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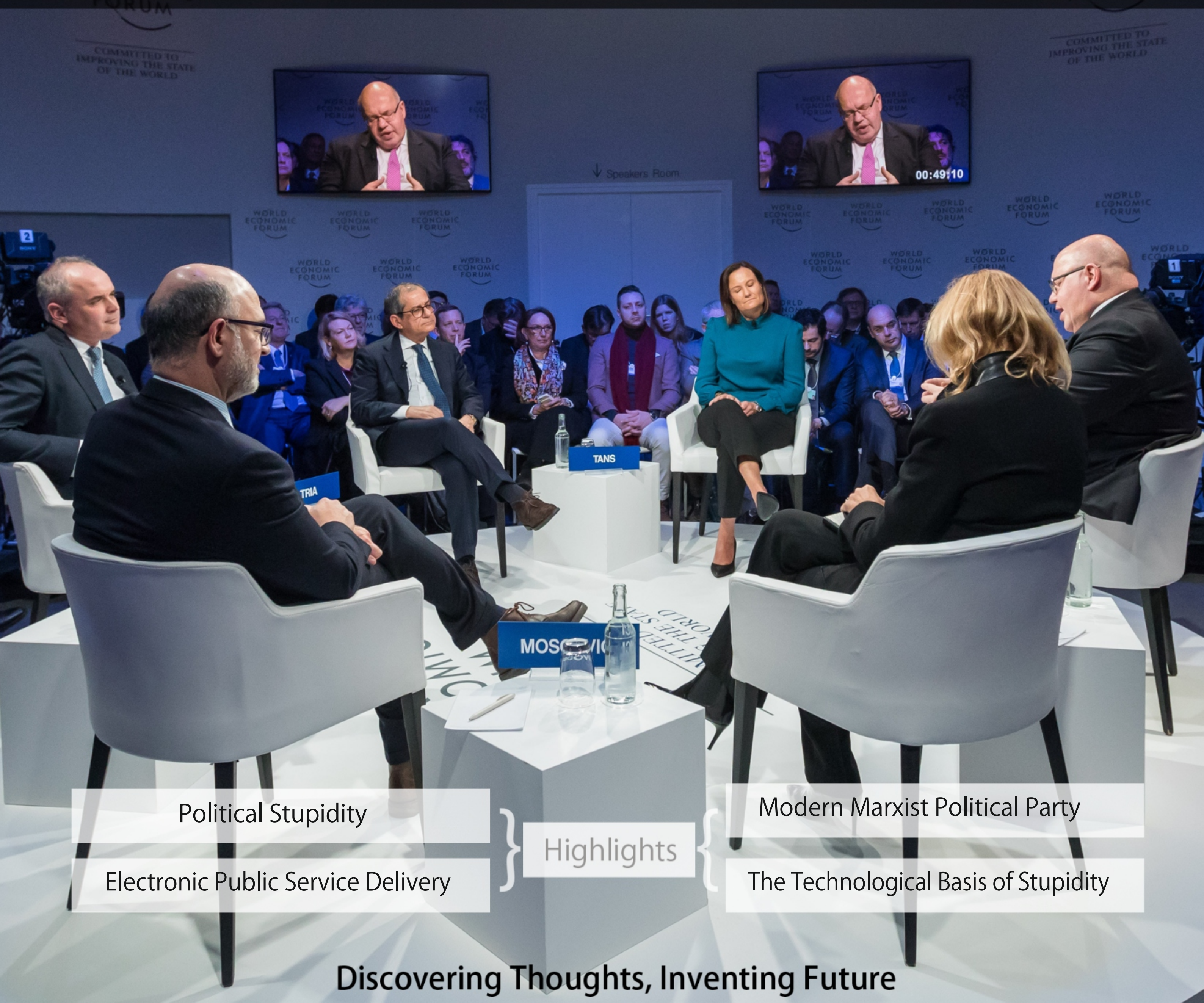

Highlights

- Political Stupidity
- Electronic Public Service Delivery
- Modern Marxist Political Party
- The Technological Basis of Stupidity

Discovering Thoughts, Inventing Future

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Political Stupidity

By James F. Welles Ph.D.

For lack of effective, credible criticism in the slap-happy world of the media, power does indeed tend to corrupt (as Lord John Acton noted[1]) because stupidity is a corruption of learning. For some reason, the power to command frequently causes a failure to learn--with power being a substitute for wisdom. Worse yet, the errors of leaders are less likely to be corrected then those made followers lower on the power-ladder, so, as often noted, failure comes from the top down.

Ideally, the responsibility of those in power is to govern as reasonably as possible to the mutual advantage of all. To accomplish this end, a leader has best be well informed, heed available information, be open-minded without being empty-headed[2] and judge all effects of policies objectively. However, it is unusual for someone transfixed by his own power to be open-minded enough to perceive that a pet policy is having unintended, negative effects, responsible enough to admit it and wise enough to replace it with a better one.[3] The principle of cognitive dissonance applied to politics would show that there is a constant push from way below and outside the powergrid to reform the system and force those in power above to live up to the ideals they routinely espouse but rarely honor and apply. Usually, such pushes are blunted by mid-level, career-minded, promotion-seeking mismanagers.

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POLITICALSTUPIDITY

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James F. Welles Ph.D.

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Ideally, the responsibility of those in power is to govern as reasonably as possible to the mutual advantage of all. To accomplish this end, a leader has best be well informed, heed available information, be open-minded without being empty-headed[2] and judge all effects of policies objectively. However, it is unusual for someone transfixed by his own power to be open-minded enough to perceive that a pet policy is having unintended, negative effects, responsible enough to admit it and wise enough to replace it with a better one.[3] The principle of cognitive dissonance applied to politics would show that there is a constant push from way below and outside the powergrid to reform the system and force those in power above to live up to the ideals they routinely espouse but rarely honor and apply. Usually, such pushes are blunted by mid-level, career-minded, promotion-seeking mismanagers.

Generally, mismanagement is promoted when creeds and rituals of government become so rigid as to inhibit adaptive responses. Reduced to essence, politics is a battle between the "Ins" and "Outs" over loaves and fishes[4]–a civil war by peaceful means, with reform coming from below and revolution induced when the power-system fails by being too rigid to adjust to necessity. In such holy wars of politics, priests crusade and campaign, thrive and perish,[5] but even when victorious over political opponents, officials may find their reforms and policies lost to bureaucratic inertia. It often appears that the machine of government is designed to produce friction, constructed to break down and operated for those who service it. Society is there for the government-not the other way around to feed it and clean up after it, to nurse it through illness and to support it when it goes out to cut its teeth on its equally corrupt, problematic neighbors.

The sad fact of political life is that misgovernment may strengthen a regime temporarily.[6] Gaining and retaining power is what government is all about, so *the "Ins" tend to make decisions which they perceive to be to their own short-term advantage albe them perhaps to the long-term detriment of all.* The idea that power is not an end in itself but a means to help people is a myth political priests use to mask their short-term, self-serving machinations from the long suffering public, or, as Spinoza almost said, authority is based on stupidity:[7] e.g., Congress as government by deadlock.[8] We have carried the Constitutional principle of "Checks and Balances" to the excess of gridlock[9] because officials lack theoretically possible if oxymoronic "Political virtue", which places the national good above individual gain of self-serving pols. This happened in the Gilded Age of the late 19th century and is happening again in the early 21st.[10]

When the government takes control of a society, it may be building itself up, but it also builds up a lot of aggravation and resentment. As agencies expand in size, productivity is reduced to the point that one might think waste has become an incentive. This is the point at which bureaucracies[a] cease to solve problems and become problems themselves. While there is nothing quite so stupid and aggravating in public life as officials perversely persistent in pursuing a policy clearly in everyone else's worst interest,[b] the commitment of politicians to their favorite projects is a motivating force unto itself and makes government immune to reason and restraint. The short-term gain of power through corruption makes a mismanaged agency less ruly and more an end in itself. This may make the "Ins" temporarily stronger, but it also intensifies long-term resentment against them on the part of the "Outs".

The craftier politicians have found that, while stupidity may lead to unpopularity, popularity may lead to stupidity and that this is the most effective way to succeed in politics. If a politician really wants to be stupid, as so many seem to, he need not be too circumspect-all he has to do is find a popular cause. The more popular the cause, the less critical people will be about policies directed toward achieving the end: the more people want something, the less they will be concerned about how they get it. This gives stupidity full rein to flourish in the absence of skeptical criticism. Only after officials have persisted for a long time in contrived foolishness to the point that their actions become unpopular and finally unacceptable will a government be forced to do something intelligent/right. This is basically what happened with

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a. Harold Stassen likened government to fire. As long as it stays within boundaries set by the people, it is a positive factor in their lives. However when it sets its own limits, it is like a fire out of control goes to excess and consumes everything it can including everything that supports it and finally, itself.

b. Conversely, a source of sick comedy to image-conscious insiders is an administrator who insists on abiding by and enforcing written rules and laws.

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American involvement in Vietnam and to Soviet dominated puppet states in eastern Europe.

In addition, politicians are liars. They have to be, as lying is a way to get support from others. This is not to say they lie all the time. Sometimes events fall into place so a pol can actually tell the truth, but (s)he has to be ready to lie at a moments notice and be good at it.[c] For others, the trick is not to find whom to believe but to be able to spot the better liar from the others. Why anyone heeds campaign promises is beyond the comprehension even of an expert in stupidity.

Generally in political organizations, the leader is a popular headman-the first among unequals. Aside from the fact that the wrong people often win office because anyone with self-respect cannot conduct a winning campaign,[11] as a central reference point,[12] an elected leader may play a largely symbolic role in that, most of the time, people know what to do anyway.[13] Oddly enough, in our modern societies, traditional patterns of political behavior have been strengthened by the emphasis of the role of the "Leading man" as a symbol to worship rather than as a doer to emulate.

The American public, for example, forms lasting impressions from a President's incidental gestures as representative of the people but pays relatively little attention to what he does as chief of state.[14] More and more, when demagogic leaders are chosen, they attain office because of their popular appeal rather than the validity or value of their publically stated policies.[15] As Harrison Otis noted before the 1800 presidential election, Jefferson's approach was "A very sweet smelling incense which flattery offers to vanity and folly at the shrine of falsehood".[16]

Now, this trend has reached the point that administrators now govern as if in a perpetual campaign[17] in which their actions are secondary to their slick, buttoned-down images, which in turn were by 1960 spot marketed commercially as perfectly wrapped products like so much toothpaste or soap.[18] The Madison Avenue mantra for a synthetic image was that any political personalty could be packaged without reference to any serious issues.[19] Richard Nixon at one point explained how much preparation was required to be spontaneous and, in addition, seem sincere.[20]

Sincerity aside, hairy heads seem to be the decisive factor in winning Presidential elections: Voters go for good heads of hair.[21] All this is rendered irrelevant because votes are tabulated by the National Election Pool–a secretive private organization accountable only to the four unnamed corporations which run it.[22] If we skip relevance for effectiveness, we note–as did the Romans[23]– that negative ads and personal attacks on opponents work in terms of winning if not informing the public who is the best candidate.

Actually, the leader really does not lead anymore. He is just there, like an elected monarch, giving a general tone to society and providing a focal point for the reverence of those who for some reason believe in the system. He also provides the media with an object of attention so that hundreds of photographers have someone to focus on and scores of reporters have someone to quote off the record. If any leading must be done while governing by image,[24] there is least friction if the people lead the headman where they want to go while the most effective leaders are those who can make people want to do what is necessary and make that appear to be right. Of course, stupidity thrives at best in the gray area between the appearance and actuality of necessity posing as desirable.[d] Beyond appearance, hard work and ambition trump (pun) a sense of justice and altruism as means to political success,[25] but even more important are perspicacity, intuition and will power.[26]

In terms of political organization, republics are particularly stupid, due to the temptation of representatives to give people what they want rather than what they need. All leaders are in danger of being told by their underlings what they want to hear rather than what they need to know,[27] and then they turn around do the same to the electorate, the truth usually getting mushed up in a campaign[28] culture of corruption.[29] Further, once elected, "Public servants" are seldom in a position even to consider what ought to be done[30] except in the context of getting re-elected. The inherent danger of gratifying the people in general is usually somewhat offset by the influence of special interest groups,[31] whose campaign contributions are a principle source of corruption[e] among elected officials and make many of their acts, if and when they are not revealed, appear to be as stupid to their constituents in the short run as they may prove to be embarrassing to the legislators in the long-run if they are. Not only does power tend to corrupt, but it tends to be eminently corruptible.

