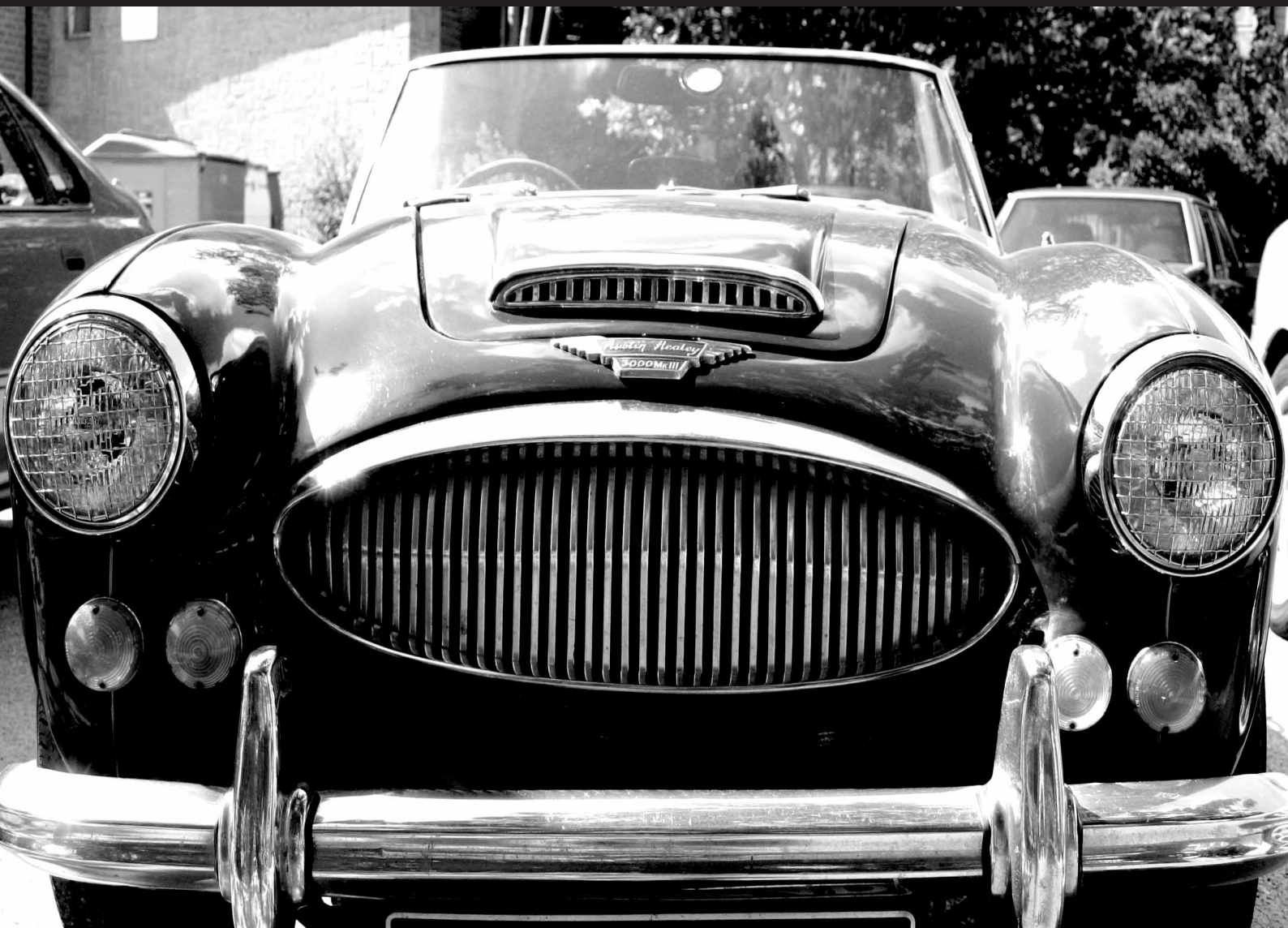


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Notes on Contributors

Gehad Kenawy has worked as Mass Communication Lecturer at Ealami Media Academy and a Mass Communication Instructor at the Canadian International College. She received her M.A. in Media Policy from the American University in Cairo in 2015. She performs research in the field of social media, media policies, digital media and media management. She has presented her papers in these areas at conferences all over the world.

Zainab Dahham is a researcher at the School of Law, University of Huddersfield, UK. After her graduation and before embarking on her Ph.D., Zainab was an Arabic writer in law. Her books were printed by the Ministry of Culture and Youth Iraq and Egypt. She also worked as a tutor for several universities based in Iraq. In addition, she is a former legal adviser and journalist at the Local provincial council in Iraq. Dahham was awarded Acknowledgements by the Minister of Youth and Culture for holding a conference to encourage young people to engage in politics. She was also honoured by the Iraqi General Consul to UK for her participation in international conferences in Europe and Asia, where she presented papers addressing issues and problems concerning Iraq, as well as for her activities supporting Iraqi university students. Zainab is a member of the Institute for Cultural Diplomacy, Germany and a member of the Secure Societies Institute, UK.

Dinithi Wijesuriya of the department of Archaeology, University of Kelaniya, Sri Lanka, is a Senior Lecturer and also a Ph.D. student at International Doctoral Asia-Pacific Studies Program, National Chengchi University, Taiwan. Dinithi earned a B. A. special degree in Archaeology, and subsequently completed M. Phil degree at the same university. Dinithi's teaching and research is mainly focused on industrial archaeology, as part of historical Archaeology. Specifically, his interests are in Sri Lankan vintage vehicles, charting historic navigation points of Sri Lanka connected to other places in Monsoon Asia and the utilisation of advanced methods in digital humanities to locate spatiotemporally features of historic maritime interest. Dinithi has published research papers in industrial archeology international conferences in the UK, Thailand, USA, Australia, and Japan.

Krzysztof Lobos is a Professor and Vice-rector of Science and Personnel Development at WSB University in Wroclaw. His current research focuses on performance evaluation and management, modern ideas and methods of management and human being in organiSation.

Mirosława Szewczyk, Ph.D., is an Associate Professor in the Department of Economics, Finance and Regional Research at Opole University of Technology. Her research interests span growth of enterprises and regional development.

Mike Dee was a youth worker in Earls Court, London, UK in 1976 and has more than 20 years of direct experience working with children, young people, families and communities. At Queensland University of Technology Mike completed his Ph.D. on Young People, Public Space and Citizenship in 2008 and teaches in the Social Work and Human Services program in social policy, social work theory, urban sociology and political economy.

Introduction

Welcome to the second edition of the IAFOR Journal for the Social Sciences. Our journal encourages critical ideas and theories about society from different perspectives and aims to contribute to an open avenue for new theoretical developments in this broad field by providing a space for international dialogue and critical approach.

Streaming from the IAFOR Social Sciences Conferences, the journal establishes a venue for academic research in the complex and multifaceted field of the Social Sciences. The journal takes into consideration the cultural, political, social and economic phenomena through their historical developments and contemporary evolution. It explores the interplay between society, politics and economics; the dynamics of globalisation and international relations.

The IAFOR Journal of the Social Sciences is committed to an approach based on scientific studies and is open for contributions from various disciplines including sociology, political science, anthropology, media and other studies.

In our first paper the author discusses the proposed social media policy for the Egyptian government that can regulate the use of social media by adopting a qualitative study including research and field experience in Egypt. The evaluation shows how flexible the proposed policy is and how it can be used by any public or private organisation wishing to use social media to interact with their audience. In the second paper we move to Asia, where the author examines the very interesting case of the responsibility of armed groups for sexual violence against women during international armed conflicts in Iraq. The author argues that women have suffered under totalitarian regimes and examines whether the international law can adequately protect the women and address the problem of sexual violence during armed conflicts with particular focus on the Geneva Convention (GC, 1949) and its two Additional Protocols, as well as the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (ICC). The third paper brings us to Sri Lanka where the author offers us a vivid description of the particular characteristics of regional expansion of vintage motorcars in the 19th and 20th century. While arguing that a new phase with the opportunities of economic revolution has changed the transportation mode in Sri Lanka, the author aims to provide a more data driven definition. Portland is under the lense in our fourth paper, where the authors conducted field studies in terms of job satisfaction and commitment in a manufacturing plant with foreign investment, which provide evidence on the empowerment or disempowerment of middle and lower level managers as an efficient management model. The author discusses the citizen participation in the surveillance society in the final paper, which provides a new insight into the urban citizenship in the context of Marshall's original premise of civil, social and political citizenship(s) in the middle of the last century.

I would like to thank the contributors, reviewers and editorial board for their work on this issue. We look forward to seeing you at the IAFOR Social Sciences Conferences 2016.

Tingting Ying
Editor
yingtingting1028@hotmail.com

Developing Social Media Policy for Public Agencies in Egypt

Gehad Soliman Sayed Kenawy

Abstract

The use of social media in governments is growing rapidly all over the world. Social media provides public agencies with diverse tools that facilitate their engagement with the public. However, social media raises different privacy, security and legal issues that need to be addressed in proper policy guidelines. In Egypt, while social media in government is relatively new, it is widely used at all levels of government. By logging on Facebook or Twitter you can follow most of Egyptian ministries' releases and news. However, the Egyptian government lacks having social media policies that regulate the use of social media. After interviewing social media officers in different Egyptian ministries, it has been found that they do not follow concrete written policies that regulate public employees' use of social media. Being interested in the power of social media in public agencies, this paper suggests a social media policy that provides guidance on how public employees can efficiently and securely use official social media to communicate with the public. To achieve this purpose, the methodology adopted includes a review of the existing research on social media policies, analysis of current social media policies in different countries, and interviews with social media officials in a sample of Egyptian Ministries to examine how they manage their use of social media. The proposed policy is flexible and can be used by any public or even private organizations willing to use social media to interact with their target audience.

Keywords: Social media, management, policy analysis, government, Egypt.

Introduction

Social media has redefined how people interact and communicate across geographical boundaries and exchange information. Due to its large popularity, it creates great incentive for the public sector to benefit from its potentials. Social media provides a sphere for immediate, interactive, and fast communications among different agencies and individuals (Porter, 2008; Cardenas, 2013).

In the last few years, the use of social media in governments has generated discussions among experts due to its great potential for e-government (Pirulli, Preece, & Shneiderman, 2010). Governments started to use social media to deliver services to citizens, reach out for stakeholders (Chang & Kannan, 2008; Bertot et al., 2012), disseminate information to residents, boost citizens engagement in policy development discussions (Bertot et al., 2012; Wyld, 2008, Chun et al., 2010; Hanson, 2008; Bertot, Jaeger, Munson, & Glaisyer, 2010) and achieve transparency, collaboration and service quality (Bertot, et al., 2010; Jaeger, Bertot & Grimes, 2010; Bertot et al., 2012).

Despite the great benefits and promises that social media offer to governments, several challenges are associated with its use in government. Some of these challenges relate to privacy, security, and legal issues (Bertot, et al., 2012; Bryer & Zavattaro, 2011; Dadashzadeh, 2010; Landsbergen, 2010; Sherman, 2011; Vela et al., 2012). To mitigate such challenges and ensure successful use of social media, experts believe that governments should develop policies that regulate their use of social media (Vela et al., 2012; Cardenas, 2013; Hrdinova et al., 2010; Freeman & Loo, 2009).

In Egypt, social media were firstly used by Egyptians as tools for entertainment, then it has become a venue for public opinion expression and public mobilization especially during the 25th of January revolution. Before the revolution, the Egyptian government didn't pay much attention to social media. However, when the revolution took place, the government started to realize how influential and crucial social media are. Egyptian government started to have huge presence on social media. Different ministries initiated their first Facebook pages right after the revolution to reach young Egyptians (El-Khalili, 2013; Abdelsalam, Reddick & Gamal, 2013; Khodeir & Khalifa, 2014). Since the 25th of January revolution, Egyptians' use of social media surpassed all expectations. Statistical data shows that Facebook users in Egypt rose from 4.2 million in 2011 (Abdullah, 2013) to 20 million in 2014 (MCIT Research department, 2014). In addition, Facebook became the most commonly used website by government (Abdelsalam, Reddick & Gamal, 2013). While the use of social media in Egyptian government is recent, the development of relationships between government and citizens is growing fast. Yet, there is still no guideline for the use of social media in Egyptian government. Through semi-structured interviews with government officers in different Egyptian ministries, the lack of social media policies was clear, and the need for clear social media guidelines became indispensable.

The main purpose of this paper is to provide a policy guide that leads public agencies into secured and efficient use of social media. This was accomplished by reviewing the existing research to find out the key elements of social media policies, analyzing social media policies in different countries to identify their addressed policy issues, and finally assessing the use of social media in a number of Egyptian ministries to examine how they manage their social media pages and explore challenges they face during implementation

To draw a representative sample, I have classified Egyptian ministries into three main categories: service ministries, economic ministries, and sovereign ministries. Based on this classification, I have drawn a purposive sample to represent this classification by choosing the Ministry of Supply and Internal Trade (MSIT), the Ministry of Planning, Monitoring and Administrative Reform (MPMAR), and the Ministry of Finance (MOF). These three ministries represent different levels of government in Egypt; in addition, social media plays an important role in delivering their services.

Methodology

This study is a qualitative study that includes literature review, policy analysis and semi-structured interviews with social media officials in the Ministry of Supply and Internal Trade, the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Planning, Monitoring and Administrative Reform. Officials who were interviewed in my research are as follow: the director of Ministry of Finance's portal and IT manager, the manager of the publishing department and director of Ministry of Supply and Internal Trade's portal, and the electronic content officer at the Ministry of Planning, Monitoring and Administrative Reform. These officials were selected as they are the executives in charge of managing social media pages in the three ministries

Social Media Policy

Social media policies are different from other governmental policies. They are more flexible to adjust with the changing nature of social media. Social media policy can be defined as a shared policy of conduct that is set to guide employees who share content online on behalf of the agency they work at or on their personal social media pages. Social media policies offer assistance on how to regulate employees use of social media to interact with the public (Mergel & Greeves, 2013). They address managerial issues such as employee access to social media sites, account management, definition of adequate use, proper employee conduct, and citizen conduct (Mergel, 2012; Hrdinova et. al, 2010). Moreover, they discuss privacy and legal issues, for instance, copy rights limitations, freedom of speech boundaries, and security measures (Newman, 2009).

Policies can be developed as a bottom-up or a top-down initiative. However, it has been found that both approaches have limitations, as social media implementation needs collaboration between all levels of government to be efficient (Mergel, 2012). Thus, multiple levels of government need to collaborate and coordinate to make the best use of social media and overcome potential risks that may occur.

Research on Social Media Policies

Studies on what social media policies should include are very limited. Research papers generally address what social media policies should consider. Most studies focus their scope on local and federal governments in United States. Zimmer (2012) and Cardenas (2013) analyzed social media policies in local governments. Zimmer (2012) studied local public agencies in California. He found that 52% of his sample does not have formal social media policies. Among agencies that have social media policies, the elements found were: statement of purpose, account management, employee conduct, definition of social media, social media access, account monitoring, content management, citizen conduct and record retention. In addition, Cardenas (2013) examined social media policies in different local agencies in

Virginia, Arizona, Minnesota, California, New Jersey and Indiana states. The elements varied from one policy to another, but most of them were: statements of purpose, security issues, institutional tasks, legal issues and acceptable use.

On the other hand, Mergel & Greeves (2013) studied federal governments in United States. They highlighted the importance of considering the hierarchal structure of the organization when designing a social media policy. Tasks and responsibilities should be clear and information should be accessible. From their interviews with federal officials, they found that social media policy should include citizen conduct and content management guidelines.

Finally, Hrdinova et al. (2010) introduced a framework of eight fundamental elements for an effective social media policy based on the analysis of 26 social media policies and interviews with 32 public officials in United States. The eight elements covers: employee's access to social media, privacy issues, legal concerns, account management procedures, public code of conduct, content production and management, employee conduct, and defines the acceptable use of social media.

Analysis of Existing Social Media Policies

Since most previous studies were focused on United States, I added to this review by analysing policies that are currently adopted by governments in different countries and were published online such as Government of Canada, Government of South Africa, Government of India, United Arab Emirates Government and Queensland government in Australia. My analysis found that almost all of them address the eight fundamental elements developed by Hrdinova et al (2010) and expanded on it adding objectives, target audience, communication strategies, communication team, risk mitigation, monitoring and evaluation. Policy details are summarized in Table 1 on the next page.

Table 1: Reviewed Social Media policies

Government	Date published	Policy elements
Queensland Government in Australia¹	December, 2010	Eight fundamental elements Added target audience, risk assessment, communication strategies and monitoring
United Arab Emirates Government²	January, 2011	Eight fundamental elements Added risk mitigation, assign communication team and monitoring
Government of South Africa³	April, 2011	Eight fundamental elements

¹ Retrieved from: <http://www.qgcio.qld.gov.au/products/qgea-documents/547-business/2474-official-use-of-social-media-guideline>

² Retrieved from: <http://www.fahr.gov.ae/Portal/Userfiles/Assets/Documents/884dd373.pdf>

³ Retrieved from: http://www.gcis.gov.za/resource_centre/guidelines/social_media_guidelines_final_20_april2011.pdf

		Added objectives, target audience, assign communication team, risk assessment, monitoring and evaluation.
Government of Canada⁴	November, 2011	Eight fundamental elements Added target audience, risk assessment, communication strategies and evaluation
Government of India⁵ (Department of Electronics and Information Technology, Ministry of Communications & Information Technology)	No date	Eight fundamental elements Added objectives, communication strategies, monitoring and evaluation

From this analysis, it has been concluded that the eight fundamental elements addressed by Hrdinova et al. (2010) are representing major policy elements in governments. In addition, other essential policy elements were added. Based on this analysis, I developed a new comprehensive framework combining the eight essential elements introduced by Hrdinova et al. (2010) and the new essential elements driven from the analysis outlined in the table below. This framework has been used to evaluate the Egyptian ministries' management of social media and to create a social media policy for the Egyptian government.

