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Labour market in France and Romania. A comparative analysis of indicators concerning youth employment and unemployment between 2013 and 2017

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Abstract

In this article we aim to analyse, in a comparative manner, the main indicators regarding employment and unemployment among Romanian and French young people. Being two different societies as historical, social, economic development, France and Romania face the same problem of youth unemployment. The article aims to analyse how this social issue evolved in the period from 2013 when the two societies began to recover after the economic crisis until 2017. In the first part of the article we present the most important concepts of our analysis and also the most important European strategies that are focusing on youth's employment and unemployment. For the secondary data analysis of this article, the statistical data used was provided by Eurostat and the International Labour Office.

Keywords: *activity rate; unemployment rate; long-term unemployment; NEETs; Europe Strategy 2020.*

1. Context and European strategies

In any society, employment represents “an essential condition for ensuring macroeconomic balances and social and political stability. It is a complex, dynamic process of major interest to all economic agents and social partners for the present and the future of society, with various implications: economic, psychosocial, educational, cultural, political” (Cojocaru and Popp 2010: p. 645).

The workforce of a country is represented by the total number of people employed and unoccupied or unemployed. The most important element of the labour market is the individuals who are able to carry out an activity in order to obtain a material or other benefit. “The general background of employment resource dimensioning is the demographic factor itself with its structures, a factor that must be looked at from the perspective of socially useful activities, as well as that of general consumption” (Dobrota and Aceleanu 2007: p. 63).

In addition to the socio-family factors that contribute to the formation of work-related values, economic factors also play a particularly important role in the process of development of these values. In this way, we may say that the way young people view and value work can be influenced by the economic realities of the country in which they live and have their mark on the labour market, whether they are French or Romanians. The functioning of the labour market system can influence the values and principles that youth adopt when they choose one profession or another.

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The Europe 2020 Strategy has devoted two of its flagship initiatives to improve the employment situation of young people: youth on the move who promoted mobility as a means of learning and enhancing employability (this campaign ended in December 2014) and an Agenda for new skills and jobs, aimed at improving employment and youth employment opportunities. Basically, the Europe 2020 Strategy is speaking about three patterns of growth: “(a) smart growth based on knowledge and technological innovation, (b) sustainable growth through the efficient use of alternative energy resources, and (c) inclusive growth with high employment and social cohesion” (Porumbescu 2017: p. 73).

Another European initiative was the *Youth Employment Package*, adopted in 2012, included a set of measures to facilitate transitions from school to work. Another initiative was the “Youth Guaranty”. This measure has helped to ensure that all young people under the age of 25 receive good quality job offers, continuous education or internships within four months of leaving school or becoming unemployed. In 2013, the Council of the European Union has adopted a recommendation to establish a “guarantee for the youth”, which targets 7,5million NEETs, with the objective of “offering them a quality job, a continuous training, an apprenticeship or an internship within four months of losing their job or leaving formal education” (European Council, 2013)

The *Youth Employment Initiative* (adopted in 2013) has strengthened and accelerated the measures outlined in the *Youth Employment Package*. In particular, it supported young people who do not have studies, employment or training in regions with an unemployment rate among young people of over 25%. In June 2016, the European Commission adopted a new Competence Agenda for Europe, based around 10 priority actions aimed at ensuring that people working in the EU have the right to training, skills and employment.

2. The activity rate of the active population (15-64 years), on sex and level of education

According to the 2014 employment survey in France, the active population of the Region called the “Metropolitan France” is 28.6 million people aged 15 and over. It added 25.8 million employed people and 2.8 million unemployed. The rest of the population over the age of 15 represented the inactive population (as defined by the ILO), i.e. people who are not working, not immediately available to find a job, or not looking for a job.

The implementation of policies to promote active aging in France also had a positive effect on the increase in the participation rate, as evidenced by the increase in the participation rate of people aged 50 to 64, which is from 56.5%, in 2009 to 63 years, 1%, in 2014. However, in 2015, France was below the European average (64.9%) of the employment rate of people aged 15 to 64, well after countries like Sweden, Germany, Netherlands, Denmark, Austria, where the employment rate exceeded 70% (Eurostat 2017).

Even in this context, the two labour markets (the Romanian and the French one) have not evolved in a similar way in recent years, which has also been reflected in the social policy measures that have been put into practice in both societies. France has often been considered as an example of good practice in the implementation of employment policies for women, immigrants, the elderly and young people. At the same time, Romania has faced many challenges in the labour market during the transition period that came after the fall of the communist regime, in 1989. The most

important of these challenges were the decline in the economically active population and, implicitly, the decline in the employment rate (especially during the collapse of the industrial sector, during the first decade after the fall of communism in 1989). The labour market conditions have improved considerably between 2015 and 2016, so that at the European level, in the first quarter of 2017, the number of people employed increases by approximately 235 million people. In May 2017, the unemployment rate reached the historical minimum of 7.8%, the lowest rate since January 2009. This improvement in labour market conditions also had visible effects on the reduction in the share of poverty and social exclusion, which reached the level recorded in 2008 - 23.7% (Eurostat 2017).

We must specify, as a particularity of the labour market during the economic recession, that from 2008 until 2016, the European labour market started as part-time workers, about 4 million people, who generated that the part-time sector accounts for about 20% of employment. In many European countries (including France and Romania), part-time work was a means of increasing the flexibility of the labour market during the economic crisis. This evolution of part-time contracts has stabilized since 2013, which is one of the reasons why employment has grown much faster than GDP in the majority of EU Member States.

3. Unemployment

3.1. The unemployment rate (ILO)

With regard to the unemployment rate, experts have always wondered whether it measures and expresses the reality of this social phenomenon. In the case of Romanian society, official statistics show a low unemployment rate, based on the definition given by the International Labour Office. As a result, official statistics only include those who are unemployed at the time of collection, they are entered in the county employment office registers as undefined or unrestricted (being out of the period when they are unemployed and looking for a job). Thus, according to the ILO, unemployed people are defined as having the specific labour market entry age, looking for a job and available for a job opportunity (Arpinte, Cace and Scoican 2010: p. 135)

Unemployment is “a negative phenomenon of the economic and social space, which affects a part of the active population available, by not providing jobs. In terms of the labour market, unemployment is the supply of the job offer, and the unemployed are all suitable for work but unable to work and which can be employed in part or in full only at certain times of economic development” (Cojocaru and Asandului 1999: p. 76).

In fact, especially in the case of Romania, we are talking about a much higher unemployment rate, a significant proportion of people who have left unemployment benefits and who, therefore, are in no way statistical official, thereby losing contact with the labour market. The unemployment rate is an important indicator, which involves both economic and social dimensions. For example, high unemployment leads to lower income for those affected by this problem, greater pressure on governments to develop social service delivery policies and lower income taxes. Thus, from an economic point of view, unemployment can be considered as an unused labour force.

Unemployment is one of the problems faced by both societies. The other effects on the labour market that have been generated in particular by the rise in unemployment have been: the reduction of working hours, the reduction of employees' social contributions, the increase of part-time activities, etc. The practice of promoting shorter working hours has been the first short-term employment protection solution to the

initial impact of the economic crisis. For example, in France, the solution of part-time or technical unemployment has been put into practice, allowing companies and budgetary institutions in difficulty to resort to state aid, whereby employees receive 60% of their salary in a period of time where they do not work.

In the case of France, after a slight decline in the second half of 2015, the unemployment rate remained at 9.5% in April 2016, well above its pre-crisis level (7.3% in March 2008). The proportion of the population aged 15 to 74 remains 1.8% lower than before the crisis. Like other European countries, France has seen a polarization of jobs, between highly qualified jobs and low-skilled jobs. This is also related to the persistent trend in recent years to increase the share of jobs in the service sector and to reduce the number of jobs in the manufacturing sector. Polarization has also increased in most sectors of the economy. There are many middle-class workers who risk accepting work in low-skilled jobs to keep their jobs, which increase a lack of matching skills and work (*skill mismatch*), but there are also low-skilled workers who face a higher risk of job losses, which leads to inactivity and unemployment.

**Table 1: The unemployment rate between 2013 and 2017
(comparative analysis – Fr.-Ro.)**

Unemployment rate	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
France	10,3	10,3	10,4	10,1	9,8
Romania	7,1	6,8	6,8	5,9	5,1
EU-28 average	10,9	10,2	9,4	8,5	7,8

Source: Eurostat, *Unemployment in Europe*, 2017

In 2016, although unemployment continued to fall across Europe, the unemployment rate remained much higher than during the economic crisis. The number of unemployed decreased by 5.4 million compared to 2008 and the unemployment rate has been steadily decreasing since 2013 and in May 2017 it reached 7.8%.

3.2. The long-term unemployment rate

A similar trend to the unemployment rate was also the long-term unemployment rate, which continued to be a major challenge for the EU in 2016, although it saw many declines over the 2013-2016 period. The decline in long-term unemployment began to be observed in 2013, with the return of the European economy after the economic crisis. In 2016, about 9.6 million people (representing 4.0% of the labour force and about 50% of all unemployed) had been unemployed for more than a year; over half of the 6.1 million people have not been employed for more than two years.

Figure 1: The evolution of long-term unemployment (comparative analysis: Fr.-Ro.)



Source: Eurostat, Statistics Illustrated, *Long-term unemployment rate*

Long-term unemployment is associated with many costs, both for the individual and for society. At the individual level, long-term unemployment can have consequences for physical and mental health (generating additional costs for health care and protection) and can therefore have a negative effect on a person's quality of life. On the social level, long-term unemployment is the main cause of poverty and social exclusion, affecting both the individual and the family to which he belongs. In the long run, this can lead to perpetuating the poverty of social inequalities, and this is confirmed by the statistics who are illustrating that countries with high unemployment rate are countries facing extreme poverty and social and economic exclusion and marginalization. Indeed, in general, “the rise of unemployment leads to poverty and demoralization” (Mocanu 2009: p. 67)

Table 2: Evolution of long-term unemployment in 2013-2016 (comparative analysis – Fr.-Ro.)

	2013	2014	2015	2016
France	4,4	4,5	4,6	4,6
Romania	3,2	2,8	3,0	3,0
EU-28 average	5,1	5,0	4,5	4,0

Source: Eurostat, *Long-term unemployment rate*

From the chart and the table above, we find that the long-term unemployment rate is very high in both societies, especially during the peak of the economic recession (2010-2011). From 2013, the long-term unemployment rate recorded the European trend, falling in both societies, reaching 3.0% in Romania (lower than the European average of 4.0%) and 4.6% in the case of France

3.3. Youth unemployment

In general, youth unemployment refers to youth aged 15 to 24 in Canada and many other countries. However, this rule has certain exceptions: for example, in Norway, Sweden, the United Kingdom and the United States, the age group is between 16 and 24, while in Belgium, Italy, the Netherlands and Spain are the 14 to 24 age group (OECD 1980)

Youth unemployment is hardly comparable to that of older people. The young person looking for a first job rarely feels like a real unemployed person. Looking for a job is not a break with the previous situation but rather a continuation. The real change in life is when you take your job. So “young people do not see their unemployment, psychologically, in the same way as those who have lost their job” (Balazs 1980).

Romania is a European country whose labour market is still marked by non-European structures: too much subsistence farming, an oversized informal sector, predominantly manual occupational groups, particularly high risks of becoming poor for jobseekers have graduated at most vocational school), massive labour emigration and the increase of the *brain-drain* phenomenon (Ilie Goga and Ilie 2017: pp. 94-95), relatively low but long-term unemployment, masked unemployment and, the most important, a high rate of youth unemployment.

**Table 3: The evolution of youth unemployment during 2012-2016
(comparative analysis – Fr.-Ro.)**

Unemployment rate of youth (aged 15 to 24, who are not working but are looking for a job)	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
France	24,4	24,9	24,2	24,6	24,6
Romania	22,9	24,1	24,5	22,3	20,6

Sources:

World Bank, Youth Unemployment Rate for Romania [SLUEM1524ZSROU], retrieved from FRED, Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis [online] Available: <https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/SLUEM1524ZSROU> [accessed 16 October 2017].

World Bank, Youth Unemployment Rate for France [SLUEM1524ZSFRA], retrieved from FRED, Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis; [online] Available: <https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/SLUEM1524ZSFRA> [accessed 17 October 2017].

For any individual, regardless of their age, coping with job losses during a recession and unemployment is a difficult situation to manage. Usually, the first solution to find is to migrate, especially for those who are higher education graduates. For example, according to international statistics, “in 2010/2011, Romania was among the states with the highest rates of emigration towards the OECD member states, many of these emigrants having benefitted from higher education” (Ilie Goga and Ilie 2017: p.95).

For most youths, being unemployed early in their working lives seems to have only a temporary effect on subsequent career prospects and social status. But for disadvantaged young people with a low level of education, a failure with the first labour market experience is difficult to overcome and may expose them to a long-term stigma.

The effect of this stigmatization is the increase of future unemployment risks and the reduction of future incomes, with a strong impact on human capital (deterioration of skills and delay in access to work experience). The longer the unemployment period, the more individual productivity will be affected; the lower the level of initial qualification, the longer social stigma will last. Most economic studies conclude that “early youth unemployment has negative effects on the income they earn” (Arulampalam 2001: pp. 585-606)

In Romania, statistics from recent years have shown that after graduating from higher education, many young people change their status in the labour market, even

retiring from the labour market, work or return to school before finding a job that offers career prospects and certain stability, especially economic. But even among youths who go very quickly from school to work, there are cases where the employment contract is concluded for a limited period of time and the job prospects they offer are limited (*youths with an unsuccessful insertion*). While some young people with precarious and/or temporary jobs are rapidly moving towards a more stable and promising job, others are failing to escape precariousness, thus, being at risk of poverty, unemployment and inactivity.

3.4. NEETs in France and Romania

When we talk about young people and the problems they face in the labour market, one of the syntax we find very often in the literature is “NEETs unemployment” (Russell 2016: p. 161; Hutchinson, Beck and Hooley 2015: p. 707). This term refers to an indicator that began to be used in the United Kingdom in the mid-1990s, which was introduced by the European Commission in 2010 and refers to this category of young people aged 15 to 29 years, who do not have a job or are included in an education or training system (*Neither in Employment nor in Education or Training*). The NEET indicator is analysed differently in some documents or reports prepared by international institutions (ILO, Eurostat, OECD etc.), as in the case of the employment rate or the unemployment indicator, it does not exist an international rule to define it. More precisely, this indicator refers to a category of people who are: a) unemployed (has the status of unemployed or inactive person) and b) has not received any educational services (he was not included in any form of education) in the last month (ILO 2012).