Franklin Roosevelt warned us of the deleterious influence of the special interest groups of his day[32] (presumably the securities and stock market gamblers) and spent millions bailing us out of the Depression. Eisenhower did likewise when he fingered the military-industrial complex in his farewell address[33] but to no practical effect: the "Bombs-R-Us" boys still got their nice little war in the '60's to the tune of billions. In the 1970's, it was the oil companies which shocked us with the price of gas. In the '80's, it was the savings and loan debacle; in the '90's, the internet bubble burst. Early in the 21st century, it was greedy bankers who led the country into a trillion dollar dumper through the unregulated Renewal Sale and Repurchase (RE-PO) market which brought the country to ruin if not[34] rack–another financial disaster

d. Justice is simply the matter of punishing the guilty and freeing the innocent (Plutarch. *Pompey*. 10) but judges and lawyers then get clever about "Guilt" and "Innocence".

e. A ruling by the Supreme Court in 2010 against Citizens United was denounced by former President Jimmy Carter as "....one of the stupidest ruling ever..." for rolling back restrictions on corporate spending in federal election campaigns. (Carter, Former Pres. J. Sept. 14, 2011.)

brought to you by the devotees of laissez-fairytale capitalism.

Who will do it next is anyone's guess but the government will presumably go through the motions of regulating the financial industry via the FDIC, SEC, OCC, CFPB, FSOC and CFTC–lumpable together as the FUCU–scrabble around after the fact and then spend quadrillions saving the country without upsetting–indeed, while bailing out–those responsible for creating the mess. To put this back into a general context, in 2013, 11,000 lobbyists spent $3.2 billion in Washington[35] all to get the best government money can buy. It seems superfluous to add that the big, rich interests are organized, and poor, uneducated marginalized people are not.[36] All they can do is vote according to their perceptions and reactions to the slickest ad campaign.

Governments not only administer stupid laws ineffectively to address problems which may or may not exist[37] but also provide a professional judiciary to apply them unjustly. There was a time when people were judged by trials of combat, fire and water[f].[38] These were all based on a belief that trials were moral confrontations. If a person was judged favorably, it was because he was right relative to another individual or neutral nature. Those who deride such judicial mechanisms might take a good look at our modern jousting list-the court of law and where hired wits do battle[39] to determine the morality (guilt or innocence) of the person or system on trial. The hired guns-the lawyers-use all the tricks in and out of the book to win "Their" case. The jury determines who has the best lawyer,[40] and at best, judges preside to see that the game is played fairly while occasionally obstructing any real quest for the truth.[41] At worst, judges may[42] intervene to interpret formal rules according to the principle that the game should be fair but not too fair. Only slightly better is the fact that many cases are settled to the advantage of the reigning powers, which, put the other way, means were are condemned to injustice.[43]

In all seats of political power, be they administrative, legislative or judicial, ceremony shapes the ways in which personalities interact to solve and create real and imaginary problems. The preoccupation with most political officials is with the rituals of government. As long as these assure the likelihood that those in power will retain their positions, the rituals are honored as sacred. The impact of decisions reached under such circumstances is usually secondary to the desirability of main- taining decorum and giving speakers a chance to pronounce a few slogans for public consumption. Stability depends not on the validity of pronouncements but whether or not they satisfy the people. The regulation of society is considered secondary and is indirectly affected only when conservatives become convinced the status quo must be further preserved and protected or reformers can convince political hacks it really is in their own best interests to apply some common ideal to reality. As many have noted, if you are not a liberal in your twenties, you have no heart; if you are a liberal in your forties, you have no head.[44]

As always, the biggest threat to the state is the man who thinks for himself[45] and, ironically, lives up to the rules because–cognitive dissonance aside–at the first sign of intellectual integrity, the state totters because then everyone else is shown up as a shallow faker. In this context, the Puritans never tired of denouncing the "Civil" man–one who was a good citizen, obeyed the laws, discharges his social obligations and never injures others. Such a paragon of virtue was continually reminded by the preacher that he was on his way to hell.[46] To put it another way, there is no one so infuriating as one who lives up to the rules. Don't we all cheat a bit? Isn't everyone a bit dirty? And if someone does not or is not, how is he treated? Well, I know of one case like that, and he was crucified.

Of course, there are always calls for civic reform. When, on Dec. 27, 2007, Senator Barack Obama hyped America's call for "A new politics", he was refreshingly stale. It was precisely what Fred Eissler, (who?) local director of the Santa Barbara Sierra Club thirty-eight years earlier offered after an offshore oil spill.[47] Fred did not get his new politics, and we got partisanship as usual and scandals at the VA and IRS. I suppose every forty years or so we will get a call for if not the actuality of a new politics, so expect another circa 2050. Meanwhile, we will suffer along with the hypocrisy, cynicism and egotism of self-serving elites espousing the rhetoric of democracy[48] or slamming it as being as stupid, uneducated and selfish as the democratic people are.[49]

However politics are practiced in America, we have two unsolvable problems which doom us to failure while defining who we are: 1.) Special interest groups–e.g., corporations, the NRA and Zionists; 2.) our debilitating if not suicidal commitment to prolonged deficit spending. There is no way any American government can deal intelligently with these problems any more than Catholic Mexico can curb its rampant overpopulation.

Viva estupidez. ☺

f. The idea here was that a bound up guilty person would be rejected by water and float. This was challenged, in 1662, in Connecticut by a skeptic who opined that anyone in such a condition would float and offered himself as a test. Unfortunately for his cause and himself he sank. (Tomlinson. 34.)

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    As a personal aside, when explaining to acquaintances why I never vote, I cite my experience with the election in 1964. I was told, "If you vote for Goldwater, we will bomb North Vietnam". I voted for Goldwater, and, sure enough, we bombed North Vietnam. Candidates are all a bunch of liars. The say whatever is necessary to get nominated; then they say whatever is necessary to get elected; then they do whatever is necessary to get re-elected. If anyone is dumb enough to think otherwise, read on. Further, my one, individual vote never would have made a difference anyway, so I do not waste my time picking and choosing among self-serving liars to cast a vote that does not matter anyway.
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Interpretações Sobre as Jornadas De Junho De 2013

By Olívia Cristina Perez
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Abstract- This article addresses certain interpretations about the origins, character istics and legacies of the protests that took place in mid-June 2013 in Brazil. The qualitative research systematized 55 academic publications about the Journeys of June. The results show that, in general, the Journeys are associated with the protests that took place in the city of Sao Paulo against the increase in bus fares. The Journeys would have expressed popular dissatisfaction with the political system and its ineffectiveness in fulfilling social demands. In addition to presenting such interpretations, the text problematizes some of them, pointing to the diversity of actors, agendas and repertoires of the protests, avoiding certain generalizations present in the researched texts. The research contributes to the knowledge about the 2013 June Journeys in Brazil, based on the conception that these are interpretations and therefore are subject to problematization.

Keywords: june journeys; june 2013; protests; manifestations; conservative wave; brazil.

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Olívia Cristina Perez

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Keywords: june journeys; june 2013; protests; manifestations; conservative wave; brazil.

Resumo- Este artigo aborda certas interpretações sobre as origens, características e legados dos protestos que ocorreram em meados do mês de junho de 2013 no Brasil. A pesquisa qualitativa sistematizou 55 publicações acadêmicas sobre as Jornadas de Junho. Os resultados mostram que, em geral, as Jornadas são associadas aos protestos que ocorreram na cidade de São Paulo contra o aumento das passagens de ônibus. As Jornadas teriam expressado a insatisfação popular com o sistema político e sua ineficácia na concretização das demandas sociais. Além de apresentar tais interpretações, o texto problematiza alguma delas, apontando para a diversidade de atores, pautas e repertórios dos protestos, evitando certas generalizações presentes nos textos pesquisados. A pesquisa contribui para o conhecimento sobre as Jornadas de Junho de 2013 no Brasil, partindo da concepção de que se trata de interpretações e por isso são passíveis de problematizações.

Palavras-chave: jornada de junho; junho de 2013; protestos; manifestações; onda conservadora; brasil.

I. Introdução

Em meados de Junho de 2013 milhares de brasileiros foram às ruas com pautas diversas que reivindicavam desde a concretização dos direitos sociais até mudanças no sistema político (Alonso, 2017; Alonso; Mische, 2016; Bringel, 2013; Bringel; Pleyers, 2015; Cocco, 2014; Coutrot, 2014; Fonseca, 2018; Mendonça, 2017; Miranda, 2017; Moraes, 2015; Nogueira, 2013; Nunes, 2014; Paccelli, 2016; Perruso, 2014; Purdy, 2017; Santos, 2014; Silva, 2015; Singer, 2013; Souza, 2017; Tatagiba, 2014; Tatagiba; Galvão, 2019; Tavares; Roriz; Oliveira, 2016; Vommaro, 2015). No início eram cerca de duas mil pessoas nas ruas; em duas semanas havia mais de um milhão (Folha de S. Paulo, 2015).

Como resposta ao protesto mais famoso das Jornadas (o que ocorreu em 2013 na cidade de São Paulo), o prefeito de São Paulo à época, Fernando Haddad, filiado ao Partido dos Trabalhadores (PT), revogou o aumento das passagens. Mas os protestos não se encerraram. Em junho do mesmo ano a ex-presidenta, Dilma Rousseff (também filiada ao PT), pronunciou-se na televisão prometendo um pacto que visava à melhoria dos serviços públicos e incluía um Plano Nacional de Mobilidade Urbana, a destinação de cem por cento dos recursos do petróleo para a educação e a importação imediata de milhares de médicos do exterior para ampliar o atendimento do Sistema Único de Saúde (SUS). Comprometeu-se também a realizar uma reforma política ampla e profunda que ampliaria a participação popular. Mas nem assim os protestos cessaram. Pelo contrário: eles começaram a ter como pauta justamente o *impeachment* da ex-presidenta (Almeida, 2019; Cruz; Kaysel; Codas, 2015; Rocha, 2019; Tatagiba, 2017, 2019; Tatagiba; Trindade; Teixeira, 2015).

Em meio às diversas manifestações, ocorreram as eleições presidenciais de 2014, nas quais Dilma Rousseff (PT) foi reeleita. Logo em seguida sua vitória foi questionada pelo seu adversário, Aécio Neves, filiado ao Partido da Social Democracia Brasileira (PSDB). Em 2015 iniciou-se o processo de *impeachment* da presidenta Dilma Rousseff, o que levou seu vice, Michel Temer (Partido do Movimento Democrático Brasileiro, PMDB, depois transformado em Movimento Democrático Brasileiro, MDB) ao posto de presidente do Brasil, em agosto de 2016. Em 2018 foi eleito o atual presidente do Brasil, Jair Bolsonaro (à época filiado ao Partido Social Liberal, PSL, e agora sem partido). O governo de Bolsonaro defende pautas conservadoras por meio de práticas autoritárias, bem distantes do projeto participativo defendido pelo PT nos anos em que permaneceu na presidência do país (de 2003 a meados de 2016). Logo, o Brasil vive um outro ciclo político que, embora de forma nebulosa, tem relação com as Jornadas de Junho.

Não se sabe exatamente as origens, características e impactos de Junho de 2013. Até hoje pesquisadores e analistas políticos tentam explicar os

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protestos e a posterior onda conservadora que parece ter tomado conta do país. Em geral os escritos associam as origens das manifestações aos protestos ocorridos fora do Brasil (Cocco, 2014), a certa incapacidade dos governos (Santos, 2014; Silva, 2015) e também ao acesso então recente dos manifestantes aos meios digitais (Paccelli, 2016; Santos, 2014). É comum que se relacione as Jornadas aos protestos que ocorreram na cidade de São Paulo contra o aumento das passagens de ônibus (Augusto; Rosa; Resende, 2016), embora alguns textos indiquem sua diversidade (Bringel; Pleyers, 2015; Paccelli, 2016; Tavares; Roriz; Oliveira, 2016). Como legado os trabalhos destacam, de um lado, o aumento do conservadorismo na política brasileira (Lima, 2014; Nunes, 2014; Silva, 2015); de outro, a possibilidade de aprimoramento do sistema político (Nogueira, 2013), além da formação de novas organizações políticas (Bringel; Pleyers, 2015; Perez, 2019; Perruzo, 2014).

O presente texto tem como objetivo apresentar argumentos que explicam as Jornadas. A pergunta que guia a pesquisa é: quais são as interpretações sobre as origens, características e legados de Junho de 2013 de acordo com textos acadêmicos publicados sobre o assunto? Tem-se como hipótese que os escritos sobre Junho divergem a respeito do ciclo de protestos, mas que é possível organizá-los com vistas à percepção das diferentes interpretações a respeito do fenômeno. Além de apresentar tais interpretações, o texto problematiza algumas delas, apontando para a diversidade dos atores, das pautas e dos repertórios das manifestações, evitando com isso certas generalizações que aparecem nos textos.