Table 2: Social Media Policy Framework

Phase	Elements
Phase1 “Planning”	Objectives Target audience Communication strategy Communication team
Phase 2 “Implementation” (8 essential elements)	Employee access Account management Acceptable use Employee conduct Content Security issues Legal issues

⁴ Retrieved from: <http://www.tbs-sct.gc.ca/pol/doc-eng.aspx?section=text&id=24835>

⁵ http://deity.gov.in/sites/upload_files/dit/files/SocialMediaFrameworkDraftforPublicConsultation_192011.pdf

	Citizen conduct
Phase 3 “Assessment”	Monitoring Evaluation

Social media management in Egyptian Ministries

Based on the social media policy framework outlined in table 2, questions for interviews were developed to cover all phases of the framework and to examine how Egyptian ministries manage their social media accounts. The next three tables summarize the policy elements that were covered by the selected sample of Egyptian ministries

Table 3: Phase 1 “Planning” policy elements covered by MSIT, MOF and MPMAR

Ministry	Objectives	Target audience	Communication strategy	Team
MSIT	√			√
MOF	√			√
MPMAR	√		√	√

The three ministries share the same purpose of using social networks which is getting closer to citizens and encouraging a two-way communication; however, they lack having clear target audience. Government officials mentioned that they target all Egyptians, which is not feasible since not all Egyptians are active users on social media due to lower levels of internet penetration. While the Ministry of finance and the ministry of supply and internal trade lack having clear communication strategies, the ministry of Planning and administrative reform was shown to have strategies for how to engage the audience using different kind of posts on their page that facilitate the delivery of their information using info graphics, videos and interactive posts. They three ministries have communication teams who are responsible for managing and monitoring social media accounts, but there is no official written guidelines, policies or documents that discuss how employees should manage social media pages and define their tasks and responsibilities. Yet, in the Ministry of Finance there is an online task sheet that documents employees’ accomplishment of their tasks, date and time of accomplishment, and by whom it was revised, but it cannot be considered as a policy or a guideline for employees use of social media, rather it represents a follow-up measure.

Table 4: Phase 2 “Implementation” policy elements covered by MSIT, MOF and MPMAR

Ministry	Access	Account management	Acceptable use	Employee conduct	Content	Security	Legal	Citizen conduct
MSIT	√	√			√	√		
MOF	√	√			√	√		
MPMAR	√	√			√	√		

After assessing the eight essential elements in the three ministries, it has been found that almost all of them focus their regulatory scope on the mechanisms for internal control that deals with managerial issues such as who post, who access, and who manages social media while they all lack concrete written policies that deal with laws and regulations that define employees conduct, citizen conduct, personal and professional use of social media. They all have media departments which are responsible for managing social media pages; but they do not have clear measures for violations that may occur from employees or citizens. The three ministries have security measures to mitigate potential risks by using complex passwords, assigning specific employees to manage official accounts, and preventing the use of mobile phones when updating official accounts; however, they do not offer trainings to educate employees on how to act when a security breach occur. Legal issues are not addressed or considered as a high priority. There are no commenting policies on their social media pages and there isn't a clear guideline for deleting comments or a clear definition of violations that may occur on their pages. In addition, they all lack clear principles that guide employees' ethical use of social media.

Table 5: Phase 3 “Assessment” policy elements covered by MSIT, MOF and MPMAR

Ministry	Monitoring	Evaluation
MSIT		
MOF	√	
MPMAR	√	

Almost all of them monitor their pages around the clock to answer users' questions and achieve responsiveness. However, evaluation measures were not clearly applied in the three ministries.

Conclusion

The main objective of this study is to examine and provide recommendations, supported by research and field experience, to governments on how to successfully manage and regulate social media. This was accomplished by reviewing the existing literature, analyzing social media policies in different countries, examining the current situation in a sample of Egyptian ministries and using the framework in the literature and what I learned from the analysis to design a social media policy for Egyptian public agencies.

While social media is gaining acceptance at all levels of government, this paper found that Egyptian ministries lack having regulatory frameworks that govern their use of social media. After interviewing social media officials in three Egyptian ministries, it has been concluded that social media policies and guidelines do not exist or considered by the selected ministries.

The literature review in this study found that social media policies are considered as the most powerful tools agencies should adopt to regulate their social media use, particularly in how they assist governments to overcome potential legal, security and privacy risks. Policies are crucial since they set regulations and tasks and mitigate challenges. Experts believe that governments willing to use social media should firstly consider adopting social media policies before implementation.

Since there are no policies regulating the use of social media in Egyptian ministries, there are no clear guidelines on who bears liability for the published content. Therefore, the need for social media policies has become clear. Government officials and employees need guidelines

in place so they can move forward with responsible and effective initiatives that harness social media power.

The next section offers the research recommendations which are represented in the social media policy found on the next page. This policy outlines issues that governments should consider when using social media. It provides a concise and flexible framework which highlights ideas that can be simply adjusted to the setting of different organizations.

Social Media Policy for Egyptian Government

Purpose of the Policy

This policy provides government agencies in Egypt with guidelines on how to achieve the best use of social media in order to communicate with their citizens and deliver their services to them in secure, responsible, and efficient ways.

Many public agencies across Egypt have already started using social media sites as tools of communication with the public, yet, most if not all of them lack guidelines or policies that could help them reap the benefits of social media and mitigate their potential challenges and risks.

Scope of the Policy

- This policy applies to all Egyptian public agencies (ministries, authorities, and public institutions). It can also be used by private organizations or non-profit organizations willing to regulate their use of social media.
- To adapt with the speedy and changing nature of social media, this policy is flexible. It can be developed and changed as required to cope with these dynamic tools.

Importance of the Guide

Social media sites with their collaboration and engagement powers have changed the static nature of Internet services and turned out to be a new media that has redefined the way governments deliver their services to citizens (World Economic Forum, 2009).

Particularly, social media assist policy makers in boosting transparency and citizens' engagement in governments programs; consequently social media expands the chances of efficient policy results. Through this process, residents shift from being passive receivers of government services to active contributors and participants in the policy making process (UN E-government survey, 2010)

Moreover, the popularity of social media sites in Egypt has increased significantly, the number of Facebook users alone has reached 20 million users at the end of 2014 (MCIT Research department, 2014)

Besides the great benefits social media offer to governments, they also raise numerous challenges and risks that need to be cautiously considered and addressed. These challenges include:

- Causing reputational issues to citizens or public agencies
- leaking of private or critical government or personal data
- Security breaches such as malware, viruses, hacking etc...and other security risks.

Such challenges can be reduced by adopting appropriate policy controls and guidelines which are addressed in the following section.

Social Media Policy Guidelines

This section provides detailed guidelines for the use of social media by government agencies. These guidelines cover three consecutive stages for social media management:

A. Phase 1: Planning

Identify objectives

Public agencies should clearly define the purpose of using social media, is it to raise awareness about a new service, increase engagement with their public, open conversations with constituents, or change wrong image promoted by media, etc.? This will help in choosing the proper strategies that will lead to the achievement of these objectives eventually. For instance, if an agency aims at achieving engagement with its public, then developing a policy that does not allow for comments on its social media page would never be successful

Identify target audience

Dividing the audience into segments will help the agency tailor its messages to suit the target audience and select the best social media platform to reach them. Some groups will be hardly reached or stay unreached by social media, however, other groups can be major targets for social media. For example, if the agency is targeting young university graduates, then Facebook and Twitter might be the best social media tool.

Set Communication Strategies

A clear communication strategy defines how the agency acts on social media to achieve its desired objectives and goals. Since social media is based on users' engagement and interaction, public agencies should use communication strategies that boost engagement with the audience. Setting a clear communication strategy allows the agency to use the best communication tools to convey information to the public in the most efficient and engaging way. Strategies should include:

- Kind of posts to be published on social media to boost engagement and visibility
- Media formats to be used in delivering the information (animated videos, info- graphic posters, info-graphic videos,...etc)
- How many posts to be posted per day?
- How many posts to be posted per week?
- Monthly engagement analysis to assess the performance

Assign the Social Media Team

Social Media managers in various government agencies should assign employees who would suitably speak on behalf of the government on social media. The following requirements should be considered when assigning employees to manage social media accounts:

- The level of qualification and comprehension of the issues to be discussed with citizens on social media platforms.
- Communication skills and language proficiency.
- Knowledge of social media tools and expertise in harnessing their powers
- His/her willingness to stay online on the social media sites after official working hours and his/her ability to act in situations that requires immediate response.

B. Phase 2: Implementation (8 essential elements)

Access to Social Media

- The agency should decide what social media sites are appropriate to utilize to achieve its objectives. Also, it should serve to train employees on how to best utilize these sites.
- A list of recommended websites should be created and frequently updated by the Social Media department in cooperation with public employees, and IT members. This list should also consider the benefits and threats of different social media platforms.
- Authorized Employees who are selected to manage social media accounts should be given access on the pages to moderate the page.

Account Management

The social media team is responsible to manage official social media accounts and communicate with the public on behalf of the agency. The following guidelines should be considered:

- The social media department should approve the requests of establishing official accounts on a social media. However, IT unit should be consulted first to cover any security risks. This approval should consider aspects like the appropriateness of the site to the agency needs and target audience besides any technology-related issues.
- Social media managers should also develop a list of all social media sites' domain names in use, the names of all employees managing these accounts, and their related passwords.

Acceptable Use

- There is a blurry line between professional and personal use of social media which makes the idea of allowing access to one and banning it from the other very complex.
- Access to social media shouldn't be prohibited; rather they should be utilized according to this policy guideline. Prohibiting employees from using social media at work might not be efficient since they can use it via their cell phones.

Employee conduct

- Employees should be professional and consistent at all times to guarantee best representation of their ministry.
- Key principles of ethical use should include: credibility, accuracy, transparency, citizen respect, responsiveness

- Moreover, public employees should protect government's reputation on official and personal social media accounts. Employees' posts and comments on social media should not damage government's reputation by any means. Employees should not use the data acquired during their work for other non-related work reasons.
- If public employees added their official title on their social media accounts, they should include a disclaimer which clearly states that their posts on social media profiles reflects their personal opinions only and have nothing to do with their government.

Content Management

- Social Media Departments' responsibilities are: establishing, posting, and updating social media pages. The manager of the department should approve content before posting on social media sites to ensure its compliance with the guidelines. The following guidelines should be considered when sharing content on social media:
- Content on social media should be interactive rather than informative. In contrast to traditional media, social media provides users with information and allows them to interact with it. Thus, to create a two-way communication and interactive environment, content should drive conversations, views and engagement.
- A commenting policy should be posted on social media pages. It should state the following: "The government reserves the right to delete posts that contain defamation, content that promotes discrimination, Spam, sexual contents, and links to other sites.
- If the page administrator deletes a post or comment, he should take a screenshot first of the post for documentation. In principle, users' comments should not be deleted. Whether comments are positive or negative, they should be kept on the page as long as they are relevant to the topic of discussion.

Security

Potential threats can be faced by implementing strict measures, some of these measures include:

I. Security measures:

- If authorized employees might moderate official social media pages from personal mobile phones, they must ensure protection by having a pass code.
- Employees are required to own complex passwords for their social media accounts to ensure the security of government's data.
- All files that are exchanged with social media should not be opened unless scanned to ensure safety from viruses or hacking measures.
- Employees are not allowed to use their official email addresses or passwords to log in to their social media accounts.
- Social media managers should ban access to unneeded functionalities within social media websites, such as file exchange and messages to mitigate the risk of receiving improper or unsafe documents.

II. Training measures:

- training sessions should be set to train public employees on how to use different social media tools, how to secure official accounts, and educate them about potential security risks and techniques used to mitigate them

Legal Issues

- The easiness of copying and pasting materials on social media pages frequently leads to unintentional violation of copyright laws. Therefore, social media departments are responsible for the compliance with the established law no. 82 of 2002 on the protection of intellectual property rights.
- Employees should only interact with citizens on social media pages if their responses are specific and accurate, they are also required to correct misleading information posted by citizens.
- Employees are not required to answer citizens' questions or respond to their comments. Though, a response that offers useful knowledge to all users is required.

Citizen Conduct

- Social media departments should publish commenting guidelines on their pages so that residents follow them.
- A citizen conduct that discusses suitable behavior for citizens should be created and posted on governments' social media pages. This conduct can clearly state that specific kind of posts are forbidden and will be deleted, including: comments that contain defamation, spam, sexual content, comments that promotes discrimination and illegal activity, comments that include links to other websites, and content that violates intellectual property rights.

C. Phase 3: Assessment

Monitoring

Unlike the government fixed hours, employees should monitor the agency's social media pages around the clock to:

- Answer questions, increase engagement and responsiveness
- Delete spam, ads, or any inappropriate comments
- To monitor content to ensure its adherence to the agency's policy

Evaluation

Ongoing evaluation helps public agencies know where they stand from their objectives. The page should be evaluated periodically to check if the strategies adopted has achieved the target objectives and to re-adjust strategies -if needed- to achieve greater engagement. Agencies should decide when to conduct the evaluation; it could be weekly or monthly based on the agency's objectives. Agencies can use Facebook insights and Twitter analytics since they provide analysis for the rates of engagement based on likes, shares, comments, re-tweets, etc.

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Contact Gehad Kenawy: publications@iafor.org

Responsibility of Armed Groups for Sexual Violence Against Women During Internal Armed Conflicts: The Case of Iraq

Zainab Waheed Dahham

Abstract

Women have suffered in Iraq under totalitarian regimes, foreign occupation and now armed insurgency. The focus of this paper is to determine if International Law is adequate enough to protect the women during internal conflicts. Also to identify any legal mechanisms to protect women from sexual violence in Iraq in times of IRC.

This research analyses how international law addresses the problem of sexual violence during armed conflicts, with particular focus on the Geneva Convention (GC, 1949) and its two Additional Protocols as well as the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (ICC). This research holds that it is necessary to hold armed groups responsible for reparations due to victims of sexual violence, particularly when states lose control over the situations. In this regard more must be done by the Government of Iraq to ensure justice and reparation for victims. This paper highlights the current reality of the situation of women during internal armed conflict in Iraq (as of 2014). The paper also explores the effectiveness of legal mechanisms to protect women from sexual violence in times of conflict, as well as paying attention to the legislation pertinent to the accountability of armed groups.

Keywords: Armed groups, women, sexual violence, internal conflict, Iraq

Introduction

The rape of women during war is as old as war itself. Interpretations of the reason for this vary; the most conventional explanation is that it is due to the individual lust of troops in an aberrant scenario with no conventional social and legal restraints, but it can also be encouraged as part of a concerted strategy to reward soldiers or to humiliate the enemy (e.g. the Japanese comfort women of WWII). The ubiquity of rape in war has been universally acknowledged since ancient times (Nebesar, 1998). However, it reached unprecedented heights in the large-scale wars of the 20th century, particularly during the Second World War. In 1945, 120,000 to 900,000 women were raped during the Soviet invasion of Berlin (more than two million German women were raped across Germany). However, the Japanese policy of abducting comfort women as a systematic policy of abduction and sexual slavery continues to be the most notorious example of rape in war, such as the ‘Rape of Nanking’, during which the Japanese Imperial Army raped, tortured and killed more than 20,000 women. The phenomenon continued during subsequent wars; during the US invasion and occupation of Vietnam, 86 US soldiers were accused of rape, 50 of whom were subsequently convicted. In 1971, up to 400,000 Bangladeshi women were raped by Pakistani forces, resulting in 25,000 known pregnancies (Nebesar, 1998).

While individual soldiers (alone or in groups) can perpetrate rape under their own volition, sexual violence is often utilized as a systematic means to humiliate civilian personnel in the local community or ethnic group, or to control them through fear. (United Nation Security Council, 2008) Rape is a common tool in wider policies of ethnic cleansing and the destruction of the fabric of families and communities.

The internal armed conflict in Iraq, on-going since June 2014, has seen a number of recorded human rights abuses, including sexual violence against women committed by armed forces (ISIS). This paper focuses on Iraq as a case study because the researcher wants to study this problem of sexual on women in depth and try to resolve it. The results of this study can be applied in other states which have a similar situation in future. This research considers the effectiveness of the current legal mechanisms to address the problem of sexual violence.

This paper focuses on sexual violence during armed conflicts. It includes sexual violence and internal armed conflict, then sexual violence and international armed conflict. After that the responsibility for sexual violence during armed conflicts under international law is explored under two sections: the responsibility for sexual violence under the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court; and under the Geneva Convention.

Methods

The research is based on a case study which is qualitative in nature. Case study can be defined as “a research strategy that involves an empirical investigation of a particular contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context using multiple method of data collection”. (Sekaran & Bougie, 2013)

The research aims to solve the problem of sexual violence against women in Iraq in times of internal armed conflict, by obtaining and analysing deep knowledge about this situation. This situation in the context of Iraq may be different in other states, although other states which have the same situation as the research case study (Iraq), such as other countries in MENA, may benefit from the findings of this research.

Also, the research relies on library resources, including books, journals, cases, scholarly opinions, laws and conventions. This approach is called ‘black-letter law’ or doctrinal legal research. The purpose of this approach is the analysis of the rules of laws.(Chynoweth, 2008)

Background of Sexual Violence During Internal Armed Conflict in Iraq, 2014

The sudden advance of the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS) in 2014 within Iraq was accompanied by widespread human rights abuses, including sexual violence against and the enslavement (and sale of) women. The horror of sexual violence is often used by one conflicting party against another as a weapon to intimidate (i.e. terrorize) and destroy the enemy society. Such means often target particular groups, notably women, who are invoked during war as objects to be protected (i.e. in military recruitment) and thus identified as targets for sexual violations to demonstrate the superiority of the opposing group. This is reinforced by socio-cultural (and religious) taboos that venerate the chastity and sexual purity of womenfolk (Human Rights Watch, 1996)

For example, during the internal armed conflict in Iraq, rape and other forms of violence were directed primarily against Yazidi women because of both their gender and their creed. The Yazidis have been subjected to repeated attacks by jihadist groups in the past because of the unique (i.e. ‘other’) nature of their religious denomination. Iraqi Yazidis have traditionally been concentrated in the Sinjarinin district of Mosul, which is a core region for ISIS. This group seized Mosul in their most audacious victory on 10th June, 2014; the most notorious sexual violence against Yazidi women was committed on 2nd August, 2014 (Amnesty International, 2015) ISIS committed systematic sexual violence.(Human Rights Watch 2015) [5] [5] The singling out of Yazidi women and the perpetration of sexual violence against them was a means of dehumanizing and subjugating the Yazidi group as a whole. Some Christian women were also targeted with rape.(Human Rights Watch, 2015a) ISIS forced women to submit sexually, with threats that they would be killed if they refused. In Iraq, as elsewhere in the world, rape and other gender-based violations carry a severe social stigma.

