Online ISSN : 2249-460X
Print ISSN : 0975-587X
DOI : 10.17406/GJHSS

Global Journal

of Human Social Sciences: C

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Highlights

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Discovering Thoughts, Inventing Future

VOLUME 23 ISSUE 2 VERSION 1.0

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Volume 23 Issue 14 was originally issued as C2

Global Journal of Human-Social Science: C
Sociology & Culture

Global Journal of Human-Social Science: C
Sociology & Culture

Volume 23 Issue 2 (Ver. 1.0)

Open Association of Research Society

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Offset Typesetting

Global Journals Incorporated
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Packaging & Continental Dispatching

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Volume 23 Issue 14
Originally issued as C2



Global Journal of human-social science: C
Sociology & Culture
Volume 23 Issue 2 Version 1.0 Year 2023
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal
Publisher: Global Journals
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

Poultices Generated Mechanically with Compressed Air: “Gunpoint Mix System” Characterization and Properties. Comparison with “Handmade” Poultices

By Josep Gisbert Aguilar, Carmen de Peña, Jorge Mellado, Raquel Sanz & Cristina Antoni

University of Zaragoza

Abstract- The authors have developed an automated method ("Gunpoint mix”) (https://youtu.be/4uXC_ Oo P7EM) for the manufacture of poultrices. The properties of the cellulose poultrices placed manually with those placed with the "GunPoint Mix" method applied on stone substrates of known characteristics are compared. Arbocel® BWW40 is used in both cases. The physical parameters of the cellulose, the microscopic texture, the absorption and desorption properties, the penetration of a consolidating product and the ease of cleaning are measured. The main advantage of the "Gunpoint mix" method lies in the speed of the application that allows a very exact control of the application times. Given its good adhesion, it can be applied with the same speed in the roof and top of the vaults (upside down) without the risk of landslides. The water parameters of each type of poultrice, provide information to the restorer to decide on what type of treatment is more appropriate to use a handmade poultrice or a "Gunpoint mix” poultrice.

Keywords: paper pulp, poultrice, gunpoint mix, comparative, physical parameters, operability, hand-setting, automatic placement.

GJHSS-C Classification: DDC Code: 572.56682 LCC Code: QR160



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Poultices Generated Mechanically with Compressed Air: "Gunpoint Mix System" Characterization and Properties. Comparison with "Handmade" Poultices

Josep Gisbert Aguilar [α], Carmen de Peña [σ], Jorge Mellado [ρ], Raquel Sanz [ω] & Cristina Antoni [¥]

Abstract- The authors have developed an automated method ("Gunpoint mix") (https://youtu.be/4uXC_OoP7EM) for the manufacture of poultrices. The properties of the cellulose poultrices placed manually with those placed with the "GunPoint Mix" method applied on stone substrates of known characteristics are compared. Arbocel® BWW40 is used in both cases. The physical parameters of the cellulose, the microscopic texture, theabsorption and desorption properties, the penetration of a consolidating product and the ease of cleaning are measured. The main advantage of the "Gunpoint mix" method lies in the speed of the application that allows a very exact control of the application times. Given its good adhesion, it can be applied with the same speed in the roof and top of the vaults (upside down) without the risk of landslides. The water parameters of each type of poultrice, provide information to the restorer to decide on what type of treatment is more appropriate to use a handmade poultrice or a "Gunpoint mix" poultrice.

Keywords: paper pulp, poultrice, gunpoint mix, comparative, physical parameters, operability, hand-setting,automatic placement.

I. Introduction

In the field of the preservation-restoration of cultural heritage, it has been necessary to maintain substances in contact with the surface of the area to be treated in order to be more effective, and for this purpose different possibilities have been used.

The terminology related to application of absorbent materials on a surface is called "Poultice" [1] (English term), which in the Italian bibliography corresponds to "Papetta" or "impacco" [2], and to "Pasten und Kompressen" in Germanic terminology [3]. The term used in Spanish is "apósitos" [4] or "papeta" [5].

Handmade placement of poultices is slow and laborious, which makes it difficult to put them on site and to control the time of action on the products applied. During a long time, the authors havedeveloped an automatic projection method using compressed air to solve these problems and to work on large surfaces (including complete buildings). The physical properties of the resulting *"Gunpoint mix"* poultices (we will call them "*GPM*", they are produced by the use of compressed air), which have a quite different behavior from that of the "handmade poultice", had not been analyzed in detail yet. A comparative analysis of the two types of poultices is presented here.

The term "projected poultrice" is reserved for projection methods that release a previously mixed paste (mortar projection machines), which we consider to be very different from GPM.

We must point out that our automated method mixes cellulose fiber with water in the air (at gun point, see fig. 1 and [6]), which is a significant difference with other machines; generally adapted mortar projection machines that project a cellulose plaster with water that has been previously kneaded. Although initially it was the application time / ease that motivated us to use our automated method, its use made clear that the projected poultices had a different behavior from the handmade ones, so we finally carried out this characterization.

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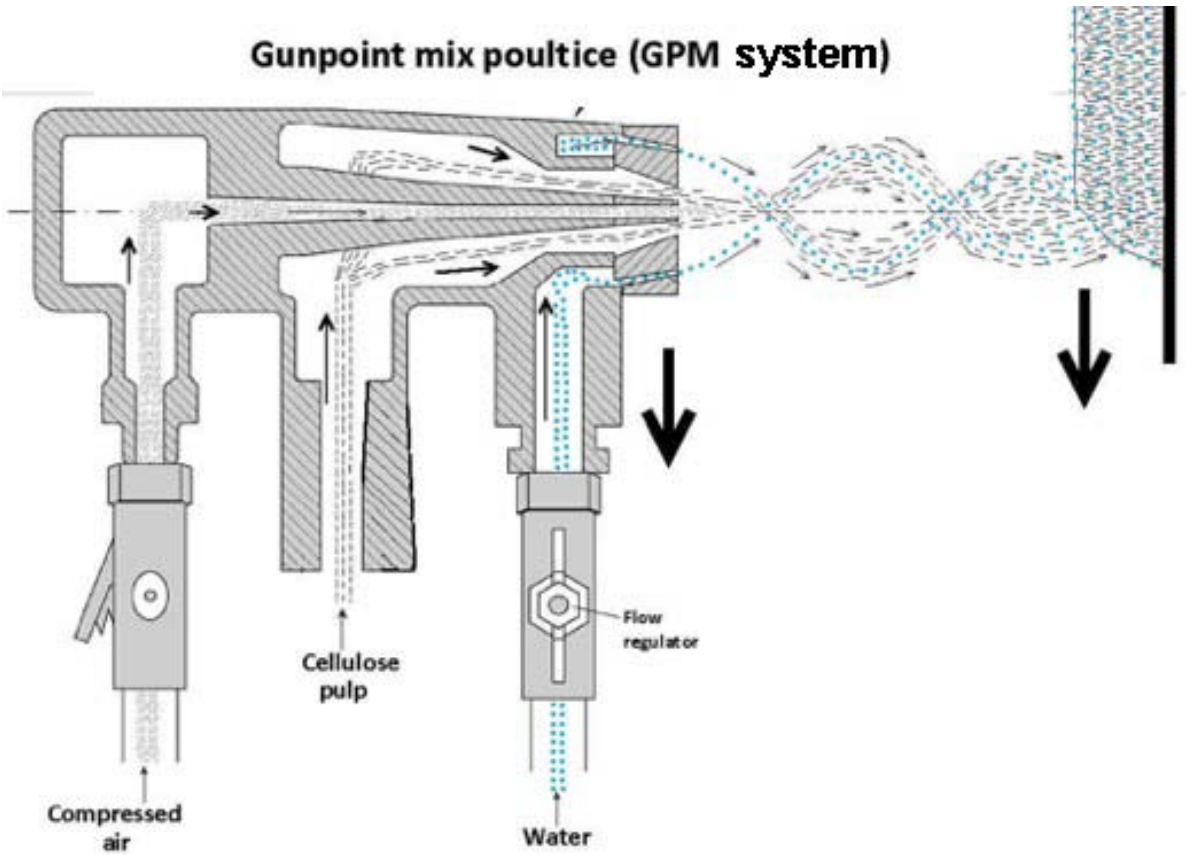


Figure 1: Operation of the gun. Gun Point Mix (GPM) system.

Note the helical path of the water flow. The gun has two small holes that project water at an angle that generates torsion of the air jet so that it produces a complete mixture of air with cellulose and water

II. Background

Classical works on restoration materials for the production of poultices [7] [8] Naud et Al 1990 (Redman 1999), establish the weight ratio between dry cellulose pulp and water of 1:5 as the optimal for workability and adhesion. In addition to characterizing the solid materials, they describe the flow and ebb of the liquid produced by the interaction of the two capillary systems (that of the pulp of paper and that of the substrate). This interaction between flows and ebbs, in its dynamic aspect, has not been studied in depth; we quote ([9] GISBERT) as the only case. Subsequent syntheses, focused mainly on desalination [10] Vergès-Belmin V. and Siedel H. (2005), investigate many aspects of the poultice-substrate system, although they do not characterize in detail the advection flows and ebbs. Most of the works focus on characterizing the porous system of the poultices and the substrate in desalination-oriented development. The main conclusion until 2005 was that in order to obtain a dominant advection towards the paper fiber (which is a necessary requirement for an efficient desalination), the poultice must have a finer porous system than that of the substrate.

[11] SAWDY A., HERITAGE A. and PEL L. (2008) studied the behavior of the poultice, indicating that it is based on the principles of diffusion and / or advection and that the efficiency of the method depends on the type of poultice, specifying that an average size of the poultice's pore diameter smaller than that of the substrate is recommended.

[12] [13] BOURGUIGNON 2009 synthesis describes all the previous experiences of automated projection systems and insists on the important role of the discontinuity between the poultice and the substrate in terms of the interaction between both subjects. This author studies the adhesion of the poultice (handmade) and establishes the optimum water values in the kneading in order to maximize adhesion. It must be noted that little attention has been paid to the methodologies of preparation and placement of the poultice in scientific literature until now; in this sense, the work of [13] Bourguignon is a remarkable contribution.

[14] Bourgès, A., and Vergès-Belmin, (2010) develop three tests to measure the consistency, workability and degree of adhesion of a poultice inspired in the tests used to characterize the setting of mortars. [15] Lubelli B., van Hees R.P.J.2010 and [16] Verges-Belmin et al.

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2011 characterize the poultices with different Arbocel® ® fibers and study its workability indicating that the optimum humidity is Wc = 3.5 and 4 for BWW40; Wc = 4.5, 5, 5.5 and 6 for BC200, BC1000, and mixture BC1000/BWW40. They also study the retraction during drying, concluding that it is of the order of 4 to 9% depending on the humidity of the air and the connection with the substrate. The stronger and thinner the adhesion of the poultice to the substrate is, the smaller the contraction will be. In order to work with cellulose poultices, substrate porosity greater than 15µm and not lower than 10µm is recommended.

Regarding the way in which the poultice is elaborated and placed, we can establish that [17] Fassina et Al describe for the first time the manufacture of a poultice with a mechanical system of mortar projection. [18] Ettl, H. et M. Krus. 2003 indicate that the contact between poultice and substrate is a discontinuity that constitutes the main factor in the loss of effectiveness of the treatments. [19] Michael Auras (2008) cites that he elaborates poultices with mortar projecting machines and indicates that with those machines it is possible to inject particles into the substrate and that it is also convenient to interpose Washi (Japanese paper). [20] Gisbert et al (2011) patented a poultice projection system that mixes Arbocel® with water at gunpoint (GunPoint Mix system) [6], system that was used in this research. This system has been used in several restoration works. [21] Although there are citations about the use of projection systems, there are no studies regarding the variation of properties between projected poultices and handmade poultices.

III. Objectives

Characterizing the differences in physical characteristics and the behavior of cellulose fiber poultices depending on the type; this is, handmade poultice or Gunpoint mix poultice (made with an automated projection system).

IV. Methodology

a) Materials (Table 1)

In order to elaborate the poultices, both "Handmade" and "GPM", Arbocel® fibers with a size of BWW40 (from Arbocel®) and an average length of 200 µm were used. Other fibers were not used because the projection system gets clogged with longer fibers. However, it is possible to project the BWW40 with clays, but this possibility is not explored in this first publication.

In order to carry out the microscopic observation of the poultices, these were consolidated with Gurit SP 115 epoxy resin with yellow Struers Epodye dye (6135-1431). For microscopy, the preparations were performed in the SAI of the Universidad of Zaragoza, and viewed in a polarized light microscope. For the observation at higher magnifications a SEM (model JEOL SM 6400) of the SAI of the Universidad of Zaragoza was used. Using SEM photos, an exact drawing of each component was made and the percentages were obtained through digital image processing. The drying and the environmental control of the experiments were achieved by means of a climatic chamber (Binder KBF240).

To evaluate the effectiveness of each poultice in terms of penetration of the restoration products in a substrate, the consolidant Syton® X30 (from KREMER) was used. It is an aqueous silica acid dispersion that presents a silica concentration of 30% and a specific weight of 1200 g/ liter. When it dries, the dispersion hardens turning into a dry gel structure with high chemical adhesion power. Due to the high chemical and temperature resistance, Syton® X30 is used as binder for mortars, surface modification medium and estender. This consolidant was chosen because of its versatility and relative low viscosity (another product was also evaluated (epoxy resin), but it presented high viscosity).

Table 1: General characteristics of the involved materials. After [23] [26]

Restoration products

Name	Brand	O Clast	Density	Viscosity (20ºC)
Resin Epoxi	Gurit SP 115		1,16	856 cp
Cellulose pulp	Fiber BWW40 Rettenmaier	200x10	1,44	
Consolidant Syton X30	Kremer		1,2	0,020 cp

Substrate materia *[14]*

Material	Mineralogy	Geological age	Clasification *[15]*	Average size of clast O	Bulk Density BD	Open Porosity OP	Capillary Coefficient CC	Average Pore Size PS	Fossils
CALATORAO STONE	Calcite	Jurasic	wackestone	0,1	2,66	1,03	0,3 to 0,9	0,1	Positra bouchi
CAMPANIL STONE	Calcite	Miocene	Wackestone-Packstone	0,2-0,4	1,9 to 2,1	10 to 24	60 to 120	0,8	Charophytes, ostracods, bivalves
UNCASTILLO SANDSTONE	Quart, calcite, dolomite, Feldspar, Clay	Miocene	Litoarenite	0,2-0,8	2,24 to 2,23	8 to 14	60 to 120	15-30	ne
ALASTRUEY SANDSTONE	Quart, calcite, dolomite, Feldspar, Clay	Paleocene	Litoarenite	0,1-0,3	2,3-2,7	3,5 to 5,5	6 to 12	3	ne
PINEWOOD	Celulose	Quaternary - recent	Natural fiber of cellulose		0.4 to 0,5		4 to 9	0,22	ne
				mm	g/cm³	%	g/m²·s⁰,⁵	microns (mµ)	

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b) Temporary phases of work

The work we present here was carried out in three different phases.

First phase: Projected poultices were elaborated with a prototype of industrial projection [6] [20] using Arbocel® cellulose pulp (Rettenmaier Ibérica BWW40 fiber). Two poultices (one was "GPM"and the other one "Handmade") were placed on two test tubes of 5x10x10 cm of sandstone from Uncastillo (upper side of 10x10cm). Later, the poultice-rock aggregate was consolidated by pouring10 g of the epoxy resin onto the surface of the poultice, and by allowing it to penetrate by suction. Once the resin had harden we carried out the observation / description of the poultices, both bySEM and through optical microscopy. In both cases, a rock / poultice slice had to be cut, in order tointroduce it into the respective observation systems. In this way, the microscopic observation of the structure, as well as of the rock-poultice connection, were carried out, completing the textural and morphological characterization phase.

The projection tests carried out with the "industrial" machine evidenced the lack of effectiveness of this equipment for its use inside a building given the amount of dust it generated. It was becoming necessary to create a prototype of a specific projection machine to be used in laboratorytests.

In the second phase a small projection machine was created, which was achieved by the modification of a microabrasimeter.

Arbocel® cellulose kneaded with water was used for both types of poultices. These two types are "*Handmade*" poultices, and *"GunPoint Mix"* poultices (we will call them "*GPM*", they are producedby the use of compressed air).

In this second phase, the suitability in the size of the substrate test tubes was tested, verifying that the 5x5x5 test tubes used were too small to adequately characterize the processes. We also used a sandstone (Alastruey stone) with very low porosity, that was later replaced in the final experiments by another sandstone (Stone from Uncastillo) that had a greater porosity. However, in this phase a set of actions were taken in order to evaluate the cleaning difficulty for each type of poultice.

In the third phase the definitive tests were carried out, using test tubes of 10x10x5cm of pine wood, limestone from Calatorao, sandstone from Uncastillo and Campanil limestone whose characteristics are known [23]; eight test tubes of each type in total (tables 1 and 2).

Table 2: Petrophysical characteristics of each individual test tube. Measurement methodologiesaccording to [22]

PETROPHYSICAL PARAMETERS

Bed orientation	Slab Test number	Rock type [15] Textural classification TC	Average size of clast ϕ mm	Bulk Density BD g/cm3	Humidity W %	Open porosity OP %	Porosity Inaccessible IP %	Porosity Total TP %	Calculations according to [13] RILEM Before CONSOLIDATION gr/m2 S0,5 CC	Calculations according to [13] RILEM After CONSOLIDATION gr/m2 S0,5 CC
CALATORAO STONE										
∥	C1	Mudstone		2,65	0,66	1,73	0,88	2,6	0,90	
∥	C2	Mudstone		2,64	0,74	1,96	0,77	2,7	0,65	
∥	C3	Mudstone		2,65	0,72	1,89	0,60	2,5	0,77	
⊥	C4	Mudstone		2,65	0,36	0,95	1,45	2,4	0,26	
∥	C5	Mudstone		2,64	0,73	1,90	0,91	2,8	0,39	
∥	C6	Mudstone		2,65	0,70	1,83	0,76	2,6	0,65	
∥	C7	Mudstone		2,66	0,62	1,63	0,59	2,2	0,52	
⊥	C8	Mudstone		2,67	0,26	0,69	1,21	1,9	0,52	
CAMPANIL STONE										
∥	CP1	Wackestone	0,4	1,94	12,30	23,65	4,42	28,1	66,49	103,93
∥	CP2	Wackestone	0,3	1,92	12,80	24,32	4,41	28,7	61,58	111,80
⊥	CP3	Wackeston-packstone	0,3	2,22	5,89	12,96	4,68	17,6	61,58	38,73
∥	CP4	Mudstone-wackestone	0,2	2,20	8,02	17,42	1,02	18,4	65,84	49,32
∥	CP5	Wackestone	0,2	1,94	12,27	23,54	4,52	28,1	140,72	108,06
∥	CP6	Wackestone	0,2	1,91	12,90	24,51	4,43	28,9	131,55	118,13
⊥	CP7	Wackestone	0,5	2,21	5,95	13,13	4,71	17,8	36,92	37,57
∥	CP8	Mudstone	0,1	2,07	10,56	21,57	1,43	23,0	85,85	85,21
UNCASTILLO SANDSTONE										
∥	U1	Litoarenite	0,1	2,19	5,82	12,67	6,46	19,13	55,77	66,49
∥	U2	Litoarenite	0,1	2,19	5,92	12,90	6,29	19,19	73,97	61,58
∥	U3	Litoarenite	0,3	2,17	5,92	12,77	7,15	19,92	98,37	61,58
∥	U4	Litoarenite	0,3	2,17	5,81	12,42	7,37	19,79	87,27	65,84
∥	U5	Litoarenite	0,1	2,21	5,38	11,82	6,38	18,20	51,12	58,48
∥	U6	Litoarenite	0,1	2,20	5,71	12,48	6,19	18,67	52,93	59,77
∥	U7	Litoarenite	0,3	2,14	6,41	13,51	7,56	21,07	145,37	106,64
∥	U8	Litoarenite	0,28	2,14	6,20	13,14	7,80	20,93	145,37	104,83
PINEWOOD		Trunk of 15 cm O. rings 4 mm thick in old slabs								
⊥	M1			0,46					5,29	4,13
⊥	M2			0,46					6,33	6,20
⊥	M3			0,49					5,29	3,87
⊥	M4			0,49					5,81	4,39
⊥	M5			0,44					4,91	5,68
⊥	M6			0,49					3,49	5,16
⊥	M7			0,46					9,42	6,07
⊥	M8			0,45					6,20	7,23

Density in the powder of the solid constituents the material	
Calatorao St	2,7167
Campanil St	2,6942
Uncastillo St	2,7070
Pinewood	1,4400

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c) *Production of the poultices*

Methodology: In both cases we used the same cellulose pulp mixed with demineralized water. In the case of handmade poultices, 38.4 grams of dry cellulose were mixed with 100 ml of water. Inthe case of GPM poultices the proportion was 52 gr of dry cellulose with 100 ml of demineralized water.

Projection method (Fig 1.):

In order to generate the "*GPM macro*" poultice, an industrial equipment was used; it was a prototype of our own manufacture which needed a compressed air compressor of at least 7 atmospheres of pressure and a flow rate of 2 m^3/ min.

The laboratory equipment used for the generation of *"GPM micro"* poultices consisted in a CTS 6microabrasimeter. Cellulose was placed in an abrasive tank that has been modified by introducing a stirrer to prevent the cellulose from caking.

"GPM micro" method allowed to generate a poultice at constant speed; 420 cm^2 per minute (5 mm thick); On the other hand, using *"GPM macro"* method, 3300 cm2 per minute were achieved (in Spain it has been used for the cleaning/desalination of entire buildings, see [6] [21 a, b, c]). The system generated a poultice with a very good adhesion and it even allowed to place the poultice in vaults (upside down) without detachments and with a minimum pressure (that of the compressed air jet).

Handmade method allowed to produce between 120-150 cm^2 per minute depending on the skill ofthe operator and provided that the mixture of cellulose and water was previously prepared.

d) *Substrates, types and characteristics (Tables 1 and 2)*

The description of the behavior involved the use of stone supports that present known physical characteristics. In this sense, rocks described in previous works of the research team were used (Table 1). These rocks covered a wide range of possible porosities in stone substrates. Test tubes of pine wood were used as well, but given wood was not one of the main objectives; its group is unique (pine wood).

Test tubes were cut two by two from the same block so that one individual of each pair supported a "GPM" poultice and the other individual a "handmade" poultice; in this way we guaranteed that the comparative analysis is strict with regard to the support.

Forty test tubes of 10x10x5 cm were used (table 2), except for the color measurements, which used 5x5x5 test tubes. The sides of all test tubes were waterproofed with plastic film in order to concentrate the absorption / evaporation processes on the face covered by the poultice. The upper face of the test tubes was covered with a "handmade" poultice on 4 specimens and with a "GPM" poultice on the other 4.

V. Results

a) *Characterization of the materials used as a substrate*

In rocky substrates, the water properties of each test tube ([22] RILEM) (water absorption and suction) were measured to determine the apparent density and open porosity (Table 2). These same parameters were established for the poultices using a similar slightly modified methodology (Table 3).

The same flow of water was always used in the "GPM" method. Therefore, the absolute values of water consumption could not be considered characteristic of the method. Theflow allowed regulation and could be greater or lower than the values (water flow) used in these experiments. In addition, the excess of water that did not penetrate the substrate was not taken into consideration. Consequently, the measured water values depended on the porosity of the substrate and the time of application.

In "handmade" poultices ( ), whose application was much slower, the penetration -in the same substrate- was always greater.

The efficiency and the water and cellulose consumption of the placement / projection systems were measured. Other measures regarding the behavior of the poultice consisted in the absorption of water (using an infiltrometer), water desorption, absorption / penetration of two different consolidants (epoxy resin and Syton®) and color change between the two cleaning phases (chance of cleaning 100% of the fibers) after the removal of the poultice with a standard cleaning.

The consolidant was applied by pouring 10 g of the product (consolidant + solvent) onto the upper surface of the poultice; the liquid was not spilled because the lateral waterproofing was made to stand out in order to avoid this possibility. The test pieces were weighed after two months of hardening and drying and the amount of consolidant infiltrated (without solvent) was determined in milligrams per cm^2.

In order to evaluate the difficulty of cleaning, the color was measured two times, before starting the process and after a standard cleaning. As a "standard cleaning", the test pieces were washed with slightly soapy water (1 g of detergent per liter), wiping them with 10 soft brush strokes. Finally they were rinsed with distilled water using the same amount of water.

b) *Microscopic characterization of the poultices (Fig 2 and 3)*

After the application of the two poultices (one "handmade" and another "GPM macro") over the sandstone from Uncastillo, they were dried completely before the epoxy resin was applied.

Macroscopically (fig 2A), it could be seen that the "handmade" had lost volume during drying, which resulted in loss of thickness and detachment of the

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substrate. The "GPM" maintained volume and adhesion. At this scale it is also possible to observe that the epoxy resin had penetrated about 1.5 mm under the "handmade" poultice and 3 mm under the "GPM" poultice.

Using optical microscopy it was visible (fig 2B)

1) *In the area immediately above the substrate, the "GPM" already had the homogeneous characteristics and micropores of the same order as the size of the fibers; conversely, "handmade" poultice presented a section of 1.5 mm with high macroporosity (holes of 10 to 30 times the size of the fibers).*
2) In the upper sections away from contact with the substrate, the "GPM", as in the initial section, had a fiber orientation of 45 to 90º with respect to the ones in contact with the substrate and it presented an homogeneous porosity. On the other hand, the "handmade" did still contain macropores although in a smaller proportion than in the initial section, and as we moved away from the substrate we could see a greater orientation of the fibers, with angles similar to those of the "GPM" ones.
3) *Electronic microscopy (fig 3) has allowed to elaborate a detailed scheme (fig 3 results) of the porosities and of the penetration of the epoxy resin, the results were:*

a. *The "handmade" had more macropores with a larger size (10.7% of 200-300 microns) and with an irregular distribution. In some cases the macropores drew the limits of the cellulose pellets that were formed in the kneading of the plaster. In the underlying substrate the penetration of epoxy resin was 16.7%.*
b. The "GPM" had less number of macropores that were smaller, and presented a more regular distribution (3.1% of 30-50 microns). In the underlying substrate, the penetration of epoxy resin was 25%.

Regarding the differences in the amount of resin penetrated, it could not be ruled out that the difference had occurred because the substrate under the "GPM" was 8% more porous than the one under the "handmade", as it was deduced from the calculations made with digital image processing. The quantitative data of the porosity of each type of poultice are presented in fig 4 and seem very reliable since they are very close to those obtained by a different method (water absorption, table 3). The value in the "GPM" was almost the same (87,5 versus 86,11), proof of the greater homogeneity of this type of poultice, and in the "handmade", the difference was somewhat higher (85.7 versus 79.17), which indicates a greater variability in this case.

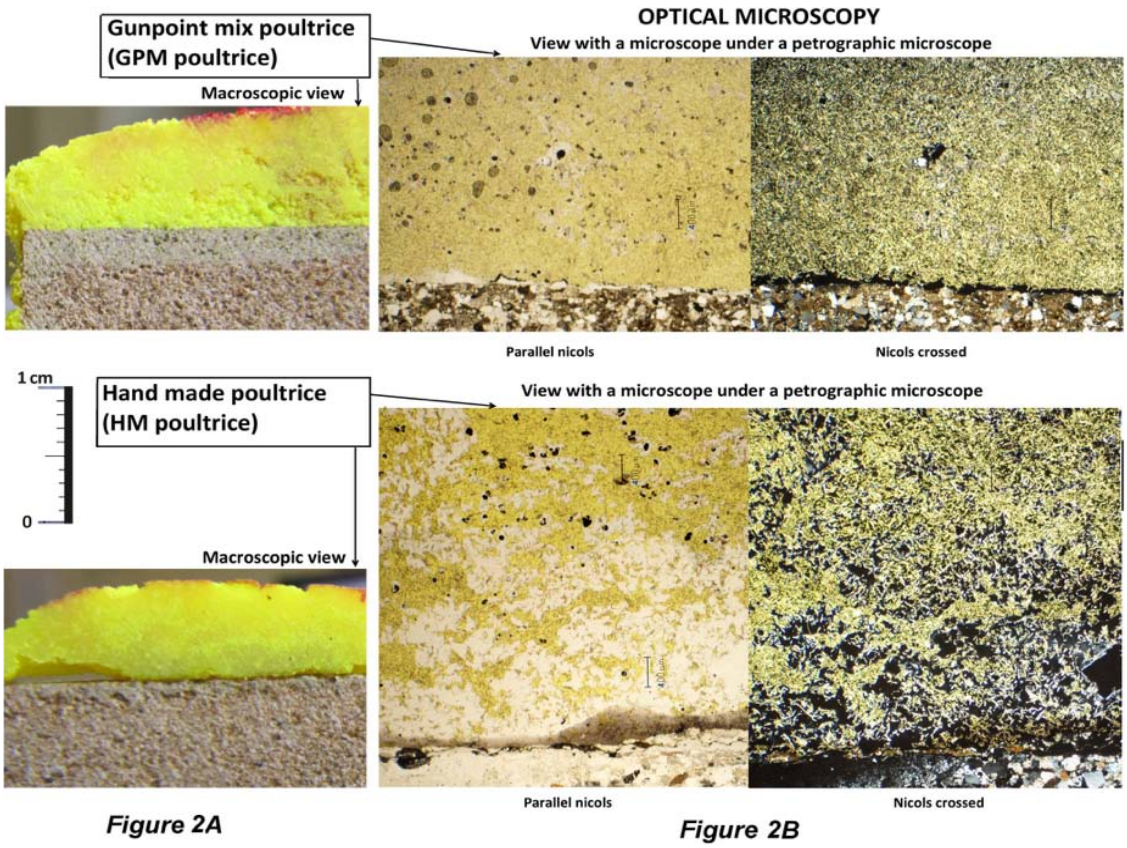


Fig. 2A: Macroscopic appearance of the two types of poultices.

Fig. 2 B: Texture of the poultices in the optical microscope

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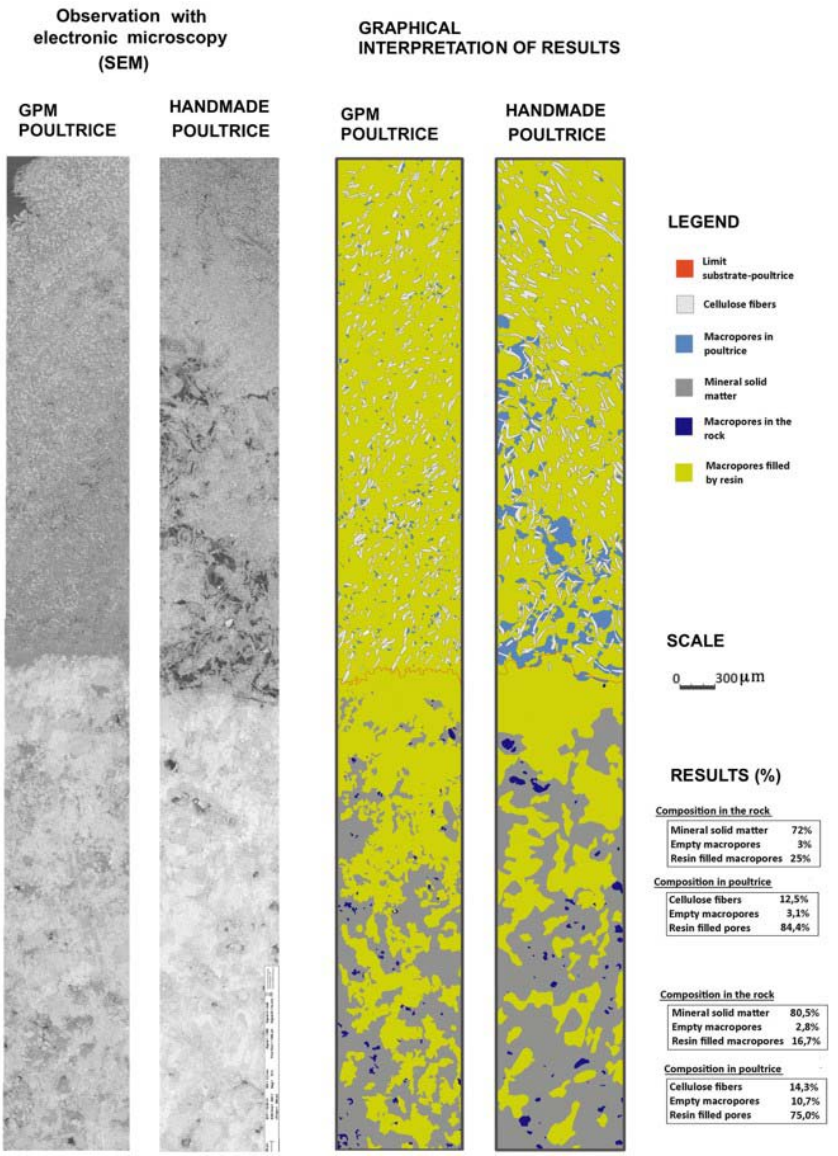


Fig. 3: Electron microscopy(SEM) and textural interpretation

c) *Efficiency of the materials (water and Arbocel®) in each type of poultice*

The composition of the poultices produced for this work were measured through weight control, divided in three steps: 1) before placing the poultice, 2) immediately after the placement, 3) after drying the substrate/poultice aggregate. The results of the process efficiency are presented in Table 3; these values provide a comparative analysis between both poultices. The detail of the substrate has been included because its roughness/porosity can also influence the consumption. Given the materials of the specimens were chosen with the idea of covering a wide range of roughness/ porosity, the average values of all of them can be considered characteristic of the method itself.

In the "GPM" method, the same water flow (which allows regulation) was always maintained. Thus, the absolute values of water consumption could not be considered characteristic of the method. On the other hand, the measured water was the one that has penetrated into thesubstrate, which depended a lot on the porosity of the material as well. The measured values were greater in the handmade application since its slowness allowed a greater intrusion of the liquid.

Cellulose consumption is representative of the method to the point that the amount of Arbocel® per cm^2 was the same (0.12 gr/cm^2) in the "GPM" method (Micro -mean of the 20 test tubes) than in the poultice projected using the industrial equipment (Macro-mean of 10 applications with3000 m^2 of projection- [21]), fact that was surprising to us and that indicated that the difference between the projection equipment "Macro" and "Micro" was only its speed, of 55cm^2 / second in the "Macro" and of 7 cm^2 / second in the "Micro". In any case, this result points to an extraordinary homogeneity in the functioning of the "GPM", as we have designed it, by mixing water and cellulose in the air at gunpoint.

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The efficiency in handmade placement was conditioned by the initial cellulose / water mixture (38.4 gr Cell/100gr water) and by the porosity of the material since, in the case of the less porous samples, a superficial runoff / loss of water that had not been absorbed occurred, even though this factor had a human component according to the handling style and the pressure applied.

In any case, handmade poultices were a third denser in comparative terms (they are 1/3 heavier in terms of cellulose per cm^2).

The process of placing "handmade" poultices was much slower than the "GPM" version, and the adhesion of the poultice was much lower, being difficult to place them on inclined surfaces and impossible in an inverted position (upside down).

[15] (Lubelli et al 2010) determined an average pore size of 15 microns for BW40 Arbocel® compresses; from the SEM images (fig 3) it could be deduced that the "GPM" poultice had a slightly superior pore size but with an homogeneous distribution, whereas the "handmade " poultice would have a slightly lower pore size (the fiber is more packed and the bulk density is somewhat higher) but with a more irregular distribution and with the presence of macropores thatdid not exist in "GPM" poultices.

Table 3: Performance, composition and physical parameters of the poultices Water and cellulose expense in each case. The petrophysical values have been calculated on the average volume of the dry papetta and with the density value of the cellulose of 1.44

Water plus arbocell gr/cm2

	GPM (Micro)	SD	Handmade	SD
Calatorao	0,33	0,06	0,58	0,15
Campanil	0,31	0,13	0,55	0,03
Encastillo	0,39	0,08	0,57	0,03
Madera	0,36	0,03	0,68	0,00
Average	0,35	0,08	0,59	0,09

Arbocell gr/cm2

GPM (Micro)	SD	Handmade
0,13	0,03	0,19
0,11	0,03	0,16
0,12	0,02	0,16
0,12	0,02	0,20
0,12	0,02	0,18

Poultrice composition
Water plus cellulose gr/cm2

	GPM (Micro)	SD	Handmade	SD
Calatorao	0,33	0,06	0,58	0,15
Campanil	0,31	0,13	0,55	0,03
Uncastillo	0,39	0,08	0,57	0,03
Madera	0,36	0,03	0,68	0,00
Average	0,35	0,08	0,59	0,09

Poultrice composition
Water in the material gr/cm2

GPM (Micro)	Handmade
0,20	0,39
0,21	0,39
0,27	0,40
0,25	0,48
0,23	0,42

Equipment GPM for large areas (Macro)	0,54

Composition of the poultrice
Cellulose gr/cm2

	GPM (Micro)	SD	Handmade	SD
Calatorao	0,13	0,03	0,19	0,09
Campanil	0,11	0,03	0,16	0,01
Uncastillo	0,12	0,02	0,16	0,01
Wood	0,12	0,02	0,20	0,00
Average	0,12	0,02	0,18	0,04

Equipment GPM for large areas (Macro)	0,12

Time of application

Handmade	2,5 cm2/seg
Automated (Micro)	7 cm2 / sec
Automated (Macro)	55 cm2 /sec

** Poultices 6 mm thick in all cases

PETROPHYSICS

Poultrice type	Dry weight Ps (gr)	Volume Vol (cm3)	Cellulose density Dd	Humidity (in weight) W%	Bulk density BD	Total porosity PT
GPM	0,12	0,6	1,44	191,67	0,20	86,11
Handmade	0,18	0,6	1,44	227,78	0,30	79,17

d) Water absorption: Evaluation with the infiltrometer

The infiltrometer is a device that is used to know the infiltration capacity and water parameters in soils [16] and is very suitable in poultices for two reasons:

1) It allows to measure the infiltration when placed on the substrate that wants to be studied.
2) Poultices are similar to soils both in its physical characteristics and in the fact that they have to be studied using a method that does not modify its original texture.

The infiltrometer allows to experimentally measure the suction coefficient of the poultice in a quick and easy way. This data is very hard to calculate by other means.

The device was placed on the poultice with a water height pressure of 2 mm. With this pressure (which can be considered equal to atmospheric

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pressure), the absorption speed and the total volume of infiltrated water were measured until, besides the poultice, the rock also began to absorb water. This moment could be established very precisely; the slope of the infiltration curve varied substantially (fig.4). In each test we measured the absorption coefficient (in two modalities); first, as Cumulative Linearization (CL), that corresponded to the calculation method of the coefficient of absorption by linear regression of the first infiltration values with respect to the square root of time. The second one corresponded to the *numerical optimization method of the simplified equation of [25] Haverkamp (1994).* The latter, being more precise, coincided with the suction coefficient and therefore was directly comparable with the coefficient calculated for substrates according to the RILEM method. (22)

Table 4 shows the values of the six tests carried out, in which it can be seen that "GPM" poultices have coefficients and absorption speeds of more than double that of the "handmade" ones.

The detail of the infiltration curves on the poultice / substrate pair was reproduced in one of the cases (stone from Calatorao), so that the calculation steps can be understood. In the case mentioned, the rock presented a very low suction coefficient (table 4b) and was adequate to delimit the behavior of the poultice.

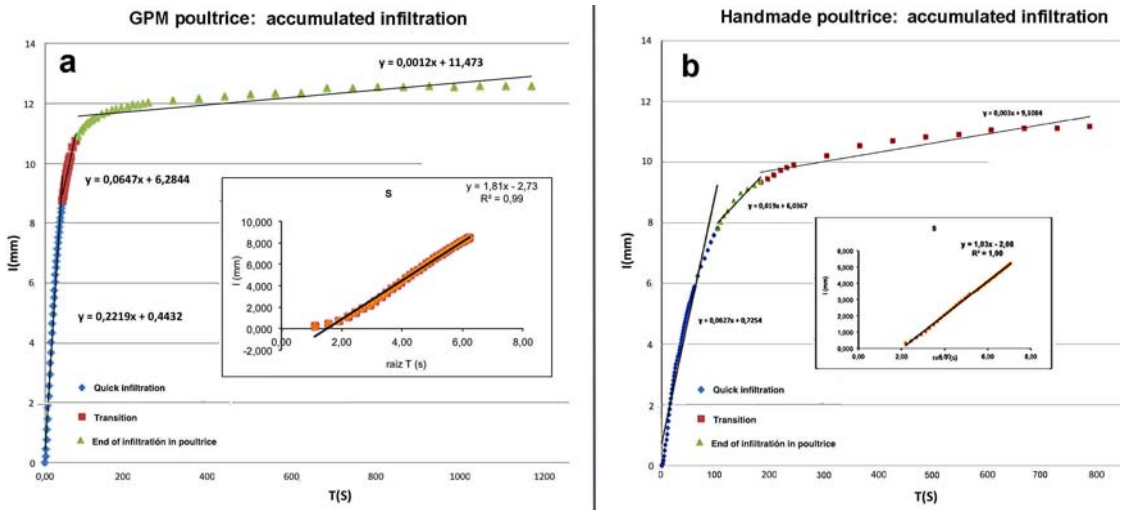


Fig. 4: Infiltration curves of the two types of paper on Calatorao St.

