common resources. These might result from a weak policy environment inadequate infrastructures and weak access to technology and credit facilities.

From a more pragmatic point of views, the Marxist scholars in their various works postulated that the economy is the ultimate polarizing force in most societies. It usually divides societies into a few rich capitalist clique and the majority masses made up of the miserable workers.

According to Samir Amir (1968) in his book capitalism and unequal development in the third world he concluded that technological progress in the capitalist world and other urban centers caused labor savings among workforce, this result in the displacement of workers who largely joined the teeming reserve of unemployment. They therefore summed up that from a survey of international statistics and local viabilities, it seems like an all-encompassing umbrella of poverty has with the entrenchment of capitalist doctrines virtually cast its shed over the cultural, social, economic and human potentials that abound in Africa.

In 1996, the United Nations declared a war to end poverty across the globe, in its support, virtually all major corporation realized that for their interest to succeed, they need to support this laudable goal for global peace.

According to the World Development Report (1991) the World Bank projected that the poverty in Asia will drop from 805 million in the coming years, in Latin America and the Caribbean it will drop from 75 million to 60 million but in sub-Saharan Africa, the number of poor will rise by 85 million to 265 million. This may be an indication that there are loopholes in the fight against poverty. It may be a pointer that the reform policies implemented in Africa especially in countries like Nigeria do not reflect the complexities and diversify that regard, the people thus, this need for a comprehensive process of social reconstruction and institution building that can be made most effectively through multilateral or global arrangement.

The MDGs crystallized commitment made to a series of United Nations conference and encompasses specific time bound targets. The goals of the policy include the drive to have by 2015 the proportion of people whose income is less than one United States dollars per day. Some of the goals include the eradication of extreme poverty and hunger, to achieve this universal primary education, promote gender equality and women empowerment, reduce child mortality, improve maternal health, combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases, ensure environmental sustainability and harmoniously force a global partnership for development.

According to Professor Jega and Wakili (1996) in their edited work, "the eradication of poverty in Nigeria" they stated that the main causes of poverty in Nigeria are unemployment, ignorance, high level of inflation, poor governance, corruption and environmental degradation. In its 2006 report, the United Nations development Programme (UNDP) introduced two relevant concepts to understanding the dynamics of poverty. These are:

1. Human development: Defined as the process that enlarges people's choice including freedom, dignity, self-respect and social status.
2. Human poverty which refers to the deprivation of essential capabilities such as a long and healthy life, knowledge, economic resources and community participation.

According to World Bank Development report (1990) poverty is defined as inability to a certain person to attain a minimum standard of living. Dike (1997) also in his part sees poverty as "Lack of access to basic needs Impasses access to productive resources, an outcome of inefficient use of common resources and as a result of exclusive mechanism.

#### **Dimension of Poverty:**

Ibrahim et al. (1997) provide the five categorization of poverty in the PAP which they presented at Annual Conference titled "perspectives on poverty and poverty Alleviation Strategies for Nigeria". Poverty may be categorized along five dimensions of deprivation.

- i. Personal and physical deprivation: This can be experienced in health, nutrition, educational disability and lack of self-confidence.
- ii. Economic deprivation: These include lack of access to property, income assets, factors of production and finance. One of the most important and most common manifestations of poverty is the denial of access to basic necessities of human existence.

iii. Social deprivation: These involve the barriers to full-participation in social, political and economic life. People may be deprived of their human rights because of the personal and economic deprivations. Nigeria is a signatory to the 1989 UN convention on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women, children and adolescents. But women still have a low status and lack of full access to basic needs and other rights necessary for their wellbeing and survival (UNICEF 1994).

iv. Cultural deprivation: people are deprived in terms of values, beliefs, attitudes, knowledge, information and orientation. Consequently, they are not able to take advantages of economic and political opportunities. The lack of access to values, beliefs, knowledge, information and attitudes deprives them to control of their own destinies. Our foreign partners should appreciate the peculiarity of our local culture, which provides the security and other benefits and that their disruption may cause considerable distress.

v. Political deprivation: Ignorance is a fundamental deterrence to the elimination of poverty because it complements conditions of exploitation, domination and deprivation. Studies have shown that economic constraints, illiteracy and ignorance undermine access to legal institutions. It is the poor who lack political voice. Those who are politically deprived occupy lowly position and are subjected to coercion through physical and economic threat (Nes, 1997).