Yazidi women are suffering heavily during the internal armed conflicts in Iraq, being subjected to slavery and humiliation by armed groups. ISIS granted Yazidi women as spoils to its fighters. Furthermore, women were sold in impromptu slave markets. Official documents issued by ISIS announced the prices for Yazidi and Christian women according to their age group. For example, women aged: 30 to 40 years were retailing for 75,000 Iraqi Dinars (ID); 20 to 30 were valued at 100,000 ID; 10 to 20 year-olds were sold for 150,000 ID; and children aged 9 years of age commanded the highest price of 200,000 ID. The official document restricted indigenous Iraqis to a

maximum of three slaves, with the exception of foreigners from the Gulf, Turks and Syrians who were permitted more (Webb & Rahman, 2014).

This is one of the worst crimes recorded in the modern world. The Iraqi Constitution criminalizes such wrongful acts. Paragraph 3 of Article 37 of the Iraqi Constitution (2005) states that sex trafficking is not allowed. Furthermore, subjecting human to humiliation and insult is prohibited. Moreover, Para A of Article 37 states that freedom and human dignity are inviolable. the Constitution not only forbids such crimes but also guarantees the protection of citizens from religious coercion under Para 2 of Article 2 of the Constitution, which ensures freedom of religion to all non-Muslims (which in Iraq essentially refers to Yazidis, Christians and Sabeans. The freedom of belief is also confirmed by Article 42. The Constitution furthermore acknowledges the responsibility of the State to protect people from such crimes.

Christian women had a relatively better situation than Yazidis, because Christians are classified as followers of a monotheistic religion by ISIS, thus they have the option to convert or pay tribute to avoid the risk of abduction or violence, but this caveat does not apply to the Yazidis, whose complex and eclectic beliefs render them beyond the pale of the insurgents' sensibilities (Webb & Rahman, 2014).

Research on female victims of sexual violence in war generally find that victims are extremely reticent due to personal trauma or fear of social stigma and shame. Moreover, the families of the victims are additionally reluctant to report abuse, thus the actual incidence of rape is generally presumed to be of much greater magnitude than suggested by official statistics (this is a major concern of human rights organizations). Further effects of such violence include that these women will never be able to reintegrate or to marry in many societies due to the stigma and shame associated with rape. The research also finds that the reason behind the suffering of women during the internal armed conflict is the ineffective protection of women.

Sexual Violence and Armed Conflicts

Sexual violence and internal armed conflict

International law dealt with the internal armed conflict, and the Fourth Geneva Convention described the legal protection of civilians during the armed conflict. For example, Article 27 of the Fourth Geneva Convention was the first article dealing with sexual abuse. However, this article was late, and it did not determine the dangers or seriousness of this problem.

International law (i.e. Article 2 of Protocol II, Additional Protocol to the Geneva Conventions of 1949) defined internal armed conflict as conflict not covered by the first article of the Protocol Additional to the Geneva Conventions (relating to international armed conflicts), and which take place in the territory of a High Contracting Party between its armed forces and dissident armed forces or other organized armed groups which, under responsible command, exercise such control over a part of its territory as to enable them to carry out sustained and concerted military operations and to implement this Protocol (United Nation, 1977)

This definition reflects that the parties of the internal armed conflict are the state involved in the conflict on the one hand and on the other hand the rebels who are struggling against an unstable government. Protection of civilians is the essential aim of international humanitarian law (IHL). This is obvious from Article 3 Common of the Fourth Geneva Convention 1949, which stated that all the parties of internal conflicts are obliged not to intentionally harm civilians. The obvious problem is that only States only be a part of such international conventions; the armed forces involved in internal conflicts cannot be a party to these conventions; they are expected not to breach basic human rights not by international law, but by a common understanding of the universal applicability of humanitarian law, which essentially amounts to a gentleman's agreement (in an absurd context).(United Nation, 2011)

However, the Resolution of the Special Court for Sierra Leone stated that non-state actors have an equal duty with States as parties in an armed conflict to respect IHL: "as agreed, all parties to an armed conflict, whether states or actors from non-state, must abide by international humanitarian law, and that despite the fact that only states its right to be party to international treaties". ("Prosecutor v. Sam Hinga Norman ", 2004)

Moreover, the gross violations of customary law, and serious violations of international human rights law and international humanitarian law by persons, are not allowed. Hence, the International Criminal Court (ICC) sanctions persons who committed one of the international crimes, for example genocide, war crimes or crimes against humanity, and the crime of aggression. Rape and other forms of sexual violence can be regard as genocide crimes when committed with the intent to destroy an ethnic, religious, national or racial group in whole or in part (Hague & Jolie, 2014). According to Human Rights Watch, the crimes of ISIS can be regarded as crimes against humanity or war crimes (Human Rights Watch, 2015)

The Special Court for Sierra Leone and the ICC have made an important contribution to the development of a legal framework to develop standards for such crimes, including through innovative judicial interpretations. ("Prosecutor v. Akayesu," 1998) Furthermore, Article 8 of the Rome Statute of the ICC states the list of acts that can be regarded as war crimes, (UN General Assembly, 1998) (UN General Assembly, 1998) including sexual violence.(UN General Assembly, 1998)

International law specifically criminalizes certain acts committed during conflicts, including rape, sexual slavery, forced prostitution, forced pregnancy, enforced sterilization, or any other form of sexual violence of comparable gravity (United Nation General Assembly, 2002). Under the Rome Statute, crimes against humanity comprise offenses undertaken in specific actions as part of a widespread or systematic attack directed against a civilian population, where the perpetrator is aware of the attack. (United Nation General Assembly, 2002)

Sexual violence and international armed conflict

Among the numerous kinds of violence suffered by women during armed conflict, sexual violence appears to be the problem most specifically pertaining to females. The UN described one of the purposes of such violence on a systematic level as being "for the purpose of stabilizing soldiers' psychology, encouraging their spirit and protecting them from venereal infections" (United Nation, 1994)

Although some trials in the Nuremberg Tribunal concerned sexual crimes against women, the subject of women's victimization was only given incidental attention despite the ample evidence for those crimes. Examples include the trial of General Matsui (of the Japanese Imperial Army). Matsui was guilty of war-crimes and crimes against humanity, but he was not charged for rape despite ample evidence that he ordered soldiers under his command to rape (United Nations, 1998)

Control Council Law No. 10 adopted by the Allies in 1945 was the resource for the holding trials for the hearing of suspected Nazi war criminals not dealt with at Nuremberg (Human Rights Library, 1946). Although rape was explicitly listed as one of the crimes covered by the council, no charge was brought for rape. The law of armed conflict which includes the Geneva Convention and its additional Protocols dealt with the protection of civilian persons generally, and made some provisions specific to women. Article 27 stated that “women shall be especially protected against any attack on their honour, in particular against rape, enforced prostitution, or any form of indecent assault”. Furthermore, Additional Protocol I of 1977 Article 76(1) stated that “Women shall be the object of special respect and shall be protected in particular against rape, forced prostitution and any other form of indecent assault”. Article 4(2)(e) of Additional Protocol II of the Geneva Conventions 1977 stated that “Outrages upon personal dignity, in particular humiliating and degrading treatment, rape, enforced prostitution and any form of indecent assault”.

This Article listed sexual violence as “outrages upon human dignity”, which it prohibits, however there is no outright definition of the use of sexual violence during conflicts as specific crimes, and the vague references to attacks on “honour” reflect the reticence of the legislators to broach the issue – although the Conventions undeniably criminalize rape, their general tone pertaining to the issue does not seem seriously intended to encourage prosecution for such crimes, although it is ranked between torture and enforced prosecution in Article 4 of the Second Additional Protocol of Geneva Convention.

Responsibility for Sexual Violence During Armed Conflicts in International Law

Under international criminal law, gross violations of human rights and international humanitarian law or customary may lead to individual criminal responsibility. It was generally accepted by the International Military Tribunal for German that individuals are responsible for the wrongful acts they commit. (Tomuschat, 2006) However, no law set out the responsibility of armed groups in their wrongful act during the armed conflict unless they obtain State power, at which point they are bound by normal laws pertaining to States. However, as mentioned previously, the ICC has charged leaders of armed groups with committing crimes against civilians during conflicts, including rape and violence. Nevertheless, no convictions have been successful because of the difficulty of proving such crimes, as explained later in this paper.

The term “violations to human dignity”, as stated by the Geneva Convention (1949), refer to prohibited acts during armed conflicts, whether international or internal, but do not give a clear definition of sexual violence. The research for this reason suggests that such definition should receive specific attention to help to redress these increasing

crimes. It also might help the ICC to apply fixed elements of this crime. Consequently, it might redress the problem of impunity.

Responsibility for sexual violence under the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court

The Rome Statute of the ICC has confirmed the responsibility of individuals for the commission of international crimes. This is stipulated in Article 25 of the Statute of the International Criminal Court.

Articles (8,6) of the Regulations of the Nuremberg Tribunal and articles (7,5) of the Regulations of the Tokyo Tribunal state that individuals are responsible for criminal acts stipulated in these Conventions. The Nuremberg Tribunal stated “that only natural persons who commit crimes and not abstract theoretical objects can ensure the implementation of respect for the provisions of international law, but the punishment of natural individuals perpetrators of these crimes do not”.

International law recognized individual responsibility for acts committed by threatening the overall global interests of the international community and exposing people to danger, and the criminal responsibility of the individual for international crimes is a principle of contemporary international law.

Several of the international conventions and treaties have affirmed this principle, and Article 29 of the Geneva Convention stipulates that “The Party to the conflict in whose hands protected persons may be is responsible for the treatment accorded to them by its agents, irrespective of any individual responsibility which may be incurred.” (International Committee Red Cross, 1949).

The question arises of whether States still hold responsibility for international wrongful acts committed by individuals belonging to those States, particularly when they are military personnel employed by the State in a conflict zone in which a crime is alleged to take place. It is generally accepted that the personal responsibility of the individual does not negate the State's responsibility where applicable. This was confirmed by the United Nations General Assembly Resolution (A/Res/56/83) on 01.12.2001, which stated that the State bears responsibility for all actions of the apparatus or persons acting on its behalf and expense, and that the State particularly has responsibility for crimes committed by individuals in its armed forces (United Nations, 2001). Furthermore, Article 91 of Additional Protocol I of 1977 to the Geneva Conventions of 1949 considered a party to a dispute (i.e. a State) to “be responsible for all acts committed by persons forming part of its armed forces”. According to this article the State is responsible for the wrongful act of its officials, including sexual assault, because of the power and authority the State aggregates to itself in declaring war and maintaining (and training) professional armed personnel.

Moreover, the Rome Statute of the ICC has confirmed the state's responsibility for international crimes. Article (25/4) states that it “does not affect any provision in the statute relating to individual criminal responsibility in the State's responsibility under international law”, but the nature of the State responsibility is to be responsible for

redress (e.g. compensation) for civilian victims of international crimes committed by a criminal engaged in the employment of that State that enabled the crime to take place.

Responsibility for sexual violence under the Geneva Convention, 1949

International law deals with the responsibility of both the State and individuals concerning reparations. However, international law ignored the responsibility of armed groups except when they obtain power (i.e. become *de facto* State governments with the conventional legal implications). The characterization of acts committed by armed groups as internationally wrongful is governed by international law. Article 10 of Draft Articles on Responsibility of States for Internationally Wrongful Acts, 2001 directly tackled the responsibility of armed groups in the following terms: “1. The conduct of an insurrectional movement which becomes the new Government of a State shall be considered an act of that State under international law”. Hence, under Article 10/2 of this Draft, the acts of these armed groups are regarded as the actions of states when those groups become the new government: “The conduct of a movement, instructional or other, which succeeds in establishing a new State in part of the territory of a pre-existing State or in a territory under its administration, shall be considered an act of the new State under international law”. Consequently, this Draft Article (2001) deals with insurrectional movements who succeed in gaining power and creating a new State in a novel way, marking a sea change from the traditional state-based international laws governing conflicts toward a new, more complex understanding that reflects the changing nature of conflict itself.

However, under secondary rules of international law, it remains difficult to hold armed groups responsible for reparations. For example, Article 10 of the Draft Article (2001) confirms the responsibility of armed groups to pay reparations under the condition that they gain power; should they fail to do so, they are not obliged to fulfil this condition. Furthermore, during the debate on responsibility allocation of armed groups by the International Law Commission under draft Article 14/13, such allegations were found to have exceeded the limit of articles on State responsibility.

Article 91 of Additional Protocol I as well as Article 3 of the 1907 Hague Convention IV stated that a State is responsible for “all acts committed by persons forming part of its armed forces”. Thus, according to international law, when the elements of wrongful acts are met, the State is responsible for such unlawful acts of armed force.

However, other areas of international law started to deal with such responsibility. It was generally accepted that armed groups have to respect IHL. For example, Common Article 3 of the Geneva Conventions deals with parties of conflicts which include armed groups and affirms that all parties to a conflict need to respect IHL. Internal armed conflicts deal with such groups under two conditions: first, responsible command has to be organized for this group; and secondly, part of the disputed territory has to be under its authority. This means that this article will not apply to all circumstances. On the other hand, under Article 91 of Additional Protocol 1 of the Geneva Convention, conflicting parties are responsible for reparation if those parties breach the rules of the Protocol, but that does not include internal conflict.

The ILA Committee on Reparation for Victims of Armed conflict states the responsibility of armed groups in violation of breaking the IHL, but despite such attempts to ensure the remedy of victim harm there are no appropriate legal procedures to apply to confirm such remedy. On a practical level, even in the case of a successful prosecution, such groups do not generally have access to credit to pay compensation.. Although responsibility has been developed under IHL, the situation of non-State groups remains unclear under this law. Despite the fact that these groups are not party to IHL treaties, they become liable to their provisions when they obtain de facto control over part of a territory, while they are denied legal states by the State involved, and may or may not be recognized by foreign States and international organizations. Sometimes States do not acknowledge the obligations of armed groups to hold responsibility in order to avoid granting them statutory rights. (Moffett, 2013) Conversely, the responsibility of States is firmly proclaimed by the ICJ including the payment of reparations to victims of international crimes ((ICJ), 1993; "Case Concerning The Military and Paramilitary Activities in and Against Nicaragua (Nicaragua v. United States of America) (Merits) ", 1986; "Case Concerning United States Diplomatic and Consular Staff in Tehran (United States of America v. Iran); Order," 1981; "Prosecutor v. Dusko Tadic (Appeal Judgement)," 1999)

This decision is contrary to Article 8 of Draft Article on State Responsibility for Internationally Wrongful Acts, 2001, which stated that:

“The conduct of a person or group of persons shall be considered an act of a State under international law if the person or group of persons is in fact acting on the instructions of, or under the direction or control of that State in carrying out the conduct.”

Responsibility of armed groups for sexual violence under the ICC

However, the ICC has changed its situation and started to charge the leaders of armed groups for their crimes during conflicts, particularly for their sexual violence. In February 2003 an attack against the village of Bogoroin the eastern Democratic Republic of Congo's Ituri region occurred. Mathieu Ngudjolo Chui, the armed group leader, was accused of being a co-perpetrator of war crimes and crimes against humanity, including killings, rape, sexual slavery and the use of child soldiers. However, the Trial Chamber failed to prove his responsibility. The decision of the ICC to acquit this leader of an armed group disappointed the victims. Similarly, the Trial Chamber acquitted Germaine Katanga, alleged commander of the Force de Résistance Patriotique en Ituri (FRPI), of rape and sexual slavery as a crime against humanity ("The Prosecutor v. Germain Katanga and Mathieu Ngudjolo Chui," 2009)

In 2014 the ICC began an investigation aiming to end serious human rights violations and to determine those responsible for these crimes (i.e. to attempt to identify ways in which a successful prosecution could be achieved). The Prosecutor of the ICC confirms the importance of the accountability of the armed groups for their crimes during the conflict, including rape, which are regarded as war crimes and crimes against humanity, such as those by the armed groups in the Central African Republic (Amensty International, 2015).

However, it can be seen that the ICC is preoccupied with the prosecution of the leaders of armed groups involved in the commission of war crimes and crimes against humanity

rather than the actual perpetrators of the crimes themselves, whether individuals or groups. Furthermore, the disparate opinions and decisions of the ICJ regarding responsibility leads us to confirm the need for intervention by international law to state the elements of responsibility as well as take effective steps to end the reduction of violations of the armed group to the rules of conflict, especially after the mounting number of these groups and increasing violations of international law and human rights

Although international law has paid attention to redressing the problem of sexual violence against women during armed conflicts, women continue to suffer from this kind of violence because of the impunity of the criminals. In the unlikely case of a prosecution being brought, the International Tribunal of the ICC has routinely demonstrated its impotence in the conviction of alleged war crimes, even notorious leaders of criminal armed groups.

Conclusion

This research has serious implications for Iraqi legislators to reconsider their view in regarding their accession to International Conventions. Although, Had Iraq been part of the Rome Convention Criminal Tribunal 1998 in 1998, the Iraqi Penal Code did not follow the norm of including articles stating that there is no legal or judicial immunity for those who commit crimes under international law .

Ruth Benedict *The Sword and the Chrysanthemum* was based on US cultural intelligence on Japan. It explained how the Emperor was the transcendent figure binding the Japanese people together metaphysically that made their national life possible. The US decided to blame the top generals in Japan, who fell on their sword for the Emperor, while the Emperor and other royals were never prosecuted. In Iraq it was the opposite – everything was focused on ‘Saddam’ to enable Iraqi society as a whole (and indeed the US and other Western powers who installed and armed Saddam) to disassociate itself from its complicity in the ascendancy of the Ba’athist regime.

Protection of women during armed conflicts is important due to the increased vulnerability of women in such scenarios. Civilians in general and women in particular have become the main victims of conflicts. IHL places minimum standards of protection that all the parties of armed conflicts must apply.

However, although IHL has paid increasing lip-service to the protection of women in conflict since the 1940s, in reality a dearth of prosecutions means those perpetrating crimes against women in conflict continue to enjoy impunity, and attacks on women during armed conflicts continues to increase due to the impotence of the international community to enforce international law. For example, the Geneva Convention of 1949 and Additional Protocols of 1979 state the protection of (civilian) women from violence in conflict, but do not offer remedy for punishment.