The reduced graph with a line is the one used to calculate the coefficient using the most characteristic section. The large graph in each case represents the behavior throughout the test time. The infiltration begins very fast, stretch in blue; Within this section you can see a faster first behavior (the water is only entering the papeta) and a slightly slower second (the water enters the papeta and also into the rock.) The green stretch corresponds to the absorption of the rock in its early stages (surface of the active but unsaturated rock.) The final red stretch corresponds to the slowest absorption ofthe rock when it has the entire saturated suction surface.

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Infiltration on the pair "Poultice / limestone from Calatorao"

We assume that the curve represents the infiltration on the poultice, given the effect of the rock is considered negligible (it has a very low quantitative value, see coefficients of suction in Table 4b). In figures 4a and 4b we can observe the behavior of the two types of poultices.

In the curve of the "GPM" poultice (fig 4a) infiltration begins very fast (0.22 ml/s, stretch in blue); as the test tube soaks, the rhythm decreases (0.03 ml / s; stretch in red), and when apparently, theentire poultice is soaked, infiltration almost stops (0.001 ml/s, stretch in green). This stopping was not complete, although this did not imply that water infiltrated into the stone from Calatorao, as water percolated through the contact surface and the sides. The behavior was very homogeneous within each stretch.

The curve of the "handmade" poultice (fig 4b) is similar but presents curves with loose slopes (0.1 ml/s, stretch in blue 0.02 ml/s, stretch in red and 0.003 ml/s, stretch in green) and with a slightly more irregular behavior.

e) Desorption: drying speeds

The tests were carried out in a controlled atmosphere at 50% RH and 21°C. In the cases in which the poultices were placed on a waterproof substrate (glass, see table 5), drying occurred slightly faster in "handmade" poultices for the first 8 hours. After 8-10 hours the situation was reversed and "GPM" poultices dried up faster.

In the cases in which the poultices were placed on porous substrates (table 6) the opposite happened; at the beginning, the "GPM" poultice dried up much faster but 3 hours later thesituation was the opposite.

Regarding the physical evolution and the changes in the volume of the poultices during drying process we can affirm (see table 6 and fig 5):

1) The adhesion was very high in "GPM" poultices and notably lower in "handmade" ones.
2) The loss of volume was greater in "handmade" poultices; these were the only ones that presented superficial cracks. The lateral losses of adhesion were not very significant since they were produced by the contact with a flexible film.

	Accumulated evaporation rate (0-24h)	Evaporation rate in the interval 0-1h.	Evaporation rate in the interval 1-3h.	Evaporation rate in the interval 3-6h.	Evaporation rate in the interval 6-24h.
Handmade (20ml)	13,54	25,45	21,82	21,42	10,65
GPM (20ml)	13,43	21,90	18,53	18,47	11,55
Handmade (10ml)	6,63	15,80	14,07	14,29	4,01
GPM (10ml)	6,68	14,87	13,30	12,99	4,44

In ***mg/cm2 * minute***; Dried for 24 h. at 21ºC and 50% HR

Table 5 Evaporación rate on waterproof substrate

GPM poultrices

	Evaporation rate (0-1h)	DESVEST	Evaporation rate (0-3h)	DESVEST
Calatorao stone	0,47	0,13	0,18	0,05
Campanil stone	0,37	0,06	0,15	0,02
Uncastillo sandstone	0,44	0,05	0,18	0,02
Pinewood	0,31	0,02	0,13	0,01
Average	**0,40**		**0,16**	

Handmade poultrices

	Evaporation rate (0-1h)	DESVEST	Evaporation rate (0-3h)	DESVEST
Calatorao stone	0,39	0,07	0,42	0,08
Campanil stone	0,33	0,03	0,30	0,03
Uncastillo sandstone	0,37	0,03	0,38	0,03
Pinewood	0,24	0,01	0,25	0,01
Average	**0,33**		**0,34**	

In ***mg/cm2 * minute***; Dried for 3 h. at 21ºC and 50% HR

Table 6 Evaporación rate on porous substrate

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Fig. 5: Photographs of the retraction suffered by the poultices

A.-Handmade poultice on glass *B .- GPM poultice on glass*

C.-. GPM poultice on Campanil St *D.- handmade poultice on Campanil St*

f) Penetration of the consolidants depending on the type of poultice used

The consolidants were applied by pouring 10 g of the product into each test tube and by removing the poultice 30 minutes after its application. The test tubes were weighed after two months of hardening and drying. The amount of infiltrated consolidant (without solvent) was determined in milligrams per cm^2.

The penetration of consolidants was evaluated in terms of quantity (either total weight or percentage by weight) and quality (suction coefficient variation). See tables 8 and 9.

The data about Campanil and Uncastillo stone's was not very significant because the standard deviations were of the same order as the value of the data. The values indicated that the penetration was greater in "GPM" samples in the case of the limestone from Calatorao, the Campanil limestone and the pine wood, while in the case of the sandstone from Uncastillo it was higher in "handmade" test tubes. In the case of the Campanil limestone, a marked absorption anisotropy was seen in the direction perpendicular to that of the stratification, especially in "GPM"poultices.

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The qualitative analysis consisted in comparing the change produced in the suction of the rocks, both in water suction (capillary suction coefficient expressed in $g/m^2\ s^{1/2}$) and in the penetration height (penetration coefficient expressed in $cm/h^{1/2}$). The comparison aimed to evaluate whether the penetration was homogeneous or to what extent it formed a superficial crust. This analysis was carried out only for the rocks from Uncastillo, Campanil limestone and for the pine wood.

We must explain that both in the "handmade" and "GPM" poultices that were placed in sandstonefrom Uncastillo and in Campanil limestone, there were two test tubes that presented thicker pores and two that presented thinner pores.

In the sandstone from Uncastillo (handmade poultice) the fine pored sandstones gained suction coefficient when consolidated and the thick pored ones lost it. In the case of the "GPM", the same happened, but only with the fine pored sandstones, as the second ones lost suction coefficient when consolidated.

In the Campanil limestone, both in "GPM" and in "handmade" poultices, those with fine pores gained suction coefficient (although the values were close to zero) and those with thick pores lost it. The gain in fine pores limestones was greater in the "GPM" ones.

Regarding pine wood, the "GPM" test tubes lost suction coefficient and the "handmade" specimens gained it (with the exception of one test tube), although the surpassing values were very low in both cases.

In summary, the results showed significant differences depending on the pore size of the test tubes and the materials, which seemed to consolidate more homogeneously in the finest pore sizes. There were no significant differences depending on the type of poultice used. The results indicated a complex interaction between the consolidant, the poultice and the substrate.

	Poultice type GPM	Number test tube	SD		Poultice type Handmade	Number test tube	SD
Calatorao T	8,4	3	1,8		6,9	3	2,2
Campanil II	6,2	1			3,3	1	
Campanil T	12,8	2			13,0	2	
Campanil (all)	2,4	3	3,3		1,9	3	1,3
Uncastillo T	11,2	3	12,4		14,2	3	10,2
Wood T	25,0	3	2,4		21,0	3	3,8
Total	11,0	12			10,0	12	

SD standart deviation

II Active surface parallel to bed T Active surface perpendicular to bed

Table 8.- Penetration of consolidant in test tube (mgr / cm2)

UNCASTILLO STONE

GPS POULTICES

Difference: consolidated - previous state

	U1**	U2**	U3	U4	Average	
W final %	0,27	-0,58	-1,59	-1,51	-0,86	%
UNE-EN	10,72	-12,39	-36,79	-21,43	-14,98	g/m2s1/2
Penetration	0,29	-0,33	-0,99	-0,58	-0,40	cm/h1/2

HANDMADE POULTICES

Difference: consolidated - previous state

	U-5**	U-6**	U-7	U8	Average
W final %	0,18	0,16	-1,53	-1,20	-0,59
UNE-EN	7,36	6,84	-38,73	-40,54	-16,27
Penetration	0,20	0,18	-1,04	-1,09	-0,44

CAMPANIL STONE

GPS POULTICES

Difference: consolidated - previous state

	CP1	CP2	CP3**	CP4*	Average	
W final %	-2,78	-4,42	0,96	0,78	-1,36	%
UNE-EN	-12,26	-26,72	0,77	0,00	-9,55	g/m2s1/2
Penetration	-0,33	-0,72	0,02	0,00	-0,26	cm/h1/2

HANDMADE POULTICES

Difference: consolidated - previous state

	CP5	CP6	CP-7**	CP8*	Average
W final %	-0,74	-0,65	-0,02	0,13	-0,32
UNE-EN	-32,66	-13,43	0,65	-0,65	-11,52
Penetration	-0,88	-0,39	-0,30	-0,27	-0,46

PINEWOOD

GPS POULTICES

Difference: consolidated - previous state

	M 1	M 2	M 3	M 4	Average	
W final %	-0,04	0,21	-0,30	0,05	-0,02	%
UNE-EN	-1,16	-0,13	-1,42	-1,42	-1,03	g/m2s1/2

HANDMADE POULTICES

Difference: consolidated - previous state

	M 5	M 6	M 7	M 8	Average
W final %	0,34	0,75	-0,73	0,24	0,15
UNE-EN	0,77	1,68	-3,36	1,03	0,03

Negative balance

Positive balance

Difference (+ or -) insignificant

** Fine-grained (Uncastillo) or low-porous samples (Campanil)

The results are presented as the subtraction between the suction coefficient after consolidation minus the initial value

Table 9.- Variation of capillarity after consolidation

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g) Ease of cleaning

The colors of the rocks were compared before and after the placement of the poultice, with two cleaning phases (that have been already described in the methodology). In order to avoid the interference of the possible chromatic change produced by the consolidant, we only took into account the luminosity (L *). In this way, we have taken advantage on the fact that this value is the most significant parameter in the difference between the color of the substrate and the poultices. The results are shown in table 10.

The pulp of paper without manipulation was slightly whiter than the poultices, and "GPM" ones were in turn whiter than the "handmade" ones. Even though, in the latter case, we checked that it depended on the surface roughness, because when an escape of liquid water had smoothed the surface of the "GPM" poultice, its values were identic to those of "handmade" poultices.

From a physical point of view, when wet, "GPM" poultice was compacted with less pressure and in greater proportion than the "handmade" one. Once the poultices were dry, this phenomenon remained, and in addition, the "GPM" was disaggregated much more easily than the "handmade" one.

In order to evaluate the adhesion of Arbocel® pulp (tablet 10) for cleaning purposes, the following values were subtracted: initial luminosity in each substrate (C1), the values after the detachment of the poultice (C2) and the values after brushing (C3).

In C2-C1 substraction, the values that represent the best possible cleaning would be the values of zero, and the greater adhesion of the paper pulp would correspond to the positive values. Negative values are theoretically impossible.

In C3-C1substraction the case is similar to the previous one.

In C3-C2 substraction the best cleaning values would be the negative ones (the more negative, the cleaner it would be) and the greater adhesion of the paper would correspond to negative values close to zero. Positive values are theoretically impossible.

In all cases regarding stone substrates, the results indicated that "GPM" poultice could be cleaned much better than the "handmade" one, whereas in wood the results were the opposite, this is, in the three cases the "handmade" poultice showed better results.

INITIAL ORIGINALS COLORS (C1)

	L*	C	hº	a*	b*	Number of measur.
Arbocell pulp	96,41	5,33	78,64	1,05	5,23	3
Handmade poultrice	80,3	6,5	81,1	1,0	84,4	8
	3,3	0,2	0,9	0,1	220,5	
	4,1	2,4	1,1	9,7	261,3	
"GPM" poultrice	84,3	6,8	81,7	1,0	6,8	8
SD	2,6	1,0	0,6	0,2	1,0	
RSD	3,1	13,9	0,7	19,6	14,2	
Calatorao	52,29	0,83	79,285	0,135	0,82	6
SD	2,15	0,34	6,77	0,04	0,35	
RSD	4,11%	40,89%	8,54%	26,19%	43,12%	
Campanil	73,23	12,765	78,68	2,505	12,51	6
SD	1,47	2,06	1,68	0,73	1,95	
RSD	2,01%	16,12%	2,14%	29,07%	15,60%	
Alastruey	58,765	10,505	76,58	2,445	10,21	6
SD	2,21	0,62	1,70	0,45	0,52	
RSD	3,77%	5,86%	2,22%	18,22%	5,12%	
Madera	85,15	20,785	80,63	3,38	20,51	6
SD	0,33	0,11	0,27	0,11	0,08	
RSD	0,38%	0,51%	0,33%	3,35%	0,41%	

LIGHTNESS DIFFERENCES (L *) BEFORE AND AFTER CLEANING

Three measurements were taken of all the specimens (32x2)

	C2 Color after the withdrawal of poultrice — Handmade poultice			C3 Color after brushing — GPM poultice		
	C2-C1	C3-C1	C3-C2	C2-C1	C3-C1	C3-C2
Type	^L*	^L*	^L*	^L*	^L	^L*
Calatorao St	7,53	6,8	0,73	2,26	2,52	-0,26
SD						
RSD						
Campanil	7,33	6,87	0,46	5,07	6,72	-1,65
SD	1,38	2,36	1,10	3,48	5,98	2,56
RSD	18,88%	34,29%	241,68%	68,67%	89,02%	-154,92%
Alastruey	7,27	6,75	0,52	4,52	4,55	-0,03
SD	0,38	0,51	0,20	0,71	1,12	0,52
RSD	5,21%	7,50%	37,88%	15,70%	24,58%	-19,36
Madera	-0,06	0,10	-0,16	0,28	0,30	-0,02
SD	0,21	0,43	0,22	0,92	0,96	0,08
RSD	-372,82%	427,90%	-143,49%	329,42%	319,43%	-396,86%
More cleanliness has been achieved if the values are:	zero	zero	negative	zero	zero	negative
Others	Negative impossible		Positive impossible	Negative impossible		Positive impossible

SD Standart Deviation RSD Coefficient of variation

Table 10: Color variations after cleaning the poultrice

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VI. Discussion

A) The microscopic data are very clear in terms of the textural characterization of both poultices: In this sense, we highlight the concordance of the porosities obtained by optical methods with those obtained by petrophysical methods. Regarding the retraction differences between the two types of poultices, obviously the individual fibers have had to contract the same magnitude, but in the case of "GPM" that retraction was resolved at microscopic level and was not transmitted to nearby fibers due to lack of "contact between them". On the other hand, "handmade" poultice's greater interlacement of the nearby fibers caused the retraction (at microscopic level) to be transmitted tothe whole poultice.

B) Regarding water and cellulose consumption in the elaboration of the poultices, in the case of the "handmade", a reasonable workability was found in 2.5 grams of water per gram of cellulose and in the case of "GPM" poultices it dropped to 1,9. However, in both cases some variation was allowed, although "GPM" had a great advantage due to its higher adhesiveness (with the same or less water percentage). The working speed was clearly favorable to the "GPM" (55 cm / sec versus 7 cm / sec in the "handmade"). "GPM" poultice had the additional advantage of being able to regulate the amount of water at will during the application process.

C) Data regarding total porosity and density of the poultices, although approximate, were very relevant, because they allowed us to get an idea of the petrophysical behavior and to better explain the phenomena described in this paper. Thus, "GPM" poultice was less dense and more porous, but with a much more constant and homogeneous porous system than that of the "handmade" one. In regards to the capacity of infiltration / suction coefficient, there was no doubtof the greater capacity of "GPM" poultices, which was twice that of the "handmade" ones.

D) Regarding the penetration of the consolidants, the amount of consolidant that penetrated was slightly higher if the process was controlled by "GPM" poultice. The difference, without being very large, seemed significant since it was graded by the pore size of the substrate. The biggest difference (in favor of the "GPM") could be seen with stone from Calatorao (pore size 0.01 micron), then wood (0.2 micron) and finally Campanil limestone (pore size 1 micron). In sandstone from Uncastillo, that presented an average pore size of the order of 30 microns, more consolidant penetrated when using the "handmade" poultice; the apparent contradiction in the case of epoxy resin is not such if we consider that the difference is produced because the substrate under the "GPM" is 8% more porous than the one beneath the "handmade", as it was deduced from the calculations made through digital image processing (fig 4). However, the greater homogeneity of penetration seemed to be a relevant result, provided that this variable did not depend on the total porosity. This seemed to indicate that the orientation of the fibers in the "GPM" leaded the intrusion of the consolidant into the smaller pores and that when the pores were greater than 15 microns, the process was no longer effective and the size of the conduit became the most relevantfactor.

If we add the results in the modification of the suction coefficient to the above-mentioned data, we can observe a complex interaction between the type of consolidant, its viscosity, its contact angle with the material that has to penetrate, pore size in the substrate, orientation of thesubstrate (anisotropy depending on the stratification plane) and type of poultice. This situation complicates the data and its interpretation. However, taking into consideration that the modification of the suction coefficient is similar in both types of poultices and that the amount of consolidant that penetrates with the "GPM" poultice is higher, we can conclude that the homogeneity in the distribution of the product is better in the case of the "GPM" ones since a greater incorporation of product to the substrate increases the possibility of "plugging" the porous system, and this effect does not occur. The textural analysis of how the epoxy resin penetrates (fig 4) also points in this same direction.

E) Regarding original colors, the darkness of the poultice over that of the pulp of paper that had not been applied is likely due to the fact that the manipulation deforms the fibers and incorporatesdirt and salts impurities. The presence of small amounts of moisture after a gentle drying wouldact in the same way.

F) Regarding the ease of cleaning, it must be first clarified that, in the comparison of color by subtraction between the three moments of measurement, the results that were considered "theoretically impossible" (negative values in C2-C1 and C3-C1 and positive values for C3-C2) are possible in practice for two reasons:

1) Experimental error.
2) The variability in surface color caused by not measuring exactly in the same place.

The analysis of the physical behavior of each poultice, after drying, indicated that in the "handmade" poultice the fibers were more locked together and formed a more solid, dense and coherent aggregate than in the "GPM" ones, observation that was in accordance with the manufacturing method and the petrophysical data of both (fig 3 and 4, table 3). These

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physical aspects were consistent with the fact that in all cases of stone substrates, cleaning was easier in the "GPM" ones; this result is consistent with the greatest incoherence of the cellulose particles in the "GPM" poultices.

Wood test tubes worked the opposite (although the difference was small), which is quite peculiar. This may be due to the fact that this substrate is composed of cellulose and the projection system favors a certain tangle between the cellulose particles of the substrate and the poultice.

VII. Conclusions

Gun Point Mix poultice (GPM), produced automatically with compressed air, has an apparent density of 0.2 g/cm^3, an application speed between 420 and 3300 cm^2/s (depending on the projection equipment) and a great homogeneity and adhesiveness (it allows to generate poultices in upside-down vaults), without this last property being translated into greater soiling. The porosity is homogeneous, of the order of 86%, mostly (82.9%) with a size of the same order as the fiber used (10x 200 µm) and to a lesser extent (3.1%) with larger pores (30-50 µm). Its hydraulic conductivity is 1 l/m^2 s^{-2}. The system allows to regulate the amount of water at operator's will and needs a gun and compressed air equipment specially designed for the projection.

The "handmade" poultice has an apparent density of 0,3 g/cm^3, an application speed between 120 and 150 cm^2/s (depending on the operator skills), a low homogeneity and adhesiveness and a soiling capacity similar to that of the "GPM" poultice. The porosity, of the order of 86%, is bimodal; mostly (75%) with a size of the same order as the fiber used (10x 200 µm) and another (10.7%) of larger size (300-500 µm) derived from the handmade kneading process. Its hydraulic conductivity is 0.6 l/m^{2}s^{-2}. The system allows to regulate the amount of water at operator's will, whose skills can partially modify the characteristics that have been described.

During drying, in the first phase (dragging by suction of liquid water to the surface) "handmade" poultices dry faster, and in the second phase (water vapor diffusion) the "GPM" ones are more efficient.

The "handmade" poultice allows the products to more efficiently infiltrate in substrates with an average pore size greater than 15 µm, while the "GPM" is more efficient in rocks with smaller poresizes.

When drying, the "GPM" is less coherent and more prone to being sprayed than the manual.

The ease of cleaning is good in all cases, but in stone substrates the "GPM" is significantly better. In the case of wood, the opposite happens, "handmade" poultice is slightly better.

Acknowledgments

The evaluation of the poultices has not been possible without the creation of the projection machines. A first thank you to those who made possible the creation of the prototypes and more specifically to Manuel Blanco and Manel Iglesias.

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Global Journal of human-social science: C
Sociology & Culture
Volume 23 Issue 2 Version 1.0 Year 2023
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal
Publisher: Global Journals
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

"If you haven't been exploited, you are not in the Live Music Industry": Decent Work and Informality in the Live Music Ecosystem in South Africa

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Abstract- This paper addresses how the predominantly atypical nature of cultural and creative work (CCW) (freelance, contractor, casual, once-off or part-time basis) is overlaid or impacted on by informality in the African context. The research presented here on Live Music is part of a larger study undertaken on commission from ILO, "Promoting Decent Work in the African Cultural and Creative Economy" which focused on 5 sectors (cultural heritage, dance, fashion, film and tv and live music) in all 5 African sub-regions (North Africa, Central Africa, East Africa, West Africa and Southern Africa) respectively. The paper offers a conceptual framework consisting of the triad of the atypical nature of work in the CCEs, precariousness and informality against the backdrop of a Decent Work agenda. The focus is on the views of musicians and practitioners about the nature of work in the live music ecosystem in South Africa. It concludes with a set of policy recommendations that are distinct for two reasons: first, rather than conventional measures to formalise the informal economy it suggests shining a spotlight on the specificities of live music work, understanding its unique value chain and adopting measures to engage more productively with the informal actors throughout the value chain; second rather than highlighting deficits, it suggests greater government support for associations, trade unions and employer bodies for the live music ecosystem to bring the decent work discussion into conversation with representative and organised stakeholders.

GJHSS-C Classification: *FOR Code: 190407*

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I. Introduction

Live music is part of the larger set of activities, artistic expressions and creative practice that is part of the African cultural and creative economy (CCE). It is well accepted that the cultural value chains of the African CCE, and here live music in South Africa is no exception, pride themselves in strong creation and innovative artistic and collective creativity which is inspired by a rich heritage, strong traditions, and authentic cultural expressions. South Africa, unlike many of our counterparts on the continent (Joffe 2021), has a relatively well-functioning live music value chain with strong production technologies, efficient distribution mechanisms, appropriate infrastructure for exhibition and a few important support industries. It is unique in having a strong system of governance for culture (Joffe et al. 2019) with albeit flawed or inadequate policies, funding systems, institutions, legislation and cultural infrastructure. Nevertheless, work in the Global South CCE is dominated by informality and COVID 19 has had an enormous impact on the work life and identity of cultural workers and cultural practitioners.

This informality underpins the atypical nature of cultural and creative work which is characterised by insecurity, precarity and uncertainty. The CCE thrives on innovation and creativity so that in an environment where policies cohere with public and private funding and programmes, the youth would be poised to take full advantage of the opportunities to grow the African CCE. The poor organisation of Africa's CCEs, the inadequate governance systems and institutional arrangements, and the lack of attention, regulation and support given to the informal economy impacts on these prospects for its contribution to livelihoods and sustainable development. This lack of attention extends to poor data on cultural occupation and work in the African CCE although the South African Cultural Observatory (SACO) has been making impressive gains in filling in missing gaps in the South African CCE through their bi-annual mapping reports amongst many others (SACO 2022).

The high percentage of cultural production taking place in the informal economy has placed the spotlight on this fluid relationship between formality and informality for the live music sector. In South Africa this dominance is evidenced by forty-three percent (43%) of all cultural jobs being informal while the CCE has more freelancers and contractors than other non-cultural jobs – 32.5% compared to 8.3% respectively (SACO 2020). Even established formal CCE businesses are micro or small, characterised by precarious labour conditions with poor to no social protection coverage for cultural workers, whether fully employed or freelancers. Many artists, musicians, freelancers and own account workers move between the two economies as economic conditions dictate. The result is that much economic activity is outside the purview of the state, tax regulation, registration or measurement. Covid 19 has heightened awareness of the high proportion of cultural production in the informal economy as cultural workers were unable to access Covid relief from the state due to multiple factors such as not being unregistered, having no tax

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compliance certificates, or unable to produce cancelled contracts for work (Joffe 2019). It has also though highlighted the importance of social capital generated within communities of practice within the live music sector, in social structures at community level or through strong intermediaries active in the broader CCE (IKS Consulting 2021). A strong legacy that the live music ecosystem builds on in South Africa as well is that of a robust civil society, innovative labour legislation and a progressive constitution.

In this paper we first offer theoretical considerations focused on the intersections between cultural and creative work, decent work and informality. The methodology section examines the focus on the live music ecosystem in South Africa and highlights current research limitations. A brief overview of South Africa's live music ecosystem follows noting the value chain and cultural occupations as well as the underpinning support institutions. The research findings are presented using the 10 ILO Decent Work indicators. The paper concludes by suggesting several areas where opportunities exist to support the live music ecosystem.

II. Theoretical Considerations

Research on the nature of informal cultural work has increased in the last few years but it remains embryonic (Alacovska 2018; Alacovska and Gill 2019; PEC and British Council 2021; Dinardi 2019; Joffe et al. 2022; Mcguigan 2010; Snowball and Hadisi 2020) while that about decent work in the cultural and creative economy has not yet penetrated the academic realm beyond ILO considerations (ILO 2019; Saxena 2021). There has however been robust theorizing about the nature of cultural work and creative labour, specifically in the global north (Gill and Pratt 2008; Hesmondhalgh and Baker 2010; Mcguigan 2010; Oakley 2006).

This paper highlights three key characteristics of creative and cultural work (CCW):

First, it is atypical, characterised by non-standard employment contracts, from freelance to own-account work, from part time to temporary, and from casual to permanent: These work modalities require that creative and cultural workers are in a 'permanently transitional' state (McRobbie 2004). CCW can be distinguished by the prevailing labour contract: freelancers and fixed term or permanent (Brook et al. 2020: 573). There are many reasons for the growth of freelancing notably the "integration of global markets, government policies that promote privatisation, and the advent of digitalisation" (Mackinlay/Smith 2009). Distinctive characteristics of CCW include the uncertainty of demand and markets; the passion and pleasure that cultural and creative workers experience from their work; the time bound nature of work and innovation; the multiplicity and diversity of skills needed and the implications for collaborative work as well as collective action; and the increasing fragmentation and casualisation of jobs (Comunian and England 2020; Merkel 2019; Morgan and Nelligan 2018). Several barriers exacerbate the insecurity of CCE working conditions such as class (Eikhof and Warhurst 2012); gender (McRobbie 2016); race and ethnicity (Malik et al. 2017;); social networks (Nelligan 2015); and education (Banks and Oakley 2015). Notable South African academic research focused on gender and music include the work of Moelwyn-Hughes (2013) and Allen (2000) on representation, gender and women in black South African popular music.

Second, it is precarious: This precariousness has become commonly accepted especially after the 2008 global financial crisis with commonalities emerging between low paid unskilled workers as part of the gig economy with more highly skilled workers typical of the CCE. The reasons for this precariousness is multifaceted (De Peuter 2011; McRobbie 2016) and include the fuzzy boundaries of what constitutes CCW work such as the uncertain length of employment (ranging from short term contracts, sub-contracting and freelancing); the 'fragmented and individualized' nature of CCW making collective action unusual; the presence of very few regulatory frameworks that support workers or provide social protection; and, the persistence of unpaid work (internships or work for 'exposure') despite some being able to earn substantial income. In addition, work-life balance is blurred across many cultural occupations. This blurring is not only required (much of live music for instance takes place at night or on weekends) but is also often accommodated as artists and creatives are 'doing what they love' so that "the passion and pleasure taken from work have strong implications for the ways CCW behave in the labour market and their freedom and autonomy to create" (Hesmondalgh and Baker 2010). This results in 'always being on' (Gill 2010) with implications for whether payment is received. Artists and creatives hold dear to the idea of being their own boss or what Florida refers to as 'soft control' (Florida 2002:130), involving "forms of self-management, peer recognition and pressures and intrinsic forms of motivation". Finally, the rise of neo-liberalism with its attendant insecurity and instability have resulted in cultural policy trends validating entrepreneurialism, job creation, above the public good of cultural work (O'Connor 2022). This was heightened by Covid-19 as the "pandemic brought the hype of the African cultural economy into question with signs of distress almost immediate" (Joffe 2021, p.3) and amplified "some long-instituted feelings of precariousness as well as the inscribed social tendency to sacrifice labour to the prevailing demands of economic priority" (Banks 2020, p. 3).

Third, it is underpinned by informality in the African context: This axiomatic precariousness of CCW is overlaid by informality defined by the ILO as "all economic activities by workers and economy units that are—in law or in practice—not covered or insufficiently covered by formal arrangements" (ILO 2002). In the Global South informality underpins much of CCW and exacerbates the precarity of employment in the CCE. Contrary to the belief that the informal economy was marginal and with economic growth would be absorbed by urban industrialization (Moser 1978), the informal economy remains large and is growing: the ILO reports that 60% of employed people work in the informal economy, 93% of this population live in developing countries. In Africa, over 95% of youth employment is informal (Munyati 2020). There has been little consideration about the informal economy in relation to CCW. While some

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authors (Alacovska and Gill 2019; Boyle and Joham 2013; Merkel 2019; Stewart and Stanford 2017) have shone a spotlight on this relationship in the Global North where the spread of the gig economy, deregulation, outsourcing, flexible or temporary work as become a prominent feature, there is much less consideration of informality in the Global South. SACO has provided evidence that the share of informal economy work in cultural production is 40% or more (SACO 2019), and the Policy and Evidence Centre have recently published 10 reports on the relationship between the cultural and creative economy and the informal economy (PEC and British Council 2021).

The high proportion of informality in the African CCE ensures that the benefits spoken about by UNCTAD (2018) or UNESCO (2013) of employment, creativity, dialogue, innovation and development, are unequally distributed. This is particularly true for emerging artists, women, migrants and those living with disabilities (Castle and Feijóo 2021; Chen 2012l and Vanek et al. 2014). This outcome seriously compromises countries' ability to achieve the 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda (Culture Action Europe 2019). The 2022 SACO mapping study showed a decline in cultural employment in the formal economy (from 65.7% in 2015 to 63.2% in 2017 for non-cultural occupations; and from 48.1% in 2015 to 47.8% in 2017 for cultural occupations), while those working in cultural occupations in the informal economy increased (46.3% in 2017) (SACO 2022).

Research in the Global South suggests some benefits to informality such as flexibility and the autonomy it engenders in this project based CCE. The rapid growth and productivity of Nollywood has been attributed to the flexible informal economy it operates within (Lobato 2010) while other studies in Latin America suggest the those working in informal settlements (Favelas) experience more independence and control over their cultural work than their counterparts in the formal economy (Dinardi 2019). In most African cities, the informal sector is the main economy. It is growing and becoming more important for urban survival (Magidi, 2021). The PEC and British Council (2021) explored the 'benefits' of informality for diverse cultural workers such as agility, autonomy and flexibility required by the CCE without ignoring problems associated with informality such as insecurity, harassment, lack of status, poor earnings, exploitation and loss of voice.

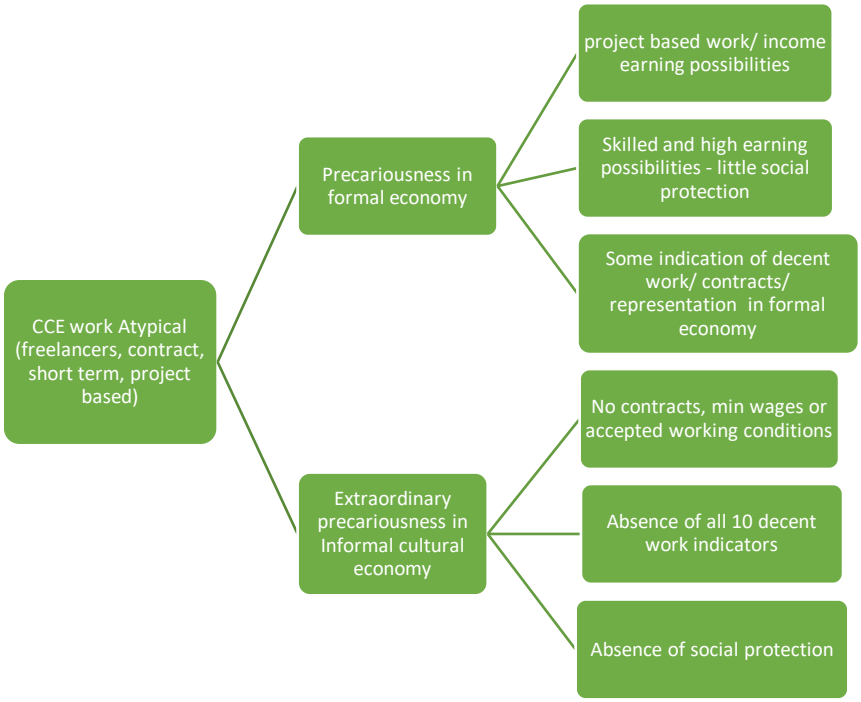


Figure 1: Atypical CCE work; precariousness and informality: a conceptual framework for the SA Live Music ecosystem

Not only should this literature on the atypical and precarious nature of CCW be brought into conversation with that on informality to better understand informal cultural value chains and work relationships in the CCE, but it is also vital that it be brought into conversation with the Decent Work agenda of the ILO. Decent work is defined by the ILO as "opportunities for everyone to get work that is productive and delivers a fair income, security in the workplace and social protection for families, better prospects for personal development and social integration".

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III. Methodology

This paper draws from commissioned research from the ILO on promoting a decent work agenda in the African cultural and creative economy. It included the voices of workers and employers, their respective organisations and government officials and was guided by the ILO's 10 indicators of Decent Work.

The Live Music ecosystem in South Africa was chosen as a case study because it is a vital part of the CCE in South Africa; its diverse nature from informal settings to established venues and festivals; the range of intermediary organisations which support and underpin this ecosystem (trade unions, music markets, rights organisation foundation, funders, training and education bodies); as well as the substantial documentation on the growth and characteristics of this ecosystem (Concerts SA 2016. 2020; Ansell 2005; IKS Consulting 2021; Music in Africa Foundation (MIAF 2022; SACO 2019, 2022). In addition, it remains the dominant form of income generation for musicians.

Limitations include the voices of migrant or child labour; intermediaries (training and education, music markets and conferences, business and legal support services) and the need to differentiate the application of decent work indicators by genre of music (from hip hop to gospel, from electronic music to jazz to R&B).

IV. The South African Live Music Ecosystem

The live music ecosystem includes a myriad of occupations and role players (see Figure 2). Drawing from SACO (2021:51) but adapted for live music, the key players are music creators (composers, songwriters, lyricists, adaptors, arrangers), facilitators (promoters, agents), retailers (broadcasters, social media, streaming platforms, festivals/events) and users (venues, restaurants and pubs, festivals/events).

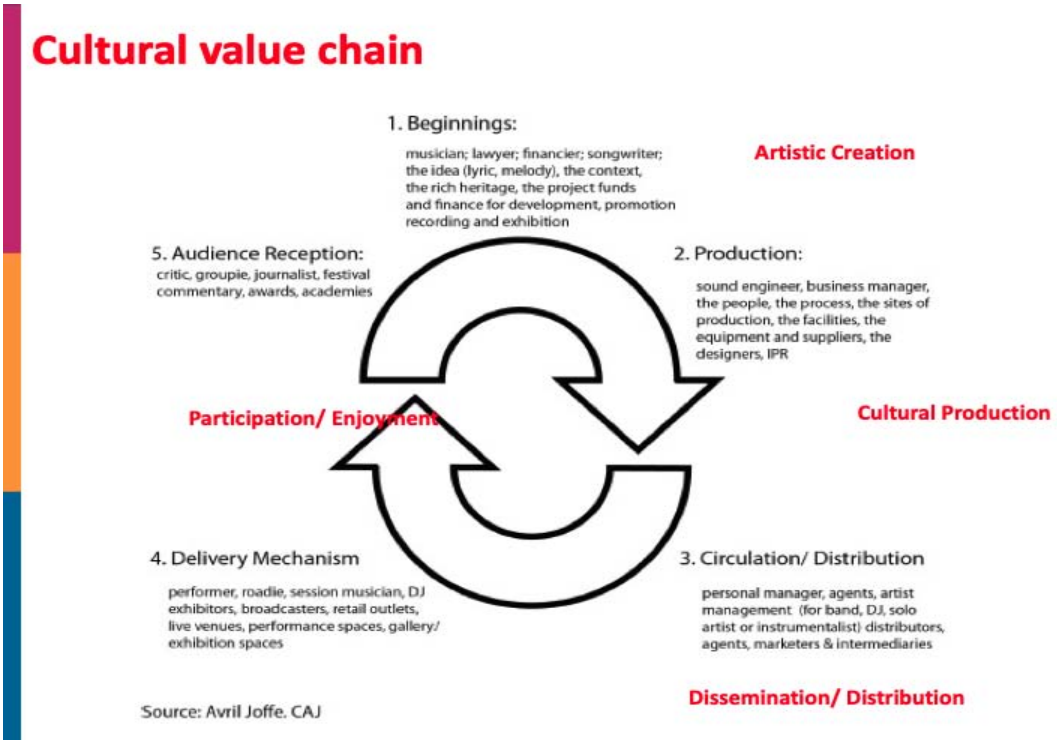


Figure 1: The Cultural Value Chain for Music

IKS Consulting (2021) has helpfully outlined the various functions in each stage to identify cultural occupations, skills and competencies to identify the respective skill sets pertaining to live music (see Figure 3).

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Beginnings	Production	Circulation Distribution	Delivery Mechanisms	Reception
• Talent • Musical skills • Technical (including digital skills) • Supporting the musician while creating (advice, emotional support, identifying sources of food, rent and household expenses & upkeep of instrument expenses) • Ability to coordinate a creative team • Ability to source appropriate space and equipment • Understanding of IP law and processes • Ability to evaluate return on investment prospects and access funding • Book-keeping/accounts	• Musical skills • Technical skills and 'ear' for sound values • Contract knowledge • Ability to access & coordinate relevant production resources • Ability to coordinate a creative team • Book-keeping/accounts • Design skills • Catering • Transport • Ability to manage and sustain a production venue long-term	• Musical skills • Technical skills and 'ear' for sound values • Contract and IP knowledge • Ability to access & coordinate relevant performance resources • Ability to coordinate a creative team • Marketing skills and contacts • Book-keeping/accounts • Catering • Transport • Ability to manage and sustain a performance venue long-term	• Musical skills • Technical skills and 'ear' for sound values • Hospitality industry skills • Contract, publishing & IP knowledge • Ability to access & coordinate relevant performance and/or sales resources • Ability to set up and dismount performance equipment • Ability to coordinate a creative team • Marketing skills and contacts • Book-keeping/accounts • Ability to sustain a sales and revenue infrastructure long-term	• Understanding of musical content and context and performance standards • Understanding of audience • Research skills • Communication skills

Figure 3: Cultural occupations, skills and competencies (adapted from IKS Consulting, 2021)

The live music ecosystem is supported by intermediary institutions from education and training, government, non-governmental organisations, the private sector, as well as international organisations (see Figure 4). There are also intersections with different professions such as engineering or law and other sectors such as media and further education and training (OECD, 2012).

