



Constitution of the Renters and Housing Union Incorporated

Version as of 1 January 2024.

Acknowledgment of Country

We acknowledge that the land on which we live was stolen from First Nations peoples, and as the custodians of these lands, their sovereignty has never been ceded. We are committed to the cause of decolonisation through acts of our organisation, including 'paying the rent' to First Nations peoples.

Preamble

As renters, we are, by definition, not the owning class and are at the frontline of facing housing precarity.

The human right to a safe, secure home should not be determined by capital or by those seeking to profit by exploiting this right.

As such, we don't endorse any political party nor take direction or influence from any political party related to the government.

RAHU is a syndicalist union. We are renters and people in precarious housing from all industries, ethnicities and identities. Through our shared commonalities, we commit to upholding our rights in union. Solidarity is our weapon.



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Part 1: Foundational Operations

1 Name

The name of the incorporated association is the 'Renters and Housing Union Incorporated'. The abbreviated name is RAHU. Herein it will be referred to as the "**Union**".

2 Purposes

The purposes of the Union are:

- (1) to empower renters and individuals in precarious housing conditions to self-organise and initiate collective actions, including strikes;
- (2) to establish, uphold, and defend the right to safe and secure housing;
- (3) to equip members with the skills required for self-advocacy;
- (4) to represent the voices and interests of renters and those in precarious housing;
- (5) to provide education about housing rights and responsibilities;
- (6) to offer frontline defence against evictions; and
- (7) to advocate for safe and secure housing for all that is genuinely affordable.

3 Decision-making

- (1) Each decision of the Union must be made in pursuit of the purposes of the Union.
- (2) Each meeting of the Union must be conducted in accordance with the following principles:
 - (a) fostering meaningful participation of all members;
 - (b) encouraging the expression of diverse views; and
 - (c) devoting enough time to ensure sufficient deliberation on all matters.



Part 2: Membership

4 Becoming a member

- (1) A person is eligible to be admitted as a **member** if they:
 - (a) rent their home address, whether it be a private or public tenancy;
 - (b) hold a formal or informal tenancy agreement;
 - (c) are a squatter;
 - (d) are a homeless person; or
 - (e) are in any form of precarious housing situation; and
 - (f) support the purposes of the Union.
- (2) A person is not eligible to be admitted as a member if they:
 - (a) are a landlord;
 - (b) are a real estate agent;
 - (c) are a property manager;
 - (d) are a social housing provider;
 - (e) are a police officer;
 - (f) are a bailiff;
 - (g) are a sheriff; or
 - (h) hold any other position where their economic standing or employment is inconsistent with the purposes of the Union.

5 Becoming a solidarity member

- (1) A person is eligible to be admitted as a **solidarity member** if they:
 - (a) are a homeowner who is not a landlord; and
 - (b) support the purposes of the Union.
- (2) Solidarity members:
 - (a) do not have voting rights; and
 - (b) are not able to hold any positions within the Union.

6 Becoming an organisational member

- (1) A democratic, membership-based organisation is eligible to be admitted as an **organisational member** if they:
 - (a) aligned with the purposes of the Union; and
 - (b) optionally pay a membership fee at the discretion of the Union.
- (2) Organisational members:
 - (a) do not have voting rights;
 - (b) are not able to hold any positions within the Union;
 - (c) are invited to collaborate on campaigns, events and training where appropriate; and
 - (d) are encouraged to have members dual-carding where appropriate.

7 Continuing membership

- (1) A person's continuing membership in the Union is dependent on if they continue to:
 - (a) meet the eligibility criteria for their respective membership category; and
 - (b) support the purposes of the Union.
- (2) A member found to have breached [Part 2, clause 6\(1\)](#) must have their membership reviewed by the Governing Committee.



8 Ending membership

A person ceases to be a member if they:

- (1) resign by providing notice to the Governing Committee;
- (2) fail to pay their membership dues by the end of the eighth month after it was due;
- (3) are removed by a decision made from [Part 2, clause 6\(2\)](#); or
- (4) are expelled.