Furthermore, laws for reparation and responsibility primarily apply to states, thus armed groups are given carte blanche unless they achieve power. The internal conflict is more dangerous than international conflicts in regard to sexual violence against women due to the ineffective policing, as well as international law paying less attention to internal armed conflict compared to international armed conflict.

This research also suggests enacting a new convention specifically protection women during conflicts is required. if legal remedies for such cases are to be developed then it is absolutely essential that females come forward and contribute to the prosecution of alleged criminals, which requires substantial efforts by government and civil society organizations to change social perceptions of victims of sexual violence (i.e. to avoid stigma of being as a victim).

The case of Iraq has failed to achieve or implement justice. At present, there is no prospect of Iraqis seeing a system whereby victims are given rights of reparation and criminals are seen to be punished.

In addition it is important to appoint female staff to deal with victims of sexual crimes, including the way to obtain testimony from rape victims. Indeed, it is fundamentally important of involve women themselves in the construction of a comprehensive system to protect them from sexual during conflicts. Reparation would be the most suitable punishment for such crimes, but the problem is women (and their families) are generally reluctant to report such crimes, let alone bring charges, thus assistance is needed from government and the international community in a long-term programme of cultural conditioning to remove the stigma such crimes. Most victims cannot talk about their experience because the fear of the killing (whether revenge for exposing attackers or honour-killings by members of their own groups). For this reason the protection of victims and witnesses is essential.

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Author's Note

Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to University of Huddersfield /Business School/Law, Queensgate, Huddersfield, West Yorkshire HD1 3DH. Email: u1251005@hud.ac.uk

An Analytical Study on Regional Expansion of Vintage Motorcars in 19th and 20th Century Sri Lanka

Dinithi Wijesuriya

Abstract

The latter 19th century was a time that saw considerable change in Sri Lanka. The agriculture-based economy introduced by the British from 1815 changed to one that was based on import and export. Infrastructure facilities, communication systems, and modes of transportation changed accordingly with development achieved in the field of transportation being most outstanding. The existing transportation system was more or less traditional and it was restricted mainly to walking, riding on animals, carts, *dolawa* (palanquin), etc. However, in the latter part of the 19th century, the motorcar, a product of modern technology started to find its roots in the island. Different social stratus of populations across the island embraced the motorcar. It is understood that the motorcar became quite popular even within varying regional circumstances. A system had been introduced in the registration of motor vehicles from 1928 onwards, where a letter from A to Z was allocated to each of the 26 districts. This research will present as to how the vehicles imported to Sri Lanka were regionally distributed, based on 400 vintage motorcars imported during the latter part of the 19th century.

Keywords: Vintage motorcars, industrial archaeology, transportation

Objectives of the study

The 19th century can be identified as an era that initiated a number of changes in the history of Sri Lanka. In this era, the plantation economy introduced by the British through imperialism paved a way for an industrial capitalistic economy in Sri Lanka. The country started moving to a new phase using the opportunities of the economic revolution. Long prior to British rule a social system based on caste had been established in Sri Lanka. The transportation mode called car arrived in Sri Lanka into such a social milieu. There are facts in primary sources that traditional transportation modes like going on animal backs, horse carts, bullock carts, etc. had been used earlier. Thus, a modern industrial unit like the car arrived and gradually established in a hierarchical society based on caste and class. Here, the main objective of this research article is to provide analytical and exploratory details regarding how the car, which is a modern industrial unit, arrived in the society arranged in a conventional model of the caste system in Sri Lanka and became established and expanded gradually across various regions of the island.

Research problem

How did the motorcar being a modern industrial unit, establish itself in the conventional and stratified Sri Lankan society in the latter 19th century and what are the patterns of its regional expansion as a mode of transport in the country, taking into consideration factors such as caste, class, religion, and professions?

Limitation of the research, and methods

The limitation of the research is confined to the era motorcars are considered as classical. A classical car is a car which is produced before 1940 and registered under a single letter. Thus the research was carried out using a set of 400 registered vintage cars. Research was started and mainly for the observation and investigation to collect primary data. Two methods were used to carry out the investigation. (1.) Information was obtained through the interviews with the owners of classic cars and with the chairmen of the three classic car clubs: The Classic Car Club, Italian Car Club, and Sri Lanka Benz Club. (2.) Questionnaire methods were utilized with vintage car owners and the old members of vintage car clubs at motorcar rallies. Apart from this, data were obtained through mail as well. Data were obtained by posting questionnaires to the addresses of the classic car owners living in distant areas. Moreover, data were obtained through newspaper advertisements about the research and via reporters as well.

Background

Sources such as archives and old car enthusiasts reveal that as a British colony, Sri Lanka has been importing various motor vehicles since 1889. Even though a large number of the motorcars imported to Sri Lanka since 1889 have been destroyed at present, information on remaining motorcars could be collected following some surveys carried out over several years. Typically termed ‘old motorcars’, there’s an international classification system (Milburn 1956: 1) for these cars as follows:

- 1) Veteran
- 2) Edwardian
- 3) Vintage
- 4) Post Vintage

Motorcars belonging to all of these 4 categories do not remain today in Sri Lanka. Therefore a classification of Sri Lanka has been introduced and it divides motorcars into two categories:

Vintage - motorcars manufactured before 1940

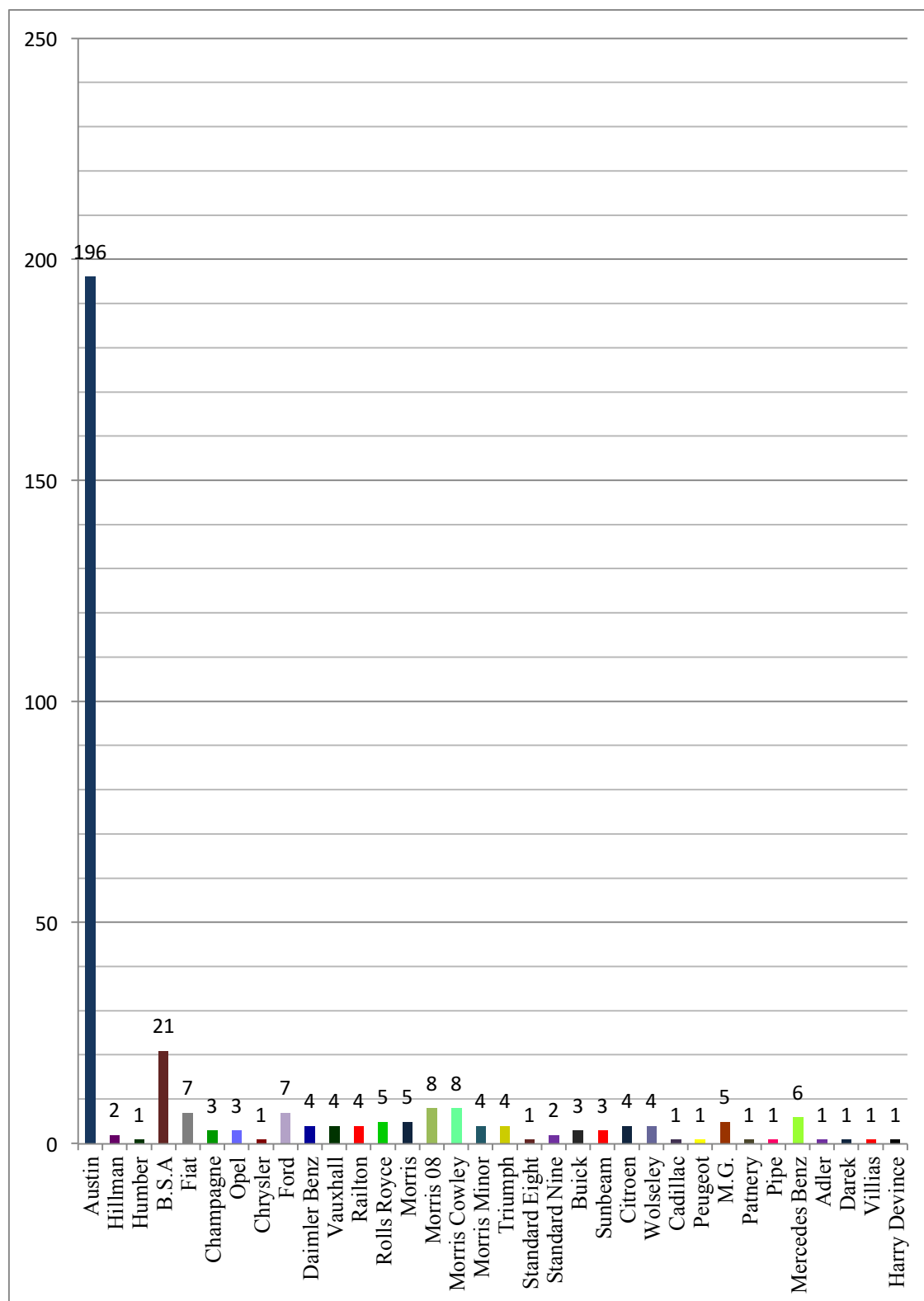
Classic - motorcars manufactured after 1940

There are two major codes that help to distinguish Vintage motorcars from Classic motorcars. A Vintage motor car has a registration number beginning with a single letter of the English alphabet from A to Z. It is easy to recognize an old motor car with a single letter. A Classic motor car consists of a pair of letters such as CE and CY. After 1940 motorcars were registered under two letters until the registration under the Sinhala letter “Sri” was started and they can be identified as Classic motorcars. Cars that belong to both of these types still remain in Sri Lanka and this survey was completely based on old motorcars with a single letter belonging to Vintage category. This presents information obtained following a seven-year research that involved the study of reports and newspaper archives, producing questionnaires to and conducting interviews with owners of old motorcars and veterans in the field and obtaining details of the motorcars registered with The Vintage Car Owners Club. This information is summarized and presented in the form of tables. Here the details have been analyzed in a chart containing 4 major titles as the type, number, manufactured year and the owner for 400 motorcars.

Details obtained by analysis of these 400 cars are as follows.

	Type of motorcar	Number
01	Austin	196
02	Hillman	02
03	Humber	01
04	B.S.A	21
05	Fiat	07
06	Champagne	03
07	Opel	03
08	Chrysler	01
09	Ford	07
10	Daimler Benz	04
11	Vauxhall	04
12	Rolls Royce	04
13	Morris	05
14	Morris 08	05

15	Morris Cowley	08
16	Morris Minor	08
17	Triumph	04
18	Standard Eight	04
19	Standard Nine	01
20	Buick	02
21	Sunbeam	03
22	Citroen	03
23	Wellesley	04
24	Cadillac	04
25	Peugeot	01
26	M.G.	01
27	Pantry	05
28	Pipe	01
29	Mercedes Benz	01
30	Adler	06
31	Derek	01
32	Willies	01
33	Pipe	01
34	Harry Deviance	01

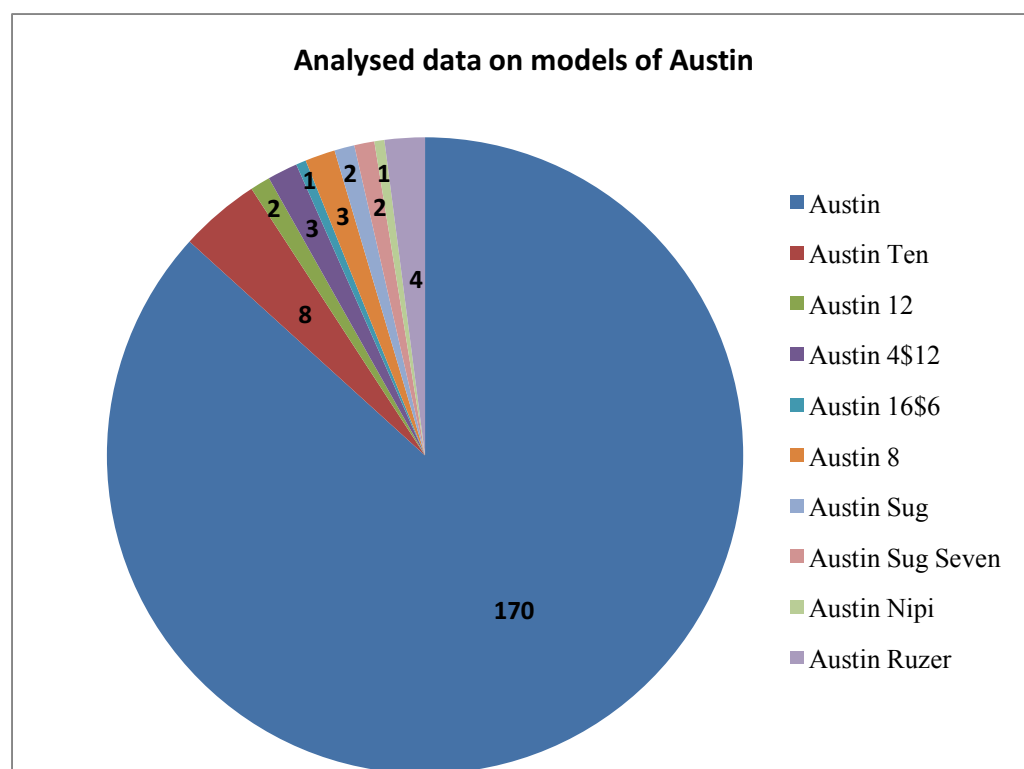


According to the analyzed chart, it is revealed that there are 34 types among the 400 motorcars and that the type of motorcar most commonly spread in Sri Lanka was the Austin and the largest number of remaining old motorcars today, 196, are of the Austin type. Therefore it can be concluded that most of the old motorcars remaining in Sri Lanka are Austin as per the research results. Seven motorcars can be found from each type of Fiat, Ford, and Chevrolet. Among the Morris car category 8 Morris Eight motorcars and 8 Morris Cowley motorcars remain. It should be taken into consideration that two types of very expensive motorcars

namely Mercedes Bens and Rolls Royce still remain in Sri Lanka at least in small numbers as 6 and 5 from each respectively. Apart from that 1, 3 or 4 motorcars remain in all the other types of motorcars. Research problems arise when it is found out that only one motorcar remains uniquely in each type such as Adler, Derek, Willies, Humber, and Standard Coventry.

This survey was carried out entirely in an industrial archaeological perspective and analysis of data should also be done based on the theories of industrial archaeology. By the 19th century many of the fields that should be covered in archaeology such as discovery of ancient civilizations, letters and language systems, excavations and exploration methods had been studied to a considerably adequate degree. By the 20th century, archaeology - especially American archaeology - included the connection of anthropology as well. With its gradual development a theoretical basis was created for archaeological definitions in the 1970s. As a result of it, a logical theory should be used for defining industrial archaeology.

According to the results obtained by analyzing the collected data, most of the old motorcars remaining in Sri Lanka are the Austin type. The Austin, a production of England, is a small motorcar with an aesthetic finish and consists of a number of models. As a percentage, 196 remaining Austin motorcars make up 49% of the remaining 400 old motorcars. In this regard it is a remarkable fact that even though around 400 motorcars have been imported to Sri Lanka from various countries since 1889, Austin is the type of motorcars that remain mostly today. It leads to the conclusion that the society had largely embraced the Austin type and it had gradually established in the country more than the other motorcar types. Another important fact was also revealed from this survey; spare parts for the Austin motorcar are available in any part of Sri Lanka in any workshop, shop, or house. In some houses even elderly women were seen using the part with rods of an Austin motorcar for pounding betel leaves. Austin cars having the most spread in Sri Lanka is the reason for it. This vast spread led this type of motorcar to remain at large later on. Austin motorcar models such as Austin 7, Austin 8, Austin 10, Austin 4/12, Austin 16/6, Austin Big, Austin Big 7, Austin Hippy, Austin Ruby, and Austin Princess arrived in Sri Lanka.



This shows that 10 models of Austin motorcar have arrived in Sri Lanka. Accordingly we should examine the facts which affected the Austin motorcar type to arrive in Sri Lanka more than the other types.

Socio-economic Impact

When examining the social economic impact with respect to contributing factors for the Austin's wide spread in Sri Lanka, it is worthwhile to examine the state of the economy of late 19th century Sri Lanka under the British rule. Particularly the introduction of commercial estate agriculture affected social and economic changes in hill country and other areas of Sri Lanka as well (Wijedasa, 2001). According to Beckford, countries which existed as colonies benefitted by estate agriculture in numerous ways. The highways, railways, ports, postal and telecommunication services, water and power supply, schools and hospitals seen today in former colonies were results of plantation industry (Beckford, 1972). Therefore we can assume that the change and modernization made to both social and economic conditions of Sri Lanka by the British colonization was a main reason for receiving transport methods, largely British products. Particularly the Austin type in addition to the road system created parallel to the estate economy. From the very beginning of the 19th century England surpassed the pioneer countries to manufacture motorcars, like Germany in the field of manufacture of cars and commercial opportunities of colonizers were mostly centered around England. Likewise, import of cars from England was easier than from other countries. An Austin motorcar could be imported without conditions, within a short period of time at a price ordinary people could afford. That's why a car could be imported to Sri Lanka within several months from manufacture. We can assume it since many Austin cars indicate a similar year as the registered year and the manufactured year.

Furthermore, the new capitalistic class and the aristocratic class born as a result of the era of British colonization represented a minor population of the country and the majority in this era

were ordinary people. Austin motorcars could be purchased at a price that people of any class could afford. Mostly the capitalistic class had used small motor cars like Austin as the second vehicle of their houses. Among the efforts of people in this era to shape themselves into the western lifestyle, import of motor cars was one largely encouraged and accordingly there might be a large demand socially for the Austin car.

Moreover, easily available spare parts manufactured in Britain could also have affected this large demand. Spare parts for motorcars imported from England were mostly available in Sri Lanka, but the difficulty in finding spare parts was one reason for certain motorcar types specially Fiat an Italian product to be spread in a limited amount in the country. Such a problem didn't arise regarding Austin motorcars.

