



Political-discourse interactions and sustainable peace in Nigeria

Research article

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Abstract

Political-discourse interactions between government officials and citizen are increasingly becoming common discourse events in Nigeria. There is seemingly nothing unfamiliar about political discourse events, but what needs clarification is the extent to which political discourse interactions foster and or enhance sustainable peace. This study, however, investigated the political-discourse events of ‘The Ministerial Platforms’ and ‘National Good Governance Tours’ of Nigeria to determine how they enhance sustainable peace. Djik’s Action theory and Halliday’s Systemic Functional Linguistics served as theoretical framework. Analysis revealed that increased political-Discourse interactions between government officials and the citizenry shortened the gap between the governed and those who govern, thus bridging disharmony, disillusionment, apathy, agitations and grievances through information eliciting strategy realised through probing by questioning, Emotive embedded strategy through entreaties by pleas, Campaign strategy through agitations by direct demands and Affirmative Strategy through applauses and commendations, as what the citizenry used.

Keywords: discourse strategies, political discourse, sustainable peace



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Introduction

Peaceful coexistence by humans is seen not as the absence of conflict(s) but as the ability to manage and resolve conflicts arising from human relations; so that there is no total state of chaos and disharmony amongst individuals, communities and nationalities. This is against the backdrop that conflict is an inevitable concept, first amongst or within individuals themselves, and or among communities and between nations. There is a likely assumption that there is seemingly nothing new to learn about peaceful coexistence as there are a myriad of systematic works in this area, but it is yet unclear how political-discourse interactions foster peaceful coexistence. This study thus investigates political-discourse interactions under the platforms of The Ministerial Platforms (TMPs) and the National Good Governance Tours (NGGTs) of Nigeria to determine how the interactions contribute to sustainable peace in the nation.

Literature review

Extant literature indicates that most of what obtains as political discourses have concentrated on aspects that constitute ceremonial speeches, parliamentary debates, courts pronouncements, political campaigns and manifestoes by identifying pragmatics features, style and various types and uses of metaphors and rhetorical devices. For instance, Alo (2008) illustrates how political actors present proposals to the public in a language that speaks of preferred norms and values in a bid to persuade. Taiwo (2008) examined the linguistic features in the broadcast by Olusegun Obasanjo, the former president of Nigeria, on August 25, 2002 and revealed the discourse was characterized by the profuse use of personal pronouns, coupling, strings of words, analogy, repetition and eight types of metaphor. Adetunji (2006) also analysed two speeches by Obasanjo, focusing on his use of deixis. He demonstrated through the speeches how politicians use rhetoric to associate and dissociate themselves from their actions. Opeibi (2006) looked at negative political advertising in Nigerian newspapers by providing a structural and functional description of the emerging trends in negative advertising during political campaigns in Nigeria. He observed that, most political office seekers abandoned positive, issue-focused, image-building campaigns and rather engaged in rhetorical strategies of direct attacks on their opponents. His findings are corroborated by Taiwo (2007), who identified political satire as the major campaign strategy of Nigerian politicians during the 2007 general elections in the country. Also, Opeibi (2007) discusses how Nigerian politicians demonstrate their multilingual creativity. Showing how politicians engage both English and indigenous languages alongside the pidginize version of English in their bid to persuade. In all these studies and more it is observed that focus is not adequately given in how political discourses particularly aspects of political interactions bring about sustainable peace in the country; a situation that this study seeks to address.