The simplest way to calculate the number of young NEETs is as follows: unemployed together with the inactive people who are out of school, a formula that does not take into account the fact that there are unemployed students who should be excluded of the calculation. International standards on labour statistics consider that the status of “student” should be measured in the same way as the non-student population (Husmanns, Mehran and Verma 1990, p. 104). For example, if a person worked at least one hour in a given week, it is included in the statistical category of the person employed. If a student was not working but was available for work or looking for a job, he or she is included in the unemployed statistics category

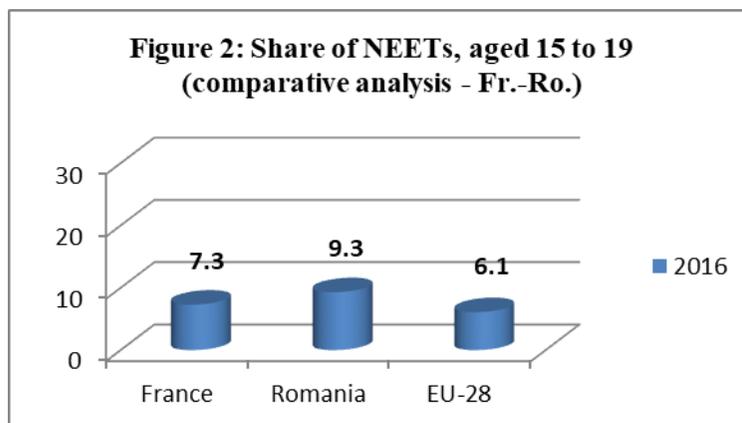
The NEET category of youths is heterogeneous, with the main subcategory of NEET being young people who have traditionally not been employed. These include those who suffer from certain illnesses, people with disabilities, or youth who provide care to a parent or relative. There are also subcategories that are not vulnerable, among which are young people who do not want a job, those who engage constructively, exclusively in other activities such as the arts, volunteering, and music or self-learning. Regardless of what subcategory we are talking about, what they all have in common is that those who are part of it do not accumulate human capital by traditional means.

At the European level, the NEETs are considered one of the most problematic issues, which requires the greatest attention in the context of youth unemployment, and this idea is supported by the statistical argument which emphasizes the fact that 2016, 2 million young Europeans were in this category (Eurostat 2017).

In the context of the economic crisis, which considerably worsened the situation of French young people aged between 15 and 29, France was one of the top 4 European countries in 2016, with the highest proportion of young NEETs, after Italy, Spain and

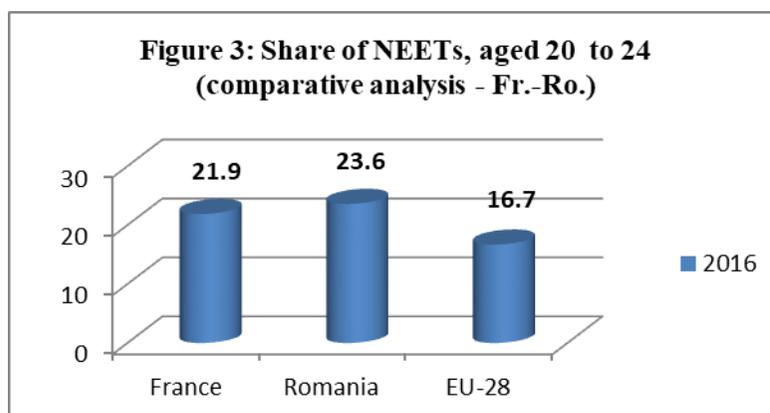
Greece. The situation presented by the reports of the European Commission is much more serious, because it highlights the fact that almost half of them do not seek for a job.

With regard to NEETs unemployment, European statistics are working with three age groups: 15-19, 20-24 and 25-29. With regard to the first sub-category, their situation is not so serious considering that 90% of young people aged 15 to 19 were in some form of education. As we may see in the figure below, NEETs aged 15 to 19 decreased for the 2014-2016 period, reaching a record level of 6.1% in 2016.



Source: Eurostat, [online] Available: [Statistics on young people neither in employment nor in education or training](#) [accessed 10 October 2017].

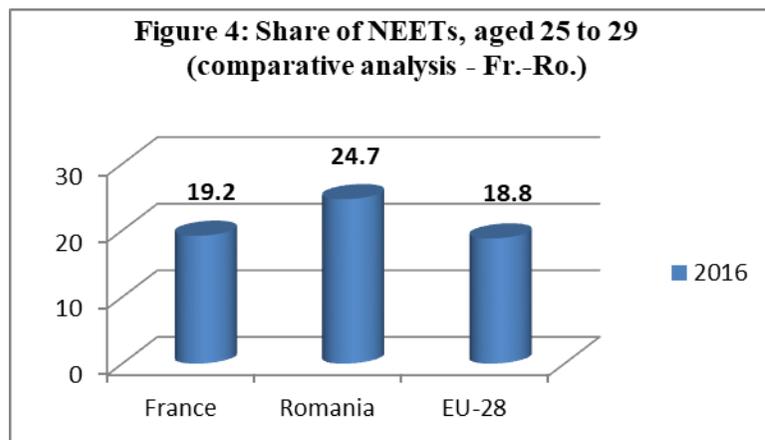
As shown in the figure above, the risk of youth being included in the NEET category increases with age, the proportion of those in this situation is approximately higher for those in the 20-24 age group, or 25-29 years old. For young NEETs aged 20 to 24, their share was relatively high in 2016 in both societies (21.9% and 24.7% respectively), well above the European average of 16.7%, but not at a limit as dramatic as other societies, such as, for example, the Italian society, where the NEET rate for this age group was 29% (Aggrusti and Corradi 2015).



Source: Eurostat, [online] Available: [Statistics on young people neither in employment nor in education or training](#) [accessed 10 October 2017].

For this age group, the most important solution for lowering this rate is to acquire skills to facilitate the transition from school to work, as shown by the analysis of youth employment policies adopted by many European countries (also France and Romania). When an effective correlation is established between education and the labour market, young people in this age group increase their level of education and, as a result, improve their work experience. At the same time, their transition from school to active work will be much easier. Measures have been taken to adjust this situation so, “there were provided key measures such as internships and apprenticeships, mobility packages, but which have not been implemented in a capacity to contribute to reducing the percentage of young NEETs” (Niță 2017: p. 96).

According to European statistics, 1 in 5 young people aged 25 to 29 were included in the NEET category. In this category, Romania has a much larger share of France, since in our country, young people's chances of having a job decrease more and more after obtaining a higher education degree. In addition, people in this age group (25-29 years) are those who graduated from the advanced economic recession, who failed to integrate into the labor market at the time of the graduation and who, after the recession period has disappeared, compete with other young graduates of the next generations. As a result, they have lost touch with the labour market, many specialized papers and reports referring to them using the phrase *the lost generation* (Calota and Ilie 2013).



Source: Eurostat, [online] Available: [Statistics on young people neither in employment nor in education or training](#) [accessed 10 October 2017].

Although the very high proportion of young people in the NEET category can mean that recruiters/employers in the European labour market have a wide range of candidates they can recruit, this weight actually reflects the existence of certain mismatches exist between the skills that candidates possess and what employers seek.

Very few times, labour market representatives and recruiters have criticized the existence of basic skills, citing the persistence of low levels of literacy or numeracy skills that young people have when they leave the education system (Motoi, Lazar and Stefan, 2018). At the same time, there are often few complaints about the inadequate development of social skills, such as communication skills, ability to work in a team,

problem solving, etc.), simply dissatisfied with lack of experience and knowledge in the professional field. As a result, in the face of a surplus workforce, employers often prefer to hire young people with higher education. As a result, young people with intermediate education, who have little or no qualification at all, end up being excluded from work or if they get a job, they will have a low-paying job or offer few opportunities to work, to be promoted or to benefit from the career advancement. This situation occurs most often in situations of economic crisis, where, faced with the difficulty of obtaining a job corresponding to their level of education, graduates of higher education choose to occupy a professional position for which they are overqualified.

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Beyond GDP: which options to better represent modern socio-economic progress?

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Abstract

In recent years, specialists begun to reconsider the representativeness of GDP as an index of overall well-being of society and to recognize its validity only in the initial phases of a country's economic development, when the growth of income and wealth are more correlated to the improvement of people's living conditions. Most economic theories states that with greater wealth and higher income there is a greater possibility of choice and consequently an improvement in the position of the individual. However, as the economic conditions of a country improve and the country moves from a developing economy to a developed one, there is an evolution in the preferences and aspirations of individuals, who now fall into areas that may not always be to be quantified at the monetary level.

Keywords: *GDP; well-being; socio-economic progress; quality of life; welfare; global happiness, human development.*

1. GDP as an index of socio-economic well-being of a society

The problem associated with the poor representativeness of GDP as an “index of socio-economic well-being of a society” has long been known and was highlighted in “Robert Kennedy's speech at the University of Kansas on March 18, 1968, expressly saying” that “it measures everything, except that which makes life worthwhile” (Speech of Robert Kennedy at the University of Kansas on 18 March 1968).

Despite the known limitations of this indicator, “the predominant economic model has always favored the use of GDP in measuring the degree of development of a nation, as it is characterized by equally well-known advantages:

- it is quite easy to measure, since the monetary value of goods and services makes it possible to compare quantities of different types (it is therefore not easy to identify an equally practical substitute);
- reflects the economic prosperity of a country (and since there is a certain relationship between wealth and well-being, it was considered correct to associate social growth with GDP growth);
- is easily comparable internationally.

However, there are also obvious disadvantages in the use of such an indicator, for example:

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- excludes all those aspects that cannot be quantified at the monetary level (for example domestic work, volunteering and social relations);

- being an average value, the GDP per capita does not take into account how income and wealth are effectively distributed among the population (therefore the GDP could paradoxically indicate that a country is going well, despite the fact that we have huge inequalities within it and social classes extremely poor);

- incorporates in a single value different aspects of life that are poorly correlated; although at first sight the fact of having a single number may seem an advantage, in practice it may not be useful at all (for example two countries could have the same value as this indicator, but levels of health care, education, freedom and political rights clearly different);

- also includes the costs necessary to correct the negative externalities of economic development (purification costs, accidents, pollution, diseases, etc.); it is evident that an increase in GDP determined by these items is not reflected in the improvement of the quality of life of a community” (Nussbaum 2012: pp. 52-54).

A practical example of what we have just described is highlighted by Nussbaum, who reminds us that India, although it has recorded GDP values lower than those of China over the past 60 years, is a stable democracy with guaranteed basic freedoms, while this last no (Nussbaum 2012: p. 52). Also, South Africa while in apartheid: since in those years it was in a period of strong economic growth, to summarize the level of prosperity in an average value would certainly have distorted the actual situation in that country, given that it did not take the slightest bit considering racial discrimination (the average does not tell us where the wealth goes, who controls it, and what happens to all those who do not benefit from it) (Nussbaum 2012: p. 54)

The author therefore asks herself: “If the GDP of a particular country grows, but does not decrease the number of people deprived of the rights to education, health and other opportunities for individual fulfillment, can we say that that country is progressing?” (Nussbaum 2012).

The need for a different approach from the one so far predominant can also be traced to a theory of the 1970s, known as the Easterlin Paradox; through an empirical analysis, the economist from whom the paradox is named, pointed out that there was not an ever increasing relationship “between income, economic well-being and happiness, but that the latter tends to remain stable once a certain level of income is reached and of economic well-being”. (Easterlin 1974: pp. 89-125)

Easterlin's analysis was later developed by many other authors, confirming these results; for example Di Tella and MacCulloch “find that the happiness responses of around 350,000 people living in the OECD between 1975 and 1997 are positively correlated with the level of income, the welfare state and (weakly) with life expectancy; they are negatively correlated with crime, openness to trade, inflation and unemployment; [...]” (Di Tella and MacCulloch 2008: pp. 22-42). Consequently the unexplained trend in happiness is even bigger than it would have been predicted if income was the only argument in the utility function (Di Tella and MacCulloch 2008: pp. 22-42).

Based on this discovery, many Authors have therefore begun to reconsider the representativeness of GDP as an index of overall well-being of society and to recognize its validity only at the beginning of a country's economic development, when the raise of

income and wealth are more related to the better conditions of people's life (this is in line with prevailing economic theories, according to which with greater wealth and higher income there is a greater possibility of choice and therefore an improvement in the position of the individual).

However, as the economic conditions of a country improve and the country moves from a developing economy to a developed one, there is an evolution in the preferences and aspirations of individuals, who now fall into areas that may not always be to be quantified at the monetary level (for example leisure time, social relations, self-esteem, family satisfaction, psycho-physical status, etc.) thus making a purely economic indicator not more fully representative. In this regard, very clearly Diener and Seligman state: “economic indicators were extremely important in the early stages of economic development, when the fulfillment of basic needs was the main issue. As societies grow wealthy, however, differences in well-being are less frequently two to income and are more frequently two factors than social relations and enjoyment at work. Important noneconomic predictors of the well-being of societies include social capital, democratic government and human rights. [...] Money is a means to an end, and that end is well-being; but more money is an inexact surrogate for well-being, the more inexact a surrogate income becomes” (Diener and Seligman 2004: p. 1; Serban and Puglisi 2018).

It is however necessary to point out that at the philosophical level, this concept had already been brought to light many years before by Aristotle: “life dedicated to the pursuit of gain, then, is of a genre against nature, and it is clear that wealth is not good that we sought: in fact, it has value only in so far as it is "useful", that is, in function of another” (Aristotel 2000: pp. 5-10).

The problem of the choice of the most suitable indicator to represent the progress of a nation is crucial as public policies are addressed exactly on the basis of what is underlined by the indicator of choice. And the choice of a purely economic index could increase the risk of inadequate political choices, as mentioned by Diener and Seligman, according to which currently “domestic policy focuses above all on economic issues, although economic indicators omit or mislead the real values in the societies” (Diener and Seligman 2004: p. 1).

Moreover, the Authors add that combining GDP with social indicators is not enough to solve this matter, because even if “current social indicators can capture phenomena such as crime, marriage and divorce, environmental problems such as pollution, longevity and infant mortality, gender equality in schools, and the amount of land devoted to parks [...], they fail to fully capture the well-being of nations because they do not reflect people’s actual experiences: the quality of their relationship, the regulation of their emotions, whether they experience work as engaging, and whether feelings of isolation and depression permeate their daily living” (Diener and Seligman 2004: p. 20). Therefore, “the problem stems from the fact that our world, our society and our economy have changed, and the indicators have not done it hand in hand” (Stiglitz, Sen and Fitoussi 2010: p. XI).

So Diener and Seligman “suggest that well-being should become a primary focus of policymakers” and that “accounts of subjective well-being can help decision makers evaluate policies that improve societies beyond economic development” (Diener, Oishi and Lucas 2015: p. 234).

Of the same opinion also Layard in his 2005 book (Layard 2005); Kahneman et al., according to which “the goal of public policy is not to maximize measured GDP,

so a better measure of wellbeing could help to inform policy” (Kahneman et. al. 2004: pp. 429-434); and the Global Happiness Council, which in its Global Happiness Policy Report of 2018 expressly states that “measures of subjective well-being, and especially life evaluations, provide an overall indicator of the quality of life. Having such an umbrella measure of well-being makes it possible to evaluate and compare the economic and social consequences of policies on a consistent basis” (The Global Happiness Council, 2018.).

