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Political Leadership and Financial Emoluments: A Case of Developing Countries

Daniels Aide Okun and Osama Ose Iyawe

Abstract

The theoretical concept of political leadership would have to be the most elusive and fluid concept of leadership. It has within its authority dominated policies, influenced security- intelligence, shaped intellectual-cultures, inspired citizens-aspirations and has directed the trajectory of nation-states and sovereignties within international governance and global affairs. The political behaviors of developing nations through foreign policies, national interests and diplomacy have been a reflection of the authority of their political leadership; regime after regime. There are no best-kept secret to the fundamental strengths and weaknesses of political Leadership other than the influential impact of the political leader's self-empowerment, self-leadership and self-legacy. Political Leadership is fundamentally controlled by the polices of choices where decisions meet actions and authoritarian powers redefines humanity. The elusive extent, and fluid depth of political influence through the impact of governance does not measure -up to the assurance of humanity in most developing countries around the world. The political consciousness and idiosyncrasies of most individuals over the years have contributed none or fewer interests to the study, the justification, and the analytical reasoning of the influence of political leadership. This new study and the assertive findings on this chapter are aimed to pragmatically educate, inspire, and reignite the zealousness of visionary leadership, through the consciousness of humanity. The intellectual assertions in this chapter are envisioned to create, expand and illuminate the distinctive reality between of our profound empirical knowledge, theoretical beliefs and interpretive researches on the conceptual understanding of political leadership. The topics in this chapter are aimed to create an endless stream to the consciousness of political leadership and financial gains to the betterment of humanity. It expands the understanding of political leadership through psychological lens beyond the titles, offices and political display of power. Political leadership in developing countries can improve and offer better outcomes in todays world, when humanity meets the consciousness of political leadership in financial prosperity. The societal divisions of ethnicity, wealth and the polarization of political ideologies into sets of beliefs, questions the influential impact of political leadership. As political leaders govern and navigate through their leadership goals, aspirations and visions more often than not, the traits of their ethnic identity, individuality and beliefs constantly create struggles with their understanding and acceptance of humanity as a whole.

Keywords: individuality, nationality, opportunity, corruptibility, profitability, political consciousness, loyalty, humanity, service, legacy

1. Introduction

The theoretical concepts of political leadership creates an in-depth understanding of the societal consciousness of the political processes and the outcomes of the quality of leadership; retrospectively classical writers like; Niccolo Machiavelli, Robert Michels and Max Weber explored theoretical ideas, arguments, and definitions of the authority of political leadership. Political leadership has always had a great influence and an impact on the empowerment of the nation-building process of countries. The never-ending challenges and struggles that political leaders are faced with is the economic reality of their nations which have always been the question that dictates the achievements of the leadership quality of a political leader.

Political Leadership is the patriotic state of consciousness that ignites the spirit of nationalism, and the pride of citizenship that unifies ethnic diversity.

Political Leadership is the act of governance that distinguishes: leadership from politics, integrity from loyalty, and humanity from prosperity.

Political Leadership centers on the duties of social responsibilities, nation-building, cultural capital, and the welfare-betterment of humanity.

Political Leadership does not symbolize nor define left wing - right wing political competition against ideologies, positions, and party dominance on the political spectrum. It represents, justifies and validates the essence and advancement of togetherness through communal systems in the presence and acceptance of diversity.

The accountability demands, credibility measures and aspirational heights of political leadership ought to be grounded in their profound values and beliefs on humanity, capacity development, life and security. Conversely more often than not; these measures of expectations are solely directed to economics, financial gains, wealth creation and individual wealth appropriation which clearly never answers the deeper questions to the efficiency of political leadership.

Political Leadership avails a fundamental social responsibility for the unification of social cohesion in the presence of diversity, divides and conflicts in order to achieve a collective human-capital force that assures economic growth, prosperity, survival and protection. Pragmatically, these assertions do not resonate with the political realities of most developing countries; it is conversely on the opposite, state of affairs where political leadership disregards, excludes humanity from governance through the tactics of politics which hardly represents the ideals of leadership but utilizes the rustiness of power through authority.

The theoretical understanding of Political Leadership is not as elusive and fluid as presented overtime it is the trust-given responsible to serve, lead and advance the betterment of humanity harmoniously through prosperity, humanity capacity development and cooperation.