É importante ressaltar que não se trata apenas de uma nova descrição sobre as origens, características ou legados das Jornada de Junho, tampouco de uma síntese que revele de fato o que foi Junho de 2013. Mais que isso, o texto parte do pressuposto de que Junho é um terreno de disputa que resiste a simplificações. O trabalho também não tem a intenção de abordar todas as interpretações sobre as Jornadas. Limitamo-nos aqui a algumas dessas interpretações divulgadas em periódicos científicos disponibilizados *online*.

A pesquisa apresenta uma nova abordagem ao organizar e problematizar a literatura acadêmica existente sobre as Jornadas de Junho. Pretende-se desta maneira fornecer ao leitor uma compreensão mais ampla sobre Junho, apontando para as disputas e complexidades do fenômeno.

II. Procedimentos Metodológicos

Trata-se de uma pesquisa qualitativa que utiliza a técnica da sistematização da literatura para organizar as interpretações sobre Junho de 2013. A revisão sistemática da literatura parte de uma seleção criteriosa de trabalhos com vistas a reunir um conhecimento sobre determinado assunto. As revisões sistemáticas são úteis para integrar as informações de um conjunto de estudos realizados separadamente e identificar temas em comum, orientando investigações futuras (Sampaio; Mancini, 2007, p.84).

Primeiramente em março de 2019 foram levantados artigos científicos no Portal de Periódicos da Coordenação de Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal de Nível Superior (CAPES)[1] (acesso restrito) que continham o descritor "Junho" em seu assunto. Foram encontrados 44 resultados, dentre os quais três artigos não tratavam das Jornadas e outros quatro eram repetidos, logo, 37 artigos foram escolhidos para análise.

Percebeu-se que os resultados não abrangiam artigos mais recentes, em especial os de 2019. Por isso optou-se pela localização de artigos sobre Junho de 2013 no repositório de periódicos *Scielo*, embora o portal de periódicos da Capes reúna artigos publicados no *Scielo*.[2] No *Scielo* foram encontrados vinte artigos, dentre os quais nove já haviam sido extraídos da plataforma da Capes, por isso foram excluídos, e mais dois não tratavam do assunto, totalizando nove artigos incluídos na presente análise.

A busca em portais que reúnem periódicos tem suas limitações. Por exemplo, o fato de não reunirem trabalhos que ainda estão em preparação ou livros a respeito do tema. Para contornar tais limitações, foram incluídos na análise três livros que continham capítulos sobre o tema e mais um escrito por um único autor.[3] Tais livros foram escolhidos por terem sido bastante citados nos artigos.

Por fim, buscou-se anais de eventos que continham trabalhos que explorassem a questão. Foram selecionados dois trabalhos nos anais da IV *Conferência* Internacional: "*Greves* e Conflitos Sociais", fruto de uma conferência realizada em São Paulo em julho de 2018, e outros três extraídos dos anais do Encontro da Associação Nacional de Pós-

[1] A Capes é uma fundação vinculada ao Ministério da Educação do Brasil (MEC) que atua na expansão e consolidação da pós-graduação *stricto sensu* (mestrado e doutorado). O Portal de Periódicos da Capes é a maior biblioteca virtual do Brasil: reúne 48 mil periódicos em texto completo e é acessado por mais de 400 instituições no País (fonte: https://www.capes.gov.br)

[2] O *Scielo* é uma importante ferramenta de busca por material científico no Brasil. Segundo informações obtidas na página virtual da Fundação de Amparo à Pesquisa do Estado de São Paulo (FAPESP, 2015), o *Scielo* "indexa e publica em acesso aberto na internet uma coleção selecionada de periódicos científicos brasileiros com o objetivo de aumentar sua visibilidade, acessibilidade, qualidade, uso e impacto."

[3] Trata-se das seguintes coletâneas: *Harvey*, D. et all. (2012). *Occupy*. Movimentos de protesto que tomaram as ruas. São Paulo: Boitempo, Carta Maior; *Harvey*, D. (2014). *Cidades rebeldes*: do direito à cidade à revolução urbana. São. Paulo: Martins Fontes e Moraes, A. et al. (orgs.). (2014) *Junho*: potência das ruas e das redes. São Paulo: Friedrich Ebert Stifung; e do livro: Nogueira, M. (2013). As ruas e a democracia: ensaios sobre o Brasil contemporâneo. Brasília: FAP; Rio de Janeiro: Contraponto.

Graduação e Pesquisa em Ciências Sociais (ANPOCS), datados de 2014 e 2017.

Ao todo foram localizados 46 artigos científicos, quatro livros e mais cinco trabalhos de eventos, totalizando 55 materiais acadêmicos sobre as Jornadas de Junho. Todo esse material foi lido e sistematizado com o auxílio do programa de computador NVivo (programa de computador para análise de dados qualitativos).

O conteúdo dos textos foi analisado a fim de se extrair interpretações sobre as origens, características e legados das Jornadas de Junho. A análise de conteúdo é uma técnica bastante utilizada nas pesquisas qualitativas com o objetivo de verificar a frequência com que ocorrem determinadas construções em um texto, o que permite sistematizar as informações reunidas (Bardin, 2006). Vários dos textos reunidos não versavam sobre os pontos de interesse da pesquisa e por isso não foram incluídos nas análises.

A título de exemplo e ilustração, serão retomados trechos de textos que versam sobre aspectos relacionados às Jornadas, como os protestos fora do Brasil, manifestações posteriores a 2013 ou as relações entre sociedade civil e Estado.

III. Que Foi Junho De 2013

As passeatas e protestos que se espalharam no Brasil em 2013 são chamados de Manifestações de 2013, Jornadas de Junho, Junho de 2013 ou Revoltas de 2013. A própria nomeação do fenômeno varia entre os autores. Alguns o chamam Jornadas de Junho ou Jornadas de Junho de 2013 (Bringel; Players, 2015; Fonseca, 2018; Mendonça, 20017), indicando desse modo que se trata de um clico de protestos, não apenas uma grande manifestação. Outros falam em Manifestações de Junho de 2013 (Miranda, 2017), ressaltando com isso os protestos de rua. Saibam os autores ou não que a nomenclatura traz consigo certa ênfase ao ciclo ou ao protesto, certo é que há implicações.

Optamos neste texto por chamar o fenômeno de Jornadas de Junho. Isso implica filiá-lo a um ciclo de protestos maior.[4] Além disso a nomenclatura permite estabelecer conexões entre protestos como a “Revolta do Buzú” (Salvador, 2003) e a “Revolta da Catraca” (Florianópolis, 2004-2005), que já expressavam antes de 2013 a insatisfação com o sistema político e a necessidade de concretização do direito de ir e vir por meio da redução das tarifas de transportes coletivos (Paccelli, 2016). No entanto, é importante ressaltar que, embora algumas demandas das Jornadas de Junho não fossem propriamente novidade, houve um pico dos protestos em 2013.

As Jornadas de Junho geralmente são associadas a um protesto específico iniciado em Junho de 2013 pelo Movimento Passe Livre (MPL) na cidade de São Paulo que tinha como meta fazer com que a tarifa do transporte coletivo não sofresse aumento (Augusto; Rosa; Resende, 2016).

Por outro lado, outros textos alertam para a impossibilidade de se associar as Jornadas a um único protesto (Bringel; Pleyers, 2015; Paccelli, 2016; Tavares; Roriz; Oliveira, 2016). Tais estudos indicam que os protestos aconteceram em diversas partes do país (Paccelli, 2016; Tavares; Roriz; Oliveira, 2016), e ademais que “as lógicas de mobilização, a composição social dos manifestantes e a correlação de forças variou consideravelmente dependendo das cidades analisadas” (Bringel; Pleyers, 2015, p.7). A identificação das Jornadas com os eventos que ocorreram em São Paulo e no Rio de Janeiro revelaria uma visão sudestecêntrica (Tavares; Roriz; Oliveira, 2016), uma vez que ambas as cidades estão localizadas na região Sudeste do Brasil, a mais rica e populosa.

Da mesma forma que existe uma vinculação de Junho com os protestos liderados pelo MPL, existe a associação de Junho com um tipo de organização política que se apresenta como novidade, na medida em que se propõe como mais horizontal e distante da política tradicional: os coletivos (Augusto; Rosa; Resende, 2016; Gondin, 2016). Para essa interpretação, as Jornadas seriam caracterizadas pela ruptura com o sistema da política tradicional, pois comportariam e disseminariam organizações políticas mais horizontais e sem liderança.

Essa identificação tem relação com o fato de que o próprio MPL (organização considerada um símbolo de Junho de 2013) se apresenta como uma organização sem liderança, distante da burocracia e dos protocolos das organizações mais tradicionais como os partidos (Movimento Passe Livre, 2013). De fato estavam presentes nas Jornadas organizações chamadas de coletivos (Perez, 2019; Tatagiba; Galvão, 2019; Vommaro, 2015). Mas ainda assim não é possível afirmar que apenas os coletivos estavam presentes nas Jornadas.

Trata-se de um clico de protestos com variações importantes entre eles e dentro deles. Entre os atores havia diversos setores da sociedade, organizados ou não (Paccelli, 2016, p.35). Conforme estudo de Tatagiba e Galvão (2019), os grupos sociais tradicionalmente mais mobilizados, a exemplo dos trabalhadores, foram os que mais se fizeram presentes nas ruas entre 2011 e 2016. Esses dados indicam a presença de organizações tradicionais, o que vai contra uma certa interpretação de que Junho de

[4] A noção de ciclo de protestos tem como base os escritos de Tarrow (2009, p.25) segundo os quais os ciclos de confrontos acontecem “uma vez que os recursos para uma ação coletiva se tornam disponíveis para as pessoas comuns e para as pessoas que diziam representá-las [...], produzindo os períodos de turbulência e reorganização”.

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2013 tenha reunido atores sociais novos cujas características são a autonomia e a horizontalidade.

Ainda no tocante ao tipo de organização mais presente nas Jornadas, é preciso diferenciar discursos de práticas. O fato de organizações como o MPL e outros coletivos se definirem como horizontais não permite a adoção desses critérios para todas as organizações presentes nas Jornadas. Tampouco é possível afirmar que uma organização seja de fato horizontal a partir de sua própria definição. Mesmo a autoproclamada autonomia dessas organizações pode ser questionada: primeiramente porque na própria manifestação já exige algo do Estado; em segundo lugar porque muitos integrantes de partidos que estavam nas manifestações foram eleitos para cargos públicos. A relação dos manifestantes com partidos políticos foi verificada por Souza (2017, p.14), que assim explica: "o que o ciclo de 2013 parece demonstrar pelo menos em seus padrões relacionais é uma ligação complexa entre os partidos políticos da esquerda e o MPL-SP. [...]".

Também há diferenças de interpretação a respeito das pautas dos protestos. Para aqueles que associam Junho à reivindicação iniciada por MPL de que a tarifa de ônibus não sofresse aumento, os protestos tinham relação com direitos sociais, como o de ir e vir (Augusto; Rosa; Resende, 2016.

Desmistificando certa associação de Junho com uma única pauta, Tatagiba e Galvão (2019) identificaram entre as pautas sobretudo queixas dirigidas ao governo e ao sistema político, seguidos por temas como salário, trabalho e condições de vida nas cidades. Nesse sentido, nota-se que as condições de vida na cidade não seriam a pauta principal. Outro estudo comprova o caráter amplo das manifestações por meio de análises dos cartazes dos protestos que traziam desde frases como "não são apenas os vinte centavos" (em referência ao aumento da tarifa do transporte coletivo em São Paulo) até pautas relacionadas aos direitos dos animais (Moraes, 2015). Até mesmo pautas conservadoras que ganharam fôlego depois de 2013 já estavam presentes nas Jornadas (Alonso, 2017). Logo, a interpretação dos protestos como blocos homogêneos elimina sua diversidade.

Outra disputa diz respeito à novidade das Jornadas. O termo "novíssimos movimentos sociais" por vezes é utilizado para nomear as Jornadas (Augusto; Rosa; Resende, 2016; Gohn, 2017). Conforme essa explicação, os novíssimos movimentos sociais seriam plurais, autônomos, horizontais e apartidários (Augusto; Rosa; Resende, 2016), características de organizações distantes das estruturas institucionalizadas (Gohn, 2017). O símbolo dos novíssimos seria o Movimento Passe Livre, a organização mais associada às Jornadas, caracterizada pelos "princípios do apartidarismo, horizontalidade, autonomia e constituição de frente de luta para pressionar por um objetivo específico" (Augusto; Rosa; Resende, 2016, p.26). Até o fato de que as Jornadas teriam expressado e incentivado o discurso e a prática antipartidária e antissistêmica foi considerado uma novidade. Por exemplo, conforme Noqueira (2013), a natureza dos protestos e das organizações associadas ao MPL era não partidária. Por isso, na visão do autor, o movimento foi virtuoso quando conseguiu evitar sua instrumentalização política.

