SOCIAL UNCERTAINTY PRECARITY INEQUALITY
Berlin - Germany

Report 2022

Covid 19
A Journey into Social Precarity

Proceedings
International Conference "Shifts and reorientations within the social crisis and pandemic catastrophe", promoted by the S.U.P.I. Network, international research group on Precariousness and Social Uncertainty in collaboration with the Italian institute Eurispes.
Both institutes express their heartfelt thanks for the precious collaboration of Mrs. Dipl-Pol. Sybill De Vito Egerland
SUPI Network is an interdisciplinary European Research Group established by European and international scholars and experts. Objectives of the Network are: a) to analyse and evaluate in depth and with a systemic methodology the complex topics of social precarity, uncertainty and inequality; b) to provide proposals to social policies in order to reinforce social cohesion this way covering all the questions related to social exclusion/inclusion in a positive and efficient way.

SUPI Network was formally founded in Berlin on 1st February 2007 during the International Conference “Processes of Social Reorientation within the Social Structure” in cooperation with Bundesministerium für Arbeit und Soziales – Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs (Germany). The Group is widely open to the cooperation of qualified European and International experts.

Coordinator of the SUPI Network is Prof. Rolf Dieter HEPP, Freie Universität Berlin (Germany). Prof. R.D.Hepp is also member of the Scientific Committee of Eurispes Institute, Rome (Italy).

RATIONALE OF THE 2021 SUPI INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

Berlin – Rome, April 29-30, 2021

The assessment of the social effects of the pandemic crisis are at the center of the annual conference 2021 promoted by the SUPI Network, specialized in the analysis of the processes of social precariousness, uncertainty, inequalities that characterize the contemporary world, whose gravity has long been at the center of the sustainable development strategies promoted by the United Nations. The profound and complex changes generated by the pandemic crisis in the social situation of people - in the ways of thinking, in the systems of relationships, in the conditions and perspectives of life - require both new scientific cognitive approaches and the definition of an integrated system of public policies and private actions aimed at organizing a new order based on an effective social inclusion and human promotion; an operation made difficult by the fact that the structural crisis caused by the global pandemic has created a general situation of uncertainty between the expectations of a return to the normalization of the past and the prospects of future progress because the awareness of the profound changes brought about by this crisis in the traditional ways of living, thinking, operating of individuals and communities.

The speakers of the conference come from universities, academies and specialized institutes of the following countries: Denmark, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Poland, Portugal, Czech Republic, People’s Republic of China, Russia, Spain, United States, Turkey.

References

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Introduction
During the pandemic, Germany reacted in lockdown with restrictions on people's private sphere, with a negative impact on leisure and cultural activities, while the work contests were only marginally involved.

Regardless of the pandemic crisis, the fact is that new techniques of leadership, guidance and control of people's behaviour are being promoted in society. The norms and rules of the discipline are no longer sufficient to ensure productivity in today's world, which is why the focus is shifting towards self-directed processes and mechanisms, such as flexibility, motivation and goal setting. Individuals are less and less assigned fixed places and well-defined tasks on which to apply the rules of the discipline; on the contrary, they are increasingly encouraged to adapt to situations of self-organization on which new external control mechanisms are applied to which they must eventually surrender.

The realistic fear of contagion has reinforced the attitude of individuals to submit to these forms of external mobilization, guidance and control. Apparently all political and social measures and actions focus on fighting the pandemic; pandemic control is at the centre of political and public interest and to this end the population must be mobilized to support measures and restrictions. But the real open problem is essentially another.

1 – The different perspectives on mobilization

The German philosopher Ernst Jünger considers mobilization a constitutive factor of modernity that structures, orders and aligns individuals. This does not refer only, for example, to the mobilization that took place in the First World War, but to a broader process that also determines the fate of the worker and the clerk who are encouraged to move constantly. (see: E Jünger, “The worker. Dominion and form”, 1932). According to the Italian thinker Giorgio Agamben, the state of exception that is affirmed with the mobilization of the masses is described, following and connecting with the French philosopher Paul-Michel Foucault, as a strengthening of authoritarian forms of government (see: PM Foucault, “Surveil and punish: birth of a prison”, 1975).