Theoretical framework

The study adopts van Dijk (1980)’s Action Theory (AT); which prescribes that discourse strategies involve human actions that are goal-oriented, intentional and conscious and they are geared toward the control of behaviour. Actions in this context are specific kinds of discourse events and devices. They are particular ways of changing specific states of affairs into some other states of affairs. The change brought about are caused by the actions to control the cognitive information, purpose, desire, preference and decision of one affected by the action (van Dijk and Kintsch, 1983). AT also indicates that “actions (and their result) are to bring about some desired goals: a state of event that is a direct consequence of the actions” (van Dijk and Kintsch, 1983:63). This entails that intentions are represented in particular discourse actions, which when considered with the result stemming from the action, indicate whether the purpose/goal of the action has succeeded or failed. The basic assumption of this theory is that, representations of doings and their results equal intentions, that is to say, goals are how language representations meet desired outcomes. AT advocates that strategies are categorised into three (3): cognitive – which deal with mental appeals; language based – made up of sentence-based and grammatical, and discourse strategies. The figure below illustrates the theory.

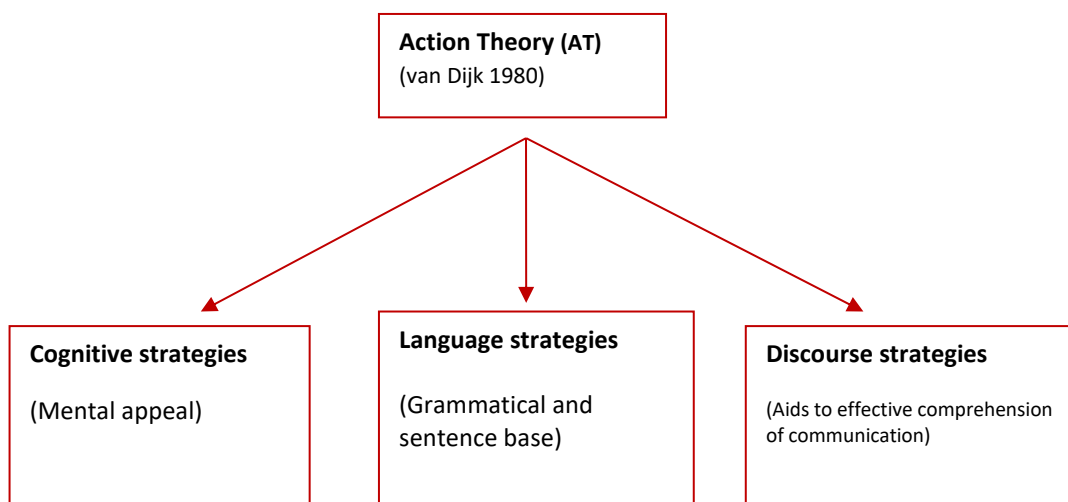


Fig. 1: Categories of the Action Theory

Methodology

Data for this study are political discourse interactions of The Ministerial Platforms (TMP) and the National Good Governance Tour (NGGT) of Nigeria that increasingly became common political events in Nigeria from 2012 with the growth of democracy in Nigeria. The study randomly selected 12 out of 40 interactions that were sourced for use in this study; by taking one interaction from each of the six geo-political regions of Nigeria in the NGGTs, and six TMPs.

These interactions were sourced through downloads, and live recordings on national television and radio. The interactions got were played over, listened to, and transcribed verbatim. The transcribed version of the interactions became the source of data for the study and subjected to a discourse analysis to determine strategies deployed in the interactions and how sustainable peace is brought about.

Data Analysis

What are political discourse interactions?

Political discourse interactions constitute an aspect of public sphere dialogues that are social in nature, where members of the public come together to freely discuss and identify societal problems and through discussions influence political actions. They are discourse events in which people meet for deliberations on matters of mutual interest to possibly reach a common judgment about issues. They constitute a sphere of social life in which public opinions on issues of communal interests are formed. This discourse event is said to have emerged sometimes in the 18th century to solidify participatory democracy, and ensure that public opinions become political actions, (Habermas, 1989). The excerpt below taken from one of the interactive session being studied gives a summation of what the interactions are all about:

...as you are already aware the ministerial platform is an initiative of the federal ministry of information, it is designed to promote a national conversation and a good governance culture, to ensure accountability, transparency and popular participation by the citizenry in the governance process (Peter Dama)

Excerpt from the Ministerial platform for the Ministries of works and transport

From the foregoing, it is observed that the basic idea about political discourse interactions is that government laws and policies should be steered by the people, and that the only legitimate governments are those that listen to the people. Hence, democratic governance especially relies on the rights of citizens to engage in enlightened debates with those in the reins of governance. Hence, the interactions that form the target of investigation in this study qualify and constitute political discourse interactions, as they are interactive encounters with government officials and citizens in town-hall meetings to deliberate and set agendas for governance and demand accountability from elected and appointed officials of government.