Tais interpretações, temporalmente próximas dos protestos, apontam para uma nova ordem política inaugurada pelas Jornadas: uma organização do poder mais aberta à participação da população e menos mediada por partidos políticos.

No entanto, a novidade é passível de problematizações. As passeatas de 2013 não foram bem uma novidade: os brasileiros já estavam expressando insatisfação com a política e com os serviços públicos em protestos como a "Revolta do Buzú" (Salvador, 2003) e a "Revolta da Catraca" (Florianópolis, 2004-2005). Inclusive marchas contra a corrupção aconteceram em 2011 em diversas capitais do País. As primeiras, em Brasília, levaram cerca de 25 mil pessoas para as ruas. Organizados por meio das mídias sociais, esses atos de protesto atacavam o voto secreto no Congresso, os recentes escândalos de corrupção no governo da presidenta Dilma Rousseff, a não aplicação da Lei da Ficha Limpa e até o presidente da Confederação Brasileira de Futebol (CBF), Ricardo Teixeira. Nessas manifestações, evitou-se o uso de referências partidárias (Estadão, 2011).

IV. Interpretações Sobre as Origens De Junho De 2013

Junho de 2013 também é frequentemente comparado com ciclos de protestos que aconteceram em outras partes do mundo (Cocco, 2014). Em meados de 2010 grandes protestos ocorreram no âmbito internacional, como as Jornadas da Praça Tahir no Egito, o *Occupy Wall Street* nos Estados Unidos e os Indignados na Espanha (Carneiro, 2012). Pleyers e Glasius (2013) explicam que esses e outros ativismos pós-2010 têm em comum a infraestrutura de redes e reuniões que facilitam a rápida difusão de slogans, repertórios de ação e significados, processos de globalização, que influenciam de forma semelhante a geração de ativistas, e demandas e identidade centradas em três conceitos interconectados: democracia, justiça social e dignidade.

É importante ressaltar que, embora sejam apontadas similaridades entre os ciclos de protestos internacionais em 2011 e o brasileiro em 2013 (incluindo repertórios e atores), não é possível concluir que as manifestações brasileiras orientaram-se ou foram impulsionadas pelas manifestações globais. Conforme

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Bringel e Pleyers (2015) as mobilizações brasileiras compartilham algumas formas de expressão, ação e organização comuns a muitos movimentos contemporâneos, pois estão associadas, no espaço, a uma nova geopolítica da indignação global e, no tempo, a uma ruptura com ciclos políticos, sujeitos, práticas e concepções. Mas o Brasil tem particularidades que merecem atenção. Segundo Bringel (2013), enquanto na Europa e nos Estados Unidos a defesa era por direitos conquistados historicamente, no Brasil a reivindicação era por novos direitos ou a concretização daqueles já reconhecidos. Ademais, não houve difusão permanente e sistemática dos repertórios de ação para fora do Brasil e ao contrário do que afirma a tese da articulação do local com o global, no Brasil a escala de ação principal foi a nacional. Por fim, no Brasil, as manifestações variaram em cada cidade e expressaram demandas particulares e críticas à política local e regional.

Mobilizando um argumento mais economicista e, no entanto, ainda próximo da comparação com o cenário internacional, estudos como o de Coutrot (2014) explicam que o Brasil, assim como outras partes do mundo, passava por uma crise econômica que culminou em grande insatisfação e revolta da população. A crise econômica brasileira foi uma decorrência de crises mundiais agravada por anos de adoção de medidas neoliberais (não revertidas pelo Partido dos Trabalhadores).

Outro conjunto de argumentos para explicar as origens de 2013 remete aos limites da atuação do PT na presidência do país, em especial durante a gestão de Dilma Rousseff (de 2011 a agosto de 2016). O PT não teria conseguindo promover reformas importantes e manteve a democracia fechada aos anseios da população (Silva, 2015). Nesse sentido, como explica Fonseca (2018, p.5):

> [...] pode-se afirmar que as manifestações de junho/julho, mesmo que polifônicas, aparentemente apontam para o esgotamento do pacto incremental e conservador articulado pelo lulismo: por não enfrentar os grandes poderes constituídos, por agir apenas nas franjas do sistema de poder e por não “radicalizar a democracia”.

Nesse sentido, os protestos de 2013 teriam acontecido pela incapacidade do governo petista, que mesmo após promover a ascensão de milhões de brasileiros à classe média via consumo, não conseguiu realizar reformas estruturais.

Um outro argumento que atribui ao PT certa responsabilidade pelas Jornadas de Junho defende que o partido deixou de fazer a mobilização das bases, cooptando militantes de movimentos sociais para seus quadros. Consequentemente, os movimentos sociais do campo progressista teriam se desmobilizado, permitindo assim o avanço de organizações conservadoras.

Analogamente, conforme outra explicação, a origem das Jornadas estaria na incapacidade do sistema político brasileiro de responder às novas demandas dos cidadãos (Santos, 2014; Silva, 2015). Haveria uma crise da representação e do sistema político que elegeria políticos que não atenderiam as demandas dos cidadãos. Daí a recorrente crítica aos partidos e ao sistema político nos protestos.

Conforme outra explicação, os protestos cresceram, dentre outros motivos, devido à repressão policial violenta em alguns deles. O estopim das reações contrárias à violência policial teria acontecido após os protestos em São Paulo no dia 13 de Junho de 2013, quando diversos manifestantes, especialmente jornalistas, foram feridos ou detidos pela Polícia de São Paulo (Santos, 2014). Foi nesse protesto que o repórter fotográfico Sérgio Silva da agência *Futura Press* perdeu a visão do olho esquerdo após ser atingido por uma bala de borracha disparada por um policial. A condenação social dos atos de violência policial teria levado mais pessoas a participarem dos protestos posteriores.

O aumento de acesso e uso da internet também é considerado um dos fatores que explicariam as Jornadas (Paccelli, 2016; Santos, 2014). Conforme esse argumento as redes sociais digitais, como o *Facebook* e o *Twitter*, possibilitaram a convocação e organização dos manifestantes, sendo, portanto, imprescindíveis para a mobilização de tantos manifestantes. No entanto, trabalhos como o de Machado e Miskolci (2019) ponderam que não é possível atribuir às Tecnologias de Informação e Comunicação (TICs) a eclosão dos conflitos: as TICs visibilizam, amplificam e radicalizam tensões, mas não desencadeiam conflitos por si só.

Como procuramos indicar, nos trabalhos citados é comum a associação de Junho com fenômenos novos ou recentes, tais como a popularização da internet ou a administração do PT no Governo Federal. Não encontramos trabalhos que tentem explicar Junho por meio da cultura política autoritária na sociedade brasileira. Isso faz concluir que os argumentos tendem a ser externos aos cidadãos, mas também poderiam ser internos.

V. Possíveis Legados De Junho De 2013

Depois de 2013 o discurso anticorrupção predominantemente orientado contra o PT começou a ganhar destaque entre as pautas dos protestos (Almeida, 2019; Cruz; Kaysel; Codas, 2015; Rocha, 2019; Tatagiba, 2017, 2019; Tatagiba; Trindade; Teixeira, 2015). Em 2014 algumas passeatas foram expressamente lideradas por organizações políticas de cunho liberal na economia e conservador nos costumes, tais como o Vem Pra Rua (VPR) e o

Movimento Brasil Livre (MBL) (Gohn, 2018). Foi em manifestações como essas que proliferou o apoio à intervenção militar.

Conforme alguns interpretes, a preponderância da direita já no ciclo de protestos significou o fim de um ciclo político brasileiro iniciado com a redemocratização nos anos setenta (Mendonça, 2017, s/p.). Nesse sentido as Jornadas teriam aberto espaço para o avanço dos projetos conservadores que hoje são predominantes no país (Lima, 2014; Nunes, 2014; Silva, 2015). As práticas conservadoras teriam começado a se manifestar em 2015 nas passeatas que pediam o *impeachment* da ex-presidente Dilma Rousseff, desembocando por volta de 2018 em apoio à ditadura e em votos para um candidato de ultradireita (Jair Bolsonaro) nas eleições presidenciais. Nesse processo, a esquerda arrefeceu e virou alvo de críticas alimentadas pelo discurso anti-PT.

Uma das explicações para a guinada do ciclo de protestos à direita é a possível cooptação das manifestações pelas forças conservadoras (Nunes, 2014). De acordo com essa interpretação, as manifestações iniciais eram autônomas, horizontais e à esquerda. No entanto, a direita (também com seus partidos) usou as manifestações para disseminar e impulsionar pautas conservadoras. Lima (2014, s/p.) explica que "o que começou como veemente condenação transformou-se da noite para o dia não só em tentativa de cooptação, mas também em um esforço para instigar e pautar as manifestações, introduzindo bandeiras aparentemente alheias à motivação original dos manifestantes". Uma das instituições responsáveis por essa inversão de pauta teria sido a "velha mídia" (TV, diário e jornal), que no início condenava os protestos e depois passou a apoiá-los, inclusive incentivando a participação de seu público. Nesse sentido, de modo geral, as jornadas de Junho de 2013 teriam sido invadidas por conservadores, o que gerou um enfraquecimento das pautas iniciais do MPL e contribuiu para a deposição do governo Dilma.

No entanto, embora essa interpretação descreva parcialmente a emergência das tendências reacionárias que se anunciariam nos protestos, nem por isso seria possível compreender Junho como um bloco homogêneo à esquerda seguido por outro bloco de protestos também homogêneo, desta vez à direita. Pesquisadores mostram que há continuidades entre Junho de 2013 e os protestos conservadores posteriores. Em que pesem as diferenças entre os protestos, em Junho de 2013 já estavam presentes pautas e membros de partidos mais à direita: por exemplo, as que ressaltavam o fim da corrupção com ênfase moral. Para Angela Alonso, em Junho (2017, p.52):

> [...] não era um "todos contra tudo o que está aí". Havia preponderâncias de pauta em cada setor da mobilização. Autonomistas e socialistas se situaram à esquerda do governo do PT, com agenda reformista, mais e melhores políticas públicas e expansão de direitos. O setor patriota ia do liberalismo (a favor do Estado enxuto e eficiente "padrão Fifa") ao conservadorismo (pró-ditadura militar), com foco no rechaço a instituições políticas, políticos e partidos, e na identificação do PT com a corrupção, via Mensalão ("Corruptos").

De fato, pautas e organizações conservadoras já estavam presentes em Junho, embora tenham ganho ênfase em protestos posteriores. A pesquisa sobre a nova direita conduzida pelo Monitor do Debate Político no Meio Digital em parceria com a Fundação Escola de Sociologia e Política de São Paulo, mediante entrevistas com 432 manifestantes, apontou que mais de dois terços dos manifestantes participaram das passeatas que pediram o *impeachment* de Dilma Rousseff, enquanto mais de um terço participou dos protestos de Junho de 2013 (El País, 2018). Portanto uma parte das pessoas que compareceram aos protestos em Junho de 2013, cinco anos depois voltaram às ruas para apoiar um candidato conservador nos costumes e liberal na economia.

Isso pode parecer um contrassenso. Mas segundo argumentação aqui apresentada, Junho de 2013 foi tão diverso que não se pode atribuir àquelas manifestações um caráter democratizante. Isso não significa que os atores, pautas e repertórios mobilizados em Junho de 2013 sejam iguais aos das manifestações de apoio ao presidente Bolsonaro. Mas sim apenas que em Junho houve uma diversidade de atores que deve ser considerada, percepção que ajudaria a relativizar ideia de que o Brasil "virou": os conservadores já estavam nas ruas nas Jornadas de Junho.

Inversamente no entanto, a associação das Jornadas com o fim do ciclo político democratizante no Brasil também falha em descrever totalmente a complexidade do processo. Ela desconsidera outros fatores que têm relação com a eleição de Jair Bolsonaro, como o interesse dos empresários pela pauta ultraliberal do presidente eleito, ou o impacto das novas tecnologias da comunicação nas eleições. Em última instância, uma interpretação que relacionasse diretamente a presença da direita em Junho à configuração política atual poderia culpabilizar os manifestantes e as organizações políticas presentes em Junho pela ascensão de um projeto conservador, distinto das ideias defendidas por grande parte dos manifestantes que saíram às ruas em junho. E se os interesses empresariais e a própria ascensão vertiginosa da figura de Bolsonaro apontam para fatores posteriores, estudos como o de Moisés (2008) revelam traços autoritários na cultura política brasileira anos antes das Jornadas.