According to Foucault, the plague provides the opportunity for the organization of an ideal model, for the implementation of a “dream of the political order”, according to which all individuals are fixed in one place, controlled and monitored. The principle of panoptic organization provides a model of control and surveillance of the individuals, in which the discipline produces new subjects. In today's situation, according to the French philosopher Gilles Deleuze, through the mechanisms of the control society, single subjects are no longer monitored in a specific place; instead, the surveillance methods are pushed further with the organization of overviews on the movement flows of individuals. The pandemic crisis, with its tragedies and threats, was an opportunity to give more weight and strengthen the organization of these scenarios of analysis, evaluation and control. Power, and the connected system of profits, are no longer necessarily obtained by regulating the behaviour of individuals, but through the direction and control of collective movements and flows. According to Deleuze, the control society is characterized mainly by the control of movements, the legibility of the changes in social bodies, the evaluation of data flows and the modulation of individuals. Consequently, individuals must not be anchored to rigid situations, fixed in single closed institutions but, on the contrary, must be urged to constant movement, to live in conditions of
flexibility. The body, with its modes of action, is no longer adapted to large machines but, on the contrary, is constantly “modulated” by them.

2 – The initiatives of the German government to fight Covid-19

The alleged goal is to fight the pandemic, as it takes place in an area of social power. As already mentioned in the introduction, the fight against Coronavirus with its lockdowns is mainly oriented to the cultural and leisure area, where all the facilities in Germany have been closed since November 2020, while the entire production sector was marginally touched by restrictive measures such as the request to companies to conduct anti-Covid-19 tests. While school students are obliged to comply with precise control procedures, in the production sector the principle of voluntariness prevails; only recently, studies have been launched to determine which professional and working groups are particularly exposed and affected by the pandemic, as a prerequisite for any further control measures.

The only notable known exception in Germany was the lockdown in the Gütersloh district in June 2020. At the Tönnies meat factory, over 1,553 employees tested positive for Coronavirus. As a result, a work lockdown lasting several weeks was imposed for the whole district of Gütersloh (23.6.2020- 6.7.2020). On 24 June 2020, some German states also issued housing bans for citizens of the districts of Gütersloh and Warendorf. The 50% company co-partner Robert Tönnes has called on his uncle Clemens to resign. The fact that the CEO of the Group had repeatedly blocked the abolition of employment contracts requested by his nephew since 2017 was one of the reasons for the outburst. In the political scandal that emerged over working conditions in the German meat industry and the risks for workers aggravated by the Covid-19 emergency, the focus of public interest was not so much the threat to the life and health of the contract workers, coming largely from Eastern Europe – otherwise this would have happened earlier – but rather the protection of local inhabitants from the spread of the virus.

In general, entrepreneurs, who have not been subjected to particular restrictions, were encouraged to promote and spread the practice of smart working, the home office, even if the results achieved were lower than expected, as evidenced by the significant decline in this new work experience between the first and second waves of the pandemic; the systems of connection and new organization of functions and tasks, with the related forms of surveillance and control, in the exchanges between the various plans of a company proved to be more effective. However, the home office implies the constant availability of workers and thus forces a blurring among the time devoted to work, free time and unpaid time devoted to health care. This new form of work in several respects reflects the development of control mechanisms that have strengthened during the pandemic period. The home office plays a key role here because, for example, it is no longer possible to separate work from raising children and doing housework; a situation that can be particularly fraught with difficulties for women who live in cramped living spaces. On the other hand, many business managers fear that work activities are neglected if supervision is insufficient.

3 – Borders are being redrawn: the new barriers

The epistemological couple plague/cholera is contrasted in Foucault with the relation of inclusion/exclusion, a dichotomy through which the different social approach applied in the ways of presenting yourself and/or regulate your behaviors in the face of events is manifested. It is an epistemological game that can also occur in the various forms of lockdown implemented during the Coronavirus epidemic. For example, in Ischl (Austria) or Berchtesgaden (Bavaria), tourists had to leave the area as potential infected people or transmitters of Covid-19 and only local inhabitants were able to benefit from medical treatment; a discrimination that can be considered quite detrimental to the containment of the pandemic. We are faced with distinctions and subdivisions that ultimately have the effect of contributing to the spread of the virus.

Another example is in the measures relating to the closure of borders, a decision which implies that the unknown/the other is perceived as the bearer of a threat. Border closures are acts by which
separations are established. Such decisions refer to a boundary and specific dichotomies of oppositions and groupings such as healthy/sick, in/out, native/foreign. In this sense, the neighbour, the native comes before the stranger/unknown because the latter could potentially be a virus carrier. It is a suspicion that leads to consequent decisions and behaviours. This tendency towards demarcation, motivated by the way of interpreting a dangerous situation, finds its emblematic expression in the obligation to wear masks. The mask as a symbol of demarcation.