There is a question in the developing countries that everyone dares and struggles to get an answer to which is:

“Why are the offices of political appointees, and leaders synonymous to the bank of wealth?”

I believe pensively, that this question may never be answered as it references and represents a norm, a culture and a tradition that is systematically instituted to picture a reality. The inhibitions of political Leadership is found in the sensitivity and in the powerful pieces of decision making process and the execution of action that are constantly motivated by visionary leadership and inspired by the enthusiasm and compassion for humanity.

Political leaders are faced with the battle of consciousness between “Efficiency and Effectiveness”. Confidently ensuring that their tasks and responsibilities are executed perfectly right apt enough to better welfare and ensuring that they are

standing, endorsing and motivating the right actions that will justify the path of humanity towards peace, betterment and prosperity.

Political Leadership is not the absence of the quality, compassion and ideals of the other forms of leadership. But rather; it is indeed the collective accumulation of all the other forms of leadership aimed for a collective and mutual betterment and good for humanity. The stereotypical negative connotations of political leadership been associated and linked to corruption and wealth embezzlement has indeed created a social construct, a message of deceit and a norm which has hindered leadership accountability, credibility, selfless responsibilities, and expectations from the political leader.

Political Leadership is the given-responsibilities and authority by trust, belief, and assurance to an individual with the identification of patriotic loyalty, recognition of leadership, and compassion for humanity. Political leadership is not a game of politics, a display of wealth nor is it a competitive showcase of power and authority, it is the real business of putting humanity, first and above, policies, interests, ideological bents, beliefs and traditions. Political leadership is the combination of power, intelligence, security, wealth and authority into a force for enthusiasm and compassion for humanity.

Political leadership owes the people no greater speech, no greater promise, no greater policies, no greater agenda, no greater army, no greater bridges, no greater roads than the effective and efficient building of better, stronger and greater tomorrow that ensures and insures the harmonious -collective - consciousness of purpose, dedication to duty and the validation of the worthiness of humanity.

There will be no greater oath of office, affirmation of a strong-will dedication to office, than the one that specifically centers on the core fundamental values, principles and compassion for the greater good, advancement and prosperity of humanity in its worthiness and validation.

The swearing in to office of any appointed political leadership opportunity ought to be the-one-and-only social consciousness to duty that should exhilarate, justify and empower the interests, ambition and intentions to govern with political authority a leader can have.

The fear, anxiety and bravery to serve humanity through political leadership should be an oath of sacrifice, an allegiance to dedication of self and a pledge to better humanity with all the resources there is within or outside the sovereignty of nation states.

Political leadership creates the means and justifies the means to govern humanity towards the path of betterment by the people for the people and with the people. This does not make it a complicated mission to accomplish, it rather eliminates the space for self-interests, personal gains, personal agendas and competition of self-greatness. It reaffirms the truth bearing of faith and allegiance to serve humanity for a greater, better and a more harmonious life of creation that humanity is worthy of and validated for.

Political leadership is an authoritative responsibility that creates more for the people than it takes from the people. It is an office that benefits all, an opportunity that creates sustainable growth, progressive advancements and a harmonious culture for productivity. There is an endless path to the progressive advancement of political leadership in developing countries that ought to journeyed on, that path can only be traveled through with the human- capacity- development- investment- and- advancement as the only policies of change that should be demanded and gotten.

The theoretical concept of Political leadership is asserted to be an authority symbolic to parenthood. It carries on, upon it the responsibilities, the never ending

Figure 1.
Schematic Presentation of the title's core Components. Authors Compilation (2020).

duty of ensuring and insuring the betterment of humanity with which all the other means and agendas of prosperity is assured.

Political leadership in developing countries owes its humanity more than just the legal obligations of citizenry by means of identity but to the embracing of what it truly means, symbolizes, represents deeply, compassionately and emotionally to be a citizen of a country regardless of its political, socio-economic and moral status. Until the betterment of humanity as the only capital source of wealth is assured it is impossible to enrich or discover the wealth in any nation in the absence of slavery and exploitation.

Political Leadership is patriotically the social-political consciousness of the authority to utilize power to the ultimate advantage of the betterment of its humanity regardless of political realities, international regimes or competitive economic markets.