Para além dos impactos no sistema político institucional ou eleitoral, algumas interpretações também apontam para um outro tipo de legado de Junho de 2013: a reconfiguração do ativismo social (Bringel; Pleyers, 2015; Perez, 2019; Perruzo, 2014). Parte desse legado seriam os coletivos, organizações que se propõem discursivamente como estruturas novas, fluidas, mais horizontais e divergentes das organizações políticas tradicionais, repudiadas em virtude de seu excesso de normas e hierarquias (Perez, 2019).

Assim como o significado de Junho de 2013 varia nas interpretações posteriores, durante o processo ele também foi múltiplo de acordo com o espectro político pelo qual era interpretado. No calor do momento, a televisão mostrava a ocupação de centros de poder (Congresso Nacional e Assembleias Legislativas), enquanto na internet circulavam expressões como “O Gigante acordou”, como se de fato os brasileiros tivessem despertado de um sono profundo de alienação política e social. A ideia de que o brasileiro havia “despertado” para seus direitos transmitia uma alegria em relação às manifestações. Para intérpretes como Nogueira (2013), havia uma esperança de que a política do Brasil seria aprimorada. Se o brasileiro em geral, e os jovens em particular, eram considerados passivos e pouco interessados em política, as manifestações de Junho de 2013 poderiam estar mostrando que esse cenário havia mudado.

É certo que nem todas as interpretações eram carregadas de esperança: em meio à euforia, alguns militantes do Partido dos Trabalhadores (PT) – partido mais à esquerda no espectro político – desconfiavam que as manifestações poderiam ser o germe do fim da democracia (cf. Miranda, 2017). Como a pauta inicial do movimento tinha como alvo a gestão municipal em São Paulo de Fernando Haddad, filiado ao PT, os petistas se preocupavam com o impacto da mobilização contra um governo mais à esquerda. André Singer, por exemplo, porta-voz da presidência da República no primeiro governo Lula, minimiza os efeitos de Junho ao escrever que: “o Junho brasileiro também produziu um tremor de terra, porém não chegaria a qualificá-lo de terremoto, uma vez que o travejamento fundamental da ordem não foi questionado”. (Singer, 2013, p.24). Para o autor, as Jornadas não questionavam as relações de classe e propriedade, essas sim centrais para grandes transformações sociais.

As interpretações a respeito do ciclo de protestos disputam significados e revelam preferências políticas distintas. Segundo um esquema bem geral, de um lado existem interpretações mais entusiastas a respeito de Junho de 2013 e seu potencial de expressão da democracia; de outro, critica-se as Jornadas por hipoteticamente terem contribuído para a perda de legitimidade dos governos petistas. Em meio a essa disputa, acadêmicos procuram mostrar dados que apontam para a diversidade das Jornadas e a impossibilidade de leituras simplificadas a seu respeito.

Mas o espectro político não é a única forma pela qual seria possível organizar as diversas interpretações sobre Junho. Uma vez que as Jornadas consistiram em um processo progressivo e contraditório que deu vazão a questões de ordens diversas, suas interpretações também podem organizadas de acordo com o momento em que foram produzidas. Em um momento imediatamente posterior, os escritos constatavam com entusiasmo que os brasileiros estariam se mobilizando para finalmente exigirem seus direitos, com destaque para o direito à cidade e o direito a serviços públicos de qualidade. Passados alguns anos, as análises tornaram-se mais cuidadosas na medida em que traçavam distinções entre os ciclos de protestos e indicavam diversidade até mesmo dentro de um único ciclo — essa também foi a intenção do presente artigo.

VI. Conclusão

Este artigo buscou organizar e problematizar os escritos sobre o maior ciclo de protestos ocorrido no Brasil pós-redemocratização, as Jornadas de Junho. Seu esforço principal foi distinguir os argumentos segundo as características, origens e consequências das Jornadas.

Dentre as diversas análises, concordamos com aquelas que mostram o quanto Junho de 2013 foi diverso, reunindo pautas e atores distintos. Essa posição evita simplificações das Jornadas como blocos homogêneos. Pautas à direita, por exemplo, já estavam presentes em Junho, embora tenham ganhado tônus em protestos posteriores. Também destacamos o quanto Junho poder ter sido uma continuidade de protestos anteriores, o que nos põe em posição oposta às que hipertrofiam a novidade do período e das organizações presentes nos protestos.

Mesmo feitas tais ponderações, Junho de 2013 ainda surpreende por aparentemente ter marcado o encerramento do ciclo democratizante no Brasil e a ascensão posterior de governos e pautas conservadores. No entanto, consideramos que o conservadorismo, bem como certo apoio ao autoritarismo, já eram parte da cultura política brasileira e de tempos em tempos ganharam projeção. Nesse sentido, Junho não é uma “virada” na política brasileira. O Brasil se considerava democrático sem antes ter internalizado a democracia, em especial entre os empresários com maior influência sobre o sistema político.

Com base nessa interpretação sugere-se que seria importante o desenvolvimento de pesquisas que revelassem o quanto Junho de 2013 e a onda conservadora posterior replica e alimenta o conservadorismo e o autoritarismo que faz parte da sociedade brasileira. As pesquisas devem entender as Jornadas como continuidades, mais do que como rupturas.

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The Technological Basis of Stupidity

By James F. Welles Ph.D.

A major cultural factor in determining the amount and nature of work performed a society is the level and type of technology applied to the exploitation of its natural resources. Basically, technology is that aspect of culture which encompasses the tools as well as the techniques people use in meeting their material needs.[1] It functions through time in its interrelations to other aspects of society so its significance must be appreciated as means to maladapt a society not only to its natural environment but to itself as well[2] to the point of being tyrannically dehumanizing.[3]

Regardless of the level of sophistication of its technology, when a group outstrips the carrying capacity of its environment, starvation, disease and/or war will follow. This is a basic principle of life, and technology cannot alter it. Sophisticated devices and methods may expand the capacity of the environment to sustain a certain way of life, but when these new limits are exceeded, the same predictable result is inevitable but worse. In fact, without some guiding sense of the long-term impact of technoillogical exploitation of natural resources, technology serves only to build up a culture to a bigger, neurotic paradoxically induced crash when it comes.

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Just at the start of the Industrial Revolution, Thomas Malthus articulated the principle that starvation, disease and war always will be the limiting factors on the growth of human populations.[4] It is a sad commentary on humanity that, although technological development has proceeded apace since that time, little in the last two centuries indicates that our political leaders are aware of the long- term dangers inherent in their shortsighted policies. We seem unable to reconcile the facts that we are both slaves to our cultural world as well as creatures of nature.

The chronic starvation in Ethiopia is a tragic example of the stupidity a simple culture can impose upon itself. There, agricultural techniques which sufficed for ages became ineffective as the natural and political environments changed. The problems of coping with extensive droughts were compounded by the contrived polices of the government which confounded the teachings of one noted economist, refuted those of another and confirmed those of a third. Colonel Mengistu Haile-Mariam dealt with the crisis with policies based on his own distortion of Marxist ideology[5]—policies which proved to be at least as maladaptive as the traditional means for providing food where these were applied. Sad to say, some of the best agricultural land in the country was used to produce livestock feed for export to Europe[6], thus refuting Adam Smith's notion that profit makers improve their society in general.[7] Sadder to say, no one in a position of authority did anything to promote birth control as a long-term policy for preventing future famines, so, as Thomas Malthus averred, famine acted as a passive form of birth control[8]–this matter being too important to be dealt with logically by intelligent, informed leaders.[a]

Although the commitment of any civilization to its way of life may be irrational, it may also be adjudged as efficient if the same society provides the standard for measuring its mythological success. The hidden pitfall is not what that standard may be but what it is not—not what it includes but what it omits. In technologically advanced societies, the commission of machines to help people is clearly desirable, but the omission of people from the calculations of computer programmers is indicative of a cultured failure to perceive that people are not here to help machines. The social impact of technology and scientific ideology is commonly treated as an incidental spin-off from numerous, specific projects developed by single-minded engineers. However, the parts do not add up to a whole; they add up to a lot of disjointed parts.

The material success of a technologically oriented society may impress those who revel in quantified analysis, but human and spiritual values have been sacrificed to the point that most of us cease even to wonder if life has any meaning beyond our self-constructed, self-destructive world. Today's overdeveloped nations perceive themselves more as successfully prospering and thriving in their own technological present than in the process of withering and dying commercially in a global economy in which the internet reigns extreme. This perception is justified partly because cybertechnology exaggerates personal inequalities/advantages which promote the profitable application of mathematics to engineering and science.[9]

However profitable such applications are, they leave us with the undeniable fact that *we are committed to an unsustainable life style*.[10] We have until about 2060 to perfect fusion[b] and solar technologies or come up with some other energy source to sustain our voracious, self-centered civilization. Our mentality toward mother earth was always shaped by how we can get how much from it. Of all the classical political economists, Malthus alone consider the supply side–that the "How much" was finite.[11]

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a. President Mengistu resigned in May, 1991, but the famine predicted when this was written in 1985 occurred in 2000–and again in 2011 and 20??.

Notes

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b. The drawback to nuclear fusion is that it produces plutonium 238–one of the most toxic materials known–by the ton. Solar is clean and essentially limited only by the areas exposed to the sun. We have enough coal to last us into the 23rd century but Newton predicted the end of the world in 2060, so I will stick with him. JFW. ☹

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Electronic Public Service Delivery and Citizens' Trust in the Nigerian Government

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Abstract- Public service delivery is significant and central to building trust in the government. In the era of the internet, innovations in ICTs have reshaped the mode of interaction between governments and the citizens, thereby affecting the delivery of public services. As ICTs are providing opportunities for effective delivery of public services to the citizens, an expected outcome is an improvement of trust in government by the same citizens, especially in a country like Nigeria with a history of weak citizens' trust in government. Using an online survey conducted with 13,743 users of electronic public services in Nigeria, the study found that electronic public service delivery had a significant positive effect on public trust in Nigeria. The study recommended the need for improvements in some areas of electronic delivery of public services as a build-up to the observed achievements.

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Electronic Public Service Delivery and Citizens' Trust in the Nigerian Government

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Abstract- Public service delivery is significant and central to building trust in the government. In the era of the internet, innovations in ICTs have reshaped the mode of interaction between governments and the citizens, thereby affecting the delivery of public services. As ICTs are providing opportunities for effective delivery of public services to the citizens, an expected outcome is an improvement of trust in government by the same citizens, especially in a country like Nigeria with a history of weak citizens' trust in government. Using an online survey conducted with 13,743 users of electronic public services in Nigeria, the study found that electronic public service delivery had a significant positive effect on public trust in Nigeria. The study recommended the need for improvements in some areas of electronic delivery of public services as a build-up to the observed achievements.

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I. Introduction

The idea of a social contract that connects the people to the state through legitimacy requires that social services be delivered effectively and efficiently. In essence, the overall image of any government depends on the goodwill, legitimacy and trust it earns from the citizens. Many developing countries appear to have failed in their mandate of effective and efficient service delivery as well as ensuring prudence in public spending. These failures have culminated in sour relationships between the citizens and their governments, as trust keeps declining in the relationships. For instance, Babalola, (2012) held that Nigerians distrust in their government had been a long fairy tale, accumulated over the years by the indifferent manner with which public goods and services are delivered. However, the trust deficit is not limited to Nigeria or the developing countries as surveys have shown that even the developed world battles with a persistent decline in public trust (Moti, 2007 & 2013).

Distrust poses a serious challenge to the working of governments (Iroghama, 2012). In an attempt to reverse the trust deficiency, Governments strive to reinvent their operations and procedure in service delivery and public engagement. This quest manifests in the contemporary increasing migration to electronic public service delivery by governments. Citizens as well look forward to a flexible, efficient, and transparent administration as well as an increasing range of services that are internet-oriented (Wirtz & Daiser, 2015). If well implemented, Parent, Vandebeek, and Gemino (2005) posited that e-government – electronic delivery of public services - is a powerful tool for improving the internal efficiency of the government and the quality of service delivery as well as enhancing public participation. A new paradigm in changing the attitudes and perceptions of the citizens towards government can be facilitated through the adoption of e-Government as it has the potential of bridging the wide gap between the citizens and the government. Similarly, e-government creates access to government data, which will, in turn, promote transparency and consequently lead to trust-building in the government by the citizens and the government. Trust, if genuinely present, can promote public participation, prompt compliance with government directives by the citizens, and as well inspire patriotism in the citizens.