San Francisco and St. Louis, which in the past made very effective decisions to combat the Spanish flu, by imposing the mandatory use of masks, in the current conjuncture were the main American cities to record significantly fewer deaths than other large American cities. The risks posed by the pandemic undoubtedly require policy reorientation and impose significant constraints. At the same time, however, they reinforce the forms of a control society that have been based on the dismantling of the welfare state security systems over the past 30 years, a process which in itself has generated a widespread intensification of social insecurity. Coronavirus, or rather the social approach to fighting the pandemic, not only reinforces these trends, but at the same time provides potential legitimacy for the dismantling of social and individual rights. On the one hand, Covid-19 potentially infects all people; on the other hand, it is racist and classist, since it affects more the poorest and the black people, among whom there are the highest mortality rates, compared to the rates recorded in the richest part of society. This is not only due to the diversity of health insurance systems, but also to the respective housing, working and living conditions.

In Germany too, for example, two weights and two measures are systematically applied. This is the case of the hygienic conditions in refugee accommodation which are the subject of protection measures by public administrations that are nowhere near comparable to the much more effective ones arranged for university classrooms, which are closed as a precaution even in the winter semester. This simply corresponds to the democratic logic prevailing in national state societies which in a situation of uncertainty put the life and survival interests of their citizens - in this case of every single German citizen - first over the vital interests of migrant workers and refugees. This hierarchy of “relevance for life” according to national logic is part of the prevailing democratic consensus to which state intervention always ends up referring, indeed it must refer (Torres 2020).

Conclusions
The crisis is affecting everyone, but not everyone equally. While the poorest households in particular bear the brunt and often also suffer significant financial losses, many wealthy people are able to increase their wealth despite or precisely because of the virus. This makes the pandemic a burning glass for economic inequality.

Although the Coronavirus is not the cause of the existing inequalities, the current pandemic is nonetheless an amplifier of social inequality. While many fear for their jobs or have to make ends meet with much less money due to short-time work, others continue to live in great wealth. Furthermore, inequality manifests itself not only in the growing divergence of income and wealth, but also in the different possibilities of access to health care, education, adequate housing situations, all elements which in turn significantly increase the contagion factors.

A plausible interpretation of neoliberalism is that it is a system oriented to continually produce new crises, with which situations of social insecurity and vulnerability are continually generated and expanded in society. This orientation includes the evocation of potential or real threats which is functional to generate such social insecurity and existential fears and, consequently, to create situations in which it is necessary to organize particular forms of management and control of such crises. The neoliberal strategies of social insecurity essentially aim at the goal of making society feel permanently exposed to a situation of cumulative crisis. In Europe, the fight against Coronavirus has also ended up taking on this new dimension because both the restrictive measures against the pandemic and the threat of mass deaths among the population have led to rebuilding and restructuring the ways of people’s entire daily life. The fact that the measures adopted are oriented to favour tendencies aimed at promoting a mobilized control society ignore important areas of
contagion, reinforce social inequalities, while producing and emphasizing new social hierarchies and taxonomies through differentiated measures, all this confirms that the policies adopted during the period of Covid-19 in the neoliberal systems have also assumed these aspects that are not secondary at all. The question therefore arises of understanding whether the fight against the virus is at the heart of the anti-Covid measures or whether on the occasion of this event an attempt is made to affirm something quite different: an expansion of the general area of social control.

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1. A Precarious Sentiment: Eclipsing the Face of the Other

As one engages the work of Emmanuel Levinas (1906–1995), a basic structure emerges. Levinas provides a phenomenological reminder of an immemorial ethical calling that commences with the face of the Other. Otherwise than Heidegger, Levinas offers ethics as a primordial call, prior to Being itself. Ethics, for Levinas, dwells within a revelatory reminder initiated in the meeting of the face of the Other. Encountering the face of the Other, for Levinas, is impersonal; his ethics expands beyond family, friendship, and locality. The face of the Other met impersonally moves one from a visual ethic to an audio call to responsibility: “I am my brother’s keeper” (Levinas 1998, 117). This audio call returns one to the Other in an act of responsibility that is particular and unique. Note that Levinas’s ethics is universal, an audio call. The return to responsibility, however, is dependent upon the individual person(s) that claim one’s attention and responsibility.

