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Reflections on the New Social Risks in the European Union

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This study contains analysis into the phenomenon of new social risks as a product of an entire range of culturally, economically, demographically and socially important factors that deepen the contrasts across society and in the lives of individuals. Analysis is directed towards explaining the consequences of the arrival of new social risks conditioned by the processes of an ageing population, increased labor market flexibility and migration movements and searching for solutions to mitigate the consequences of these new social risks in the current confines of the European Union with the goal of strengthening social cohesion.

Keywords: *coexistence; new social risk; ageing population; European labor market; flexibility; migration; social cohesion*

Introduction

Life in contemporary society has taken on a new quality. A world of uncertainty impacts and changes society itself as well as the life plans of individuals. Continuity and sequence are both lost at the individual level in the worlds of work, family and the community to which we belong. One of the consequences is "postmodern wandering" where an individual lives their life with a number of different identifies, some of which are conflicting. On the one hand this fulfils the desire of the postmodern individual to disentangle themselves from subordination to the world order and the control mechanisms that interfere into their everyday lives. This is connected to a new understanding of the everyday in which contemporaries do away with the barriers related to their social standing and likewise the guaranteed stability this standing provided. The result is more entrenched individualism and the search for self-realization at all costs, living life without any long-term bonds, responsibilities or relationships. On other hand freedom of choice restricts the "total capitalization of an individual life" as it predicts human activity in every phase of life, i.e. whereby a person comes to manage their risks.

Failure is therefore the result of making the incorrect choice. This is the concept of human capital, based on the connections between competition, freedom of choice, personal responsibility and inherent risk, a concept that demands a person take responsibility in areas where they have no personal impact. This renders an individual's autonomy a formality and the requirements that cannot be met area a source of insecurity and socially degrade the individual.

Theoretical Framework: Key Changes in the Current Concept of Coexistence

Major changes in trends in the development of contemporary society are always regarded as a risky phenomenon as the absence of rules and organization create uncertainty in social settings. In analyzing contemporary transformational processes Hartmann noted that "the larger the share of responsibility in resolving life situations a person takes upon one's self, the greater the fear this person has from the demands life forces on them" (Hartmann 2012, p. 117). A new way of life has

led people to make changes in their life projects and plans: everything must now be considered in such a way so that it takes the shortest possible time; there is no time left for repetition and continuity as everything is more and more subordinate to "utility-oriented calculations" (ibid, p. 121). In considering the consequences of such cataclysmic changes, Keller asserts that one type of risk that threatens a specific group is also an opportunity to be exploited by another group (Keller 2011, p. 25). In this context Walzer states that it is just as important to adopt an equality of risks as it is to ensure an equality of opportunity (Walzer 2002, p. 39). Walzer combines both of these perspectives and in his evaluation he breaks free of cultural dependencies and sees this effort on the one hand as an expression of the personal search for happiness and on the other hand as a desperate search for a way to survive economically. In this spirit he sees both variants as an expression of the legitimate efforts taken by individuals to secure their futures (ibid, p. 227). In these arguments the need for social connections and strong bonds that bind through common rituals, ceremonies and memories are emphasized less.

With the knowledge of certain simplifications, a number of important areas of changes can be identified within society as a whole. Chief among them is that society has lost any fixed order in the contemporary concept of coexistence. In the world of social relationships this change has been termed creative destruction. In the widest sense symptoms can be observed in the loss of responsibility for development in society, nature and the environment. The rise of individualism has brought with it the loss of a life-long anchor to a single place, a single company and a single family. Contemporaries have the right to choose their own identity and the way towards their own self-creation and self-realization. An age in which everyone is responsible for themselves is coming, but activation to the benefit of others is lacking. According to Bauman, the postmodern order doesn't increase the total quantity of individual freedom; rather this freedom is redistributed as polarization in society deepens, increasing the

gap between those who welcome it with open arms from those for whom it represents a burden and who find themselves more and more powerless, forlorn and subordinated (Bauman 2004, p. 118).