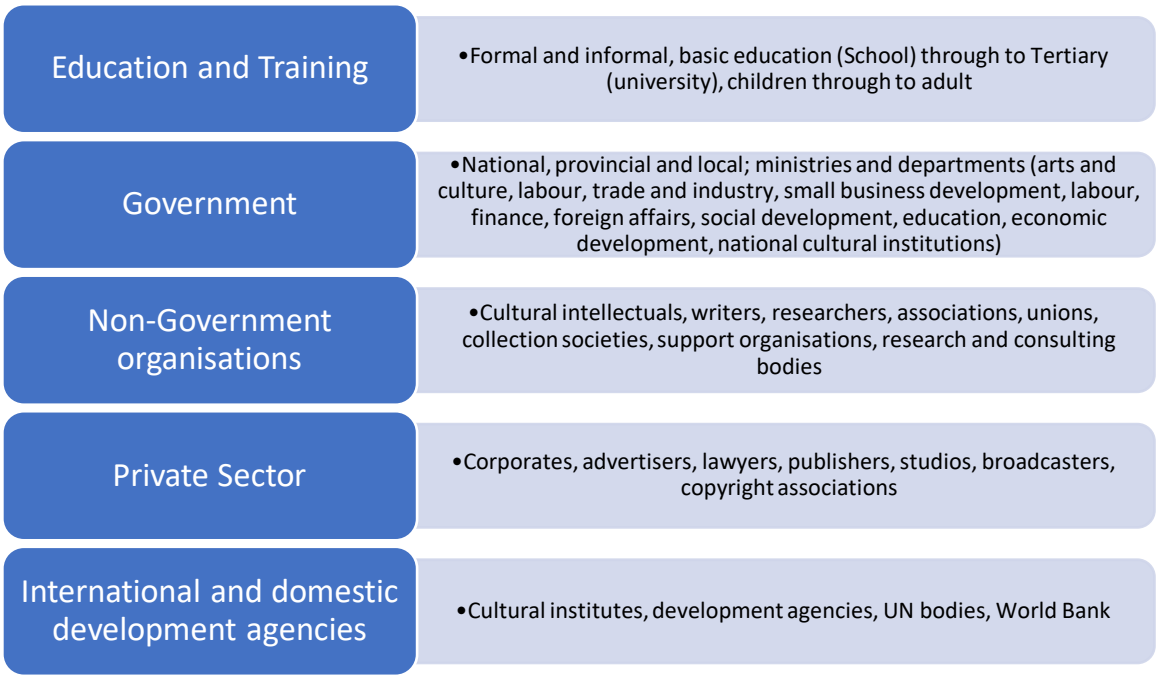


Figure 4: Cross Cutting Institutions Supporting the Live Music Ecosystem in SA

Live music practitioners move fluidly between formality and informality as they engage with formal businesses (established live venues, registered festivals and promoters) and informal venues and events. Figure 5 below highlights key distinctions to be made regarding decent work conditions. Informal work is often characterised by higher levels of precarity, insecurity and vulnerability than that which exists in the formal live music ecosystem (Joffe and Wangusa 2022).

The formal part of the ecosystem is not monolithic and shows varying levels of compliance to decent work conditions (and associated contracting

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practices), often differing by genre. A festival promoter focused on Jazz for instance reported that as the community was small, trust was high which was not necessarily the case in other genres such as pop, R&B, or gospel.

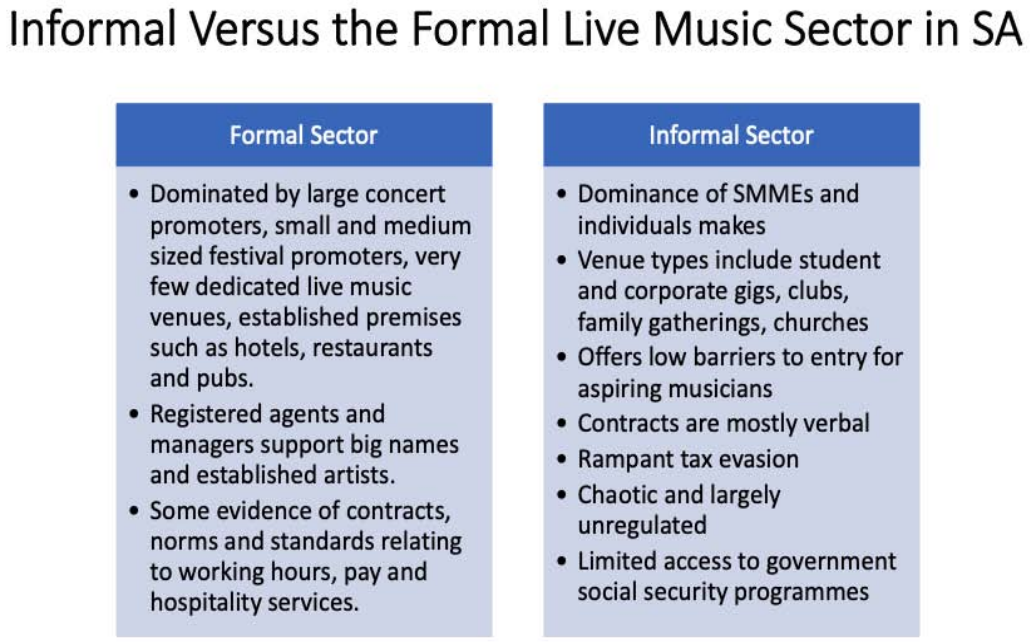


Figure 5: Informal versus the formal live music ecosystem in SA

V. The South African Live Music Ecosystem and the Decent Work Agenda

The Decent Work agenda of the ILO, launched in 1998, has four pillars including rights at work; employment creation; social protection; social dialogue and tripartism (see Figure 6). Table 1 below provides detail drawn from live music practitioners about the current practices in South Africa.

Table 1: Decent Work Practice in the South African Live Music Ecosystem

Decent work indicators	Practice in the South African Live Music Ecosystem
1. Employment opportunities	• There is a projected 7,9% growth of live music revenue over the next five years (PWC quoted in ConcertsSA 2016). This does not include revenue from informal settings (clubs, restaurants, bars, churches, and family gatherings). • It is difficult to measure as it is characterised by informality with income opportunities, rather than employment, mostly of a freelance, casual or part time nature. • Opportunities are also seasonal with little expectation of income generation all year round. • Technical producers expressed optimism about employment opportunities for young people. • Covid -19 restrictions were not uniformly negative with a few established artists reporting substantial demand while for many (youth, emerging artists) it represented increased vulnerability: 90% of the live music ecosystem lost income which resulted (for some) in selling personal instruments to pay basic costs while others considered leaving the sector (IKS Consulting 2021).

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2. Adequate earnings and productive work	• Live music is not only one of the highest earners in the music value chain with related revenue streams that can be leveraged off of it (CSA 2016, p. 7), but it also provides income to a range of artists, cultural workers and cultural and non-cultural professionals in the sector. • Income can be earned from a range of sources such as "fees, branding, merchandising, royalties[2] and sync deals[3]" (Joffe and Wangusa 2022). • Since musicians do not expect to work every day of the week, many rely on 2-3 gigs per month to earn fairly. • MIA's recent *Revenue Streams for Music Creators in South Africa* report (2022) reported an average income of R13 000 per month. • Live music is seasonal, meaning that it is exceedingly difficult to earn income all year round which results in hardship and mental health challenges. This may be different in the informal economy where micro live shows abound although these are not always fee paying. "It is only in places such as New York or Los Angeles where musicians can expect to earn a living from being in live music: even in London only 5% of musicians earn an income solely from the music". • Some good practices emerging from established promoters included payment of a 50% upfront fee with the balance paid a week before the live show. • Musicians must fund costs when these are not borne by venues such as backline, rehearsal costs, hospitality in addition to regular layout of funds for transport and the purchase[4] and maintenance of instruments. • During Covid 19 additional costs related to high data costs, energy blackouts and poor cellular connectivity all with implications for livestreaming. Livestreaming was rejected by some since it would not reach their target audiences in the townships.
3. Working time arrangement	• Working time arrangements show a wide range in live music. Trading time for live music used to be mostly 7pm until late but with the Covid-19 pandemic, day time sets became popular, especially Sunday afternoons. • There is little uniformity with respect to many elements: a signed contract or any contract at all; negotiations with band leaders on price or working conditions; agreement on set lengths (50-60 mins), number of sets (1, 2 or 3) or rest times (30-40 mins); specification about responsibilities related to occupational health and safety. • Good practice is evident from established festival promoters to formal live venues but how contracts are structured depends variously on the band, the genre, the day of the week, the deal (combination of flat fixed fee and door takings). It is negotiated band for band and changes over time. • The Event Technical Production Services (ETPS) forum submitted draft guidelines to the South African Department of Employment and Labour for unique sector employment codes which, if approved, will delineate standards of practice, minimum wages, working conditions, ethics and rights of workers. • Poor practice is evident in some established live music venues with reports that in one establishment: "sets are played for 5 hours with food provided to the band only at the end of the evening". • These poor practices are linked to the absence of contracts for most musicians. For those who sign contracts, respondents noted how easily these are breached with some musicians so financially desperate that they opt to play for food in some of the smaller venues or for 'exposure'.

[2] More info: http://www.concertssa.co.za/wp-content/uploads/2015/04/Digital-Futures-online.pdf.
[3] More info: https://diymusician.cdbaby.com/music-career/sync-licensing/
[4] Tax relief is only attached to stringed instruments (Gwen Ansell).

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4. Combining work, family and personal life	• Disturbances to the work life balance are a key characteristic of CCW. Live music in particular is dependent on leisure hours (evenings, weekends) and therefore has a direct impact on work life balance. • This is particularly difficult for women musicians who besides contending with family responsibilities at night or on weekends also need to worry about late night transport (access and safety) or extended time away if touring (not to mention the prevalence, in South Africa of gender based violence – especially when alcohol is involved - on the streets, in bars, in public spaces and public transport). • Many musicians seek secondary jobs to sustain their career. With high unemployment in all sectors of the economy key supplementary income sources are corporate work, private or university tuition or merchandising.
5. Work that should be abolished	• While exploitative conditions abound in the informal economy of CCW given the lack of regulation and general desperation of those with no income generating activities, none of the respondents whether active in the informal or formal parts, commented on this aspect.
6. Stability and security of work	• The seasonality of the live music calendar, tourism links, general unemployment, as well as the overriding informality present in the ecosystem, means additional income streams are essential for musicians. • Additional income streams can be found from fees, branding, merchandising, royalties, sync deals, corporate work and teaching, but are often insufficient to make a living. • Job security in the context of CCW is virtually impossible.
7. Equal opportunities and treatment in employment	• The live music ecosystem is male dominated and in some areas largely untransformed (i.e. predominantly white). • Practices and opportunities privilege men. • It is largely a night-time economy which has implications for women musicians and cultural practitioners such as lack of access to transport, unsafe streets, and the extent of gender-based violence in the South African society. • Being on tour provides added challenges to women in the music ecosystem given family responsibilities, exploitation and abuse that occurs on tour.
8. Safe work environment	• Safe work environments are also subject to the hierarchy of venues described earlier with large events and formal establishment mostly observing basic safety and health standards and regulations while non-compliance is widely observed in smaller and informal events. • An oft quoted problem is poor stage construction as well as the absence of dressing rooms, which primarily impacts women musicians. • There are regulations for large events (thanks to the South African Promoters Association) which rely on enforcement by the joint operations committee[5] of a local municipality. • During Covid 19 desperation for work and limited funding enabled what some called 'cowboy' promoters who took risks, flouted health and safety
9. Social security	• There is little to no social security and musicians as all cultural practitioners are not covered by South Africa's sophisticated labour relations legislation and associated regulations which protect employees (because they are not covered by the definition of 'employee'). • This impacts musicians' and cultural practitioners' access to health care, disability provisions, maternity leave, employment injury, unemployment insurance, old age benefits, or compensation for death of a family member, in other words, all forms of social protection including forms of collective bargaining enjoyed by other workers. • Live music practitioners are paid principally for results or for projects rather than time spent working. • There are new developments supported by the South African Law Reform Commission (SALRC, 2021) and the musicians union, TUMSA that will benefit live music artists and practitioners' access to social security whether in the formal economy or the informal economy.

[5] The City of Johannesburg Joint Operations Committee (JOC) includes Disaster Management, City Parks, City Power, Event Management, Emergency Management Services, Environmental Health, Johannesburg Development Agency, Johannesburg Metro Police Department, Johannesburg Water, Johannesburg Roads Agency, Metrobus and Pikitup, and the South African Police Service.

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10. Social dialogue, employers and workers representation	• Respondents did not believe that any of the decent work indicators were present in the live music ecosystem. • Respondents were familiar with concepts related to decent work with one emphasising the importance of knowledge: "Education and training is the foundation of decent employment because once an artist has knowledge he cannot be easily exploited, and he is able to work professionally and widen his/her career choices". • Social dialogue is still embryonic in the live music ecosystem despite the existence of a trade union, TUMSA, which was established in 2016 and formally registered in 2018. • TUMSA is also working to improve the professionalism within the ecosystem to overcome the stigma of musicians 'not taking life and their work seriously' and of 'rampant drug abuse'.



Figure 6: Decent Work pillars

The first pillar "Rights at work" cannot be assured in the South African live music ecosystem as "norms and standards are absent in this sector" (Joffe and Wangusa, 2022). Joffe and Wangusa argue that "while there are pockets of good practice, even 'excellence', there are a few areas where consistency is needed" (2022). The SA live music ecosystem is differentiated by the size, status and financing of the gig. The top layer is characterised by regulation, professionalism, and international standards in remuneration, health and safety and contracts. Licenses to the South African Music Rights Organisation (SAMRO) and performance licences are also observed.

As a result, working conditions, pay and security vary by nature and size of the venue or event. A respondent from TUMSA explained how this works:

> "The big players would be your international promoters those who would book international acts to come and perform in Africa … in stadiums or in massive venues like a Standard Bank arena, or the Cape Town jazz festival … maybe 2,3,4,5 times a year and then on the same stage, you would have some of your most prominent local artists at the time, people who are popular at that time. They would share the stage with those international artists [….] and get a lot of a play – on radio and TV and they would make a lot of money for those appearances, because of the exposure and the revenue that's available from various sources because of the high-profile nature of those events".

The next layer are other big venues and hotel chains, restaurant, clubs and spaces where there might be food, drink and even a dance floor. These events regularly host live music.

> "[It includes] your 5000 or your 3000-seater which have fairly regular events … where high profile local artists would be the main liners, and those would be the same artists, that you would find supporting the international artists. The next layer down would be either bands, or it would be one or a full band or two-man band or three-man band or women bands and then also it may either also be one or two DJ".

The layer below includes smaller venues such as hotels, restaurants, bars, churches and clubs where there is typically little collection of music royalties.

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> "[Here] you would typically just have one person with a backing track, they would sing or maybe play a few instruments, maybe they've got loops going … the same artists play in the same venue three or four nights a week … but these days it's different. People want instant gratification … just one night a week … just the sort of background music".

As musicians move through the hierarchy they discover "less and less enforcement of decent work standards and norms" (Joffe and Wangusa 2022). These decent work deficits have been severely impacted by the Covid-19 pandemic with key fault lines exposed especially in relation to remuneration, working conditions, social protection, and gender inequality.

Decent work, while visible in the more formal areas of the live music ecosystem (dedicated live music venues, established festivals and the like), is largely absent in the rest of the live music ecosystem especially in informal establishments and for many musicians working informally. Importantly this formality/informality duality exists throughout. The same is true of festivals, concerts and other gigs were the formality/informality distinctions for decent work persist. A few established live venues and some promoters provided evidence of good practice (standard fees, contracts, attention to occupational health and safety, working time). For live venues this included either full flat fee or part fixed fee and a door percentage as well as payment 24-48 hours after the gig, while live venues and festivals offered contracts that specified fees, hospitality, promotion responsibilities, rehearsal and call times.

However, for others, some problematic practices persist. While venue owners and festival promoters tend to have a contract with the band leader band members are not always paid or not paid appropriately. This non-payment is justified by some as it is considered an 'honour' to be part of the band or play with the band leader especially if a recording might result; delayed payment to band members even if the band leader was paid timeously; a lack of consistency with respect to hospitality, set times or number of sets played. Venue owners believe this practice is out of their hands.

The "Employment Creation" pillar is likely to follow from the slow expected recovery largely on the back of "paid-for music streaming services, increasing from R1.73bn in 2016 to R2.05 billion in 2020" (PWC, 2016). However the lack of consistency in income generation means that multi-tasking and multi-skilling within live music is common, with one musician explaining that "I am at different times an Artist Manager, Booking Agent, Promoter and Creative Producer". Opportunities are driven by a vibrant festival and night-time economy in some areas. Established artists are often dependent on their managers and booking agents to perform the role of securing income opportunities.

The third pillar "Social Protection", when not provided by the state, needs to be individually accommodated. However the lack of regular income and the few existing opportunities means that for many, there is simply insufficient earnings to ensure protection. Notable exceptions include the formal structures of orchestras or ensembles that "may offer additional permanent employment benefits like medical aid, life/disability insurance and retirement annuity, as well as instrument insurance and an allowance for reeds and strings" (Gcingca 2022). Working with corporates also does not necessarily mean that there is surplus on the income to accommodate social protection requirements. During the pandemic corporates were also under huge financial strain so that some managers and agents had to make exceptions about using backing tracks (two or three songs in a maximum of 30 minutes). Some music practitioners found a solution to the low fees earned by musicians and produced pre-recorded tracks. These tracks earned a usage fee with the agents or managers producing additional content for the online event both at the front and back of the pre-recorded track. With many puzzling over how to monetise these online performances, one respondent concluded that 1 million streams would be needed to "earn an equivalent to a performance by a mid-tier artist at a large music festival".

Musicians and cultural practitioners in the live music ecosystem rely on festivals to boost their earnings. Usually (outside of Covid-19), South Africa has a vast array of festivals across many genres from electronic music[6], popular music (Splashy Fen Music Festival), jazz festivals[7], Rock, pop, indie, hip hop and dance music festivals[8], and a host of gospel music festivals (Cape Town International Gospel festival, Gospel Under the Stars, Macufe[9]). Respondents noted that rather than standard rates, fees are based on several criteria such as the presence of a sponsor, what the ticket price is, where the venue is (urban centre or smaller town, indoor or outdoor). For some, flat fees are most acceptable as its "too risky" to rely on door takings.

Promoters, on the other hand, seemed cognisant of exploitative arrangements and argued that a standard fee for backup musicians is necessary to avoid these. However, many noted how poorly understood contracts were explaining that "Artists are unable to justify their charges. Basic accounting of what band leader wants, what each member needs to receive, administration costs, sound engineering, rehearsal, drummer base etc. is often not known […]

[6] https://onthebeatingtravel.com/electronic-music-festivals-in-south-africa/
[7] http://www.joyofjazz.co.za/home and https://www.capetownjazzfest.com/
[8] https://www.festicket.com/countries/south-africa/
[9] https://www.facebook.com/OfficialMacufe/

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only one artist (out of 100s) distinguishes each item in their quotation whereas others are offended if asked".

For most musicians balancing work, family and personal life is a personal choice or a necessity if this is the only form of livelihood possible or desirable. A good work-life balance in the live music is less about regulating working time, reducing working hours or creating predictable schedules, or even providing flexible working arrangements since these are built into the very nature of live music, with festivals and concerts severely compromising family life whether for women or men. This is an added imperative to consider social protection arrangements so that paid leave, whether maternity/paternity/family leave, is available.

Transformation of the gendered nature of the live music ecosystem is slow but changes are evident with women occupying positions of venue owner, instrument player, DJ and in technical production. However, for the latter, women in technical production still face the challenge of not being taken seriously "because of societal norms and social constructs in South African society" (Joffe and Wangusa 2022). Power and hierarchy in our patriarchal society also impact women in this ecosystem severely, with respondents noting that the experiences of women by men translate into new forms of exploitation by some women.

Many of the respondents reported that their employment/ work opportunities are dependent on a conducive policy environment supporting the live music ecosystem from direct value chain support (venues, festivals, expertise, small business) to related support of safety, transport, education, hospitality and tourism, especially in the night-time economy. Much of the direct value chain support has been deeply affected by COVID, while related support mechanisms remain poorly integrated and, at times, absent (such as a night-time policy).

There is cause for optimism in the work of the SALRC which has provided a definition of a self-employed worker that consists of own-account workers as well as wage workers to support their integration into the definition of "employee" in key labour relations legislation (Unemployment Insurance Act, 2001; the Unemployment Insurance Contributions Act, 2002; and the Basic Conditions of Employment Act, 1997). Importantly they made provision for maternity and parental benefits for workers in the informal sector in this legislation. The inclusion of CCW in the informal economy provides the first opportunity to extend social protection measures to the CCE. It also paves the way to develop norms and standards relating to working conditions, occupational health and safety, etc.

Importantly, two key intermediaries, the South African Guild of Actors (SAGA) and the Trade Union of Musicians of South Africa (TUMSA) have done substantial work to lobby for amendments to labour laws. SAGA lobbied government to alter the definition of an employee to include cultural workers which will provide access to regulatory provisions in the same way as the new category of 'dependent contractor' in labour statistics[10] (SAGA 2020; SALRC 2021). SAGA has also successfully negotiated contracts with major producing bodies in the respective CCE sectors to ensure terms and conditions provide some, if limted, protection to freelancers while TUMSA has lobbied for amended labour laws and suggested changes to the Basic Conditions of Employment Act so that even though many musicians have multiple employers and are often juggling up to 10 contracts per week (whether oral or written), they remain workers.

The final pillar, "Social Dialogue" requires two parties, representative worker bodies (such as TUMSA with its 200 plus members and affiliation to COSATU) and representative employers' bodies. Despite the excellent advocacy and mobilising work by TUMSA in its short existence (established in 2016), its ability to negotiate, consult or exchange information is hampered both by the absence of employer bodies in the live music ecosystem as well as a reluctant partner in government.

Finally, to evaluate the scope for the promotion of decent work in the live music ecosystem, we need to acknowledge those factors that hinder its promotion. This relates to a lack of solidarity in the ecosystem - 'we are on our own' - with difficulties in accessing both financial and non-financial support. The lack of solidarity results in a lack of information or transparency throughout the live music value chain resulting in an absence of known fees or norms and standards in the industry. Young musicians, women and the disabled are most likely to "earn lower fees, have poorer contracts and face greater levels of precarity" (Joffe and Wangusa 2022). This is not to say there is no solidarity as evidenced during Covid 19 when live music venues and musicians who were grant recipients supported others who they knew to be in a dire situation, with recordings and live streaming[11].

The reach of education and training about how to succeed as a live musician is inadequate for certain groups of people (children or young adults) and there are few "mechanisms (incentives, subsidies, training programmes) to enable ongoing consistent mentoring

[10] The term "Dependent Contractor" is an international term adopted at the 20th International Conference of Labour Statisticians (ICLS) in October 2018. A Resolution was passed at this conference to include a new meta-category of Dependent Contractors in the revised International Classification of Status in Employment (designated ICSE 18). For a summary see WIEGO blog https://www.wiego.org/blog/understanding-statistical-term-%E2%80%9Cdependent-contractor%E2%80%9D-qa-firoza-mehrotra

[11] Webinar on 11th November 2021 hosted by IKS Consulting and South African Cultural Observatory on Impact Analysis: Live Music and its Venues and the South African Economy during COVID-19 presented by Andre Le Roux, Gwen Ansell and Attiyah Kahn. www.iksconsulting.co.za.

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from established venue owners, festival promoters, performers, and musicians" (Joffe and Wangusa 2022). A critical absence is in adequate basic business support from the provision of services, spaces or skills training, contract support such as standard agreements for promoters, musicians, booking agents and managers or event planning for small festivals.

VI. Final Thoughts and Opportunities for Support

Our research into live music reveals an ecosystem that is struggling, in which decent work conditions are largely absent across the live music value chain, and in which for some, insecurity has become critical. While there is indeed some evidence of decent work, this is largely confined to the established larger players in the formal economy (venues and festivals). All other spaces for live music in the formal economy and most of the informal economy is fraught with decent work deficits from unpair pay, exploitative conditions, gender inequality, and poor health and safety provision.

The live music ecosystem responses to the Decent Work indicators also reveals inadequacies in the ILO's primary policy response of formalisation (ILO 2018). These CCW work experiences show that the drivers of informality remain powerful, namely, in the ILO's own words, "the economic context, the legal, regulatory and policy framework's and to some micro level determinants such as a low level of education, discrimination, poverty and … lack of markets" (ILO n.d.). In the absence of these drivers being addressed, the existence and growth of the informal economy is assured. New developments such as digital technologies have also facilitated the shift to informal working. This interrogation of formalisation needs to accommodate the large number of people working in the informal economy, since "supporting the working poor in the informal economy is a key pathway to reducing poverty and inequality" (Chen 2012, p. 6). A dominant focus therefore on enforcing formalisation could "drive the informal economy underground or may reduce the informal economy in ways harmful to those (previously and perhaps still) dependent upon it" (Brown et al. 2014: 11).

In this regard it is necessary to bring this literature on the atypical and precarious nature of CCW into conversation with that on informality to better understand informal cultural value chains and work relationships in the CCE. This is because informal cultural and creative workers are not necessarily similar to those in the rest of the informal economy where labour intensity and low skill is more common, and earnings are low. Rather, in the CCE there can be substantial capital investment, both self-taught skills and formally acquired skills even tertiary education, and the possibility (not guarantee) of high incomes earned (Comunian and England 2020; SACO 2019). Eveleigh (2013) expounds on the affordances of informality:

> "While this segment of the Creative Economy looks (and is in a structural sense) chaotic, unregulated and mostly disorganised (in the sense of representative associations able to engage and lobby the state), practically it is effective, productive, flexible and – in respective arts disciplines – skilled, even where self-taught, exhibiting a high degree of business acumen (even where management and accounting functions are weak".

Despite the recognition in the literature that precariousness and CCW is axiomatic, the context of high unemployment and the extent of the informal economy in South Africa means that there are gradients of precariousness in CCW not seen in Global North contexts. This is overlaid by the legacy of Apartheid which institutionalised racism and discrimination against black people. That this precariousness is deepened if you are a black woman living in informal settlements with poor education, is clear; but that this precariousness is further deepened if most of your live music income is derived from work that cannot be considered decent by any indicators set by the ILO and by a lack of legislative coverage – whether labour standards or social protection- is not often recognised.

The live music ecosystem needs a well-managed circuit for venues which combine dedicated live music spaces with related spaces such as restaurants, clubs, pubs, and hotels. It will also require a well-defined strategy (focusing on both remuneration and musical rights) for digital uptake so that musicians are able to self-record, live stream and promote their own content. Social capital in the form of solidarity within the live music ecosystem has been found to be supportive especially when combined with mentoring, infrastructure access and financial support.

There are several areas where opportunities exist to support the live music ecosystem and enhance its status. As one respondent simply stated: "afford the sector the same respect as any other sector".

First, there is increased potential to earn income from livestreaming and post the livestreaming performance[12]. The exposure livestreaming offers locally and globally and the reach beyond the core metropolitan urban centres can be leveraged for branding, marketing and collaborations, but would require attention to data costs and those relating to studio time (CSA 2021: 24-29).

Second, are the opportunities to be gleaned from the robust evidence-based research currently being conducted by government, agencies and consultancies such as the DTI, SACO, Concerts SA, IKS

[12] The Concerts SA study reported that the majority of respondents (60%) had "given exclusive rights to the master recording to the artist. 30% reported agreeing to an equal sharing arrangement between the venue/platform and artist. For 10% of participants, the venue/platform retains exclusive rights ownership" (CSA, 2021: 24).

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consulting, Music in Africa Foundation, especially against cultural occupations and music revenues. Third, is the important role played by intermediaries in any ecosystem acting as a buffer between government and individual music practitioners and playing the role of information repository and dissemination, funding and scholarship support, training and mentoring as well as facilitating access to more established financial institutions and other corporates. Here, there are substantial opportunities extending from MOSHITO, Concerts SA, National Arts Council, Pro Helvetia, Music in Africa Foundation, SAMRO Foundation, TUMSA as well as the Higher Education sector. The latter provides opportunities to provide structured support to live music from contract management, decent work to IP rights and the impact of digital technologies on the business models of live music. The latter also plays a crucial role, along with other public theatres, in providing access to their well-equipped spaces as well as music recording studios for live streaming and pre-recording opportunities.

Fourth, is the important place of policy and regulation in supporting the live music ecosystem. Here, the system of governance for culture in South Africa is perfectly poised to support the growth and viability of the live music ecosystem especially since the endorsement of the Revised White Paper (DAC, 2020) and the engagement of the music ecosystem participants in the Creative Industry Masterplan process[13], notwithstanding some critical concerns relating to the lack of trust between civil society and government and the poor historical trajectory of policy implementation. There are also areas of policy and regulation that need urgent attention such as marshalling of supply side instruments such as reducing tariffs on equipment (PA systems, speakers, microphones, lights or staging) or subsidising the purchase of backline for live music venues. A key area for live music is appropriate policy for the night-time economy (noise by laws, alcohol licencing, street security, transport and incentives to create a conducive environment). These policies and regulations would give live music the recognition of a highly integrated ecosystem, largely located in the urban economy in which music and entertainment licences should receive similar priority as does liquor and health licences. Central to this non-monetary support would be a sectoral determination[14] to afford live music practitioners labour rights and extend social protection to all cultural and creative workers.

Finally, there is the opportunity to involve all social partners from those who participated in the government's Masterplan process (DTI, 2022) as well as those that will be called up to support the development of a music industry implementation strategy (DSAC, 2023) to support a 'charter' of decent work that live music venues, concert and festival promoters, recording studios and even smaller establishments sign allowing them to attract funding, support, investment as well as employ the musicians of their choice in conditions that are considered 'decent'.

Acknowledgement

We acknowledge the International Labour Organisation for the opportunity to work on this assignment "Promoting decent work in the African cultural and creative economy" and for their invaluable feedback, as well as Avril Joffe's co-author, Ayeta Wangusa. Avril Joffe and Florence Mukanga-Majachani conducted the live music case study.

Funding

Funding was received from the International Labour Organisation's Regional Office for Africa for a forthcoming study on 'Promoting decent work in the African cultural and creative economy'.

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[13] The Creative Industry Master Plan can be found here http://www.nationalarchives.gov.za/sites/default/files/u4521/Annexure%20A%20-%20Creative%20Industries%20MasterPlan.pdf

[14] According to the Basic Conditions of Employment Act (BCEA), the Minister of Labour and Employment may make a sectoral determination establishing basic conditions of employment for employees in a sector and area. This sectoral determination is then published by notice in the Government Gazette and regulates sector-specific needs such as the wages of commission earners, different hours of work and setting minimum wages in certain sectors.

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Global Journal of human-social science: C
Sociology & Culture
Volume 23 Issue 2 Version 1.0 Year 2023
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal
Publisher: Global Journals
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

Self-reporting of youth delinquency in the Balkans and beyond: Results of the ISRD3 International Self-Reporting Study of Delinquency in the Context of Violence, Victimization, and Substance Abuse in Comparative Aspects

By Dr. Sc. Mensut Ademi & Prof. Ass. Dr. Sc. Veton Vula

Abstract- This article publications on the first results of the third International Self-Publikation Study of Delinquency (ISRD-3), a large international collaborative study of delinquency and victimization of 14- to 18-year-old students. The analysis is based on a sub-sample of the data set: 2060 respondents from 4 cities in the Republic of Kosovo. The prevalence rate of the main categories of delinquency in comparison to individual countries participating in ISRD3, as well as for 6 groups of countries, are presented as well as data on experiences of victimization (theft and robbery/extortion). Using different measures, we have compared the data with our country where there are significant differences in the level and type of offense found between groups of countries such as Europe, America and other countries. In this article, we compare the rates of offending and victimization found by ISRD-3 with other main sources of national statistics available in the Republic of Kosovo based on the police and the prosecutor. The article concludes with implications and suggestions for further research.

Keywords: national and international comparison, ISRD-3, police data, self-publications, victimization studies, youth delinquency.

GJHSS-C Classification: LCC: HV9104-910

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Dr. Sc. Mensut Ademi [α] & Prof. Ass. Dr. Sc. Veton Vula [σ]

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I. Introduction

As in other areas, the delinquency of minors has become problematic in every country and the comparison of measures against them is more necessary (I. Marshall, M. Killias, D, Ezman ISRD2, 2010). For researchers, this research increases the possibilities for theory testing, while for policymakers, it allows the evaluation of their policies through 'benchmarking'. In criminology, two types of readily available data are used to place a country's particular "crime problem" in the wider international context: First, international organizations provide their evidence (Interpol, the United Nations provides data officially recorded crime for a large number of countries i.e. crime publikationed to the police, arrests, prosecutions, convictions, Aebi et al., 2006).[1]

A second important source of comparative delinquency data is that obtained between ISRD3 and the International Crime Victimization Survey (ICVS) (van Dijk et al., 2007a, 2007b, Aebi et al. 2002; Robert, 2009; Zauberman, 2009).[2]

Here we present the Third International Self-Publikationed Delinquency Study (ISRD-3), Self-publikation surveys of delinquency have been a mainstay of delinquency research for more than half a century, these studies have typically been limited to a, or at most, in a small proportion of countries (Wikström and Svensson, 2008, focus on Sweden and England). At the European level, there are few comparative studies focusing on young people; an example is the European School Study Project on Alcohol and Other Drugs (ESPAD) (see Hibell et al., 2004). Another example is the Program for International Student Assessment (PISA) and this has been a very interesting case in the Republic of Kosovo, whereas a project we think is targeted, but during the implementation, there are errors in taking the sample, (internationally standardized of 15-year-olds in schools, implemented in 62 countries of the world in 2009). The WHO Publikation on Health Behavior in School-Aged Children (HBSC) contains international self-publikation data on the use and abuse of cannabis (Currie et al., 2008).[3]

Until now, the first International Self-Publikationed Delinquency Study (ISRD-1; Junger-Tas et al., 1994) was conducted in 1992, focusing explicitly on youth delinquency and victimization for 13 countries in the same time continues with the second study of this type and, compared to ISRD-1, it has expanded greatly in scope and in the number of participating countries (Junger-Tas et al., 2010) and finally, ISRD3 has received an international expansion and reputation.

In this article, we present the first descriptive results of the extent of self-publikationed delinquency (12-month prevalence rates), as well as youth victimization experiences in our country Kosovo, comparing some data with countries in the region such

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[1] For an overview of the methodological issues related to the self-publikation method, see Junger-Tas and Marshall (1999).

[2] Although the bulk of the ISRD-2 countries is European, it is important to keep in mind that there are also countries from the American continent involved: Canada, USA, Venezuela, Aruba, Netherlands Antilles, and Suriname.

[3] I. Marshall, D. Ezman, M. Killias, Self-publikationed youth delinquency in Europe and beyond: First results of the Second International Self-Publikation Delinquency Study in the context of police and victimization data ISRD2, 2010

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as Serbia, Macedonia, Bosnia, and Herzegovina. These preliminary comparisons will test the validity of delinquency prevalence rates derived from different sources.

II. ISRD3 in Kosovo

About 27 international countries participated in the ISRD3 project and their data are available, presenting findings on self-publikationed offending and victimization as the participation of 62,636 young people in cities or regions of Armenia, Austria, Belgium, Bosnia-Herzegovina., Croatia, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, India, Indonesia, Italy, Kosovo, Lithuania, Macedonia, Netherlands, Serbia, Switzerland, Ukraine, United Kingdom, United States and Venezuela.

The main goal of the ISRD project is theory testing and research mechanisms that explain delinquency in a way that enables us to factor in national differences and contextual sources of influence. Second, the project produces information that provides local stakeholders with information about specifics patterns of youth crime in their areas.[4]

In addition to these aims, the project enables the comparison of delinquency patterns in different areas and cities – that is the focus of the current publication.

However, we aim to do more than simply present models of delinquency different areas and cities around the world. We also want to highlight – from the perspective of social indicators – the problem of relying on official police data such as better measurement of dimensions of youth crime and victimization. In the same time, from a methodological point of view, we want to emphasize the limits of self-publikationing delinquency surveys, especially in a comparative context. And finally, we love place more firmly a number of problems related to crime and victimization of young people on countries' policy agendas – such as the use of violence by parents against their children.

III. Methodology and Sample Description

The ISRD has two distinctive features as a comparative study of youth crime and victimization: the large number and cultural diversity of participants in our country Kosovo and explicitly comparative design. How to overcome the many challenges or how to get the data in time or early warning.[5]

An integral part of comparative survey research has been a preoccupation of a long tradition of researchers in the field of cultural anthropology, sociology, political science. and criminology, with few clear solutions (Allardt 1990; Armer & Grimshaw 1973; Bennett 2009; Plaku, 1976; Howard et al. 2000; Kohn, 1987; Karstedt 2001; Marshall & Marshall 1983; Nelken 2009; Prezworski & Teune 2010). 1970; Ragin, 1987; Rokkan 1968; Smelser, 1976; 2003; Van de Vijver & Tanzer 2004). During the implementation of ISRD3 there are many challenges and problems such as technical, human and logistical, but awareness of these problems is the best weapon against oversimplification or misinterpretation of the results (Marshall & Enzmann 2012, 21).

a) Sampling

The data collection models of the ISRD3 project are according to the research protocol, samples should be city-based, covering students from grades 7 to 9, corresponding to the age categories 12-14, 13-15 and 14-16 in our case, we have two cities in two regions, that of Prishtina as the capital and that of Prizren as the second city in the country.[6]

Data in two cities were sampled from 2500 minor respondents in the 7th, 8th, 9th, 10th and 11th grades, so the minimum sample was 1800, the size and types of cities differ in different countries and some countries have chosen more samples. broad or national. Therefore, due to the heterogeneity of the sample, we should refrain from overgeneralizing the findings across countries. The survey should not be considered representative of the entire youth population in these countries, but instead of students in grades 7 through 11 in the cities or regions in which the data were collected.

b) Description of the sample

The publication is based on a total sample of 3,737 students in 49 schools classes gathered in two cities in Kosovo (Prishtina and Prizren), the biggest cities in our country and as cities where, since 1999, there has been a lot of migration towards them from rural areas. (Sample sizes across countries range from 647 in Serbia, 796 in Armenia and 1,080 inches Kosovo to 3,737 in Estonia, 4,072 in Switzerland and 6,492 in Austria;11 13 of 27 countries have samples between 1,600 and 2,400 cases. India and Austria, The average sample size is 2230 cases.)[7]

IV. Social Background of the Respondents

The ISRD-3 questionnaire includes questions on the social background of the respondents. In the first

[4] At the time of writing there were 33 ISRD3 participants who had signed the collaboration agreement; 26 had finished data collection and supplied a technical publikation by early 2017. The US data should be considered preliminary and incomplete, since data collection in the United States was still ongoing at the time of writing

[5] For a more detailed explanation of the basic ISRD research and methodology, see Marshall and Enzmann (2012, 21-65)

[6] https://www.askk-ks.com/isrd/

[7] https://www.researchgate.net/publication/320085714_Introduction_to_the_International_Self-Publikation_Delinquency_Study_ISRD3

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part of this chapter, we will present basic demographic information about our sample, i.e. about variables that include age, gender, place of birth, ethnicity (belonging to national groups), religion and its importance, living arrangement and family status. Key demographic characteristics are presented only for the five countries sampled. In the second part, we will present the basic findings about delinquency, victimization and substance use, their basic relationships with independent variables of social background, such as social well-being, ethnicity, religion, family constellation, etc.[8]

	Armenia	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Kosovo	Macedonia	Serbia	Ukraine	Switzerland[9]
female	61.0%	51.4%	49.0%	49.2%	48.1%	50.8%	51.3%
male	39.0%	48.6%	51.0%	50.8%	51.9%	49.2%	48.7%
N=	962	3063	1078	1239	886	1651	4158

This informs about the distribution of male and female respondents

In Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo, Macedonia and Ukraine the students of the 7-9th grades participated in the survey. In Armenia, juveniles also from the 10th grade were taken into the sample. It can be explained by the age of students. In accordance with the research plan, the age of ISRD-3 respondents should be from 12 till 16 years old regardless the grade. In Serbia there are also juveniles from the 10th-12th grades. It can be explained by conducting the survey also in the higher grades, among older students. But for the purpose of this publikation, only the students of the needed age were taken, regardless their school grade. The following table shows the age distribution.[10]

	Armenia	Bosnia and Herzegovina	Kosovo	Macedonia	Serbia	Ukraine	Switzerland[11]
10-12	14.1%	13.3%	31.5%	5.4%	4.9%	28.1%	
13	30.7%	32.8%	34.7%	29.4%	23.7%	30.4%	24.8%
14	33.8%	36.5%	28.3%	34.0%	20.4%	30.6%	24.7%
15-17	21.4%	17.5%	5.5%	31.1%	22.9%	10.9%	50.6%
N=	957	3056	1078	1237	886	1651	4158

This table shows the distribution of the age among respondents in all five countries. Less than five respondents in each country identified themselves as 18-20 years old. They were recoded as missed answers to allow the comparison of these countries with other ISRD-3 results. More detailed age distribution of Swiss respondents can be seen in the Swiss National Publikation, Table 1.2, where respondents of 13, 14, 15, and 16 years old are presented as a quarter for each group.

a) *Birthplace of respondents, their parents; belonging to minority/majority groups; and religion*

The following group of tables and figures shows the main demographic characteristics of juveniles in Armenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo, Macedonia, Ukraine, and Switzerland.

Countries of Ex-Yugoslavia are among the largest sources of immigrants to Switzerland, but in comparison with the previous years, fewer amounts of people came to Switzerland from this region. For instance, the number of immigrants with Serbian nationality decreased from 90.7 (in 2013) till 78.1 (in 2014) thousand[12] (Results of ISRD-3 in Serbia is not presented in this Publikation). It became ~ 4.7% in 2013 and 3.9% in 2013 from the total population of the foreign permanent residents in Switzerland. More information about the countries that participated in ISRD-3 is in the following Figure and Table.