So that the choices of policy makers can be correctly addressed to improving well-being, it is therefore necessary to identify the right path that allows recognizing the areas in which to intervene. And, to identify such a path, we must first of all develop alternative indicators to the GDP that are more able to reflect the new needs that emerged from modern developed societies; but, since the new needs of society are no longer connected exclusively to the economic aspect, it is necessary that economists confront themselves with other social sciences, such as psychology, sociology, and anthropology in particular, so as to have so a more complete view of this evolution.

However, it seems that some steps towards this direction have been made: we recall in fact that the European Union has begun to monitor psycho-physical well-being with the Euro barometer (Euro barometer is a “survey which interviews a random sample of Europeans from 1973, asking a series of socio-economic questions”; in the field of “Happiness” and “Life satisfaction”, the main question is: “On the whole, are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied or not at all satisfied with the life you lead?”); likewise the US with the “US General Social Survey” (GSS is a survey on US citizens’ attitudes, behaviours, and attributes, developed since 1972; about “happiness”, there is a similar question to Euro barometer survey, that ask: “Taken all together, how would you say things are these days – would you say that you are very happy, pretty happy, or not too happy?”) (Huppert and So 2013: 837-861).

For example, at the national level, the German Socio-economic Panel Survey (The German Socio-Economic Panel (SOEP) is a longitudinal survey of approximately 11,000 private households in the Federal Republic of Germany from 1984 to 2017 and the eastern German lander from 1990 to 2017) and at a global level the World Value Happiness (The World Happiness Report is a “landmark survey of the state of global happiness” that ranks 156 countries by how happy their citizens perceive themselves to be) provide information not only on economic matters but also on life satisfaction. In 2008, French President Sarkozy established a Commission (“The commission was chaired by Professors Joseph Stiglitz, Amartya Sen and Jean-Paul Fitoussi, and composed of experts from universities and governmental and non-governmental organizations from different countries”) with the specific task of identifying the limits of GDP as “an indicator of economic performance and social progress and assessing the feasibility of switching to alternative measurement tools” (Stiglitz, Sen and Fitoussi 2010: p. XXII); the “final Report by the Commission on the Measurement of Economic Performance and Social Progress was presented in Paris” on September 14, 2009 as part of a public discussion, in which the French President expressly stated that “we will not change our behavior unless we change the way we measure our economic performance” (Stiglitz, Sen and Fitoussi 2009: p. I).

The Report also clarifies “that time is ripe for measurement system to shift from measuring to economic production to measuring people's well-being. And measures of

well-being should be put in a context of sustainability” (Stiglitz, Sen and Fitoussi 2009: p. 12).

The example was followed in 2010, by the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, David Cameron, who announced: “we'll start measuring our progress as a country, not just how our economy is growing, but by how our lives are improving; not just by our standard of living, but by our quality of life” (Prime Minister’s speech on wellbeing on 25 November 2010).

A very detailed analysis of the limits of economic indicators was developed by Diener and Seligman (Diener and Seligman 2004: p. 1), who highlight the divergences that can occur when using “economic indicators instead of well-being indicators; the analysis is carried out in 6 areas related to well-being”:

- societal conditions (national and political factors related to well-being): Diener and Seligman recall the investigations carried out by numerous other authors, which can be summarized exhaustively in the concepts exposed by Helliwell that people with the highest well-being “are not those who those who live where social and political institutions are effective, where mutual trust is high and corruption is low” (Helliwell 2002); and by Veenhoven, who further specifies that “the effect of economic freedom is greater in developing ones than developing oneself and the effect of political freedom greater in the dairy than in the former” (Veenhoven 2010: p. 14); it is clear that a purely economic indicator is not able to grasp these aspects, typical of more developed societies, mainly linked to the quality of political institutions and social relations;

- income (money and well-being): the Authors found an “important negative outcome related to money, such as the deleterious effects of materialism on happiness”; more specifically, Kasser and Kanner documented problems with “materialistic individuals relating to less materialistic individuals: lower self-esteem and greater narcissism, greater amounts of social comparison (i.e., comparing oneself with other people, sometimes for the purpose of evaluating oneself) and less empathy, less intrinsic motivation, and more conflictual relationships; materialism might lead to lower well-being due to materialistic people tend to downplay the importance of social relationships and to have a large gap between their incomes and material aspirations” (Kasser and Kanner 2004: p. 211); Helliwell found that “the strong negative effects of unemployment are likely to be caused by difficulties in meeting material needs, but by psychological factors such as a decrease in self-respect” (Helliwell 2002); Kahneman and Krueger added “several studies have found that rank in the income distribution or in one’s peer group is more important than the level of income” (Kahneman and Krueger 2006: p. 8) “a focus on subjective well-being could lead to a shift in emphasis from the importance of income in determining a person’s well-being toward the importance of his or her rank” (Kahneman and Krueger 2006: p. 22); moreover, Layard, Mayraz & Nickell found “not only the marginal utility of income declines but income” that “declines somewhat less than proportionally to the rise in income” (Layard, Mayraz and Nickell 2008: pp. 1846-1857). It is clear, therefore, that even in this area there are aspects that cannot be adequately captured by the GDP;

- work (productivity and well-being): “work should no longer be considered something to be endured in order to obtain income, but rather should be considered a potentially rewarding experience in its own right. When the workplace is properly structured to increase well-being, profits will likely rise; thus, well-being at work not only is desirable as an end in itself, but also can help to produce greater economic

productivity” (Diener and Seligman 2004: p. 21); moreover, “the work context may influence the family context [...]. Individuals might choose to work overtime to earn more money, but their family lives might suffer as a consequence. These externalities might include greater delinquency among children who remain unsupervised by overworked parents” (Diener and Tov 2012: pp. 137-157); an indicator such as the GDP can measure the level of production, but it cannot verify the quality of the job and the satisfaction of the worker, and consequently does not allow to identify any critical issues not strictly related to the remuneration aspect; furthermore, economist often omit from GNP volunteer work and homemaking, although they can produce substantial amounts of goods and services (Diener and Tov 2012: pp. 137-157); and “if we refer to a representation of the world in which the services provided by people within a family have no value compared to those that we can obtain on the market, we are expressing a concept of civilization in which the family no longer has much importance” (Stiglitz, Sen and Fitoussi 2010: p. XVI);

- physical health and well-being: in this area an indicator such as GDP could even lead to paradoxical conclusions: for example an increase in the use of drugs increases the value of this indicator, but this increase does not necessarily reflect an improvement in the health conditions of the population;

- mental disorder: “as developed nations have become wealthier, mental health has either dropped sharply or stayed the same”; [...] “mental disorders are widespread, and perhaps growing in frequency, in modern society”; [...] “a single mental disorder, depression, is the third leading cause (after arthritis and heart disease) of loss in quality-adjusted life years (a measure of longevity that factors in quality of life), ranking above cancers, stroke, diabetes, and obstructive lung disease”; [...] it is also “interesting to note that higher rates of mental illness and ill-being experienced in a society can increase GDP if more money is spent on hospitalization, crime prevention and imprisonment of individuals with disorders. Paradoxically, a mounting problem in well-being might increase economic indicators, and the increase in GDP does not indicate whether the money is spent effectively” (Diener and Seligman 2004: p. 28); here too, therefore, a paradoxical situation arises: that is, a developed country, therefore in theory with a high GDP, it could present low levels of psychophysical well-being, or in any case inversely related to GDP;

- social relationship: “people need social bonds in committed relationship, not simply interactions with strangers, to experience well-being”; [...] “although it is clear that positive social relationships are an important cause of well-being, they are largely missed by economic indicators” (Diener and Seligman 2004: p. 28). Even Becchetti and Semplici confirm, “That sociality is a very important factor in the health dynamics of the population” (Becchetti and Semplici 2016: p. 95). So, “those interested in maximizing society’s welfare should shift their attention from an emphasis on increasing consumption to an emphasis on increasing social contacts” (Kahneman and Krueger 2006: p. 22).

From the analysis of Diener and Seligman, therefore, the limits of an indicator like the GDP clearly emerge.

To these limits we must also add those connected with the new theories introduced by behavioral economics: Kahneman et al remember that “income is often used as a proxy for opportunities and well-being. If people are not fully rational,

however, their choices will not necessarily maximize their experienced utility, and increasing their opportunities will not necessarily make them better off". "Direct measures of experienced utility become particularly relevant in a context of bounded rationality" (Kahneman, Krueger, Schkade, Schwarz and Stone 2004: pp. 429-434).

Current economic indicators are constructed following the logic of rational choice models of individuals; however, behavioral sciences are developing alternative models that take into consideration "irrational" aspects of agents; models that, if confirmed, would therefore undermine, from the ground up, those tools built starting from the assumptions of the perfect rationality of economic agents.

Finally, especially in contexts such as the post-crisis period of 2008, in which inequalities can increase disproportionately, there is an intrinsic limit of all the indicators that are developed on the concept of media: they do not in fact provide correct information on the distribution (whether it be income, consumption or wealth); therefore the Recommendation 4 of the Report by the Commission on the Measurement of Economic Performance and Social Progress of 2009 "suggest to give more prominence to the distribution of income, consumption and wealth, combining average indicators with the median ones and poverty statistics" (The problem of inequality is also mentioned in Recommendation 7, expressly titled Quality of life indicators in the dimension covered should assessments in a comprehensive way).

Moreover, in Recommendation 5 is highlighted that well-being is multi-dimensional, and articulated in 8 dimensions:

- material living standards (income, consumption and wealth);
- health;
- education;
- personal activities including work;
- political voice and governance;
- social connections and relationships;
- environment (present and future conditions) (A specific Recommendation, the 11th, is dedicated by the Commission to the issue of sustainability);
- insecurity, of an economic as well as a physical nature.

However, the Commission noticed that many of them are missed by conventional income measures, and so suggest in Recommendation 9 and 10 that in addition to objective indicators of well-being, subjective measures of the quality-of-life should be considered.

In the first chapter of the Report, the Commission propose five ways of dealing with some of the deficiencies of GDP as an indicator of living standard, that are:

- emphasize national accounts aggregate other than GDP (for example, by accounting for depreciation so as to deal with net rather than gross measures of economic activity; since in recent years the structure of production has changed (Information technology assets have now a main role in the economy, but their depreciation rate is faster than for "older" industries -as steel mills), the discrepancy between GDP and NDP may be increasing, and by implication, volume NDP may be increasing less rapidly than GDP);
- improve the empirical measurement of key production activities, in particular the provision of health and education services (this is important because in present economies services account for up to two-thirds of total production and employment);

- bring out the household perspective, which is most pertinent for considerations of living standards (in this way, household income and consumption should also reflect the value of in-kind services provided by government, such as subsidized health care and educational services);
- add information about the distribution of income, consumption and wealth to data on the average evolution of these elements (when inequality is increasing, it needs to combine average statistics with median ones);
- widen the scope of what is being measured (in fact, a significant part of economic activity takes place outside markets and is often not reflected in established national accounts).

A first significant contribution to the development of GDP was made at the beginning of the 1970s by Nordhaus and Tobin: starting from the idea that an obvious shortcoming of GNP is an index of production, not consumption, and that of the goal economic activity, after all, is consumption, the Authors have made some adjustments to this indicator in order to consider, for example, also the value of free time, of homework and the negative externalities connected to urbanization and industrialization; this change led to the development of what the Authors themselves defined as primitive and experimental measure of economic welfare (MEW); specifically, the Authors distinguish between actual welfare (MEW-A) and sustainable welfare (MEW-S), where the amount of consumption is in a sustained growth in per capita consumption at the trend rate of technological progress; so, it measures the level of MEW that is compatible with preserving the capital stock.

Despite this change, the results obtained did not however show important changes to such an extent as to justify the obsolescence of economic growth. Their idea has however paved the way towards a new way of seeing the indicators of progress of a company, giving rise to different solutions, which can be included in the category of those that can be defined as adjusted GDP indicators. Some adjusting GDP approach, deviates increasingly from the criterion of accounting consistency; for example, the Index of Sustainable Economic Welfare (ISEW) and its enhanced version, the Genuine Progress Indicator (GPI).

The ISEW was elaborated by Herman Daly and John B. Cobb in 1989 the economic value of social activity, social and environmental patterns, and it is the most important economic, social and environmental patterns, and it is the results of the sum of the following variables: weighted personal consumption + public non-defensive expenditures + capital formation + services from domestic labor - private defensive expenditures - costs of environmental degradation - depreciation of natural capital. The GPI was developed in 1995 by the non-profit organization "Redefining Progress" as a refinement of the ISEW, taking into consideration more items with respect to the ISEW.

Because the GDP and the ISEW / GPI are both measured in monetary terms, they can be compared on the same scale. The Stiglitz-Sen-Fitoussi Commission remember that in all countries for which both ISEW and GPI are available, their values are similar and some point in time start diverging from GDP. This has led to the author of putting forward to so-called "threshold" hypothesis, according to which GDP and welfare move in the direction of certain points. being. The "threshold" hypothesis would confirm

again the Easterlin Paradox in describing the negative effects of economic growth on social and environmental conditions.

However, some of them have emerged as natural substitutes, since they take on natural capital and are the perfect substitutes, these indicators can only work under the constant capital rule (or weak sustainability hypothesis). The forms of natural capital irreplaceable and therefore non-declining stocks of natural capital are required; under this "strong" hypothesis, monetary indicators would always fail because they are either monetize externalities (damage cost, abatement cost, etc.) or market prices in order to assign monetary value to different forms of natural capital. If a resource is irreplaceable and its decline would be an irreparable damage to society, it could not have a price or a cost.

Moreover, there is too much arbitrariness in the choices of the variables included in the definition of the defensive expenditure.

Other adjusting GDP approach are instead integrated into the realm of national accounting. It is based on the so-called System of Environmental Economic Accounting (SEEA) (United Nations. Department of Economic and Social Information and Policy Analysis. Statistical Division 1993), a satellite account of the Standard National Accounts (SNA) (Stiglitz, Sen and Fitoussi 2009: p. 66). Due to the environmental adjustments to SNA this indicator is also known as Green GDP, and it could be considered an extension of the concept of net domestic product. Indeed, just as GDP (Gross) is turned into NDP (Net) by accounting for the consumption of fixed capital (depreciation of produced capital), the idea is that it would be meaningful to compute an "ea-NDP" (environmentally-adjusted) that takes into account the consumption of natural capital (Stiglitz, Sen and Fitoussi 2009: p. 66).