It is in the authenticity and intentions of purpose and the protection of citizenry that nation's competitive advantages are born. No nation could hardly excel productively, economically and intellectually without its citizenry. It is the putting first and above of its citizenry by political Leadership that puts a nation above other nations on the global map of relevance and power. No nation could journey without a strong-willed political Leadership that assures and insures the existence of its citizenry in a proud state of humanity (**Figure 1**).

1.1 Worthy of notice

The consciousness of individuality, the awareness of self worth, the embracing of nationality and the privileges of leadership opportunities are fundamental to the understanding and recognition of the influential authority of political leadership.

2. The S-E-L-F approach to political leadership

The theoretical practice of political leadership is structured in systematic processes and alignments that have become institutionalized norms, cultures,

The S-E-L-F Approach

Figure 2.
Schematic Presentation of the concept of SELF. Authors Compilation (2020).

social constructs and beliefs that have either advanced or hindered the progress of political leadership.

Political Leadership is broader than an office or a position it is a functional duty, a political responsibility, a social responsibility, a patriotic duty, an oath of office and an allegiance to service. The huge shoulders of these responsibilities are sensitively influenced, motivated, controlled and manipulated by a holistic range of factors that directs the pace, the choices, the decisions and the impacts of political leadership duration the cause of time [1].

The situational reality of political leadership and the call to serve in developing countries is a unique case study one that involves a wider and deeper understanding of how individuality plays a huge role and creates a deep impact in social constructs and definition of political leadership (**Figure 2**).

3. The S-E-L-F approach

The S-E-L-F approach to political leadership is a psychological framework and a guiding-tool to the state of consciousness for political leadership. It serves as a leadership mantra for the formulation of political policies, fundamental structures and the institutionalization of systems that justifies and validates the efficiency and effectiveness of political leadership. Political Leadership therefore, becomes more effective and efficient when it serves humanity through its policies, interests, institutions, foreign policies, diplomacy, structures and systems.

4. The influential impact of individuality on political leadership

Political leaders are influenced by their personality traits, which creates an intellectual opening for them on how they view, see and assert the roles of political leadership. A visionary outlook on life's struggles, strives, successes and strengths is created from the persona of an individual. The mindset of an individual creates a map of imagination, dreams and visions which controls the levels expectations and ambitions that an individual can experience and birth. While it is important to define political leadership on the standards and principles of what it should be, what it is expected to accomplish and how it's expected to achieve much through humanity for humanity and by humanity; it is also fundamentally crucial to assert the influential impact of individuality on political leadership. The political tools needed to function effectively in office by a political leader is hugely influenced by the leader's character traits, behavioral strength, self-knowledge, and personality which builds and forms a mental strength that develops the leader's political skills, political intelligence, political strategy, and political approach to duties [2].

The understanding of the influential impact of individuality on the effectiveness of political leadership creates a broadened knowledge on how far a nation can journey and strive progressively under the regimes, policies and adopted systems of governance. The individuality of political leaders comes first in the direction and utilization of their political will and governing authority. What saves a political system from the collapse of individualistic anarchism is the consciousness of selfishness in humanity.

Pragmatically, the idiosyncrasies of most political leaders is clearly seen in the extent of how far they bring their own; ideologies, needs, wants, desires, responsibilities, goals, and targets to the political arenas during their regime; this then becomes fundamentally crucial to the state of success and advancement of their leadership role. While the Individuality of political leadership disregards and

ignores the humanity of citizenry, it embezzles and plans to exploit excesses for selfishness through corruption and political isolation [3].

The executive actions of a political leader does not pose much an important question. The reason “why” the executive actions were carried out appears to be more crucial and worthy of understanding. Political leadership is crafted on the visionary path, mission and betterment of humanity, it is a selfless agenda aimed at ensuring the collective prosperity and advancement of humanity is assured. Compassionately, when individualism and collectivism compromises interests, needs and values for the purpose of advancement collective humanity, it brings alive the strengths and greatness of political leadership [4].

There is a greater possibility for political leadership to utilize profound individualism for compassionate collectivism for the betterment of humanity. Political leadership in the sovereign space of individuality where the rationality of self-interest prevails, show there is a recognition of true individualism. It is one that is associated and identifiable with compassion, consciousness and empathy for humanity.