9 Membership dues

- (1) The monthly amount of membership dues payable will be paid by each person on the first of every month as follows:
 - (a) \$0 for First Nations renters (member);
 - (b) \$1 for low income renters (member);
 - (c) \$15 for waged renters (member);
 - (d) \$20 for high-waged renters (member);
 - (e) \$30 for solidarity homeowner members (solidarity member)
- (2) A person facing difficult financial circumstances may apply to the Treasurer for their membership dues to be forgiven or reduced for a three-month period, which can be repeated as needed.
- (3) Members whose dues are current or up to 59 days in arrears are considered in **good standing**
- (4) Members whose dues are 60 or more days in arrears are considered to be in **bad standing**, and, until paid, they:
 - (a) do not have voting rights; and
 - (b) are not able to hold any positions within the Union.
- (5) When paying by year, a member may be granted one free month of dues, i.e. the yearly dues rate is equivalent to 11 months of dues.

10 Disciplinary action, grievance procedure and stacking

- (1) In this Constitution, **disciplinary action** means a member is:
 - (a) suspended for a specified period; or
 - (b) expelled.
- (2) The Governing Committee must make the disciplinary procedure under which disciplinary action may be taken.
- (3) The Governing Committee must make the grievance procedure for dealing with any dispute under this Constitution between a member and another member or the Union.
- (4) Only a disciplinary procedure or grievance procedure may decide that a member no longer supports the purposes of the Union.
- (5) **Stacking** is defined as a coordinated effort by a political party, organisation, or other political grouping to influence the meeting for its own political purposes disproportionately.
- (6) If any member reasonably suspects that stacking is occurring during a meeting, they have the right to call for the suspension of the meeting on account of suspected stacking.
- (7) Upon a call for suspension of a meeting:
 - (a) the meeting must be halted temporarily; and
 - (b) an alternative meeting time should be announced where the meeting will be reconvened.
- (8) At the reconvened meeting:
 - (a) the first agenda item must be to address the issue of suspected stacking; and



(b) members will discuss and decide whether stacking occurred and refer the findings to the established disciplinary or grievance procedure.



Part 3: The Governing Committee

11 Composition

- (1) The Governing Committee is made up of all office bearers, committee chairs and delegates
- (2) The responsibilities of the office bearers are in [Schedule 1](#). The process for their election and removal is in [Schedule 2](#).
- (3) The delegate responsibilities and how they are elected and removed are in [Schedule 3](#).
- (4) A member must not hold more than one office of the Governing Committee at the same time unless there are no other qualified candidates available.

12 The Governing Committee powers and responsibilities

- (1) The Governing Committee is responsible for:
 - (a) the administrative management of the Union; and
 - (b) making all passed and not passed decisions made available to the membership.
- (2) The Governing Committee may delegate powers to other Union bodies.
- (3) The Governing Committee may temporarily limit any power of a branch for 30 days.
- (4) A decision of the Governing Committee overrides a decision of a branch to the extent of any inconsistency.

13 Convening a Governing Committee meeting

A Governing Committee meeting may be convened:

- (1) by at least 3 office bearers; or
- (2) in accordance with any procedure made under [Part 3, clause 16](#).

14 Notice of a Governing Committee meeting

The Governing Committee must give as much notice of its meetings as it can.

15 Quorum of a Governing Committee meeting

The quorum for a Governing Committee meeting is 20% of current Governing Committee members, but not fewer than five.

16 Proceedings of a Governing Committee meeting

- (1) A Governing Committee meeting must decide its own agenda.
- (2) A proposal that is put to a vote is passed if it obtains a majority of votes in favour.
- (3) An abstention does not constitute a vote in favour or against.

17 Additional procedures of a Governing Committee meeting

The Governing Committee may, by a proposal, make additional meeting procedures.



Part 4: Branches

18 Composition

- (1) The Governing Committee may create or dissolve a branch.
- (2) Each branch corresponds with a branch area.
- (3) A branch area must:
 - (a) be defined only by geographical boundaries;
 - (b) not overlap with another branch area; and
 - (c) correspond to one or more local government areas, except where exceptional circumstances justify otherwise.
- (4) A new branch may only be approved by the Governing Committee and have no fewer than five members.

19 Branch membership

- (1) Each member is a member of one branch.
- (2) Each member must be a member of the branch in whose branch area they live or an adjacent branch unless circumstances justify otherwise.

20 General Membership Branch

- (1) In the case that a member does not have a designated branch, they must be assigned to the General Membership Branch as their designated branch.
- (2) A General Membership Branch meeting must occur at least once every two months.