This ethical template hinges on one basic phenomenological glance. One must acknowledge and respond to the immediacy of the face of the Other without personal involvement. For Levinas, there are two basic modes of responsibility omission. First, one can attend only to those close in proximity and familiarity. Second, one can completely ignore the reality of the person in one’s immediate presence. This essay attends primarily to the second omission—ignoring the face of the immediate Other. Levinas’s orientation is akin to a routine stop sign; it only works when acknowledged, recognized, and followed.

The failure of comprehension of an immediate Other offers a lament-filled explanation of the Holocaust. Levinas lost his entire family, with the exception of his wife and daughter, to acts of execution in his hometown of Kaunas, Lithuania. Levinas, as a political prisoner from France, lived in prisoner-of-war camps for five years. During this time, he began his first major tome, *Totality and Infinity: An Essay on Exteriority* (1961). In this work, he offers a picture of ethics during a time of expanding atrocity. Levinas’s project is a phenomenological rendering of human dwelling. The limits of his work manifest in the fact that he describes the call of ethics that comes without pristine clarity of direction. Levinas reminds us of a world that is parallel to an empirical world of acquisition. Levinas articulates an impressionistic picture of a social responsibility that is fundamental to the human spirit. Phenomenologically, each human being is derivative. Thus, the phrase “I am my brother’s keeper” is a pragmatic, phenomenological reminder of a responsibility for the Other that ultimately impacts the quality of one’s own life. As a derivative creature, I am, each one of us is, responsive to the Other. We are shaped by persons, environments, stories, practices, and ideas. Only in modernity, with its obsession with distance from social environments and its opposing cousin that seeks to dominate the other, does our embeddedness in social life go unacknowledged.

Disregarding the impersonal face of the Other, a human signpost, gives birth to an unacknowledged environment of dismissiveness. While this perspective does not alter the pain, suffering, and anguish of a Holocaust, it points to how such a reality can matriculate upon the human community. In this historical moment, we face another eclipse of the human face. Unlike the Holocaust, which was steeped in overt violence, this moment of precarity often goes undetected within a social space akin to Hannah Arendt’s (1963) description of a “banality of evil.” Arendt used this phrase to describe the acts of Adolf Eichmann. His bureaucratic involvement in the Holocaust led to the destruction of many. Arendt associates a banality of evil with thoughtlessness,
Precarity orchestrates a social space founded upon ignoring the face of the Other and a banality of evil in which thoughtlessness is a driving social act. The difficulty with events associated with a banality of evil is that they often run beneath the social radar of critique and concern. Indeed, precarity is a banality of evil thriving in this historical moment. Its presence has been announced by multiple scholars, initially by Pierre Bourdieu and most recently by Guy Standing, who acts as a major spokesperson contra precarity.

Shortly before the commencement of the 21st century, the notion of precarity became part of our intellectual vocabulary. The primary scholar detailing this form of social destruction was Pierre Bourdieu. Bourdieu defined the notion of the precariat in 1998. His first use of the term was in a collection of essays, primarily composed of political speeches and interviews under the title, Contre-feux. Propos pour servir à la résistance contre l’invasion néo-libérale (1998). The English version of this work was Acts of Resistance: Against the New Myths of Our Time (1998). Bourdieu repeatedly used the term précarité, which when rendered into English stressed the issue of job insecurity. Bourdieu understood precarity as “the erosion of secure and protected employment arrangements” (Schwaller 2017). More recently, the Cambridge Encyclopedia of Anthropology provides a definition of precarity in its 2018 edition. The author of the essay, Sharryn Kasmir, provides a comprehensive and expansive horizon of the use of the term precarity. She acknowledges the term as “a multi-stranded concept” that includes like-related conceptions of labor and life-world insecurity (Kasmir 2018). Beyond precarity, the terms include precariousness, the precarious, and precaritization. In each case, the terms respond to the excesses of capitalism, dismissive of class differences and, in the vocabulary of this essay, the face of the Other.

The notion of precarity lives in an environment in which organizations and entrepreneurs have shifted risk from the organization and the owners to part-time employees, resulting in use and abuse of the latter. According to Kasmir (2018), Bourdieu’s understanding of precarity underscores that “temporary and informal work, in its myriad manifestations, is the predominant mode of livelihood in the late-twentieth to early-twenty-first centuries.” Precarity is the result of making part-time workers responsible for risk in an environment inattentive to their voice, concerns, and critical observations. Now, ignoring the precariat is a prediction for political and social unrest (Kasmir 2018). Bourdieu’s original concern has become an ongoing defining threat within the West.