A number of perspectives can be used to explain the changes within social cohesion. Beck sees this shift towards individualization as a mistake as people may be freed of traditional bonds and methods of existential security but they are bending to the pressures of the labor market and an existence based on consumption. In this context he highlights the need to differentiate between the positions of biographical uncertainty, which remains only partially quantifiable and controllable as auto-reflexive biography, essentially in a social sense biography that has been transposed onto the individual as life itself and the life of a partner carry with them a specific amount of risk. The second case according to Beck involves the presence of uncertainties that cannot be controlled, which he names the biography of hazards. The presence and the scope of the biography of hazards in particular are highly risky for the individual and society as a whole as they lead to an increase in violence (Beck 2004, p. 179).

Human life is more and more frequently attacked by crisis situations. It is critical to quickly respond to changes and "to live a spontaneous life created by circumstances and impulses" (Walzer 2002, p. 40). Bauman deems the society in which we are moving into in the 21st century as the society of destructive creativity, a new type of modernity, i.e. a form of coexistence, the foundation of which is continuing modernization in the spirit of cleaning out space, de-constructing and streamlining everything imaginable (Bauman 2004, p. 125). In this sense fundamental changes in the conditions of coexistence in modern society are under way.

Demographic Situation in the Area of the European Union as a Source of New Social Risks

With respect to the demographic situation in Europe, one of the key trends in the Member States of the European Union (EU) is

population ageing. This trend reflects an overall improvement in living conditions, in particular in developed countries, but does not indicate that serious demographic changes are actually occurring. The EU's population has visibly aged only over the past decade. The group showing the largest population growth is individuals over the age of 80. According to estimates this group should account for 12 % of the EU's entire population by 2060. The EU's population in terms of demographic structure is as follows: around 16 % of the population is of a pre-productive age, 67 % of the population on average is of a productive age and on average 17 % of the population is of a post-productive age (Commission 2009).

The share of people of a productive age is dropping as a result of birth rates in the EU, which have been dropping since the 1970s. This is precisely the reason why the EU has become the oldest region of the world (for comparison's sake, the oldest generation accounts for just more than 7 % on average around the world while young people account for up to 28 %). This demographic situation has major implications for the labor market. Currently the effects of the "baby boom" generation are being felt strongly as these individuals have formed the backbone of the labor force in Europe over the last four decades. This group has been gradually transitioning out of the active workforce and swelling the ranks of the post-productive generation.

From the perspective of society, the increasing risk of childless adults combined with the demographic threat that developed society is dying out both demand support from the "dependent senior population" in every area of life. The primary problems and threats faced by older people for life without age segregation are connected with age discrimination (ageism), generational intolerance, the inability to adapt to a change in social role (retirement), economic disadvantages and an overwhelming inability to satisfy their existential needs at the average level in the given society or at a level they previously enjoyed. Personal impacts are no less problematic and include the loss of social contacts, isolation after the loss of a life partner or related to the inability or

unwillingness of children to help their parents in such periods.

A number of approaches to population policy can be identified within efforts to resolve the ageing population of the European Union. The pro-egalitarian model is typical of Scandinavian countries in which the state focuses on supporting working parents, creating a favorable family climate and achieving gender equality. A more traditional population policy is used in Germany, which primarily seeks to protect the traditional family. In Anglophone countries a pro-family model with no interference, which could be called a liberal model, is applied. The application of financial instructions to support families is typical of countries in Southern Europe. The family pronatalist model applied in France is characterized by support for maternity leave, maternity benefits and pre-school facilities.

Various new forms of partnership-based cohabitation have also appeared in contemporary forms of coexistence. These have produced a generation of children who many times have been born out of wedlock. This level of openness in the relationship between partners is most uncommon in history and leads to a dulling of sentimental feelings between partners and an increase in leniency and maximum freedom in raising children, which carry new risks for the next generation. The change in the model of family life has brought about an overall weakening of the traditional family model and traditional values in which parents naturally sacrificed themselves for the future generation and passed on their values and experience to them. A great deal of research has also confirmed the opposite, where young people have been observed to practice inter-generational cohabitation, remaining in a household with their parents due to "economic immaturity". The feeling of an obligation among seniors to adult children and grandchildren who are unable to independently exist economically due to low-paying jobs, high unemployment or the need for financial and other support was noted in the study.