What discourse strategies are identified in the texts?

Content analyses of the texts indicate that discourse strategies identified in the texts are distinguished amongst participants involved in the interaction: government ministers and the citizens. The identified strategies are first represented in below before discussions. The discourse strategies identified are devices of language use, deployed to enhance effective communication. The classifications of the strategies are based on who used which the more

as they were profusely used in texts being studied. Some of these strategies are deployed to help manipulate language, to transmit the language user's message and intent. As aids to effective communication, their appropriate use adds to the beauty, emphasis and a platform to enhance the use of language in bringing about harmonious co-existence amongst government and the governed. A content analysis of the texts identified discourse strategies in the interactions and their functions to include the following:

- a. strategies as mostly used by the citizenry
 - i. Information eliciting strategy realised through probing by questioning - for response elicitation
 - ii. Emotive embedded strategy realised through entreaties by pleas - to elicit reactions
 - iii. Campaign strategy realised through agitating: by direct demands - to stir up or instigate actions
 - iv. Affirmative Strategy realised through applauses and commendations - to encourage government's actions.

- b. Strategies as mostly used by government officials

On the other hand, the government ministers and other officials through their narratives employed various strategies as the responded/reacted to the citizens, to inform, educate, and alter the perception and actions of the populace of their activities, through:

- v. Descriptive strategy: this involves the use of metaphors - to illustrate and achieve conviction
- vi. Evidence based strategy: this is done with the use of statistics - to foreground facts and inspire belief
- vii. Credibility building strategy through positive self-presentation - this gives credence and builds the confidence of the people in the government.
- viii. Reiterative strategy: this involves repetitions, - for emphasis to enhance beliefs
- ix. Interest arousing strategy: this requires using rhetorical questions - to stimulate desire, heighten interest and convince people
- x. Nerve relaxing strategy: this entails the use of humour - to dowse tension, relax nerves, create rapport and influence actions

How do political discourse interactions engender sustainable peace

This type of discourse event is said to ensure sustainable peace in the nation as it solidifies participatory democracy, and ensures that public opinions become political actions, as government laws and policies are steered by the people through:

Information eliciting strategy as realised through probing questions to elicit responses

Information eliciting strategy is a scheme that seeks to extract from discourse participants relevant information and responses relating to an issue. This strategy is identified to be mostly

used by the citizenry. The strategy depicted the acts of the citizenry in demanding from their elected and appointed government officials, answers on issues of concern. It is envisaged that asking questions bridges the gap of misunderstandings / misconceptions that engenders disharmony. This strategy is seen as engendering sustainable peace as removing aspects that will bring about disharmony is tantamount to engendering peace. The following excerpts illustrate some of these probes.

Excerpt 1:

A group recently said that they are ready to declare for the sovereign state of Biafra on the 20th of February, in Enugu. Sir, what steps are you taking to ensure that this is not carried out in your state? Since this will bring about disunity and a likely disintegration of Nigeria. Having seen the painful experience, we went through considering the civil war we went through as a country?

Olufemi Adebayo – Ibadan

Excerpt 2:

The issue of waste management has been a major problem in Enugu, what are you doing to clean up the city in particular?

Amaka Obinna

Excerpts from NGGT interactive session in Enugu

From the foregoing, it is observed that the act of probing through questioning is used to elicit information from a fellow participant in the interactions. Probing entails an investigation, or an enquiry into an issue to get answers. Often enquiries or investigations are necessary when the issue in question is obscure and uncertain. The party probing therefore enquires or investigates in order to bring clarity and certainty to the hitherto obscure situation or circumstance so that there is harmonious coexistence between those who govern and the governed.