A successful e-government project can promote transparency, accountability, and development. In return for timely, effective and efficient social services, the people pay taxes promptly; abide by state laws and offer themselves as and when necessary to the service of the state. The interchange of these mutual responsibilities does not just facilitate a harmonious co-existence between the state and the citizens but, it also helps in building citizen's trust in the government. In a more elaborate dimension, it raises social capital by boosting the overall levels of trust in the government.

Since the adoption of e-government in 2001, the Nigerian government, both at national and state levels, has put many services online. At the national level, such services include business registration, obtaining national identity cards, drug authentication, obtaining driver's licence, public examination registration, and payment of taxes, among others. Whether or not this effort has generated a significant level of trust in the government by the citizens remains an unanswered question. The answer to the question constitutes the focus of this study.

II. E-Government

The term e-government can be described as a summation of 'government' and 'ICT'. e-Government focuses on using the internet to transform the operations, structures, and, most importantly, the culture of governance (Alshehri, & Drew, 2010). Former

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Nigerian President Olusegun Obasanjo, cited in Adeyeye and Aladesanmi (2011) e-Government as "the use of information & communication technologies, to improve efficiency, effectiveness, transparency, and accountability of governance through implementing data warehousing and integrated decision support system to manage the modern economy for the benefit of the govered."

The European Commission (2003) conceives e-government as the use of computer-related technologies in public administration with organizational change and new skills in a bid to improve public services, strengthen support for public policies, and promote democratic processes. Similar to the European Commission's view is the perception of Denhardt and Denhardt (2009), who described e-government as a tool for service delivery; the use of "all the information and communication technology platforms and applications in the public sector or the use of the internet for delivering government information and services to citizens." Strengthening this perspective, Adah (2015) described e-Government as a two-way information sharing process that entails the application of ICTs in service delivery while ensuring unfettered access to such services to citizens. Practically, e-government signals the adoption of a new leadership approach, a new mechanism for policy formulation, an ingenious way for service delivery, new ways of listening, and responding to needs of the public as well as new ways of organizing and delivering good governance. Dhamodharam and Saminathan (2011) termed e-government as the "government's use of ICT tools, particularly web-based internet applications, to enhance the access to and delivery of government information and service to citizens, businesses, and arms of government." In the words of Jalali and Khorasani (2012), the concept of e-government stands for electronic service delivery and information exchange both within the public organizations and outside them (Inter-Governmental), which are performed using various technical tools. In this mix, a mutual relationship between government and citizens, non-profit organizations, business persons, employees, and the government itself is enhanced.

Concisely, a common understanding in these is that e-government refers to the application of ICTs, principally web-based platforms, to provide cheaper, effective, convenient, and faster access to government services.

a) Public/Political Trust

The ease with which trust is used in everyday discussions notwithstanding, no succinctly acceptable definition of the construct currently exists among researchers (Romano, 2003). However, trust implies a three-part relationship involving at least two actors and an act: a person may trust specific individuals or institutions to do specific things (Guinnane, 2005). The term is conceptualized as a multifaceted term with varied features that are considered relevant in defining it.

Trust can be defined as the expectation that arises within a community of regular, honest, and cooperative behavior, based on shared norms, on the part of other members of that community (Iroghama, 2012). In a slightly different perspective, Lewicki and Bunker (1995) defined trust as a state involving confident, positive expectation about another's motives concerning oneself in situations involving risk. Lewicki and Bunker sees trust as a "subjective assessment of another's influence in terms of the extent of one's perceptions" of the quality and significance of another's impact on "one's outcomes in a given situation, such that one's expectation of, openness to, and inclination toward such influence provide a sense of control over the potential outcomes of the situation". Nonetheless, trust is conditional, incremental, and symmetrical. Simply put, it is the confidence reposed in others, indicating that they will do the right thing.

"Trust appeared with humanity and the development of social interaction. Almost every aspect of a person's life is based on one or another way in trust" (Colesca, 2009). Trust is a concept drawn from an array of disciplines that is influenced by both measurable and non-measurable factors. Jalali and Khorasani (2012) buttressed that trust appeared in the everyday life of the people. Therefore, it is a very robust concept, covering a wide range of relationships. According to Eigeman (2007), trust is a key element in the relationship between voters and elected representatives that forms part of the representative legitimacy and the political system. He opines that "if one desires a solid basis for making and enforcing rules for citizens and society, trust is essential." Trust is the first responsibility of the political administration, which it must strive to gain to maintain a sustainable position of the government as a carrier of public authority. In the OECD (2000), perspective, 'public' trust is the expectation of citizens from a government to function in the interest of the citizens with fairness and to manage and distribute public resources properly without prejudice. Thus, a fair, reliable, and equitable public service provision inspires public trust and creates a favorable environment for citizens and the economy to prosper.

Plato initiated the earliest form of discussion on the concept of political trust. The classical political philosopher garnered his argument in the dialogue of *Protagoras* during the debate over the city of Mytilene in The *Peloponnesian* War. The central point of the argument was whether some degree of public trust is good for a society, especially democratic societies, and what impact does the presence and absence of public trust have in the communities. Mara (2001) noted that

Thucydides' treatment of the *Mytilenean* debate shows that for democratic societies to prosper and be sustained, it needs public trust where participants can deliberate, discuss issues and make decisions of common interest together and openly. From Price's (2006) point of argument, in his work on Trust in Plato's Republic, the description of the ideal state by Plato is built on public trust. Although, the public trust here is a one-way channel of trust where citizens are expected to trust and accept their leaders' or rulers' commands and dictates without questions. A quick validity to the argument of Plato was further entrenched in the work of Hobbes, the *Leviathan* on why there should be public trust. Hobbes asserted that every society needs a sovereign (ruler), which will act as the state to which all citizens and subjects must give absolute trust to him. Absolute trust and power that is accorded to him by the citizens will allow him to make justice, punish and threaten potential enemies of the state (Wolff (2006).

However, Hobbes' position was challenged by Locke's viewpoint in his *Second Treatise Civil Government,* where he posits that absolute power and trust in a sovereign is more dangerous than living in the state of nature, where life is brutish, nasty and short. He further argued that though, every society is in dire need of a sovereign yet, absolute powers and trust cannot be placed on a single institution, rather constitutional. It is constitutional in the sense that there are limits to the powers of the sovereign and which is based on the principle of trust (social contract). Therefore, when this principle is breached, the powers can be withdrawn (Wolff 2006). In this light, it can be argued that Hobbes' rationale for forming a constitutional government is based on trust between the citizen and the government in a two-way manner.

Trust expressed when policies of the government are rolled out or executed is known as political trust [public]. According to Easton (1965), trust in government can be specific or diffuse. Specific trust highlights the level of citizens' confidence and satisfaction with a government or political institution based on the overall performance of the administration in its policies, governance style, corruption fighting and fair allocation and distribution of the public goods. Diffuse trust occurs when citizens express support and satisfaction for a particular government regime or administration irrespective of performance, otherwise known as blind trust. Bourne (2010a) simplified political trust as a collection of individuals' evaluation of the government's performance and the political sphere. Sequel to the above, the submission of Albesher (2015) holds as he opined that trust in the government is explained as a group or individual perceptions regarding the perceived and expectations of the ability, benevolence, and integrity of the government agency delivering the service, which generates the agency's trustworthiness.

b) *Differentials in Public Trust*

Cheema (2006) sub-classified trust in government into four categories- goodwill, competence, procedural, and performance trusts. A government that practices inclusiveness and participation in its policy and programs is set to enjoy a goodwill trust from the citizens. Competency trust is earned by carrying out programs, policies, and fulfilling mandates irrespective of citizens' believe or not. It deals mostly with the speed and accuracy of carrying out the tasks. Procedural trust occurs when citizens perceive the government institution as an institution that follows the rules, guidelines, and state protocols. While a good overall achievement in all the above three variants mentioned earlier in terms of output, outcome, and impact of policy-making and programs invention set by a government institution is used in performance trust.

Trust in government is multifaceted and in multi-level dimensions as institutions within the government do not enjoy the same levels of trust. Citizens' expectations are quite different in advancing trust in government institutions. The trust citizens have for the parliament is quite different to the military and that of the paramilitary is different to that of the judiciary. The basic knowledge of the citizens about their environment makes them establish trust or mistrust in the institutions concerned. Maintenance of law and order establishes the basis for trust in the military and the paramilitary. Therefore, if law and order are established with a low level of social disorder, trust in the military will be high. While the parliamentarians' trust is established on making right laws and policies for their constituents which serve as the basis for establishing trust. Concisely, Tolbert & Mossberger (2006) identified trust differentials: *Process-Based Trust and Institutional-Based Trust*

c) *Determinants of Political Trust*

Trust in government institutions has been declining overtime (Tolbert & Mossberger, 2006). There are varying reasons why citizens do or do not advance trust in their government institutions. These vary from geographical sub-region, economic performance, leadership style, observance of ethics, rules and regulations, charisma and institutional/ organizational credibility, performance, as well as policy-making and implementation that contributes to the life of the citizenry (Bourne 2010b; Blinder, 2000; Norris, 1999; Hetherington, 1998). Although the institution does not matter in determining the trust of citizens on all occasions, rather the demographic characteristics of citizens do matter as well. Thomas (1998) presents this argument in explaining the different ways by which citizen trust in public institutions is shaped.

A critical assessment of the economy is an important step in determining the level of trust citizens have in their government. An ever-improving economic

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performance without a recession is the expectation of the citizens (Mansbridge, 1997), which governments view as an impossible achievement. Tax and its reciprocity become a basis for the citizens' launch of trust for their government, as citizens believe that tax paid should be commensurate with the level of public goods provision. Therefore, anything short of this feat shows an ineffective and inefficient government in managing the economy (Bok, 1997). Therefore, the ability of the government in tackling financial crisis is inherent in determining what level of trust the citizens are going to have in the government. It indicates that the time required for the government to react and solve economic problems determines what level of trust the government is set to earn. Moreover, political economy literature has indicated that well-to-do economies with high income that translates in the better welfare of the citizens and a lesser gap of inequality enjoy a higher level of trust than poorer countries (Blind, 2006; Alesina & Vacziarg, 2000).

Corruption management is another factor in determining the level of trust citizens have for their governments in corruption-ridden countries. Hazan (2006) opined that corruption [management] stands a yardstick used by citizens in accessing the level of confidence in socio-political institutions. It is not enough for public officials to claim they are fighting corruption; they should not appear corrupt as well. It can also be put, as "officials are liable not just for their behavior but also for how their conduct appears to the public." Corruption Management Bodies' performance is responsible for determining the level of trust to be garnered by the government. However, more often than not, they serve in the interest of the highest level of government or the party in power in a democratic setting (Moti, 2013).

The quantity and quality of social capital available in the society also affect the trust citizens have in their government. Social and demographic indices like age, literacy, and income level all contribute to what level of trust a society bequest its government (Christensen & Laegreid, 2003). In the developing nations, the older generation tends to be "tolerant with corrupt but democratic" regimes while the middle class gets frustrated with corrupt administrations, which serve as a basis for distrust. The income level of members of the society also shapes what political trust will look like. As lower and middle income, groups tend to display a lower level of trust than the high-income group. Clientelism is believed to be the sole source of getting rich as higher-income groups pursue wealth from the government rather than creating wealth for the lower-income groups (Lozano, 2002).

Colesca (2009), while reaffirming the trust determinants, held that trust-building is a cumulative process where the level of trust in the initial levels influences that of the later stages while affecting the institutionalization of longer-term trust relationships. In this context, several factors that alter trust-building are:

i. *Pre-interactional factors*

a. *Individual behavioral features:* history, identity, culture, experiences, credibility, fairness, competency, honesty, propensity to trust, general intention to use e-services.

b. *Institutional features:* organizational reputation, performance, innovativeness, prestige, and the perceived trustworthiness of the institution.

c. *Technological features:* public-key encryption, interface design, and integrity.

ii. Interactional factors

a. Service features like reliability, timeliness, quality, and universality.

b. Transactional delivery features like applicability, utility, accuracy, privacy, interactivity.

c. Information content features like timeliness, completeness, reliability, conciseness, and accuracy.

III. Governance and Public Trust in Nigeria

Nigerians distrust in their government has been a long fairy tale, accumulated over the years by the nonchalant manner with which public goods and services are being delivered by different administrations (Babalola, 2012). Successive administrations and regimes have always pledged their commitment to enhance better life and infrastructural development for the Nigerian masses as a basis for introducing reforms, policies, and programs but mostly ended up achieving the opposite. According to Anyawu (1992), a simple glance into the trends of events that culminated into mistrust in the Nigerian government can be traced back to the military administration of General Ibrahim Babangida (1985-1993) when the Structural Adjustment Programmes was introduced despite the disapproval both from Nigerians at home and abroad. A program that was to rejuvenate the economy but ended up throwing the masses into abject poverty.