[8] The Third International Self-publikation Study of Delinquency among Juveniles in Armenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo, Macedonia, Serbia, Ukraine, and Switzerland Publikation to the Jacobs Foundation (Project N 2012-1026), Swiss Federal Office of Migration (04.04.2012) Swiss National Science Foundation (Project 10001C_162816)

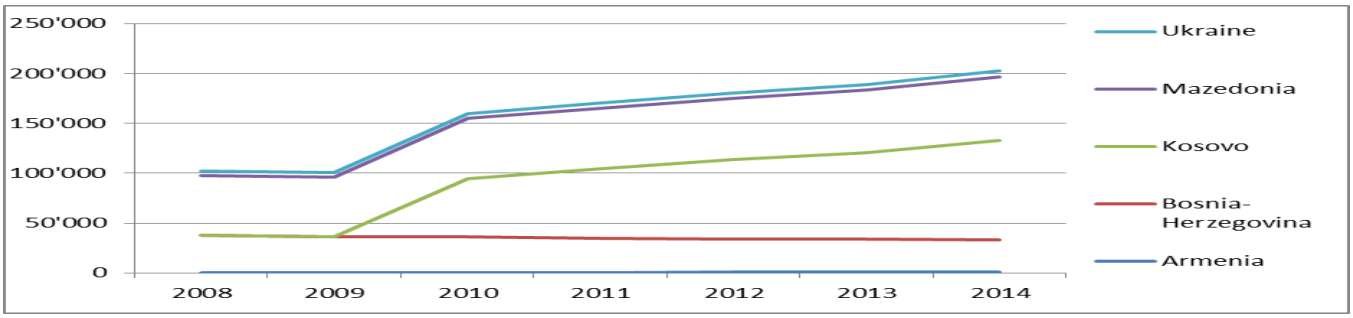
[9] Weighted data

[10] M. Killias, A. Lukash, M. Ademi, The Third International Self-publikation Study of Delinquency among Juveniles in Armenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo, Macedonia, Serbia, Ukraine, and Switzerland

[11] Foreign permanent resident population by nationality. The Swiss Statistics Web site. Federal Statistical Office (FSO) http://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/portal/en/index/themen/01/07/blank/key/01/01.html

[12] Weighted data

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Minority/majority status and origin of parents, in %

	Armenia	Bosnia-Herzegovina	Kosovo	Macedonia	Serbia	Ukraine	Switzerland[13]
Born in this country	90.1	92.0	84.5	96.0	96.6	95.8	86.2
Born in other countries	9.9	8.0	15.5	4.0	3.4	4.2	13.8
N=	962	3063	1078	1239	882	1651	4158

The highest percentage of juveniles born in this country is in Macedonia, Serbia and Ukraine (96.0%, 96.6%, and 95.8%). The lowest number of students who were born not in the native country is in Kosovo and Switzerland (85.5% and 86.2%). Some students also wrote their native country in the answer "other countries". But the number of such respondents is no more than one percent.

b) *Data about the religion in 5 countries provided by Nation Master and other sources*

This table represents the official data of religion in each country. Armenia is a relatively homogenous country. More than 90% of the population affiliate the Armenian Apostolic religion that is the part of Oriental Orthodoxy[14]. In Bosnia-Herzegovina 40% of the population affiliate Islam and one third identify themselves as Orthodox. More than 90% of people in Kosovo are Muslim. Two thirds of the Macedonian population is Eastern Orthodox and one third is Muslim. In Ukraine more than two thirds of people are Orthodox. There are also a lot of other Christian confessions. Serbia is a multi-religious country. The dominant religion is Orthodox Christianity (notably the Serbian Orthodox Church), but there are also some adherents of Islam (living mostly in the southwestern part of Serbia in the region of Sandžak or Raška, in the municipalities of Preševo and Bujanovac in southern Serbia), and Catholic Christianity (living mostly in northern part of Vojvodina province), as well as adherents of other religious groups such are Protestant Christians, Jews, and others.

[13] Weighted data

[14] Papazian, M. The Armenian Church.Churchhistory. The Armenian Prelacy. http://www.armenianprelacy.org/church-history/church-history

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Armenia [15]	Bosnia-Herzegovina [16]	Kosovo (Wagnsonner, 2004) [17]	Macedonia[18]	Serbia[19]	Ukraine	Switzerland [20]
Armenian Apostolic (94.7%)	Muslim (40%)	Muslim (>90%)	Eastern Orthodox (64.8%)	Orthodox Christian (81.1%)	Orthodox (76.5%)	Roman Catholic (38.2%)
Other Christian (4%)	Orthodox (31%)	Orthodox (~7.0%)	Muslim (33.3%)	Catholic (4.8%)	Ukrainian Greek Catholic (8%)	Protestant Reformed (26.9%)
Yezidi (monotheist with elements of nature worship, 1.3%)	Roman Catholic (15%)	Catholic (3%, 2004)	Roman catholic (0.3%)	Protestant and other Christian (1.0%)	Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox (7.2%)	Muslim and Islamic communities (5.0%)
				Muslim (3.0%)	Roman Catholic (2.2%)	
					Protestant (2.2%)	
					Jewish (0.6%)	
	other(14%)		other (1.6%)	Other, I do not know, not religious (10.2)	other(3.2%)	Other, Unknown, non-denominational (29.9%)

This table represents the official data of religion in each country. Armenia is a relatively homogenous country. More than 90% of the population affiliate the Armenian Apostolic religion that is the part of Oriental Orthodoxy[21]. In Bosnia-Herzegovina 40% of the population affiliate Islam and one third identify themselves as Orthodox. More than 90% of people in Kosovo are Muslim. Two thirds of the Macedonian population is Eastern Orthodox and one third is Muslim. In Ukraine more than two thirds of people are Orthodox. There are also a lot of other Christian confessions.

Serbia is a multi-religious country. The dominant religion is Orthodox Christianity (notably the Serbian Orthodox Church), but there are also some adherents of Islam (living mostly in the southwestern part of Serbia in the region of Sandžak or Raška, in the municipalities of Preševo and Bujanovac in southern Serbia), and Catholic Christianity (living mostly in northern part of Vojvodina province), as well as adherents of other religious groups such are Protestant Christians, Jews, and others.

c) *Working status of parents, family well-off and amount of pocket money in comparison with others*

This part of the publikation shows the results of the ISRD-3 in five countries and Switzerland, as well as statistical data of unemployment rates and poverty in these countries.

Statistics of population below poverty and unemployment rate among the selected countries, in %

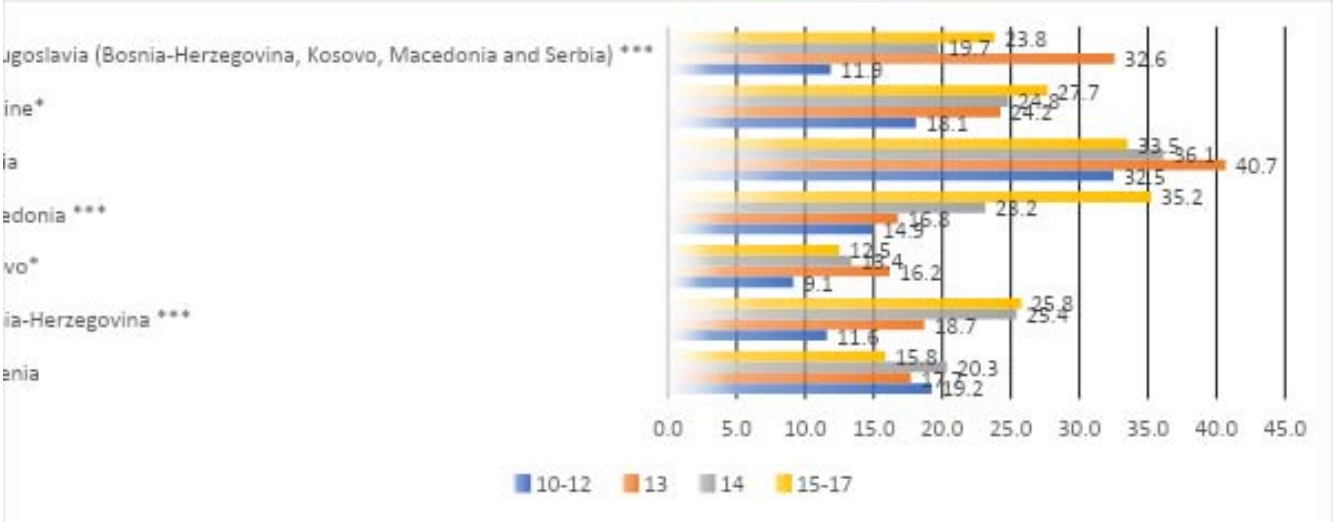
	Armenia (2014)	Bosnia-Herzegovina (2014)	Kosovo (2014)	Macedonia (2014)	Serbia	Ukraine (2014)	Switzerland (2014)
Population below poverty line [22]	35.8%	18.6%	30%	30.4%	9.2% (2013)	24.1%	7.6%
Unemployment rate [23]	17.3%	44.3%	30.9%	28.6%	19.7% (2014)	8.0%	3.2%

[15] http://www.nationmaster.com/country-info/stats/Religion/Religions
[16] http://www.nationmaster.com/country-info/stats/Religion/Religions
[17] Christian Wagnsonner. Religionsgemeinschaften im Kosovo. Mittwoch, 18. August 2004. Institut für Religion und Frieden. Katholische Militätseelsorge Österreichs. http://www.irf.ac.at/index. php?option=com_content&task=view&id=167&Itemid=32
[18] http://www.stat.gov.mk/publikacii/knigaX.pdf
[19] Religion, mother tongue and ethnicity. Data by municipalities and cities. 2011 Census of population, households and dwelling in the Republic of Serbia. Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia. Supported by the EU. IN Serbian. http://pod2.stat.gov.rs/ObjavljenePublikacije/Popis2011/Knjiga4_Veroispovest.pdf
[20] Languages and religions – Data, indicators. 2011-2013. Swiss Federal Statistical Office http://www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/portal/en/index/themen/01/05/blank/key/religionen.html
[21] Papazian, M. The Armenian Church.Churchhistory.The Armenian Prelacy. http://www.armenianprelacy.org/church-history/church-history
[22] Population below poverty line (%).The world Factbook, January 1, 2014.https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/
[23] Unemployment rate.: This entry contains the percent of the labor force that is without jobs. Substantial underemployment might be noted. https:// www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/

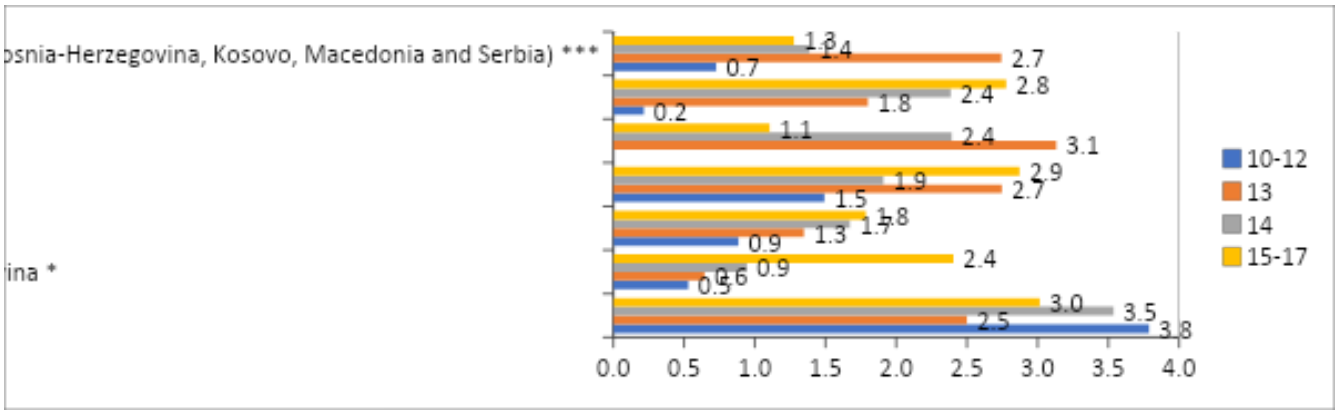
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In Armenia, Kosovo, and Macedonia, one third of the population is below poverty line. Nevertheless only 20% of the population of Bosnia-Herzegovina has this index, 44% of the population is unemployed. The lowest unemployment rate after Switzerland is in Ukraine, but in the last country almost every fourth person is under the poverty line.

Percentage of the population below poverty in Switzerland is 2.5-3 times less than in Bosnia-Herzegovina and in Ukraine, four-five times less than in Armenia, Kosovo, and Macedonia.



Delinquency (last year prevalence) by gender, Minor offences[24] by age of respondents, in %, In Ukraine, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Macedonia, juveniles commit more offences by increasing of their age. Respondents in the age of 14 and 15-17 are several times more likely to publikation about this group of offences. Students from Kosovo publikationed about Minor offences more often in the age of 13 and 14. This association for Armenia is not significant Violent offences[25] by age of respondents, in %



The same as in the previous figure, Ukrainian students publikation about violent offences more often when they become older. Only a few of 10-12 years children publikationed assault and/or robbery. Fourteen years old juveniles from Bosnia-Herzegovina publikationed about violent offences twice less frequent than their older colleagues. Younger children publikationed it even less. This association is significant only for these two countries.

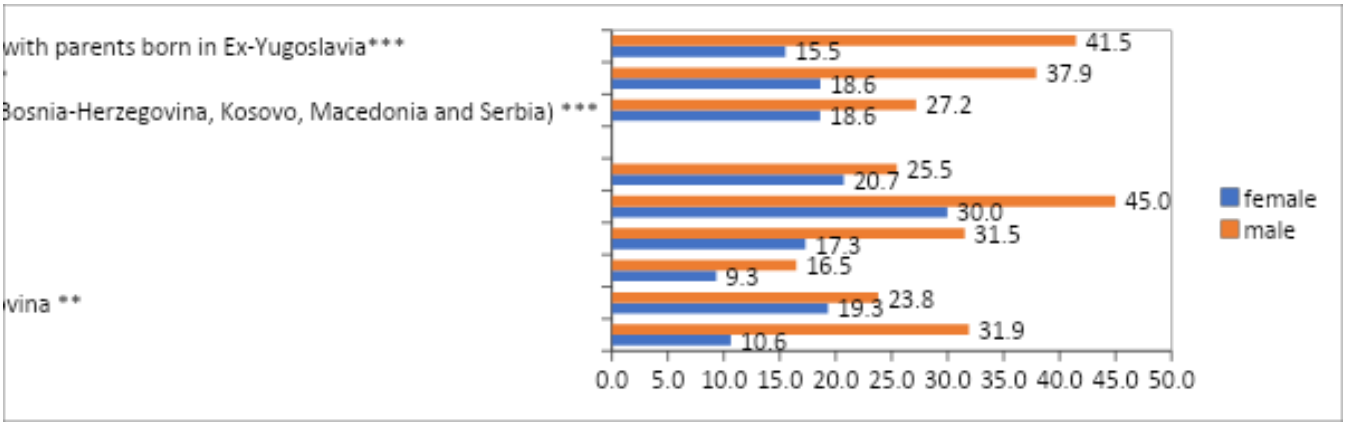
Juveniles from Kosovo in the age of 15-17 publikationed about property offences four times more often than their 13 and 14 years old colleagues. The same is in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Macedonia. Older respondents commit property offences more often. This association is not significant for Armenia, Ukraine and Serbia.

d) Delinquency (last year prevalence) by gender

The difference between boys and girls who committed robbery and/or assault is relatively big in all countries. Males are more likely to publikation about violent offences. It is especially visible in Kosovo and Armenia. This association is highly significant in all countries.

[24] Minor offences = graffiti, vandalism, shoplifting, group fight, caring weapon, and animal cruelty
[25] Violent offences = robbery and assault

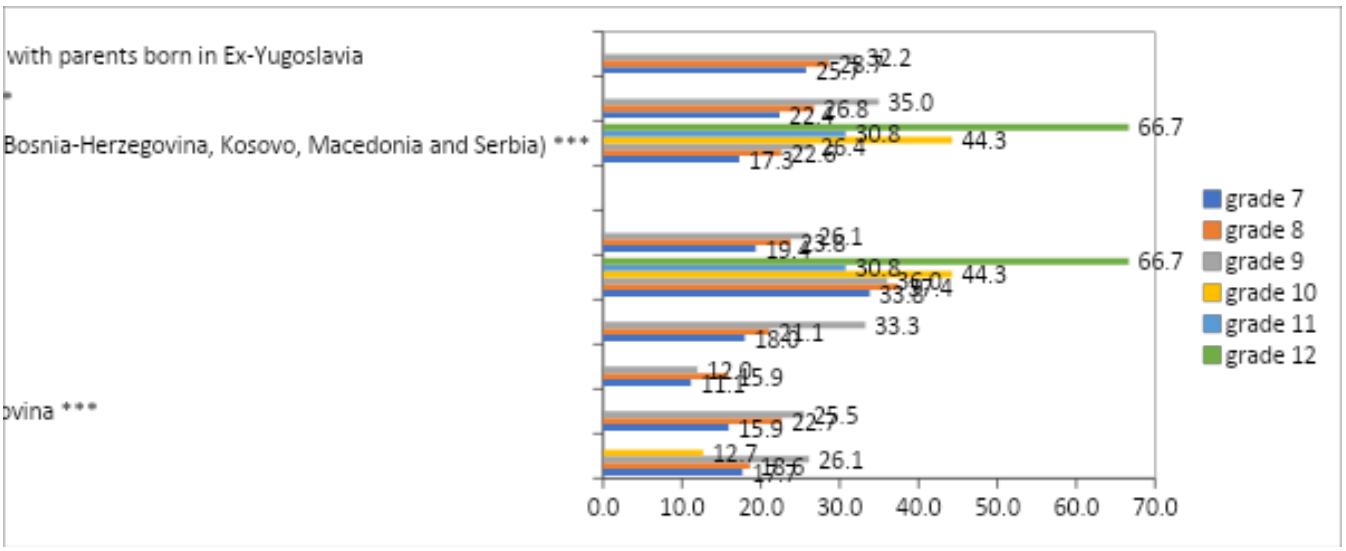
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Males are more likely to commit property offences than females. This difference is especially visible among Armenian juveniles: boys publikationed about this group of perpetrations seventeen times more often. Swiss boys with parent(s) born in Ex-Yugoslavia publication about property offences three times more often than females. In all other countries and their groups, males publication about property perpetrations two-three times more often than females. This association is not significant in Serbia and Kosovo.

e) Delinquency (last year prevalence) by grade

This association is significant only for respondents from Ukraine and Switzerland. Students from the 9th grade are two-three times more likely to publikation about violent offences than their colleagues from the 7th or the 8th grades.

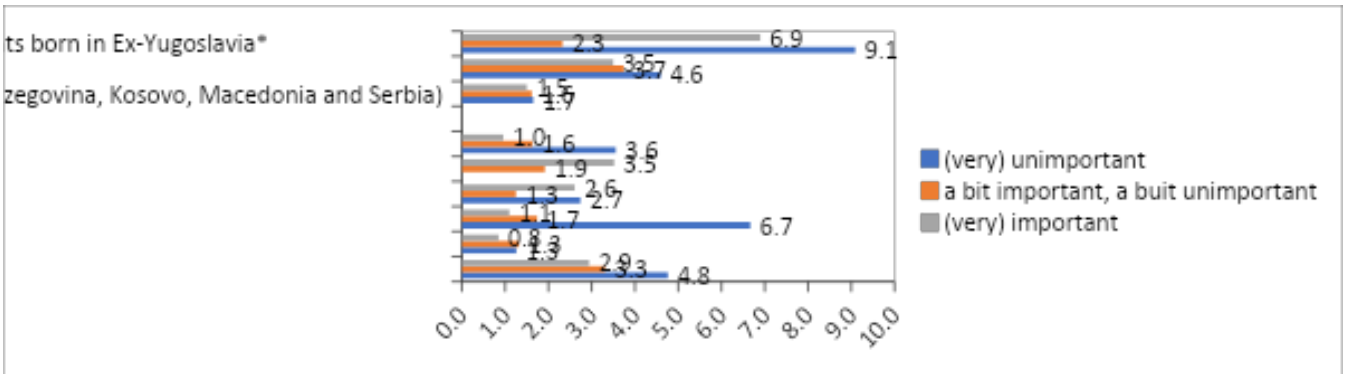


Violent offences [26] by importance of religion, in % In comparison with the previous figure, the association between violent offences and importance of religion is mostly not significant. The exception is the results in Ukraine and among Swiss students with parent(s) from Ex-Yugoslavia.

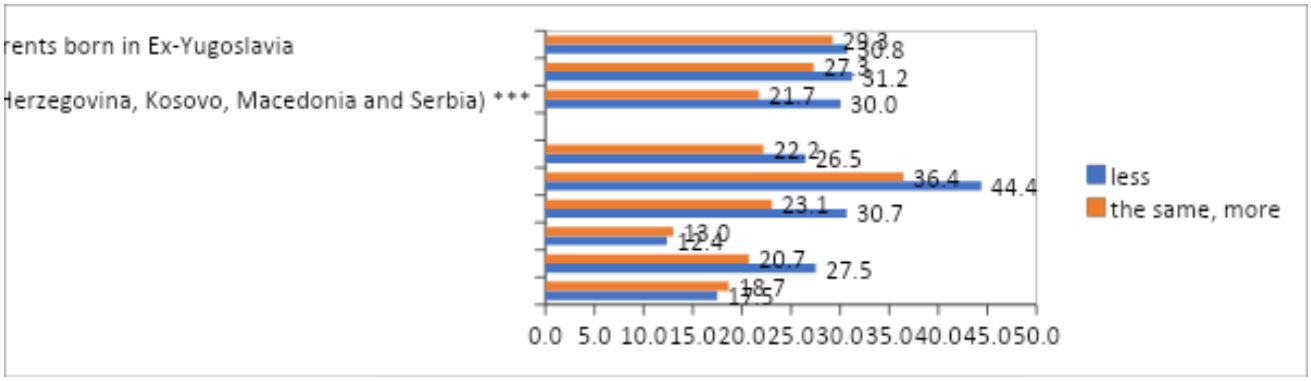
Ukrainian less religious students are more likely to commit robbery and/or assault. Swiss students with parent(s) born in Ex-Yugoslavia, for whom religion is (very) important and (very) unimportant, perpetrated more violent offences than their peers with neutral attitude to religion. Such distribution can be explained by a small number of respondents in this group (e.g. 9.1% of not-religious respondents publikationed about violent offences, N=4).

[26] Violent offences = robbery and assault

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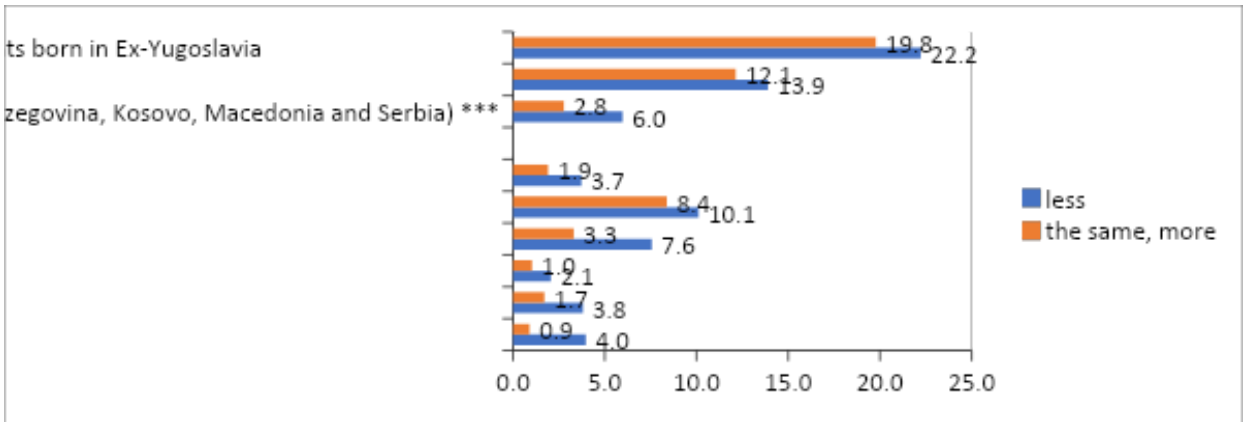


Minor offences [27] by personal money in comparison with others, in %



Students with less amount of pocket money are more likely to commit minor offences. This association is significant only for Bosnia-Herzegovina, Macedonia, Switzerland and the group of the selected Ex-Yugoslavian countries

Property offences [28] by personal money in comparison with others, in %.



Students with less pocket money in comparison with others are more likely to commit property offences. It is especially visible among Armenian juveniles. This association is significant for all countries except Serbia, Switzerland and Kosovo.

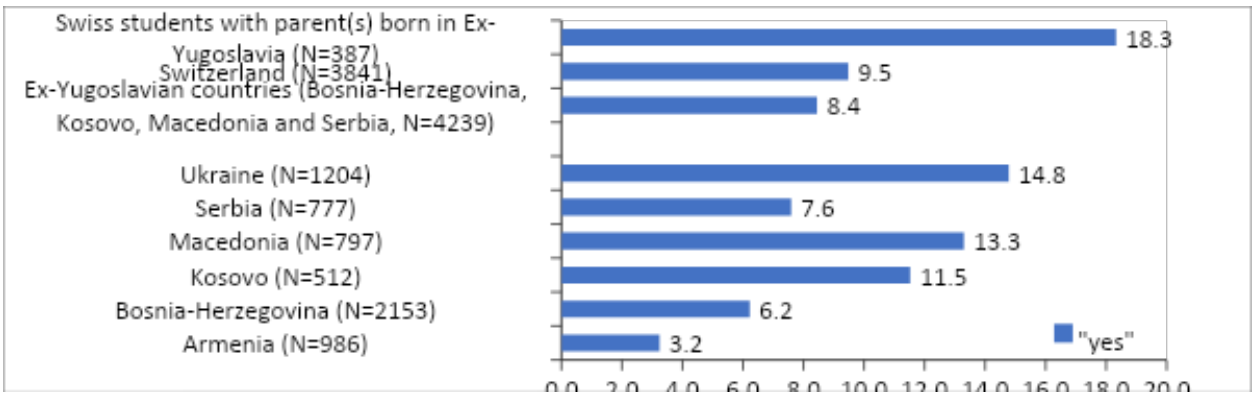
More than 90% of respondents from Serbia and Ukraine publikationed about having friends to spend time with. It is the highest percentage among the selected countries and their groups. This percentage is the lowest in Armenia, Kosovo and Macedonia. Only two thirds of juveniles have such friends there. This percentage among Swiss juveniles with parents born in Ex-Yugoslavia, on the Swiss national level among juveniles from Ex-Yugoslavian country cluster is very similar: from 74 to 78%. The ISRD-3 questionnaire included the question "How many of your friends have

[27] Minor offences = graffiti, vandalism, shoplifting, group fight, caring weapon, and animal cruelty
[28] Serious property offences = burglary, motorbike/car theft, car break, bicycle theft, personal theft

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at least one parent of foreign origin?" Among the answers were "None at all", "A few" "Many of them", "All of them". The variable was dichotomized to you it for the bivariate and multivariate analysis. This table shows the frequency of students, who have many/all friends with parents of foreign origin. Armenia has the most homogenous society: only two percent of juveniles have a lot/all of such friends. This prevalence in Kosovo and Macedonia is not very high; it is twice lower than in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Ukraine. Such prevalence in Serbia is a bit lower than in Ukraine and Bosnia-Herzegovina. This percentage is the highest in the Switzerland on the national level and among Swiss students with parents born in Ex-Yugoslavia. One third and two thirds of the respondents publikationed about many/all of such friends. It is understandable, because Switzerland is one of the largest destinations of immigrants in the world; and Swiss students, who have parents immigrated from Ex-Yugoslavia, communicate mostly with peers with similar origin.

Ukrainian students consider their group of friends as a gang almost five times more often than their peers in Armenia. This percentage among the taken Ex-Yugoslavian countries is the highest in Macedonia and Kosovo, and it is the lowest in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbia. Respondents from Switzerland and Ex-Yugoslavian country cluster publikationed about it almost equally. It is twice lower than among Swiss students with parent(s) born in Ex-Yugoslavia.



Over 90% of juveniles from all selected countries except Serbia and Switzerland do not have friends who have ever tried drugs. More than 40% of students from Switzerland and Swiss students with parents from Ex-Yugoslavia have friends who have already consumed drugs. It can be explained by a "highly permissive" character of Swiss society (Killias, Maljevic, Lucia, 2010, P. 188). This prevalence is also relatively high in Switzerland: each fourth respondent publikationed about it. Respondents from Ex-Yugoslavian country cluster publikationed about having friends committed shoplifting twice less frequent than their peers in Switzerland. Swiss students with parent(s) born in Ex-Yugoslavia have such friends a bit more often than Swiss juveniles on the national level, of this publikation, where the prevalence of shoplifting is also higher among this group of respondents. We suggest that it can be explained by an influence of a "bad company" and strongly associated with own perpetration of minor offences, including shoplifting (Figure 3.38). Each third Serbian student publikation about it.

Among the taken Ex-Yugoslavian countries, juveniles from Bosnia-Herzegovina and Macedonia have such friends 2.5 times more often than their peers in Kosovo. This prevalence is the highest among adolescents from Serbia. Juveniles in Armenia have friends who have committed shoplifting three times less often than their peers in Ukraine.

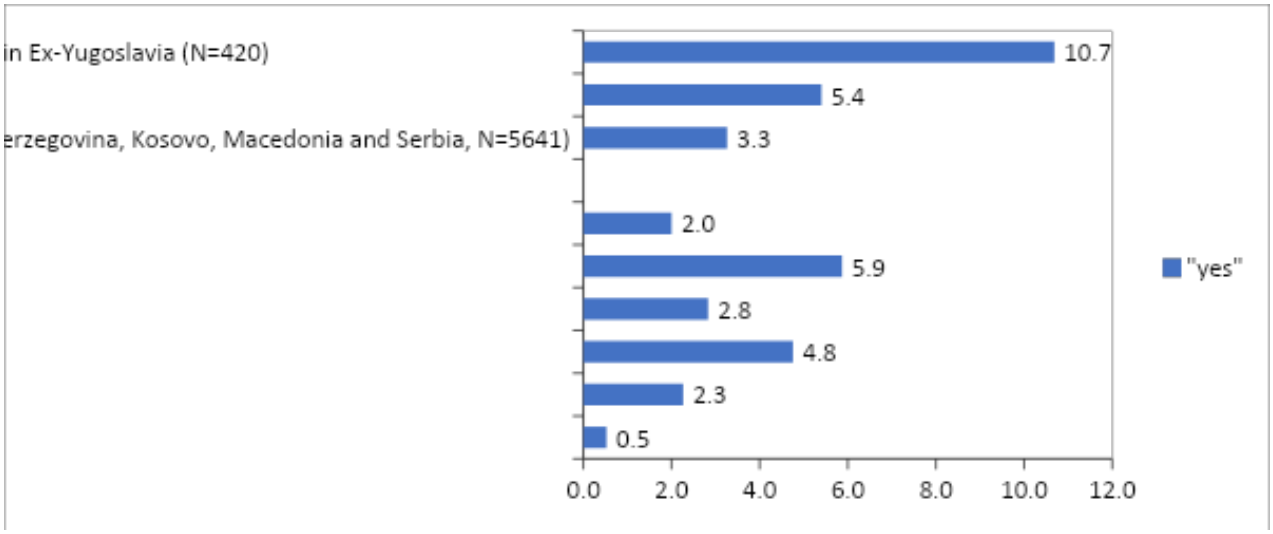
The same as in the previous figure, Swiss students on the national level and Swiss students with parent(s) born in Ex-Yugoslavia publication about having friends committed burglary eight times more often than their peers in the chosen Ex-Yugoslavian countries (cluster).

Among the selected Balkan countries, Kosovo has the lowest prevalence of such friends; it is the highest among Serbian juveniles. Armenian adolescents have also friends committed burglary five times less often than students from Ukraine.

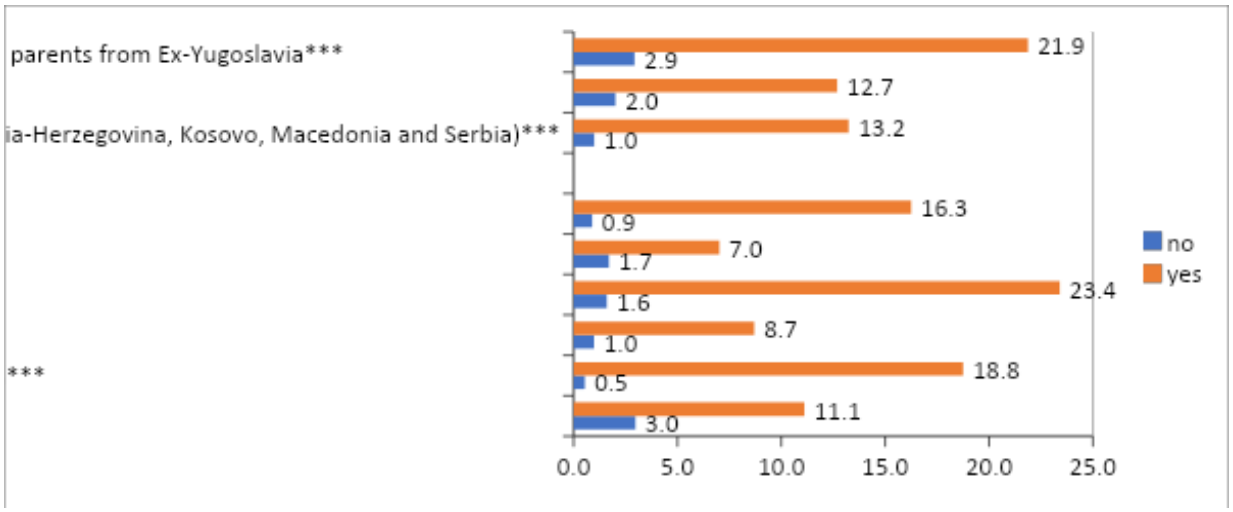
It is hard to compare these results with the prevalence of burglary because the low number of respondents who committed this offence, the prevalence of burglary among Swiss respondents on the national level and Swiss students with parents born in Ex-Yugoslavia is higher than among juveniles from other countries and their clusters.

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Having friends, who committed robbery, in %



Violent offences[29] (last year prevalence) by cannabis use (life time prevalence), in %



Respondents, who have already consumed cannabis, are 4-18-37 times more likely to commit a violent offence than those who have never tried cannabis. This likelihood is the highest in Ukraine, Macedonia (18 times) and Bosnia-Herzegovina (37 times). This is the lowest in Serbia, Armenia and Switzerland. This association is significant and highly significant in all taken countries and their groups. Comparison of the results of bivariate analysis shows that cannabis use has a stronger influence on violent offences than on minor offences perpetration.

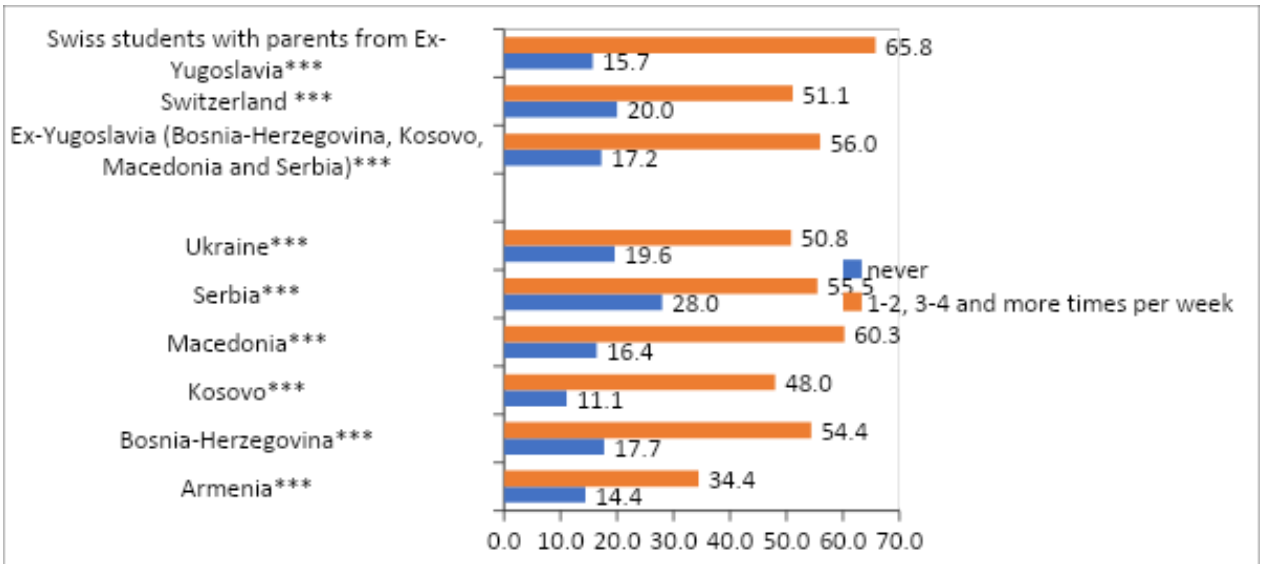
Minor offences [26] (last year prevalence) by binge drinking (last month prevalence), in %

Respondents, who have five or more alcohol drinks on one occasion during last 30 days, are 2-4 times more likely to commit a minor offence. This association is highly significant for all countries.

[29] Violent offences = robbery and assault

[30] Minor offences = graffiti, vandalism, shoplifting, group fight, caring weapon, and animal cruelty

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V. Analise

- The highest prevalence of alcohol use is in Serbia and Switzerland. It is also relatively high in Ukraine, Macedonia and Armenia. This percentage is the lowest in Kosovo. Each third respondent from the Ex-Yugoslavian country cluster has already tried alcohol.
- We suggest that such differences can be explained by cultural and traditional issues of a country, spending leisure time by respondents. The first argument is described more detailed in the following table with the statistics of wine consumption, provided by the Wine Institute, California. The distribution of wine and alcohol consumption per capita in different countries is corresponding mostly to our results and presented in the following figure.
- In accordance with ISRD-3 results, students from Armenia and Serbia reported the highest prevalence of drinking wine in comparison with other types of alcohol. All other countries and their groups used to consume beers more often than wine and spirits.
- Students from Kosovo and Bosnia-Herzegovina reported about binge drinking the least frequent. This percentage is the highest among students from Serbia and Armenia. Juveniles from the selected Ex-Yugoslavian country cluster consume five or more drinks on one occasion almost twice less frequent than their peers from Switzerland regardless the parents' origin.
- Our respondents in all countries are more likely to consume alcohol when they go out. This association is similar in Serbia, but the distinguishing feature is having more than half of respondents have already tried alcohol if they never go out.
- In all countries and their groups, students who spend most of their time with their families, are less likely to consume alcohol.
- Cannabis use is strongly associated with an active night life. Students, who go out more often than three times per week, are more likely to consume this substance. It is not significant for Serbia and Macedonia.
- The same as with alcohol, students who spend most of their time with family are less likely to consume cannabis.
- Respondents, who go out more than three times per week, are three-five times more likely to report about binge drinking than those who never go out in all taken countries and their groups. This association is highly significant.
- Respondents, who consume cannabis, are more likely to commit an offence.
- Cannabis use has a stronger influence on violent offences than on minor offences perpetration.
- Students, who have five or more alcoholic drinks on one occasion, report about violent offences perpetration 3-12 times more often than their peers who do not do binge drinking. The influence of binge drinking is stronger on the perpetration of violent offences than on the perpetration of property offences.

VI. Discussion

Preliminary analyzes reflect strong findings regarding national, regional and international delinquency differences and similarities in levels of offending and victimization experiences among 14-18 year olds. Due to the high degree of methodological standardization of ISRD-3, and the large number of countries represented, ISRD-3 data promise to make an important contribution - both substantively and methodologically - to international comparative knowledge, especially the countries we have case studies Macedonia, BiH, Serbia, Armenia, Ukraine and Switzerland.

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A similar picture appears when the skill of offense is used, with the Balkan countries but also in Ukraine.

Our preliminary findings suggest that country groupings based on theoretical and policy-related criteria (rather than region) offer a promising method to present and interpret the large amount of international data (Smit et al., 2008) that have been also successfully applied to the analysis of the results of the First International Delinquency Self-Report Study (Junger-Tas et al., 2003). Although there is considerable variation within clusters, the observed differences between clusters support our belief that this approach is more promising and worthy of continued exploration.