Deviations from the social definition of "normalcy" in natural life situations have also been noted in a larger share of people living

independently. The growing number of people deciding not to have children and who see this as an excessively demanding burden on the mental and material lives of parents once again raises the specter of a society without children. In terms of the potential parents, this choice serves as a rejection of assuming the social identity of a working mother or working father, which often times is accompanied in the working world with second-class standing with employers and among colleagues as such an identity when integrated with work is dependent upon receiving sufficient empathy and support to fulfil family obligations. A childless strategy is a reflection of an unwillingness to give up accumulated social capital: departing on maternity or family leave forces an interruption in work activities and is clearly perceived as an economic step down in the current and future standard of living of the parents. Having children also decreases the flexibility of parents, and specifically women, on the labor market.

An Ageing Population and Consequences for the Labor Market in the European Union

In terms of labor law, the ban on discrimination in terms of the nature of employment law matters is emphasized in the European Union. EU directives stipulate that the principle of equal treatment be applied in employment matters involving contract employment, part-time employment and agency employees. Modernization of the labor market through simplified employment regulations is based on the EU's key priorities to 2020 and defined within the Annual Growth Survey for 2013 in connection with the need to increase the flexibility of the labor market and invest into human capital (Commission 2012). The objective is to decrease the differences between various types of employment contracts and create flexible forms of organizing work and regimes involving abbreviated working hours and working conditions that lead to a longer working life. Employment protection follows the decrease in the segmentation of the labor market and the share of illegal work. The intentional creation of new jobs should help

bring people with lower qualifications and the long-term unemployed back into the labor market. The engagement of all these options requires a reassessment of the current concept of employment and the creation and application of a new concept of labor known as flexible work.

Increasing flexibility on the labor markets in the EU is the subject of a great deal of attention. This is a new challenge that the European Union as a whole and individual Member States are attempting to resolve within reforms aimed at extending productive years. EU forecasts for the development of employment from 2007 to 2020 predict an increase in labor market participation from 70.5 % to 74 %. At the same time population ageing is expected drive an overall decrease in employment of around 19 million people by 2060 (Commission, 2009).

The EU's Report on Ageing provided the space needed to identify three groups of countries based on the manner in which they are dealing with the expenses of an ageing population: large increases in expenditures are planned in Luxembourg, Greece, Slovenia, Cyprus, Malta, the Netherlands, Romania, Spain and Ireland. Limited but still high increases in expenditure in this context are planned in Belgium, Finland, the Czech Republic, the Slovak Republic, Lithuania, the United Kingdom, Hungary and Germany. Only minor increases in expenditures are planned in Bulgaria, Sweden, Portugal, Austria, Denmark, Italy, Latvia, Estonia and Poland (Commission 2009).

Changes on the labor market and an overall decrease in the total number of jobs i.e. demand for work, bring about a decrease in stable work, which fundamentally changes the image of working society. As stated by Beck, day-long and life-long work to retirement age has become an obsolete stereotype (Beck, U., 2004, p. 79). Society, or more accurately the state, is no longer able to provide stable work to everyone looking for work. "Having a job" is one of the key values that has been preferred over long period by many generations. Many people have given up on this value as a result of their

declining chances at fulfilling it during most of their active lives.

For those who have to ensure their very existence through work this certainly is a radical change in terms of the expected route to the labor market, which has two potential solutions. The individualization of work biographies is on the rise with respect to full employment within a professional career. This requires a high level of performance and personal emotional engagement in work activities that severely restrict or even eliminate time and space for private activities and a full-value family and personal life. The opposite case is an interrupted professional career and a high probability of unemployment in the global and therefore European area, which poses a growing threat for an ever larger group of people living without sufficient material security. The long-maintained belief that contemporary society would avoid unemployment by offering a number of different forms of employment is quickly disappearing. This means an alternative to the traditional concept of an employee's legal standing must be sought in order to maintain an acceptable level of social security and to drive an increase in personal availability at the lowest possible work force costs from the perspective of the employer. This concept must respect an optimum level in terms of the level of freedom and the level of social security and social justice. Both first-generation fundamental human rights are applied (civic rights and freedoms, primarily applied within employment matters) and fundamental social rights (equality, society security and social justice, primarily applied in the form of employee rights to just and satisfactory working conditions) are involved in this area.