Compassionate collectivism makes it possible for individualism in political leadership to collaborate interests, needs, desires and agendas into a submerged goal for the greater, mutual and collective good of humanity. This is indeed the greatest challenge of conflicting ideologies of interests that is socio-consciously reconcilable and achievable. Collectivism becomes an intellectual tool for security, prosperity and harmony, when individualism through political leadership perpetuates and creates systems that are powerfully apt enough to see humanity as the collective consciousness and influence of the individual [5].

The pursuits and interests of individuality can be birth in collectivism when it recognizes and validates the presence of humanity. Political Leadership strives stronger and greater through the influential impact of individuality, when its individuality is submerged in the security of collectivism for humanity. Political leadership through the impacts of individualism, collectivism and humanism makes it possible for effective and efficient governance to succeed in a struggling world. The psychological presence of individuality makes it possible for dreams to be envisioned and for inspiration to illuminate aspirations [6].

As individuality is key to self-leadership, so is it fundamentally present in political leadership. The recognition of the self-centered fulfillment of individualism in political leadership and the unresolved conflicts of division and the widened gap of poverty, makes is consciously sensitive for political leadership to find the strengths of individuality in collectivism for the betterment, advancement and prosperity of humanity [7].

5. The financial emolument of political leadership

Political Leadership has its payoffs, incentives as well as rewards just like every other endeavor and aspiration. All leaders in every sphere of influence, deserve to be honored respected and remunerated for work done and inputs made as a result of responsibilities tied to such leadership roles. From a political perspective, the benefits and returns for leadership responsibility varies. They include emotional, monetary, territorial, economic, physical and even legal. Motivations for leaders vary also, depending on personal traits, inclination and situation. The bottom-line is every political leader has a motivating factor that is tied to a reward whether it is positively or negatively aligned. Prolonged observation and evaluation has shown especially in developing climes that the monetary gain seems to be the highest motivating factor.

It must be understood at every point in time that every leader especially a political one, is just as human as any other individual. They have needs and desires just like everyone and have their emotions active accordingly. Their fundamental senses are at work just like all healthy humans. The preceding statement is vital, so as not to have overbearing expectations political leaders, even though more is required of them by virtue of the leadership positions they now occupy.

But then again, it behooves on us to assess political leaders on their true motive for taking up political positions and offering themselves for service. Evaluations of political leadership from developing countries in continents like Africa, have shown that more often than not, monetary benefits and self-aggrandizement are their primary focus.

Let us take into consideration a country like Nigeria for instance. Judging from her statistics and natural endowments, she ought to be the innovative driver for Africa. Is this the scenario at play currently? Apparently, it is not. A country richly endowed with natural resources and high quality human capital, but it is yet to find its rightful place among the comity of nations. A major reason that has been responsible for her socioeconomic stagnation is the element of corruption. Corruption rarely thrives where monetary benefits are not the major incentives attached to deliverables and accomplishments tied to job roles or positions.

6. What is financial emolument?

Emolument is the term used to describe payment for an office or employment; compensation for a job, which is usually monetary. It could also be in form of tangible items such as automobiles or houses but the emphasis in this work is on monetary payments.

7. Financial emoluments and the political leadership motivation

Over the years, money has been the major tool for individual and corporate transactions. It signifies empowerment, economic protection and supremacy. With such paradigm, financial hardship creates scenarios where individuals fall into the despondency from lacking the preceding attributes stated earlier and therefore will see themselves losing out economically, socially as well as territorially- the inability to dominate their sphere of influence. Hence, Political leadership seems to be the quickest route to achieving these aspirations and goals as it affords the political leader the opportunity to wield so much influence and control over vast financial resources by virtue of the scope of his position. One of the few institutional devices obtainable to regulate the action of politicians apart from elections is their remuneration structure [8].

Presently, the quest for political positions for the sake of financial gains, is highest in developing and underdeveloped countries. It is not so difficult to know why this is so. Such countries, have the weakest economies and inefficient institutions. Based on the foregoing, individuals in these nations see political leadership because of the influence attached to it, as the fastest route to self-aggrandizement and acquisition of wealth. The emoluments attached to political positions in these countries are so humongous, that within months of being in office, the life and economic status of the office holders usually experience tremendous economic transformation. Critical evaluations shows that such benefits now make the contest for such positions a very intense one even to the risk of the lives of the participants.

Apparently, the nature of political leadership in such countries affects who vies for such offices and also who finally gets in.