Third, the partially contradictory trends in self-reported offending and victimization that emerged in the ISRD-3 data are striking. In former socialist countries, tighter social control over school children than in Western countries may prevent them from committing more crimes, while older juveniles may be less controlled and, occasionally , to victimize younger minors. The willingness to honestly report on one's behavior may also vary across countries. This is supported by a European study of alcohol and drugs. Hibell et al. (2004) showed that the rate of respondents who said they would never report hashish use varied between 2% (Finland) and 12% (Lithuania). The differential validity hypothesis should become a routine empirical dimension for comparative criminological studies of self-report (see also Pauwels and Svensson, 2008).

Fourth, our attempts to compare ISRD-3, ICVS and ESB data for three specific offenses (robbery/ extortion, assault and theft) illustrate, once again, the great challenges associated with trying to disentangle – at the level international – (possible) convergence of different measures of crime. Previous research (Aebi et al., 2002) has shown that police and ICVS data are highly correlated after adjustments are made to match these sources (with respect to offense definitions and counting rules), as in the case of ESB. If ICVS and ISRD data on robbery, assault and theft victimization are moderately or not at all correlated (in the case of assault), this may be due to the fact that ISRD and ICVS data relate to different age groups (14-15 vs 16–19) and levels (city vs nations). Furthermore, ICVS data may be more controversial when it comes to estimating rates of victimization among adolescents given the small sample sizes and chronic underrepresentation of this age group in population surveys. More encouraging is the finding of a moderate and consistent correlation between police data on known offenders (PSO) and ISRD data on self-reported offenses (for robbery, assault and theft).[31]

Despite all the measurement problems, the ISRD-3 data allow analysis of the causes of crime and to assess the extent to which theories on the causation of crime hold up across nations. Therefore, information about lifestyle, social connectedness and control, neighborhood contexts, and other risk factors is essential when one wishes to examine the causes of delinquency (Junger-Tas and Marshall, 1999). A forthcoming publication, based on the analysis of the pooled international data set, will focus on the social response to delinquent behavior, the meaning of the family, the influence of schools and school systems, the meaning of lifestyles and the influence of the neighborhood. on delinquency and victimization.

VII. Conclusion

Kosovo

- Before the starting of ISRD-3, this country in terms of research was more a kind of black box. The level of delinquency among Swiss juveniles with Kosovar origin is relatively high (not presented in this research), but its comparison with the prevalence of perpetrations in their own country, brings the opposite results. Thus, respondents from Kosovo reported the lowest percentage of minor and property offences and the second lowest in the violent perpetrations. Juveniles from this country are also better controlled by parents and have the lowest percentage of respondents, who have tried alcohol in their life.[32]

Bosnia-Herzegovina

- The same as among the taken Ex-Yugoslavian countries, except Kosovo, Bosnia-Herzegovina has a relatively higher prevalence of graffiti. The percentage of violent offences is the lowest.
- The same as Armenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina participated in ISRD-2 in 2006. In 2015 (ISRD-3) there is a significant decreasing of vandalism, group fight and assault. The opposite tendency is with cannabis use (ltp) and shoplifting and burglary.

Macedonia

- Macedonia participated in ISRD-3 for the first time. The same a Bosnia-Herzegovina, there is relatively high prevalence of graffiti. Macedonian respondents reported one of the highest levels of minor and property offences and the second highest level of violent offences after Armenia. The percentage of substance use is not the highest.

[31] Junger-Tas J, Marshall IH, and Ribeaud D (2003) Delinquency in an international perspective: The International Self-Reported Delinquency Study (ISRD). The Hague: Kugler. Junger-Tas J, Terlouw GJ and Klein MW (eds) (1994) Delinquent Behaviour Among Young People in the Western World: First Results of the International Self-report Delinquency Study. Amsterdam: Kugler.

[32]

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Serbia

- The percentage of graffiti, shoplifting, assault and theft is also among the highest. There is no juvenile who have committed burglary (lyp) among out respondents. The minor offences (index) were reported in Serbia more often than in the other countries. The level of property offences is the second highest than in Switzerland.

Ukraine

- This is the second post-soviet country that participated in ISRD-3. In comparison with Armenia, Ukraine took part in this study for the first time. Juveniles from this country, together with some others, reported relatively often about graffiti. The prevalence of shoplifting and group fight is relatively high; the prevalence of caring weapon is the highest, animal cruelty is the lowest. Ukraine has the second highest prevalence of minor, violent and property perpetrations, as well as alcohol consumption (ltp), and the highest level of cannabis use (ltp).

Swiss students with parents from Ex-Yugoslavia and Ex-Yugoslavian country cluster.

- Respondents from Ex-Yugoslavia (cluster) and Swiss students with parent(s) born in Ex-Yugoslavia reported about graffiti more often than their peers in Switzerland on the national level. We suggest that it is the part of the habits that immanent the behaviour in some countries and it is present in Swiss families with parent(s) born in Ex-Yugoslavia.
- In contrast to graffiti, vandalism is not immanent much to the taken Ex-Yugoslavian countries, but present in Swiss families with parent(s) born in Ex-Yugoslavia. We suggest that it can be explained by the difficulties of socialization in Switzerland. There is a similar distribution of caring weapon, group fight and animal cruelty, robbery and assault.

Switzerland

- Swiss juveniles on the national level reported a lower prevalence of minor offences than their Swiss peers with parents born in Ex-Yugoslavia, and a higher prevalence than their peers in the Ex-Yugoslavian country cluster. The only exception is graffiti. This offence was reported by Ex-Yugoslavian respondents twice more often than by their Swiss students on the national level.
- Juveniles from Switzerland reported about violent offences 2-3 times more often than juveniles in Ex-Yugoslavian countries. Serious property offences were reported differently in comparison with the selected countries and their groups. For instance, bicycle theft was perpetrated by Swiss juveniles nine times more often than by their peers in Ex-Yugoslavia. It can be explained by more developed culture of bicycle use in Switzerland than in the taken country cluster. Theft also was reported almost four times more often.
- The index of minor offences was reported by Swiss juveniles almost similarly to Swiss students with parents from Ex-Yugoslavia and a bit higher than juveniles from Ex-Yugoslavia. Juveniles from Switzerland reported the highest percentage of respondents who committed a violent offence. It is twice higher than their Ex-Yugoslavian peers. Similar results are with property offences. Swiss juveniles reported one of the highest prevalences of these perpetrations, four times higher than in all Ex-Yugoslavian countries.

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Notes

1. See the United Nations Survey of Crime Trends and the Operations of the Criminal Justice Systems (CTS) at http://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/data-and-analysis/United-Nations-Surveys-on-Crime-Trends-and-the-Operations-of-Criminal-Justice-Systems.html
2. For an overview of the methodological issues related to the self-report method, see Junger-Tas and Marshall (1999).
3. http://www.espad.org/espad-reports.
4. Although the bulk of the ISRD-2 countries is European, it is important to keep in mind that there are also countries from the American continent involved: Canada, USA, Venezuela, Aruba, Netherlands Antilles, and Suriname.
5. The complete questionnaire may be found at our website http://webapp5.rrz.uni-hamburg.de/ISRD/JDEB
6. In the original English version ('Did you ever snatch a purse, bag or something else from a person?') this is a violent offence. Sometimes it was interpreted as pickpocketing; however, most researchers interpreted this offence as violent.
7. An exception is Aruba: Although Oranjestad has less than 100,000 inhabitants it is included because it is the capital city.

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Global Journal of human-social science: C
Sociology & Culture
Volume 23 Issue 2 Version 1.0 Year 2023
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal
Publisher: Global Journals
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

Sexuality and Violence: Analysis of a LGBT Citizenship Parade in Campo Grande-MS

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Abstract- This article is the result of a 2019[1] survey done in the capital of Mato Grosso do Sul with the participants of the "18th LGBT Citizenship Parade" of Campo Grande. The aim of the text is to discuss the issues of violence against the LGBTQIA+ population. As a result of the reserach, we have the centrality of sexuality as the main marker used to consider the situation of vulnerability of the LGBTQIA+ population that participated in the Parade. In analytical terms, at first, we present statistical data that show how sexuality and violence go hand in hand with regard to the vulnerability experiences of Campo Grande's LGBTQIA+ population. In a second moment, from an intersectional and post-structuralist perspective, we examine the social conditions that place LGBTQIA+ people in situations of inequality when compared to the heterosexual population.

Keywords: intersectionality. discrimination. risk factor. homophobia. brazil.

GJHSS-C Classification: LCC: HQ76.3.B7



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Sexuality and Violence: Analysis of a LGBT Citizenship Parade in Campo Grande-MS

Sexualidade e Violência: Análise a Partir de Uma Parada da Diversidade em Campo Grande-MS[1]

Sexualidad y Violencia: Análisis de Una Marcha de Ciudadanía LGBT en Campo Grande-MS

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Guilherme Rodrigues Passamani [ω] & Josafá Barros Camargo Borges[¥]

Abstract- This article is the result of a 2019 survey done in the capital of Mato Grosso do Sul with the participants of the "18th LGBT Citizenship Parade" of Campo Grande. The aim of the text is to discuss the issues of violence against the LGBTQIA+ population. As a result of the reserach, we have the centrality of sexuality as the main marker used to consider the situation of vulnerability of the LGBTQIA+ population that participated in the Parade. In analytical terms, at first, we present statistical data that show how sexuality and violence go hand in hand with regard to the vulnerability experiences of Campo Grande's LGBTQIA+ population. In a second moment, from an intersectional and post-structuralist perspective, we examine the social conditions that place LGBTQIA+ people in situations of inequality when compared to the heterosexual population.

Keywords: intersectionality. discrimination. risk factor. homophobia. brazil.

Resumo- Este artigo é desdobramento da aplicação de um *survey* em 2019 na capital de Mato Grosso do Sul com os/as participantes da "18ª Parada da Cidadania LGBT" de Campo Grande. O objetivo do texto é problematizar as questões de violência à população LGBTQIA+. Como resultado da pesquisa, temos a centralidade da sexualidade como o marcador principal para pensar a situação de vulnerabilidade da população LGBTQIA+ que participou da Parada. Em termos analíticos, em um primeiro momento, apresentamos os dados estatísticos que mostram como sexualidade e violência caminham próximas no que diz respeito às experiências de vulnerabilidade de LGBTQIA+ campo-grandenses. Em um segundo momento, a partir de uma perspectiva interseccional e pós-estruturalista, refletimos sobre as condições sociais que alocam as pessoas LGBTQIA+ em situações de desigualdade quando comparadas à população heterossexual.

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Palavras-chave: interseccionalidade. discriminação. fator de risco. homofobia. brasil.

Resumen- Este artículo es el resultado de una encuesta de 2019 en la capital de Mato Grosso do Sul con los participantes de la "18a Marcha de Ciudadanía LGBT" de Campo Grande. El objetivo del texto es discutir los temas de violencia contra la población LGBTQIA+. Como resultado de la investigación, tenemos la centralidad de la sexualidad como el principal marcador utilizado para considerar la situación de vulnerabilidad de la población LGBTQIA+ que participó en la Marcha. En términos analíticos, en un primer momento presentamos datos estadísticos que muestran cómo la sexualidad y la violencia van de la mano con respecto a las experiencias de vulnerabilidad de la población LGBTQIA+ de Campo Grande. En un segundo momento, desde una perspectiva interseccional y postestructuralista, examinamos las condiciones sociales que colocan a las personas LGBTQIA+ en situaciones de desigualdad en comparación con la población heterosexual.

Palabras clave: interseccionalidad. discriminación. factor de riesgo. homofobia. brasil.

I. Introduction

"It is also in the field of what does not have a name and is unthinkable that homophobia,
as a mechanism that the product and producer of sexual hierarchies (RUBIN, 1984),
of violence and of the naturalization of gender norms (BUTLER, 2006),
dwell and is upheld. Without a name because its description is difficult to apprehend
and unthinkable because it is not reflected by the subjects and by the institutions."
(PRADO, 2010, p. 9)

The "18th LGBT Citizenship Parade" of Campo Grande took place on September 28th, 2019, on the *Radio Clube* square, in the city center. As usual, the Association of Transvestites and Transexuals of Mato Grosso do Sul (ATMS) was the main group in charge of putting up the event[2]. In 2019, the theme of

[1] "This work was conducted with the support from the Higher-Education Personnel Improvement Coordination– Brazil (CAPES) – Funding code 001".

[2] The event had the support of Campo Grande´s City Hall by means of its offices, under-offices and coordinating bodies. In addition, the State Government of Mato Grosso do Sul also supported it by means of its

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the Parade was "LGBTphobia is a crime". Such choice happened due to the development of the Federal Supreme Court´s ruling of June 13th, 2019, which "criminalized LGBTphobia", turning it equivalent to the crime of racism. According to the event´s organizers, that same year 30,000 people took part in the action.

At that time, the Study Group *Néstor Perlongher* (NENP/UFMS) applied 303 questionnaires. The initial concept was to get to know the people who participated in the Parade and highlight the most recurring social markers of difference in the inquiries to outline a sociological profile of participants. These early results were published by Passamani, Vasconcelos, Rosa e Ishii (2020)[3]) and in this article the same data was applied to discuss the aspects of violence according to the Parade's participants.

We focus on identifying the types of violence already incurred/noticed by the respondents, divided in two axes: discrimination and aggression. Such axes, respectively characterized by a symbolic violence (discrimination) or by some physical violence (aggression), therefore, apparently different, are intertwined to the assumption. That is, it is understanding that both of them work as the manifest face of a latent heteronormative intelligibility. In other words, it is possible to say that both discrimination and aggression are expressions of the violence against LGBTQIA+ people.

Parker (2012), in his genealogy of the category discrimination, taking as starting point the moral panics[4] around the first cases of death caused by Aids along the 1980´s, defines the term:

> Discrimination has been seen as a kind of behavioral response caused by these negative attitudes – or as a form of enacted stigma or enacted prejudice. A sharp distinction has thus been made between ideas, attitudes, or ideologies, and their behavioral consequences in discriminatory actions (Parker, 2012, p. 165).

That is, according to the author, it is possible to say there is a close correlation between prejudice and stigma. Also, both of them may be characterized as negative attitudes directed to certain people or collectives with the deliberate intention of discriminating them based on socially established – therefore, arbitrary - normative patterns.

In this context, as results from power relations, some individuals or collectives may be discriminated due to the color of their skin, their sexual orientation, their age, disabilities, body aspects etc., based on the idea that they are holders of characteristics or forms of expression of "lesser" moral worth. This aspect challenges us not understanding the category violence as an analytical *a priori*. Quite conversely, we notice interwined symbolical, material, psychological, cultural, moral, legal and political terms that make certain people and/or groups become private, in different ways, "of rights, autonomy, recognition and participation" (FERREIRA; BONAN, 2020, p. 1774, our translation). The violence become designed (and just can be properly understood) from the specific social-political-narrative contexts.

Therefore, our understanding of violence comes of the idea that it, beyond of being multiple and plural, is linked to certain moralities that are articulated to turn on concrete and real its different manifestations. Thinking about this that Cardoso de Oliveira (2008) says that the moral dimension compose the reading/experience of the violence. After all, the fact of a man being railed of "faggy" has direct relationships with the practicing of physical violence, like a way of "masculinity's remediation".

Cardoso de Oliveira (2008) as like Díaz-Benítez (2015) understand that violence is complex and it's seen when the first one asks until where we can talk about violence when this is legalized in a context. Díaz-Benítez shows us that violence, when associated to erotic practices, can become a libidinal tensioner. She gives examples of movies that promotes the spectacularization of the violence for the purpose of people's erotic market that consume and feel pleasure with such productions.

Efrem Filho (2017a) takes up the question about morality when it shows us the "brutality's pictures". According to him, the many narratives that explain the violence make speeches on gender and sexuality and produce relationships of power that are in race. There different scenarios and multiple violences that designed together with another subjects, like family, union, activism, woman, maternity, police, politics, and others, just like the author's case analyzed.

From all of these link's categories that made the morality's violence, it is important to know the distinction between difference and inequality. Brah (2006) is clear on the criticism of the understanding of difference as a watertight and always oppositional question. She proposes the difference as an analytical category. Not all difference, depending on its intersection, can result as an inequality. She's efficient when saying that "the experience does not reflect on the seamless way of a pre-determined reality" (BRAH, 2006, p. 360, our

offices, foundations, udner-offices and coordinating bodies. It is also necessary to highlight the partnership with several movements of civil society and a variety of sponsorships.

[3] The questions in the form followed the model utilized by Carrara (2006) in his research of the "9th LGBT Parade of São Paulo" in 2005, and was adapted to the local context.

[4] According to Miskolci, moral panic was a concept created by Cohen (1972) to explain "the process of social sensitization in which a type of behavior and a category of 'deviants' are identified so that small deviations from the norm are judged and get a strong collective reaction" (2007, p.111). Also, according to Miskolci, Cohen had created such concept to "characterize how the media, the public opinion, and the agents of social control react to certain disruptions of the normative standards" (Idem). For further details, see Cohen (1972).

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translation). First of it, experience is cultural construction's outcome. As she says, "the same context can produce many collective different 'stories', differentiating and linking biographies from contingent specificities (BRAH. 2006, p. 362, our translation".

Thus, what we are pointing out are the processes of difference's ranking that, sometimes, show their selves as a form of physical or moral violence. In latter case, swearings are more often and commum. At first, emphasis on punches, kicks, pitfalls, stone-throwings, that, sometimes, can follow in the victim's death.

It's important to highlight that, according to the perspective of social markers of difference, that we defend on this article, is not possible to assert that different individuals experience in the same way and in the same intensity the oppression systems. Quite conversely, we believe that it's needed considering the relational and interactional complex contexts (and games). Seen in theses terms, markers as class, race/ethnicity, gender, sexuality, generation, religion, nationality, ant other, can, depending on the context, outcome in bigger or smaller conditions of vulnerability.

To think this process of constitution of many differences that can or can not turn the difference to an inequality, it seems patent an intellectual employing to reflect on these categories of articulation that, when acted – in our research problem – together with sexuality, commit LGBTQIA+ community in inequality's position when compared to heterosexual people, for example. Problematizing the intersection between different categories is more than work with notion of sexual difference or even the relationships and contact points between, for example, gender and other categories, like race and class. Noticing how they form themselves in relation (PISCITELLI, 2008).

Thus, our article is divided in two parts. In the first part, we present the statistical data which shows how the relationship between sexuality and violence against LGBTQIA+ people based on the results obtained in the "18th LGBT Citizenship Parade" in Campo Grande. Right after that, we analyze the data in a more systematically way, from an intersectional and post-structuralist perspective.

II. Discrimination and Aggression against LGBTQIA+ People: Perceptions of Violence in the 18th Parade

At first, a methodological note is important to be clarified. It is not easy to apply a questionnaire during a Parade, first because of the people who are in "another mood" than the one that concerns a talk between researcher and interlocutors. After, because we were in a public space, with such a large crowding of people and many background noises made it difficult. Finally, the people were waling. Moving over the place. Stopping and answering the research could mean "get lost" from their group. Our strategy was to apply the questionnaire during the concentration of the event, when many of these matters, we believed, could be controlled. It's known that the research's context and its form had impact during de data's production. However, the important outputs were produced during these contexts.

For this article, we concentrated in 14 questions as a survey, with answers "yes" or "not" (Table 1). This way, this studying is understood as quantitative and qualitative, once that, according to Souza and Kerbauy (2017, p. 37, our translation), "[…] the reality is multifaceted and, like that, is not shallow to assert that produced data by different method can be added, helping to understand the many faces of reality".

In qualitative terms, to Günter (2006), it's important having a base of comprehension of social reality as something that is always moving itself, dynamic and procedurally. Because of this, the weights must be near of the concrete reality analyzed, intending to use properly the senses and meanings expressed there, however, not generalizing its outputs. The reflexive reading, however, may develop the complexities and links with the theoretical references used during the research.

In the specific case of the data obtained along the research, it was possible to find that color/race, income (associated with the social class), generation, religion, and education have had a place of lesser highlight (or lesser impact) in the various responses given by participants in the question on violence (either discrimination or aggression), when comparted to the marker of sexuality. That is, being LGBTQIA+, per se, was already enough for a condition of greater social vulnerability. Such data confirms the outcome of other recent studies conducted in Brazil and which emphasize that the country is in the ranking of the most lethal nations for LGBTQIA+ people (OLIVEIRA; ARAUJO, 2020; PINTO *et al*, 2020; MENDES, SILVA, 2020).

Particularly, thinking on the researches that had emphasis on LGBTQIA+ Parades, we can highline some works. Dutra and Miranda (2013) investigated the power relations seen in the "LGBT Parade" from Juiz de Fora (MG) and concluded that the abada's wearing defined the boundaries of the places where the audience had access. Here, the main social marker of difference was social class, because the ones who did not buy were more distant from the electric trios. About the violence's theme, they mentioned that some rival groups of young people took the opportunity of crowd to arrange dates and fight spaces, where a young man died. According to theses authors, these acts of violence are not linked properly with the Parade.

Moreira and Maia (2017) investigated the Goiânia's (GO) "LGBT Parade", among their outputs, we detach two of them. The first tells about exclusions done by the LGBTQIA+ people themselves, for still exists

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discrimination against girly, and/or transgender, and/or older people. The second point, the strategy of some of the participants who stayed near the City Guard and/or the police to avoid possible acts of violence were not a guarantee of non-violence. Somewhat, these conclusions get closer by Dutra and Miranda's found outputs (2013) when the said that the police had beaten the participants of Juiz de Fora's Parade.

Ribeiro and Arantes (2017) made a research about the "LGBT Parade" in São Paulo (SP). The authors analyzed the media speeches about this event and highlighted the generic use referring to participants as people and/or activists. The criticism is properly the erasure of gender and sexuality's markers to identify politically the LGBTQIA+ community. Even the violence was not the main focus, the researchers related a case of a resident who threw a bomb at the people who were making noise near the place he lives. Differently from Dutra and Miranda (2013), Ribeiro and Arantes (2017) understood that the violence's scene integrates a part of the Parade, even when it happens not too close to the event.

Mota (2016) still researched the "LGBT Pride's Parade" in São Paulo and, even without quantitative data, affirms that in the Paulista avenue all LGBTQIA+ people had suffered some kind of violence. The main ideal to this author is that the Parade, even when exhibits binarisms and stereotypes committed by the own LGBTQIA+ participants, turns up on fight territory against heteronormativity, just like defended in Moreira and Maia's work (2017).

Beyond these factors, we can consider that the political act's context of a Parada, by itself, already would put sexuality in the spotlight. Violence linked to the sexuality is important to the design of a speech that puts LGBTQIA+ as violence's victims. This way, there, into the militancy's spot, it would be politically expected that discrimination and aggression against such sexuality's expression were understood as important, for this is a strategy to guarantee rights and criminalization of these kinds of violence and even the recognition of these people as subjects[5].

However, it's needed to say that, working with a survey, there was no opportunities to the survey respondents qualify the kinds of violence committed according to the context and the form. In addition, the data was produced from the "said", once, for the limited time, we did not focus on the "lived", although saying is a way of living.

Table 1: Questionnaire Items

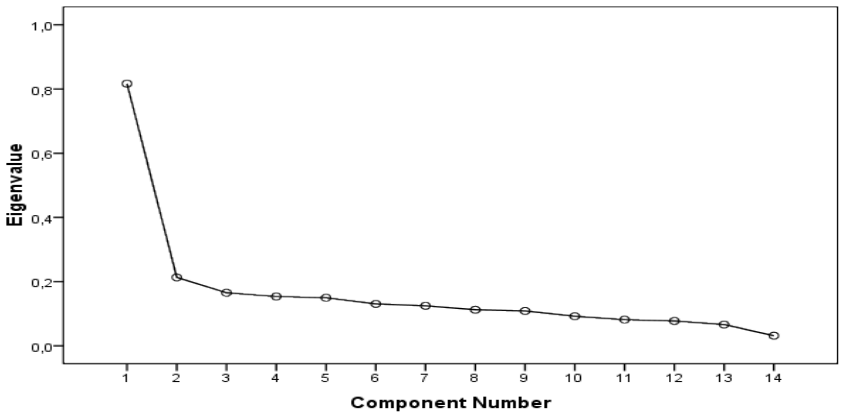
Axe	Item	Item's Description
DISCRIMINATION	DISCR_TRAB	due to your sexuality, have you ever faced not being admitted for or being fired from a job?
	DISCR_COM	due to your sexuality, have you ever faced receiving a different treatment or stopped from entering a business /place of entertainment?
	DISCR_SAUDE	due to your sexuality, have you ever faced getting terrible service in health facilities or from health professionals?
	DISCR_EDUC	due to your sexuality, have you ever faced being marginalized by teachers or classmates at school/college?
	DISCR_COMUN	due to your sexuality, have you ever faced being excluded or marginalized from groups of friends or neighbors?
	DISCR_FAM	due to your sexuality, have you ever faced being excluded or marginalized in the family environment?
	DISCR_RELIG	due to your sexuality, have you ever faced being excluded or marginalized in a religious environment?
	DISCR_SANGUE	due to your sexuality, have you ever faced being stopped from donating blood?
	DISCR_DELEG	due to your sexuality, have you ever faced being abused by police officers or being mistreated in a police station?
AGGRESSION	AGRES_FIS	due to your sexuality, have you ever suffered physical aggression?
	AGRES_VERB	due to your sexuality, have you ever suffered verbal aggression/threat of aggression?
	AGRES_CIND	due to your sexuality, have you ever suffered "*boa noite cinderela*"(roofie)?
	AGRES_SEX	due to your sexuality, have you ever suffered sexual violence?
	AGRESS_EXT	due to your sexuality, have you ever suffered blackmail or extorsion?

[5] Laura Lowenkron (2015), from researches about child sexual abuse and people traffic for sexual exploration, and Sérgio Carrara (2015), from a reflection on sexual politics and the changes in sexuality devices, demonstrate how speeches that designs the victims operate tactical and strategically in certain contexts.

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Now we present the analysis of the data found:

Principal Component Analysis (PCA) is a statistical technique for multi-varied verification that was utilized for an exploratory reading of the responses. The conclusion based on the graphical analysis of Figure 1 is that, as the first factor appears highlighted, the instrument is unidimensional, that is, the 14 items related to violence measure a single construct which, in this case, is how exposed someone is to violence. It is a declivity diagram, plotted with the aid of the SPSS computer program, with the number of factorial components extracted.



Source: produced by the authors

Figure 1: Principal Component Analysis

Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) test indicates the proportion of variance of data that may be assigned to a common factor. The test resulted in a KMO of 0.860 and values close to 1 indicate that the sample is adequate for factorial analysis (DEVORE, 2015).

To measure the test's reliability, Cronbach's alpha was utilized, an indicator of the internal consistency of the test or, in other words, how much the questionnaire items are correlated. For the research's case, Cronbach's alpha was 0.767 and this value corresponds to the average of correlations among the instrument's items and may vary between 0 and 1, with an acceptable result for values close to or higher than 0.60 (HAIR; ANDERSON; TATHAM, 2009).

The grades 0 through 14 are the sum of the positive responses for the 9 questions about discrimination and the 5 questions about aggression and it is a score of the violence suffered/perceived by the subjects. A scale going from VERY LOW to VERY HIGH was arbitrated in compliance with the indicator of violence and Table 2 contains the tabulated results.

Table 2: Main results tabulated

			Very low			Low			Medium			High			Very high			TOTAL
			0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	
Age bracket	Heterosexual	30 years or less	32	5	2			1		1								41
		over 30 years	15	1	1			1										18
	LGBTQIA+	30 years or less	29	14	12	26	30	21	14	22	8	10	4	1		1		192
		over 30 years	12	4	2	2	7	3	2	1	4	1	2	2				42
Color (IBGE)	Heterossexual	white	18	3	1					1								23
		non-white	29	3	2			2										36
	LGBTQIA+	white	20	8	6	10	19	9	6	10	4	8	3	1		1		105
		non-white	21	10	8	18	18	15	10	13	8	3	3	2				129
Religion	Heterosexual	Religious	18	2	1			2										23
		not religious	29	4	2					1								36
	LGBTQIA+	religious	16	8	3	5	18	5	8	7	8	3	2	1		1		85
		not religious	25	10	11	23	19	19	8	16	4	8	4	2				149
Education	Heterosexual	High-school or lower	18	3	1			1		1								24
		Higher-education	29	3	2			1										35
	LGBTQIA+	High-school or lower	23	11	8	19	18	11	8	9	2	3	2			1		115

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		Higher-education	18	7	6	9	19	13	8	14	10	8	4	3				119
Payment	Heterosexual	has a paid job	28	2	2			1		1								34
		no paid job	19	4	1			1										25
	LGBTQIA+	has a paid job	31	11	10	11	24	12	8	13	7	7	4	2		1		141
		no paid job	10	7	4	17	13	12	8	10	5	4	2	1				93

The types of violence most reported by respondents are, in decreasing order, verbal aggression, discrimination in the family, discrimination in the school, discrimination in the religious environment, and discrimination in the community, representing almost 60 percent of the responses to the questionnaire (Figure 2). According to ABGLT (2016), 73 percent of LGBTQIA+ students have already suffered verbal aggression due to their sexual orientation and 68 percent due to their gender identity. For Prado (2010),

> In Brazilian society, we still have lack of knowledge of homophobia. Yes, we do know it exists both from empirical data, from researches, and from the logic of experience. However, we are facing a quite contradictory moment: we know homophobia exists, but we know very little about how it works and what are its dynamics when combined with other forms of treating someone as inferior. Understanding how homophobia operates, especially when it is obvious that the prejudice is not only in the individuals only, but it is also articulated in the culture and in the institutions, it is fundamental to improve the forms of confronting and de-constructing its violent and silent practices (PRADO, 2010, p. 9).

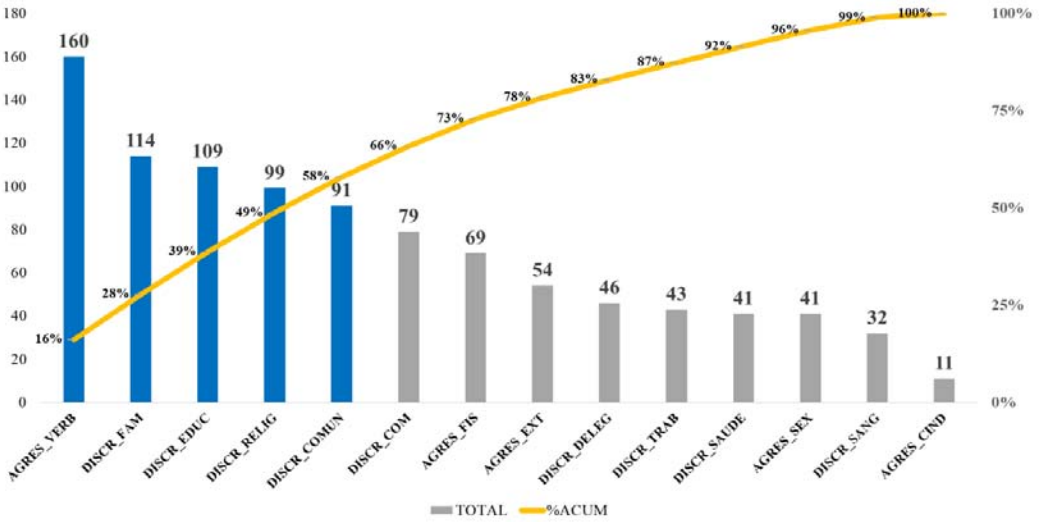
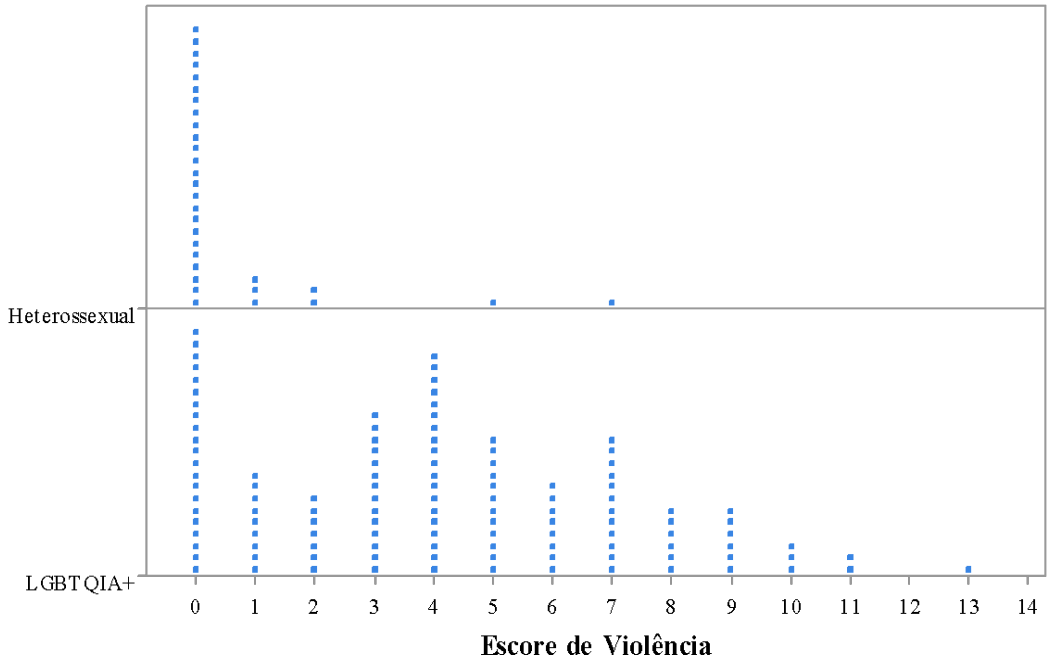


Figure 2: Types of violence indicated by respondents

It was concluded that, in the sample, 94.9 percent of heterosexuals have a score of violence between 0 and 2, that is, they say they have suffered no more than two aggressions or discriminations among those listed in the survey, and 79.7 percent in this group show a null score. Among LGBTQIA+, the situation is different, as 31.2 percent have a violence score between 0 and 2, and only 17.5 percent have a null score, that is, they have suffered no violence at all. Figure 3 shows graphically the concentration of lower scores for the heterosexual population.

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Cada símbolo representa até 3 observações.

Figure 3: Graphic of the distribution of violence scores by category

Sexual orientation is the prevailing factor to predispose or not the individual to suffer violence, that is, regardless of being or not in a relationship, of living alone or with someone, of being young or not, of being white or not, of being religious or not, of their education, of having a paid job or not, a subject from the LGBTQIA+ population in the context investigated will suffer more violence than their heterosexual counterpart. As Colling and Leopoldo (2016) put it,

> [...] the homosexual desire (not necessarily a homosexual´s desire) may un-structure a phallocratic society. And this is one of the reasons of the anti-homosexual paranoia, of the anti-homosexual panic which, quite often, transmutes into aggression, into macho terrorism – the dark atmosphere of fear – and, in a most obscene way, into murder, into the physical elimination of the other (2016, p. 14).

Table 3 shows the reliability intervals (RI) of the violence scores which affirm this statement. In all cases, LGBTQIA+ people have violence scores statistically higher than heterosexual people, as proved by the *One-Way Anova* test, with p-value equal to zero in all tests, regardless of the social marker.

Table 3: Reliability Intervals by Social Marker of Difference

Social Markers of Difference	Assumptions (95% of reliability)	Factor	RI
Generation	H_0: Age ***influences*** the difference of the violence score between the LGBTQIA+ population and the heterosexual one. H_1: Age ***does not influence*** the difference of the violence score between the LGBTQIA+ population and the heterosexual one.	Heterosexual 30 years old or over	(-0.337; 1.361)
		Heterosexual 30 years old or over	(-0.837; 1.726)
		LGBTQIA+ 30 years old or less	(3.759; 4.543)
		LGBTQIA+ 30 years old or less	(2.947; 4.624)
Race/Color (IBGE)	H_0: Race/color ***influences*** the difference of the violence score between the LGBTQIA+ population and the heterosexual one. H_1: Race/color ***does not influence*** the difference of the violence score between the LGBTQIA+ population and the heterosexual one.	White heterosexual	(-0.613; 1.656)
		White heterossexual	(-0.435; 1.379)
		White LGBTQIA+	(3.612; 4.674)
		Non-white LGBTQIA+	(3.560; 4.518)

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Religion	*H_0: Religion **influences** the difference of the violence score between the LGBTQIA+ population and the heterosexual one.* *H_1: Religion **does not influence** the difference of the violence score between the LGBTQIA+ population and the heterosexual one.*	Religious heterosexual	(-0.525; 1.743)
		Non-religious heterosexual	(-0.490; 1.323)
		Religious LGBTQIA+	(3.622; 4.802)
		Non-religious LGBTQIA+	(3.568; 4.459)
Education	*H_0: Education **influences** the difference of the violence score between the LGBTQIA+ population and the heterosexual one.* *H_1: Education **does not influence** the difference of the violence score between the LGBTQIA+ population and the heterosexual one.*	Heterosexual who went to high-school or less	(-0.380; 1.796)
		Heterosexual who went to college	(-0.558; 1.244)
		LGBTQIA+ who went to high-school or less	(2.964; 3.958)
		LGBTQIA+ who went to college	(4.201; 5.178)
Income	*H_0: Salary **influences** the difference of the violence score between the LGBTQIA+ population and the heterosexual one.* *H_1: Salary **does not influence** the difference of the violence score between the LGBTQIA+ population and the heterosexual one.*	Heterosexual without a paid job	(-0.646; 1.526)
		Heterossexual with a paid job	(-0.402; 1.461)
		LGBTQIA+ without a paid job	(3.770; 4.896)
		LGBTQIA+ with a paid job	(3.465; 4.379)

Thus, even if hypothetically participants in the "18th LGBT Citizen Parade" of Campo Grande/MS can pass through violence's situation in relation to generation (older people), race/color (black people and/or natives), religion (non-Christian people), education (people with no higher-education), social class (poor people) and territoriality (people who live in the periphery), our data points that sexuality can be, depending on the context, factor of a bigger condition of LGBTQIA+'s vulnerability. Such data is extremely crucial concerning the political and social role of continuing with the LGBT Parades both in Campo Grande/MS and in other parts of Brazil and world. After all, such events have the purpose of raising awareness the whole society the importance of enforcing the human rights of LGBTQIA+ people, in terms of leading a visible life.

From a general point of view, even if visually one may infer from Figure 3 that the LGBTQIA+ population reports the violence more frequently suffered, we have utilized inferential statistics to validate such statement. Parametric one-way Anova test was used to evince if there is significant statistical difference in violence when the heterosexual and the LGBTQIA+ populations are compared based on the respondent sample.

Although the values do not follow a normal distribution, the *One-Way Anova* test is statistically more powerful that a non-parametric test, considering that data come from two groups with 15 values each one. The test was based on the following assumptions:

H_0: Violence scores are the same for the LGBTQIA+ population and heterosexual people.

H_1: Violence scores are different for the LGBTQIA+ population and the heterosexual people.

One-Way Anova test, with 95% of reliability, applied generally in relation to sexuality, yields to a RI for the heterosexuals equal to (-0.214; 1.197) and for the LGBTQIA+ population to (3.731; 4.440), with p-value=0,000, that is, the null assumption is rejected, once the violence's score perceived by the LGBTQIA+ population is higher than for heterosexuals. This difference can be easily watched in the graphical representation shown in Figure 4.

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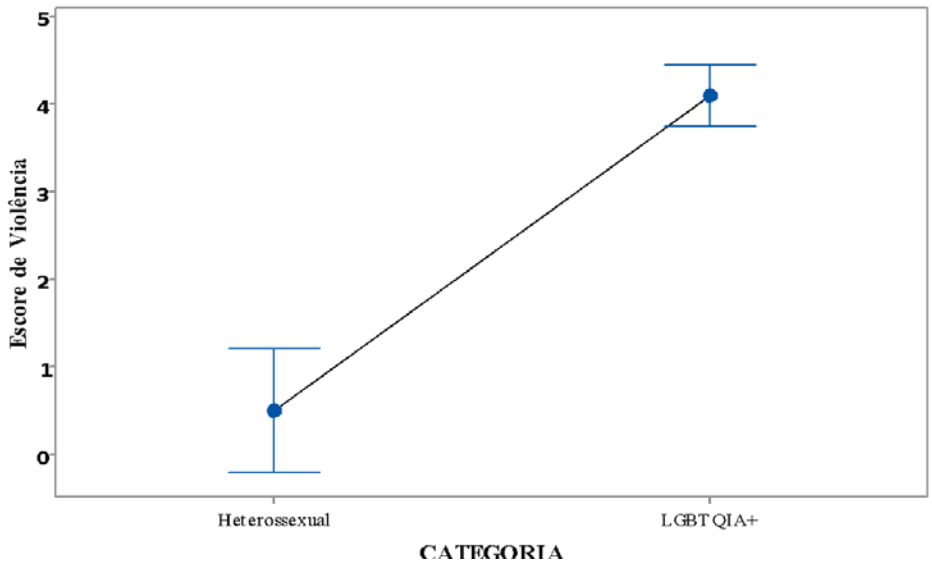


Figure 4: Graph with reliability intervals of the violence score

An approximation of the probabilities' distribution towards the violence score as a discreet variable with a Poisson distribution allows estimating that the probability of a LGBTQIA+ individual to suffer at least one of the two types of violence shown in the questionnaire is 98.32%. When the same analysis is done for the heterosexual public, the percentage drops to 38.86%.