The return to civil rule in 1999 was a gentle balm for Nigerians as everyone looks forward to a better and prosperous Nigeria only to be disappointed afterward through incessant increments in the price of petroleum products and endemic political corruption. The first civilian administration (1999- 2007) recorded an increase in the price of petroleum products five times. Every occasion is supported by a promise to enhance the quality of lives and infrastructural development, but all ended up with empty results (Salami & Ayoola, 2010). Voters also evidenced the absence of public trust in the Nigerian government in the 2007 general election where electoral fraud was glaring, the results were contested in many fora, and this led to protests. Many independent observers called for the cancellation of the result as well as a quick electoral reform (Iroghama, 2012). On January 1, 2012, the government subsidies on Premium Motor Spirit (PMS) were removed, and this led to an increase in the petrol pump price by up to 91.65%. Nigerians took to the streets in protest of the development that grounded economic activities of the country for weeks.

A productive society or nation is reliant on a high degree of public trust in the government and its institutions. Cynicism among Nigerians is rampant, as Nigerians do not trust the government in any respect. A former Minister of Finance and the Coordinating Minister for the Economy, Dr. Ngozi Okonjo- Iweala was quoted in the Punch Newspaper of January 8th, 2012, to have said that *"I really agree on this issue of mistrust; I think it is part of the problem(s) governments faced over the years. Nigerians have not seen their governments fulfilling promises…"* (Baiyewu, 2012:2). A lawyer and human right activist, Femi Falana also corroborated the minister's argument when he was quoted to have said;

> We have lost trust because what we are hearing now what the government intends to do with the funds from subsidy removal is not new. We have been told the same thing in the past. What is the guarantee that we will not hear the same thing after the deregulation of the downstream sector? (Nnodium, 2012:5).

Mistrust in the Nigerian government by Nigerians caused by lack of transparency and empty promises of the past government to improve the living standards of the people persists. These factors have deemed the government unapt of which the resultant effect might threaten the fragile country's nascent democracy and sovereignty. N/Nzeako painted a picture thus:

> The agonizing queues in our banks, the snail-speed delivery of mails by our postal system, and the chaotic scenes at our airports have been accepted as normal ways of life. Needless to talk about the frustrating bottlenecks of the nation's bureaucracy – the missing or misplaced documents, stockpiles of files, and the absent officer. Ghost workers dumped mails, and financial embezzlement and mismanagement are common features of the society. These and many instances suggest how far our society stands behind the frontiers of modern civilization (Akoh, 2001:3).

What is more disturbing is the fact that the average Nigerian citizen has long ceased to believe that he can get any useful service from any government institution unless he offers a bribe, which is now considered a normal deal in the conduct of public business.

Public trust is an important element in realizing good governance in Nigeria, just like in every other nation. It is also a vital feature needed to create a conducive atmosphere for institutions to implement public policies, enshrine transparency, and improve public participation. Moreover, the Nigerians placing trust in government serves as an all-important yardstick to measure the legitimacy upon which the political and administrative structure is based. Public trust is important for decision-making, public participation, voting behavior, adoption of professional standards and ethics as well as adherence to the laws and regulations of the state. The absence of trust has made Nigerians perceive the government as having misplaced its priorities, corrupt, inefficient, waste resources, and incompetent in making and implementing policies to better the lives of Nigerians.

e-Government appears to offer a panacea to the government's inefficiency, the absence of transparency, and it will facilitate an increase in the level of interaction between the government and the citizens (Dhamodharam & Saminathan, 2011; West, 2005). In many countries, e-government is fast replacing the traditional and conventional bureaucratic mode of public service operation, though much faster in some than others. In the Sub-Saharan African countries (where Nigeria belongs), the rate is quite slow but steady as most of the public bureaucracies "are still hierarchical and lack accountability and transparency" (Ngulube, 2007). The emergence of information technology in Nigeria serves as a new paradigm shift in the manner, process and pattern of communication between, within and outside the public sector.

IV. E-Government - Trust Relation

Over the past decades, public trust in government has been on a decline in the developed (and developing) world. Reversing such a decline of trust has become an vital goal of modern government in countries around the world (Moti, 2007; Sang & Sunhyuk, 2012). Coincidentally, since the 90s, ICTs have impacted society in many ways, principally due to the advent of the Internet (Colesca, 2009). Governments embrace this swift wave as countries around the world began to recognize the relevance of e-Government in providing a good governance to its citizens and businesses (Srivastava & Teo, 2005). Governments have started to accept the invaluable opportunities offered by ICT to fit with citizens' demands, and have thus incorporated it in public service delivery in what is popularly termed e-Government (Colesca). Thus, governments now commit huge investment in the Internet and have predominantly adopted the mantra of service efficiency (Parent, Vandabeek & Gemino, 2005).

e-government is now emerging as a dynamic tool that can potentially enhance the people's perspective, reverse the declining trust in government, and play a significant role in promoting social service delivery quality as well as being one of the tools for

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developing the level of social participation (Jalali & Khorasani, 2012). Collaboratively, Subhash (2007) also held that a well-planned e-government strategy could build a more efficient, accountable, and transparent government. He further noted that if key stakeholders were incorporated in the planning, e-government applications could rejuvenate citizen's trust in government, by enhancing service delivery, promoting transparency, prevent corruption while empowering citizens through participation in governance.

Al-Hakim (2007) explained that the growing concerns that led to the widespread global e-government acceptance are Innovation, Information Society, Globalization, and Democracy. By democracy, the author buttressed that it revolves around the relationship between the government and the citizens. In such a relationship, fairness, transparency, accountability, and trust are invaluable. e-government, therefore, helps in the institutionalization of democratic values and the promotion of good governance. Today, one of the principal challenges of governments, especially in developing countries, is the absence of public trust, otherwise conceptualized as the crisis of public trust, and one of the ways for overcoming such crisis is becoming electronic (Jalali & Khorasani, 2012). Collaboratively, Tolbert & Mossberger (2006) held that the digital government had attracted attention as one way of improving citizen interactions with government and a possible remedy to the dilemma that citizens' apathy and distrust pose for democracy.

However, it can be argued that people's trust in government is a foundation, which strengthens every state in the world (Jalali & Khorasani, 2012) as a high level of trust forms a critical factor for implementing a successful e-government program (Al-Hakim 2007). Citizens' trust, leading to the acceptance of government and its actions, has two dimensions: trust that the government possesses the managerial and technical resources necessary to implement policies and the extent of openness/transparency displayed in its conduct.

In order to alter citizen's perception, the government must institutionalise the goal-centric and citizen-centric features. For the government to achieve this, it should first acquaint itself with the needs of the citizens and provide such needs in an efficient and effective way and do so technologically (Lim, Masrom & Din, 2013).

V. Methodology

Concerning data collection, the study made use of online users of eight (8) purposively selected Federal Agencies in Nigeria, namely: the Corporate Affairs Commission (CAC), the Nigerian Customs Service (NCS), Federal Inland Revenue Service (FIRS) and the Federal Road Safety Commission (FRSC). Others are the National Agency for Food and Drug Administration and Control (NAFDAC), the Nigerian Immigration Service (NIS), the National Identity Management Commission (NIMC), and the National Youth Service Corp (NYSC). Their selection is based on the ground that they constitute the leading online public service delivery agencies in Nigeria. In the administration of the online survey, the respondents were reached on three (3) Facebook platforms through a hyperlink. The platforms are Facebook Audience-Access Service, sorted on the bases of Nationality (Nigerians), Educational Status (Higher Education), and Profession (Graduates, Self-employed, Elite, and Artisans); followers of all Federal Universities on Facebook and followers of the selected agencies on Facebook. A significant number of these social media users are believed to have interacted with the government electronically. The survey was available online to respondents for four (4) weeks. Data collected were analyzed to determine the extent of public trust that the e-government initiative has succeeded in building in Nigeria, taking recent developments into cognizance.

VI. Findings and Discussion

a) Socio-Demographic Features of the Respondents

As presented in the Table 1, 5624 (40.9%) of the respondents are between 20 - 40 years, 8117 (59.1%) of the respondents fall within the age range of 41-60 years. This indicates that totality of the respondents are considerably matured and at their service age of 20-60 years, and this feature of respondents engendered very detailed and reliable responses for this study.

Table 1 also showed that 3179 (23.1%) of the respondents are female, while 10564 (76.9%) are male. Since it is not a gender-based study added to the fact that respondents consciously chose to respond to the survey, no bias can be inferred. Rather, the distribution is an indication that both male and female Nigerians patronize the government online. More remarkably, the total respondents have attained the tertiary level of education in their respective disciplines. The above implies that total respondents have relatively required academic level and exposure for providing reliable answers to the questions.

Also, 54.7% of the respondents were civil/public servant from diverse government ministries, departments, and agencies of federal, state and local governments; 24.6% of the respondents were from private organizations with notable interface with government services; 7.5% of the respondents were self-employed; while 12.9% of the respondents constituted students in numerous higher institutions of learning across the country. Just a few of the respondents were unemployed. To this end, these respondents are considered capable of providing comprehensive information on the e-Government Implementation and Public Trust in Nigeria.

Table 1: Socio-Demographic Details

	Frequency	Percent
Age		
21-40 years	5624	40.9
41-60 years	8117	59.1
Below 20 years	2	.0
Total	13743	100.0
Sex		
Female	3179	23.1
Male	10564	76.9
Total	13743	100.0
Academic Qualification		
Tertiary	13743	100.0
Profession		
Civil/Public Servant	7524	54.7
Private Worker	3394	24.6
Self-Employed	1032	7.8
Students	1784	12.9
Unemployed	9	.0
Total	13743	100.0

Source: Field Survey, 2020

The effect of e-Government on Public Trust in the Nigerian Government is measured using Likert-scale ratings. Respondents were asked to respond to the effect of e-Government on Public Trust in the Nigerian Government from the assertions made by the researcher. As presented in Table 2, 7423 (54.0%) of the respondents established that the reliability of the information provided to them through e-governance is moderate. This is a revelation that e-governance has been relatively reliable in the provision of required information by the citizenry. Also, they believed that the government would always do the right thing through electronic service delivery. This is evidenced in the 7685 (55.9%) reacted with a moderate level to this assertion.

It was clearly established that there is a direct relationship between the government through electronic public service delivery and the populace, consequent upon 9178 (66.8%) of respondents' assertion that there is moderate improvement on their interaction with government on services delivery. However, inferences from people's responses showed that they have confidence in the quality of services rendered to them through electronic public service delivery with 8290 (60.3%) of respondents established that the confidence is moderate as there has not being any report of suspicious act through the use of electronic public service delivery system.

Furthermore, the possibility for recommending electronic public service to other citizens who have not used the system to transact with the government was used to measure the effect of e-Government on Public Trust in the Nigerian Government. In their response, 7194 (52.3%) of the respondents admitted that there is a high possibility for recommending electronic public service to other people, owing to the conveniences enjoyed and its effectiveness in transaction online service. Also, to understand the effect of e-Government on public trust in the Nigerian government, assertion was made to investigate the extent of online government transparency, 6717 representing (48.9%) of the respondents acknowledged that the extent of online government transparency is moderate when compared with the traditional methods of services delivered by government.

It was also observed from the findings that people pay taxes/fees willingly without any pressure mounted on them by the government officials since the proportion of the taxes/fees will be charged with the original payment of services in the course of a transaction, with moderate acknowledgment of the assertion by 7501 (54.6%) of the respondents. Also, to ascertain the trust in the Nigerian government, respondents were asked if willingly they will give feedback to the government on her e-services delivery, 6708 (48.8%) of respondents declared their willingness to give feedback to the government. However, 8111 (59.0 %) of the respondents also disclosed their willingness to collaborate with the government on the e-service delivery project.

Table 2: Effect of e-Government on Public Trust in Nigeria

S/N	Trust in the Nigerian Government	High f (%)	Moderate f (%)	Low f (%)	No Response f (%)
i.	Reliability of information provided to you	5844 (42.5)	7423 (54.0)	410 (3.0)	- (-)
ii.	Belief that the government will always do the right thing	1251 (9.1)	7685 (55.9)	4741 (34.5)	- (-)
iii.	Improvement on your interaction with government	2432 (17.7)	9178 (66.8)	2067 (15.0)	- (-)
iv.	Confidence in quality of services rendered to you	3533 (25.7)	8290 (60.3)	1854 (13.5)	- (-)
v.	Possibility that you will recommend electronic public services to others	7194 (52.3)	5299 (38.6)	1184 (8.6)	- (-)
vi.	Extent of government online transparency	3839 (27.9)	6717 (48.9)	3120 (22.7)	1 (.0)
vii.	Your willingness to pay due taxes/fees to the government without any pressure on you	4893 (35.6)	7501 (54.6)	1282 (9.3)	1 (.0)
viii.	Your willingness to give feedback to the government on her e-services	4636 (33.7)	6708 (48.8)	2332 (17.0)	1 (.0)
ix	Your willingness to partner with government on electronic public service delivery project	8111 (59.0)	4792 (34.9)	773 (5.6)	1 (.0)

Source: Field Survey, 2020

b) Test of Hypothesis

A hypothesis is tested on the effect of e-government services on public trust in Nigeria. The statistical tool used is one sample *t*-test with an alpha level of 5% (i.e., 0.05). The *t*-test result was generated from the variables listed in table 2.