#### **Causes of Poverty:**

There are different causes of poverty which among others includes inadequate access to education, health, sanitation and water services. This is attributable to in adequately social services delivery which results in the inability of the poor to live a healthy and active life. Inadequate access to employment opportunities for a poor due to the will in economic activities, non-participation of poor in the design of developmental projects or programmes that are thought to be beneficial to them. This is because if they look a part in the discussion design and implementation of such programmes and ensure their workability. Inadequate access to markets for goods of the poor in remote areas as due to poor roads network inadequate access to land and capital, this is traceable to absent of land reforms and minimal opportunities for small scale credits. A careful assessment of the above causes will indicate the multidimensional nature of poverty; this indication will no doubt provide a better approach for effective attack of poverty

#### **Poverty in Nigeria:**

The issue of poverty came to the fore in Nigeria in 1975, when the Nigerian economic society's annual conference in that year focused on poverty. The conference perceived poverty as a situation where income is inadequate to support a minimum standard of decent living (Ogin-pola and Ojo, 1975; Abubakar, 1975) furthermore Onimode (1976) and Dudley (1975) identify poverty with people's inability to influence their environment which manifest itself in forms of little or no education and inadequate access to property or land.

Philips (1975) emphasized the concept of relative poverty in relation to lower quintiles or deciles of households, whose average income is considered to below some specified poverty level.

In addition, Dudley (1975) identified basic needs of society to include food, clothing and shelter, education, health, work and mobility. In all, poverty at household or individual levels is perceived in terms of inability to eat or clothe oneself adequately; inability to afford other basic necessities such as decent shelter; inability to meet social and economic obligations or lack of gainful employment, physical insecurity, lack of skills and inadequate assets similarly ignorance, powerlessness and lack of self-esteem are key indicators of poverty (Egware, 1997).

Recent attempts to measure poverty in Nigeria include Ogwumike (1991), ILO (1981) World Bank (1996) and Onah (1996) because different methods were used to estimate poverty lines and the proportion of the poor, these studies do not lend themselves to systematic comparisons, some are based on a few selected states, others on broader survey, but these lack key information. Some are based on food poverty lines, while others on basic needs or other criteria (Egware, 1997).

The huge inflow of oil revenues during the oil boom of the 1970, saw Nigeria's per capita income jump from US \$ 280 in 1971 to about US \$ 1,000 in 1980; Thus catapulting Nigeria from poor to a middle income country- World Bank, (1996). The period of 1971 to 1980 witnessed a dramatic expansion in real wages, private per capita consumption, social services and overall improvement in welfare even though the proportion of people living in poverty might not have declined significantly, the aura of new found affluence pushed the issues of poverty into the background it was the drastic slump in oil prices between 1980 and 1985 and the attendant sharp fall in living standards, which brought about the hard bite of

poverty to the fore front, especially among the professional classes, formal sector entrepreneurs and urban wage earners who were the major beneficiaries of the oil wind fall (Okunmadewa, 1996:7).

Poverty in Nigeria has being on the in some case since 1980. The proportion of those living below the poverty line jumped from 28% in 1980 to 43% in 1985. The economic witnessed some significant growth recovery between 1985 and 1992 which in turn led to higher level of income higher household expenditures and reduction in poverty. These were thus a 9% reduction in national poverty level from 43% in 1985 to 34% in 1992. There after the incidence of poverty witnessed a progressive increase to 69.2% in 1997 (World Bank, 1996; CBN, 1999).