In excerpt 1 the speaker demands to know from a state governor, what is being done on an issue looming in the state, and thus asked, “Sir, what steps are you taking to ensure that this is not carried out in your state?” This clear case of one seeking information, of someone who is demanding answers on something he/she does not know. Similarly, in excerpt 2, another speaker raised another issue that relates to waste management and the cleanliness of the state and sought to know, if the state government had made any efforts in addressing the issue. Again, what is observed is a case of information elicitation, as the speaker asks, “What are you doing to clean up the city in particular?”

The discourse strategy of probing as exemplified in the WH questions in the excerpts thus serve to elicit responses from government ministers and other officials. We see how the citizens exploit the opportunity and privilege provided by these political interactions to

demand, comment and advice accordingly those in positions of authority so that insinuations and assumptions are eliminated thus making room for sustainable peace in the country.

Emotive strategy realised through entreaties and pleas to elicit reactions

Emotive strategies are schemes that appeal to human sentiments in order to attract particular responses. Often when sentiments are brought up on issues, they are done to draw up compassion and sympathy in order to get the needed reaction or response from others. This act of using emotional appeals is adopted as a strategy in texts. These are represented in the form of appeals, requests, entreaties, or supplications, which are made for beseeching the other party in the interactions in order to act as beseeched by the one making the plea. This is typified in texts mainly by the citizenry, who implore the government through its officials, and or their representatives for basic infrastructural necessities. The excerpts below exemplify how this strategy manifests in the texts.

Excerpt 3:

... We don't have water in Ashara layout and Idom layout. Please acting governor, do something about this water problem in order to avoid the outbreak of water borne diseases in the state.

Blessing Chukwuma

Excerpt 4:

I want to plead with the federal government to liaise with the state government so as to know what to do with ANAMCO that is almost fizzling out, it has lost more than 80% of its work force in Enugu state and if care is not taken, before the next few months ANAMCO will fizzle out completely from Enugu. Can you not help ANAMCO to join up with INOSON to continue vehicle manufacturing?

IGWE H.R.H

Excerpts from the NGGT interactive session in Enugu state

Different approaches are used to realize this strategy in the excerpts. The approaches range from pleading, to asking, to beseeching and so on. Whatever the term used, the goal tends to evoke emotions by entreating the people concerned to react or respond in a given way. In excerpt 3 the speaker, apparently an indigene of the state in question, decries the lack of pipe-borne water in a settlement and pleads, "Please acting governor, do something..." The plea prompted by the word 'please' is a scheme that appeals to the emotions of whoever is being addressed, to respond, hence, the position that schemes such as this are emotive strategies. Similarly, excerpt 4 expresses another form of emotional appeal. Pleading is an entreaty that appeals to the emotions, likewise the call for help, is a call for a form of assistance that makes

possible something that the one being helped cannot possibly do alone, or that will take a longer time for one to do. Therefore, this scheme is argued to be an emotive strategy.

Campaign strategy realised through agitations, by direct demands to instigate reactions

This campaign strategy realised through agitations are identified with the citizenry. It comes in the form of outright demands on the part of the citizenry to government officials that stir the government to act in particular ways. This strategy differs from pleas/beseeching that was considered in the previous section. This is to the extent that while pleas entreat and weep up sentiments to the other party to respond. Agitations demand or claim as a right that which is being called for. The excerpts that follow demonstrate some of these agitations in text.

Excerpt 5:

The federal government should be prepared to repair the road to the proposed dam at Akuke. The more pragmatic the process, the better, as the present erosion prone, time consuming meanders only aid in further degrading the landscape. Invest in getting the road job properly done and the business of dam construction shall be on course and hopefully in good time.