2. Dimensions of well-being

Even if adjusted GDP indicators are an easy way for making comparison with "standard" GDP, the Stiglitz-Sen-Fitoussi Commission however highlighted that both approaches miss to evaluate an assessment of how far we are from desirable sustainable targets; so, they suggest to implement measures of overconsumption or of underinvestment (Stiglitz, Sen and Fitoussi 2009: p. 67), and specifically:

- the Adjusted Net Saving (also known as genuine savings or genuine investment): ANS is based on the concept of "extended wealth", that means that it take into account not only natural resources but also physical, productive capital and human capital; the main limit of this measure is connected with the pricing techniques (Stiglitz, Sen and Fitoussi 2009: p. 73) and with the lack of global view (Stiglitz, Sen and Fitoussi 2009: pp. 69-76);

- the Ecological Footprints: EF measures how much of the regenerative capacity of the biosphere is used up by human activities (consumption). It does so by calculating the amount of biologically productive land and water area required to support a given population at its current level of consumption. A country's Footprint (demand side) is the total area required to produce the food, fiber and timber that it consumes, absorb the waste that it generates, and provide space for its infrastructure (built-up areas). On the supply side, biocapacity is the productive capacity of the biosphere and its ability to provide a flux of biological resources and services useful to humankind (Stiglitz, Sen and Fitoussi 2009: p. 70); however, even if it differs from ANS because no market prices are explicitly used, also EF miss global view (Stiglitz, Sen and Fitoussi 2009: p.

71). Then, Commission suggest that "the Ecological Footprint could at best be an indicator of instantaneous non-sustainability at the worldwide level, while EFs for countries should be used as indicators of inequality in the exploitation of natural resources and interdependencies between geographical areas" (Stiglitz, Sen and Fitoussi 2009: p. 71).

An alternative solution to the adjusted GDP indicators adopted by various international organizations, and in particular by the UN and the OECD, is that of statistical dashboards; as we are reminded by the Stiglitz-Sen-Fitoussi Commission, dashboards or indicators of a widespread approach to the general question of sustainable development. This approach involves gathering and ordering a series of indicators that support direct or indirect relationship to socio-economic progress and its durability.

Although this solution has the advantage of providing a broader and more variegated view than the one proposed by the GDP, the statistical dashboards nevertheless have different limits, such as the simple definition of sustainability and the lack of a single headline. socio-economic performance over time or across countries. Then, Commission suggest at most to create a "micro" dashboard [...] that is specifically dedicated to the sustainability issue, based on a clear notion of sustainability.

To solve the problem of the scarce parsimony of the statistical dashboards, the composite indexes have been proposed; the Stiglitz-Sen-Fitoussi Commission in its 2009 Report cites as an example:

- Osberg and Sharpe's Index of Economic Well-Being: "it is a composite indicator that simultaneously covers current prosperity (based on measures of consumption), sustainable accumulation, and social topics (reduction in inequalities and protection against "social" risks)" (Stiglitz, Sen and Fitoussi 2009: p. 64);

- Environmental Sustainability Index: "ESI covers 5 domains: environmental systems (their global health status), environmental stress (anthropogenic pressure on the environmental systems), human vulnerability (exposure of inhabitants to environmental disturbances), social and institutional capacity (their capacity to foster effective responses to environmental challenges), and global stewardship (cooperation with other countries in the management of common environmental problems). It uses 76 variables to cover these 5 domains" (Stiglitz, Sen and Fitoussi 2009: p. 64);

- Environmental Performance Index: "EPI is a reduced form of the ESI, based on 16 indicators (outcomes), and is more policy-oriented" (Stiglitz, Sen and Fitoussi 2009: p. 64).

However, a more well-known composite index is Human Development Index, proposed by the United Nations Development Program in 1990 (UNDP 1990); from 2010, HDI is the geometric mean of three elements (UNDP 1990: p. 103):

- life expectancy at birth;
- education levels, assessed in terms of mean years of schooling and expected years of schooling (the years of schooling that a child can expect to receive given current enrolment rates) (UNDP 2010: p. 15);
- gross national income (GNI) per capita¹ (UNDP 2010: p. 15).

¹ GNI replaces gross domestic product (GDP) per capita, because in a globalized world differences are often large between the income of a country's residents and its domestic

The index scale (with values between 0 and 1) divides the countries into 4 quartiles: countries with very high human development, countries with high human development, countries with medium human development, countries with low human development.

The ranking generated by this indicator is very different from that based on GDP per capita, especially in reference to the least developed countries. Nussbaum, for example, points out how the United States slides from first place as GDP to twelfth as HDI.

The OECD has also developed its own composite indicator for the 36 member countries which can be considered a valid alternative to GDP; it is the Better Life Index, which embraces 11 dimensions of well-being in terms of material living conditions (housing, income, work) and quality of life (social relations, education, environment, governance, health, personal satisfaction, security, relationship between private life and work). The OECD believes that such an indicator is relevant because well-being is a multidimensional concept that must be measured with a multidimensional indicator. In Italy, an interesting solution was developed by a joint ISTAT-CNEL initiative in 2010 and is called Fair and Sustainable Well-being; this is also a composite tool that integrates economic, social and environmental indicators with measures of inequality and sustainability. The name chosen summarizes in an extremely clear way the key elements that are currently considered suitable for a coherent and complete measurement of the socioeconomic progress of a nation:

- develop a multidimensional analysis of the relevant aspects of citizens' quality of life (Wellness);
- pay attention to the distribution of the determinants of well-being among social subjects (Equo);
- guarantee the same well-being even to future generations (Sustainable).

The BES is divided into 12 domains (or welfare dimensions) which are:

- environment;
- health;
- economic well-being;
- education and training;
- work and reconciliation of life times;
- social relations;
- security;
- subjective well-being;
- landscape and cultural heritage;
- research and innovation; quality of services;
- politics and institutions.

The innovative feature of this tool consists in the fact that the BES was from the beginning conceived as an evolving project. Within a stable structure based on 12 domains, each year the set of indicators is reviewed to take into account the changes in the country's socio-economic context, any new sources of data and methodological advances.

production; some of the income residents earn is sent abroad, some residents receive international remittances and some countries receive sizeable aid flows.

To underline the importance that this new way of assessing progress is taking, there is also the fact that, starting from the 2017 Economic and Financial Document, some BES indicators have become part of the economic planning cycle according to how much prescribed by the law that reformed the budget law (Law 163/2016). However, among the many attempts to go beyond the GDP, the one that had a greater resonance at international level certainly remains Gross National Happiness (GNH), a measurement method used in a small state of Asia, Bhutan. This indicator was introduced in the early 1970s by the King of the time to assess national progress and to drive public policy and is divided into 9 areas: health, education, living standards, time use, environmental quality, culture, community, vitality, governance, and psychological wellbeing. It should be noted, therefore, that this measure places the focus not only and not only on the economic aspect of a country, but also on man, thus highlighting that people need not only to satisfy the needs of nature and materials, but also spiritual and emotional ones.

The importance of the alternative evaluation mechanism adopted by Bhutan underlines the fact that it was just such an innovative solution that made the “UN General Assembly to adopt Resolution 65/309 on 19 July 2011, entitled: “Happiness: Towards a holistic approach to development” (United Nation. Royal Government of Bhutan 2012: p. 19), that described happiness as „a fundamental human goal and universal aspiration, and noting that GDP by its nature does not reflect that goal; that unsustainable patterns of production and consumption impede sustainable development; and that a more inclusive, equitable and balanced approach is needed to promote sustainability, eradicate poverty, and enhance wellbeing” (United Nation. Royal Government of Bhutan 2012: p. 19). And on the basis of this Resolution, the High Level Meeting of the United Nations of 12 April 2012 was organized, a conference expressly focused on the themes of well-being and happiness, of ecological sustainability, of the efficient allocation of resources and equity in distribution, and with the aim of verifying the need to adopt new measures for assessing the socio-economic development of nations.

The Report on the 2012 meeting opens with a strong and explicit criticism of GDP by the Prime Minister of Bhutan, Jigmi Y. Thinley: ”The present GDP-based system, they recognised, was devised prior to any knowledge of climate change or the finite limits of the earth’s resources, and it prioritises material growth and consumption at the expense of nature and people” (United Nation. Royal Government of Bhutan 2012: p. 11). “This system has depleted resources, degraded ecosystem services, accelerated greenhouse gas emissions, diminished biodiversity, and now threatens the survival of humans and other species. It has created yawning inequities, and is generating global economic insecurity, indebtedness, instability, and conflict” (United Nation. Royal Government of Bhutan 2012: p. 11).

And, consequently, suggests to follow the GNH approach that ”is based on the belief that happiness can be achieved by balancing the needs of the body with those of the mind within a peaceful and secure environment. GNH is a sustainability based, wellbeing centric, inclusive economic model” (United Nation. Royal Government of Bhutan 2012: p. 25).

However, it is right to point out that, although this indicator may seem more representative than the GDP, Diener and Lyubchik wanted to verify if the level of well-

being in Bhutan is really better than in other countries; from this analysis it seems to emerge that this state is not in the top rankings in all areas affected by the GNH; in particular the Authors showed that "Bhutan ranks first in terms of Environmental wellbeing and ranks moderately high on Social wellbeing. However, it scores fairly low in terms of overall Psychological wellbeing" (United Nation. Royal Government of Bhutan 2012: p. 25).

Given that the Authors themselves have specified that they have found some limits in the development of this analysis and that therefore it is not possible to give definite judgments on the results, however the idea that underlies such a measurement method remains admissible, and therefore it is considered that this indicator can be at least useful as a guideline for intensifying those areas where the GDP is lacking. This suggestion is also proposed by the Global Happiness Council, which reminds us in the Global Happiness Policy Report of 2018 that the GNH-based policy evaluation mechanism adopted by Bhutan is a good example to follow.

However, although "among the pros of using a composite indicator there is the easiness of interpretation and the fact that providing the "big picture" it is able to summarize complex or multi-dimensional issues without dropping the underlying information base" Iso the composite indicators have some limitations, such as in particular the absence of a clear definition of the concept of sustainability and the arbitrary character of the procedures used to weight their various components. Consequently, a composite indicator, if poorly constructed or misinterpreted, may be misused inviting simplistic policy conclusions.

3. Conclusions

In conclusion, although there are still difficulties in identifying the most suitable measurement to represent the current configuration of modern society and its progress, it seems nevertheless clear the need to abandon the idea that GDP alone can fulfill this task . Even if the latter has the enormous merit of being able to synthetically describe the situation of a nation and consequently allow an easy comparison with other countries, it is no longer possible to pretend that the other dimensions that characterize human life are not so indispensable for the full realization of man. Therefore, it is believed that, in assessing the progress of a company and in order to correctly direct policy choices, indicators structured differently from GDP should also be taken into consideration, despite the various limits highlighted above. In fact, even if errors should occur in the use of indicators that have the task of assessing the well-being of people, environmental and economic sustainability, most likely these errors will be less serious than those generated by an incorrect and / or instrumental interpretation of measurement methods already distorted at the base as intrinsically connected to an opportunistic logic.

The possible errors of the alternative indicators to the GDP (which are due to measurement techniques not yet perfected, as these indicators are still in their initial development phase, or to erroneous weighting of the variables, or to the fact that in some cases they use subjective and non-objective assessments), as they can be more harmful than those generated by an instrument "that does not include externalities, side effects of productions and consumption that do not result in market transactions, gambling and commuting are part of it?" (Diener and Seligman 2004: p. 1-31).

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Changing work values in a liquid world

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Abstract

Work, values and change are among most analyzed social issues, starting from ancient philosophers, to Middle Ages thinkers and nowadays sociologists, human resources researchers or business specialists. We have chosen to discuss in this article how social change reflects on values attached to work, as the public discourse often draws attention on specific features of the young generations or millennials. The often-mentioned idea is that young adults are disengaged, not interested, superficial, frequently unstable and unreliable when analyzing their work behavior. For them, classical motivation theories and consecrated job satisfaction models seems like are not working. Starting from the assumption that values are the ones that orientate individuals` behavior, the purpose of this paper is to emphasize the connections that emerge between social changes, values transformation and working behavior, through the key of modernism-postmodernism shift.

Keywords: work values; work ethics; modernism; postmodernism; values change.

1. Introducing the context

Several aspects must be mentioned when addressing work theme. One of them certainly is globalization, as this phenomenon, with wide coverage, has a great influence on work domain. Defined by Giddens (1990: p. 64) as “the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away”, globalization has several facets and different effects. Through it, national boundaries tend to diminish, cultural differences are confronted, traditional views, perceptions and attitudes are reshaping, and central models are rapidly spread towards semi-periphery and periphery, as Immanuel Wallerstein shows in his theory regarding world systems.

Another effect of globalization targets the techno-space, as Appadurai explains (Appadurai 1990), with direct effects on changing job types (or even disappearance of some of them), because the routine, standardized or dulling ones are steadily executed by various machines and new technologies replace human work in an increasing number of domains, even in those where human connection was considered a must, as customer care or medicine¹. We will see further how such technological jumps

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¹ For more details about the five dimensions of globalization, that form the “global cultural economy” and interact, influencing one another, named by Appadurai “global cultural flows”,

influence both work content and the way work itself is done. Thus, beside the fact that some jobs disappear because they are no longer needed or they are no more executed by human beings, the way people work also changes. Remote working possibilities are various nowadays, as many companies agree working from home, open subsidiaries in other countries, so their employees speak different languages and embrace various cultures, collaborate with freelancers, externalize the work of their departments and so on.

Nevertheless, especially western countries, but not only them, benefit from the so called “welfare state”, which provides the basic means for survival. This, as we will think out in an upcoming section, may strongly affect the way people relate to work, because it is no longer considered the sole alternative for living. Secularization contributes to a different interpretation of work, if we compare it to the one that elder generations embraced, considering work a necessary evil (Christianism) or the only way to approach God`s will (Protestantism).

Another aspect that deserves our attention regards the intense people movement all across the Globe, reaching an amplitude never met before. “Although migratory movements have been occurring in different zones of the planet since ancient times, a significant amount of theoretic attention was driven towards them starting in the XIXth century” (Porumbescu 2018: p. 8). When referring to work, migration`s effects are numerous, from cultural clash to payment issues or know-how and the list can go on, as we have previously shown: “International human migration represents, by itself, a form of change in the society: when individuals migrate, they change not only their residence and work place, but also their behavior, the rules they obey, the institutions they refer to, and, most important, the type of relationships they engage into” (Porumbescu and Pogan 2018: p. 17).

Perhaps one of the most metaphoric and also eloquent descriptions of modern world is that of Zygmunt Bauman, who speaks about “liquid modernity” (Bauman 2000). His standing point is that society is passing through a late stage of modernity, a stage which is rather characterized by chaos because individuals are seen as tourists in their own lives, so everything is fluid and changeable. What Bauman`s model stresses and may be at interest for the present analysis, is that people cut connection with their traditional support networks, which can contribute to a greater feeling of freedom, but can also frustrate individuals, as benchmarks are less stable, ever-changing and thus people are always searching for something that they may never find. We will see further how can work environment and the relations created here can come and help those with a greater request for certitude.