### **Causes of Poverty in Nigeria:**

In Nigeria the causes of poverty are deeply in the country's political economic and social structures. Poverty is a multidimensional phenomenon. The World Development Report 2000/2001 (cited in World Bank, 2001), summarizes the various dimensions as a lack of opportunity, lack of empowerment and a lack of security. The window of opportunity remains closed to the poor masses, and this makes them practically inactive in the society. Their lack of empowerment limits their choices in almost everything and their lack of security makes them vulnerable to diseases, violence and so on. Similarly, a United Nations statement says: Poverty is a denial of choices and opportunities, a violation of human dignity. It means lack of basic capacity to participate effectively in society. It means not having enough to feed and clothe a family, not having a school or clinic to go to; not having the land on which to grow one's food or a job to earn one's living, not having access to credit. It means insecurity, powerlessness and exclusion of individuals, households and communities. It means susceptibility to violence, and it often implies living on marginal or fragile environments, without access to clean water or In Nigeria, widespread and severe poverty is a reality. It is a reality that depicts a lack of food, clothes, education and other basic amenities. Severely poor people lack the most basic necessities of life to a degree that it can be wondered how they manage to survive.

More to the point, there are several effects and deficiencies associated with poverty in Nigeria. One of the main effects of poverty is poor health, as is reflected in Nigeria's high infant mortality and low life expectancy. Poor people in Nigeria face several health issues as they lack basic health amenities and competent medical practitioners. Most children do not have the opportunity of being immunized and this leads to certain physical defects in some of the children. Their health has become low priority and as they have little or no choices, they live with whatever they are provided with, whether healthy or not.

### **Political Participation:**

Political participation has been considered central to the analysis of political process and, especially in democratic political systems. political participation refers to voluntary and purposeful efforts by which members of a political system, either as individuals or as members of any group contribute to the determination of the kinds of political institutions and people that will rule them as well as influencing how societal resources will be mobilized and allocated. Socio-economic and political goals and strategies for achieving them are determined by this means, this has to do with the activities connected with electoral processes, conventional activities directed to influence public decision-making, protest action, etc. In fact, as Huntington and Nelson (1976:14) pointed out, the concept of political participation serves as an overall label or an umbrella term, which refers to a set of activities, and behaviors that –although related to show different causes and consequences. Among these activities and behaviors, membership of political groups is to be regarded as a form of political participation.

Therefore, the analysis of political membership contributes to understanding political participation in a more general manner. Moreover, it is mainly through organized groups or associations that ordinary citizens are in contact with the political system, to the extent that, as Rosen stone and Hansen (1993: 126) show, decreasing public involvement in voluntary associations is strongly related to decreasing participation in governmental politics. Political participation adapted from Milbrath (1965) and from Verba, Nie and Kim (1978:1), Political participation is defined as the acts by private citizens that are more or less directly aimed at influencing the selection of governmental personnel or the actions that they take, introducing issues into the agenda, and/or changing values or preferences directly linked with political decision-making.

Participation for Huntington and Nelson take many forms, for examples" it can be individual or collective, organized or spontaneously, sustained or sporadic, peaceful or violent, legal or illegal, effective or ineffective. "International



encyclopedia of social sciences volume 12 defined political participation as “those voluntary activities by which members of a society share in the selection of rulers and directly or indirectly in the formation of public policies”. These activities include voting, seeking information, attending meeting, contributing financially, communicating with representative.

As liberal democratic culture and values have blossomed in Western societies, it increasingly became axiomatic that broad participation in the decision-making processes is a prerequisite for proper democratic governance (Dahl 1971, Pateman 1970). Political theorists claimed that all individuals ought to have an appropriately equal opportunity to influence decision-making processes (Verba et al. 1978). While electoral turnout and voting, which is the cornerstone of the democratic political process, has been reportedly decreasing over the last decades. (O’Toole et al. 2003).

Yet, academic experts have been exploring alternative participationist activities that could influence and shape decision-making processes, within a variety of social and cultural contexts. As a result, political participation have been proven to take incredibly diverse forms such as being a member of a political party or community-based organizations, displaying an active role within a range of cultural or leisure interactions, contacting a politician to express ecological concerns, suggestions or ideas, signing a petition, setting public buildings on fire (!) and even shooting at policemen during demonstrations and riots (Bourne 2010).