Geographical factors

In addition to that, the Austin motorcar was suitable for any geographical region in Sri Lanka. It had been created to conveniently travel on the rough roads that existed in the country in the earlier periods. Furthermore, The Austin motorcar could travel in any geographical conditions in Sri Lanka such as hilly areas, plains, and coastal areas. This fact is proved when we look at the areas that the 196 Austin motorcars had been spread based on the analyzed data since it includes flat areas like Colombo, Colombo municipal council area and Kalutara, hilly areas like Kandy, Nuwara Eliya, Matale, and Ratnapura and coastal areas like Galle, Matara, and Hambantota. Particularly it seems that in hilly areas where it was very difficult to travel by other motorcars, this Austin car was popular within the estate economy. Motorcars manufactured in Britain had low cylinder capacity and could travel short distances. Since the highways in Sri Lanka also did not extend over many miles continuously, what suited mostly for Sri Lanka were the cars manufactured in England, a factor contributing to its large spread. The condition of the motorcars manufactured in America was different since they manufactured big cars with high cylinder capacity and could travel long distances continuously. Generally the Austin car type being a vehicle suitable for any geographical pattern resulted in showcasing a high percentage among all the motorcar types.

The impact of technical systems and engineering technology

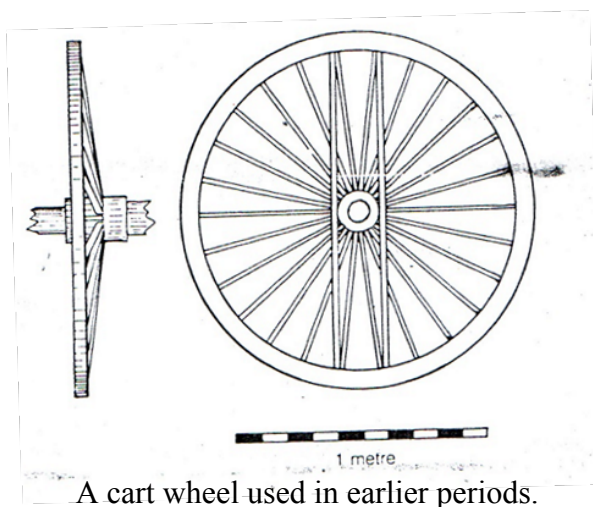
The engineering technology, durability and strength of the motorcars which came to Sri Lanka were the stimulating factors which increased and decreased the spreading rate of those vehicles. Mainly, motorcars manufactured by England were smaller in size and had a compact nature when comparing to American products. An aesthetic finish can also be seen in these cars better than big robust motorcars difficult to handle. They are the main reasons for motorcars manufactured in America like Chevrolet spread in a small amount.

Moreover the nature of the brake system is also a factor which decides the spread of a vehicle. The brake system of vehicles manufactured in England for the first time was created with the support of cables. Most of the time there were three front gears. The speed had to be changed by them. According to the road condition of the country, motorcars which change the speed by changing gears within a close period were more suitable for Sri Lanka. Likewise the radiator of the motorcars manufactured in the early period in England was created in a Thermos system without a water pump. Through that system boiled water ran up and cooled water ran down. The engine was replaced by the water pump after that, but it is remarkable that America and Germany had been using water pump for their motorcars even from the early days of car manufacture. Anyway it doesn't seem that the condition of the engine had much impact for Sri Lanka in that era. In addition to that motorcars manufactured in England earlier didn't have an oil pump as well. It was designed in a way that when oil was put into the engine oil would

come to the top from the bottom. It is a simple engineering method. Afterwards an oil pump was fixed to the engine. Thereafter water and oil were used for every system such as brake system.

5.6 Tyros

Solid tyros which did not need putting air were used in earlier manufactured motorcars. Thereafter came wood wheels but in order to increase the efficiency of the wheel air tyros and tyros with spokes were also used. When we consider the tyros of motorcars in Sri Lanka it seems that efforts were taken to select the type of tyros depending on the road condition.



5.7 Suspension system

In the early days, much attention was not paid on the suspension system of motorcars but due to various difficulties like roughness on the roads the need of a suspension system was felt. As a result, spring blades came into use. Thereafter this system was modified by coil spring, tocsin bar and hydraulic suspension system. Oscillation of the vehicle when travelling on rough roads could be reduced by it. A customer when purchasing a motorcar examines the capability to travel luxuriously without vibrating. The Austin Morris motorcar vibrates less due to the function of its suspension system, a factor contributing to its rapid spread. Meanwhile, in countries like Sri Lanka and England travelling has to be done even at night. Since the motorcar had been produced before the invention of the bulb, electricity was generated by battery less Magneto power electricity generating system and bulbs were lit by it. The engine had to be turned round by hand with a lever fixed to the rank in order to start the engine. And carbide lamps were fixed to the motorcar instead of electric bulbs. Later the power generated from batteries was utilized for electric systems. It was in this era that the electric horn also came into use. Before that something like a rubber balloon was there to produce sound by the pressure generated when it is squeezed. Therefore it was termed 'bulb horn'.

Both wood and metals were mostly used to create the outer parts of vehicles. Parts like lamps were made of metals like brass. Tanned leather was used for seats. Petrol can, air pump, grease pump needed in getting the vehicle serviced and tools used for every function like repairing

punctures should be carried in the vehicle and spaces required for them were provided separately inside and outside of the vehicle. Most of the time two spare wheels were there allocated for long journeys. These conditions affected the increase and decrease of spreading rate of motorcars.

Results and Discussion

Regional expansion

When motorcars arrived to Sri Lanka at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century was gradually established across the country, factors such as social class and caste had a direct impact. Likewise in the 20th century with the commencement of registration of motorcars established as an industrial unit in the country, a pattern could also be seen in how it was spread regionally. Even though a motorcar with a steam engine had been imported to Sri Lanka in 1889 for the first time it had not been registered, but with the increase of import, motorcar registration was commenced in 1928. The country was divided into 26 districts giving them a letter of the alphabet from A to Z and motorcars were registered depending on the district that the importer of the vehicle belonged to. By the year 1928 a large number of motorcars had been imported to Sri Lanka since 1889 but any written information regarding them is not available. A certain idea on the spread of motorcars can be presented analytically related to the methodology of motorcar registration started from 1928.

In the latter part of the 19th century and the early part of the 20th century the society of this country obviously had embraced British customs and formalities. When people form their routine according to European life style, even transport activities are also definitely carried out according to that structure. Likewise by that time the motorcar technology had been doing a great revolution in the world as well. From one motorcar model a number of sub types having minor differences from each other were issued to the market (Milbern, 1959). It is a theory that, these technological changes or development create various needs in man's mind. Accordingly man's compulsory needs are fulfilled by the very technology which created those needs. As a result of it, by the year 1930 around 400 motor vehicle types had arrived to Sri Lanka as manifested by the classification of motor vehicles of Sri Lanka done in 1930. According to this archive report various models of motorcars, busses, lorries, tractors, trains, and motorbikes included in this classification "of motor vehicles by countries of origin, make and kind in use Ceylon on December 31, 1930" (published through the courtesy of the Director of Statistics, Colombo). Accordingly it seems that, parallel to the British colonization era and in the post colonized era the unit called transport was gradually structured inside man and expanded with a diversification by 1930.

When we examine how motor vehicles imported to Sri Lanka were spread in various regions in the country obviously a district wise division can be seen. As per the division of districts in 1928 a single letter of the alphabet was given to each district as following

Motor Vehicles Imported into Ceylon were Allotted the Letters of the English Alphabet by Districts prior to 1940 Irrespective of the Type of Vehicle or the Fuel Used. The Maximum Number for a Letter was 9999.

ALPHABET	DISTRICT
A	ColomboDistrict
B	Kalutara
C	ColomboMunicipalCouncil
D	KandyDistrict
E	Matale
F	NuwaraEliya
G	KandyMunicipalCouncil
H	Jaffna
I	Mullaitivu
J	Mannar
K	Galle
L	Matara
M	Hambantota
N	Galle Municipal Council
O	Batticalo
P	Trincomalee
Q	Kurunegala
R	Puttalam
S	Chilaw
T	Anuradhapura
U	Badulla
V	Ratnapura
W	Kegalle
X (after C completed 9999)	Colombo MunicipalCouncil
Z	All Island

(Source: Website of The Vintage Car Owners Club)

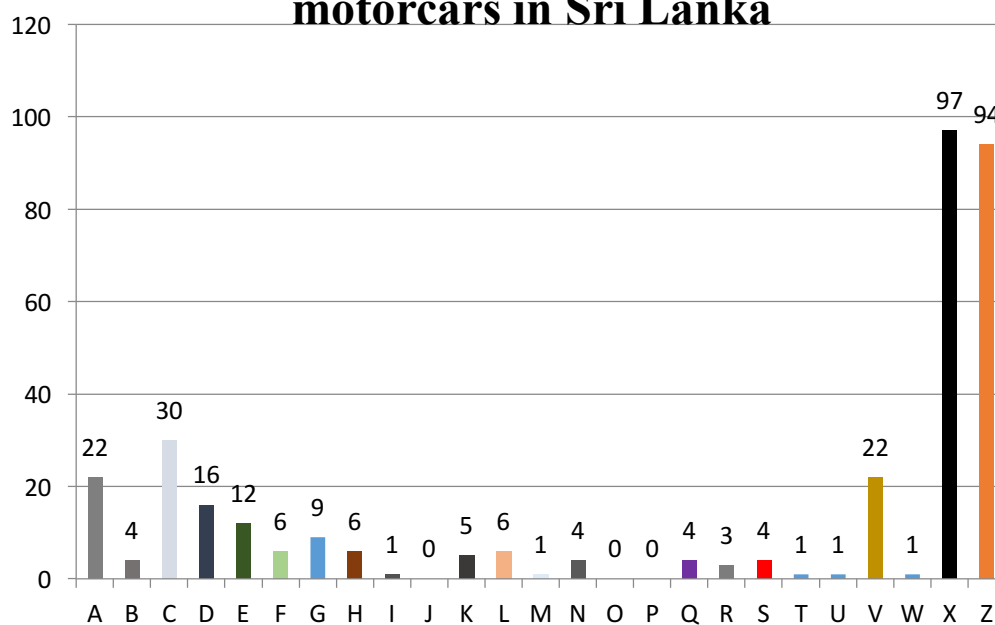
According to this chart each letter of the alphabet from A to Z had been given to each district in the registration of motor vehicles. And each letter was given the numbers from 1 to 9999. As per this table the letter given to Colombo district was A. The following table presents the analyzed data regarding the 400 motor vehicles obtained from this survey.

District		Number of vehicles
Colombo	A	22
Kalutara	B	04
Colombo Urban Council	C	30

Kandy	D	16
Matale	E	12
Nuwara Eliya	F	06
Kandy Urban Council	G	09
Jaffna	H	06
Mulativ	I	01
Mannar	J	00
Galle	K	05
Matara	L	06
Hambantota	M	01
Galle Municipality	N	04
Batticalo	O	00
Trincomalee	P	00
Kurunegala	Q	04
Puttlam	R	03

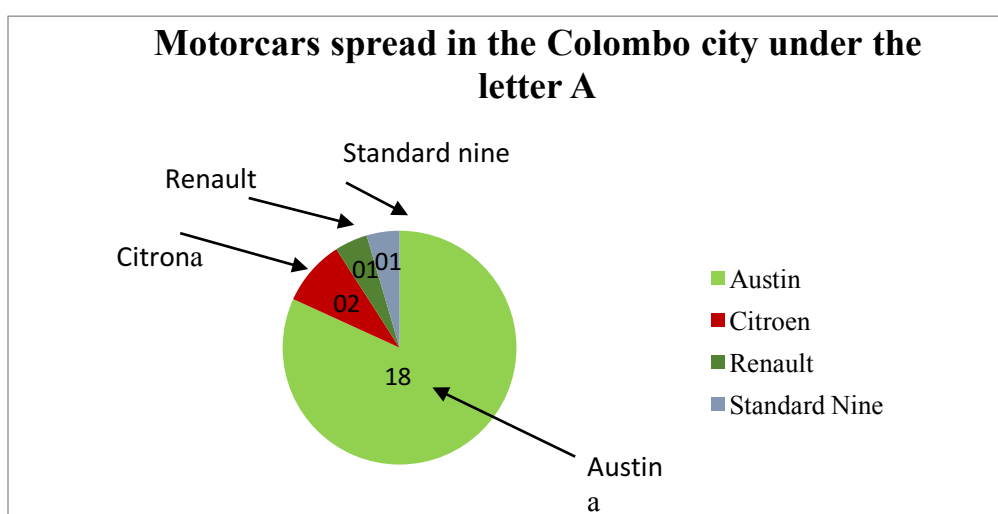
Chilaw	S	04
Anuradhapura	T	01
Badulla	U	01
Ratnapura	V	22
Kegalle	W	01
Colombo Urban Council	X	97
All Island	Z	94

The chart showing the regional spread of motorcars in Sri Lanka



This chart which analyses data regarding the old motorcars remaining today leads to the conclusion that motorcars had spread all over the country except Batticalo and Trincomalee, but depending on the unavailability of motorcars at present we cannot come to the conclusion that motorcars had not spread over those two areas, Batticalo and Trincomalee. We can assume that due to the factors such as terrorist acts and war activities prevailed in those areas, damages done deliberately to the ownership and separating motorcars into parts with the intention of obtaining spare parts, motorcars belonged to those two areas are not available at present. Anyway the analyzed data shows that motorcars had spread in other areas.

When examining the spread of motorcars regionally it is remarkable that a large number of motorcars had spread within Colombo and Colombo Municipality. Out of the motorcars imported to Colombo district in the 19th and 20th centuries 22 motorcars under the letter A and 30 under Colombo Urban Council area are remaining today. After 9999 motorcars were registered under the letter C, Colombo urban council area again had been given the letter X.



97 motorcars are manifested under letter X. Accordingly this huge spread of motor vehicles centered around “Colombo” should be examined logically. By 19th and 20th centuries all offices, departments, quarters, courts, hospitals and shops run under British government were centered within Colombo area. In addition to that the capitalistic class people also had migrated to Colombo building huge mansions. Many unprecedented needs were created within the Sri Lankan society and the British colonizers’ society structured in this manner. That was the main reason for the large number of motorcars representing this area.

Furthermore, road developments had also been done largely in Colombo City (Munasinghe 2000). Likewise the concept that the existence of cities depends on transport is also a contributing factor. No durability will be in cities without transport (Clark and Haswell 1970). When considering the types of motorcars spread in Colombo City the highway system must have had directly being supportive to them. Since main roads had been built in Colombo, various types of motorcars had spread in that area. 22 motorcars in Colombo District under A and 30 in Colombo Municipality under C were among the remaining old motor vehicles analyzed here. When examining the types of motorcars used depending on these factors Austin, Fiat, Peugeot, Rolls Royce, and Renault were among the 22 motorcars found in Colombo District. In Colombo District also mostly the Austin type has remained. Among the 30 motorcars in Colombo municipality under C, Fiat, Sunbeam, Austin, Norton, Morris Cowley, Buick, Vauxhall, Rolls Royce, and Citron motorcars were found remaining.

According to this data chart an obvious argument can be brought up. That is, within Colombo municipality expensive motorcars as well as somewhat rare, not frequently seen motorcars could be found. This leads to an obvious conclusion, the theory that the development of technology makes human needs complex. Motorcars with simple technology, suit to any geographical condition of Sri Lanka and made of easily available materials as well as motorcars which are expensive and import is very difficult being found in this area indicates that technology makes variety of creations, makes human needs complex and induce man to purchase kinds of things that he can afford.

In addition to that there was another remarkable visible characteristic within the municipal area in Colombo district; a group of people who expended the wealth and competitive strength of their colonized capitalistic class through various aspects had been centered in the Colombo area. They were not hesitant to spend a large portion of their wealth on new fashions and ornaments and latest architecture (Jayawardana, 2006). The wealthy people living in Colombo spent money particularly on building mansions like palaces containing bogus Italian decorations, huge gardens and attractive architectural features. What all these people wanted was to imitate the British. Among such mansions constructed in this era “Oliver Palace” of J. Peiris, “Dein Cort” of Bastian Fernando, “Hill Castle” of S. C. Obesekara and “Victoria Palace” of R. E .S. de Silva can be mentioned (*ibid.*). It is obvious that the assembly of these physical factors was just a stimulation making the motorcar an essential mode of transport. Among the architectural features of these mansions, there was a part of the mansion, similar to the large *portipo* driveway used for parking the motorcars in *walawwa* style (wealthy residence). Within this social atmosphere full of stimulating factors, motorcars had become an essential part of life. The main reason for the spread of expensive and very difficult to import motorcars like Rolls Royce in this area was the wealthy people living within the Colombo area.

The local capitalistic class emerged with the plantation industry imitated the traditions of the British rulers. The life styles and attitudes of the British officers, estate planters, and missionaries provided a template of values and mostly conventional. The local capitalistic class emerged absorbed into this narrow British tradition (Beckford,1973). This colonial British class was defined in the book – *Persistent Poverty: Underdevelopment in Plantation Economics of the Third World* by George Beckford. The use of motorcars in urban areas where the rich absorbed new colonial ideas was centered. Particularly, very expensive motorcars like Rolls Royce were found only in Colombo as a result of the culture created by a particular social group in a single area.

In addition, by the latter part of the 19th century, efforts were taken to add some British cultural features into the local society. Practices such as rearing dogs, establishing horse races, and participating in competitions were started imitating the British nobility (Wright,1907). Later this shifted from horses to motorcars. Accordingly we can come to the conclusion that the pattern of spread of motorcars within Colombo had been directly affected by the attitudes of people who were living there representing various classes of society, but not by the environmental factors.

In addition to these, we can indicate some other particular facts as superficial forces regarding the spread of motorcars in Colombo namely the diversification. When we look at the brand names of motorcars we can see a more diversified classification of motorcars than the motorcars spread in Colombo such as Rolls Royce and Cimon. The chart shows that while three expensive Rolls Royce motorcars had been spread in this area motorcars at normal prices such as Ford, Fiat, and Austin were also there. The reason for this use of diversified motorcars could be as we can assume the suppliers of services for British colonizers, politicians and

various prominent persons living in Colombo as well as common people particularly the normal middle class people living spread within the urban area. The politically powerful persons in Colombo such as James Peiris, Victor Koraya and E. A. Kure were famous as noticeable personalities in the area (Roberts 1979).