2. Theoretical framing and historical background

We cannot analyze present without speaking about the past, so this section will highlight some key elements concerning work signification, different valences that remarkable thinkers identified and addressed through their research. When speaking about work, philosophers have a meaningful word to say, starting from ancient thinkers, Plato and Aristotle, mentioning afterwards John Locke and Adam Smith, referring to Max Weber with his fundamental “The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism” and analyzing the eloquent distinction between work and labor, proposed

see his theory of disjuncture. He identifies ethnoscapas, mediascapas, technoscapas, finansascapas and ideoscapas (Appadurai 1990).

by Hannah Arendt. Concentrating our attention to the latter mentioned author, a worth discussing distinction is the one between “work” and “labor”. While the first term refers to that challenging, meaningful activity, that not only has financial purposes, but, more than that, brings satisfaction, self-actualization and is usually connected to performance, Arendt sees in “labor” those routine jobs, sometimes even dangerous that are in no way associated with pleasure or satisfaction. For many people the jobs performed contain elements from both sides, the positive and the negative one, while we can also find work positions that are rather closer to the negative pole of the above discussed categories.

Beside this distinction, work was also considered a necessary evil or a way to get closer to what God appreciates and thus a way to ensure one’s salvation. More than that, the differences between Christianity and the Protestant position regarding work were seen as causes or explanations of differences in economic development of European countries (Webber 1993). The modern age brings work’s ascension, from the previous accusations and perceptions of it as a dulling activity or punishment. If we remember for instance how Marx stated that work can be considered the expression of humanity itself, one must acknowledge his merits. Before Karl Marx, who devoted a lot of his work to work, there are authors who consider that John Locke was the first to reestablish the slandered position of work, when he “discovered that labor is the source of all property” (Arendt 2007: p. 131).

3. Changing work values

What guides us through this analysis is the aim to understand how people relate to work nowadays and why they embrace such an approach, why is it differently seen today, compared to other past times. It is obvious that technological revolution changed work content, work rhythm, some jobs disappeared, others are new and still insufficient regulated, and, beyond the labor sector, individuals also changed. If in the first years of industrial revolution men, women and even children worked as much as they could, during weekends, legal holidays, without days off or insurances, until exhaustion, next years brought many changes, through legal regulations and other soft steps that contributed to the labor market as we see it today, if we speak about Western World.

If we want to understand such processes, taking a look to Maslow’s pyramid of needs may seem a good starting point, because one premises, largely circulated, is that people work because they have needs, that are gratified working. The subtle discussion here goes beyond this rough causality, by distinguishing between the different steps of the hierarchy. Thus, the first ones, corresponding to basic needs, such as physiological and security ones, are closer to what “labor” defines, while upper levels, referring to love and belonging, self-esteem and self-actualization, are closer to what we previously described as “work”, according to Arendt’s view point. Maslow’s idea is that as needs are accomplished, people climb the steps of his conceptualized pyramid, starting from the basic ones, that include the need for water, food or shelter, to personal security, health, resources and employment, at the beginning. For people that don’t have problems in satisfying these basic needs, the next, upper floors of the hierarchy become tempting. Transposed to the present analysis of work, for those persons, according to this model, a well-paid job is not enough. Together with the salary, that contributes to fulfilling the basic needs, other job characteristics are sought, features that can contribute to status, recognition, the sense of freedom, or even self-actualization.

The concern for developing theoretical models that can provide plausible strategies for human resources specialists, strategies that can boost engagement, satisfaction and performance, brought to light the distinction between intrinsic and extrinsic work orientation. The two types of work orientations can be again associated to different connotations given to “work” or “labor”. The intrinsic work orientations define the people who find in what they do a scope in itself, pleasure, feeling that they can achieve something, because their activity allows them to unfold and maximizes their potential. On the other hand, an extrinsic positioning finds labor as a way of satisfying goals that are outside that job and the recurrent activity is not a source of pleasure in itself, but a vehicle to other aspects that are seen as valuable. For the employers that fit to this second category, the motivation sprinkles not from the work they accomplish, but from other external factors, such as good pay, generous holidays, enjoyable physical environment. These aspects may contribute to reducing the unpleasant characteristics of a job, the ones conceptualized as defining “labor”, or represent the means of achieving other goals.

Another idea that emerges when consulting literature is that these changes regarding work orientations can be the result of the broader concept “modernization” (de Witte, Halman and Gelissen 2004: p. 257), seen as a passing from rather traditional values to modern, individualistic ones, if we analyze this domain. Modernization does not refer only to work, but to many other aspects that influence each other and work also. The changes that modernization involves affect economy, technologization, cultural and political life and of course labor market. Nevertheless, economic growth contributes to a higher professionalization of working people, to their higher levels of specialization, a more educated working force bringing a valuable input for the economy, through innovation. Beside this back effect on economy, highly educated professionals benefit from a broader range of opportunities, they have many choices and step by step, they are no longer dependent on traditional institutions or to conservationist ways of thinking. When analyzing work values, we can associate an extrinsic orientation to traditionalist, materialist values, while modern, post - materialist perspectives are rather defined by intrinsic job orientations.

When trying to better understand such social phenomenon, Maslow`s perspective seems useful, especially if we notice that Inglehart also mentioned it and built his explanation about values change through scarcity hypothesis and socialization theory, starting from the above - mentioned hierarchy of needs (Inglehart 2008). According to Inglehart, the modern welfare states, with their security systems, are a very important cause of the individualistic orientation and influence value positioning. Referring to Maslow`s explanatory model, Inglehart considers that people tend to appreciate what is scarce, so if unemployment rates are low, job conditions satisfying and the payment also, it is expected that little importance will be given to such extrinsic factors. In this well – developed economies, most people will focus on intrinsic values and motivations, as the satisfaction of their basic needs is guaranteed. Moving deeper, his socialization theory states that the childhood context has a great impact, considering that values significance is somehow passed down through socialization. More precisely, Inglehart considers that the socio-economic context from one`s childhood years will influence his/her values orientation (towards intrinsic or extrinsic values) as an adult (Inglehart 2008).

Inglehart`s scarcity hypothesis leaves space for the reverse movement, the return to materialist values, after getting to post-materialist views in recession conditions, or

other economic issues, such as a financial crisis (Inglehart 2008). Military confrontations are also a possible cause of increasing levels of insecurity, what again can determine a shift to extrinsic orientations.

In such a reflexive world, corporations try to find the answers to many unsaid questions, providing for their employees the needed benchmarks, able to replace the classical social support networks. In this manner, work may act as a socializing agent, especially for those without deep-rooted previous models or in the case of the persons who are not appreciating in a positive light their background. When taking into consideration migrant populations, even if we address movements from rural to urban areas, or from one country to another, the working environment has a great socializing impact. Employees take over principles, attitudes or behavioral models and value systems are shaping or rather re-shaping. Employers are aware of their educating function and focus on spreading the desirable contents for the aim of their companies. Trainings, together with personal and professional development programs contribute to the spread of desired patterns, promoting models, values, principles and attitudes that best match their purposes.

Taking into account the shift from traditional views to modern, individualist ones, companies consider also classical motivation models, as the one described in a previous section, the hierarchy of needs. This is way, one of corporations` purpose is to act as a “big family”, as a response to our born need of belonging, so social capital reshapes it`s contents and actors. Human beings are naturally defined by the need to interact, communicate, the need to belong to reference groups and to relate to them. The argument we try to emphasize here is that human needs are the same, but the possible providers for such needs change, as, for example, the small rural community has been replaced by the team from work.

In Romania, and not only, transnational corporations are a most desired employer for young people and a model of success for the economy. The way this companies socialize their employees influences their education, specialization, professionalization and may contribute to a rather individualist and post- materialist orientation, in areas where choices are numerous. For instance, a region with plenty of jobs, a secure welfare regime, is expected to be characterized by post-materialistic values, if we use the above explained models, the theory of scarcity, proposed by Inglehart, for example.

4. Discussions

A worthily asked question regards the nature of work itself – is work a mean or a scope of our world? People work because of the work outcomes themselves, or because of what can be achieved through those results? The answer to this question may be rather challenging, as one can refer to this activity considering the positive or the negative connotation, as Arendt showed. On one hand, we must say that especially routine activities, dangerous, that some jobs involve, entitle those employers to consider that what they perform is a necessity, as no pleasure can be associated with the activity itself. On the other hand, this “laboring” connotation and utilitarian view does not apply for the lucky category of those who consider that they have found their vocation and fulfilment is what defines their work.

Many researchers argue that the modern consumption society only sees work as a vehicle to produce goods and earnings that are consumed, and the process is seen as a repeating one (Arendt, 2007). Karl Marx has an interesting standing point that can be mentioned regarding this debate though, considering that work and consumption are

nothing but the two phases of the biological life cycle, like the two faces of the same coin (Marx 2009: p. 201).

Furthermore, beside those natural stages, of production and consumption, work can have several and very different connotations and one issue that should certainly reinforce its position, is that this activity is definingly specific to human beings, because we are the ones to change the environment in order to accomplish our needs and desires, through labor. Remembering that work was described as “the supreme world-building capacity of man” (Arendt 2007: p. 132), starting from Locke’s visions, according to whom labor is the source of property, together with Smith’s standpoint, who saw it as the spring of wealth and without forgetting Marx’s contribution, we must admit that Modern Ages thinkers had a great contribution in restoring work’s image. Their contributions can also be reiterated in contemporary context.

In the end, one opinion that worth mentioning, refers to Hofstede’s views on differences regarding countries. For the present analysis we consider useful the distinction between individualism and collectivism (Hofstede 1996: pp. 82-98). According to his model, in developing countries, work is considered a way of contributing to economic well-being of the family, while for inhabitants of financially strong – consolidated countries, the same activity may be seen as an expression of individualism. For the second category, overwork may be interpreted as an exacerbated desire for goods and resources accumulation.

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Is migration a risk factor for radicalization? Social and legal instruments for identifying and combating radicalization

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Abstract

This paper aims to analyze the correlation between migration and the phenomenon of radicalization, presenting them theoretically and examining the main models of intervention used to combat radicalization and extremism. We will start from the definition of radicalization, also highlighting its stages, and then focusing on radicalization among migrants. We will also analyze the types of prevention strategies particularly by debating the European Union's strategy, identifying the tools used and the institutions involved in the process.

Keywords: *migration; radicalization; the European prevention; instruments for combating radicalization; social prevention; judicial prevention.*

1. About radicalization: general notions and constituent elements

In the simplest way, radicalization is defined as the way a group responds "to a perceived threat by adopting progressively excessive measures in order to feel safe" (Clark Gill 2018: p. 114) or "the social and psychological process of incrementally experienced commitment to extremist political or religious ideology" (Horgan 2009: p. 152). As Radicalisation Awareness Network (RAN) and Working Group on Prison and Probation (P&P) describes it, radicalization is a "dynamic process whereby an individual comes to accept violent extremism. The reasons behind this process can be ideological, political, religious, social, economic and/or personal". RAN and P&P highlight the fact that "being radical does not mean that a person will in any way follow up with action" (RAN and P&P 2012 p:1). Julia Rushchenko gives another definition of radicalization, presenting it as a "process by which an individual or a group comes to adopt increasingly extreme political, social and religious ideas and aspirations, including the need to use violence to achieve political change" (Rushchenko 2019: p. 2)

We can also find a definition of mutual radicalization in Fathali M. Moghaddam's book: "two groups take increasingly extreme positions opposing one another, reacting against real or imagined threats, moving further and further apart in points of view, mobilizing their resources to launch attacks, and finally attempting to weaken and destroy each other" (Moghaddam 2018: p. 4). At Moghaddam we can also find a phased model of radicalization from "Three-Stage, 12-Step Model for Mutual Radicalization", which starts from sorting members into groups to extreme inter-group violence (Moghaddam 2018) to one plus five stair model into the "Starecase to the terrorist act"

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(Moghaddam 2005). In this famous model, the Staircase to the terrorist act, we find the following six stages (the ground floor and five higher floors) in the process of radicalization: The ground floor: "Psychological Interpretation of Material Conditions" (perceptions of fairness and just treatment), The first floor: "Perceived Options to Fight Unfair Treatment" (trying to find various solutions to what a person considers/perceives to be unfair treatment); The second floor: "Displacement of Aggression" (aggressive behavior that cannot be expressed to the source that produced the behavior, so anger is placed on the easiest victim, thus encouraging thinking like us-versus-them); The third floor: "Moral Engagement" (commitment to a morality parallel to the conventional one, thus justifying the means that lead to the ideal society); The fourth floor: "Solidification of Categorical Thinking and the Perceived Legitimacy of the Terrorist Organization" (entry into the secret world of terrorist organizations) and The fifth floor: "The Terrorist Act and Sidestepping Inhibitory Mechanisms" (acts of violence) (Moghaddam 2005: pp. 162-166).

For any radicalized movement, the "idea" is very important, as Graeme Wood points out in his book, "The Way of the Strangers: Encounters with the Islamic State". Beyond provocative elements such as political violence, modern political systems and economic decline, "ideology" and "ideas" matter. This is often the case of radicalizing of a certain category of Jews, Christians, and especially the case of Islamists (Hertog 2019: p. 97 apud. Wood 2017). Often, adherence to certain groups occurs as a result of the recruitment process, but these groups often use "deceptive means" (Bauza and Bouchard 2018).

An important step in the process of radicalization is the transition from the non-violent behavior of an organization to violent behavior, and for this we find many explanatory theories. According to the theory issued by Eitan Alimi, Chares Demetriou, and Lorenzo Bosi, in the book "The Dynamics of Radicalization: A Relational and Comparative Perspective", an important role in this transformation is played by increasing competition among organizations, shifts in political opportunities, and "changes in the distance between organizations and publics" and according to Gilles Kepel with Antoine Jardin in the book "Terror in France: The Rise of Jihad in the West", this transition is mainly due to influence "of the social, political and cultural conditions" in the suburbs (Alimi, Demetriou and Bosi 2015; Kepel and Jardin 2016 apud. Cremer 2019: pp. 96-97).

Jocelyn J. Bélanger, Manuel Moyano, Hayat Muhammad et. al., in the study "Radicalization leading to violence: A test of the 3N Model" analyze through the 3N model of radicalization the "social cognitive processes underlying ideology-based violence" (Bélanger, Moyano, Muhammad et. al. 2019: p. 1), therefore, is another way of observing the stages of radicalization development. The 3N model of radicalization reveals a trajectory with three interconnected stages: Need, Narrative and Network. The "Need" has two aspects, on the one hand, the need to be observed, to be "respected", the need of "personal significance" and "social alienation" on the other hand, represented by a loss, a dissatisfaction that produces exclusion from one group and automatically open/receptivity to enter another group with other values and principles (Bélanger, Moyano, Muhammad et. all 2019: p. 2). The "Narrative" refers to the "ideological narrative" that offers belief systems that accept the fight against different enemies (social, religious, ethnic etc.) and justifies the morality of using reprehensible acts and even of violence (Bélanger, Moyano, Muhammad et. all 2019: pp. 2-3). The "Network" refers to the fact that "once a person adhere to the ideological

narrative that morally justifies the use of reprehensible acts and even violence to restore meaning, people might be motivated to look for the presence of others who share similar principles and beliefs”, to a network (Bélanger, Moyano, Muhammad et. all 2019: p. 3). For the empirical research, Jocelyn J. Bélanger, Manuel Moyano, Hayat Muhammad et. al. developed two psychometric instruments “the social alienation scale and the support for political violence scale” and using the Likert scale, have tested through questions, concrete aspects, looking for the correlation between these predispositions. So, in the simplest way, the 3N model sees the following path of radicalization: we initially have a person who has lost his purpose in society, “losing significance (feeling socially alienated)”, then follows adherence to one “violence-justifying ideologies”, for, in the end to join radical groups (Bélanger, Moyano, Muhammad et. all 2019: pp. 1-12).