8. The Maslow’s hierarchy angle

The Maslow’s hierarchy of needs is a motivational theory in psychology comprising a five- tier model of human needs, often depicted as hierarchical levels within a pyramid. Needs further south in the hierarchy must be satisfied before individuals can sort out needs northwards. From bottom-up, the needs are: physiological, safety, love and belonging, esteem and self-actualization.

Maslow [9] using the above hierarchy of human need, stated that people are motivated to achieve certain needs and that some needs take precedence over others. From the list, he postulated that our most basic need is that of physical survival and this will be the first factor that motivates our behavior. Articulating that money is key to solving our physical needs, it therefore means that man gravitates quickly to wherever he can acquire funds with ease. Understanding the preceding fact, whatever positions have great monetary benefits attached usually will attract vehement but detrimental interest. Political Leadership is usually not an exception. The monetary emoluments attached to political positions; particularly in developing countries is enormous. As a result, the race to political offices are highly contested to critical levels such that it usually becomes a very risky affair. The acute poverty level in such countries ironically, is connected to the political leaders abysmal performance, creates an intense pursuit for political positions as an easy route to economic hardship.

9. Comparative analysis of emoluments in developing countries

To state that the pay packages of political office holders completely dwarfs that of civil servants/workers in developing countries is not an overstatement. From

critical analysis and information sourcing, the civil servants remuneration is match for the average political leader in most countries in Africa. Citing scenarios from Nigeria, according to information captured from online tabloid-Pulse, the average Nigerian Senator earns a minimum of N32million monthly as pay package. And this is to represent a poverty-stricken people of whom most live on less than \$1 a day. If we compare this with the earnings of the highest level researcher from the knowledge setup- a Professor, you will see the clear imbalance. The highest earning Professor in a country like Nigeria, with all emoluments put together earns nothing above the realms of N8million annually. Considering that they are the hope for the dissemination of new knowledge and discoveries as well as inventions, such pay in comparison with their political counterparts is appalling. This type of pay disparity will not encourage the youths and upcoming professionals to develop interest in other areas as much as politics. This what will bring all sorts on individuals into the political terrain. Rather than come for service, they will come in for wealth gain which never makes for productive leadership.

10. The profitability and corruptibility of political leadership

Political leadership represents the hope of the citizenry for societal progress and advancement. When political leadership is gotten right, no one misses out of the benefits. This calls for using crucial and well thought out processes to selecting such leaders. When the process is right, we can readily get the right political leaders in position. So also, when the process is flawed, we get to tolerate and endure flawed leadership. Political Leadership must be laced with the right leadership ingredients so as to get profitable outcomes for the citizens, location notwithstanding. Ingredients such as empathy, vision, uprightness, accountability, hard work, charisma, integrity honesty, mentorship, inter-relationship skills, conflict resolution capacity and so on.

There must be stringent laws, ethics and ordinances to guide all political office holders not to fall below the minimum expectation when it comes political positions. The outcomes of their political leadership must be made serious by way of regular accountability and consequences by law enforcement agencies for erring parties. This is crucial, as were the laws concerning political office becomes weak the political leader is at liberty to go overboard with his excesses. In the words of William Pitt *“Unlimited power is apt to corrupt the minds of those who posses it; and this I know, my lords: that where laws end, tyranny begins”*. This preceding act has been the bane of unprofitable leadership in developing countries.

To make laws weak or impotent, is to indirectly empower corruption. The weakness of laws and the justice system of any nation is what empowers corruption. Once corruption can thrive within a political leadership space, the productivity of such leadership begins to erode. Consequently, when the political leadership class of a country espouses corruption, it becomes difficult for it to act positively to the benefit of the state and its citizens [10].

11. Case analysis on the corruption effect

As defined simply by Lewis [11] the phenomenon of corruption is referred to as “an impairment of virtue and moral principles”.