Moreover the quantity of the uncultivated lands possessed by the members of the legislative council by 1920 was remarkably large (Roberts,1979). The income from coconut estates had been spent on importing motorcars and purchase of more property. The tendency of the prominent people in this city boundary to seek marriage ties with rich families in the same area also had caused to bring the import of motorcars to a higher position. The concept of dowry led many rich people to import motorcars for their daughters. It was revealed that one of the Rolls Royce motorcars possessed by the Pereis family was a motorcar received as a dowry. James Peris, the son-in-law of Jakob de Mell was a person selected for the legislative council of Colombo (Jayawardana,2006). Upon marriage, James Peris received a beautiful mansion, a coconut estate, and a Rolls Royce motorcar as a dowry from Jakob de Mell (Jayantha, Vice-President of the Vintage Car Owners Club, pers. comm. 2010).

The motorcar companies in Colombo also increased the spread of motorcars within the city. Particularly Colombo Colonial Company and Ford Motor Company of India had been established in the city. When studying the old newspapers in archives, it was revealed that a leaflet had been distributed in order to popularize the Ford motorcar in Colombo. The Ford Motor Company of India located in Union Place, Colombo, and the advertising they carried out to popularize the Ford motorcar was very attractive: There's no other car like this. Popular Ford motorcar having the speed of 8 horses.

It seems that this language style encourages people to buy motorcars. Furthermore motorcar companies such as British Car Ltd., Tukes Company, and Rolland's Company, and motorcar repair shops mostly had been centered in Colombo. These facts also might have caused the increase of the use of motorcars in the city. In addition to that, since all the government offices, schools, houses of the people representing the highest layers of the capitalistic class, government hospitals, and courts had been centered in the Colombo transport system gradually became an essential service. Therefore after 9999 motorcars were registered under the letter C given to the Colombo for the registration of motorcars, the letter X had been again given to the Colombo Municipality. It was found during this survey that 97 motorcars out of the motorcars registered under the letter X are still available. Among them there were Austin, Citron, Morris Minor, Rolls Royce, Morris Cowley, M. G. Sporch, Morris Eyam, Hilmon, Ford, Fiat, Chevrolet, Austin Big, Austin Ruby, and Woolsey motorcar types. Accordingly both C and X were issued for the Colombo Municipality and this English letter was a major status symbol given to identify the district where the motorcar belonged.



Accordingly it is obvious that people representing the highest layer of the new capitalistic class had lived close to the Kalutara District. That is why expensive motorcars such as Peugeot and Rolls Royce could be purchased. Particularly even mansions like the Richmond Castle had been located in this area. This newly developed capitalistic class invested their money by purchasing lands close to urban areas, particularly coconut estates in the Kalutara region. The income earned from estates could be spent for purchasing expensive motorcars to drive in the city. Therefore the most prestigious motorcars in the world like Rolls Royce as well as motorcars used by common people like Austin were spread in this area.

When we look at the spread of motorcars to Kandy, Nuwara Eliya, and Matale of the Central Province had been given the letters D, F, G and E respectively. When analyzing data according to this study it was confirmed that 16 motorcars in Kandy, 12 in Matale, 8 in Nuwara Eliya and 9 in Kandy urban council area are remaining today. Particularly it seems that in geographically difficult areas such as Nuwara Eliya and Matale, jeeps and light trucks were more spread than cars. Since transportation is difficult on roads running on mountains and hills obviously motor vehicles which can endure any geographical conditions had been used in all these four areas. Vehicles such as Fiat, Chrysler, Austin, Morris Cowley, Standard Coventry, Morris, Morris Minor, Champagne, M. G., Daimler Benz, Villias, Triumph, and Morris Eight spread in all these four districts.

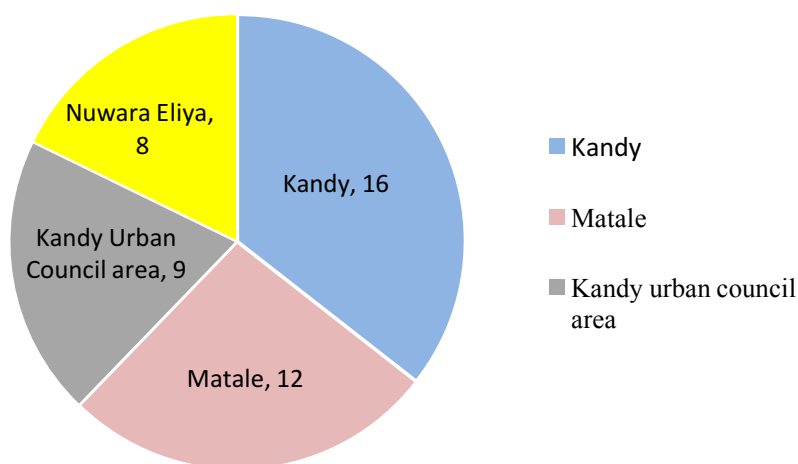


Chart showing the spread of motor vehicles in the Central Province.

Motor Vehicle	Kandy, D	Matale, E	Nuwara Eliya, F	Kandy Urban Council area, G
Austin	8	4	7	4
Morris Minor	1	1	1	
Morris Eight				2
Daimler Benz		1		
Champagne		1		
M. G.		1		

This chart shows that Austin type had been spread in all four areas namely Kandy, Matale, Nuwara Eliya, and Kandy Urban Council area in the Central Province. Vehicles such as Champagne, M. G. and Daimler Benz had not been spread in every area in the Central Province. Except Morris Eight type, all the other types namely Austin, Morris Minor, Daimler Benz, Champagne, and M. G. spread in the Matale area. The main reason could be a capitalistic class engaged in estate cultivation around the Matale area in the Central Province.

Another pattern of motor vehicles different from that of the Central Province can be seen in the North Eastern area of Sri Lanka. Very little data are available on the spread of motor vehicles within the three areas namely Jaffna, Mulathiv, and Mannar. Although 6 motorcars under the letter H symbolizing Jaffna and 1 motorcar under the letter I symbolizing Mulathiv were found, no motorcar registered in Mannar under the letter J was found. Accordingly based on the remaining factors we can see a low spread of motor vehicles over the northern area of Sri Lanka. A wide spread of BSA motor bikes is visible in Jaffna, but among the motorcars spread in Jaffna were all the three types namely Standard Nine, Austin, and Champagne. The only motorcar remaining in Mulathiv is a big American product called “Shavele” registered as I 33 and a wealthy businessman in Mulathiv had possessed it.

The study of the spread of motorcars in the districts of Galle, Matara, Hambantota, and Galle Municipality showed 5 motor vehicles in Galle, 6 in Matara, 1 in Hambantota, and 4 in the Galle Municipality. Motor vehicle types such as Austin, Ford, Fiat, Triumph, M. G., Morris Cowley and Vaux Hall had been spread there, but no expensive motorcar types were found in the southern region. Based on the remaining factors we can assume how the use of motorcars that can endure all the environmental and climatic conditions of Sri Lanka such as Austin and Morris were spread towards the south.

Motor vehicles registered under the letters O and P in Trincomalee and Batticalo respectively were not found remaining at present but for Kurunegala area under the letter Q 4 motorcars were found comprising of Austin, Chrysler, Albion, and Wolseley. In Puttlam and Chilaw representing the North Western Province, 3 and 4 motorcars were found respectively. The Renault type was there registered under the letter R symbolizing Puttlam and both Austin Ruby and Austin Seven were among the limited number of motorcars found in Chilaw. One motorcar registered under the letter T indicating Anuradhapura area was found and motorcar type termed Fiat Tipo registered under the letter U in Badulla District had been possessed by B. Ponnambalam. It is remarkable to see 22 motorcars with the letter V in the Ratnapura area. Under the letter W representing Kegalle a motorcar called W 963 was found.

During the final phase of this divisional registration, the issuing the letter Z for the whole island had been started. All the above mentioned motor vehicles had been registered under the letter Z as well.

Conclusion

According to the findings of this study, it can be concluded that despite its novelty, the motor car was spread among all regions of Sri Lanka during the latter part of the 19th century and early 20th century

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Contact Dinithi Wijesuriya: dinithiws@yahoo.com

Empowerment or Disempowerment of Middle and Lower Level Managers as an Efficient Model of Managing a Manufacturing Company in Poland – A Case Study

Krzysztof Lobos
Mirosława Szewczyk

Abstract

During the field studies concerning job satisfaction and commitment, the authors observed that there were no fundamental differences between answers provided by middle and low level managers and ordinary workers, concerning determinants of these phenomena: they showed the same low level of empowerment and complained about the same items to a comparable degree.

The authors conducted the survey in a manufacturing plant with foreign investment by a worldwide operating company, located in Poland (Lower Silesia) in the Spring of 2014. The sample consisted of 81 workers, 25 administrative staff and 11 managers, thus general $n=117$. The chi-square test of independence, a p-value calculated by **Monte Carlo simulation** were used to determine whether or not and in which spheres the questioned managers differed from the workers and administrative staff. Consequently, the authors show that in conditions similar to those encountered in the analyzed manufacturing plant, centralization of power may be considerably high and managers of the middle and lower level may be more similar to workers in many respects. Next, the possible reasons for that “disempowerment” in terms of the so-called “end-of-the-pipe model” structure are given and discussed. The authors show also that some kind of remedy can be found in such situations using the simplest empowerment strategy – the so-called suggestion empowerment, as well as TQM or Lean Management practices (e.g., quality circles, 5M, TPM).

Keywords: Empowerment, disempowerment, job satisfaction, managers, manufacturing, Poland

Introduction

Locating manufacturing plants in countries where labor costs are lower than in home (mostly highly developed) markets, but which offer adequate technical culture and accessibility to the market of well-educated personnel at the same time, is a common practice in Europe. The “export” products of Poland, as a receiver of investments of this type, are, for example, car spare parts (in 2013, the export of these goods accounted for EUR 7 billion; in Poland, there are about 900 such firms in operation, whose revenues from sales reach EUR 14 billion), vehicles (production at the level of about EUR 22 billion), buses, tramcars, trains (in 2013, the factories located in Poland exported over 3.3 thousand buses, 25% of which were destined for Germany), furniture (in 2013, Poland was the third biggest exporter of furniture in Europe and ranked the fourth in the world, following China, Germany and Italy; in the same year, Poland’s export of furniture accounted for EUR 6.9 billion), household equipment (Poland is the biggest manufacturer of household equipment in Europe, exporting over 85% of the appliances manufactured in the country; the value of sales abroad amounted to EUR 3.398 billion in 2013), yachts (every year Polish boatyards produce over 22 thousand yachts, of which about 6 thousand are luxury vessels; the average value of a yacht produced in Poland ranges between EUR 50 and 60 thousand) (GUS 2015).

The countries (Sweden, Holland, Germany), which are homes to the head offices of the firms that operate abroad are very often well-known for participative and involving forms of management (Wheeler, 2002), as well as a high level of empowerment of their employees. Still, the question arises whether the same forms of management are applied in the countries, where these firms locate their manufacturing plants? The multiplicity of production companies operating in Poland, which have their headquarters abroad, causes the question to acquire a considerable social importance, and – as one could rightly say – also to be of economic significance. The presented case study does not aspire to offer a “typical” case, but is designed to illustrate the situation of a specific enterprise with the head office based in Sweden. However, the authors’ observations point to the fact that there are many more cases which are similar to that described in this paper. It needs underlying that apart from the will of the head offices of firms, related to introducing or not introducing the involving forms of management, the role of a determinant is played also by the inclination and mentality of workers in the country, in which the investments are located. The authors made use of a statistical analysis (the chi-square test of independence, a p-value calculated by Monte Carlo simulation) with the aim not to verify general hypotheses, but to obtain a picture of a concrete company and to support statements relating to it, which imply a relatively low level of empowerment of employees and – what is significant – a lack of differences in this respect between management and ordinary workers and other employees. In the article, possible consequences of applying such a model of managing a production company are discussed, ones that can be described in categories of the level of satisfaction with the performed job and commitment to work.

The managerial personnel, due to their special role played in enterprises, which means being a representative of the owner’s interests, are naturally expected to occupy a privileged position in comparison with the other groups of employees. It is members of the management who – on the average – have higher salaries than common workers and who perform managerial functions in relation to the latter (planning, organizing, motivating, taking decisions and controlling). Possessing a better access to information,

a better knowledge of company's organization, its targets and norms which are binding in it, as well as a sense of exerting an influence on the course of things, the managerial personnel hold a potentially better position from the point of view of the level of empowerment. It is for this reason that the authors decided that comparing opinions expressed by managerial personnel and by other groups of the employed in enterprises on issues which could be connected with dimensions of the phenomenon known as empowerment, would bring us closer to answering the question whether, in reality, managers are empowered to a greater degree than other groups of employees or they are not. The very analysis of managers' opinions itself would be of little reliability since it would lack any referential results in this respect.

Empowerment, in the functional sense, as a process, refers to "how the intrinsic motivation and self-efficacy of people are influenced by leadership behavior, job characteristics, organization structure, and their own needs and values" (Yukl, 2006). Empowerment is also perceived in connection with delegating authority. It is, at the same time, a state caused by the fact that superiors, in a conscious and planned (or intuitive) way, have handed part of their power (including formal and/or informal authority) over to employees who are placed on the same or a lower rung of the organizational structure (Bugdol, 2006). Empowerment is also defined as raising in employees a sense of efficacy, confidence and helping to overcome inabilities so as to motivate the inferiors to enthusiastically perform their duties (Blanchard, Carlos, Randolph, 2003). Thus, the aim of empowerment is seen both in inner motivation, the "can do" attitude, and enthusiasm in doing one's job. The degree of empowerment is determined by its four dimensions: information relating to results obtained by the organization (organization's performance), system of rewarding based on results obtained by the organization, and the possibility of exerting an influence on decisions that remain in relation with the direction in which the organization progresses and its results (Bowen and Lawler 1995). The lowest level of empowerment is – at the same time – the so-called "suggestion empowerment", that is giving to workers a chance of expressing their suggestions and recommendations. The next level is "job commitment", at which a worker can influence the way of performing the job in their own workplace, whereas "high commitment" means an impact which the employed have on management and their involvement in processes of managing their own organizational unit, so – in other words – broad participation. In the framework accepted in the present study, empowerment reflects what meaning employees assign to their own work, their ability to perform work in a competent manner (competence), what sense of exerting an influence on the way in which they perform the work they have (self-determination), as well as regulations and resolutions concerning work in the organization in general (impact) (Conger and Kanungo, 1988; Thomas and Velthouse, 1990).

The factors which influence empowerment can be divided into six categories as follows: individual traits, the task environment, the social structural context, the organizational environment, structural mechanisms and leadership strategies (Barnes, 2013). Moreover, the following, in particular: task interdependence, responsibility, work for a superior who has a wide span of control, the participative climate at work, low ambiguity of tasks and roles in the organization, favor empowerment (Barnes, 2013). Yet, empowerment is not only a natural consequence of situational factors: it is sometimes used as a tool when an inappropriate attitude towards tasks performed by employees destroys effectiveness and efficiency of work (performance). Managers

attempt then to achieve effectiveness and innovativeness through developing a favorable, positive attitude to work among their inferiors, as well as through building a positive vision of their company as a place of work. Also, in the situation where we come to deal with team work, which requires cooperation, empowerment turns out to be useful and valuable a tool.

In the authors' opinion, in the case of enterprises which operate in a number of markets and which have their headquarters abroad, an important factor that influences the fact whether or not empowerment is applied, and if so – to what extent it is (as it is shown, it is of a gradual character) are expectations on the part of the headquarters, regarding the role played by the given plant. It is either the typically re-creative, executive, role, most frequently – production, or it is accompanied most often by an innovative role, or still – that of a leader in certain selected projects relevant for a whole group. In the literature of the subject, the first model is referred to as the “end of the pipe”, while the other one – an “integrated network” (Bartlett, Ghoshal, 1989). In the conditions of the former, a fairly natural and the most important area of managers' concern will be realization of plans in compliance with those delineated by the concern, connected with suitable cost and quality levels. In such conditions, empowerment can, in the authors' opinion, fade into the background, while the model of strict supervision and absolute primacy of current results will prevail.

Among the consequences of empowerment there are categories which cannot pass undervalued by any manager or any employer. Studies show a positive impact of empowerment on work satisfaction and effectiveness of work (performance) (Hechanova, Alampay, Franco, 2006). There exist premises to think that also organizational commitment, turnover intent and organizational citizenship are connected with application of empowerment (Hechanova, Alampay, Franco, 2006). However, it can be believed that there occurs not a simple relation of resulting and implication, but rather we come to see a circular relation between the above-mentioned factors, a feedback and multi-directional inter-relations of the circulatory and network character (the factors simultaneously determine others and are determined by them themselves).

In this place, it is worth mentioning that empowerment is treated nowadays more as a program or programs for whole organizations (empowerment programs) than individual actions of individual managers perceiving the need to introduce this tool into life. Detailed, applicable tools in empowerment programs are the following: self-managed teams, democratic structures and processes, employee ownership of the company.

The examined company represents the automotive branch and is a manufacturing company which is an investment of a concern with the central head office in Stockholm (Sweden). The other production departments are located in the USA, Canada, Sweden, Germany and in China. The plant is sited in Lower Silesia (Poland) and employs about 130 people, including the administrative personnel. The firm only sporadically and to a very little extent applies methods of group work, which are typical of many management methods, e.g., TQM.

It could be thought, as it is expressed in the introduction, that managerial posts, independent of the level of management, are in a privileged position in terms of

empowerment, in comparison with other posts, particularly those non-managerial ones. Our case study shows, however, that in companies, in which the “end-of-the-pipe” model is used, in which we come to deal – as regards the operational sphere – mainly with routinely executed tasks and stable technology designed abroad and implemented in countries, in which the investments of the production character are realized, the managerial personnel somehow remain at the very bottom of the organizational hierarchy and can play a solely re-creative role, here referred to as “manager as overseer”. In such a situation, managers or leaders of production may only very little differ from rank and file executing workers as regards the degree of empowerment. They are indeed workers, whose duty is to see to that discipline is followed, norms are applied and concrete results are achieved. There is no space in these positions for a conceptual activity, since the production is to a high degree “programed”. And it is most likely that this must be so as it conditions the effectiveness of activity.