It may be that at the extreme point of radicalization, that of the aggressive action, individuals choose to act alone, being called “lone-actor”. But it does not mean that the person is not part of a group, that only means the individual has chosen to act alone, either because he has not fully integrated into the new group (called “Volatile”) or because of various technical reasons (referred to as “Autonomous”) (Lindekilde, O’Connor and Schuurman 2017).

On the other hand, the term “deradicalization” is seen as the opposite of radicalization, and is “the process of becoming less extreme or radical”, being used both for changing values and also behavior. But, we must keep in mind that, a change in behavior does not automatically lead to a change in values, just as changing values does not automatically lead to a transformation of behavior (Vellenga and De Groot 2019: p. 227).

Of course, radicalization can also have positive effects, but these are exceptional cases if we talk about situations such as those of leaders like Mahatma Gandhi or Nelson Mandela, who have become emblems of national movements, capable of provoking political change (Rushchenko 2019 :p. 2).

In this process of radicalization we encounter push and pull factors. Thus, among push factors we find: poor living conditions, restrictions on health, education and social assistance, tense relationships with other groups, poor policies in key areas, long periods of isolation; among pull factors we find: seeking for “confidence, esteem, membership and belonging” and we also encounter favorable factors like charismatic leaders (Rushchenko 2019: pp. 6-8). For Ozer and Bertelsen (2018), who created a research tool called “Extremism scale”, radicalization has two important features: the desire to change the values of society and the intolerance towards those who do not accept these transformations.

2. Radicalization of migrants

According to many studies, closed, restricted environments, such as the inmates penitentiary system (Pricina and Ilie Goga 2014; Ilie Goga 2016), religious groups or sects, seem to favor the development of radicalization. In literature (Borum 2012; Doosje et al. 2016) we find a great diversity of radicalization manifestations like: “nationalistic or separatist; extreme left-wing; extreme right-wing; specific single issue; religiously motivated” (Ozer and Bertelsen 2018: p. 2).

Among the closed groups, which can create the conditions for radicalization, we also meet the groups of migrants.

From the analyzes made among migrant communities, it is noticed that most often there is a close connection between the emigrants from certain regions, creating communities with close ties, having frequent meetings, joint activities, creating associations, frequenting places of worship, often as a place to socialize and strengthen their identity and often tend to become somehow isolated from the members of the host society (Porumbescu 2018; Niță 2014), with whom they have tangential links, necessary for the cohabitation in the destination country.

In many studies, we find that first step in the process of radicalization, refers to personal failure, the loss of social purpose, and precisely that obvious xenophobia, encountered in many countries of massive destination of emigrants, can lead to the sense of lack of integration and lack of social and professional fulfillment. In countries of destination, we often find prejudice and discrimination against migrants in workplaces, schools, hospitals, public spaces. Moreover, immigrants seem to have fewer rights than the citizens of the host country. At the same time, they face an alteration of identity and values. All these aspects, can create "personal crises or "disorienting dilemmas" that act as "transformative triggers" and "turning points" (McAdams and Bowman, 2001) or provide "cognitive openings" and a "readiness to change" (Winter and Feixas 2019: p. 2) and naturally, can affect the identity of the emigrant.

After the changes brought about by the context presented above, we also find the second step of radicalization, good integration in the receiving group, and in the case of migrants most often these groups are just formed by the emigrants of their countries of departure. The process of joining certain groups is described by the "theory of social ideology" (Tajfel and Jones 1979) and unfortunately these groups may also be some with extremist values and principles. It is precisely the integration into a radicalized group that is, in fact, the biggest problem that arises today, because of the extremist street movements, vandalism and even acts of terrorism. Another problem in the age of globalization comes from the fact that integration into these extremist groups can be done very easily, socialization not being necessarily face-to-face, as it is done with the help of technological means (mobile devices, wireless networks, social media, websites etc.) (Ștefănescu and Ștefan 2018; Altieri and Cifaldi 2018).

Also, "personal construct theory" (PCT) (Kelly 1955; Kelly 1970) shows us that people and groups are building their own "hierarchically organized systems of bipolar personal constructs (like good and bad) in which some elements are more important than others" (Winter and Feixas 2019: p. 2). These constructions are, in real life experiences validated or invalidated, forming a "Experience Cycle". As a result of these personal experiences that have invalidated an idea considered "good", an individual has three options: either to reformulate, refine the concept (the path chosen by the majority); either choose to maintain his theory and avoid situations that invalidate it; either chooses to enter a group that accepts his ideas as good and tries to turn the majority so that his construction becomes "the ultimate truth" (Winter and Feixas 2019: p. 3). This third variant, known as confrontation/ hostility, is also chosen by emigrants who are radicalizing themselves, going to the third stage, to violent and much blamed actions by most societies.

Lately, I noticed a new phenomenon. In the qualitative research, based on the use of the interview, undertaken with Romanian emigrants who have long been abroad in countries such as Spain, Italy, France, Germany or the United Kingdom, I have noticed an opposite radicalization, namely extreme hatred towards Romanians, feelings of

rebellion and contempt which are turning against their own conationals, which makes them to break relations with the Romanian groups and to lose themselves in the host society, refusing to adhere to the Romanian values and culture. All these people are assimilated or isolated (strategies in the process of acculturation) (Ilie 2013: pp. 84-86). But it is somewhat strange how the actions of the conationals (exemplified by respondents through delinquent acts, begging, antisocial behavior) lead to radicalization against their own nation. The process of radicalization, from my research, has now stopped at the stages of isolation from their own group and adherence to another group, without going to violent actions.

So it seems that marginalization of groups of any nature, and in particular of the emigrant communities, can lead to an increased risk of radicalization. Why does majority discriminate minority? Well, the scapegoat theory is very relevant in this context. Someone must be responsible for the evil produced in society, and usually, the guilty ones are the immigrants. In the current global context, the hysteria is even greater, as the media constantly promotes news about terrorist attacks, about migrants who leave natives without jobs and commit crimes. And yet, why do not policy makers appeal to actions that focus on integration? A simple answer is offered by Tinka M. Veldhuis, even though her book refers to radicalization in the prison environment, but I think it can be extended in other environments: "Fear". This fear is a key element in political decision making when it comes to social classes that are at risk of marginalization and hence to radicalization (Veldhuis 2018). It can be easily observed that the fear-based policies tend to maintain marginalization and exclusion of some social categories, considering that it avoids disturbing the general situation and the risk of transmitting extremist ideologies, when in fact the groups remaining isolated increases the risk of radicalization inside and more, they attract other people excluded and desirous of a new affiliation, thus, there is no way to mitigate extremist beliefs.

3. Social and legal instruments for identifying and combating radicalization

We note that "radicalization" itself is not a crime but a process that can take different forms in various environments, and precisely that is why it is important that the intervention is done in the initial stages, before tragedies are reached. And here we are talking about a risk assessment and the need to oversee those at high risk of radicalization, but not only here, we should stop. We should try to limit segregation, exclusion through integrationist policies.

The problem remains: can the European Union, the state, a national or international institution or organization intervene in the process of radicalization, to stop it before it reaches the climax, a violent act or a terrorist act? Are there really the levers for identifying and reducing the phenomenon? There are some interventions of secret services by means of information to identify and intervene in the process of recruiting and promoting extremist messages and also the police surveillance, but it does not seem to be sufficiently developed to stop radicalization. Moreover, the intervention of the army and the police in the camps of extremist cultures is very often used and transmitted in the media as the only escape for "us".

In principle, the main action against the phenomenon of radicalization is prevention. In the process of prevention are involved a number of actors such as: personal networks (involving families, friends), civil society (NGO's, community members, former combatants etc), national authorities (governments, local authorities, social services), criminal justice actors (prison, probation, prosecution and police

forces, intelligence agencies), international organizations (like EU or UN) and networks (Hadayah, RAN, GFCE. Global Forum on Cyber Expertise, ESCN. European Strategic Communication Network etc.) (DERAD 2018). We can talk about multi-level prevention. There is a "Social prevention" (improving living conditions to mitigate risk) (Serban and Puglisi 2018; Ilie Goga 2014), a "Time-up prevention" (early stage prevention for children and immigrant families) a "Judicial and security-based prevention" (laws are tightened, by increasing sanctions for certain types of crime and increasing the number of policemen who have the capability of supervision and action in risky situations) and a "Situation of infrastructure (PSI)" (creating risk mitigation strategies by "specific offense-related interventions, taking action on 25 "soft" and "hard" techniques") (DERAD 2018). In the European Union, emphasis is placed on "soft" prevention, and it is understood that collaboration must exist between international and national organizations, it is imperative to "collaborate with civil society, communities, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and the private sector. This requires a joint effort at local, regional, national, European and international level" (Revised EU Strategy for Combating Radicalisation and Recruitment to Terrorism 2014). The new prevention model creates a bridge between traditional preventive security (judicial institutions, intelligence agencies etc.) and early targeted social prevention (through civil society, social work etc.), thus, the strategy is based on five pillars on five pillars: "Information-based police activities; Disengagement initiatives; Partial decentralization of operations; Information exchange agreements; Public-private cooperation" (DERAD 2018).

From the point of view of political actions, a series of national and international structures for fighting extremist and especially terrorist actions have been created, mostly during the last decade. Each state and international organization has created its own strategy to fight against radicalization, but especially terrorism (focusing on jihadist convictions persons or right-wing/ left-wing extremists), and in this situation migrants are demonized in political discourses, all these ending up with extreme public actions such as triggering civil and armed wars, exit from international organizations (i.e. Brexit).

Prevention of radicalization within the European Union approach is part of the counter-terrorism strategy, although we must take into account a very important aspect, unlike terrorism, radicalization is not a crime but a risk factor or an indicator of a potential danger. That is why the step taken from radicalization to extremist and violent acts is extremely important, but it creates difficulties in the intervention process. In recent years, from a political and legislative point of view, in the European community we find a series of documents aimed at preventing radicalization, such as: the European Security Strategy – A secure Europe in a better world of December of 2003; the EU Counter-Terrorism Strategy of 2005; the Internal Security Strategy (RISS) from March 2010; the new 2015 Internal Security Strategy for the period 2015–2020; the Global Strategy for the European Union's Foreign and Security Policy (EUGS) from June 2016 and the Council of Europe Counter-Terrorism Strategy (2018-2022) of May 2018.

A problem remains related to the social intervention, of each of us or of the majority group in relation to the minority: the migrants, the convicted persons, the extremely religious people. What does each of us do: choose to break the barrier and relate, or choose to label, move away and eventually act in a discriminatory manner? And now there comes the fear, which makes the legislative and executive power run away from integration-enhancing actions, as we mentioned above, and yes, this fear

makes most of us to walk away and not to take the risk, choosing personal comfort at the expense of greater discomfort, that of society. Maybe it would be preferable for the action to come from each of us and more: is enough to signal an irregularity observed in the interaction with a person going on the road of radicalization, but we should firstly interact with that person and care about what is happening. And of course, it would be better if the actions were to come from the decision makers and the main social actors.

Yes, I think that migrants are at high risk of radicalization, and then the intervention of organizations and the state should be much broader, but not just in the area of identifying risk and supervision, to act when the risk of criminality becomes imminent or worse, after committing an extreme act. Of course, even here the situation is delicate, because the surveillance cannot be done only on ethnic, religious or national basis, because we are already talking about discrimination in this area. There should be more intervention in the area of integration of migrants, in the direction of creating levers for a good acceptance of migrants in educational systems, on the legal labor market, in access to health and social services. So, social prevention, based on improving negative environments and social conditions, could prevent the radicalization. Also, prevention activities addressed to children and families of immigrants is very important, as it tries „somehow”, to ”eliminate the risk from the roots”, leading to greater integration into the host society.

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Natural disasters: narration by rescuers

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Abstract

Postmodern man seems to generate a rift between Freudian instances. The ego seems to have had the upper hand and in everyday life the individual places himself as the only reference point to describe the world. Being part of a community, a family and/or association does not represent a group experience, but rather an attempt to assert its importance in social contexts and reduce loneliness.

The proposed study is an exploratory survey on the representations and perceptions of the experiences of rescuers in a context of natural disaster. The spontaneous reports of a group of volunteers who participated in the operations of support to the population struck by the earthquakes that occurred in L'Aquila, in Emilia Romagna and the most recent one of the Central Italy of 2016 were analyzed. Their story, even after many years, explains their experience of volunteering and the reconstruction of the experience during that field intervention. Each story used in the analysis is structured in written form. Since the story represents an essential experience, an action aimed at organizing one's knowledge and re-elaborating specific themes, it seemed relevant to observe how the volunteers not only had the desire to stop their life in writing but also to share their work publicly, through the online distribution. Since the stories manifest the gnoseological and organizational categories of the individual, aimed at the attribution of meaning and to the reconstruction of sense of some aspects of one's life, it is interesting to understand how the volunteers, who are so committed to keeping the community alive and sharing, describe their experience in a public context. It is essential, therefore, to understand which are the dimensions of meaning within which the volunteers remember that event. It is important to understand the stories that are conveyed around this theme and whether the members of the group have shared not only in action, but also in the construction of meanings, a humanly demanding intervention since narration is an action that expresses a way of structuring the self and to create bonds with others.

Keywords: *narration; earthquake; volunteers; communication; knowledge.*

1. The narration as an experience of synthesis of the ego and the world

The act of narrating allows human beings to build thoughts and to categorize reality. The individual constructs stories that express his being in the world and that guide its evolution. By telling stories he builds his own self and allows others to understand typing patterns and tune in to a common code. The social reality is built on the basis of a dialectical process in which the individual exteriorizes and objectifies the real until it reaches an internalization (Berger and Luckmann 1966).

"All facts are from the beginning selected from a universal context by the activities of our mind. We do not grasp reality in its entirety, but we seize, from time to

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time, only certain aspects of it" (Schütz 1974: p.5). Each individual selects on the basis of his experience and his interpretative schemes of the world, only a portion of the real. The person performs, therefore a classification operation, implements an order that is based on its attribution and relevance system. The dimension of meaning of one's own experiences and of the world is a continuous becoming, a dynamic dimension that creates dimensions of valid meanings in the here and now and not always become predictive factors of the future (Stefanazzi 2013). "We turn our interest to those experiences that for one reason or another seem relevant to our total situation as we experience it in each specific present" (Schütz 1974: p. 256).

The change in life happens through the choice of some stories of the Self and the world. It means an ability to construct and reconstruct dimensions of meaning, which through the story give meaning to one's life story and generate experiences. It is a dimension that is both private and public at the same time, a space in which the ego gives its own meaning to reality and builds on it based on it. "Our ability to translate experience into narrative terms is not just a child's play, but rather a tool for creating meaning that dominates much of life in the context of a culture" (Bruner 1992: p. 97). In this way, individuals compete in the construction of individuality and of that culture to which they belong. It is not a question of considering the narrative's linguistic expressions according to literary criteria, but of understanding that the construction and transmission of knowledge passes through the interaction that can be traced in listening and in comparison.