Kasmir’s assessment of Bourdieu centers on questions of class, poverty, and the limits of a neoliberal order. Kasmir’s (2018) assertion via Bourdieu is that, as one assesses the global economy, only a minority of persons have “secure jobs or steady incomes.” Sadly, far too many live through a gig economy or something more akin to barter transactions, to the extent of wading their way through the waste and garbage of others. Precarity announces instability and lack of institutional routine and support that give tomorrow an ongoing linkage with today and the past, rather than each day being an act of uncertainty and survival. The notion of precariousness simply addresses the fact that all socioeconomic groups are unable to control the events before them, whether they be natural disasters, sickness, or historical tragedies. Precariousness, however, is indeed enhanced by class standing and economic background. The biopolitics of precariousness emerge through intensity of recognition that life contains no safety net. Precariousness presupposes that economic, political, and social structures of routine and institutional support are less available to the vulnerable, giving rise to an ongoing sense of hopelessness in a system that seems rigged against one’s own success (Kasmir 2018).

Precarity presupposes ongoing labor uncertainty. Bourdieu (1998) asserts, “Job insecurity is now everywhere”(82). He frames a picture of existence being de-structured. The traditional presupposition of a holistic relationship between “world, time and space” is no longer part of the modern conception of employment and life (Bourdieu 1998, 82). Granted, such insecurity defines the majority of the world and has long historical roots. The initial hope of modernity and a neoliberal, capitalistic economy was to minimize vulnerability that consistently puts people and
families at risk. Those working with capitalistic expectations alone would emphasize the wealth-accumulating ability of such a practical philosophy. The debate on questions of accumulation and its social value guided the chasm between Marxism and the vision of Adam Smith (1723–1790). A neoliberal economy consists of multiple stories: first, the ability to generate goods for people; secondly, the ability to support and nurture institutions for a given culture and society; and thirdly, the most controversial question, the ability of such a practical philosophy to sustain the vulnerable and the economically less privileged.

What distinguishes this historical moment from earlier eras is the commonplace nature of the precariat. The United Kingdom instituted the precariat as part of a checklist on the nature of one’s employment. A neoliberal orientation works without an ethic or a soul; it is a machine that takes capital and expands it into more capital. This capital, however, is financial alone. The presupposition of Adam Smith was that social capital would advance simultaneously with economic capital. Such a presupposition is sensible for Smith and his understanding of sympathy. Smith wrote in an era in which sympathy was a social mechanism for understanding and relating to others. As one watched the actions and desires of others, one learned from them. The entire nature of exchange, for Smith, required such learning, with sympathy being the guiding construct for social learning. The obvious question in this contemporary era is, “How did Smith anticipate that sympathy would work, and does it do so today?” Smith assumed that sympathy was the driving force in economic exchange as we learn from one another. His vision was closer to interpersonal bartering than impersonal exploitation of global markets. Today, the discussion centers often on questions of psychological empathy to and for another.

What happens today when observation of and about others seems irrelevant and sympathy is more likely understood as a weak cousin to the notion of empathy? No longer is sympathy understood as a basic mechanism for learning about others. It is closer to a feeling of momentary distress for another that leads to a moral cul-de-sac of inaction. The precariat rests outside the constructive realm of sympathy; its actions and work go ignored and unobserved. The unproductive contemporary understanding of sympathy is more a moment of self-applause for one’s concern for the plight of another, which generates no action except, perhaps, a desire to forget such unfavorable feelings causing long-term distress in oneself. The notion of sympathy has shifted from learning to a privileged pause that one seeks to escape, hoping that the duration of the day will not be clouded by such a memory. A neoliberal economy depends upon individualism that fails to recognize pragmatic linkages between and among persons, both the privileged and the vulnerable.

This perspective about the pragmatic reality of addressing precarity centers the work of Guy Standing, who is “a Professorial Research Associate at SOAS University of London and a founding member and honorary co-president of the Basic Income Earth Network (BIEN), a non-governmental organisation that promotes a basic income for all” (Guy Standing). Standing is perhaps the leading contemporary voice calling into question a neoliberal economic individualism that fails to recognize the long-term social consequences to disparity of wealth and our refusal to take this social moment seriously. His work is a pragmatic call for attention to and for the precariat, both to assist them and to curtail an inevitable social disruption that will transpire with our continued privileged acts of neglect. Standing (2014) states, “The minority is growing by the day. And it is becoming restless, as the millions demonstrating discontent in the squares and parks of great cities testify” (2). Today we find protests in Europe and the United States driven by questions of religious and racial justice. The underlying characteristic in each protest is rebellion against a neoliberal economy that exploits and ignores the vulnerable.