21 Branch powers and responsibilities

- (1) Each branch is responsible for:
 - (a) providing a forum for its members to discuss campaigns and Union matters;
 - (b) electing delegates under [Schedule 3](#);
 - (c) engaging the community that lives within its branch area; and
 - (d) cooperating with other branches and Union bodies.
- (2) Each branch has the necessary powers to:
 - (a) carry out its responsibilities; and
 - (b) advocate for local campaigns.

22 Branch leadership team

- (1) The following two branch leadership positions are elected by the membership of the branch:
 - (a) Branch Secretary; and
 - (b) Branch Treasurer.
- (2) The Branch Secretary and Branch Treasurer must be signatories to the relevant branch's bank account, should one exist.
- (3) The branch must decide how it elects branch leadership positions.
- (4) A Branch Secretary is responsible for:
 - (a) coordinating branch meetings; and
 - (b) should a branch lack a Branch Treasurer, performing the treasurer's duties.
- (2) Branch Treasurers are responsible for managing the relevant branches:
 - (a) bank accounts;
 - (b) membership records; and

(c) merchandise inventory.

23 Convening a branch meeting

A Governing Committee meeting may be convened:

- (1) in exceptional circumstances by the Governing Committee;
- (2) in accordance with any procedure made under [Part 4, clause 26](#); or
- (3) in the absence or failure of any such procedure, in accordance with any procedure made by the Governing Committee.

24 Notice of a branch meeting

Branch members must be given adequate notice of each meeting.

25 Quorum of a branch meeting

The quorum for a branch meeting is:

- (1) for branches with 30 or more members, five branch members; and
- (2) for other branches, three branch members.

26 Proceedings of a branch meeting

- (1) A branch meeting must decide its own agenda.
- (2) The branch must outline how a proposal that is put to a vote is passed.
- (3) An abstention does not constitute a vote in favour or against.

27 Additional procedures of a branch meeting

The branch may, by a proposal, make additional meeting procedures.



Part 5: Committees

28 Creating a Committee

- (1) A Committee that focuses on a specific topic may be formed or abolished by a vote of the Governing Committee.
- (2) The Governing Committee may delegate powers to Committees.

29 Proceedings of a Committee

- (1) Until the Committee is abolished, the Committee Chair will be subject to election after a one-year term at a Committee meeting.
- (2) Committees must make decisions democratically regarding matters under the topics for which they were created.
- (3) Committees may make their own rules about membership requirements, subject to approval by the Governing Committee.

30 Committee Chairs

- (1) Committee Chairs are responsible for:
 - (a) calling and organising the meetings of their Committee;
 - (b) managing their Committee's bank account and funds;
 - (c) keeping good records that members can examine; and
 - (d) providing quarterly and annual written reports to the membership.
- (2) A Committee Chair must be elected at the next Committee meeting after a committee is formed, unless the Constitution or the Governing Committee justifies otherwise.

Part 6: Financial Matters

31 Financial year

The financial year of the Union is the year ending on 30 June.

32 Commitment to decolonisation

- (1) 10% of the Union's total gross income must be donated to a First Nations run and focused organisation(s) every financial quarter.
- (2) At such a time as a current First Nations organisation dissolves receiving donations, or the Union membership would like to elect an alternative organisation or organisations to donate funds to
 - (a) This must be done with the advice and direction of a First Nations Committee of members from the Union.
 - (b) If a First Nations Committee does not select First Nations organisation(s) to donate to within 30 days, advice must be sought from First Nations organisations and decided at the next Governing Committee.

33 Union financial decisions

- (1) Financial decisions are to be approved by the Governing Committee, except as provided for in a budget.
- (2) Budgets are to be approved by the Governing Committee.
- (3) Expenditure provided for within a budget is at the discretion of:
 - (a) the Secretary and Treasurer; and
 - (b) should the budget be associated with a Committee, the relevant Committee Chair.
- (4) Expenditures are to be reported by the Treasurer.

34 Committee financial decisions

- (1) When a budget is proposed, it may be proposed in association with a current Committee.
- (2) If approved, the budgeted funds may be provided from the general Union account and kept in a new account for the Committee.
- (3) The Secretary, Treasurer, and the relevant Committee Chair will have access and be the signatory to each Committee's bank accounts.
- (4) If a Committee is abolished, its bank account will be closed, and all funds returned to the Union's general account.