Jasper Ohumere – from Canada via email

From the above excerpt, and the manner of presentations, it is obvious that the speaker is not making a plea. Rather, we see someone who is demanding for things that are more-or-less a right. Hence, the study argues that these acts constitute campaigns, as the people are fighting for their rights and not things that are a concession. By campaigns it entails planned and organised series of actions that are intended to achieve specific goals, especially fighting for or against something, or raising people's awareness over an issue. These were seen to be realised in texts through agitations that came about by outright demands, particularly by the citizenry, for particular actions to be taken or for certain actions to be receded.

Affirmative strategy through applauses and commendations, to encourage more efforts

To affirm is to give ones approval and indicate agreement to a cause. Affirmative strategy in this regard entails those aspects where participants concur on issues. It is expressed in the form of praises, approval and or appreciation particularly by the citizenry, for what the government has done or is doing for the people. This is done to motivate the party being approved of, to do more. The following excerpt captures one of such from the texts.

Excerpt 6:

I am particularly impressed with comrade Labaran Maku in his familiar gesture a while ago. Very recent pictures pasted on the website show the minister in

Akuuke Ugunaun, in Enugu giving some female students school dropouts' assistance to enable them complete their service. That to me is leadership by example and good governance to the poor.

Ehenacho – from Oxford, North Carolina

Excerpt from the NGGT interactive session in Enugu

In excerpt, the speaker, a Nigerian living in the Diaspora, and following the events of the interactions via the internet, acknowledges some gestures of someone that championed the interactive events being investigated.

Discourse strategies by government ministers/officials

Government ministers in this study include state officials like federal government ministers, state governors, commissioners and other functionaries of government, who were participants in the interactions being studied. As it is with all interactions, both sides employ different strategies to achieve communicative goals. Government ministers in their narratives, as they briefed, reacted and responded to the citizens on their stewardship deployed varied strategies. The sum of the identified discourse strategies are considered below.

Descriptive strategies: using metaphors as mental conceptions to illustrate facts

Description is a process of evoking graphically or pictorially, ideas to aid understanding using language. Metaphor is usually the device that is commonly used to describe and illustrate things and events. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) refer to metaphors as mental conceptions, which are pictorial or mental representations of concepts by illustrations. This concept as observed in the study's content analysis, featured prominently in the texts. Metaphors identified were categories into:

a. Metaphors of Movement: DEVELOPMENT IS A JOURNEY

Excerpt 7:

...so we ask for patience by all Nigerians... we are fixing those things, we may not be going as fast as we want, but the president and all of us are committed...

b. Metaphors of life and death – THE NATION IS DISEASED

Excerpt 8:

...if there is this spirit of continuity, our railway system will not be in this comatose state that we met it today...

Excerpt from the NGGT interaction in Ilorin, Kwara state

c. Building and construction metaphors – POLITICIANS ARE BUILDERS

Excerpt 9:

... the last thing I want to tell you is on the... second Niger Bridge... recently the preferred bidder for the road was announced... the second Niger Bridge, which we will build; it is a huge investment...

Excerpt from the NGGT interaction in Kaduna state

This strategy which deploys mental conceptions to paint scenarios helps to relate how national development is brought about as speakers appeal to Nigerians for patience, a sign of understanding; claiming that they, who are in the reins of power are fixing the issues that will bring about development. Thus, in using metaphors speakers likened developmental processes to that of journey, by more-or-less equating the two processes in an analogy and by urging for patience and understanding from the citizenry.

Evidence based strategies: using statistics/ figures to enhance belief

This discourse strategy has to do with the giving of prominence and emphasis to statistics and facts, in order to draw attention to them and impress on the audience what one intends to pass on, in order to convince one's audience. Evidence, as the strategy presupposes, entails the demonstration with proof that something exists.

Excerpt 10:

...coming back to infrastructure... we are working on eleven airports. One of the airports is here in Bayelsa state...

Excerpt 11:

...if you look around the country, there are the ten new power plants the president is building, ten! Ten! 1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8,9,10! going on at the same time...