Within labor market reforms in EU Member States the search is on to effectively combine needed job growth with internal flexibility to provide workers with an adequate feeling of stability. The goal is to avoid creating jobs characterized by excessive flexibility at the expense of stability. If a newly-created job only provides external flexibility, it becomes much simpler to lay off employees and their overall level of social protection is weakened

considerably. Experience from the application of this model has shown that individual EU Member States have created specific forms of "flexible stability" in order to achieve their objectives within economic policy and employment policy. Common challenges for which effective solutions are still being sought include: decreasing the fragmentation of the labor market, limiting the growth of unemployment and poverty and increasing the sustainability of social security systems (Flexicurity 2007). Eliminating legal barriers and easing the process of recognizing professional qualifications and experience are currently viewed as some of the key conditions for an integrated European labor market. Investments into education and training systems should increase the work-related competencies of people and ensure that they obtain the work skills appropriate to meet the needs of jobs. Currently, however, education and training systems are not always focused on those groups who are able to exploit such education or training, or what the European Commission has deemed as unsuitable qualifications remains widespread (Commission 2012, p. 10).

A qualitative change in the outlook on education is one of the consequences of equality and opening up new opportunities within the revolution in the educational system. The major role to be played by effective education anticipates it being redirected from providing a limited range of knowledge (with needs selected in advance) towards education based on an open approach with the ability to select various forms and combinations of knowledge to be learned. In this context education serves to educate workers to ensure that they are able to respond to potential job openings in a more qualified and self-confident manner thanks to the breadth of their knowledge and skills (knowledge workers). This should ensure access to jobs for groups such as people at home, young people without work and older workers interesting in joining the labor market.

The most problematic area within active labor market policy is the re-integration of the unemployed into the labor market where

problems are connected to the budget funds needed and labor market supply and demand. Last but not least there are problems with securing a sustained connection between economic development and social cohesion so that the limited resources allocated to active employment policy are increased; this is known as the creaming effect, where the most able clients are preferred within various re-qualification programs, in effect deepening the segregation among employment candidates. This involves common programs within targeted re-qualification of specific groups of the unemployed based on the length of such unemployment (the short-term unemployed are preferred over the long-term unemployed), younger age groups and more educated clients. However it is often forgotten that the demands the current labor market places on the work force is truly a vicious cycle that degrades workers (Bartáková 2004, p. 26). In this never-ending cycle such degradation accumulates into material deprivation, poverty and social isolation, which means these individuals are unable to meet the demands of the formal labor market.

General Risks in the Current Social Area of Europe

In the present situation all or nearly all members of modern society are exposed to the risks of labor market dynamics with unforeseen consequences. Keller in this context speaks of a breakdown in the protection status and professional standing afforded individuals with specific consequences for every generation; taking into account seniors, this breakdown is primarily the continual delay in reaching retirement age (Keller 2011, p. 166). Stagnating incomes have driven the need to save more disposable income for old age, which the individual is now responsible for securing as the state is no longer able.

Market segmentation more protects those who are able to be flexible and to re-qualify for new jobs. The senior population is naturally more exposed to this risk as despite anti-discriminatory measures with respect to age, the reality is that at a pre-retirement age, more and more the one who can rely on a

specific level of material security (a pension), who has less of a chance to manage the pressure to increase performance and who has a lower chance to master critical re-qualifications is pushed out in favor of the one willing to work "day and night", who has the physical and mental strength to cope with continuous changes and who has the physical endurance to keep pace with work processes, etc. In this spirit many rank-and-file employees at a pre-retirement age become less successful at maintaining jobs in this competitive struggle. On the other hand the current generation of seniors has also become a target in efforts to keep them and other groups on the market to secure the resources needed by the deficit-laden pension insurance system. At the same time this is the group that plays, and in our opinion shall continue to play, an increasingly important role within the confines of a shrinking population in developed European countries in covering the deficit in the available work force; in addition it represents a group that is less problematic in comparison with many aspects of the "unknown" group of migrants. An open question along these lines is how to keep pressure from political structures, seeking to use the age of seniors as a reason for dissolving employment and to resolve unemployment among young people by pushing seniors out of jobs in public administration and the state sector, to a minimum. With respect to seniors specifically, one can speak of an increased level of vulnerability for seniors as individuals and an increased level of social uncertainty for this entire social group. In many everyday situations, this group has essentially become a part of the category of the socially excluded. In EU Member States social exclusion is defined as the process in which individuals are pushed to the fringes of society and hence have been deprived of the chance to participate in such society as a result of poverty, a lack of competency (capabilities) and life-long learning opportunities or as a result of discrimination.