35 Branch financial decisions

- (1) When a budget is proposed, it may be proposed in association with a current Branch.
- (2) If approved, the budgeted funds may be provided from the general Union account and kept in a new account for the Branch.
- (3) The Secretary, Treasurer, and the relevant Branch Treasurer will have access and be the signatory to each Branches bank accounts.
- (4) If a Branch is abolished, its bank account will be closed, and all funds returned to the Union's general account.



Part 7: Auxiliary Matters

36 General meetings

- (1) The Governing Committee:
 - (a) may convene a general meeting;
 - (b) must convene a general meeting within 50 days if two branches, by proposals made within 30 days, call for one;
 - (c) must convene an annual general meeting in accordance with the Associations Incorporation Reform Act 2012;
 - (d) must decide the way that notice of general meetings and proposed special resolutions must be given;
 - (e) must report on its work and the affairs of the Union and answer members' questions;
 - (f) must give each member at least 21 days written notice of a general meeting, and must be given in accordance with the Associations Incorporation Reform Act 2012
 - (g) must make the procedure for general meetings;
 - (h) must keep minutes of each general meeting; and
 - (i) make those minutes, the documents listed in [Part 7, clause 35](#), and any other written reports presented to the meeting available to members.
- (2) At least 21 days before an annual general meeting, the Governing Committee must give each member:
 - (a) the audited financial statements and the report of the audit of those statements;
 - (b) an annual report on its work and the affairs of the Union; and
 - (c) written notice of any proposed special resolution it has received from a member.
- (3) Each member is entitled to attend, speak and vote at each general meeting.
- (4) The quorum for a general meeting is 20 members.
- (5) The only resolutions that a general meeting may make are special resolutions or ceremonial resolutions.
- (6) A proposed special resolution is passed if at least:
 - (a) 20 members vote; and
 - (b) 75% of the members voting at the meeting vote in favour.

37 Miscellany

- (1) The Union does not have a common seal.
- (2) This Constitution, along with its associated bylaws, comprises the rules of the Union.
- (3) This Constitution may be altered in accordance with the Associations Incorporation Reform Act 2012.



Schedule 1: Office bearers

1 Office bearers

The following nine office bearer positions are elected by the membership:

- (1) Secretary;
- (2) Treasurer;
- (3) Assistant Treasurer of Expenditure;
- (4) Communications Officer;
- (5) Social Media Officer;
- (6) Operations Officer;
- (7) Campaigns Officer;
- (8) Renters Rights Officer; and
- (9) Membership Officer.

2 Office bearer powers and responsibilities

- (1) The Secretary is responsible for:
 - (a) maintaining accurate membership lists and archives of Governing Committee and General Membership Meeting notes;
 - (b) providing quarterly and annual written reports to the membership;
 - (c) producing the annual referendum ballot;
 - (d) ensuring the production of a quarterly membership bulletin;
 - (e) acting as Chair of the Governing Committee; and
 - (f) convening Governing Committee meetings and providing all members of the Governing Committee with a draft agenda no fewer than 7 days beforehand unless there are extenuating circumstances.
- (2) The Treasurer is responsible for:
 - (a) chairing a Finance Committee and ensuring it is functioning
 - (b) managing the Union's bank accounts and funds;
 - (c) keeping accurate financial records;
 - (d) providing quarterly and annual written reports to the membership; and
 - (e) taking, compiling and distributing the minutes of the Governing Committee.
- (3) The Assistant Treasurer of Expenditure is responsible for:
 - (a) maintaining accurate records of Union budgets;
 - (b) ensuring that Union budgets are not exceeded;
 - (c) executing all authorised expenses of the Union; and
 - (d) any delegated tasks from the Treasurer.
- (4) The Communications Officer is responsible for:
 - (a) chairing a Communications Committee and ensuring it is functioning
 - (b) ensuring a Communications Committee is established, functioning and chaired;
 - (c) mailing the bulletin to individual members who request a paper copy; and
 - (d) any delegated tasks from the Secretary.
- (5) The Social Media Officer is responsible for:
 - (a) chairing a Social Media Committee and ensuring it is functioning;
 - (b) any delegated tasks from the Secretary.
- (6) The Operations Officer is responsible for:
 - (a) chairing an Operations Committee and ensuring it is functioning;
 - (b) developing, maintaining, and improving all digital systems for the Union; and