Excerpt from the NGGT interaction in Bayelsa state

From the sample excerpts presented above, it is observed that varied forms of facts are given to buttress statements made by participants in the interactions. Excerpt 10 for instance, affirms that, the administration in question, is working at improving air transportation. In this regard, the text states, "We are working on eleven airports. One of the airports is here..." This is an incidence of trying to buttress statements with facts. Not only is there a projection of the number of what is done to foreground its rate of recurrence in the country, one of the projects is there in the immediate environment of the participants for them to verify. This is what the evidence-based strategies implies

Similarly, excerpt 11 amplifies the argument for this strategy further. The text recounts that, "if you look around the country, there are ten new power plants the president is building, ten! Ten! 1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8,9,10! Going on at the same time" The way in which the figures are emphasised in the text draws attention to the importance the speaker is drawing with figures

as a proof to validate what is being said. This form of facts is given to buttress statements and aid beliefs, hence, the claim that they are evidence based.

Reiterative strategies achieved with repetitions for emphasis to enhance beliefs

To reiterate means to say or do something over and again. When participants in an interactive encounter decide to adopt this act of reiteration, one of two possible reasons is deducible. One reason is that the other party may not have heard or understood what was first said, hence, the need to repeat. The second reason is that, the point in question may be crucial, and hence, the need to say it over, so that the idea is embedded. It is in the light of the second reason that this strategy is considered. This discourse strategy, as indicated, tends to stress a point for the purpose of emphasis, thus making it more convincing and causing a reaction and a response from an audience. The excerpts below show how participants use this strategy in texts.

Excerpt 12:

...another objective of this program is to give the people a say. It is not just for people to be led. People must have their say; people must express their opinion. The people must be mobilized...

Excerpt 13:

...if there is this spirit of continuity, our railway system will not be in this comatose state... if there is this spirit of continuity, our power system will not be as bad as we see it today, if there is the spirit of continuity, our roads will not be as bad...

Excerpts from the NGGT interactions in Ilorin, Kwara state

From the sampled excerpts seen above, there is the deliberate and conspicuous use of repetition of particular items for reiterative purposes. In excerpt 12, the speaker repeats the word 'people' five (5) times. The perennial repetition of the word 'people', as seen in the text is obviously to ensure that its essence is entrenched in the receivers of the information. Similarly, excerpt 13 also features the repetition of language items in text. However, unlike the prior one that emphasised a single word, this text stresses on an entire subordinating clause, "if there is the spirit of continuity..." three times. The continuous repetition of the clause in the text is to draw attention to the menace that has characterised the lack of development in the country for so long.

Credibility building strategies: through positive self-presentation in order to be accepted

Credibility talks of trustworthiness, reliability, integrity and sincerity. It is when people do or say things to gain the trust of others, or make them be considered reliable, or as people of

integrity. The linguistic means for achieving this is what is tagged here as credibility-building devices or strategies. Investigations in this study indicate that some of these features, as described are found in the sample texts; and this section explicates some for illustration. The sampled excerpts below typifies this is found in texts.

Excerpt 14:

All of us the political class have accepted, that sometimes we can put our political quarrels aside, because what are we quarrelling about, we are always quarrelling about development so we can put aside our differences and discuss the progress we are making so that our people can have hope. It is not always that we have to behave as if we are facing another election. All over the world, when elections are over, you return to the timetable of development. I am in politics for development and that is why I will always go out to ensure that those of us who are given responsibilities as executives, legislative and appointive positions, we must do our best to meet the aspirations of the people.

Excerpts from the NGGT interaction in Nassarawa state

From the excerpt aspects of positive self-presentation are observed as the participants attempt to portray themselves as dependable and worthy of trust by the people. The speaker tries to portray himself as someone who is mindful of the people and is predisposed to protecting their interest.