In terms of the different forms of exclusion, economic exclusion of this group is of particular note: members of the senior population are pushed into poverty and they

are excluded from the standard of living and usual opportunities that are afforded in the given society. Economic exclusion is based on the fact that market demand can be met by two-thirds of the population and soon, according to Bauman, only one-third will be sufficient, which means the remainder shall be left jobless, economically useless and socially redundant (Bauman 2004, p. 184). Exclusion from mobility in Bauman's concept is a measure of social suffering as the level of immobility is related with the loss of the freedom of movement due to a lack of resources; immobility for this reason is considered a fundamental dimension of dependence in the modern age. Conversely, the level of mobility expresses the ability to act effectively regardless of distance. The freedom of movement facilitates a complete absence or an easily overcome sense of obligation with respect to bonds. Exclusion from the labor market is reflected in limited opportunities in one of the basic systems that defines quality of life. Such exclusion is always compounded by two basic forms of social exclusion: exclusion from paid work, i.e. unemployment and exclusion from "good" work, i.e. exclusion resulting in a shift to the secondary labor market with all negative consequences this brings including an interruption in one's career, uncertainty and temporary work positions, a loss of perspective and lower levels of remuneration). This is phenomenon concerns exclusion from the labor market and exclusion to a specific labor market and is characterized by the term working poor. No unified perspective on this concept exists within the EU when discussions on social inclusion policy are considered. The most widely-discussed is the construction of social integration as integration on the labor market, which itself does not take into consideration an entire and large group of people in specific categories, i.e. people with altered working capabilities, individuals with family duties outside of the framework of state-provided benefits and others. Social exclusion primarily prevents sharing of specific social statuses: the senior population is many times excluded from participating in social and cultural processes that would integrate seniors into active life

within society, enable them to participate in the culture of the society and share its cultural capital, education and values. When speaking about new social risks, seniors may also be exposed to exclusion from security in the sense of increased risks of accidents, including the risk of losing paid work, and the threat posed by increasing criminality.

Macro-economic changes bring the issue of poverty into focus. In its simplest definition, poverty refers to a condition in which an individual or family meets its social needs at a much lower level than the average level in the given society. In Europe such a definition of poverty is connected to a limit on seeking social assistance and is usually at a level of 50 to 70 % of average income. Social exclusion is the most serious consequence of poverty. People living in poverty, i.e. those considered to be lacking in resources (material, cultural and social), are effectively excluded from participating in a way of life that is acceptable in the state in which they live. The EU Member States voted to endorse joint efforts to build up a more inclusive European Union in 2000 and since 2001 regular monitoring of 18 statistical indicators of poverty and social exclusion have been monitored in four key areas: financial poverty, employment or unemployment, health and expected lifespan. The first Joint Report on Social Protection and Social Inclusion was published in 2002. It defined the poverty line at a level of 60 percent of the national median income and set the goal of eliminating poverty by 2010, which affects around 15 % of the people in the EU. This report served as the basis for completing National Social Inclusion Action Plans in all EU Member States focused on facilitating participation in employment and access to all resources, rights, goods and services and avoiding the risk of exclusion by helping the most vulnerable and mobilizing all relevant entities. The primary objective is full-spectrum integration of political measures in all key areas: the labor market, social protection, education, housing, public services, equal opportunities, etc.

Jan Keller's concept could also be accepted, according to which all statements regarding new social risks are summarized

under the banner of "the market impotence of individuals". This category includes individuals for whom a market-based society is unsuitable or who are unable to function independently on the labor market due to their family situation or based on age or another handicap and the exploitation of quality services by the public sector and insurance providers. New social risks therefore appear to ambush people who individually are unable to face the transfer of all market risks onto the individual (Keller 2011, p. 184). Every contemporary is forced to mobilize and to become an entrepreneur of their own lives (ibid, p. 63). In this spirit of this concept, the idea of a joint search for real alternatives is completely lost.