Narrative identity (Ricoeur 1985) reveals itself through a story that in everyday life describes and pre-writes the identifiable human being precisely in the culture that in its becoming creates a meaning that transcends and at the same time legitimizes the individual in its uniqueness. It allows us to insert ourselves with our personal history in the history of humanity "unifying our experience in a story we do not do a job of linguistic expression, but of self-understanding" (Danese 1983: pp. 92-93).

The continuous autobiographical exercise (Cavarero 1997) expresses a narratable self that builds a personal and collective memory, a tendency towards an ideal of the person, a life story that makes the subject unique. The narratable self is the synthesis of the individual's cognitive-emotional-social capacities and summarizes the experiences that the individual has chosen in his life path. It is not about a fantastic representation of an ideal "I", but about the most intimate expression that the individual constructs of his own history. The interaction between people takes place through a narrative process in which the parties choose how much and how to reveal is the second time they use this verb!) "To show yourself" to the other. "The stories structure, organize, order our most everyday and prosaic behaviors" (Demetrio 2012: p. 45). Thought passes is essentially narrative (Bruner 1988), our story is a story and memory is not confined to past experiences, but also becomes expressed in a narrative act.

The mind has a creative capacity that remains active throughout life, knowing how individuals tell their world means, being able to understand their attributions of value and actions. "The relationships that constitute the premise of the process that leads to the sharing of assumptions and beliefs concerning the reality of the world, the functioning of the mind, the orientations of men and the ways in which communication between them, should be expressed" (Bruner 1988: p 71).

Language thus becomes the main instrument through which the subject can identify himself, through introspection and confronts himself with others by making him able to rethink his life story restructuring it on the basis of his evolution and his

interests. This process of continuity and self-recognition represents the "narrative unity" (Connelly and Clandinin 1997, 2000), an aspect that determines a story with its own internal logic, in which the subject recognizes himself by giving meaning and understanding a life in progress. The stories created by individuals become "a flexible linguistic tool to interpret and speak about reality (self and world)" (Smorti 2007: p. 78).

2. Death as a common experience

Death is an experience that belongs to everyday life. Newscasts, newspapers and the media in general educate us daily about the experience of death. A death that is treated either with extreme journalistic neutrality or shared as a sort of obsessive exhibition, we recall the cases of Yara Gambirasio, Chiara Poggi and Meredith Kercher.

The experience of the death of others usually takes place with the disappearance of a single person or in particular cases of a few people. Natural disasters are an exception (disasters such as earthquakes, floods, accidents, epidemics) that bring large numbers of individuals to death. The biographical experience of death and its perception depend on the symbolic universe built around it. Spheres of meaning, in fact, do not remain isolated but are placed in a hierarchy of reality so as to become "intelligible and less terrifying" (Berger and Luckmann 1997: p. 139).

Fear of this dimension of life is contained by strengthening the predominant reality of everyday life that leads to "putting everything in the right place". Regardless of what all the legitimacies of death are, they must carry out the task of allowing the individual "to continue to live in society after the death of people important to him and to foresee his own death with a terror mitigated enough to allow him to continue to follow the normal routines" (Berger and Luckmann 1997: p. 141).

Legitimation provides the individual with the recipe for a correct death since it has the fundamental function of alleviating fear and protecting against terror. The meaning of these universes is individual and social and provides protection both on the social order and on the individual biography. This creates a memory shared by all those who have been socialized in the community, a memory that "projects" individual actions into the future, helping to transcend the limitations of human existence and to give meaning to death.

Even individual memories, like those handed down by history, have a form that "does much more than simply represent collective memory in each specific context" (Wagner-Pacifici 1996; p. 302; Tota 2004: p. 76). By "individual memories" we mean those who experienced a catastrophic event not as a victim but as a "rescuer".

Experiencing an event like an earthquake as a television viewer or as a newspaper reader is very different from being personally involved as a rescuer. It also seems important to consider mobilization by asking what can lead to collective action that may arise for various reasons.

In contemporary culture the concept of death seems to be closely linked to an external factor. One does not die any more, is killed by something, and the focus directs the attention to the individual, to the causes, and the analysis allows to separate the emotional component from the cognitive one. There is a lack of habit at the thought of death as the loss of a person, of his specificity, at the time of death the individual is stripped of his history and the cause becomes the true protagonist of the narration (Bauman 1992). In post-modernity the great narratives that historically have comforted humanity (Elias 1992) become uncertain anchors. The tendency to concentrate all the

attention on the individual and on his self-neutrality and secularization have led society to review its interpretative schemes not only of the world, but also of the Other as a support and sharing system.

3. The research

The proposed research is placed as an exploratory investigation into the world of volunteering, in particular on how the volunteers reconstruct their association commitment after an intervention in maximum emergency. The analysis focuses on the narrative repertoires of some volunteers who intervened following the earthquake in L'Aquila in 2009 in which there were 309 victims and that of Amatrice in 2016 with 292 deaths.

The analysis of the text, as already mentioned, makes it possible to understand the dimensions of meaning of the individual subjects and to observe the cultural matrix that is built by the group. This is an analysis that reconstructs the communicative exchange between human beings who spontaneously decide to join in order to reach a common goal.

Building bonds and relationships becomes the watchword and the strategy to promote virtuous behaviors aimed at perceiving oneself as protagonists. In this way a resilient interaction model is created which is able to flexibly modify its argumentative and evaluative boundaries. The narrative reports produced by the volunteers allow you to map the negotiation points chosen by the individual so as not to get lost in solipsism and keep the natural propensity to sociality alive. This is an evolutionary path, which in the contemporary context certainly becomes more flexible, but which in this way keeps alive the political commitment and solidarity of the citizen (Beck 2000).

3.1. Methodology and sample

A number of 50 texts produced by volunteers who had interventions in the earthquake areas, were analyzed with the Spad-T software. The Spad-T is a software that allows performing qualitative and quantitative analysis on the text.

The reports on the experience are distributed as follows: 31 produced by volunteers who intervened after the quakes in L'Aquila in 2009 and 19 by volunteers who worked following the Amatrice earthquake in 2016. Most of the texts come from the web. These are stories that volunteers spontaneously shared in spaces such as blogs, interviews and associative reports. Some texts have been sent by volunteers who, after learning about the research, have decided to participate by sending the text by e-mail. The web demonstrates, also in this case, to be a new public space, an agora in which the subjects socialize and share experiences. In a globalized society, identity is built up through a relationship of knowing: being, doing, knowing that it is conveyed by IT devices. It should be remembered, however, that the use of computer systems represents a comfort zone for the interlocutors, the listener remains in his anonymity keeping this experience private and the narrator shields himself through distance and the indirect dimension of the relationship. It represents a communication that requires minimal effort and offers the possibility of doing many activities simultaneously making the relationship superficial, while the use of communication in the presence has different possibilities, but also disadvantages not calculated (Bauman 2013).

Reading this typology of texts allows us to understand how the processing of experience in an "extraordinary" context, as it does not involve the daily experience of the individual, is entrusted to a sort of no man's land, a space in which the connection

with other people are simple and easily accessible. In direct interpersonal relationships this dynamic becomes more complex.

The space for re-elaboration is no longer contained in the direct encounter with group-mates and friends and family, but it needs an externalization, a public context that allows to get out of one's solitude and a further argument on the subject. Therefore, an experience is entrusted to the web that in everyday life assumes value only in the relationship of the here and now. On the web, one's experience can feed itself over time and for this to happen it must only be noticed. The fragility of this type of relationship consists in fact in the situation that it is enough to ignore the writing of the other to interrupt the relationship (Bauman 2013). "In a world in fragments like ours it is precisely to these fragments that we must pay attention" (Geertz 1999: p. 17). In these "non-places" (Augè 2002) there is a sort of re-signification of the world, of complex experiences that are defined in a non-traditional relational space. These are narratives that take place at a time when we tend to progressively eliminate "the protective framework of the small community and traditions, replacing them with larger and impersonal organizations. The individual feels alone and lost in a world in which psychological supports are lacking, that is, lacking the security present in more traditional environments" (Giddens 1999: p. 43). The construction of a pastiche personality (Gergen 1991) of a chameleonic "I" that builds up fragments of life selected from relationships and contexts to which the subject tends to adapt plastically also passes through the digital in order to find its own space and its dimension of meaning.

3.2. The results

The entire text was analyzed only after having incorporated the terms that take on meaning in their union as for example "cross", "red" becomes a single lexeme "red cross". The emerged dictionary puts among the most frequent words terms related to the aspects characterizing the same theme, words like "volunteers, people, field, ..." (tab 1.) represent how the text is oriented mainly to a definition of the borders of the identity of the volunteer. Without these specific aspects, the volunteer would remain an inactive figure, a dimension that exists only potentially. Although these dimensions seem to be taken for granted and in any case present in texts of this nature, it is clear that they delimit the territory within which the volunteer stands out from the crowd, he becomes the rescuer who directly touches the question, the one who is operating in the field and this factor allows the individual to emerge from the social group to which he belongs. This "emergence,, is very important because "the disqualification is also taking place in the social sphere: to the extent that material inequality isolates people, fixed-term work makes their social contacts more superficial and culture triggers anxiety for 'Other, the skills needed to manage irreducible differences are being lost. We are losing the technical skills of collaboration, necessary for the proper functioning of a complex society" (Sennett 2014: p. 19). In this climate the volunteer becomes the one who not only finds meaning in his own being in the world with his work, but who, with his actions, contributes to creating a relational and community space. In the contemporary context, becoming a volunteer and being recognized as such is structured on the basis of a self-perception of being engaged "in" and by the ability to create specific social ties (Prandini 2014), the intervention in particular contexts allows to feed a gnoseological system that legitimizes the action of the individual and confers social dignity. The story remains adherent to the essential elements that allow the interlocutor to uniquely identify the reference context and seems to be a part that strengthens the value of the

text and its author. A path of self-definition is highlighted which necessarily passes through a role and a space rather than through an action that is often implied.

Tab. 1. List of words by counts order

Used words		Counts
volontari	volunteers	73
persone	people	73
campo	field	55
prima	before	54
terremoto	earthquake	53
giorni	days	53
protezione_civile	civil protection	45
vita	life	45
casa	home	45
occhi	eyes	42
ore	hours	40
notte	night	38

To better understand the meaning of these fragments of life, the recurring phrases used by the authors to describe their experience were subsequently analyzed. It has been noted that most of the recurring phrases are purely technical in nature, for example "the mobile column of..." ("la colonna mobile di..."), however it emerges that the expression "give a hand" ("dare una mano") (freq. 11). The concept of helping seems to express that one of the motivating factors that induced individuals to take part in the mission is precisely the will to be useful. Using the phrase "lend/give a hand" underlies a concept of humility and solidarity, the subjects do not speak of help or to fix a situation compromised by the earthquake, but simply to do what is expected from a community: to help each other. Furthermore, it can be emphasized that "helping out" is a metaphor that implies corporeality, therefore being in first person in contact with others and with things. "The common good is the social bond that unites people, and on which both material and immaterial goods depend. The human person cannot find fulfillment in himself, since his achievement is "with" the others and "for" the others. This principle requires not only that the human person lives with others at various levels of social life, but also and above all that he constantly seeks good in daily practice, and not only with reference to the general ideas in the existing forms of social life. [...] The common good is a constitutive element of its own importance and the real reason for their existence" (Donati 2011: p. 77). For some, the common good becomes an empathic way to affirm one's individuality, the opportunity that allows the individual to free himself from a situation of pressing ordinariness. A practice that creates added

value, a cooperation that allows the individual to create relationships of trust towards common living.

Subsequently, by means of the Vospec procedure, an attempt was made to understand what differed the stories of the Volunteers¹ who intervened in the two reference territories. From the emerged data we note that the volunteers who intervened in the rescue mission to Amatrice seem to be more oriented towards the operative dimension. We find terms such as "digging, emergency, situation, fire brigade".

Tab. 2 Specific language. Case: Amatrice 2016

Characteristic words or segments	Internal percentage	Global percentage	Internal frequency	Global frequency	Test-Value	Probability
scavare	0,10	0,06	13	24	2,726	0,003
adesso	0,07	0,04	9	9	2,577	0,005
soci	0,07	0,04	9	9	2,577	0,005
centro Italia	0,07	0,04	9	9	2,576	0,005
emergenza	0,15	0,11	21	26	2,478	0,007
sul posto	0,12	0,08	16	19	2,379	0,009
forze	0,06	0,03	8	8	2,366	0,009
le prime	0,06	0,03	8	8	2,366	0,009
la situazione	0,07	0,04	10	11	2,167	0,015
vigili del fuoco	0,07	0,04	10	11	2,167	0,015

The interpersonal relationships and the relations between rescuers and rescued that have represented in the past a strategic point of the same organization of Civil Protection seem to be put into the background. In the past it was not uncommon to hear that the rescuer perceived himself as a "Bertolaso man". The phrase "my men ..." was often proposed by the media. In this way not only the bonds between the operators were strengthened, but also the desire to be part of that same team of which he spoke so much. A public and constant recognition has allowed individuals to focus their attention even on dimensions that were not exclusively operational. In this new context, the recognition of a charismatic leader who can create not only a team of operators but also a concept of community seems to be missing. The operational dimension thus becomes the aspect on which to focus in order to feel part of a group that cooperates to reach a common goal.

In the group of volunteers who intervened in 2009, the word "service" appears as well as a clear reference to emotional dimensions, "affection" is a significant dimension for this group. The reference to a more associative and community dimension that also passes through relationships of affection and friendship seems to be of greater relevance for the volunteers who intervened in the mission in Abruzzo. Sharing and collaboration become a value for this group of volunteers that cannot be ignored. As Sennett (2008) recalls, cooperating is the future, it is the only way in which individuals can regain their sociality and get out of the loneliness that tends to imprison rather than free post-modern man. In the group that intervened in the 2009 earthquake (Table 3), terms such

¹ Through this procedure, we analyze how specific a term is for that portion of the sample.

as "we, service, affection..." emerge, which refer to a situation of sharing and interpersonal relationship. A propensity to sociability that is supported by a free choice to sacrifice part of Self for others. A vocation or in the sense of Beruf (Weber 1904), guarantees life to the community and to those who work directly in the field. It is a voluntary service that creates a network of relationships, relationships that sustain not only the injured party but also those who intervene to support the population. The volunteer does not bind himself to a single cause, but in a more pragmatic way he strives until he is satisfied. A structured relationship to satisfy one's own need for well-being (Prandini 2014). However, only the relationship with the Other allows the survival of the individual, the collective dimension shifts the boundary of solitude and precariousness, entrusting to the Other the possibility of being recognized as individuals. The group and the action of Volunteering in the group re-confers on the post-modern individual his humanity and brings him back to a sociality characterized by being part of and not being only an "I".