This data allows us to say that there is both sexism (especially concerning gender) and heterosexism (considering that heterosexuality is established as a normative standard of desires). Welzer-Lang (2001) finds what he calls "the naturalistic paradigm". According to him, in sexism prevails a pseudo (we would rather say, allegedly) superior nature of men, while in heterosexism, for Welzer-Lang, homophobia would be the major "symptom", where heterosexuality takes a central position to the detriment of homosexuality. In his own words,

> the double naturalistic paradigm which defines, on one hand, the masculine superiority over women and, on the other hand, normalizes what male sexuality must be, produces an androcentric and homophobic political norm that inform us about what a true man should be, the normal man (WALZER-LAGN, 2001, p. 468, our translation).

That is, there is a continuous and repeated control of bodies and subjectivities which permanently undergoes a learning process by institutions and their respective grammar-codes. Thus, thinking heterosexuality requires, according to Butler (2003), to conceive it as a production that transcends both nature and culture, that is, as heterosexuality is not "essentialized" nor in a biological origin nor in a cultural transmission, its manufacturing is constantly implied in processes of destruction and violence.

This allows us to say that homosexuality, as a historical device (FOUCAULT, 1999), has been a privileged target in the production of difference which, often, turns on inequality. It is no coincidence that Foucault, in his genealogical endeavor, says that:

> If it is true that 'sexuality' is the set of effects produced in the bodies, in the behaviors, in the social relations, by a given device belonging to a complex political technology, it must be acknowledged that this device does not work symmetrically here and there, and it does not produce, therefore, the same effects (FOUCAULT, 1999, p. 120).

In this perspective, LGBTQIA+ people are produced both as an ontological truth as abject bodies. This difference, understood as a synonym of inequality, will be used as a sufficient reason to "justify" that the lives of LGBTQIA+ people are killable and not susceptible to grief (Butler, 2015). In a recent study on data about violence against lesbians, gay men, bisexuals, transvestites, and transexuals in Mato Grosso do Sul, Oliveira and Araujo (2020) point out that the rates are extremely high and, almost always, are accompanied by physical violence and may lead to death. In this regard, say the authors:

> First, it is not possible to ignore the degree of violence that is oriented against bodies that are considered incomprehensible: there are countless piercings, blows, stone-throwings. Second, the acts reach parts of the body which demonstrate that the victims could not defend themselves (generally, in the back). Third, the aggressions are done in areas of the body that are symbolically constitutive of 'humanization': the face, the countenance (OLIVEIRA; ARAUJO, 2020, p. 302).

The authors show that many crimes against LGBTQIA+ people are not "common crimes". The cruelty associated with the deaths of LGBTQIA+ people configure such facts as "hate crimes", because it is not enough to kill, it is necessary to do it in an exemplary, stunning way (FOUCAULT, 2004). Usually, death is the unfolding of extremely violent torture, together with extreme violence. It is visible, in this kind of action, the

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attempt not to murder an individual, but the whole "species". Such issues appeared in Carrara's investigation (2004) on the homicides of homosexuals in the 1990´s in Rio de Janeiro and in the recent work by Efrem Filho (2017) about the murder of LGBTQIA+ people in the states of Paraíba and Pernambuco. That is, spetacular death is recurrent in this kind of research.

III. Sexuality and Violence: (im)Pertinent Intersections

For this analysis, seven social markers of difference were applied (sexuality, generation, race/color, religion, education, income [in reference to social class] and territoriality), drawing from the concept that such social markers "interact, contextually and circumstantially, in order to promote potential scenarios of social inequalities and hierarchisations" (HENNING, 2015, p. 100, our translation). However, Henning expands this conception based on the idea of intersectional agency, pointing out possible processes of resistance produced by the subjects marked by differences, that is:

> In other words, a highlight is given to the importance of paying attention to the ways the individuals potentially utilize their own intersectional identity marks (as well as in the relation with intersectional identity traits of other people) in order to deal with the creation, the questioning, and the social deconstruction of inequalities (HENNING, 2015, p. 117, our translation).

Given that conception, it is important to emphasize that we did not intend to "prove" that the violence experienced by LGBTQIA+ subjects in the LGBT Parade would be explained by the summation of two or more social markers of difference. However, it is possible to see in Table 3 that only sexuality appears as the outstanding marker of difference, as we have said previously. This is because we believe that an intersectional reading should not establish, *a priori*, which markers are decisive to understand such theme.

According to Henning (2015), an intersectional analysis does not have the obligation of starting a specific marker of difference, but paying attention to the social configurations based on their historical and cultural context. The author says that there is fragility when these differentiations are multiplied, as they may cause some limitation. Thus, he problematizes the use of the '"nature of unlimited openness' of intersectional field" (HENNING, 2015, p. 111, our translation) and projects that intersectionality must be guided by the most relevant markers.

In this study, sexuality turned up the primary marker to understand the different processes of violence and aggression experienced by LGBTQIA+ people. Based on Foucault´s notion that sexuality produces effects of power that goes beyond the field of desire, or, said in other way, it goes beyond the individual´s sexual orientation, the comprehensiveness of sexuality takes place in accord with other dimensions including the economic, social, educational, cultural and others.

At this moment, we highlight an important concept to understand such process through which heterosexuality is constructed which, according to Dos Reis and Pinho (2016), is the heteronormative matrix or heteronormativity. For these authors, such matrix is conceived in a binary mode, with the presence of two well-defined poles (man/penis that desires woman/vagina), also capturing those who do not construct themselves based on this gender/sex/desire system. Dos Reis and Pinho also add that who does not match with what is conveyed by heteronormativity is exposed to different kinds of violence, which may cause death. That is, in a heteronormative regimen, in order to lead a visible life, it is necessary to seek the exact correspondence between sex, gender, and desire – as if that were possible for everyone (BUTLER, 2008).

It is by chance, as Saéz and Carrascosa say, that

> 'being a man' is based on 'not being' other things: not being a woman, not being homosexual. It is an identity generated by opposition, by denial, or by the repetition of aesthetic or behavior gestures that lack originality. It is a notion without a precise content. The men power, the patriarchal and macho power, is constructed, on one hand, by means of this contempt against women and, on the other hand, by the hatred against men deemed as less masculine, gay men (2016, p. 127).

In this regard, Carvalho and Pocahy (2020) associate the idea of privilege with people who manage to perform such norm, and consequently, exercise their citizenship. Such privileged ones are also able to disqualify and make inferior those ones who do not comply with the heterosexual norm. Here one finds the permission to exterminate the differences.

As a counterpoint, the criticism by Favero (2019) to the idea of privilege. According to the author, the causal conception that I am heterosexual, therefore I benefit myself the privilege in relation to other sexual identities, does not consider that the heterosexual individual is also constructed by other social markers of difference, such as race, generation, social class, gender etc. It is the intersection of such markers that would allow for a deeper analysis of how these "privileges" are configured. Thus, it is not enough to be heterosexual to lead a visible life, one has to be white, wealthy, Christian, with no disability, young, among others.

Miskolci (2005) points out historically the conditions under which the deviant subject emerges, the individual who does not comply with the norm. At the same time, he problematizes the concept of difference which, designed from the queer theory, see the subject marked by difference not necessarily based on the idea of oppression, but highlighting processes of resistance and agency.

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Thereby, by bringing closer Miskolci's contributions to the light of our research data, originated by the "18th LGBT Citizenship Parade" of Campo Grande, we argue that, although the social conditions of existence for the sexual and gender minorities are sometimes adverse, it does not result in being impossible to establish processes of identity construction or to fight for recognition. Quite conversely, when we highlight the visible discrepancy of the vulnerable situations experienced by LGBTQIA+ people in contrast with the heterosexual population, we wish to evince the importance of contemporary struggles and mobilizations, and concomitantly we foster the awareness about the arbitrariness of the heterosexual truth regimes underpinning such situations.

IV. Closing Remarks

Along the survey conducted during the "18th LGBT Citizenship Parade" of Campo Grande in 2019, a great deal of data was obtained. The difficulty to gather them all in a single analysis has provided the opportunity for analytical developments about such data (PASSAMANI; VASCONCELOS; ROSA; ISHII, 2020). In the analyses here presented, we have sought to problematize specifically the issue of violence against the LGBTQIA+ people who participated in the Parade. Through this analytical effort, we have evinced the faces of physical and symbolic violence that define the processes of discrimination and aggression.

In our itinerary, both the intersectional and post-structuralist perspective was fundamental to understand how the social markers of difference are articulated to produce a place of vulnerability for LGBTQIA+ individuals. No by chance, the data tabulation led us to find out that, when the issue is sexual dissidence, it is sexuality that outstands during processes of violence and inequality. Thereby, based on the data surveyed, it is possible to say that being a LGBTQIA+ person is already a "sufficient reason" to make someone target of discriminatory and/or violent practices.

Hence, our conclusion is not that other intertwining categories are not relevant to think violence against the LGBTQIA+ community. We only can say that the variations of these categories, based on the specific local context which the research survey was conducted, are not statistically significant in relation to sexuality.

In this regard, our data shows that the great difference in terms of violence results from being or not being LGBTQIA+. Being white or black, poor or rich, educated or not, young or not, does not add statistical difference in terms of violence. We say it again: all of this in the specific context where the survey was produced. The participation of other research subjects, other contexts and events may point (or not) to the prevalence of other markers, once these markers, in an intersectional analytical perspective, are not drawn from an *a priori* assumption regarding which social marker(s) is (are) used in the investigated situation. In other words, the field is the strength to understand which social markers of difference effectively make a difference.

Among the data analyzed, drawn from the universe of experienced violence, the higher recurrence is the verbal violence, followed by discrimination in the family, in the school, in the religious environment, in the community at large. In this way, it can be noticed that, starting with primary socialization, with the institutions someone most commonly has to live with and/or within, being LGBTQIA+ is a dangerous condition in terms of violence. For that matter, it is not unusual that swear words and humiliation are experienced since early age by LGBTQIA+ people who, in many cases, will have to learn to live with that for the rest of their lives.

Our data shows that such violent situations and contexts are not experienced the same by heterosexuals and LGBTQIA+ people. There is no doubt that that black, poor, non-educated, disabled and (or) older LGBTQIA+ people may have their itineraries even more aggravated. However, inside the Parade's context, where we did the research, sexuality gained more relevance into its participants' perspective on their own violence experiences. Surely, the "larger relevance" can be near the political-narrative context that designs these kind of events.

By all means, such research's data leads us to conclude that heterosexuality, even when it is not combined with another social marker of difference, is already a privileged place. This place may be possibly incremented if there is intersection with other categories. Anyway, being heterosexual is enough to provide the experience of a safer family and social ambience social, in contrast to the experience of LGBTQIA+ people. Based on this reasoning, someone will be hardly assaulted, violated, killed due to the fact of being heterosexual. The same cannot be said about the LGBTQIA+ community. Being and/or being recognized as LGBTQIA+ is already sufficient reason to be included in a spectrum of "killable life" (BUTLER, 2015).

When we look at the data in an intersectional perspective, we realize that sexuality is a marker of difference that makes the difference in the context faced by respondents to survey conducted at the "18th LGBT Citizenship Parade" of Campo Grande in 2019. Such subjects maybe do not comply with the norm based on other features other than sexuality, but the statistical data reveals that the violence perpetrated against them occurs due to the fact of being LGBTQIA+. Such result is not given by chance. Quite conversely, it is necessary to say once again that, historically, heterosexuality was established under the status of a norm. Under this heteronormative regimen, sex, gender, and desire must be performed as coherent and inseparable. This makes

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that all those whose identity becomes unintelligible according to the heterosexual standards, this last being reiterated as "genuine" and "authentic", become easy and immediate targets of several types of violence.

Finally, we can not end this article without insisting on the importance of the collective agency. In this regard, the data obtained from the responses of the LGBT Parade's participants also reveals how important and actual are the struggles and strategies for recognition and to confront the situations of inequality. If sexuality is still a reason for someone and/or a group to become a target of any type of violence, it is urgent to foster actions, research, and policies that contribute to increase visibility and to de-naturalize the social processes of subalternity, discrimination, and murder.

Therefore, it is urgent (and necessary) that heteronormativity, under its underpinning matrix of intelligibility, be questioned and de-naturalized in order to disclose its arbitrary, ghostly and fictional nature – which reveals what heterosexuality actually is: "an empty place" (SÁEZ; CARRASCOSA, 2016).

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Global Journal of human-social science: C
Sociology & Culture
Volume 23 Issue 2 Version 1.0 Year 2023
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal
Publisher: Global Journals
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

Can e-voting Improve Youth Voter Turnout?: Experiences from the Kenya 2022 General Elections

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Abstract- Over the years, many youths have been targeted by politicians for votes in general elections due to their large numbers. However, they (youths) have always scored dismally in terms of turning up to elect leaders of their choice in various political positions. Existing voting patterns have shown that the majority of the youth participate in political campaigns, both on social media platforms and in the field, but rarely in the voting process. Notwithstanding, the numerous civic education campaigns organized to foster voter registrations prior to elections, less than 60% of the youth turn up for registration as voters. Using Roger Hart (1992) conceptual model on level of participation, and the normative democracy theory, this paper used a critical review of existing literature, interviews, and observations for the just concluded 2022 Kenya's general elections. We examine how e-voting can be employed as a strategy to influence the youths' voting processes, during general elections. Document analysis and interviews were done and the findings are presented in the inform of narratives and excerpts.

Keywords: *e-voting, voting culture, youth, democracy, general elections, Kenya.*

GJHSS-C Classification: *LCC: JF799, JQ1870*



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Can e-voting Improve Youth Voter Turnout?: Experiences from the Kenya 2022 General Elections

Peter Gutwa Oino [α], Samuel Mong'are [σ] & George Aberi [ρ]

Abstract- Over the years, many youths have been targeted by politicians for votes in general elections due to their large numbers. However, they (youths) have always scored dismally in terms of turning up to elect leaders of their choice in various political positions. Existing voting patterns have shown that the majority of the youth participate in political campaigns, both on social media platforms and in the field, but rarely in the voting process. Notwithstanding, the numerous civic education campaigns organized to foster voter registrations prior to elections, less than 60% of the youth turn up for registration as voters. Using Roger Hart (1992) conceptual model on level of participation, and the normative democracy theory, this paper used a critical review of existing literature, interviews, and observations for the just concluded 2022 Kenya's general elections. We examine how e-voting can be employed as a strategy to influence the youths' voting processes, during general elections. Document analysis and interviews were done and the findings are presented in the inform of narratives and excerpts. Authors conclude that young people's active inclusion in political process spaces, especially in e-voting is not only a socio-economic imperative, but also key to preserving a stable economy and building peace. This in turn has a bearing on their wellbeing and the general development of their country. The paper recommends that there is need to engage the youth at a young age, in order to build trust and transparency between generations - and between citizens and their government. There is need for further research on how best to implement the e-voting system in Kenya, and get the assurance that the system will be trusted and be user friendly.

Keywords: e-voting, voting culture, youth, democracy, general elections, Kenya.

I. Introduction

Elections are a central component of democratic societies. Globally, political and electoral processes show that the tradition of regular elections has been established, albeit ambivalent, in terms of the elections' quality. Petitpas, Jaquet and Sciarini (2021) note that the youth are faced with the steady decline in electoral turnout, about which politicians and scholars recommend new communication technologies as possible remedies. With nearly half of the world's total population being 25 years or younger, the current youth generation of approximately 3 billion is becoming one of the most influential populations in history. However, although official voter turnout figures are not consistently available from electoral authorities across regions, data collected by surveys conducted in different regions are sketching a discouraging picture (Dezelan, 2015). The 2016 UN World Youth report on "Youth Civic Engagement," reveals that voter turnout has decreased in all democracies, since the 1980s and that the turnout decline is concentrated among the youth (UNDP, 2014). Survey results from a sample of 33 countries indicate that close to 44% of young adults aged 18–29 "always vote," compared with almost 60% of all citizens (UNDESA, 2016). The corresponding rate is more than 70% among those over the age of 50.

Electronic Voting (e-voting) is a process of casting votes, counting, and issuing results by means of Information and Communication Technology (henceforth ICT) (Adeshina & Ojo, 2017). Voting processes from the registration stage, pre-voting and voting, verification of results and counting of results are processed through ICT. This can be national, provincial or municipal elections. With the use of e-voting, the country stands to achieve improved participation and electoral management, faster vote count and reliable election results (Avgerou, Masiero, & Poulymenakou, 2019; Goretta et al. 2018). In 2010, there was an estimate of between 795-1469 implementations of e-voting around the world, compared to 2 700 in 2013 (Zolotov, Oliveira, & Casteleyn, 2018; Shat & Pimenidis, 2017). E-voting can make the voting process convenient and accessible to the youth, thereby improving youth participation (Schaupp & Carter, 2005; Arshad, 2015).

Participation of young people in formal political and electoral processes is relatively low and many of them exercise power outside of formal electoral processes, in situations of social and economic exclusion and difficulty. Little is done, however, to specifically target young people and build their confidence in formal democratic electoral systems, as a vehicle for political renewal. Even though there are varied reasons for the low levels of participation by young people, Electoral Management Bodies (EMBs) have a crucial role to play in advancing the inclusion of youth in electoral processes and in the structures of political representation. The rapid increase in the adoption of the internet in developing countries and the growth of citizen-centric e-government technologies have parked interest in electronic voting (e-voting) systems. E-voting systems enable voters to participate in elections remotely, using internet-based technologies.

In their study covering the period 2005–2015 on Estonia and Switzerland, Vassil et al. (2016) noted that

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e-voting in Estonia started as a voting tool for the resourceful and privileged, with those aged 50–60 most likely to use this tool, and later diversified to other groups. Yet, they found no evidence that even after several online elections, it has made the electoral process more interesting for the youth and other out-groups. Even more directly, Petitpas et al. (2021) found out that the introduction of e-voting in Switzerland led to an increase in voting of the older rather than the younger cohorts. Concerning the group of occasional voters, the researchers noted that e-voting increases rather than decreasing the gender gap in voting.

In 2020, the Independent Electoral Commission of South Africa stated its intention to introduce e-voting to lower the costs of voting, improve electoral transparency and efficiency, and to improve overall voter participation. There is, however, little research to explain the factors that could potentially influence voters, particularly young people (18-35 years) who are a growing voting demography with a declining interest in electoral participation.

As one of the most important formal avenues for political participation, voting has always been affected by voter turnout, as young voters tend to participate less in polls compared to older citizens (Ellis, 2007). Yet, in new democracies alone, the young generation is booming, with one-third of the population aged between 15 and 35. The sheer statistics on the total number of youths compared to the adult population on the continent befits their political and electoral inclusion. Afrobarometer (2019) survey in 36 African countries noted that 78% of the youth believe in the civic responsibility of voting. However, on Elections Day, this number decreases to 65%, who cast their ballots. The Youth tend to be disengaged from the democratic process and vote less frequently, stand as candidates less often and remain underrepresented in electoral managerial functions. Despite the continental and regional architecture for the promotion of youth participation, evidence shows that governments have not readily facilitated a meaningful inclusion of the youth in decision-making processes. In many countries, people have expressed deep concern, not only about the overall low level of participation, but especially among the youth.

Over the years, the private sector has proven that the use of ICT has the power to transform and deliver value (Achieng & Ruhode, 2013; Verkijika & De Wet, 2018; Mail & Guardian, 2019). The question, however, is, can e-voting induce the Kenyan youth to participate in electing their political leaders? In Kenya, the 2010 Constitution defines youth as any individual between 18 and 35 years of age. These youth constitute more than a third of the entire population, while nearly 80% of Kenyans are less than 35 years old[1]. Young people in Kenya's political landscape represent the largest demographic unit and political constituency. More significantly, effective participation of the youth in politics is critical to democratic developments, both in Kenya and globally.

Youth participation in political and electoral processes is a fundamental right to citizenship (Hart 1992). Juxtaposed against the youth who choose not to participate politically based on their needs not being met, are the youth recruited by political leaders, who participate through violent means. Electoral management bodies (henceforth EMBs) play a critical role when it comes to engaging the youth in electoral processes. Traditionally, EMBs have aimed to increase turnout rates among the youth through targeted campaigns young people to register and vote. In recent years, these approaches have included the use of the internet and social media. However, there is a need for EMBs to develop more sophisticated approaches and consider alternative methods that will produce higher involvement among youth (IDEA, 2015).

In Africa, evidence suggests that the increased competitiveness of elections has not necessarily led to an increase in citizen participation in electoral processes, but instead, cases of shrinking democratic space for citizen participation, infringement of fundamental freedoms and rights, and declining voter turnout continue to bedevil most African countries. More worrying is a glaring void of youth participation in political and electoral processes, yet the youth make up an estimated 430 million of Africa's population. The ability to vote online has the potential to increase voter turnout for elections, due to increased convenience over traditional voting polls.

Elections are a process composed of three intertwined cyclical phases (pre-election, election, and post-election) and subcomponents. Different actors, including the youth ought to participate in shaping the different election cycle components. The over-focus of the youth on Election Day activity has made them lose out on significant processes, before and after elections that actually define the outcome of elections. To add value to the electoral process, the youth need to understand and familiarize themselves with the election cycle to enable effective participation.

In Kenya, the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (henceforth IEBC) reported that the number of registered young voters has dropped by five percent since the 2017 poll, in contrast to over-35s, whose tally has increased. Over 22 million Kenyans were eligible to take part in this year's polls, with young people accounting for less than 40% of that number. Low youth participation in the electoral process, especially during the Biometric Voter Registration (henceforth BVR) phase, which was introduced for the first time during the run-up to the 2018 elections was recorded. The BVR was the country's first systematic

[1] Constitution of Kenya 2010

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voter registration system. However, the youth remain skeptical about its credibility and generally ignorant about registration requirements and the period for the same. They were also not well informed about the electoral process, including why they have to vote, the difference between ward-based and polling station-based voting and which of the two could be used for the 2018 elections. Youth participation, not only as voters, but also as contestants and electoral officials is a fulfilment of their civic role in the governance processes. The Afrobarometer (2016) survey across 36 African countries noted that 78% of the youth believe in the civic responsibility of voting. Therefore, their participation cannot and should not be a subject of debate, but a certain and obvious reality.

Despite making up more than half of the population in many countries, young people aged 18-35 often find themselves marginalized from mainstream politics and decision making. They also struggle to gain the respect of public officials and are seen as lacking the skills and experience to engage in political activity and lead positive change in their communities[2]. This exclusion, combined with limited educational and economic opportunities, can leave young people both idle and frustrated with the status quo.

Moreover, today's youth need real opportunities to participate in political processes and contribute to practical solutions that advance development. When given an opportunity to organize, voice their opinions, and play a meaningful role in political decision-making, young people consistently demonstrate their willingness and ability to foster positive, lasting change. They also become more likely to demand and defend democracy and gain a greater sense of belonging. Access is a key pillar for youth participation in political and electoral processes. However, the youth face barriers that interfere with the access to their civil rights. There is, therefore, the need to create innovative means to break the barriers. This paper focuses on capacity development for the youths to map out barriers to their participation in general election processes.

II. Statement of the Problem

One of the most important issues facing the youth of the world is their participation in the democratic institutions that govern every aspect of their lives. There is an unfair derogatory criticism from older generations that the youth are somehow 'not interested' in participating in democratic processes. Countries over the world are opting for e-voting to lower the costs of voting, improve electoral transparency and efficiency, and to improve overall voter participation, especially among the youth who are skeptical on manual voting. Despite this understanding, there is little evidence to show whether e-voting can influence the majority of the youth aged 18-35, to vote during general elections. We argue that voters' participation is important to sustain the country's democracy and e-voting adoption could be a key consideration for a young democracy like Kenya.

III. Theoretical Framework

Roger Hart (1992) offers one of the best explanations of the rationale for youth participation: youth participation is a fundamental right to citizenship. Hart developed a tiered "rungs" model, in which he defines the degrees of participation. This model draws heavily from Hart's model above, but does not seek to replace it. Instead, it serves as an additional tool for practitioners, in terms of helping them to explore different aspects of the participation process. Shier's approach offers a participatory progression that effectively functions as a scaffolding guide for educators and other adults working with the youth. Underpinning youth participation in voting processes during elections implies that there is a belief that the youth are a diverse group, who hold unique beliefs and experiences. Using this model, it applies a positive youth development approach to empower their agency, enhance skillsets and foster engagement between young people and political and civil actors, systems and processes. It proposes the engagement of the youth, as active participants in the electoral process.

IV. Methodology

Using Roger Hart (1992) conceptual model on level of participation, and Normative Democracy theory, the authors used a critical review of existing literature, interviews, and observations for the just concluded 2022 Kenya's general elections. In this paper, we innovate by shedding light on whether e-voting can be the best voting channel for the youth. We take advantage of a unique collection of individuals who participated in the Kenya 2022 August general elections from Uasin Gishu and Kisii Counties respectively. Document analysis and interviews were done and the findings are presented in the inform of narratives and excerpts.

V. Findings and Discussion

a) Civic Education through Mass Media

i *Registration as Voters*

In most countries, registration is a prerequisite for voting. Non-voters can be divided into two groups: those who are registered but abstain, and those who do not appear on the voters' list.

[2] https://www.ndi.org/what-we-do/ndi-youth

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The challenge is how to get both groups to vote, but for the latter group the first hurdle is to identify and include them on the voter list/register. In some countries, most notably, the United States and Kenya, the responsibility to register as a voter rests on the individual. On their part, the electoral authorities assume responsibility for compiling and maintaining the voters list, doing door-to-door enumeration, which must be done periodically to encourage more individuals to register.

In the Kenyan case, the country is considered a nation of the youth, with those under 35 years comprising 75% of the country's 47.6 million population (Population and Housing Census, 2019). In August 2022 general elections, the number of Kenyan voters aged between 18-35 that registered to vote dropped by 5.27% compared to 2017 (IEBC, 2022). This is even after 22.1 million voters registered for Kenya's general polls up from 19.6 million five years ago. Of these numbers, only 39.84% of those voters were the youth. Despite promises from both candidates on economic liberation for the youth should either one win in the August polls, the low number of young registered voters provides evidence of skepticism. The fall in registration among young people reflected a wider pattern of voter apathy among Kenyans, especially the youth. In the run-up to the 2022 elections, the country's electoral agency added just 2.5 million voters to the register, against a target of six million. This included those who had turned 18, since the country's last census in 2019.

During our interview with selected youths in Kisii and Uasin Gishu Counties, respectively, the youths blame the low figures on economic hardships facing them and worsening cases of corruption. This has made them to lose hope in the electoral processes in the country. In this context, for instance, an interviewee reiterated that *"I did not register because I was busy looking for money to take care of my two children, politicians will not feed my family."* Another youth argued that "*after being voted in, some leaders disappear and don't perform the role they promised.*" More interesting was the remark "*there is no need for me to go, parade and register myself as a voter then vote for a person who won't be elected because the leader has already been predetermined*" From the above evidence, it is clear that there is a growing sense of betrayal among most Kenyans, especially the youth, who feel that politicians increasingly use them as collateral damage in the wake of personal re-invention and self-preservation. Notice that politicians promise the youth great things every five years, which they hardly endeavor to fulfil. That is, politicians use their positions to misuse public resources, sponsor violence and violate the rule of law.

ii *Politics of Promises and Handouts*

From the views and opinions of youths interviewed, it was revealed that some young people can only vote if they are given money. "I *only attend rallies to get money…and if they pay me, then I can go to vote during the elections,*" Another youth said that… "*I have only come to the rally because there is money. I hope there will be something.*" These utterances are indicative of the widespread Kenyan practice of offering freebies to prospective voters. In this respect, for instance, Kenya's current Minister for Internal Security, Dr. Fred Matiang'i even told news reporters on Wednesday that the banks were running short of 100 and 200 shilling notes, "*because politicians are bribing villagers*". Politicians give money to lure the youth to vote, but this hasn't worked in Kenya and the main question is: 'will this ever work?' For instance, a presidential aspirant said: "*If I win the presidency, my administration will make available KSh. 50bn ($425,000) for loans to young entrepreneurs. "The coming government will be for the youth, the hustlers."* To counter this, his opponent promised to give a monthly stipend of Ksh 6000, to the single mothers and jobless people in the country, while another presidential candidate convinced the youth to vote him in because he would help to legalize bhang (cannabis) farming in Kenya. Despite all these promises, there was low turnout by the youth during the Elections Day. Moreover, politicians have responded by offering cash, umbrellas, shirts, caps and even packets of maize flour among other things, in the name of convincing young people to vote for them. In this context, the African Union and COMESA election observers attributed the low youth participation to the youth unemployment and poverty, lack of trust and confidence in the political system, and the general conception that their votes do not count in elections, (theeastafrican.co.ke, August 14 2022).

iii *Voting Technologies*

Existing studies revealed that e-voting facilitates the voting act, by reducing the time and effort required to participate (Kenski 2005; Gainous and Wagner 2007; Powell et al., 2012). Such electoral reforms decrease the direct and objective costs of voting (Berinsky, 2005), and also help to decrease the perceived costs of voting (Blais et al., 2019). In Kenya, the 2022 general elections faced the lowest youth voter turnout compared to the last three general elections. In this context, more than 14 million persons cast their votes, in 46,229 polling stations across the country, with the Central region, which has the highest population, recording the lowest turnout. The drop in numbers was blamed on lack of voter education, low interest by the youth, reduced trust and confidence in the political system, poverty and youth unemployment. Some foreign observers regretted that the low turnout was worrying for Kenya, whose electoral processes were largely transparent compared with other African countries. The question that remains to be answered, however, is "Can e-voting turn around things? From the perspective of the

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normative democratic theory, participation in e-voting is desirable to the extent that it helps to ensure equal consideration of the preferences and needs of the citizens, in this case the youth (Teorell, 2006).

Understanding how young people use technology and reflect their use of traditional and new media into tailored communication strategies plays a central role for governments seeking to efficiently inform, communicate and engage with them.[3] In some countries, the youth are apathetic, because participating in electoral activities, such as voter registration and voting requires the youth to travel vast distances between registration centers and where they were residents. This is cumbersome, based on the general economic challenges experienced by young people. Even in cases where the youth are keen to participate in electoral processes, they are disenfranchised by the long distance between their places of residency and the polling stations, as well as the discrepancies in the voters' roll, where they do not find their names in the voters' register.

The proponents of internet voting make several arguments in favor of e-voting. First, internet voting may make it easier for voters to participate in elections, considering that every computer that has an online connection becomes a potential polling site. Internet voting also might lower the cost of voting for the entire electorate, and it has the potential to eliminate problems, such as those that might have kept millions of voters from participating in the 2000 presidential elections. That is, voters will no longer have to trudge down to a school, church, or community center in order to vote. What is more, factors like bad weather, long lines, or confusion over the location of polling places will no longer impede voter participation. In their study, Petitpas, et al (2021) find out that e-voting can increase voter turnout among abstainers and occasional voters, because of its convenience and flexible voting time for the electors.

According to Staerkle (2015), political attitude determines individuals' behavior during an election. For instance, it voting is concerned with the political thought and behavior of individuals within politically organized communities, that is, how they participate in decision making at individual and collective levels-through collective action. In most cases, they are influenced by public opinion and political elites. During our interviews with youths in the study area, some of them expressed their attitudes towards e-voting. They revealed that they can use e-voting should it become available and that they are willing to learn how to use the e-voting system. This suggests that e-voting can improve youth participation in elections.

[3] https://www.oecd.org/mena/governance/Young-people-in-OG.pdf

The above findings are confirmed by scholars, such as Gerlach and Gasser (2009), Unt et al. (2016) and Germann (2020, who argue that e-voting is supposed to appeal to the youth, for whom internet and social networks have become the main mode of communication and part of their life. To remedy on the reduced number of youths participating in voting processes, therefore, a 2017 study by Brookings revealed that Electric Voting Machines have led to: (i) a significant decline in electoral fraud; (ii) strengthening the weaker and vulnerable sections of the society; and (iii) a more competitive electoral process." E-voting has largely solved these issues. The machines only register five votes each minute to combat virtual ballot stuffing. In this respect, marginalized groups are encouraged to vote, since their vote would not be counted by a biased and politically motivated person. More candidates have a better shot at being elected due to the higher representation of all voices.

In Philippines, for instance, electronic voting serves as a model of success. After implementing e-voting through the British company Smartmatic, the country's 2016 election brought 81% of the Philippines' 100 million people to the polls in a record turnout. At the time, the election stood as the largest electronic vote-counting project in history. Aside from the high turnout, the election also broke a record for the fastest voting count. The e-voting machines immediately tracked and published the results online, as votes came in. The technology was also carefully surveyed pre- and during the election with the aid of more than 200,000 citizen volunteers to prevent crashes.

Nigeria opted for e-voting in the 1990s, due to concerns that plague many African nations. It is among many countries in the continent that consistently report election violence, ballot stuffing, government-manipulated results and voter suppression, as pressing issues in elections. The country formed the Independent National Electoral Commission to integrate Electronic Voting Systems into their elections. The group plotted out polling locations across the country, and used a Geographic Information System technology to map out the country's population density to more accurately monitor the votes coming in from all areas. While e-voting is still in its infancy in Nigeria, it has been considered a necessity and as the only solution for credible elections. Notice, however, that the initial installing of e-voting proved largely unsuccessful in Nigeria. Notwithstanding, technology is seen as a promising means to curb the overflow of political violence and issues rampant in the country's elections in the future.

a. *Capacity Building*

As the children grow to become youth and then adults, introduction of civic and political education curriculum in the formal education system can be an

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impetus to increased participation in the voting processes during elections. Such a curriculum is critical to ensuring that the youth appreciate what it means to be citizens and what their contribution must be to their communities and the country at large. In designing effective voter education campaigns, targeted at young people, it is important that the objectives of the campaign are clearly identified, as different approaches are required to achieve divergent goals. For instance, it is the role of various stakeholders, including the government and CSOs to hold workshops for the youth on election and electoral processes, including, how they can participate as voters and candidates for elective positions.

In the months leading up to the August 2022 polls, observers suggested that the youth factor could help heal Kenya's often toxic tribal politics, with a younger electorate less likely to vote according to ethnic affiliations. However, we argue that though the youth are less tribally-minded, the majority of them majority lack ideological steadfastness. As such, teaching cognitive skills to allow young voters to make a meaningful choice is important. Therefore, as e-voting is brought closer to them, the youth voters need to be able to assess the competing views and positions of political parties and candidates in order to make a meaningful choice. This necessitates being provided with background information and relevant arguments on issues and information on the positions taken by the various candidates and parties. Public, media, and school-based debates, as well as non-partisan voting guides can assist in allowing the youth registered as voters to make informed choices and advance their own interests. Education about the role, responsibility and rights of young voters ought to be appealing to young people's civic spirit, patriotism, responsibilities and duties as citizens of a particular country. If successful, it will greatly provide the necessary motivation to participate in elections, and develop good voting habits from a young age. Voting apathy has also been experienced during general elections, despite intense mobilization for the youth to register as voters. As explained by one civic educator, *"we did a lot of mobilization during registration using all available election tools and still voter apathy was too high*." Some youths didn't show interest to vote, and one of them argued that: "*I don't think I am going to vote,*" …"*I have no interest, because the politicians put themselves first rather than us.*"



Source[4]*: Kijana-jihusishe-youth-promoting-peaceful-2022-elections-kenya project.*

From the foregoing discussion, it is noted that organizations such as the European Union (EU) recognize the significance of youth engagement, empowerment and participation in democratic governance, before, during, and after elections. Through empowerment programme, such as the Kijana Jihusishe in informal settlements, the EU worked with the Life and Peace Institute, the Kesho Alliance, and the SNDA Africa to sensitize the youth and strengthened their participation in the 2022 General elections. The project took a peer-to-peer approach to reach out to fellow youths, including the hard-to-reach and those more likely to participate in political violence. Through such kind of initiatives, the youths get enlightened on the significance and role of elections and voting in a democracy. This involves educating young voters to understand that elections are one of the defining events of a democratic system. Likewise, voting allows them to make informed choices between individuals, parties and policy options. Campaigns need to help young people to understand that their vote counts and has a significant influence on the political decisions of their country. Besides, in order to create and sustain momentum for efforts to get young people excited about

[4] https://www.eeas.europa.eu/delegations/kenya/kijana-jihusishe-youth-promoting-peaceful-2022-elections-kenya_en?s=352

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their role as citizens, the problem of apathy and abstention and its implications ought to be recognized and addressed for the future of democracy. Think tanks, policy experts, researchers, civic organizations, and media also need to be involved intensively. This is in line with IDEA (1999), which emphasizes that whatever the motives of the various stakeholders, by reaching out and involving young people, they are collectively working towards the challenge of ensuring a vibrant democracy in the country.

b. *Transparency and Trust*

Digital technology has expanded the opportunities for e-voting and allowed political dissidents and other actors to connect virtually. One of the objectives of youth involvement in e-voting is transparency as it reduces misconduct and improves public trust. For the youth to trust e-voting, the electoral bodies must be transparent in how the system works and educate them about the system (Avgerou, Masiero & Poulymenakou, 2019). This, however, poses the question, can this be achieved in a country like Kenya? Can the electoral body improve the credibility of the system and assure people about the security of the votes? (Wirtz, Daiser & Binkowska, 2016). When achieved, this will boost the youth's confidence in voting. According to Sciarini et al. (2013) and Mendez and Serdult (2017), the potential positive effects of e-voting on turnout can be hampered by citizens' security concerns. Fears of vote manipulation and fraud may discourage voters from using e-voting. Thus, concerns about the integrity of elections might even decrease the turnout.

The use of e-voting requires knowledge and skills in ICT, and it is important to ensure that most of the potential users can use e-voting without problems. Prototype apps can also be used to allow users to play with the system and gain skills in the e-voting system (Bisong, 2019). As observed in some countries, such as the United States and which can be borrowed by Kenya, emphasis is on logistic difficulties and consequent efforts are usually placed on countering low and declining turnout by simplifying registration and voting. By making it easier, these measures can tip the scales in favour of voting. During our interviews with one IEBC official, he narrated that: *"If citizens will not come to the polls…why not bring the polls closer to the citizens…that is through e-voting."* This is confirmed by Nooris (2004, who avers that introducing e-voting will greatly simplify the voting act and may eventually foster participation by mobilizing new voters.

b) Dilemma with Future of Electronic Voting among the youth in Kenya

Although young people constitute a large segment of the electorate in Kenya, and would thus seem to provide ample potential recruits, advocates face unique challenges in organizing them politically in significant numbers, and in channeling their involvement into a lasting commitment to the group. While electronic voting in developing countries has promoted healthy and democratic elections in many instances, it is not without its problems. Technology, especially the type being sent to developing countries, has an easy tendency to glitch and lend itself to user errors for those unfamiliar with the technology.

Furthermore, many countries have used e-voting to combat top-down corruption, though such forms of technology still remain under the jurisdiction of the government. Therefore, it carries the potential to be used in rigging, thereby producing more fraudulent and difficult-to-trace results. Some scholars have argued that e-voting may reduce inequalities by increasing the turnout among groups that participate less, such as young voters (Krueger 2002; Serdült et al., 2015). Whereas, others disagree and fear that e-voting will reinforce the inequality of turnout by favoring those who already vote more, such as the well-educated and wealthier citizens (Berinsky 2005; Gerlach & Gasser 2009; Norris 2001).

E-voting also makes recounting virtually impossible, due to the lack of a paper trail. However, many developing countries have nonetheless used this technology to their advantage. They are in the process of making e-voting a dependable reality. Namibia, Ghana and Kazakhstan are in the early stages of using e-voting and hope to run their elections solely by means of elections e-voting. With the aid of continuing technological advancements, e-voting can hopefully plant a successful footing in developing countries. To achieve greater effectiveness in reaching out to young citizens in e-voting, it is essential to build strategic alliances and seek support from other interested parties. These could include private sector organizations, such as business enterprises that see young voters as future clients or customers, and other industries that cater for the youth. In this respect, the youth are likely to make good partners, because their involvement will definitely allow them to participate in developing their country, while at the same time pursuing their own interests.

Our major argument is that e-voting will decrease barriers to civic engagements, and reduce inequalities in participation by attracting groups that participate less, such as the youth. However, other scholars are quite pessimistic about this idea, and argue that e-voting cannot change the motivational basis for political activism, and that it (e-voting) will have the opposite effect, i.e., that it will reinforce the social stratification of the vote (Berinsky 2005, and Goodman, 2014). Similarly, it is arguable that e-voting can a digital divide, considering that it will favor those citizens that are familiar with the internet, and who usually vote, thereby leaving behind the less educated, the elderly,

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and women (Gainous and Wagner 2007; Oostveen and Van den Besselaar 2004). We also argue that voting is a habit that individuals develop; if e-voting increases the turnout among young voters, then this might have a durable impact on their participation record.

c) Participation beyond Formal Electoral Processes

Beyond formal political and electoral processes and structures, there are a number of ways by which young people can be actively involved in decision-making processes and institutions that affect their environment and lives. These include structures that enable the youth to provide inputs and influence policy-making processes and structures that enable them to learn about policy-making processes. However, opportunities for the youth to participate in political processes depend largely on the political and cultural contexts, and a democratic environment is always favorable to participation in general.