Because the scenario as obtained in developing countries has painted a picture where political leadership is the path to easy wealth accumulation, corruption has become a systemic and institutional issue in most of these countries. Take for instance the continent of Africa where you have a large proportion of developing

countries, a detailed investigation analysis will reveal that most of its leaders (rulers) have occupied those positions for an average of not less than fifteen (15) years. Were the period is less than this, it is possible to have a leader who has lead sometime in the past but has again returned to power. More often than not, this insatiate disposition stems from the quest to acquire possessions inordinately using such office. They forget that they were voted in or appointed to be good custodians of the nation's resources. As regards the above scenario, the case of Zimbabwe comes to mind. There, you had a man who had ruled a nation for 30 years and counting, but was unwilling to relinquish power. What could make a man so stuck on a political position after three decades, if not corrupt practices. This does not totally exempt the developed nations of corrupt political leadership, but we can deduce that it is not to the degree found in developing and underdeveloped nations.

A country like Nigeria who at present, ought to be the economic and industrial giant of Africa, has failed to assume this position for no other reason than highly institutionalized and syndicated corruption. Right from the pre-colonial (before 1960) era till now, the phenomenon has kept rearing its ugly head unchecked. From laws that give immunity coverage to political office holders to skewed election outcomes in favor of those with large treasure chest and in control of the treasury, the spate of corruption in high places has gone on unabated. A survey on the level of corruption in Nigeria carried out in 2003 by the Institute of Development Research of the Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria ranked political parties in the country third in the list of thirty most corrupt public institutions in Nigeria [12].

It therefore means that if there is be any meaningful change in the political leadership outcomes of developing nations, there must be a head on approach to corruption; financial corruption as a matter of fact.

12. The 21 pensible principles of political leadership

Political Leadership transcends through humanity the very powerful capital that influences and justifies the pathways, actions, policies and decisions of governance.

While in the absence and disregard of humanity political leadership assumes a different position and duty in regimes of most developing countries.

When it is not in the interests of political leaders to serve humanity through progressive policies of actions and in their political willingness to better the humanity of their citizenry; political leadership becomes exploitation, suppression and oppression.

The 21 pensible principles of political leadership represents the fundamental truths to the consciousness that ought to provide, protect and govern humanity in a striving world of survivals:

1. Political Leadership ought to serve humanity selflessly.
2. Political Leadership ought to inspire the creation of prosperity for its citizenry.
3. Political Leadership ought to collaborate and partner with its citizenry.
4. Political Leadership ought to be accountable for the welfare and betterment of its citizenry.
5. Political Leadership ought to have the credibility and integrity of office.
6. Political Leadership ought to be symbolic to parenthood.

7. Political Leadership ought to assure, and ensure the prosperity of humanity in the insurance of wealth and health.
8. Political Leadership ought to have compassionate knowledge on “what to do for” humanity.
9. Political Leadership ought to have the leadership structural skills on “how to serve” humanity.
10. Political Leadership ought to have the visionary inclinations and intellectual capacity to achieve a desirable future for its citizenry.
11. Political Leadership ought to have the mental intelligence to lead humanity.
12. Political Leadership ought to have the emotional intelligence to defend humanity.
13. Political Leadership ought to have a high-level of spiritual intelligence apt enough to illuminate humanity.
14. Political Leadership ought to have the cultural intelligence to unity the diversity in humanity.
15. Political Leadership ought to have the political willingness and bravery to protect and secure humanity.
16. Political Leadership ought to have protection, provisions, and an advancement for humanity to heights of excellence and security.
17. Political Leadership ought to formulate policies that protects the advancement of human capital, economic capital, social capital and natural capital.
18. Political Leadership ought to have the consciousness of empathy, sympathy and compassion for humanity.
19. Political Leadership ought to give more and take less from humanity.
20. Political Leadership ought to invest, collaborate, educate, enlighten and build humanity.
21. Political Leadership ought to lead through the social-cultural dynamics and diversity of humanity harmoniously and compassionately.

These pensible principles of political leadership are trusted enough to ensure that political leadership can strive for more and excel effectively and efficiently in governance through the consciousness of these principles and compassion for humanity.

13. Conclusion

From the foregoing, it is obvious that Political Leadership must be inspired by acts and expectations beyond financial emoluments. Work has its rewards no doubt

but because leadership is about people; particularly political leadership, the incentives attached to political positions as well as public office must not be so enticing. This is so as not to create a scenario, where the responsibilities done, are taken as a means to an end. Political Leadership is first for service to humanity and societal development before anything else. This chapter clarifies in summary that if the structures placed for political offices are not ones that call for service and sacrifice, then the true motive for it will never be achieved. This is most critical in developing countries, where there is so much lack and deprivation.

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