Diemer (2012) referred to political participation as an “engagement with traditional mechanisms in the . . . political system, such as voting in elections and joining political organizations”. Munroe (2002) defined political participation in terms of the degree to which citizens are exercising their right to engage in political activities (e.g., to protest, to speak freely, to vote, to influence or to get more energetically involved). Such definitions capitalize on the lawful nature of political praxis, in other words, they clearly establish a frame of reference with the available repertoire of political praxis within the conventional political norms, although these norms are not necessarily uniform across countries or across time.

Primarily by defining political participation as a set of activities aiming to influence political authority, for example, Huntington and Nelson (1976:3) defined political participation as an “activity by private citizens designed to influence government decision-making” whereas Verba et al. (1995:38), characterized it as an “activity that has the intent or effect of influencing government action – either directly by affecting the making or implementation of public policy or indirectly by influencing the selection of people who make those policies.

Political participation takes many different forms, studies of participation may be use slightly varying classification schemes, but most recent research distinguishes among the following types of behavior (Huntington 1976:12).

a) Electoral activity includes voting, campaign contribution, working in an election, protesting on behalf of a candidate or any other action designed to affect the outcome of electoral process. Voting is much more widespread than other forms of political participation and hence the factors associated with its incidence often distinguish it from other types of participation, including other campaign activities. There is nonetheless, an interrelated cluster of activity that is focused about the electoral cycle and voting and is clearly distinguishable from other major forms of political action.

b) Lobbying includes individual or group efforts to contact governmental officials and political leaders with the view of influencing their decisions on issues that affect a significant number of people. Obvious instances are activity designed to generate support or opposition for a particular legislative proposal or administrative decision (Huntington 1976).

c) Organizational activity involves participation as member or officer in an organization that has as its primary and explicit goal that influencing government decision making. Such organization may focus their efforts on highly specialized interests or may address a wider spectrum of public issues. Being a member of such an organization constitutes in itself a form of political participation, whether or not one can takes part in the organization’s efforts to influence government. Inactive membership is a mere participation by proxy (Ibid).

d) Political violence is also another form of political participation and it is useful analytically to define it as a distinct category, that is an efforts to affect governmental decision making by doing physical damage to persons or property violence may be directed at changing the political leadership (coup d’état and assination) affecting governmental policies (riots, revolts) or changing the entire political system (Ibid).

#### **Relationship between Poverty and Political Participation:**

Having reviewed some of the literature concerning poverty and political participation written by many scholars and writer let us review the writing concerning their relationship.

Schatterneiler wrote that "Democracy is a competitive political system in which competing leaders and organization defines the alternatives of public policy in such a way that public can participate in the decision making process". The essential element of the democratic process is "socialization of conflict that is some way involving the widest number of people in decision (America's Democracy p.652-693) poverty is one of the major problems that hinder the active participation of people in Nigeria today (Sam Aluko 2008).

It is our postulation that poverty incapacitates the participation of the poor in a democratic process. This incapacitation is borne out of the fact that liberal democracy accords the poor the rights that they cannot meaningfully enjoy, As Ake (1996:10) observed: a very small proportion of people in Africa are able to exercise their (democratic) rights but vast majority are not.

Poverty alienates majority of Nigeria's from participation as they are primarily concerned with matters of survival. They are pre-occupied with how to find food, shelter and clothing for themselves and members of their families (Ajakaiye and Adeyeye 2001:36) they also maintain that, the persistence and pervasiveness of poverty in several countries has been linked to the lack of popular participation in governance and decision making (Oninnode 1992:8) also observed what he called cybernetic feed interaction between poverty and the democratic process."

According to Ake (1996:23)," it is patently absurd for a starving peasant to be chasing after these abstract rights instead of attending to a stomach". Participation of the poor in the political process becomes an unaffordable luxury in the face of then in ability to take care of their food, education, health care, needs of their families, illiteracy and the attendant of ignorance, which are the merit able corollary of poverty also limper effective participation of the poor Nigerian's in the democratic process.

Thus the inability to read, write and attendant ignorance and inferiority complex greatly hinders the participation of many Nigeria's in the political process. Ajakaiye (1997), also stress that poverty has made electorates in different societies to sell their voting rights leading to the election mal practices and ignorance politicians who neither have respect for the rule of law nor genuine desire for sustenance of democratic system.