It can be said that the low level of empowerment is an important cause behind the low level of satisfaction and affective commitment – the lack of identification with the firm and workplace, as well as insufficiency in treating it in a personal manner. It is worth mentioning that a positive relation between the level of satisfaction and involvement was observed in empirical studies (Saridakis, Torres, Johnstone, 2013). Consequences of a low level of affective commitment are serious: work is done without enthusiasm, in a solely re-creative way, it is impossible to count on actions reaching beyond standard duties, therefore activities based on workers’ commitment, such as aiming at achieving a high level of quality, are difficult to be implemented. How then should the low level of satisfaction and affective commitment be dealt with in situations which are similar to that characterized above?

The figure 1 below illustrates a model framing of the situation in the examined company, which results from the authors’ general observations made during the field research carried out in the company. This model can be regarded as an illustration of the conclusions relating to the situation found within the group of company’s workers, which are supported by qualitative data in the experimental part of the article (“Data and method”). It is not only in a model way that the dependences between the level of empowerment and satisfaction and involvement were inserted in it, but also a set of tools was proposed, including practices which pertain to the areas of suggestion empowerment, lean management, or TQM. They can potentially cushion the effects of the “end-of-the-pipe” model.

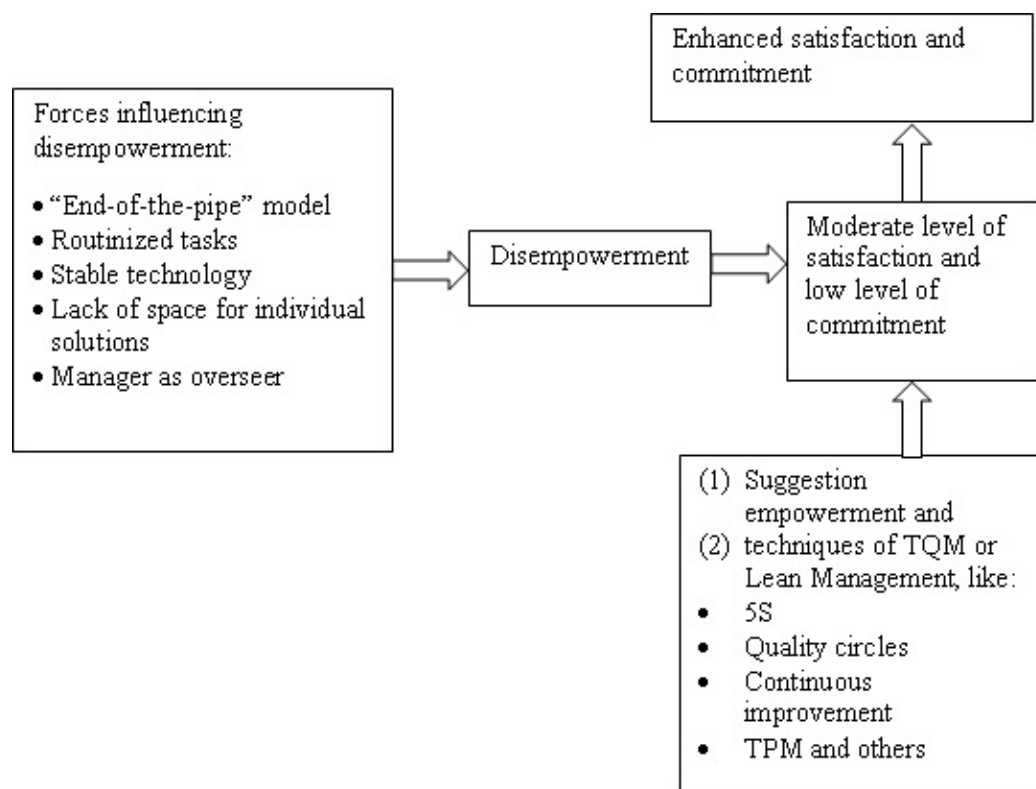


Figure 1: Relations binding empowerment, satisfaction and commitment – a model framework for the examined enterprise, together with a proposal relating to the range of application of tools which serve to raise the level of commitment.

Source: authors' own elaboration.

It is indicated, in the literature of the subject, that certain organizational values, such as trust and empowerment (which is a consequence of the former), are vital from the point of view of making use of the full potential of such approaches towards managing, e.g., TQM (Bugdol, 2013). The authors believe that also – in return – the problem of a low level of empowerment may be compensated through using work techniques that are based on workers' commitment, e.g., techniques included in TQM or Lean Management, which is reflected in the figure 1 presented above. Work in quality circles, especially that concerning work organization, coordination, organization of workplaces, offers an opportunity to generate such ideas and solutions that will be real and will provide a chance of being implemented. Work of teams can be directed towards these areas which are not stiffly regulated in technology, and which are the responsibility of the factory's board of managers. This can enhance workers' innovativeness, both in managerial posts and regular workers' positions, raising the level of affective commitment. As M. Bugdol's studies show (2005), TQM practices, in particular, those remaining within scope of group work and consultative styles of management, are very poorly represented in Polish production plants and their reception by workers (in the so-called shop floor) is generally positive, although it is not a remedy to solve all problems (Glover, 2000).

Methods

The examined company represents the automotive branch. The plant is sited in Lower Silesia (Poland) and employs about 130 people. All of the employed workers were asked to take part in the survey. The study was realized in October 2014, with the use of survey questionnaire (workers – Paper and Pencil Interview, managers and administration – Computer-Assisted Web Interview). All in all, the questionnaires were filled by n=117 respondents (11 managers, 25 administration workers and 81 workers).

Participants graded their **answers** on a five-item scale: strongly disagree, somewhat disagree, neither agree nor disagree, somewhat agree, strongly agree. The examination of the structure of answers was conducted with the use of chi-square test of independence, and a p-value calculated by **Monte Carlo simulation** (Mansfield, 1987, Smith, Forster, McDonald, 1996). Monte Carlo simulation was implemented because the sample size was small. If the significance level α were established as 0.05, then definitely the p-value being less than 0.05 would lead to the rejection of the null hypothesis.

Table 1: Operationalization of individual components of empowerment in the form of statements evaluated by the respondents

Components of empowerment	Statements (reference to the component of empowerment is given in italics)
“ Meaning is the value of a work goal or purpose judged in relations to an individual’s own ideals or standards. Meaning involves the perception that a task or activity is of value to oneself. Meaning is also seen as the fit between the requirements of the job tasks and one’s own values, beliefs, and behaviors” (Barnes, 2013)	My team appreciate my work and I feel important in it – <i>belief in the significance and sense of the performed work</i>
“ Competence , or self-efficacy, is an individual’s belief in his or her capability to perform work activities with skill” (Barnes, 2013)	In my team we concentrate on chances and positive sides, not on problems – <i>belief in success and own capabilities</i>
“ Self-determination is an individual’s sense of having a choice of initiating and regulating actions over one’s own work” (Barnes, 2013)	Workers’ suggestions relating to improvement of effectiveness of the team’s work are seriously taken into consideration by the management – <i>conviction regarding possibilities of influencing the way in which one’s own work is performed</i>
“ Impact is the degree to which an individual can influence strategic, administrative, or operating outcomes at work” (Barnes, 2013)	My company, in a decisive way, takes into account my goals and values – <i>conviction regarding an individual being able to influence the organizational system as a whole</i>

Source: authors’ own elaboration.

Results and Discussion

The most significant question revealed by the results of the study, being an illustration of the reality of the examined enterprise, is that in none of the components of empowerment (meaning, competence, self-determination, impact) are there any statistically significant differences observed in the answers given to the questions by either workers, managerial staff or administrative personnel. According to the leading idea of this article, it could be expected that managerial personnel should perceive both their own work, its motivating character, their own capabilities of influencing the course of things, their attitudes towards work, etc., in a significantly different manner and more optimistically. Nevertheless, there is not much that differs the managerial staff from common workers as far as concerns, inclinations and hardly optimistic perception of the reality are concerned. In our opinion, this is a derivative of the low level of empowerment: the managerial staff are virtually completely similar to ordinary workers. The distribution of the answers referring to the dimensions of empowerment is presented in the four tables below, with the numbers of individual factors. Despite the fact that the factor of meaning proved to be statistically insignificant, it is worth underlining that it is solely in this dimension that managers are slightly more convinced of the significance that their own work has than ordinary workers. The value $p=0.08$ could basically be regarded as significant if we were to accept a different level of this significance ($\alpha=0.1$). As regards the other dimensions there are not any distinctive differences. It concerns both the “can do” attitude (prevalence of the answers in the negative and expressing indifference over those which can testify to the belief in one’s own abilities and success) and the conviction that the company treats the employee in a serious way (prevalence of the negative and indifferent answers over those accepting this statement) and that it gives him/her a chance to influence the course of things (prevalence of the answers in the negative and expressing indifference over those accepting this statement, with the exception of the group of managers; still the difference statistically insignificant).

Table 2: My team appreciate my work and I feel important as part of it (statement relates to meaning)

	Strongly disagree, somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree, strongly agree	Total
Managers	0	0	11	11
Administrative Staff	4	8	13	25
Workers	14	24	43	81
Total	18	32	67	117

$$\chi^2=9.124, p=0.080$$

Source: authors’ own calculation (SPSS).

Table 3: In my team we concentrate on chances and positive sides, not on problems (statement relates to competence)

	Strongly disagree, somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree, strongly agree	Total
Managers	4	2	5	11
Administrative Staff	10	8	7	25
Workers	22	27	32	81

Total	36	37	44	117
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$$\chi^2=2.723, p=0.530$$

Source: authors' own calculation (SPSS).

Table 4: Suggestions offered by workers with reference to improvement of team's work effectiveness are seriously taken into account by the management (statement relates to self-determination)

	Strongly disagree, somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree, strongly agree	Total
Managers	1	3	7	11
Administrative Staff	8	11	6	25
Workers	22	24	35	81
Total	31	38	48	117

$$\chi^2=6.104, p=0.180$$

Source: authors' own calculation (SPSS).

Table 5: My company definitely takes into account my goals and values (statement relates to impact)

	Strongly disagree, somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree, strongly agree	Total
Managers	3	5	3	11
Administrative Staff	12	7	6	25
Workers	27	37	17	81
Total	42	49	26	117

$$\chi^2=3.076, p=0.580$$

Source: authors' own calculation (SPSS).

A similar situation is noticed to occur within the sphere of satisfaction which workers declare in connection with the performed work. The differences in respect of the structure of the responses provided in the cross-section of three groups of workers are not statistically vital. Generally, it can be concluded that the number of people satisfied with the performed work is constantly higher than the sum of those who are not contented or do not have their opinion on the issue; yet, the level is still hardly satisfactory. This situation is illustrated in the contingency table inserted below.

Table 6: Generally speaking, I am satisfied with this job (statement relates to job satisfaction)

	Strongly disagree, somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree, strongly agree	Total
Managers	1	4	6	11
Administrative Staff	7	5	13	25
Workers	9	16	56	81
Total	17	25	75	117

$$\chi^2=6.324, p=0.190$$

Source: authors' own calculation (SPSS).

The following two statements concern the emotional relation with the firm and the personal meaning from the point of view of the respondents, which is directly linked to the so-called affective commitment. Still, the last statement reflects the so-called normative commitment. The former means – in the simplest framework – the will to take up such a job, taking interest in its content and resulting involvement in its performance. On the other hand, normative commitment, to a great extent results from the need to reciprocate loyalty towards the employer and also from the subjective treatment of the employee by the employer who, among others, invests in the development of the former (Allen, Meyer 1990). As we can see, both affective commitment and the normative commitment remain on a low level in the examined company and do not display any differences at all through the cross-section of the surveyed groups: work does not hold any greater emotional meaning to any of the examined groups of employees. Similarly, they feel only very little obliged to be loyal towards the firm in which they are employed.

Table 7: I feel emotionally connected with the firm for which I work (statement relates to affective commitment)

	Strongly disagree, somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree, strongly agree	Total
Managers	4	3	4	11
Administrative Staff	8	8	9	25
Workers	20	37	24	81
Total	32	48	37	117

$$\chi^2=2.496, p=0.657$$

Source: authors' own calculation (SPSS).

Table 8: The firm for which I am working at present holds a personal significance for me (statement relates to affective commitment)

	Strongly disagree, somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree, strongly agree	Total
Managers	5	4	2	11
Administrative Staff	12	8	5	25
Workers	26	41	14	81
Total	43	53	21	117

$$\chi^2=3.319, p=0.503$$

Source: authors' own calculation (SPSS).

Table 9: One of the reasons why I continue to work here is that I feel morally committed to the company (statement relates to normative commitment)

	Strongly disagree, somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree, strongly agree	Total
Managers	6	2	3	11
Administrative Staff	12	9	4	25
Workers	34	31	16	81
Total	52	42	23	117

$$\chi^2=2.019, p=0.768$$

Source: authors' own calculation (SPSS).

Conclusions

The case study presented in this article, of a manufacturing plant which belongs to the automotive branch and which is localized in Lower Silesia in Poland, makes it possible to formulate the following synthetic conclusions:

1. In production enterprises having their head offices outside the country where the investment is located there occur cases of managing based on the “end-of-the-pipe” model, in which the managerial personnel of lower level basically do not differ from ordinary workers as regards the level of empowerment, which should itself be defined as low.
2. Disempowerment appears to be the preferred model of managing for the examined company (and, as it can be inferred, also for many comparable enterprises having similar characteristics).
3. Disempowerment appears to be so effective a model that at present there are no attempts undertaken to apply a higher level of empowerment of workers.
4. Job satisfaction remains on a moderate level, which can prove that the lack of empowerment can have its source also in the lack of workers’ expectations regarding its introduction.
5. Affective commitment and normative commitment of employees of the company remain on a low level and are apparently connected with a rather instrumental-utilitarian treatment of the employed.
6. In the authors’ opinion, to a certain extent, the low level of commitment ought to pose an issue of concern to managers, since it can cause disloyalty, a higher level of absence from work, or an unfavorable climate at work which would result in poorer results achieved by the company.
7. The authors can recommend application of the following two groups of solutions, which should contribute to a change in the level of commitment:
 - a. Application of empowerment on the first, lowest level, the so-called suggestion empowerment,
 - b. Application of methods of team work and inventive techniques within the TQM system or approaches, such as Lean Management, which liberate initiatives and creative approaches, as well as broaden the scope and the sense of freedom of choice in situations, where a relatively “closed” production-logistic system in itself does not offer such a freedom.

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Contact Krzysztof Lobos: krzysztof.lobos@wsb.wroclaw.pl

Discovering Urban Citizenship in the Surveillance Society

Mike Dee

Abstract

Cities and urban spaces around the world are changing rapidly from their origins in the industrialising world to a post-industrial, hard-wired landscape. A further embellishment is the advent of mobile media technologies supported by both existing and new communications and computing technology which claim to put the urban dweller at the heart of a new, informed and ‘liberated’ seat of participatory urban governance. This networked, sensor-enabled society permits flows of information in a multitude of directions, ostensibly empowering the citizenry through ‘smart’ installations such as ‘talking bus stops’ detailing services, delays, transport interconnections and even weather conditions along desired routes.

However, while there is considerable potential for creative and transformative kinds of citizen participation, there is also the momentum for ‘function-creep’, whereby vast amounts of data are garnered in a broad application of urban surveillance. This kind of monitoring and capacity for surveillance connects with attempts by civic authorities to regulate, restrict, rebrand and reframe urban public spaces into governable and predictable arenas of consumption.

This article considers questions around the possibilities for retaining and revitalising forms of urban citizenship, set in the context of Marshall’s original premise of civil, social and political citizenship(s) in the middle of the last century, following World War Two and the coming of the modern welfare state.

Keywords: Citizenship, urban, public space, surveillance, sensor

Introduction

Urban public spaces face a number of challenges in the relentless drive by civic authorities and developers to create and sustain ‘spectacular’ consumption precincts, many of which are situated at the centre of long established urban settlements whose destruction or transformation through processes of gentrification, is required to promote new urban lifestyle developments (Davis, 1995, Atkinson & Easthope, 2008, Leslie & Catungal, 2012).

Alongside the refashioning of urban places as ‘smart’, ‘creative’ and global ‘hubs’ are programs of securitization acting to exclude those considered unwelcome or “flawed vagabonds” too poor to be active and consuming citizens (Bauman, 1998:42). The widespread use of surveillance and other control technologies as deployed in and around the UK ‘Riots’ of 2011 may help to promote and encourage a passing sense of personal safety and confidence in using public space. Through systems of social sorting, the same surveillance assemblages can also further the physical, emotional and psychological exclusion of certain groups and individuals, deemed to be both “out of time and out of place” in these major zones of urban, conspicuous, consumption (Norris & Armstrong, 1999:243).

It is exactly at these times when so called “defensive architecture” to ward off the homeless, ne’er do wells and others, installed outside major shops, banks and other private buildings exemplifies exclusionary power (Andreou, 2015:1):

From ubiquitous protrusions on window ledges to bus-shelter seats that pivot forward, from water sprinklers and loud muzak to hard tubular rests, from metal park benches with solid dividers to forests of pointed cement bollards under bridges, urban spaces are aggressively rejecting soft, human bodies.

In this way, the humanity and citizenship of the urban setting is constantly revised, curtailed and potentially deleted, at least for some groups and individuals. This makes a consideration of the importance and complexity of notions around the concept of citizenship, as originally discussed by Marshall (1950) both urgent and apposite.

Citizenship

The classic concept of citizenship can be seen as comprising three vital elements. First, the idea of the ‘citizen’ is a way of imagining and constructing a relationship between the state and the individual citizen or resident (Lewis, 1998:48). Second, the category of citizen forms an essential and powerful expression of belonging in any given social formation, central to the process of social inclusion and the allocation of benefits and entitlements (Dean, 2013). Third, citizenship as a conduit of social status “articulates and mediates the entitlements of the individual to state-organised welfare” and to participation in the modern, post Second World War welfare state via a complex array of reciprocal rights and responsibilities (Ginsberg, 1995:41).

Marshall, (1950) theorizes citizenship as comprising three stages of broad historical evolution towards civil, political and social rights. Civil citizenship, from the eighteenth century onwards, is the individual right to personal freedom in the form of speech, movement, and assembly. Political citizenship, emerging in the nineteenth century, is the right to vote, stand for election and public office. A right may be understood as a “legitimate or socially recognized moral or legal justification for individuals to be allowed specified behaviour or to demand specified behaviour with regard to themselves” (McNeely, 1998:9).