- (c) any delegated tasks from the Secretary.
- (7) The Campaigns Officer is responsible for:
 - (a) chairing an Organising Committee and ensuring it is functioning;
 - (b) coordinating the strategic advocacy and campaigns of the Union;
 - (c) ensuring an Organising Committee is established, functioning and chaired; and
 - (d) any delegated tasks from the Secretary.
- (8) The Renters Rights Officer is responsible for:
 - (a) chairing a Renters Rights Committee and ensuring it is functioning;
 - (b) ensuring a Renters Rights Committee is established, functioning and chaired; and
 - (c) any delegated tasks from the Secretary.
- (9) The Membership Officer is responsible for:
 - (a) ensuring a majority of the members are in good standing;
 - (b) maintaining accurate records of the Union members' financial standing; and
 - (c) any delegated tasks from the Treasurer.
- (10) The Secretary and Treasurer must be signatories on all of the Union's bank accounts.
- (11) The Assistant Treasurer of Expenditure must be an additional signatory on the Union's expenses bank account.

Schedule 2: Office bearer elections

1 Scheduled elections

- (1) An election must be held each year, beginning with a call for nominations no earlier than 1 November and ending with the declaration of elected candidates no later than 31 December.
- (2) All office bearer positions become vacant for election at a scheduled election for a term:
 - (a) beginning on 1 January of the year after the scheduled election, or on the day the election is declared, whichever is later; and
 - (b) ending on 31 December the year after the scheduled election.
- (3) During a scheduled election, the Returning Officer must:
 - (a) publish a notice to the membership calling for nominations for all relevant positions;
 - (b) run a nomination period of 7 days;
 - (c) announce the eligible candidates within 7 days after the nomination period has ended; and
 - (d) run a voting period of 7 days.

2 By-elections

- (1) A by-election may be held if there are any casual vacancies that are not already open for election at a scheduled election.
- (2) The term of an office bearer elected to fill a casual vacancy:
 - (a) begins when they are declared elected or when the vacancy arises, whichever is later; and
 - (b) ends when the term of the vacancy was due to end.
- (3) During a by-election, the Returning Officer must:
 - (a) publish a notice to the membership calling for nominations for all relevant positions;
 - (b) run a nomination period of 7 days;
 - (c) announce the eligible candidates within 3 days after the nomination period has ended; and
 - (d) run a voting period of 7 days.

3 Returning Officer

- (1) The Returning Officer must:
 - (a) be deemed ineligible for all positions undergoing election;
 - (b) deem what modes of campaigning are prohibited;
 - (c) develop detailed rules and guidelines pertaining to the preferential voting system and make them available to all members before voting;
 - (d) declare, to the membership, which candidates are elected to which positions with respective candidate statements; and
 - (e) be elected at the October General Membership Branch meeting, to serve until the end of elections in December; or
 - (f) in the case of a by-election, be elected at the next General Membership Branch meeting.
- (2) The Returning Officer, where possible, must take special measures to increase representation for underrepresented groups across the overall membership.



4 Voting system and procedure

- (1) The voting system to be used for both scheduled elections and by-elections is the preferential voting system, wherein members rank the candidates according to their preferences.
- (2) Members will be provided with a ballot where they can rank the candidates in their order of preference, marking their most preferred candidate as number one, the second most preferred as number two, and so forth.
- (3) To facilitate a more diverse and representative set of office bearers:
 - (a) the option to “Seek Further Candidates” will automatically be included as a potential choice on the ballot; and
 - (b) if the “Seek Further Candidates” option receives the highest number of first preferences, the nomination process must be reopened as a by-election to allow for additional candidates to stand. The Returning Officer may seek external candidates.
- (4) The voting system operates as follows:
 - (a) in each round of counting, the candidate with the least number of first preferences is eliminated;
 - (b) the votes of the eliminated candidate are then redistributed according to the next available preference on each ballot; and
 - (c) this process continues until a candidate secures more than half of the valid votes, at which point they are declared the winner.
- (5) In the event of a tie where two or more candidates have an equal number of votes, a subsequent runoff voting round shall be initiated, involving only the tied candidates.
- (6) All election processes must ensure the anonymity of voters and the integrity and transparency of the election.