According to Abraham Maslow's analysis setting forth a system of basic need which are said to arise from human organism and which fundamentally determine political behavior. These needs are in order of priority, safety, physical needs the needs for togetherness (love and affection), the need for equality (self-esteem) and the need for self-actualization (cited in Davies 1963:10-17).

Again, Huntington and Nelson (1976), the poor usually take little part in politics because participation often seen irrelevant to their primary concerns, futile or both. Furthermore according to them (Huntington and Nelson) of course, political participation by the poor is also influence by the receptivity of already established political group.

Realistically, from the forgoing reviews, I was able to understand that Scholars have emphasized poverty as major problems that hinder the active participation of the people as viewed by Ake (1996:23), "it is patently absurd to be chasing after these abstract rights instead of attending to the stomach". Therefore, the attainment of the basic needs is a condition that guarantees participation. However, for democracy to work well and smoothly the issue of poverty must be properly address to favour mass participation in the matters affecting them; democracy can never be successful with high levels of poverty

#### 4. CONCLUSION AND FINDINGS

The paper sought to study the impact of poverty on political participation in Yola North Local Government Adamawa State 2015 general election. This paper found out that poverty is very high in the study area, caused by many factors, but most importantly as found in this study posits that poverty is caused by unemployment, because majority of the respondents agreed that unemployment is the major causes of poverty in Adamawa state.

Also important, because of poverty scenario, election malpractices like rigging, corruption and violence became factors in the electioneering process in the area of study.

However, this research found out that poverty incapacitated the peoples' level of political participation. This is because of the high level of poverty among the people that participated in the election and other political activities because of their personal interest for survival which is for sustenance of their life not because of ideology and conscience that could lead to the development of their society in general.

This study also come across so many problems in the cause of collection of data in the area of study, such problems includes, lack of understanding of the research by the respondents, poor means of transformation and also in the local government, there is lack of cooperation by the respondents, time and financial problems is another big problems during the course of this research.

Finally, from the above findings of this paper it is apparent that poverty has affected the individual participation in political process negatively in Yola- North Local Government area of Adamawa state.

## 5. RECOMMENDATIONS

The following are the recommendations of this research work.

1. The need for concerted and combined efforts of the government, non-governmental organizations and the people at the grassroots level themselves to tackle the problems of mass poverty at all level in Nigerian society.
2. Central government and state government should have to establish policies which will enhance the standard of living of the people of Nigeria.
3. Poverty can be alleviated through economic empowerment of the people, this can enhance their productive capacity which can be attained by raising their level of gainful employment.
4. Rural infrastructures should be constantly improved for the free flow of money in the hands of individual so as to address poverty at rural level.
5. Government should formulate a national policy on poverty eradication to direct efforts at all levels of governance towards an affirmative action against poverty in Nigeria.
6. Existing poverty alleviation efforts example PAP and UBE should be intensified and widened to talked the problems of poverty comprehensively.
7. Just the same way “charity begins at home” eradication of poverty should begin by the eradication of selfishness and greediness that characterize the Nigerian political class.
8. Human development should take priority over all other pursuits of government.
9. There should be massive enlightenment and mobilization of the people to actively participate in politics. Ultimately, they need to be economically empowered and educated.
10. The gap between the rich and the poor, male and female, urban and rural dichotomies should be curtailed.
11. The dividends of the ongoing democratization process should be equitably distributed to reach and citizens wherever they may be.
12. Popular participation should be guaranteed at all levels of governance. This by conducting a free, fair and impartial election in the side of the government.
13. The fight against corruption in Nigeria should be pressed to a logical conclusion.
14. Democracy is just about mass participation; therefore, people should be given a free and equal chance to participate in the decision making of their society.
15. People should establish self-reliance attitude because through self-reliance development can be achieved.

It is hope that the above recommendations will help for formulating effective policy on poverty situation in Adamawa state, so as to take the problem of poverty in the political process in Nigeria.

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