Focusing on the present brings a range of additional risks for current and future generations as a life focused on consumption actually consumes much more than is actually needed or useful. Demonstrative consumption and the overall consequences of a consumption-based approach pose serious threats due to the consequences they have on restricting economic resources for development, the potential collapse of the environment and increasing and deepening of the differences in a society that no longer has the resources needed to secure the conditions needed to ensure an adequate quality of life for a large majority of its members.

The key paradox of the modern age is the fact that no one is safe from attack by these new social risks and it is the inscrutable nature of such risks that make these risks something that paradoxically brings people closer inside the society.

Migrants in Europe as a Source of New Social Risks

The tertiary sector of the European labor market is also characterized by a high concentration of foreigners, primarily on short-term stays. A great deal of attention within analysis into the application of migrants in host EU countries have been focused on their overall standing as they provide a serious economic effects, help resolve demographic risks associated with an ageing population in developed countries and deliver many positive

elements in terms of culture and social relations. The most problematic issue in connection with the integration of migrants into the host society is often times their ability to meet the demands of coexistence in the new society, as opposed to their economic activities. On the current labor market in the EU, migrants have much greater problems with social integration than they do with economic integration, primarily due to a lack of language skills and an overall orientation within the host society (Rákoczyová and Trbola 2009, p. 14). This same problem exists on the other side of the equation as well. The stance taken by the public, or the majority society, to differences that characterize various groups and categories of migrants are many times insufficient or inappropriate and contain discriminatory elements based on racial, ethnic or cultural differences. Theoretical models of the future forecasting societal fragmentation and ultimately the creation of "parallel" societies and the real life experience of ethnic communities in Europe warn of the potential consequences of widespread xenophobic and nationalistic approaches taken by segments of the local public. Here it is clear that host countries must increase their efforts within migration and integration policy and on the other hand there must be activation of the immigrants themselves in order to enable them to resolve the issue of a "temporary" new society and their aspirations within it as well as in the society within which they will attempt to integrate, both temporarily on the labor market and to a larger extent by adopting the cultural and social competencies of the majority society. This may make the overall prospects for development in the host societies less problematic and no longer a risk.

Migration movements represent a self-reinforcing process. As a migration flow begins, it also involves additional people from the new host country in the process who support the migrants (helping to inform them of local conditions, sending money for the trip, trying to help them find accommodation and work in the new country, etc.). The presence of such threats indicate a weakened sense of fellowship and solidarity both on the side of the majority

society and on the side of the migrants, who as a rule focus over the long-term on bonds to foreigners and fellow countrymen as key to their adaptation in the new country (Pořízková 2009, p. 77-78).

Following the collapse of totalitarian regimes across Europe, the need to find a new interpretation of the "world map" became clear. According to Huntington, after the end of the Cold War, threats that were previously regarded in terms of political, ideological and military aspects moved into the background and interests dealing with civilization identity moved to the fore. Huntington emphasized that "politicians and the public face fewer threats from the side of the nation, which they think they understand and can trust thanks to common language, religion, values, institutions or culture. They perceive threats as coming more from countries with societies characterized by a different culture which they don't understand or at least which they think they cannot believe" (Huntington 2001, p. 24).

Cultural differences in contemporary Europe are perceived as a cultural and social threat for the entire public in the EU. While the local public is more inclined to strengthen its own, Western civilization with its key values, it is also difficult to expect that it would be able to adapt to principles and values outside of this civilization block; on the other hand and despite their economic dependence on the host country, migrants maintain a firm grasp on their cultural roots, values and symbols, which puts them in a position that is rejected by the indigenous public with more and more fervor due to their non-European origins. Sartori in this context considers the flexibility of tolerance (Sartori 2005, p. 28). He sees the flexibility of tolerance as the key component in unifying societies. The level of flexibility in his models can be determined using three basic steps or principles: the first predicts the reasons as to why we consider something intolerable, the second is the principle of do no harm, as it is impossible to tolerate harm to others and the third is solidarity, which protects us before we find ourselves in the role of the party that is not tolerated. When bringing together groups of the local public in the host country and

members of the immigrant contingent, the borders between their mutual tolerances are important. The need to protect jobs, general fears of anything foreign and a dismissive reaction/xenophobia are important factors in terms of the local public. These three factors are evident in contemporary European societies and can serve to strengthen or weaken them. Sartori states that there must be a match on both sides in order to coexist in such differentness and with these differences; additionally both sides must profit and make concessions (ibid, p. 36).