5 Office bearer election eligibility requirements

- (1) The eligibility requirements for election as an office bearer are:
 - (a) candidates must have maintained continuous good standing for at least one year prior to their nomination unless there are no other qualified candidates available; and
 - (b) no office bearer may serve more than three consecutive terms in the same role unless there are no other qualified candidates available.
- (2) All members in good standing on 1 December are eligible to vote.

6 Office bearer vacation of office

- (1) An office bearer ceases to hold office if:
 - (a) they resign by giving four weeks’ written notice to the Secretary, or, in the case of the Secretary, to the Governing Committee, and such notice must not be withdrawn;
 - (b) they are no longer a member under [Part 2, clause 7](#) or no longer a voting member;
 - (c) they are removed from office under [Schedule 2, clause 6\(2\)](#); or
 - (d) they are removed from office by special resolution.
- (2) The Governing Committee may provide, in relation to subsequent Governing Committee meetings only, that office bearers are removed from office if they fail to attend a specified number of Governing Committee meetings within a specified period. An office bearer is not regarded as failing to attend a Governing Committee meeting if the Governing Committee has granted them leave.

Schedule 3: Delegates

1 Delegates

Delegates are elected by the membership of the branch they are a part of.

2 Delegate powers and responsibilities

A delegate is responsible for:

- (1) being the voice and vote of their branch's members; and
- (2) consulting their branch and receiving instructions on how to vote on administrative decisions.

3 Delegate elections

- (1) The eligibility requirements for election as a delegate include, but are not limited to:
 - (a) candidates must have maintained continuous good standing for at least six months prior to their nomination unless there are no other qualified candidates available; and
 - (b) branches are, starting with a default of two delegates, entitled to an additional delegate each time they exceed an increment of 15 members.
- (2) A branch must, by a proposal, make any other additional election procedures and requirements.

4 Delegate vacation of office

- (1) An office bearer ceases to hold office if:
 - (a) they resign by giving written notice to the Secretary, and such notice must not be withdrawn;
 - (b) they are no longer a member under [Part 2, clause 7](#) or no longer a voting member;
 - (c) they are removed from office as they no longer meet any requirements made under [Schedule 3, clause 3\(2\)](#);
 - (d) they are removed from office under [Schedule 3, clause 4\(2\)](#); or
 - (e) they are removed from office by special resolution.
- (2) The branch of the delegate may provide, in relation to subsequent Governing Committee meetings only, that delegates are removed from office if they fail to attend a specified number of Governing Committee meetings within a specified period. A delegate is not regarded as failing to attend a Governing Committee meeting if the Governing Committee or branch has granted them leave.

Schedule 4: Transitional Provisions

1 Definitions

In this Schedule:

- (1) **New Office Bearers** means Office Bearers under this Constitution;
- (2) **Old Constitution** means the Constitution of the Union immediately before this Constitution comes into force;
- (3) **Old Office Bearers** means Office Bearers under the Old Constitution; and
- (4) **transition date** means 1 January 2024.

2 Transitional scheme

- (1) Subject to the rest of this Schedule, the provisions of this Constitution come into force on the transition date.
- (2) The term of office of each Old Office Bearers under the Old Constitution that would otherwise have ended after 31 December 2023 ends on the transition date.
- (3) This Schedule is repealed on the day after the transition date.

3 Election of New Office Bearers

- (1) The Returning Officer must be elected, and the election must be run as a scheduled election under this Constitution, except:
 - (a) [Schedule 2, clause 1](#) would take on the meaning: "An election must be held each year, beginning with a call for nominations no earlier than 1 October and ending with the declaration of elected candidates no later than 31 November."
 - (b) [Schedule 2, clause 2\(a\)](#) would take on the meaning: "beginning on 1 December of the year of the scheduled election, or on the day the election is declared, whichever is later; and".
- (2) All nine New Office Bearer positions are open for election held in 2023.
- (3) Each member is eligible to vote in the scheduled election held in 2023.

4 Powers of the New Office Bearers during transition

- (1) Decisions made by the New Office Bearers before the transition date take effect on the transition date.
- (2) By the transition date, the New Office Bearers must establish Union branches and provide arrangements that functionally reproduce:
 - (a) the Committee arrangements in the Old Constitution; and
 - (b) the bylaws and existing policies made under the Old Constitution.