For the most part, promoting youth participation needs to be geared towards achieving levels relative to those of the rest of the population. For example, in Ukraine, a young activist mobilized young people in her community to open a youth radio station. Co-funded by the local government and USAID's DOBRE program, it works to increase the involvement of local residents and civil society organizations in local government decision-making, while at the same time holding local officials accountable through monitoring.[4] In Kyrgyzstan, the youth united their voices ahead of the presidential vote in 2017 elections. The youth-led initiative succeeded in getting people, and the youth in particular, engaged in the electoral process. Voter turnout in the 2017 presidential elections was higher among young people aged 18-29, than in any other age group. The total number of young voters also increased by approximately 5%, compared with the 2015 parliamentary elections.

d) Voting abstention and individual health

In Kenya and other countries, the health policy is core to the political agenda. Therefore, failure of the youth to participate in the electoral process can influence their health in one way or the other. In democracies, voting is an important action through which citizens engage in the political process within a country or region. Through voting, we send a signal of support or dissent for policies that finally shape the social determinants of health, which subsequently influence who votes and who does not (Brown et al., 2020).

Social determinants of health are the conditions in which people are born, grow, live, work and age that shape health. They include factors, such as, socioeconomic status, education, neighborhood and physical environment, employment, and social support networks, as well as access to health care (Artiga & Hinton, 2018). This shows that addressing social determinants of health is important for improving health and reducing longstanding disparities in health and health care systems. What is more, lower socio-economic position of an individual has been associated with poor health over the life course (Arah, 2008). As a result, voting abstention becomes an indicator of low social capital that ultimately leads to negative health effects. The general pattern is that individuals with poor health tend to abstain from voting, suggesting that politics and health are mutually exclusive.

Participating in the democratic process might be instrumental to the well-being of the youth and the entire population in general. Youth participation in electoral processes is recognized as a human right, in line with Article 12 of the UN *Convention on the Rights of the Child* (CRC), which stipulates young people's right to participate in decisions that affect them, including those regarding their health and well-being (Wigle et al., 2020). Therefore, the youth need to be aware of this fundamental right, considering that health is a political choice that is unevenly distributed; its determinants are dependent on political action, and health is a critical dimension of human rights and citizenship (Mackenbach, 2013). The youth can influence the processes that shapes the social determinants of health through voting as one of the key aspects of democratic engagement. Notice that voting has several effects on the social determinants of health. These include, determining on who holds political power, those in power in turn put forward and support policies that respond to the needs and demands of their constituents that shape the social determinants of their health, and finally the social determinants of health affect voting patterns (Brown et al., 2020). As such, there is need for the youth to better understand the functioning of politics, both nationally and locally and the mechanisms that connect politics to public health.

VI. Conclusions and Recommendations

From the foregoing discussion, the authors conclude that in order for the youth to effectively participate in political and electoral processes, they need to be given proper tools, such as education and access to credible and requisite information that enables them to understand their role in the socio-political national discourse and actions that can promote their meaningful participation in elections. Engaging young people can also increase their understanding and interest in civic and political affairs, including fostering active citizenship. More significantly, the youth are more likely to feel that they are actively involved in decision-making processes, and that their

[4] USAID, "Young Ukrainians Inspire Local Community Development," (USAID, July 2018), https://www.usaid.gov/results-data/success-stories/young-people-inspire-local-community-development.

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concerns are taken seriously by government officials. This will also contribute to their social wellbeing at the individual level, by building their self-esteem and a sense of empowerment, including bringing about important benefits for societies, such as increased awareness of common challenges and a joint commitment to identify solutions that work in the long-run.

Furthermore, young people's active inclusion in political process spaces, especially in voting is not only a socio-economic imperative, but also key to preserving a stable economy and enduring peace. Ultimately, it also benefits society as a whole by reinforcing a positive civic behavior, thus staying informed on politics, including encouraging young people to run for official positions in elections. The paper recommends that there is need to engage the youth at a young age, in order to build trust and transparency between generations, and between citizens and their government. There is need for further research on how best to implement the e-voting system in Kenya, considering that the youth like using the internet in most of their activities.

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Global Journal of human-social science: C
Sociology & Culture
Volume 23 Issue 2 Version 1.0 Year 2023
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal
Publisher: Global Journals
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

Epochal Change and Second Modernity as a Sociocultural Manifestation of Managerialism

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Abstract- This paper returns to the prevalent notion of an epochal change that transformed advanced societies towards the turn of the millennium. Using the neutral term 'second modernity' to capture this polyonymous phenomenon, three of its constitutive cultural attributes are discussed – uncertainty and insecurity; immediacy and accelerating rates of change; and the flattening of hierarchies and rigid organisations. The paper first reviews the way these attributes and their consequences were analysed by proponents and opponents of a postmodern break with the past. It is then shown that the new managerial discourse and practices which arose concurrently with all these transformations both endorsed and propelled them. At the same time, these processes, their effects and interpretations all increased the importance and social standing of management in organisations and society at large. They also promoted the ethical and ideological foundation of the social ascendency of managers. Together, this lends support to perceiving the rise of second modernity as the sociocultural manifestation of the new social order of managerialism.

GJHSS-C Classification: *JEL: M12*



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Epochal Change and Second Modernity as a Sociocultural Manifestation of Managerialism

Sharron Shatil

Abstract- This paper returns to the prevalent notion of an epochal change that transformed advanced societies towards the turn of the millennium. Using the neutral term 'second modernity' to capture this polyonymous phenomenon, three of its constitutive cultural attributes are discussed – uncertainty and insecurity; immediacy and accelerating rates of change; and the flattening of hierarchies and rigid organisations. The paper first reviews the way these attributes and their consequences were analysed by proponents and opponents of a postmodern break with the past. It is then shown that the new managerial discourse and practices which arose concurrently with all these transformations both endorsed and propelled them. At the same time, these processes, their effects and interpretations all increased the importance and social standing of management in organisations and society at large. They also promoted the ethical and ideological foundation of the social ascendency of managers. Together, this lends support to perceiving the rise of second modernity as the sociocultural manifestation of the new social order of managerialism.

I. Introduction – Second Modernity and the Managerialist Revolution

Around the turn of the millennium, significant academic attention was devoted to the swift and comprehensive transformations of the social, economic and cultural foundations of advanced societies. These transformations were explained as anything from a postmodern break with the character of modernity to its hypermodern intensification. Eventually, a type of 'overlapping consensus' emerged out of these debates, concerning the rise of a *second modernity*, to borrow Beck's relatively neutral term, involving a set of fundamental shifts in the makeup of current society.[1] The consolidation of this consensus was probably one of the reasons why the discussion has somewhat abated since, while some of its themes found their way into subsequent discourses, such as globalisation and consumerism.

Furthermore, as Delany claimed, 'The postmodern challenge… now no longer sets the terms for debate, for its radical claims have been more or less accepted, having been to an extent realised in social practice today' (Delany, 1999, p. 180). However, I wish to readdress this notion of a second modernity based on the contention that the changes associated with it are manifestations of the rise of the new social order of managerialism. I argued previously (Shatil, 2021) that at the same time frame as the rise of second modernity, notably the final two decades of the previous millennium, a surreptitious and unannounced social revolution took place. A new social order emerged, in which a corporate elite of managers and associated professionals replaced the business owners as the dominant class in society. I wish to argue that the prominent features of second modernity are the effects of the managerialist social order, constituting the *sociocultural logic of managerialism*, to paraphrase Jameson'sfamous turn of phrase.

The impact of managerialism on various characteristics of second modernity will be analysed using a small number of typical managerialist ideological constructs. I will explain them in the context of management's home ground of the business world, but it should be remembered that in managerialism, they become integral to the constitution of society at large. First, the definitive social and psychological character of a managerialist society is busyness and the maximisation of hustle and bustle. Ever since Taylor's first experiments with the stopwatch, management's concepts of efficiency and productivity have always been tantamount to maximising output per unit of time. Amid constant activity and pressure for time, careful management becomes crucial to success. This results in an unprecedented rate of activity in all aspects of social existence. While change is the mark of modern life, and Marx already identified the need of a capitalist economy to constantly transform the means of production, change in managerialism is no longer the result of discovery and invention, but an end in itself.

Another distinctive feature of managerialism is its construal of social reality, in which everyone is capable of satisfaction and success in their social dealings. This picture forms the core ethical order and value system of managerialism (cf. Shatil, 2021). In particular, management's typical employment of scientific based value neutrality – its purported ability to efficiently achieve any desired ends – thereby acquires an ethical dimension. Weber famously highlighted the dangers posed by the merely instrumental rationality that is prevalent in

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[1] Nowadays, we are already seeing the phrase 'third modernity' being increasingly used in reference to contemporary society (see for example de Vulpian, 2008). However, I do not believe that historical ages actually change at the pace that researchers require for the production of original concepts and catchphrases.

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modernisation processes. He claimed that it potentially constitutes an 'iron cage' counteracting the substantive rationality of modernity, including the capitalist work ethic and individual human rights (Kalberg, 1980). Managerialist ethics resolves this contradiction by positing instrumental rationality as the means of satisfying everyone. Management's value neutrality thus becomes a new substantive ethical order, which is presented as superior to the classical individualism of the business owners. The latter relied on conflict, competition and ruthlessness as routes to success. Aggression, frustration and loss are therefore endemic to this ethical model. In managerialist ideology, in contrast, people need only perform well with others in a productive setting to merit satisfaction and success. Their sociability, quick adaptability, flexibility and commitment to the demands of tasks and organisations, which make them ideal team workers, are the principal virtues that entitle everyone to be a winner. This portrays management as the means of making everyone successful, regardless of unique skills or prowess. Managerialist ideology first denounces the meritocracy and elitism of the business owners as involving conflict, frustration and inequity. Elitism and meritocracy are consequently reaffirmed as long as they optimise the quality of *service* provided to everyone. Management's control of social assets and activities is therefore justified because management practices are supposedly the means of achieving universal satisfaction in all fields of life.

An equally important element of managerialism is its surreptitious nature. The social domination of management intrinsically aims to remain unrecognised. It operates by providing the best service and offering maximised performance to everyone. Managements are thus rarely the official heads of organisations, a position usually reserved for elected officials in the case of public institutions and owners of private ones. Not only has profit remained the definitive objective of business, but emphasis on shareholder value is frequently used to justify managerial practices. Management therefore never aims to be widely proclaimed as the dominant or determining factor of social values and objectives. Its authority is justified by scientifically backed claims of neutrality, efficiency and universal satisfaction. Managerial social dominance is always oblique and has to be extracted and uncovered beneath appearances.

These highly distinctive attributes of managerialist ideology and social order will help to identify its influence on the character of second modernity. Due to considerations of length, I will limit the discussion to three of its essential aspects, appearing in almost every analysis of second modernity, however it is construed. These are endemic uncertainty, insecurity and risk; the perpetual and accelerated rates of change; and the dissolution of hierarchies. It should be remembered, however, that the distinction between them is largely analytical, while in reality, they are inextricably linked. Thus, reference to all of them is unavoidable while discussing each in turn.

II. Uncertainty, Insecurity and Risk

One characteristic of second modernity that is evident in nearly all its social and cultural manifestations is the growing levels of uncertainty and general scepticism about values, goals, technologies and institutions. First modernity was an age imbued with certainty and confidence. The imperialist industrialised West, enjoying unrivalled global domination, was confident in its concept of progress and its abilityto rationalise human existence. Disease, poverty, prejudice and ignorance were to become a thing of the past in the wake of a new and transformed civilisation. This is surely somewhat of a caricature, but accepted wisdom considers it the distinctive perspective of modernism. Second modernity, in contrast, is marked by 'a realization that the goals and values which have been central to Western 'European' civilization can no longer be considered universal, and that the associated 'project of modernity' is unfinished because its completion is inconceivable and its value in question' (Smart, 1990, p. 27).

Uncertainty and doubt concerning the values that have shaped Western civilisation ever since the Enlightenment clearly resonates from the term 'postmodernity'. It signifies a break with the sociocultural codes and values of the modern age:

> Where the modern world was allegedly well organized along a linear history yielding straightforward meanings, the post-modern world is thought to be poorly organized in the absence of a clear, predictable historical future without which there are, at best, uncertain, playful and ironic meanings (Lemert 1997: 36)

For Lyotard (1984), modernity was based on the scientific conception of knowledge, in which legitimacy is the crucial factor and truth is the aim of the game. The mark of truth is objective proof, which is accessible to the expert community and leads to a consensus amongst it. The scientific abhorrence of contradictions and discrepancies makes scientific knowledge systematic and universalistic, or as Lyotard has it, totalising. It aims to unify all fields of knowledge, while any other type of knowledge is perceived as illegitimate and baseless. Combined, these features establish a universal and imperialistic drive towards rationalisation and progress inthe name of the emancipation of humanity, which Lyotard perceives as the grand narrative of modernity. Instead

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of unity, universality and rationality, the emerging postmodern condition emphasises discontinuity, incommensurability and paradoxicality. The modern narrative of legitimation is displaced along with grand narratives of the emancipation of humanity through knowledge. Instead, there is a heightened sense of the ability to change and transform the rules of scientific practice and the ways in which knowledge is acquired. Mistrust and uncertainty regarding systems, predictability and control become the commonplace attitude to knowledge. In these circumstances, knowledge is legitimised based on performativity – usefulness and profitability become the only measure. Decisionmakers attempt to manage uncertainties based on the optimisation of the system'sperformance, and the only demand in matters of truth and justice alike is to be operational or disappear.

Best and Kellner also consider uncertainty as a primary feature of postmodernity. They identified 'a unique social configuration, modernity, organized around profit and growth imperatives, engineering and architectural marvels, mechanistic visions of the universe, and postanimistic identities in a "disenchanted" world ruled by instrumental rationality and exchange value' (Best & Kellner, 2001, p. 101). Emerging postmodern tendencies undermine this modernist social configuration and its conception of knowledge, generating a series of significant paradigm shifts. Thus, the concept of nature as a law governed causal order fathomable by reason is replaced by a dynamic perspectivism full of riddles and paradoxes, unpredictability and indeterminacy. These aspects increase uncertainty concerning the models of reality and the ability to predict and control phenomena, and therefore concerning the future of science and technology and their social ramifications. Consequently, Science, technology, economics and culture amalgamate and adopt the principal postmodern characteristics (Heaphy, 2007). These include the rejection of unity, universal schemes and established meanings in favour of difference, plurality, contingency, uncertainty, and chaos.

Those who deny the occurrence of a postmodern shift in second modernity reject many of the features commonly associated with postmodernity. They deny that second modernity demonstrates the undermining of objectivity, truth and the scientific understanding of reality or the return to a more enchanted and playful worldview. However, they equally stress the increased levels of uncertainty, doubt and risk involved in the current era. Reflexivity is often considered the definitive mark of second modernity in these interpretations, tantamount to the self monitoring and reconfiguring of social systems, institutions and knowledge.

For Giddens (1990), Reflexivity arises because of the incorporation of growing levels of knowledge and technology into everyday social practices. These technological systems continually reshape social existence, and open up new and unpredictable ways for it to evolve. In particular, work, leisure, consumption and social relationships are increasingly taking place within a cyberspace which effectively cancels space and time differences, and offers large volumes of information and interaction at the click of a button. Therefore, knowledge becomes a resource for social interaction, and at the same time, changes its character. Reflexivity places a set of expert systems at the heart of second modern society, whose role is to examine, evaluate and modify the workings of social institutions. Traditional social bases are increasingly undermined by this dynamism, and institutions are constantly redesigned. Technology magnifies these effects of reflexivity on a global scale, and projects them onto the natural environment, which is no longer separate from the social. Thus, pollution, waste, plagues, deforestation and climate change represent the permeation of the social and the natural and its global and often uncontrollable ramifications. Similarly, the interconnectedness of investment and labour markets means that local economic events may have unforeseeable global effects.

Contemporary life is therefore based on acute awareness of the unpredictable and uncontrollable aspects of modern technological and social change (Heaphy, 2007).

While Giddens perceived reflexivity as a result of growing reliance on knowledge and information technology, for Beck reflexivity is mainly the results of gaps in our knowledge. This is manifested in the manufactured risks of second modernity. These risks lead to competing claims by experts, generating a conflict about what and how we know. Beck defined risks as spectres of impending catastrophes, which have a manufactured source – they are the results of human intervention in the natural order. Risks are delocalised, as their effects are global, crossing national, ethnic or class boundaries, and are therefore everyone's responsibility; they are incalculable and uncompensatable as they are based on scientifically induced uncertainty and irreversible potential repercussions (Beck, 2014). In first modernity, risks were justified by their supposed benefits such as economic growth, employment, scientific and technological progress, rising standards of living and the security of the welfare state. The transition to a risk society takes place in face of the collapsing faith in these promises because of the adverse aftereffects of modern technology and society – the risks of pollution by nuclear and chemical industries, climate change, genetic modification, unpredictable global financial markets and the economic crisis of the welfare state. Risks highlight the fact that the strive to control reality may

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lead to adverse and unforeseen result. Risk's global and inherently uncertain nature therefore undermines the modern political and social project of technological control. This induces an ambivalent attitude towards knowledge, undermines modern forms of organisation and the social institutions of first modernity with their ethical and political principles, and renders them uncertain, contingent, and radically uncontrollable (Heaphy, 2007). Risk, uncertainty and ambivalence thus explain the erosion of the values and institutions of first modernity, and largely determine the unique character of second modernity:

> Take what you will: god, nature, truth, science, technology, morality, love, or marriage—modernity transforms everything into 'liberties fraught with risks'. All metaphysics, all transcendence, all necessity and certainty, is being replaced by artistry (Beck, 2014, p.92).

The uncertain nature of social processes in second modernity give rise to reflexivity,which for Beck involves the necessity to make decisions without recourse to certain knowledge or sources of legitimacy and authority (Eid, 2005). Reflexivity highlights the radical doubt and uncertainty generated by expert knowledge in second modernity, while we continue to rely on it to learn about risks and deal with them.

In every account of second modernity, the rapid transformation, revisability and hence contingency of practices, scenarios and structures affects all aspects of society. Which professions, investments or pension funds will still exist in the foreseeable future is something just as uncertain as which technologies will be available – not to mention the uncertainty about which new fields of action and forms of practice will emerge (Rosa, 2013). Growing levels of uncertainty characterise lifestyles, careers, relationships etc., and they thus assume a form similar to consumer choices (Bauman, 2000). This is supported by the postmodern construal of diversifying consumer markets as a pluralistic world that provides opportunities for people to carve their own niches and identities. In its extreme, postmodernism views consumerism as a witty journey through a cultural supermarket of fleeting impulses and desires (Gabriel & Lang, 2006). No relationship is considered stable and constant, while both people and things move in and out of one's field of vision like the "schizophrenic" succession of video images that is typical of postmodernism according to Jameson (1991). Yet the making of consumer choices has also become unavoidable, and being uncertain also generates fear of losing the value and sense behind our choices. Thus, we experience the world as risky and unsafe, in which our social standing, income, the market value of our skills, our relationships, our neighbourhoods are all unstable and vulnerable (Bauman, 2001). The fate of the poor and outcast underclass is presented as the only alternative to participation in the race, thus making our decision to risk the horrors of the flexible world easier.

Management was among the first fields to focus on escalating uncertainty as a prominent feature of the business world. Managerial discourse underwent a significant metamorphosis concurrently with the advent of second modernity. At the heart of the new discourse lay the observation that the social and business environment is rapidly changing, challenging existing forms of knowledge and organisation. These changes involve spiralling levels of uncertainty concerning consumer tastes, financial markets and successful strategies in a global setting wrought with unpredictable risks and intense competition (Thrift, 2005). Facing such conditions, organisations must become flexible, adaptable, knowledgeable, and continuously act and react to developments.

This new managerial discourse marks the transition of management theory from a specialised academic discipline to a prolific popular business involving authors, publishers, media outlets, consultancies, a range of academic departments etc. It posits management as a rational, scientifically based field for devising strategies and policies to cope with the dangers of uncertainty (Jackson, 2001). Management is portrayed as a source of existential comfort for professionals, being the rational way to quickly adjust social systems and handle growing uncertainties on route to success (Knights & Morgan 1991). Thus, management presents itself as the ultimate meta system to control all expert systems, and becomes a prime agent of reflexivity. It generates change by encouraging swift responses to developments in world economy, and promotes the spread of new knowledge and technology as a means of organisational survival (Jackson, 2001). In conditions of such rapid reflexivity, control of the global economy increasingly lies with knowledge rich systems such as finance and management, which steer the relationship between productive systems (Lash, 2003). Moreover, when knowledge and praxis are legitimised by performativity then management, with its expertise in maximising performance, is what determines legitimacy. The managerial ethics of neutrality therefore reflects the postmodern release from comprehensive value systems and metanarratives. Lyotard already clairvoyantly claimed that the ruling class in the postmodern world will be made up of corporate leaders and the heads of organisations (Lyotard, 1984). Their unique asset is control of the access to knowledge that allows for the best decisions to be made in conditions of uncertainty.

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At the same time, however, managerial practices are greatly responsible for introducing uncertainty into social reality in the first place. Management theories keep reinventing and restructuring organisations while rapidly succeeding and contradicting each other, often undoing the changes imposed by previous fads in the process (Micklethwait & Wooldridge, 1996). This swift succession of management fads generates uncertainty concerning the structure and operations of organisations, the feasibility of investments and decisions etc. New managerial discourse and practices also make employment increasingly precarious and temporary by means of significant downsizing, delayering and redefinition of jobs (Kalleberg & Vallas, 2017). The work process becomes chaotic to the point of defying understanding, as one day workers are praised for their achievements and the next they are part of a delayering plan, fired and then rehired (Sennet, 1998). Constant reconfiguration of the work processes becomes a permanent feature of working life and a major means of managerial control. Firstly, the more the work process is reconfigured, the more crucial is the managerial regulation of the work process. Second, such constant reorganisation means that professionals are never fully familiar with organisational procedures and practices, and are never quite certain how to properly do their job. Under invasive monitoring of their performance, workers are always on trial and never certain of their goals or methods. This increases their reliance on management for even the most basic routines. These measures therefore transpose effective power from both owners and staff to managers. This is joined by the frequent changes of products and technologies, so that both workers and consumers accept the uncertain and insecure nature of knowledge, skills and products.

Nowhere is this more apparent than in the rise of risk management, concurrently with second modernity and the new managerial discourse, as the principal organisational response to risks and uncertainties. Risk management helped to consolidate a new and comprehensive concept of risk, which compounds the wider social risks as discussed by Beck with organisational risks posed by rogue traders, Ponzi schemes, legal liabilities, changing consumer fashions and so on. The promise of risk management is to mitigate and control these risks. Not only did management thereby assume functions previously performed by professional accountants, analysts and legal specialists, but risk management has also quickly become the core around which corporate governance has been totally reshaped:

> It is as if the managerial instruments of the 'risk society' have undergone a mutation which cannot be entirely explained in Beck's (1992) terms of the increased risk reflexivity of individuals. Rather, the phenomenon is better described as a new reflexivity of organizations and organizing around riskmanagement (Power, 2007, p. 4).

The practical outcome of these developments was the establishment of internal managerial control systems, galvanised by the rhetoric of deregulation, entrepreneurship and self governance. Every aspect of organisational structure and function was subjected to these mechanisms and redesigned so as to become auditable, i.e. susceptible to managerial and regulatory review. Auditability was reinforced as an ethical norm that became the mark of corporate responsibility, accountability and good practice. While there is little evidence or agreement concerning their efficacy even among risk management practitioners, such practices are circularly justified mainly as preventing the 'second order' risks of disrepute, liability and blame incurred for failing to implement them (Ibid.). Risk management has therefore become an ethical norm equating responsible, transparent and virtuous organisational behaviour with managerial control. This complements managerial performance based ethics, and reinforces the perception of all knowledge and praxis as inherently partial and contingent. Not only has risk management become almost synonymous with management at large, but the more this norm strikes root, the more it spreads to all aspects of social life. Health, finance, and the environment all find themselves newly governed by similar risk management standards and guidelines defining cultural values and beliefs about what is proper organisational conduct. Management is construed as the only reliable means to negotiate a risk ridden environment. The more we become uncertain of the environment, the more we put our trust in managing it. Careful management of the business, public and personal spheres seems to offer the only reassurance and hope of success in steering the high seas of uncertainty. Management thus gains more power, value and importance in organisations the more it initiates audits, performance assessments and modifications of organisational structure and function.

However, what is less obvious is that management is itself the origin of many of the risks it is called upon to handle. Beck defined risk as manufactured and therefore the *indirect* outcome of human conduct. But the risks which management promises to control are often the *direct* result of its own interventions. For one thing, risks are often born simply by management's recasting of operational, legal and marketing issues in terms of risks in order to apply risk management measures to them. Furthermore, while the uncertainties of the global market are often invoked in order to justify deregulation, short term thinking and flexibility, these

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measures are, in fact, responsible for many of the environmental, financial and employment risks that are typical of second modernity. The behaviour of financial markets, for example, is largely the result of the decisions of global investors, the most significant of whom are institutional. It is now accepted wisdom that myopic and reckless investment policies stand behind the frequent financial crises of recent decades (Dallas, 2011). A major reason for the volatility of markets and their sensibility to distant disturbances in general is 'the political economy of uncertainty [which] boils down essentially to the prohibition of politically established and guaranteed rules and regulations, and the disarming of the defensive institutions and associations which used to stand in the way of capital and finance becoming truly sans frontières' (Bauman, 2001, p.119). This plays a crucial role in establishing the global freedom of the major corporations. Many of the risks of second modernity are therefore the price paid for the free rein given to transnational corporations or the dominant position of managements within them. And management profits again by offering what is presented as the only cure for these risks and uncertainties, and the only compass in a storm which it is largely responsible for creating. Bauman (2000) claimed that Crozier's law of bureaucracy still holds in second modernity. According to Crozier, those whose positions are unregulated and therefore unpredictable rule those whom they regulate. But the truth is that in managerialism, those who generate uncertainty (while enjoying a relative job security) rule those who are subjected to it.

III. Perpetual and Accelerated Change

The accelerated rate of change, constant reshaping of institutions and social processes and the growing levels of activity and stress for time are closely related and much discussed definitive attributes of second modernity. Change has always been a hallmark of modernisation. The 19th century saw unparalleled innovation driving the sweeping growth of a new industrial and mechanised society. Life during the industrial revolutions of the 19th century was radically transformed. New ways of travelling, communicating, producing and living were introduced at an unprecedented rate. More people, particularly in the cities, joined the middle class urban lifestyle, and realised their civil liberties. Yet the innovations of first modernity involved mainly improvements of existing technologies and routines such as lighting, housework, food preparation and preservation, transport etc. Both the social institutions and the technologies of the period proved to be rather stable. National, racial, class and gender identities and relations endured and continued to dictate social roles, which did not significantly begin to change till the 1960's. While someone from the early 20th century would probably find our cars, washing machines, refrigerators, vacuum cleaners etc. greatly improved, they would not find them unrecognisable or unmanageable.

On the other hand, the typical technological inventions of the decades leading up to the turn of the millennium – mainly information and communication technologies – have a radically different character. Rather than fit into existing lifestyles and cater for existing needs, they tend mostly to create new needs and lifestyles. A typical example is multichannel cable television and 24 hour news or music channels, which reshaped the home viewing experience and were central to the early discussions of postmodernism (Jameson, 1991). It continued in full force with the likes of video gaming, social media, smart mobile devices and intelligent chat bots. The fact that such technologies create the need for their services provides them with a high degree of autonomy, which allows them to change and replace each other in ever briefer successive cycles. The general atmosphere of constant transformation spreads to other products, so that even more lasting features of the digital world, such as operating systems or web browsers, typically undergo significant redesigns every few years. They continue to offer more or less the same services (with some heavily hyped extra features) in a different layout. Such frequent redesigns have become commonplace for all types of products and services on the market in a general culture of evanescence endemic in society at large.

The experience of using media and information technology is effortless and instantaneous. Based on such information and communication technologies, second modernity is an era of speed and immediacy, manifested in rapid delivery, ubiquitous availability and the instant gratification of desires (Tomlinson, 2007). ICTs allow us to receive quick and immediate responses to our communications and to stay connected anytime and anywhere to online information, services and businesses. Immediate ubiquitous connectivity and availability has become the social and professional norm to such an extent, that we are enraged when our communications are not answered within a very short timespan. Boundaries between work, leisure, consumption and social interaction are thus blurred as they blend into each other and can take place anywhere and anytime. However, in paradoxical contrast to the rapid pace of change, people's lives in second modernity are no longer revolutionised as dramatically as during first modernity. Rather, it seems that the rapid succession of innovations and fashions is required simply to *maintain* life in second modernity in its current form.

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The proponents of postmodernity explained the immediacy and speed of second modernity as the cultural logic of changes in its economic system and modes of control (Jameson, 1991). New forms of coordination were set up, using a variety of subcontracting arrangements to integrate multinational operations of many small businesses under powerful transnational firms. This constitutes a new means of profitability through dispersal, mobility and innovation, which serves to accelerate production processes and shorten the lifespans of products. Competitive edge is achieved by swift data analysis and instant response to changes in fashions, tastes and financial markets. This is made possible by the financial deregulation and fast and easy communication and transport (Harvey, 1989). Furthermore, the swift flow of information from one commercial arena to the others is the basis of a global financial market that functions without a break, and largely determines the fate of economic players (Tomlinson, 2007). These financial players, like the major banks and institutional investors, tend to focus on short term gains, rely on immediate responses to global changes and encourage the invention of new financial instruments. Such accelerated rates of production, delivery and change of commodities require a corresponding acceleration of the rate of consumption. This is achieved to a large extent by the aesthetisation of everyday life, and the formation of a 'casino economy' in which cultural items such as art, fashion, media and entertainment are the main products: 'The relatively stable aesthetic of Fordist modernism has given way to all the ferment, instability, and fleeting qualities of a postmodernist aesthetic that celebrates difference, ephemerality, spectacle, fashion, and the commodification of cultural forms' (Harvey, 1989, p. 156). Postmodernity is therefore frequently described in terms of the fragmentation of time into a series of eternal presents (Vattimo, 1988), in which it is impossible to integrate signs and images into a meaningful narrative. Such an evanescent stream of signs and images gives rise to isolated, powerful and highly affective experiences that cancel the distinction between real and imaginary (Baudrillard, 1994). This postmodern culture is embedded in the context of leisure consumption. It is evident mostly in theme parks, tourist attractions, shopping centres and nightlife hubs (Featherstone, 1995). Postmodern culture is therefore perceived as a carnivalesque consumer culture of quickly changing, custom made, semiotically laden products supporting an equally diverse range of lifestyles. Culture has been disembedded from real conditions and needs and became its own 'hyperreality'.

The need for speed and its social ramifications are equally prominent in discussions of second modernity which do not interpret it as postmodern. The reflexivity attributed to second modernity is also deemed responsible for the highly ephemeral and continuously changing nature of its systems and institutions. Disequilibrium and change are endemic to these reflexive systems, by means of internal feedback mechanisms (Lash, 2003). First modernity was rooted in a non modern foundation that damped the dynamics of modernisation. The nuclear family, traditional gender roles, clear class structures and the nation state all performed social integration functions in first modern society. All were eventually called into question by the growing uncertainty engendered by reflexive modernisation. They have become experienced as variable, plastic, and as the product of free choice (Beck, Bonss & Lau, 2003). This brought them under constant pressure to justify their current form, and to change continually as a result of redefinition by individuals. Progress, which in first modernity was a calling justifying effort, has become in second modernity an unstoppable process demanding effort in order to stay in the game. Not only the individual's place in society but the places themselves melt too quickly to serve as life projects. People are relentlessly driven and uprooted without the satisfaction of ever reaching a destination in which they can stop worrying (Bauman, 2001). The modernist voluntarism of the brilliant future is thus replaced by the adoration of change, reform and adaptability without a secure horizon and a major historical vision. The emphasis is upon motion without a utopian destination, dictated by the demands of efficiency and performativity as a survival nevessity and dominated by the comprehensive rule of urgency (Lipovetsky & Charles, 2005). Stress for time becomes a significant factor in pushing levels of activity to the maximum in all ages and all fields of life, and:

> actors operate under conditions of permanent multidimensional change that make standing still by not acting or not deciding impossible. Whoever does not continually readapt to the steadily shifting conditions of action…loses the connections that enable future options. The circumstances of action and choice themselves alter continuously and along multiple dimensions such that there is no longer a resting place from which one might "calmly" explore options and connections (Rosa, 2013, p. 117).

The constitutive instability of choices and actions due to accelerated social change forces individuals and organisations to repeatedly revise their conduct and redefine what counts as relevant. The only aspiration left is for immediate satisfaction through rapid consumption and disposal. This becomes the definitive promise of a market designed increasingly along the logic of fashions, fads and

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short term lifestyles, motivated by the uncertainty of long term projects and institutions. Culture is thus no longer about maintaining current social practices and values but rather conceived as an uncompromising demand for constant change (Lipovetsky & Charles, 2005). It is a consumer culture presenting the world as a warehouse of consumer goods that vie for the rapidly shifting attention of customers, trying to grab attention for more than an instant (Bauman, 2000). Contrary to the theorists of postmodernity, this fashion world is understood as the fulfilment of the modern promise of individualisation, personal choice and freedom.

Change being both a necessity and a virtue is also a major theme of the new managerial discourse of the 1980's. Citing both the uncertainties of the contemporary world and the economic setbacks of the previous decade, it focused on the need to radically transform organisations in order to succeed. Increasing the speed of production and technological innovation in response to the perpetual changes in consumer demands is perceived as essential to survival. At the same time, change was also extolled as a virtue, and willingness to change and adopt new managerial and organisational forms and practices was praised as the mark of leading and visionary organisations. Learning to embrace change is seen as the way to improve the performance and efficiency of workers, optimise operations and provide a competitive market edge (Clarke & Newman, 1997). On the one hand, the constant introduction of new technologies and products is vital for the creation of a short lived competitive window in which to sell products for higher prices than the costs of production before the competition catches up (Rosa, 2013). On the other, catering for evermore diversifying tastes and lifestyles is also the highest form of excellence in a society that had personalised values and made every choice ephemeral. Furthermore, when rapid change is required for survival in the present rather than progress to a better future, then careful management rather than research, learning or exploration becomes the quintessential pursuit. Managerial proficiency in increasing performance and coordinating change becomes a social *sine qua non*. This fixes management as the epitome of rationality as well as merit in anything from personal life to the global economy.

Management theories and policies, while presented as an unavoidable response to change, are also major causes of acceleration both ideologically and practically. The new managerial discourse itself was instrumental in promoting the view that the global economy and terms of employment are rapidly changing. The view spread from management gurus to the media, government think tanks and eventually to government policy, all based on scant empirical evidence (Doogan, 2009).[2] The ever changing and customised product lines are the result of the managerial drive for constant innovation and redesigning. The myriad management theorists, gurus and consultants themselves comprise a huge industry whose very raison d'être is their ability to generate change and transform organisations. Facing widespread dissatisfaction with the first wave of reorganisation because of declining morale, erosion of trust and poor team cooperation, management theory responded by claiming that organisational transformation is a continual if not perpetual process and not a onetime improvement (Jackson, 2001). Therefore, in second modernity, the firm belief in organisational restructuring is evident throughout corporate life as part of an overall process of social acceleration. All major corporations are incessantly occupied with reinventing their corporate culture, markets and products. Management has all but become synonymous with transformation of organisations rather that with oversight and control.

The clearest demonstration of management as a driving force of change and flexibility in second modernity is project management. Projectification started gaining momentum in the early 1980'along with other phenomena associated with the rise of second modernity. It was first described by Midler (1995) as a restructuring of organisations around projects as the central unit of activity. Estimates are that between 30%-40% of work and about 25% of total value added (and a far higher proportion of non financial value) in OECD countries is currently generated by projects (Lundin et. al., 2015). Projects are executed in a sequence of short term tasks in flexible corporations which quickly respond to changes. They are therefore hailed as a perfect vehicle for organising activities in situations of instrinsic instability and rapidly changing global environments, technologies and consumer demands (Jensen et. al., 2016). At the same time, projects have been a major engine of accelerated change. A significant part of projects involves organisational change programmes, such as IT change initiatives, performance improvements, strategy deployment and research (Lundin et. al., 2015). Projectification encourages permanent cost reduction, maximal speed of execution, fast and flexible industrial investments and opportunistic utilisation of often unforeseen circumstances (Ibid.). To balance the uncertainty involved in being inherently

[2] I believe there is enough evidence to counter Doogan's rather denialist view that the flexible and quickly moving global economy and job market are merely ideological justifications of neoliberal government policies.However, the discourse of the new economy was probably as much a driving force for its realisation as a merereflection of it (in perfect tune with postmodernist theory).

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one time affairs, production is kept lean and on demand without long term obligations, and employment is flexible and temporary. Projects therefore stimulate the significant reshaping of employment patterns along with organisational structures and processes. This includes delayering, downsizing and outsourcing to independent contractors and freelance workers. It is often associated with short term, part time or freelance positions, which are on the rise almost everywhere (Kalleberg & Vallas, 2017). Working in projects is thus a major contributor to the growing precarity of employment, stimulating the growth of the gig- or sharing economy. The very existence of roles and positions, the knowledge and procedures needed to fulfil them and the employment conditions involved have become uncertain and in constant flux. These conditions increasingly preclude prediction and long-term planning for nations and organisations alike. Thus, the transformation of organisations, of work and of government policy is intimately linked to projectification. Time also becomes flexible and simultaneous by networks of outsourced and subcontracted service providers, which enable the immediate supply of a variety of custom services and products. Furthermore, projects can be worked on anywhere and anytime, dissolving the boundaries between work, home, leisure and travel, contributing to the blurring of boundaries in second modernity. Aided by the ubiquity of mobile communication devices, they undermine work-life boundaries, leading to the indefinite extension of working hours.

Meanwhile, the power and security of management significantly increases in a project based economy. Project management arose in order to deal with the uncertain environment in which projects form and operate, and is 'increasingly used to deal with more complex business opportunities and problems, rapid technological obsolescence, shortening product life cycles, and cross-functional product development' (Ludin et. al, 2015, p. 135). Project management is perceived as the field of expertise in organising and steering projects to their successful completion. Its definitive role is to 'transform this uncertain, tenuous, and fuzzy initial identity [of the project] into a clear tangible reality. It is defined… as the responsibility for conducting all operations necessary for the study, development, and implementation [of projects]' (Ibid., p. 82). The position of project managers is therefore firmly secure at the core of all project work, while the position of all other professionals involved becomes rather more tenuous. As project managers choose who they want to work with, this also encourages a high level of internal competition over employment (and managerial favour). Employability becomes a major concern for employees, which largely depends on the level of success and attention attracted by the projects in which they participate, and how their own contributions are rated by others, particularly managers. Individual learning also occurs throughout a project, based on the problems and tasks for which each individual is responsible. Training outside project work consequently diminishes in favour of on-the-job training, and thus the acquisition of skills and experience, so crucial for continued employment, become dependent on employability (Ludin et. al, 2015). Consequently, workers must assume relatively high responsibility for their career development, and constantly compete for their supply of work by being attractive to project managers and customers. In this manner, workers, redefined as independent contractors, can be made to assume risks and responsibilities previously handled by the firm (Schor, 2017).

Projectification is also the basis of a new ethical order that gives rise to new definitions of justice and liberty. Boltanski and Chiapello (2005) famously associate it with the 'third spirit of capitalism'. Yet, significantly, they base their entire discussion on the analysis of management textbooks and theories. According to this new ethical order, the 'bureaucratic prison' has been broken, and the association with a specific division or role disappears along with subordination to a single boss. Work is portrayed as a meaningful personal engagement, in which nothing is forced upon workers who are considered partners in the project. The key worth of a person is measured in terms of employability, which depends on perceiving each project as an opportunity to develop new skills, forge new relationships and prepare the ground for more projects. Thus, management leads to the creation of a new type of person, talented in a variety of roles, constantly and independently learning, adaptable, self organising and people oriented. This is the ethical edifice of the project society, built on the primary value of the individual's self development and employability as his or her long term project. In return, the individual is promised self realisation and satisfaction in all fields of life.

This ethical framework leads to the extension of projectification from business organisation to every aspect of society. This has been called the 'projectification of everything', defined as:

> a proliferation of a temporary, future-oriented, purposeful, time-limited organizational form that is more agile, sensitive, and flexible than the disciplinary codification and planning, which operates in one-off activities (Jensen et. al., 2016, pp. 25-26).