This brief consideration of rights conveys some of the major components of Marshall’s schema of civil, political and social citizenship rights, requiring rights for all citizens, underwritten and provided by the state and also responsibilities *of* citizens, in a complex symbiosis. This is demonstrated in Marshall’s, (1950:47) pronouncement on education, a key element of social citizenship “Education is of such vital importance for the health and prosperity of a nation, that it is regarded as something of which the individual has a *duty* to avail himself, to the extent that his natural abilities warrant”. On the subject of health, again central to the enjoyment of full social citizenship, Marshall, (1950:49) notes “It is just as important for a society to have a healthy population as to have an educated one, so the right to health, like the right to education, is blended with duties”.

Social citizenship as considered by Marshall, connects closely with elements of the United Nations Human Rights enactments of the 1940s, contemporaneous with and helping to shape the background to when he was writing *Citizenship and Social Class* (Heater, 2004). Marshall’s work, particularly on social citizenship or “socioeconomic rights” (McNeely, 1998:10) was influenced by and reflects the concerns of the era of post war social reconstruction and the welfare state. These concerns were manifested in the 1947 *C.I. Marshall Plan for European Recovery*, and the creation of political institutions pledged to secure European unity (Heater, 2004). The signing of the Charter of the United Nations on 26 June 1948, *The Universal Declaration of Human Rights* on 10 December 1948 and *The Declaration of the Rights of the Child* proclaimed on 20 November 1959 are significant milestones in the pursuit of universal human rights (Rees and Wright, 2000).

Social citizenship, a creation of the twentieth century, is more amorphous (than civil and political citizenship), including economic security and equal access to health, education and employment opportunities (Dee, 2008). In Marshall’s, (1950:12) own words, social citizenship is “The whole range from a right to a modicum of economic welfare and security, to the right to share to the full in the social heritage and to live the life of a civilized being, according to the standards prevailing in a civilized society”. Social citizenship involves participation in society in a variety of forms and while Marshall states that the system of education and social services are institutions most closely connected with social rights, he did not say in detail how social citizenship might be achieved (Marshall, 1950:11). It falls then, to others, to illustrate this picture, with more

contemporary analyses and ideas for social change (Roche, 1992). Social rights differ from civil and political rights because they are provided by the state in order that a minimum standard of living is available. The level of and conditions governing accessibility to this standard of living, is a major and contemporary issue (Noguera, 2004:3):

Social and economic citizenship is going through a period of bad health, and does not seem to be able to recover in the near future; it was always a conditional part of citizenship, but today that conditionality-especially work-conditionality-is being intensified, and workfare and welfare-to-work proposals are increasingly popular among governments and policy-makers-and among a growing part of public opinion

Marshall's thesis has been reappraised from a number of positions, specifically in relation to the "diminished citizenship" of women, children and young people (Jones & Wallace, 1992:143, Walby, 1994, Yeatman, 1994). Marshall offers an Anglo-centric and historically specific conceptualization, based on the continuing existence of a social democratic welfare state with a white, male, married breadwinner chiefly at its core (Hughes & Lewis, 1998). Coles (writing with the benefit of fifty years of hindsight), criticises Marshall's acceptance of the sustainability of policies of full employment. He also questions Marshall's key assumptions around the stability of the nuclear family and its underpinning of unwaged work, by married women (Yeatman, 1994, Coles, 1995).

Marshall "Developed a theory of 'social citizenship' that claimed to be universal but was constructed in such a way as to be applicable only to men" with men placed at the centre of a breadwinner's welfare state (Finch, 1996:196). In this regard, the key architects of citizenship and the welfare state in the post war period, Marshall and Beveridge appear to have shared similar assumptions about the supposed dependent place of women in the post war world (Lister, 2007).

Sustained criticism of aspects of Marshall's approach to the concept of citizenship are posited by Walby, (1994). In particular, his theorizing of citizenship as comprising three stages of broad historical struggle towards civil, political and social citizenship seems only to understand and validate the struggles and success of men in gaining civil, political and social rights. Marshall was confident that it was possible "to assign the formative period in the life of each to a different century-civil rights to the eighteenth, political to the nineteenth and social to the twentieth" (1950:89). Walby however, argues that Marshall's ordering of civil, political and social rights does not reflect women's experience of having first to gain political rights in order to secure civil rights such as the right to make contracts, to own property and also to "body integrity" (Walby, 1994:387). She goes on to state that "without political victories neither civil nor social citizenship would have occurred" (Walby, 1994:389).

This view is supported by Yuval-Davis in advocating for a "citizenship of difference", that validates both the position of women and also their cultural diversity (Yuval-Davis, 1999:41).

A key to understanding Marshall's framework is the connection between citizenship and community (Jayasuriya, 1996, Hall & Williamson, 2000). Marshall, (1977:70) observes that the status of citizenship brings with it "full membership of a community where membership entails participation by individuals in the determination of the conditions of their association". However, Dahrendorf, (1996) argues that what really counts when considering citizenship is what people actually do and the extent and quality of their participation in urban community life.

On this note, research undertaken with over 1100 young people aged 13-25 in Australia around what the concept of citizenship meant to them and the impact of CCTV surveillance on their daily lives, provides some important data on their perceptions of these issues. The research was carried out through a self-completion survey, designed by young people in social planning and focus group sessions. The methodology included a modified Grounded Theory approach to data collection, coding and sorting, to excavate key themes emerging from the data for further, exhaustive analysis (Glaser, 2003). The challenge for any researcher employing grounded theory as a research methodology is formidable, due to the "labour intensive nature of the procedures of the management and processing of data and the development of theory" necessitating great dedication and due to its complexity, it may well diminish the active participation of children and young people as researchers (Dick, 2004:3). The researcher has to make grounded theory work for them and also the specific context, circumstances and subjects, of their research endeavours (McCarthy, 1999:2).

The promise of grounded theory is that it is rigorous, comes from the data, and is useful as a catalyst for social change because it both "fits and works" with the context in hand (Glaser & Strauss, 1967:7). Theory is "discovered from data" but it is necessary to avoid preconceived ideas or theoretical formulations that 'force' the data into existing intellectual silos or patterns of thought. In the course of my research work and the many conversations with young people, I sought to register the issues important to them, rather than those of paramount interest to others. The young people contributed to the setting of the research agenda, directly informing focus group sessions and development of the survey instrument. The key tasks are to listen well to what children and young people have to say and interpret this material faithfully in the data analysis (Moss & Petrie, 2002).

The self-report method adopted, where participants themselves completed the survey instrument, has grown in acceptance as a reliable methodological tool. Its use reflects the research values of treating young people with respect, based on both listening to and taking seriously the young person and what they have to say. The pursuit of rigour in the research process is of equal status to accepting what young people have to say about a wide range of issues that affect and interest them, as legitimate data for analysis, as Measor and Squires (2000), discovered in their work with young people in Brighton, England. Grounded theory as an approach to researching children and young people offers the opportunity to grow theory from the data so that what the young people say in their survey responses can be

listened to, even if this data is at variance with existing accounts of the lives and practices of young people (Grover, 2004).

Grounded theory begins with the text, *The Discovery of Grounded Theory* (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). A grounded theory is “readily applicable to and indicated by the data” and further, is “meaningfully relevant to and able to explain the behaviour under study” (Glaser & Strauss, 1967:3). In the spirit of grounded theory, as proposed by Glaser and Strauss in their 1968 work with hospital patients, *Time for dying*, the drafting of the survey instrument came from the young people themselves, in order that theory emerges from the data and the situational context, rather than from an existing body of accepted knowledge. They found hospital patients to be at the receiving end of the decision-making and power structures inscribed within the institution of the hospital.

Arguably, the social world of young people is no less complex than that of nurse-patient – doctor-institution interactions, as there are a range of disparate, contradictory discourses structuring the category of ‘youth’ (Saggers et al., 2004: 20). Young people are often situated as anti-social and delinquent as well as the “guardians of the future” and also as vulnerable in a cruel, adult world, where innocence must be guarded (Loader, 1996; Malone, 2002). Young people also frequently find themselves at the receiving end of decision-making processes (White & Wyn, 2013) and this provides a relevant context for employing grounded theory as an analytical methodology (Wimpenny & Gass, 2000). The direct involvement of the young people in the design of the survey instrument provided an “active” and dynamic element to the fieldwork (Denscombe, 2010:7).

In my research, asking respondents what the word ‘citizenship’ meant to them yielded a large amount of qualitative data, ranging from one or two words, to sentences and a meta-narrative emerged from aggregating similar responses constructing a system of meaning, positioning citizenship within a cluster of related concepts; *community-belonging-involvement-inclusion*. The word citizenship carries important meanings for most young people around belonging, community and taking part in community and national life. The importance of a sense of belonging to positive and secure identity formation and good physical, psychological, emotional and even spiritual wellbeing has been gaining prominence over a number of years (Zapf, 2010). Viewing urban public space from a range of perspectives encourages different vantage points to emerge and questions around health, wellbeing and public space are increasingly topical and important in the broadest of public policy terms, with public space being a key arena for physical activity, mental health, commercial, cultural and community life and the possibility of social inclusion.

The following comments from the survey indicate the importance of citizenship, as an expansive rather than exclusionary sense of *belonging* within an overarching notion of community:

- *Citizenship is being a citizen of an area or community, which is involved in its activities etc.* (Female 15)

- *Citizenship means belonging to and participating in a community-be it local, national or global* (Male 17)
- *Citizenship is being a part of the community. Trying to help make your community a better place* (Male 14)
- *That word to me, (citizenship) means people in the community who are civilised, responsible, trusting* (Female 15)

For many young people feeling wanted and being a part of their local and wider community is central to their identity formation and coherence both as a human and as a citizen. In this way as Chawla (2002), suggests, the link between public space being the public realm and a sense of oneself as a citizen, is constructed from the earliest good and bad, experiences:

The criteria by which young people evaluate their local environments form important indicators for several reasons. Children's happiness is a good in itself, to be prized in the moment. A further benefit is that through satisfying experiences in the public realm, children have opportunities to grow into new roles and competencies. In the long term, the experiences of childhood form a foundation for the 'habits of the heart' of adulthood, in the sense of people's accustomed relationships to their community, public life and public space (p. 221).

For the young people in this study, the word citizenship had a broad span of meanings, centred on belonging within a local community, indicated by a sense of inclusion and opportunities for involvement in the life of that community. Young people have an important contribution to make in community building and along the way can consolidate their personal sense of *belonging as citizens*. This is an important departure from the often negative feelings towards and about young people reported in the survey comments and also in the work of Bolzan (2003). Rarely, however are children and young people actively and respectfully brought into planning and governance processes and consequently many urban public spaces are essentially adult places, where control and ongoing surveillance are the key concerns and inclusion of children and young people a commercially driven afterthought (Harris, 2013).

While researchers argue that surveillance is not inherently designed to perpetuate inequality, they note that in contemporary society, where everyone is subject to some forms of surveillance "not everyone is monitored in the same way or for the same purposes" (Gilliom, 2001:48). Surveillance practices tend more often than not, to "coagulate more heavily on the more disadvantaged members of society" such as young people (Henman and Marston, 2008:201). Children and young people are highly visible users of urban public space as they have limited resources to effectively shield their presence from public view (White 1990; Dee 1995, Crane & Dee, 2001). According to Loader (1996) this visibility is a major factor:

More than any other social group, young people are dependent on a range of public places, especially in relation to the pursuit of leisure. Denied access (initially, at least, by reason of age) from a whole host of cultural amenities, young people come

to rely on local streets, city centres, shopping malls and the like as a means to build cultural identities away from the direct supervision of adult authority. Their social practices – both legal and illegal – are thus rendered public and visible (p.69).

Their “visibleness” (Dwyer, 2010:2) is a key issue for civic authorities increasingly concerned not just with what they do or *might* do in public space, but with what they wear including the now infamous ‘hoody’. As frequent “hanging out” (White, 1998:8) users of public space, children and young people are the target of a range of surveillance and control strategies including being ‘moved on’ (Spooner, 2001) “over policed” (Blagg & Wilkie, 1995:2), “under policed” (Loader, 1996:50) and in the UK, subject to “Anti-Social Behaviour Orders, Dispersal Orders and Curfew Orders” (Flint, 2006:53). As Norris & Armstrong (1999), noted presciently, the CCTV surveillance-control gaze is far from neutral:

The gaze of the cameras does not fall equally on all users of the street but on those who are stereotypically predefined as potentially deviant, or through appearance and demeanour, are singled out by operators as unrespectable. In this way youth, particularly those already socially and economically marginal, may be subject to even greater levels of authoritative intervention and official stigmatisation, and rather than contributing to social justice through the reduction of victimisation, CCTV will merely become a tool of injustice through the amplification of differential and discriminatory policing (p.279).

Key respondents observations from my research were as follows:

- Public spaces such as streets, parks and transport nodes need supervision by human agents- camera surveillance alone does not give confidence that personal safety is assured;
- CCTV did not make respondents feel safe when using public places;
- Conversely perhaps, roughly equal numbers of respondents said there should be more CCTV as were opposed to further installation of CCTV;
- Key issues for many respondents centred on appropriate locations for CCTV, and its effectiveness in protecting them from harm in public space, rather than buildings.

In addition to CCTV, there are recent innovations in the repertoire of public space controls such as the *mosquito*, a device emitting a high pitched noise directly targeting children and young people under the age of 25 because their hearing is not yet fully developed (Institute for Public Policy Research, 2006). Clearly, such a blunt instrument with blanket coverage over a forty metre range fails to differentiate fairly between groups or individual children and young people and more importantly, brooks no discussion about rights to use and enjoy public space in the same way that other age groups do (Ivseon, 2006). There is now a substantial body of critical material pointing to a social sorting and ordering of public space (Zurawski & Czerwinski, 2008) by civic authorities around the world that is almost

entirely driven by support for ‘conspicuous consumption’ and the exclusion, or at best, conditional inclusion, of ‘flawed consumers’ or ‘vagabonds’ (Baumann, 1998:14). CCTV and other modes of surveillance are central to attempts to govern and contain the potentially “dangerous classes” (MacDonald, 1997:47) who are financially poor or simply maladapted to meet the required neo-liberal value set of “gentrified” and “creative cities” as places fit for conspicuous consumption (Atkinson & Easthope, 2009:71). Efforts to erect ‘rings of steel’ around Central Business Districts to give comfort to desired users of public with pledges of ‘safe’ family shopping/entertainment/lifestyle environments, are sustained at public expense to ensure private accumulation, but often run counter to civic advertising playing on the importance of ‘celebrating diversity’ and the inclusion of all in ‘the community’ including children and young people (Clavell, 2011; Dee, 2015).

Urban Citizenship

The case can be made for the retention of concepts of universal civil, political and social rights, alongside and in a creative tension with, a contemporary recognition of cultural and ethnic diversity. Lister, (1998:42) seeks to increase the inclusionary potential of citizenship, while acknowledging its “power as a force for exclusion”. To this end, she suggests a refurbishment of Marshall’s concept of social citizenship, to take account of the “multiple citizenships and identities” reflecting the complexities of contemporary life (Lister, 1998:42).

Reconstituting Marshall’s work in this way, using his schema as a basis for contemporary analyses is supported by Cohen, (2005:222) in adding cultural, ethnic and gendered citizenships to the existing civil, political and social mix of ingredients. A further argument can be put that a distinctive urban citizenship exists in many Western societies forged in large measure, from the political, economic and social processes and struggles over time, set out in Marshall’s paradigm (Tonkiss, 2005). There is not the space here to consider similar arguments for rural settings and this task rests with further work to be undertaken. For many people around the globe the city, or urban settlement, still acts as a magnet for jobs, housing and aspects of social improvement and freedoms, despite particularly in some developing countries, the persistent presence of poverty, disease, social unrest and other issues. Writers like Hollis propose that “Cities are good for you” (2013:130), pointing to the Janus faced challenge that population density, the very marker of most globalizing cities, holds in bringing together in a certain economy of scale resources, people, markets and opportunities. This stands alongside and in a rasping tension with, overcrowding, domination of the motor car, worn out urban infrastructure and racial and other tensions:

Density defines a city, and therefore the community. It is the key problem when there is overcrowding, the network through which diseases can decimate a neighbourhood; when things get too crammed, density turns old parts of the city into slums, where poverty huddles and becomes stuck. It is the overfull bus that forces you to wait for the next one. It is the social-housing waiting list that leaves some children in poverty only a few hundred yards from the richest enclaves in London. It is the equation behind the

queue for the water tap in the Mumbai slums, and the ten-hour traffic jam in Lagos. With the prospect of increased urbanization in the next thirty years, particularly in parts of the world where there are already problems of managing the infrastructure, density could easily be the biggest challenge of our age.

The growing, ubiquitous edifice around the world of the ‘smart city’ in all its forms, offers both promise for positive change and renewed citizen participation and threat, in a furthering of the security crackdown of the ‘fortress city’. So much of the ‘smart city’, sensor driven discourse is accepted as plain ‘commonsense’ with little critical examination of consequences as well as ‘win-win’ outcomes, so beloved of the development lobby (Minton, 2012). For Gabrys, (2014:2) “The intersection of smart and sustainable urbanisms is an area of study that has yet to be examined in detail, particularly in relation to what modalities of urban environmental citizenship are emphasized or even eliminated in the smart city”.

Conclusion

In current times, with conflicts in numerous parts of the globe, the threat of health pandemics and continuing fallout from the Global Financial Crisis, questions of urban citizenship may appear to be the concerns of a bygone age, but it is in urban spaces and places that many of the possibilities for a society are staged, day to day, with ramifications, both intended and unintended that need to be scrutinized and brought under public, rather than private, control ownership and oversight (Sleight, 2013). When the governance and control aspirations of civic authorities, centred on a palette of surveillance measures, are factored in to the urban equation, then in tandem with Marshall’s, (1950) scheme of political, social and civil citizenships a rights-based urban citizenship which offers rights to data protection, accountability over all forms of surveillance, entitlement to employment, housing, a good environment and city planning and development, has much to offer (Minton, 2012).

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Contact Mike Dee: m.dee@qut.edu.au

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