In relation to the labor market it is expected that immigrants understand the value of legal protection and equal liberties as legal and illegal migrants have fundamentally different political, legal and civil standing in their host countries. In the 21st century there are strong expectations that unqualified labor will be pushed out of the labor market and only those who are able to meet new job requirements will be able to get those jobs. Additionally such positions will be offered in open competition. Only those individuals with the required skills and knowledge and those with a corresponding work ethic can be successful. Workforce motivation is an important prerequisite for success on the labor market. Unemployment analysis in the EU has confirmed a great deal of similarity between immigration from Latin American in the USA and immigration in Europe in terms of immigrant preparedness for job requirements and in the manner in which work is perceived. As immigrants are arriving from various cultures characterized by or that prefer "slow work"; they are generally under qualified and less flexible. This simple cultural connection can move help move them into long-term unemployment. This also serves as confirmation that such circumstances multiply the risk of unemployment, also known as the spiral of stagnation.

The second and subsequent generations of immigrants in Europe have confirmed that the labor market is unable to accept immigrants with low education, both overall and in terms of individual actions and such immigrants are unable to find work. It is

expected that ethnic enclaves providing a complete refuge for "their own" will progressively wane in terms of strength and will no longer be able to continue to help community members by creating jobs within the economy of the enclave (i.e. even in the grey economy) and that they will not find adequate funds needed for housing support, education and other needs. Their degradation gradually worsens and in response these immigrants withdraw into spaces that are completely occupied by members of this immigrant group. This creates artificial barriers in terms of contact with the majority population, does not support any interest in education, achieving some level of mastery of the language in the host country or getting to know its culture, all of which help members of this community exclude themselves from the majority society. Life in enclosed communities reinforces the cultural distance between the majority population and immigrants. The result is a collection of barriers that prevent participation in the labor market and loss of opportunities to earn a living and these barriers are closely related to increasing unemployment, poverty, social tension and criminality.

In connection with resolving the issue of immigrants, Sartori ponders the question of if this is a matter of cultural distance or if the problem is in the number of immigrants and looks to find an answer as to what share of such foreign population is acceptable in a country and the limit at which the recipient population begins to strongly oppose these immigrants. He considers a limit of around thirty per cent as the limit that induces strong resistance among the local public (ibid, p. 73).

The largest barriers to stable work for marginalized groups, and migrants in particular, on the EU labor market include the following:

- A low level of education, a high number of people without education or training and therefore a minimum number of secondary school and university level graduates;
- An inclination to underestimate the market's objective requirements for qualifications;
- An over-inflation of the influence of one's own ethnicity in terms of opportunities to find work on an open labor market;
- A low level of social capital, caused by the adoption of a strategy focused on social networks with ties to unofficial labor markets, where ties to the official labor market are almost non-existent;
- A low level of human capital and an inability to understand that everyone has personal responsibility for their own success or failure on the labor market, a low level of competitiveness and low level of initiative to find work with expectations of external support, i.e. from the immigrant community or from the state via the social security system;
- A lack of orientation with respect to new social conditions, including fear of rejection by members of the majority society, leading to resignation in the search for work on the formal labor market and efforts to find ways to apply one's self in the form of activities in the grey economy or by remaining completely dependent upon social benefits;
- A high level of frustration among those who have the potential to apply themselves on the labor market but who choose not to use such potential (e.g. pressure from the community, isolation in terms of lifestyle, limited funds to travel for work or to secure housing near potential work, etc.);
- A low level of preparedness with respect to labor market mobility, changes in work positions, changes in work duties, forms of employment, etc., i.e. not meeting the characteristics of flexible labor;
- A deficit in the legal tools designed to ensure equal opportunities in entering the labor market by limiting all forms of direct or indirect discrimination of immigrants by employers, just as for members of other marginalized groups

(women, older people, recent graduates and the disabled).

Many migrants and members of other marginalized local groups fall into the trap of unemployment as a consequence of these barriers. This trap is defined as the ratio of support received from unemployment benefits to past or potential earnings, where the remuneration offered on the labor market is less than the remuneration at which the job seeker is willing to accept and as a result the potential job seeker chooses to remain on social security payments, thereby expanding the ranks of the unemployed. The stability of social benefits provides more motivation than the temporary stability of temporary work, in particular with respect to work activities on the alternative market of the grey economy.