Interest-arousing strategies: through the use of rhetorical questions: to create expectation

Arousing interest means to build or to stimulate expectations or desires towards something. Investigations in this study, through content analysis, revealed that this process was profusely used in text with the use of rhetorical questions. Rhetorical questions are posers thrown that do not require direct responses in terms of replies. Rather they get the listener(s) thinking, and thus create a desire or yearning to know or have more. These questions asked with no intention of eliciting answers, arouse interest and create rapport, as a means of aligning ones audience towards the speakers' point of view.

Excerpt 15:

In the past what happened? We didn't have enough power plants and even when we awarded the contracts, after ten years they still wouldn't be completed, which is the reason for our state of power instability. So, what has the president done? He implemented the power projects to take away bottle necks so that in the nearest future the private sector will take over the running of the power plants in generating and distributing power – steady power...

Excerpts from the NGGT Interactions in Kaduna, Kaduna state

In excerpt 15 the speaker juxtaposes what transpired in the past in terms of development, and what presently obtains, as at the time of the interactions. Hence, the speaker poses the question, “In the past what happened?” This question is to get the people to make some reflections. To fill in the quest created by the poser to be informed, the speaker recounts how the power sector has been allowed to degenerate. On the other hand, to project what it is the present administration is doing to redress the developmental gap in the sector, the speaker again poses another question, “So what has the president done?” With a second poser, the speaker is able to argue for measures, the administration has taken within the duration of its existence, to redress and ameliorate setbacks in the power sector of the country. The rhetorical questions served to build expectation, heighten interest, create rapport and set the atmosphere for a harmonious interaction to ensue. They constituted a veritable point whereby convictions/beliefs in text are given and taken.

Nerve-relaxing strategies: the use of humour: to douse tension, create rapport and influence actions

Nerves are a system of networking in the human body, which transmit messages in the form of impulses between the brain and all the other parts of the body, so that humans can carry on their daily routines effectively. To perform this function effectively, the nerves need to be in a relaxed – stress free, mode. The process of relaxing nerves can be through one of varied modes. First, relaxing the nerves can be achieved through resting and doing things that one considers pleasurable and that eases tension and anxiety. Investigations in this study, reveal that jokes or humour feature frequently in text as a means of easing off tension and anxiety. Thus, this aspect of jokes is seen as performing the strategy of relaxing nerves in texts. Humour constitutes 1.2% of the strategies identified and studied in this section. It has as elements, aspects of wit/ funniness/ hilarity/ jokes/ wittiness and comedy. What humorists exploit in language are paradoxes – things that are absurd or contradictory but which in fact may be true. Incongruities – these are strange combination of words and or events, which bring about absurdity, inappropriateness, inaptness, unease or a clash, but which at the end trigger amusement (Raskin, 1985). Some of these features manifest in texts, and the study highlights some aspects that climax such acts of humour in the excerpts below:

Excerpt 16:

Thank you very much to the Honourable Minister of Information for that very rousing welcome and for hosting us for this event. For my colleague, the Honourable Minister of Sports, I don't think it's coincidental that Sports and Finance are together today, because I'd always joked that if I was not the Minister of Finance, I'd love to be the Minister of Sports. So, I totally envy him in his job, especially now that we're winning.

(Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala) Ministerial Platform – Ministry of Finance

The concept of humour as used in the excerpts above is used in both a wide and a narrow sense. In the wide sense, it applies to all informal speech where the object is to amuse, or rouse laughter in the audience as in the excerpt.

Conclusion

From the foregoing, it is deducible that political-discourse interactions are social interactions in which members of the public come together to freely discuss and identify societal problems, and through discussions influence political actions. They constitute a discourse event in which people meet for deliberations on matters of mutual interest to possibly reach a common judgment about issues. They are a sphere of social life in which public opinions on issues of communal interests are formed from corporate deliberations. This discourse event ensures sustainable peace in the nation as it solidifies participatory democracy, and ensures that public opinions become political actions, as government laws and policies are steered by the people.

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