H_0: e-government services had no significant effect on public trust in Nigeria.

Table 3: Test of Hypothesis

	N	Grand Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Effect	3	2.14	0.903	0.066

Table 4: One-Sample *t*-test

	Test Value = 60						
	T	t_{cv}	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
						Lower	Upper
Effect	-4.73	-4.303	2	.000	-57.86	-58.05	-57.78

Using a test value of 60, a *t*-obtained of -4.73 with 2 degrees of freedom is significant at a 95% confidence level. This is much far away from *t* critical value of -4.303. There is a 0% chance of obtaining an insignificant positive effect on public trust by error. At any level of the three (3) areas of public trust assessed, significant positive effect was somewhat lower at an average of -57.86 than the set standard. Since probability value (0.000) is lesser than alpha level (0.05), this study rejected H_0; and accepted H_1. This, therefore, implies acceptance of the alternative hypothesis that e-government implementations had (t = -4.73, $p < 0.05$) significant effect on public trust in Nigeria. However, the practical significance is relatively clinical because the $t_{obtained}$ -4.73 is greater than $t_{critical\ value}$ -4.303 under 2 degrees of freedom at a 5% significance level. This difference further implies that significant effect existed between service delivery and public confidence with a practical difference from the null value.

VII. Recommendation and Conclusion

Nigeria is a country with a long history of cynicism in which the citizenry exhibited serious doubt in most actions of the government. Many factors, not within the focus of this study, could have been responsible for the situation. However, it has been partly established in the literature that online delivery of public services is capable of engendering transparency and subsequently promoting trust in a nation's government. This study investigated how the online delivery of public services (e-government) has impacted public trust in the Nigerian government. This was done using an electronic survey conducted with users of online government services. Stemming from the findings, the study concluded that the significant positive relationship established between electronic public service delivery and trust in government could catalyze promotion of trust in the Nigerian government. It, therefore, recommends that electronic delivery of services in the country should be improved upon and extended to other areas not currently covered to earn further trust from the citizens.

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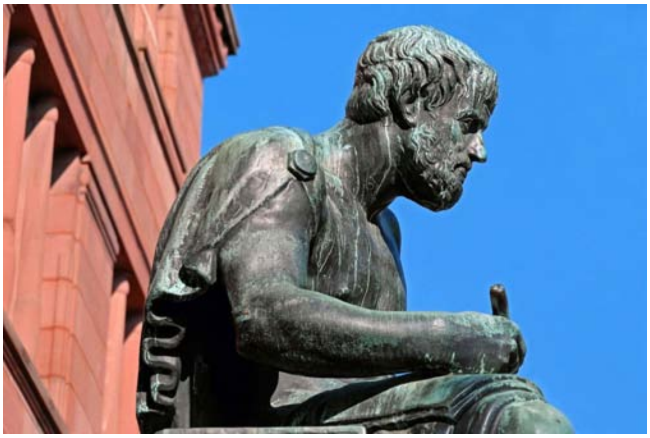

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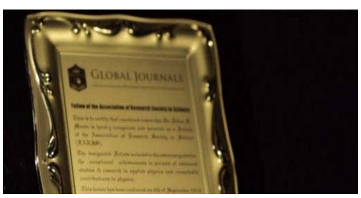

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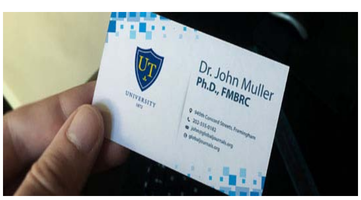

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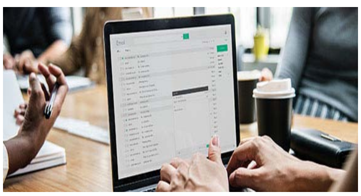

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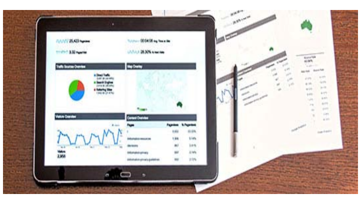

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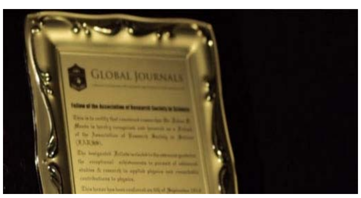

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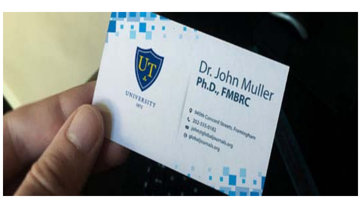

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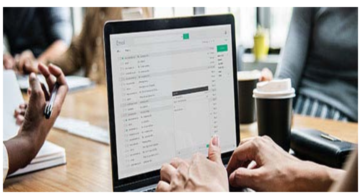

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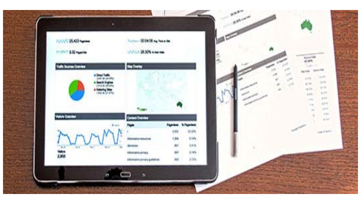

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1. Substantial contributions to the conception and acquisition of data, analysis, and interpretation of findings.
2. Drafting the paper and revising it critically regarding important academic content.
3. Final approval of the version of the paper to be published.

Changes in Authorship

The corresponding author should mention the name and complete details of all co-authors during submission and in manuscript. We support addition, rearrangement, manipulation, and deletions in authors list till the early view publication of the journal. We expect that corresponding author will notify all co-authors of submission. We follow COPE guidelines for changes in authorship.

Copyright

During submission of the manuscript, the author is confirming an exclusive license agreement with Global Journals which gives Global Journals the authority to reproduce, reuse, and republish authors' research. We also believe in flexible copyright terms where copyright may remain with authors/employers/institutions as well. Contact your editor after acceptance to choose your copyright policy. You may follow this form for copyright transfers.

Appealing Decisions

Unless specified in the notification, the Editorial Board's decision on publication of the paper is final and cannot be appealed before making the major change in the manuscript.

Acknowledgments

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

Declaration of funding sources

Global Journals is in partnership with various universities, laboratories, and other institutions worldwide in the research domain. Authors are requested to disclose their source of funding during every stage of their research, such as making analysis, performing laboratory operations, computing data, and using institutional resources, from writing an article to its submission. This will also help authors to get reimbursements by requesting an open access publication letter from Global Journals and submitting to the respective funding source.

Preparing your Manuscript

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

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

Manuscript Style Instruction (Optional)

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

Structure and Format of Manuscript

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

A research paper must include:

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

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

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

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

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

Format Structure

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

All manuscripts submitted to Global Journals should include:

Title

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

Author details

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

Abstract

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

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

Keywords

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

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

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

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

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

Numerical Methods

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

Abbreviations

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

Formulas and equations

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

Tables, Figures, and Figure Legends

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

Figures

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

Preparation of Eletronic Figures for Publication

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

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

Color charges: Authors are advised to pay the full cost for the reproduction of their color artwork. Hence, please note that if there is color artwork in your manuscript when it is accepted for publication, we would require you to complete and return a Color Work Agreement form before your paper can be published. Also, you can email your editor to remove the color fee after acceptance of the paper.

Tips for writing a good quality Social Science Research Paper

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Informal Guidelines of Research Paper Writing

Key points to remember:

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

Final points:

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

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

The discussion section:

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

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

General style:

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

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

Mistakes to avoid:

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

Title page:

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

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

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

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

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

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

Approach:

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

Introduction:

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

The following approach can create a valuable beginning:

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

Approach:

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

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

Procedures (methods and materials):

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

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

Materials:

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

Methods:

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

Approach:

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

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

What to keep away from:

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

Results:

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

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

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

Content:

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

What to stay away from:

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

Approach:

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

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

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

Figures and tables:

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

Discussion:

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

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

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

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

- o You may propose future guidelines, such as how an experiment might be personalized to accomplish a new idea.
- o Give details of all of your remarks as much as possible, focusing on mechanisms.
- o Make a decision as to whether the tentative design sufficiently addressed the theory and whether or not it was correctly restricted. Try to present substitute explanations if they are sensible alternatives.
- o One piece of research will not counter an overall question, so maintain the large picture in mind. Where do you go next? The best studies unlock new avenues of study. What questions remain?
- o Recommendations for detailed papers will offer supplementary suggestions.

Approach:

When you refer to information, differentiate data generated by your own studies from other available information. Present work done by specific persons (including you) in past tense.

Describe generally acknowledged facts and main beliefs in present tense.

The Administration Rules

Administration Rules to Be Strictly Followed before Submitting Your Research Paper to Global Journals Inc.

Please read the following rules and regulations carefully before submitting your research paper to Global Journals Inc. to avoid rejection.

Segment draft and final research paper: You have to strictly follow the template of a research paper, failing which your paper may get rejected. You are expected to write each part of the paper wholly on your own. The peer reviewers need to identify your own perspective of the concepts in your own terms. Please do not extract straight from any other source, and do not rephrase someone else's analysis. Do not allow anyone else to proofread your manuscript.

Written material: You may discuss this with your guides and key sources. Do not copy anyone else's paper, even if this is only imitation, otherwise it will be rejected on the grounds of plagiarism, which is illegal. Various methods to avoid plagiarism are strictly applied by us to every paper, and, if found guilty, you may be blacklisted, which could affect your career adversely. To guard yourself and others from possible illegal use, please do not permit anyone to use or even read your paper and file.

Criterion for Grading a Research Paper (Compilation) by Global Journals

Please note that following table is only a Grading of "Paper Compilation" and not on "Performed/Stated Research" whose grading solely depends on Individual Assigned Peer Reviewer and Editorial Board Member. These can be available only on request and after decision of Paper. This report will be the property of Global Journals

Topics	Grades		
	A-B	**C-D**	**E-F**
Abstract	Clear and concise with appropriate content, Correct format. 200 words or below	Unclear summary and no specific data, Incorrect form Above 200 words	No specific data with ambiguous information Above 250 words
Introduction	Containing all background details with clear goal and appropriate details, flow specification, no grammar and spelling mistake, well organized sentence and paragraph, reference cited	Unclear and confusing data, appropriate format, grammar and spelling errors with unorganized matter	Out of place depth and content, hazy format
Methods and Procedures	Clear and to the point with well arranged paragraph, precision and accuracy of facts and figures, well organized subheads	Difficult to comprehend with embarrassed text, too much explanation but completed	Incorrect and unorganized structure with hazy meaning
Result	Well organized, Clear and specific, Correct units with precision, correct data, well structuring of paragraph, no grammar and spelling mistake	Complete and embarrassed text, difficult to comprehend	Irregular format with wrong facts and figures
Discussion	Well organized, meaningful specification, sound conclusion, logical and concise explanation, highly structured paragraph reference cited	Wordy, unclear conclusion, spurious	Conclusion is not cited, unorganized, difficult to comprehend
References	Complete and correct format, well organized	Beside the point, Incomplete	Wrong format and structuring

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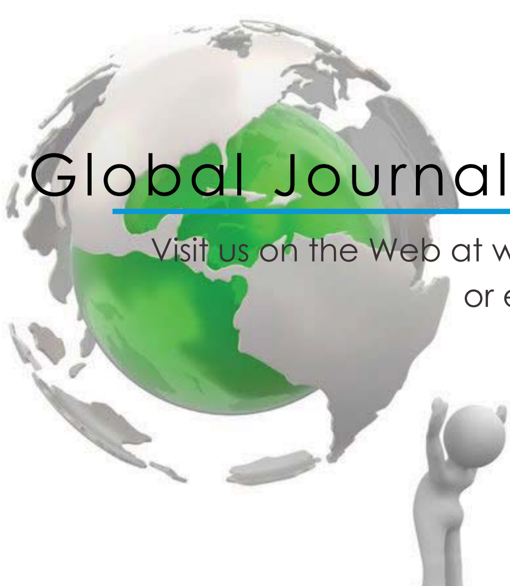

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