Conclusions

The lives of contemporaries in democratic societies are the result of a voluntary cultural choice. The ability to recreate and reshape one's self removes common and familiar rituals from the lives of people and gradually leads them to seclusion. People, however, are unable to make the decision to only live in the moment their entire lives. This fact has caused a correction in the approach taken within contemporary neo-classical economics based on the model of rational human behavior, itself based on maximizing utility. The needs for people to behave following the changing rules of economic life and to find way to respond accordingly are emphasized. Searching for new ways of organizing collaboration consciously contributes to the overall disorganization of social life. The disintegration of older patterns of behavior according to Bauman is also the main reason for a sense of "permanent combat readiness" where violence, accusations based on violence and threats of violence are used to secure the enforcement of specific interests of individuals and groups (Baumann 2004, p. 249). Disorientation in terms of key individual values has accompanied the arrival of a new paradigm of coexistence in the postmodern age. The loss of continuity in all phases of life has become a decisive factor in the lives of people: in education it delivers episodic knowledge and

instant learning. In a professional career both the planned and the unplanned are interrupted, which demands a high level of individual flexibility from people in the work force who are ready and able to prove their worth on the labor market and at the same time willing to personally assume the risk of temporary failure at an ever decreasing level of employment, legal and social protection. In terms of one's personal life, the continuity in projecting one's own existence is lost, uncertainty grows and individualization becomes more entrenched, which weakens the social cohesion of society. In the current model of life it has become a necessity to accept a life in a constant state of uncertainty.

Within EU Member States this concerns the institutional implementation of key values. The individual EU Member States are faced with various levels of support from their citizens. Contemporary developments confirm that while unproductive ways of life have been suppressed, the old institutions and their leaders have not been fully replaced over time during through democracy and development. The restoration of self-confidence and overall trust in this new economic and social-political space, which frequently transmits conflicting ideas and information, requires a renewed sense of interest in public affairs, freedom from egoism and the restoration of social ties, in many cases essentially order instead of chaos. Many positives can be taken in this context within contemporary Europe from the formation of new values, standards and structures but other areas can also be found in which such positive transfers have been stopped and stagnated as difficulties have been encountered.

The contemporary flexible world interferes with boundaries in an international context and between generations. Bělohradský in this context considers the abundance of communication, the result of fighting for "more light", as facilitating access for anyone who is interested while also making such space more complicated. Situations are non-transparent and those involved are struck by uncertainty as a result; an abundance of information paralyses the ability to understand such information

(Bělohradský 2007, p. 104). Interactions, relationships and bonds are simply the matter of a temporary contract, the existence of which influences their timelessness and utility. Kubátová warns of the arrival of a strategy based on the immediate satisfaction of the desires and needs of mankind, which attempts to treat relationships like items, i.e. to consume and not produce (Kubátová 2010, p. 103).

One of the consequences of growing individualism and efforts to increase one's own personal autonomy is a growing distrust of authorities (Fukuyama 2005, p. 112). Paradoxically people find themselves in a situation when seeking to maximize the freedom of choice where they find themselves lacking mutual recognition and participation. According to Fukuyama communities are becoming miniaturized, where the group of people with the same desires and needs and with whom we identify continues to shrink.

Through the use of modern communication devices, people are now capable of spanning many kilometers of distance, thereby eliminating cultural and

political barriers and condemning themselves to the solitary survival of their everyday worries and joys. Contemporary developments have shown the adequacy of closure theory at least to the extent that key social groups have created a monopoly of resources and privileges of a certain kinds, which they defend on a continuous basis because they deliver new resources and privileges to them.

The re-grouping process within civilization has already arrived and the most likely scenario for survival (both economically and demographically) in contemporary democratic states in the European area is associated with the necessity to accept people who provide these countries with the means to sustain economic growth and the overall cultural survival of these countries. The only viable way forward in our opinion is to assume responsibility for protecting and developing our own civilization qualities and strengthening shared interests and values, all without losing strength in fighting those factors that form the foundations of instability and conflicts.

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