The result is continual future oriented change, as all life activities become projects, which are intrinsically designed in order to make changes. The primary condition of projectification is activity at all costs. Activity is the creation of a project, and the core

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activity is the development of personal capital and employability skills. Constant activity thus turns into a necessity in order to maintain relevance at work, the social media and personal life alike. People are no longer judged by what they do and achieve but primarily based on activity, and therefore their flexibility and willingness to transform themselves and adapt to new technologies, fashions and social practices. Projectification is thus associated with the search for personal style among the rapid flux of diversifying fashions and consumer lifestyles, and with the emphasis on immediate satisfaction and disposal typical of second modernity (Lash & Urry, 1994). Whoever fails to readapt to the steadily shifting conditions of action loses the connections that enable future options. As the options rapidly go in and out of style, no choice is ever final and made from a position of control and consideration of available alternatives and their significance (Rosa, 2013).

Careful management becomes more vital and indispensable in such stressful circumstances of constant activity and stress. Managerial practices help to recognise faults, seize opportunities, perform as efficiently as possible, maximise chances of success. As a result, they permeate every aspect of life, which becomes a matter of performance skills, while management is its primary means of success. Consequently, social existence, no less than work, becomes something to be carefully monitored and controlled, using managerial expertise and practices. Personal success depends on the ability to utilise techniques of self management, which acquire the ethical aura of being the democratic promise to enable everyone to become what they aspire to be. Agility, flexibility, adaptability and constant metamorphosis become the most esteemed virtues (Rose, 1999). At the same time, it places everyone under permanent self examination. Beyond reflexivity, the culture of projectification is a culture of constant self reinvention. Yet, contrary to the managerial promise of universal satisfaction and fulfilment, this projectification in fact encourages perpetual discontent. As a motivation for further activity, improvements and projects, people are never what they need to be, never have what they need to have. Performance, success, quality of life can always be enhanced, and thus any contentment and tranquillity are paradoxically denied in the name of satisfaction and fulfilment. As management is the remedy for this sense of underachievement, a cycle typical of addiction is formed, in which relying on management increases discontent, and discontent leads to further dependence on management. This social logic extends from the corporate ethos of perpetual self transformation and reinvention to the wider conception of self identity. Personal and professional reinvention stands behind coaching, speed dating, reality TV, obsessive consumption, cosmetic surgery, dieting etc.: 'In a world of short-term contracts, endless corporate downsizings, just-in-time deliveries, multiple careers and short- term contract employment, the cultural logic of endless self-fashioning and self- remaking has become crucial to the operations of the global electronic economy at large (Elliot, 2016, p. 4). By way of projectification, management shapes second modernity as a condition of perpetual change in which managerial practices are necessary for survival, and as the key to remain relevant and become fulfilled and successful.

IV. Flattened Hierarchies

The final definitive attribute of second modernity to be considered here is the flattering of social hierarchies and rigid bureaucratic structures. Second modernity is unique among human societies throughout history in its avowed disbelief in social and cultural hierarchies. The contention that current society is actually unstratified along racial, ethnic, gender or socioeconomic lines, or becoming increasingly so, may be reserved for the most optimistic exponents of postmodernist thought. However, the rigid stratification of society along such lines has largely been discredited, and is openly upheld only in explicitly reactionary political circles. Even if socioeconomic differences remain a prevalent feature of second modernity, they are increasingly perceived as illegitimate when based on circumstances of birth or personal identity. In fact, the only perfectly legitimate way of rising up the ranks is through the appreciation and consent of the many, whether by way of popularity, votes or consumer preference.

First modernity was marked by the formalisation of social roles and positions that had traditionally been held and administered depending on the persons occupying them. Premodern institutions were based on rigid social categories of kinship, birthright, gender, age etc. Modernisation reconstituted major social institutions according to the values of rationality, efficiency, impartiality, transparency and accountability. The creation of bureaucratic, formal and rule based hierarchies was an integral part of this process (Kallinikos, 2011). The bureaucratic adherence to strict rules, rigid hierarchies and systematic procedures facilitated the creation of the difference between the private and public realms so crucial to a liberal and industrial society (du Gay, 2011). However, the countermove towards dissolution of such hierarchies and rigid structures is considered a prominent feature of second modernity.

Those who believe in its postmodern character analyse the flattening of social and cultural stratification in second modernity as part of its

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generally disorganised and sceptical character. Free and unrestricted flow of funds, people, technologies and products has an anti hierarchical and disorganising effect on the geographical, political and economic frameworks of modernity. Boundaries are permeated while social and geographic polarity is actually intensified (Luke, 1995). Consumerism also bears a democratic and fragmentary effect, which cancels rigid class distinctions, and replaces them with individual and communal lifestyles. This results in a radical cultural change, dissolving the cultural hierarchies of modernism, blurring the distinction between high and popular culture along with the intermixture of styles. Omnivorous consumption (Peterson, 1992) emerges, with a willingness to cross and mix established cultural boundaries. The expression of personal value systems and tastes is encouraged, while equal respect for various groups and values becomes a primary ethical demand, focusing on their cultural representation (Dunn, 1998). The new aesthetisation of everyday life unsettled entrenched value systems and allowed new and popular cultural layers to define fashion, culture and style (Featherstone, 2007). The postmodernist undermining of scientific objectivity as the mark of knowledge was also associated with a positive appraisal of popular and traditional cultures, otherness and a plurality of lifestyles which were excluded by the universalist pretensions of modernism.

Those who deny a postmodern break with the past in second modernity tend to attribute its distinctively anti hierarchical drive to the overall individualisation of the principal social institutions (Beck, 2014). Uncertainty about the validity of the fixed structures of first modernity destabilises them. The traditional reliance on well defined and stable institutions as vital for the reproduction of the social order is thereby overturned. Instead, they are increasingly viewed as a matter of individual choice or identity (Bauman, 2001). In second modernity, an unstable identity is thus created by the institutions that formerly assisted in the creation of stable individuals – state, class, nuclear family, ethnic group. Individualised, people are no longer collectively regulated – they do not consume the same products, do not watch the same shows at the same time, do not eat or work at regular hours. These become a matter of personal decision, and in particular, individuals take control of their flexible career and course of life (Lash & Urry, 1994). Ambivalence, contradiction and internalisation of uncertainty are therefore integral to individualisation. Once strong and stable cultural and personal ties, which could be considered a form of community, are no longer given and unchallenged, they are reconstructed on the basis of individual interests, values, and projects. Faced with multiple choices, people become reflexive and constantly form and modify networks and alliances (Beck, 2014). Networking thus becomes a prominent method for forming social relationships in an individualised society.

Consequently, networks are a crucial form of organisation in second modernity, and some even define it as a network society (Castells, 2010). Yet networks tend to unravel fixed organisational structures because they allow for flexible organising. Internally, many organisations become networks of semi autonomous teams and projects. Externally, they combine into networks of collaborating organisations. This has contributed significantly to the downsizing, outsourcing, specialising and global spreading of corporate operations. In this manner, networks helped to undo the large and hierarchical corporations of Fordist production, and facilitated the acquisition of new organisational sizes, markets and modes of governance and control (van Dijk, 2006). Whereas the structure of relations in first modernity was hierarchal, the temporary nature of project-based work requires networked relationships rather than vertical hierarchies. Networked and flexible organisations combine workers, capital, and knowledge in specific projects that form, dissolve, and reform under a different configuration. Organisation by means of networks is therefore a major component of the project society (Castells, 2010). In fact, many define projects as the core activities around which networks are formed and maintained. Belonging to a network allows professionals to join projects and maintain their careers, while taking part in projectsis in turn the major means of becoming networked (van Dijk, 2006). Thus, the shift away from mass production, culture and consumption to multiple, temporary projects leads to a new order of networked, boundless organisations based on a culture of cooperative individualism (Clarke & Clegg, 2000).

The replacement of bureaucratic hierarchical organisations with flat, flexible and collaborative frameworks is also a primary focus of the new managerial discourse and practices since the 1980's. Based on Weber's classical analysis, bureaucracy has traditionally been considered as the prototypical form of modern organisation. Bureaucracy epitomises an ethical order that encapsulates the principal values of modernity – rationality, efficiency, impartiality – and thus purges the function of office from personal arbitrariness. Nevertheless, the new theories and practices of management all highlighted the weaknesses of bureaucracy in both the business and public spheres, and supported the advance of a post bureaucratic form of organisation, 'characterized by teamwork, task-groups, outsourcing, offshoring, role-flexibility, dispensing with command and obedience relations and hierarchies wherever possible

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(delayering)… networks, targets, benchmarking entrepreneurship and self motivation' (Hopfel, 2011, p. 41). The essential problem with bureaucracy was seen to be its clear division of roles and responsibilities. In particular, only the top organisational layers possess the complete picture, which entails long periods of stagnation and routine between restructurings. There is no way of making change continual, gradual and flexible (Hecksher, 1994). Another problem with bureaucracy was the clear assignment of responsibilities and roles generating a 'not my job' attitude. This utilises only a small portion of employee knowledge that may greatly improve performance yet lies beyond their immediate responsibility. Flexibility concerning products, threats and opportunities thus requires the dissolution of hierarchies, free flow of information and collective management. Managers were encouraged to draw on informal relationships and tacit knowledge for the benefit of the organisation, but these lie necessarily beyond official bureaucratic control, based on personal relationships and trust. According to the ideal post bureaucratic pattern, rules are replaced by consensus and dialogue, responsibility is distributed on the basis of ability rather than hierarchy, and the boundaries of the organisation become open and flexible. Major management gurus such as Handy and Nesbit thus hailed post bureaucratic organisations as the proper response to the 'age of unreason' in which endemic uncertainty and perpetual rapid change characterise the business world. It was claimed that flattening hierarchies would lower costs, raise productivity, improve the knowledge base of operations and increase the organisation's ability to respond to shifting conditions. Information technology was also seen as a means to restructure organisations around flexible networks and teams devoid of clear hierarchies and boundaries, in order to cope with an unstable and uncertain environment, and encourage a more independent, creative and committed personnel (Clarke & Clegg, 2000). Therefore, every management fad has emphasised a postmodernist blurring of boundaries and mixing of knowledge bases through direct communication across specialties, hierarchies and loyalties (Hecksher, 1994).

The flattening of hierarchies and transition to a post Fordist mode of production and post bureaucratic organisations never meant, however, that power and control became weaker or less concentrated. Those in position to assign the goals of networks or establish cooperation between networks naturally hold positions of power within them (Castells, 2011). Internally, this puts senior management, which sets the goals of projects and teams, in a clear position of power, and fortifies the role of project managers who assemble those teams, so it always pays to stay connected with them. Externally, as setting up networks of many organisations requires extensive resources and infrastructure, large transnational corporations often stand at the heart of such networks dealing in transaction rich exchange. In fact, behind the post bureaucratic notions of flattened hierarchies, teamwork, informality and self motivation lie sophisticated technologies of control that enhance managerial power to a greater extent than any bureaucracy. Control within teams and networks is often tighter and more comprehensive than bureaucratic control because it operates on the basis of personal commitment and peer supervision. Keeping a close managerial watch on the work process becomes unnecessary while employees operate under constant oversight by their peers as well as surveillance mechanisms. At the same time, in line with the managerialist proclivity for the shadows, such control is less discernible and portrayed as employee empowerment (Barker, 1993). Management theory describes this type of governance as enabling workers to use their skills autonomously in a range of activities, and a response to employees' demand for self fulfilment. However, as work turns into a calling, workers are made responsible for their motivation and enthusiasm. These are indicated by willingness to accommodate themselves to the changing demands and programmes of management. They must be ever ready to perceive every change as if derived from their own choice and as providing them with new opportunities for development. Their involvement and self fulfilment must always remain consistent with the benefit the business (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002). Paradoxically, employment seekers must reorganise their biography falsely and feign enthusiasm in order to fit to the managerial model of authenticity and self fulfilment. If the earlier normative control methods of the 1980's called on managers to generate motivation and commitment by creating a common corporate culture, later it has become employees' own responsibility to muster and demonstrate them. They are forced to think of their lives as an arena of experimental quest for personal identity, which only reinforces the restructuring and deregulation of the employment conditions at their expense. The demands upon them in terms of involvement, flexibility and entrepreneurship are intensified without compensation, becoming a way of demonstrating their self worth (Honneth, 2004).

This is best exemplified in the recently popular human resources management rhetoric and practices that encourage workers to 'be themselves' and 'have fun' at work. There is a new emphasis on diversity, dissent, personal expression and authentic feelings, especially those that were once barred from the bureaucratic organisation, like the expression of fun. Current human resource methods and practices

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thus aim to generate motivation, identification and commitment by introducing elements such as personal interests, games and flirtations into the office. The emphasis on committed subjects is also reflected in diverse regulatory mechanisms and practices ranging from team building activities to internal competition and self and peer performance assessments. These HR practices ostensively have nothing but employee satisfaction in mind, which is also recognised as a vital component of performativity. However, even the "inner preserve" protected from the corporate culture regimes, through the separation of work from personal life, has thus been claimed by the workplace and can now be used as a self disciplinary form of control. The more work is perceived as an arena for self development, fulfilment and fun, the more it demands in terms of time, effort and emotional investment. If employees' performance is failing, this is seen to be a problem with their own values, personality or identity (Fleming & Sturdy, 2009). Enhanced and pervasive managerial control is construed as autonomy, self management, self fulfilment and fun. This reveals both the duplicitous character and ethical basis of managerialism, which posits universal self improvement and satisfaction as the promise of careful management. The notions of autonomy and selfmanagement that figure extensively in HR fit the general aim of shaping people's subjective life in tune with the demands of management.

Furthermore, the reality behind the post bureaucratic discourse often involves an idiosyncratic mix of hierarchical and new forms of organisational governance known as hybrid or soft bureaucracies. For one thing, information and communication technologies provide new means of audit and control. HR practices construed as employees' self government often take the form of subordination to surveillance and appraisal mechanisms, tight timetables, budget constraints etc. Such surveillance and assessments turn the autonomy and self management of teams and professionals into a mechanism of compliance, because everyone must constantly meet management's objectives and project milestones. Failure to do so means the trust and autonomy were unjustified, and careers may end or stall (Courpasson, 2000). The short term nature and quick circulation of projects requires employees to constantly strive for visibility, not only regarding their creativity and professionalism but also their abilityto meet tight schedules and budgets, withstand pressures and justify the trust of their superiors. Interestingly, in such hybrid organisations, bureaucratic hierarchies with their stability, authority and formality are often reserved for senior management alone. Post bureaucratic flexibility is the lot of those on lower ranks that compete and strive to make themselves valuable (Clegg, 2011). Such post bureaucratic flattened hierarchies and networks thus contain several managerial benefits. They extend discipline and control to encompass employees' feelings and identities, while presenting them as self fulfilment, achievement and even fun. They cast the practices of management as the means of personal improvement and universal satisfaction. And last but not least, they generate an elite global network of senior managers and professionals with high levels of education and income, that hold the best jobs and societal positions and make the most important decisions (van Dijk, 2006). Their jobs are typically composed of short term projects, shifting businesses and constant mobility while working in technology and media intensive environments. What makes this lifestyle possible are office workers living locally, as well as the self management methods based on productivity and performance monitoring, which require only 15% of managerial time to run the office (Elliott, 2016). This facilitates the creation of a new global power structure, typical of managerialism, which subsists though the opposition between mobility and groundedness, routine and contingency. Not only globalisation, as Bauman has it, but the whole managerialist social order 'may be defined in many ways, but that of the 'revenge of the nomads' is as good as if not better than any other' (Bauman, 2001, p. 35).

V. Conclusion

The fluid and porous character of second modernity has naturally affected social and cultural theory as well. Among else, it encouraged the view that multiple lifestyles and identities render 'abstract modernist structures' such as classes obsolete as factors of the social structure. The very attempt to link the different strands of second modernity into a single explanation has therefore become outmoded. Let alone using socioeconomic interests and divisions for this purpose. In the face of trendiness, however, the disorganised, decentred and pluralistic nature of second modernity only runs as deep as managerial social dominance requires. This paper found that constitutive aspects of second modernity are also emphasised and bolstered by managerial discourse and practices, which arose concurrently with them. Managerial discourse often cites uncertainty, swift changes and flexibility as an unavoidable social reality in order to present managerial practices as both necessary and applaudable. Yet, managerial theories and practices have also played an important causal role in shaping second modernity, while its character tends in turn to fortify the social power and dominance of management.

The world of risks and uncertainties – many of them the outcome of corporate decisions – justifies

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careful management as a necessary survival mechanism. Strategic and risk management thus become the epitome of rational conduct and the bearers of humankind's best hopes of handling potential surprises and harms. The management of risks therefore displaced industry, invention and exploration, on which depended the promise of progress towards a better world in first modernity. Particularly pertinent are the risks posed by 'today's fast changing world', a recurring trope of managerial discourse. It is a world in which technologies, products, opportunities and consumer tastes succeed each other at an accelerating pace. Careful management is seen as vital in order to increase performance and efficiency in such conditions, and is therefore the primary means of success. The managerial responsibility for implementing a constant and seemingly chaotic process of reorganisation thereby becomes the lifeblood of organisations. However, short term investment policies, constant product redesigns and frequent organisational restructuring all contribute to the creation of fleeting business environments, while presented as inevitable in order to cope with them. Working in flexible and temporary projects encourages constant change while securing the position of management at their core. At the same time, the employment of everyone else is rendered less secure and more dependent on management. Instead of merely facilitating the industrial peace negotiated between the parties to the production process, managerial decisions become the most crucial element of success, on which owners and shareholders depend no less than workers.

Furthermore, the emphasis on cultural diversity and plurality of lifestyles and identities promotes management's value neutrality ethics and self projection as the instrument for everyone's satisfaction. The dissolution of hierarchies and devolution of control helps construe work as an arena of self fulfilment, personal development, intimacy and even fun. The work environment constructed by management is just an extension of the carnivalesque cultural arena of postmodernity. Yet the blurring of distinctions between social and professional life, work and leisure, formality and fun only intensifies organisational demands on the personal and affective resources of employees. The time, effort and stress of maintaining careers increases dramatically. At the same time, the new modes of self monitoring and governance free up senior executives to use corporate resources to enjoy a global and mobile lifestyle. The typical social processes of second modernity are therefore significantly driven by management and reflect managerialist ideology. Its prominent features all help to fortify the social and ethical standing of management, justifying its centrality to the success of organisations and society at large. There are, of course, other important aspects of second modernity – consumerism, globalisation and the knowledge economy to name but a few. Further study is required to reveal the links between managerial social dominance and its supporting ideology and these important aspects of contemporary society.

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Alternatively, you can download our basic template from https://globaljournals.org/Template.zip

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Acknowledgments

Contributors to the research other than authors credited should be mentioned in Acknowledgments. The source of funding for the research can be included. Suppliers of resources may be mentioned along with their addresses.

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Authors can submit papers and articles in an acceptable file format: MS Word (doc, docx), LaTeX (.tex, .zip or .rar including all of your files), Adobe PDF (.pdf), rich text format (.rtf), simple text document (.txt), Open Document Text (.odt), and Apple Pages (.pages). Our professional layout editors will format the entire paper according to our official guidelines. This is one of the highlights of publishing with Global Journals—authors should not be concerned about the formatting of their paper. Global Journals accepts articles and manuscripts in every major language, be it Spanish, Chinese, Japanese, Portuguese, Russian, French, German, Dutch, Italian, Greek, or any other national language, but the title, subtitle, and abstract should be in English. This will facilitate indexing and the pre-peer review process.

The following is the official style and template developed for publication of a research paper. Authors are not required to follow this style during the submission of the paper. It is just for reference purposes.

Manuscript Style Instruction (Optional)

- Microsoft Word Document Setting Instructions.
- Font type of all text should be Swis721 Lt BT.
- Page size: 8.27" x 11'", left margin: 0.65, right margin: 0.65, bottom margin: 0.75.
- Paper title should be in one column of font size 24.
- Author name in font size of 11 in one column.
- Abstract: font size 9 with the word "Abstract" in bold italics.
- Main text: font size 10 with two justified columns.
- Two columns with equal column width of 3.38 and spacing of 0.2.
- First character must be three lines drop-capped.
- The paragraph before spacing of 1 pt and after of 0 pt.
- Line spacing of 1 pt.
- Large images must be in one column.
- The names of first main headings (Heading 1) must be in Roman font, capital letters, and font size of 10.
- The names of second main headings (Heading 2) must not include numbers and must be in italics with a font size of 10.

Structure and Format of Manuscript

The recommended size of an original research paper is under 15,000 words and review papers under 7,000 words. Research articles should be less than 10,000 words. Research papers are usually longer than review papers. Review papers are reports of significant research (typically less than 7,000 words, including tables, figures, and references)

A research paper must include:

a) A title which should be relevant to the theme of the paper.
b) A summary, known as an abstract (less than 150 words), containing the major results and conclusions.
c) Up to 10 keywords that precisely identify the paper's subject, purpose, and focus.
d) An introduction, giving fundamental background objectives.
e) Resources and techniques with sufficient complete experimental details (wherever possible by reference) to permit repetition, sources of information must be given, and numerical methods must be specified by reference.
f) Results which should be presented concisely by well-designed tables and figures.
g) Suitable statistical data should also be given.
h) All data must have been gathered with attention to numerical detail in the planning stage.

Design has been recognized to be essential to experiments for a considerable time, and the editor has decided that any paper that appears not to have adequate numerical treatments of the data will be returned unrefereed.

i) Discussion should cover implications and consequences and not just recapitulate the results; conclusions should also be summarized.
j) There should be brief acknowledgments.
k) There ought to be references in the conventional format. Global Journals recommends APA format.

Authors should carefully consider the preparation of papers to ensure that they communicate effectively. Papers are much more likely to be accepted if they are carefully designed and laid out, contain few or no errors, are summarizing, and follow instructions. They will also be published with much fewer delays than those that require much technical and editorial correction.

The Editorial Board reserves the right to make literary corrections and suggestions to improve brevity.

Format Structure

It is necessary that authors take care in submitting a manuscript that is written in simple language and adheres to published guidelines.

All manuscripts submitted to Global Journals should include:

Title

The title page must carry an informative title that reflects the content, a running title (less than 45 characters together with spaces), names of the authors and co-authors, and the place(s) where the work was carried out.

Author details

The full postal address of any related author(s) must be specified.

Abstract

The abstract is the foundation of the research paper. It should be clear and concise and must contain the objective of the paper and inferences drawn. It is advised to not include big mathematical equations or complicated jargon.

Many researchers searching for information online will use search engines such as Google, Yahoo or others. By optimizing your paper for search engines, you will amplify the chance of someone finding it. In turn, this will make it more likely to be viewed and cited in further works. Global Journals has compiled these guidelines to facilitate you to maximize the web-friendliness of the most public part of your paper.

Keywords

A major lynchpin of research work for the writing of research papers is the keyword search, which one will employ to find both library and internet resources. Up to eleven keywords or very brief phrases have to be given to help data retrieval, mining, and indexing.

One must be persistent and creative in using keywords. An effective keyword search requires a strategy: planning of a list of possible keywords and phrases to try.

Choice of the main keywords is the first tool of writing a research paper. Research paper writing is an art. Keyword search should be as strategic as possible.

One should start brainstorming lists of potential keywords before even beginning searching. Think about the most important concepts related to research work. Ask, “What words would a source have to include to be truly valuable in a research paper?” Then consider synonyms for the important words.

It may take the discovery of only one important paper to steer in the right keyword direction because, in most databases, the keywords under which a research paper is abstracted are listed with the paper.

Numerical Methods

Numerical methods used should be transparent and, where appropriate, supported by references.

Abbreviations

Authors must list all the abbreviations used in the paper at the end of the paper or in a separate table before using them.

Formulas and equations

Authors are advised to submit any mathematical equation using either MathJax, KaTeX, or LaTeX, or in a very high-quality image.

Tables, Figures, and Figure Legends

Tables: Tables should be cautiously designed, uncrowned, and include only essential data. Each must have an Arabic number, e.g., Table 4, a self-explanatory caption, and be on a separate sheet. Authors must submit tables in an editable format and not as images. References to these tables (if any) must be mentioned accurately.

Figures

Figures are supposed to be submitted as separate files. Always include a citation in the text for each figure using Arabic numbers, e.g., Fig. 4. Artwork must be submitted online in vector electronic form or by emailing it.

Preparation of Eletronic Figures for Publication

Although low-quality images are sufficient for review purposes, print publication requires high-quality images to prevent the final product being blurred or fuzzy. Submit (possibly by e-mail) EPS (line art) or TIFF (halftone/ photographs) files only. MS PowerPoint and Word Graphics are unsuitable for printed pictures. Avoid using pixel-oriented software. Scans (TIFF only) should have a resolution of at least 350 dpi (halftone) or 700 to 1100 dpi (line drawings). Please give the data for figures in black and white or submit a Color Work Agreement form. EPS files must be saved with fonts embedded (and with a TIFF preview, if possible).

For scanned images, the scanning resolution at final image size ought to be as follows to ensure good reproduction: line art: >650 dpi; halftones (including gel photographs): >350 dpi; figures containing both halftone and line images: >650 dpi.

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Tips for writing a good quality Social Science Research Paper

Techniques for writing a good quality homan social science research paper:

1. Choosing the topic: In most cases, the topic is selected by the interests of the author, but it can also be suggested by the guides. You can have several topics, and then judge which you are most comfortable with. This may be done by asking several questions of yourself, like "Will I be able to carry out a search in this area? Will I find all necessary resources to accomplish the search? Will I be able to find all information in this field area?" If the answer to this type of question is "yes," then you ought to choose that topic. In most cases, you may have to conduct surveys and visit several places. Also, you might have to do a lot of work to find all the rises and falls of the various data on that subject. Sometimes, detailed information plays a vital role, instead of short information. Evaluators are human: The first thing to remember is that evaluators are also human beings. They are not only meant for rejecting a paper. They are here to evaluate your paper. So present your best aspect.

2. Think like evaluators: If you are in confusion or getting demotivated because your paper may not be accepted by the evaluators, then think, and try to evaluate your paper like an evaluator. Try to understand what an evaluator wants in your research paper, and you will automatically have your answer. Make blueprints of paper: The outline is the plan or framework that will help you to arrange your thoughts. It will make your paper logical. But remember that all points of your outline must be related to the topic you have chosen.

3. Ask your guides: If you are having any difficulty with your research, then do not hesitate to share your difficulty with your guide (if you have one). They will surely help you out and resolve your doubts. If you can't clarify what exactly you require for your work, then ask your supervisor to help you with an alternative. He or she might also provide you with a list of essential readings.

4. Use of computer is recommended: As you are doing research in the field of homan social science then this point is quite obvious. Use right software: Always use good quality software packages. If you are not capable of judging good software, then you can lose the quality of your paper unknowingly. There are various programs available to help you which you can get through the internet.

5. Use the internet for help: An excellent start for your paper is using Google. It is a wondrous search engine, where you can have your doubts resolved. You may also read some answers for the frequent question of how to write your research paper or find a model research paper. You can download books from the internet. If you have all the required books, place importance on reading, selecting, and analyzing the specified information. Then sketch out your research paper. Use big pictures: You may use encyclopedias like Wikipedia to get pictures with the best resolution. At Global Journals, you should strictly follow here.



6. Bookmarks are useful: When you read any book or magazine, you generally use bookmarks, right? It is a good habit which helps to not lose your continuity. You should always use bookmarks while searching on the internet also, which will make your search easier.

7. Revise what you wrote: When you write anything, always read it, summarize it, and then finalize it.

8. Make every effort: Make every effort to mention what you are going to write in your paper. That means always have a good start. Try to mention everything in the introduction—what is the need for a particular research paper. Polish your work with good writing skills and always give an evaluator what he wants. Make backups: When you are going to do any important thing like making a research paper, you should always have backup copies of it either on your computer or on paper. This protects you from losing any portion of your important data.

9. Produce good diagrams of your own: Always try to include good charts or diagrams in your paper to improve quality. Using several unnecessary diagrams will degrade the quality of your paper by creating a hodgepodge. So always try to include diagrams which were made by you to improve the readability of your paper. Use of direct quotes: When you do research relevant to literature, history, or current affairs, then use of quotes becomes essential, but if the study is relevant to science, use of quotes is not preferable.

10. Use proper verb tense: Use proper verb tenses in your paper. Use past tense to present those events that have happened. Use present tense to indicate events that are going on. Use future tense to indicate events that will happen in the future. Use of wrong tenses will confuse the evaluator. Avoid sentences that are incomplete.

11. Pick a good study spot: Always try to pick a spot for your research which is quiet. Not every spot is good for studying.

12. Know what you know: Always try to know what you know by making objectives, otherwise you will be confused and unable to achieve your target.

13. Use good grammar: Always use good grammar and words that will have a positive impact on the evaluator; use of good vocabulary does not mean using tough words which the evaluator has to find in a dictionary. Do not fragment sentences. Eliminate one-word sentences. Do not ever use a big word when a smaller one would suffice.

Verbs have to be in agreement with their subjects. In a research paper, do not start sentences with conjunctions or finish them with prepositions. When writing formally, it is advisable to never split an infinitive because someone will (wrongly) complain. Avoid clichés like a disease. Always shun irritating alliteration. Use language which is simple and straightforward. Put together a neat summary.

14. Arrangement of information: Each section of the main body should start with an opening sentence, and there should be a changeover at the end of the section. Give only valid and powerful arguments for your topic. You may also maintain your arguments with records.

15. Never start at the last minute: Always allow enough time for research work. Leaving everything to the last minute will degrade your paper and spoil your work.

16. Multitasking in research is not good: Doing several things at the same time is a bad habit in the case of research activity. Research is an area where everything has a particular time slot. Divide your research work into parts, and do a particular part in a particular time slot.

17. Never copy others' work: Never copy others' work and give it your name because if the evaluator has seen it anywhere, you will be in trouble. Take proper rest and food: No matter how many hours you spend on your research activity, if you are not taking care of your health, then all your efforts will have been in vain. For quality research, take proper rest and food.

18. Go to seminars: Attend seminars if the topic is relevant to your research area. Utilize all your resources.
Refresh your mind after intervals: Try to give your mind a rest by listening to soft music or sleeping in intervals. This will also improve your memory. Acquire colleagues: Always try to acquire colleagues. No matter how sharp you are, if you acquire colleagues, they can give you ideas which will be helpful to your research.

19. Think technically: Always think technically. If anything happens, search for its reasons, benefits, and demerits. Think and then print: When you go to print your paper, check that tables are not split, headings are not detached from their descriptions, and page sequence is maintained.

20. Adding unnecessary information: Do not add unnecessary information like "I have used MS Excel to draw graphs." Irrelevant and inappropriate material is superfluous. Foreign terminology and phrases are not apropos. One should never take a broad view. Analogy is like feathers on a snake. Use words properly, regardless of how others use them. Remove quotations. Puns are for kids, not grunt readers. Never oversimplify: When adding material to your research paper, never go for oversimplification; this will definitely irritate the evaluator. Be specific. Never use rhythmic redundancies. Contractions shouldn't be used in a research paper. Comparisons are as terrible as clichés. Give up ampersands, abbreviations, and so on. Remove commas that are not necessary. Parenthetical words should be between brackets or commas. Understatement is always the best way to put forward earth-shaking thoughts. Give a detailed literary review.

21. Report concluded results: Use concluded results. From raw data, filter the results, and then conclude your studies based on measurements and observations taken. An appropriate number of decimal places should be used. Parenthetical remarks are prohibited here. Proofread carefully at the final stage. At the end, give an outline to your arguments. Spot perspectives of further study of the subject. Justify your conclusion at the bottom sufficiently, which will probably include examples.

22. Upon conclusion: Once you have concluded your research, the next most important step is to present your findings. Presentation is extremely important as it is the definite medium though which your research is going to be in print for the rest of the crowd. Care should be taken to categorize your thoughts well and present them in a logical and neat manner. A good quality research paper format is essential because it serves to highlight your research paper and bring to light all necessary aspects of your research.

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Informal Guidelines of Research Paper Writing

Key points to remember:

- Submit all work in its final form.
- Write your paper in the form which is presented in the guidelines using the template.
- Please note the criteria peer reviewers will use for grading the final paper.

Final points:

One purpose of organizing a research paper is to let people interpret your efforts selectively. The journal requires the following sections, submitted in the order listed, with each section starting on a new page:

The introduction: This will be compiled from reference matter and reflect the design processes or outline of basis that directed you to make a study. As you carry out the process of study, the method and process section will be constructed like that. The results segment will show related statistics in nearly sequential order and direct reviewers to similar intellectual paths throughout the data that you gathered to carry out your study.

The discussion section:

This will provide understanding of the data and projections as to the implications of the results. The use of good quality references throughout the paper will give the effort trustworthiness by representing an alertness to prior workings.

Writing a research paper is not an easy job, no matter how trouble-free the actual research or concept. Practice, excellent preparation, and controlled record-keeping are the only means to make straightforward progression.

General style:

Specific editorial column necessities for compliance of a manuscript will always take over from directions in these general guidelines.

To make a paper clear: Adhere to recommended page limits.



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Mistakes to avoid:

- Insertion of a title at the foot of a page with subsequent text on the next page.
- Separating a table, chart, or figure—confine each to a single page.
- Submitting a manuscript with pages out of sequence.
- In every section of your document, use standard writing style, including articles ("a" and "the").
- Keep paying attention to the topic of the paper.
- Use paragraphs to split each significant point (excluding the abstract).
- Align the primary line of each section.
- Present your points in sound order.
- Use present tense to report well-accepted matters.
- Use past tense to describe specific results.
- Do not use familiar wording; don't address the reviewer directly. Don't use slang or superlatives.
- Avoid use of extra pictures—include only those figures essential to presenting results.

Title page:

Choose a revealing title. It should be short and include the name(s) and address(es) of all authors. It should not have acronyms or abbreviations or exceed two printed lines.

Abstract: This summary should be two hundred words or less. It should clearly and briefly explain the key findings reported in the manuscript and must have precise statistics. It should not have acronyms or abbreviations. It should be logical in itself. Do not cite references at this point.

An abstract is a brief, distinct paragraph summary of finished work or work in development. In a minute or less, a reviewer can be taught the foundation behind the study, common approaches to the problem, relevant results, and significant conclusions or new questions.

Write your summary when your paper is completed because how can you write the summary of anything which is not yet written? Wealth of terminology is very essential in abstract. Use comprehensive sentences, and do not sacrifice readability for brevity; you can maintain it succinctly by phrasing sentences so that they provide more than a lone rationale. The author can at this moment go straight to shortening the outcome. Sum up the study with the subsequent elements in any summary. Try to limit the initial two items to no more than one line each.

Reason for writing the article—theory, overall issue, purpose.

- Fundamental goal.
- To-the-point depiction of the research.
- Consequences, including definite statistics—if the consequences are quantitative in nature, account for this; results of any numerical analysis should be reported. Significant conclusions or questions that emerge from the research.

Approach:

- Single section and succinct.
- An outline of the job done is always written in past tense.
- Concentrate on shortening results—limit background information to a verdict or two.
- Exact spelling, clarity of sentences and phrases, and appropriate reporting of quantities (proper units, important statistics) are just as significant in an abstract as they are anywhere else.

Introduction:

The introduction should "introduce" the manuscript. The reviewer should be presented with sufficient background information to be capable of comprehending and calculating the purpose of your study without having to refer to other works. The basis for the study should be offered. Give the most important references, but avoid making a comprehensive appraisal of the topic. Describe the problem visibly. If the problem is not acknowledged in a logical, reasonable way, the reviewer will give no attention to your results. Speak in common terms about techniques used to explain the problem, if needed, but do not present any particulars about the protocols here.

The following approach can create a valuable beginning:

- Explain the value (significance) of the study.
- Defend the model—why did you employ this particular system or method? What is its compensation? Remark upon its appropriateness from an abstract point of view as well as pointing out sensible reasons for using it.
- Present a justification. State your particular theory(-ies) or aim(s), and describe the logic that led you to choose them.
- Briefly explain the study's tentative purpose and how it meets the declared objectives.

Approach:

Use past tense except for when referring to recognized facts. After all, the manuscript will be submitted after the entire job is done. Sort out your thoughts; manufacture one key point for every section. If you make the four points listed above, you will need at least four paragraphs. Present surrounding information only when it is necessary to support a situation. The reviewer does not desire to read everything you know about a topic. Shape the theory specifically—do not take a broad view.

As always, give awareness to spelling, simplicity, and correctness of sentences and phrases.

Procedures (methods and materials):

This part is supposed to be the easiest to carve if you have good skills. A soundly written procedures segment allows a capable scientist to replicate your results. Present precise information about your supplies. The suppliers and clarity of reagents can be helpful bits of information. Present methods in sequential order, but linked methodologies can be grouped as a segment. Be concise when relating the protocols. Attempt to give the least amount of information that would permit another capable scientist to replicate your outcome, but be cautious that vital information is integrated. The use of subheadings is suggested and ought to be synchronized with the results section.

When a technique is used that has been well-described in another section, mention the specific item describing the way, but draw the basic principle while stating the situation. The purpose is to show all particular resources and broad procedures so that another person may use some or all of the methods in one more study or referee the scientific value of your work. It is not to be a step-by-step report of the whole thing you did, nor is a methods section a set of orders.

Materials:

Materials may be reported in part of a section or else they may be recognized along with your measures.

Methods:

- Report the method and not the particulars of each process that engaged the same methodology.
- Describe the method entirely.
- To be succinct, present methods under headings dedicated to specific dealings or groups of measures.
- Simplify—detail how procedures were completed, not how they were performed on a particular day.
- If well-known procedures were used, account for the procedure by name, possibly with a reference, and that's all.

Approach:

It is embarrassing to use vigorous voice when documenting methods without using first person, which would focus the reviewer's interest on the researcher rather than the job. As a result, when writing up the methods, most authors use third person passive voice.

Use standard style in this and every other part of the paper—avoid familiar lists, and use full sentences.

What to keep away from:

- Resources and methods are not a set of information.
- Skip all descriptive information and surroundings—save it for the argument.
- Leave out information that is immaterial to a third party.



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Results:

The principle of a results segment is to present and demonstrate your conclusion. Create this part as entirely objective details of the outcome, and save all understanding for the discussion.

The page length of this segment is set by the sum and types of data to be reported. Use statistics and tables, if suitable, to present consequences most efficiently.

You must clearly differentiate material which would usually be incorporated in a study editorial from any unprocessed data or additional appendix matter that would not be available. In fact, such matters should not be submitted at all except if requested by the instructor.

Content:

- Sum up your conclusions in text and demonstrate them, if suitable, with figures and tables.
- In the manuscript, explain each of your consequences, and point the reader to remarks that are most appropriate.
- Present a background, such as by describing the question that was addressed by creation of an exacting study.
- Explain results of control experiments and give remarks that are not accessible in a prescribed figure or table, if appropriate.
- Examine your data, then prepare the analyzed (transformed) data in the form of a figure (graph), table, or manuscript.

What to stay away from:

- Do not discuss or infer your outcome, report surrounding information, or try to explain anything.
- Do not include raw data or intermediate calculations in a research manuscript.
- Do not present similar data more than once.
- A manuscript should complement any figures or tables, not duplicate information.
- Never confuse figures with tables—there is a difference.

Approach:

As always, use past tense when you submit your results, and put the whole thing in a reasonable order.

Put figures and tables, appropriately numbered, in order at the end of the report.

If you desire, you may place your figures and tables properly within the text of your results section.

Figures and tables:

If you put figures and tables at the end of some details, make certain that they are visibly distinguished from any attached appendix materials, such as raw facts. Whatever the position, each table must be titled, numbered one after the other, and include a heading. All figures and tables must be divided from the text.

Discussion:

The discussion is expected to be the trickiest segment to write. A lot of papers submitted to the journal are discarded based on problems with the discussion. There is no rule for how long an argument should be.

Position your understanding of the outcome visibly to lead the reviewer through your conclusions, and then finish the paper with a summing up of the implications of the study. The purpose here is to offer an understanding of your results and support all of your conclusions, using facts from your research and generally accepted information, if suitable. The implication of results should be fully described.

Infer your data in the conversation in suitable depth. This means that when you clarify an observable fact, you must explain mechanisms that may account for the observation. If your results vary from your prospect, make clear why that may have happened. If your results agree, then explain the theory that the proof supported. It is never suitable to just state that the data approved the prospect, and let it drop at that. Make a decision as to whether each premise is supported or discarded or if you cannot make a conclusion with assurance. Do not just dismiss a study or part of a study as "uncertain."



Research papers are not acknowledged if the work is imperfect. Draw what conclusions you can based upon the results that you have, and take care of the study as a finished work.

- You may propose future guidelines, such as how an experiment might be personalized to accomplish a new idea.
- Give details of all of your remarks as much as possible, focusing on mechanisms.
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ISSN 975587

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