Tab. 3 Specific language. Case: Aquila 2009

Characteristic words or segments	Internal percentage	Global percentage	Internal frequency	Global frequency	Test-Value	Probability
noi	0,43	0,26	47	65	4,412	0,000
abruzzo	0,09	0,04	10	10	3,428	0,000
servizio	0,08	0,04	9	10	2,643	0,004
vita	0,26	0,18	29	45	2,539	0,006
affetto	0,05	0,02	6	6	2,420	0,008
della vita	0,05	0,02	6	6	2,419	0,008
città	0,13	0,08	14	19	2,337	0,010
campo	0,31	0,23	34	56	2,302	0,011

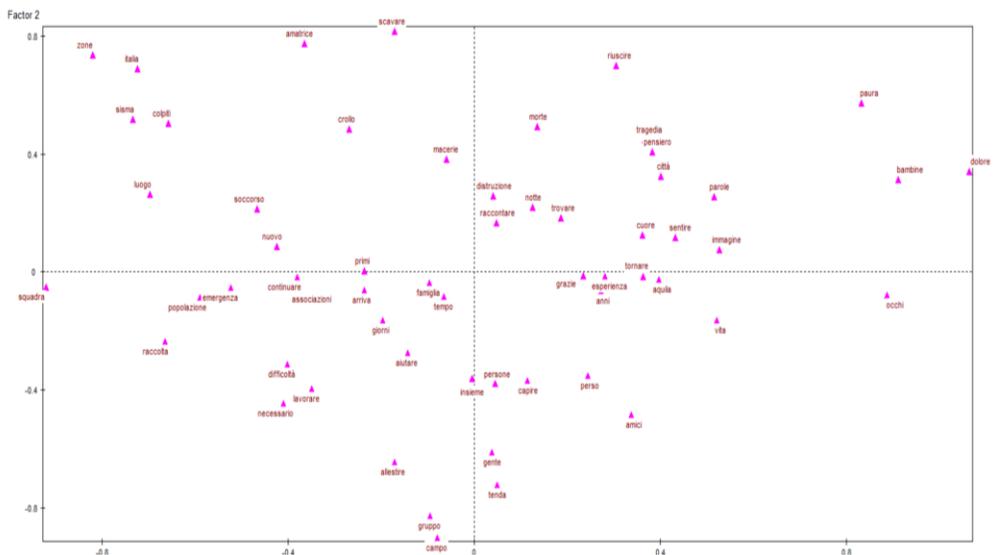
Finally we performed the analysis of lexical correspondences, in order to understand the transversal dimensions present in the text. "Knowing something that is other than oneself means understanding that it is only possible to go towards what we would like to seize the secrets, in the awareness of having to respect the mystery of being" other than oneself "and the mystery that is contained in it. We never have the knowledge of the other self in its absoluteness, in its objectivity, in its total understanding, in its unconditional diaphanousness. We are only given a reliable interpretation of the text (hermeneutic method), and never a deciphering or explanation of the simple text, remaining open to what the "other wants to tell us and how it wants to reveal itself" (Romano 2004; p. 39).

Analyzing the graph (graph 1) we can define that the factor "1" summarizes the experiential cycle of the volunteer that intervenes in a maximum urgency context and that it is therefore possible to define the identity of the volunteer in action. Without those elements, the volunteer himself tends to perceive and perceive the Other, as a person who has not fully experienced the service experience. Solidarity becomes our destiny (Bauman 2003) although we live in a world built to make cooperation and solidarity a choice that is not only unpopular, but also difficult and burdensome, man has no choice, the interdependence of the subjects creates the basis for a relationship of mutual solidarity to be consolidated (Bauman 2003). A relationship that guarantees not

only a physical survival but also a recognition of role and value within the reference community.

The factor "2", instead, describes a more choral dimension of the experience, an area in which the rescuer and the rescue are perceived as similar, as subjects who suffer. The emotional traits that in the text seemed to be put into the background, also emerge in this factor. An experience that can not only be conceived on a cognitive level, but that also takes on its own emotional component. Fear, pain and affection are the aspects that summarize the experience of hundreds of volunteers. "The reality of our life is uncertainty, while we aspire to certainty. The reality of our life is change, movement, while we only want "to arrive" (Neeldelman 2006: p. 104). It is through the relationship that the individual concretizes his own life project, he regains the complexity of being important to the Other.

Gráfico no. 1. Analysis of lexical correspondences



4. Conclusions

From the research carried out it emerges that the volunteer is the one who listens, who works day and night, who lives primarily in his individuality an experience of social service. The reference group seems to take on a purely instrumental value, a way to reach its own goal. From the text, the mission companions do not seem to be perceived as a personal resource. It seems that pro-social behavior and altruism are attributable to the private sphere, on the basis of this factor we could understand the dynamics of mobility between associations. "Individuals isolate themselves lost, not knowing how to act against others, unsure of their identity; a generation is no longer able to pass on to the other the practices and habits that hold together a people and its culture; society loses its traditions and scatters its assets; in individuals the sense of belonging fails (Fforde 2005: p.13). Regardless of the reasons that induce the individual to actively participate in a voluntary association, it remains an indisputable element that is precisely these actions that the community keeps alive and draws strength from to evolve.

It is interesting to observe how over time the perception of an intervention has changed and how the story of the volunteers has progressively, perhaps because of the time elapsed which modifies the immediacy of emotions and therefore also of the story, lost adherence to the emotional dimensions. The relational, complicity and cooperation dimension is increasingly becoming an indispensable operational expression. This factor seems to be a further proof of the loneliness of post-modern man who, even in an associationist context oriented towards solidarity and community protection, seems to have lost confidence in the Other and the possibility that his social capital may be a way out of solipsism.

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Book review:

Cristina Ilie Goga, Alexandra Porumbescu, Ionuț Șerban, Andreea Mihaela Niță, Radu Cristian Petcu, Gianmarco Cifaldi (eds.) Second Edition of the Forum on Studies of Society. Chieti- Pescara. Conference Proceedings, Bucharest, Pro Universitaria Publishing House, 2018, 294 pp., ISBN: 978-606-26-1012-8

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The Conference Proceedings of the Second Edition of the Forum on Studies of Society, was published in 2018 at Pro Universitaria Publishing House, following the organization of the second edition of the International Conference on Social Sciences and Humanities “Forum on Studies of Society” (FSS) that has taken place in the southern Italy municipality of Chieti in the capital city of Pescara, in 2018.

The second edition of the “Forum on Studies of Society (FSS)” *International Conference on Social Sciences and Humanities* was organized by Università degli Studi G. D'Annunzio Chieti Pescara, Italy, Dipartimento di Scienze Giuridiche e Sociali and University of Craiova, Study Programs: Sociology and Social Work, Romania, in cooperation with Faculty of Sociology and Social Work, Department of Social Work, University of Bucharest, Romania; Faculty of Philosophy, St. Cyril and St. Methodius University, Bulgaria; Faculty of Pedagogy, Rzeszów University, Poland and International Society for Projects in Education and Research.

The main purpose of the conference was to bring into discussion topics of utmost importance in nowadays society by gathering specialists and academics from different parts of the world. The essential quality of the conference was focused on the interdisciplinary approach of the multi-fields methodology where participants' background on Sociology and Social Work, European Studies, International Relations and Security brought a freshly illuminating outcome.

The conference sessions for paper presentations included: new social realities; social work: promoting community and environmental sustainability; European studies: united in diversity; international relations and security studies: security issues in a changing world; law and criminology: no man is above the law and no man is below it; politics and history: history and politics through time; and philosophy: Contemporary Philosophical Issues.

Participants from 7 countries (Romania, Italy, Bulgaria, Poland, Albania, Turkey, Nigeria) presented papers ranging from the theoretical approach to the empirical research focusing on good practices cases and insights from the practical work. The

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social sciences and humanities approach of the conference opened different challenging discussions that benefited all participants.

An important presentation on “Forensic victimology: a step forward the psychosocial profile of victimology” in collaboration between three countries – Albania, Romania, Italy – by Silva Ibrahim, Valentina Marinescu, Ervin Ibrahim, and Eleonora Luciani offered “a reflection on the processes of victimization and on the dynamics that underlie it.” Their aim was to create a “Neighbour network of research, support and strategic planning will be helpful for developing a security map of criminal, forensic and psychosocial prophylaxis.” Among other important presentation was one of utmost topical resonance i.e. “The key role of education in women empowerment in Turkey” by two Turkish specialists: Songül Sallan Gül, Ayşenur Özümcü. As Turkey ranks 64 of 189 countries in terms of women's empowerment the authors offered “reasons of Turkey's being far behind the other countries in the equality index is that women's, especially the adult women's low and limited access to the education and the low rate of paid women employment.”

Presenters highlighted the importance of collective memory integration in the European Union (Radu-Cristian Petcu); value of mediation in social work (Sonya Budeva); a comprehensive study on the opportunities of education graduates in Romania and Bulgaria (Cristina Ilie Goga); a thorough approach on the principles of sustainability reporting and disclosure (Petya Petrova); a sensitive matter of social integration and civic participation among the immigrants in Romania (Alexandra Porumbescu); the connection between social entrepreneurship and social work (Teodora Todorova); a complete case study on marginalized rural communities in Dolj County, Romania (Andreea-Mihaela Niță); viewpoints on the educational leadership in higher education institutions from a contemporary and psychological approach (Valbona Habili Sauku); the all present issue of web-based health information in Romania (V. Marienscu, Silvia Ibrahim, Ervin Ibrahim); a special need of training for people suffering from intellectual disability (Veronika Spasova); an ever-present matter of immigration when it comes to lack of opportunities (Gabriel Nicolae Pricină); towards a better quality of life for people with disabilities (Yuliya Yordanova Pulova-Ganeva); juvenile delinquency and re-socialisation in Romania (Maria Pescaru); a crucial view on the professional practice towards elderly people with disabilities (Milena Hristova Yorgova); the connection between labour market and employers' expectations (Roxana Pleșa); the opportunity to create sustainable attitude towards assisting process provided by supervision (Stela Stoyanova); a multidimensional approach of the Jiu Valley (Felicia Androni); the connection between labour market and graduates of higher education (Kalina Kancheva); a positive spillover for work family (Livia Pogan); concern of postpartum depression in new mothers from a social work approach (Mirela Anghel); a pertinent view on the attitudes the Bulgarian teachers have when it comes to the introduction of civic education in schools (Margarita Kaleynska); an exploratory study on the internet for the third age in Romania (Valentina Marinescu); Albanian workforce for young people (Irida Agolli (Nasufi), Artur Rada), the pressing matter of combating terrorism in EU (Ionuț Virgil Șerban); reaching a multidisciplinary assessment service for the social and behavioural prophylaxis with Q-methodology (Lindita Durmishi, Silva Ibrahim); legal procedures for minor's hearing (Mihai Pricină); social security and insecurity (Gianmarco Cifaldi); “Street children” phenomenon in the Romanian society (Maria Pescaru, Cristina Maria Pescaru); neurocriminology: a new paradigm (Luigia Altieri, Gianmarco Cifaldi).

These are a few of the themes presented and discussed at the conference where the constructive debates led to decision making and the eagerness for better and innovative theoretical and practical approaches.

The international conference Forum on Studies of Society (FSS) was included and indexed in 6 international databases and services such as world conference alerts, VePub Conferences, Conference Index, Conal. Conference Alerts, GoRef, andAconf. Conference solutions professional. The opportunity was present for the ones willing to publish their results in various scientific journals indexed in international databases and collective volumes. Several papers were published in the partner journals as well.

The main interest of the 2018 “Forum on Studies of Society” (FSS) International Conference on Social Sciences and Humanities to be a factor in building up a knowledge-base manifest for practice, research and theory was indeed performed.

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INSTRUCTIONS FOR AUTHORS

Title of your paper. Capitalize first letter (TNR, 16 pt, Bold, Centered)

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^c *Third author affiliation, City, Country (TNR, 11 pt., Italic, Centered)*

Abstract (TNR, 11, Bold, Left alignment)

Type here your abstract (TNR, 11 pt., Justify). It must be submitted in English and the length must have at least 200 words and not exceed 300 words.

Keywords: Type here 5-10 keywords, separated by semicolons; (TNR, 11 pt., Italic, Justify)

1. Main text (Section heading, TNR, 11pt, Bold, Left alignment)

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The paragraphs continue from here and are only separated by headings, subheadings, images and tables. Leave one line space before the heading, subheadings, images and tables.

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Examples of reference style are shown below. Please take care to follow the reference style precisely.

*Corresponding author. Tel.:004-07XX-XXX-XXX; fax:004-02XX-XXX-XXX. E-mail address:xxxxxx. (TNR, 10, Justify)

****For Books**

Books with single author:

Bryman, A. (2012) *Social research methods*, 4th ed., New York: Oxford University Press.

In-text reference: (Bryman 2012: p. 56) or, *for more than one page* (Bryman 2012: pp. 56-57)

Books with two or three authors:

Strunk, W. Jr. and White, E. B. (1979) *The elements of style*, 3rd ed., New York: Macmillan.

In-text reference: (Strunk and White 1979: p. 75)

Books with more than three authors (use the Latin abbreviation *et al.* in the citation rather than listing all of the authors):

Solomon, M., Bamossy, G., Askegaard, S. and Hogg, M.K. (2006) *Consumer behaviour: a European perspective*, 3rd ed., Harlow: Financial Times.

In-text reference: (Solomon et. al. 2006: p. 68)

Books of the same author(s) in the same year (use the letters a, b, c, etc., after the year).

Napier, A. (1993a) *Fatal storm*, Sydney: Allen and Unwin.

Napier, A. (1993b) *Survival at sea*, Sydney: Allen and Unwin.

In-text reference: (Napier 1993a: p. 45) and (Napier 1993b: p. 57)

Chapter in a Book:

Holton, R. (2005) "Globalization". In Harrington, A. (Ed.), *Modern social theory: An introduction*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 292-312.

In-text reference: (Holton 2005: p. 297)

****For Journal Articles**

Articles with one author

Schneider, B. (2014) "Achieving Citizenship and Recognition through Blogging about Homelessness", *Journal of Arts and Humanities*, 3(8), 79-89.

In-text reference: (Schneider 2014: p. 85)

Articles with two and more than two authors

Van der Geer, J., Hanraads, J. A. J., and Lupton, R. A. (2000) "The art of writing a scientific article", *Journal of Scientific Communications*, (163), 51-59.

In-text reference: (Van der Geer, Hanraads and Lupton 2000: p. 56)

****For Link / URL**

Council of Europe (2016) Prisons and Community Sanctions and Measures [online] Available: http://www.coe.int/t/DGHL/STANDARDSETTING/PRISONS/default_en.asp [accessed 23 February 2016].

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All photographs, schemas, graphs and diagrams are to be referred to as figures.

All tables/figures should be numbered with Arabic numerals. Headings should be placed above tables/figures, centered. Leave one line space between the heading and the table. All tables/figures must be numbered consecutively, all figures, and all tables respectively.

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