Standing (2011) states that there is an abundance of protests associated with the precariat sentiment. He uses the phrase “primitive rebels” to describe those who are rebelling more against than for(vii). There is an intuitive sense that something is fundamentally wrong with the modern

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1 According to O’Brien (2013), academics “[following a BBC survey of more than 160,000 people…established that Britons can no longer be boxed in to the traditional “upper”, “middle” and “working” classes.” The “precariat” comprises the newest, lowest category.
infrastructure of economic distribution. His contention is that primitive protests will eventually mature into sophisticated forms of rebellion. According to Standing, the first stage of any social movement is the development of a common identity. The term “precariat” alone indicates that this first stage is well underway. The second stage, intermingled within the first, is the unleashing of multiple energies tied to a single theme of protest and change. The force of a social moment seldom begins with analytical precision but with an emerging identity and energy. A group of people begin to carve a path that slowly makes sense.

Consider how one might want to construct a sidewalk in a local park. One group might want to engage in a long-term and expensive study about the architectural configuration of where the sidewalk might fit best in the park. Yet, another group, more akin to the raw energy of the precariat, might suggest the following: “Let’s examine where people walk. Where are the paths they have already made? Those are the locations for our work and our helping of this park for the people who actually use it.” The raw energy of the precariat is carving a path that requires immediate attention and thoughtful pragmatic intervention.

Standing (2014) warns the public that we ignore the precariat at our own peril. He states that the precariat is dangerous because, as predicted in The Precariat [2011], the combination of anxiety, alienation, anomie and anger can be expected to lead to more days of riot and protest. And it is dangerous because stress, economic insecurity and frustration can lead and are leading to social illnesses, including drug-taking, petty crime, domestic violence and suicide. (32)

This year of the 2020–21 pandemic has witnessed multiple social protests, which are still somewhat ambiguous but nonetheless in search of clarity of identity and energy that can claim a sense of direction for the abused, the forgotten, and, indeed, the increasingly angry. The following material from The Guardian and The New York Times offers an impressionistic picture of this energy, born from frustration that acknowledges the inattentiveness of the privileged.

2. An Impressionistic Picture of This Age of Sentiment

In the hope of offering a glimpse of the turbulent sentiment of this precariat moment, I turn to selected essays from The New York Times and The Guardian. The essays included are description and opinion pieces that render clarity about the nature of the precariat and its socially disturbing sentiment. The following sections provide an impressionistic picture of social experiences creating a precariat sentiment: (1) “Anxiety, Uncertainty, and Stress;” (2) “Physical Risk and Poor Working Conditions;” and (3) “Wage Abuse, Union Busting, and Economic Disparity.” The anecdotal accounts comprising this section describe fundamental precariat issues enhanced by the pandemic, suggesting that the virus has placed previously invisible workers within the public eye.

2.1. Anxiety, Uncertainty, and Stress

In The New York Times, Hubbard and Donovan (2020) describe the problematic reality of women losing jobs in Beirut and Lebanon, focusing particularly on domestic workers in Saudi Arabia. The authors remind readers of a caustic callousness in which people are laid off with little warning and without wages. Domestic workers discover limited support as other workers, who previously employed them, find their lives moving in problematic economic directions. In the Persian Gulf, there were more than 4 million domestic laborers in 2016. Now, they are laid off, and/or they must suffer reduced wages and problematic working conditions. Hubbard and Donovan (2020) report that “many employers confiscate workers’ passports and deprive them of time off...Some prevent them from using cellphones or the internet. Physical and sexual abuse are common.” Precarious labor issues were present prior to the pandemic; now they simply augment in severity. For example, a salary of $180 per month is now likely to be cut in half with an increased workload, while employers, under their own stress, become increasingly more hostile. Domestic workers, before the pandemic, already had insufficient time for their own children; this problem is
now simply exacerbated. As workers contract the virus, they are abandoned and must go home and put others at risk. For example, an agency in Kenya that recruited a number of domestic workers who contracted the virus refused to respond to any messages or answer the phone. In Saudi Arabia, the task of addressing the safety of workers consumes an inordinate amount of time as one allegation after another reaches public officials.

An essay in *The Guardian* centers on a bus driver, a garbage collector, a fast food worker, a delivery worker, a train driver, and a supermarket worker (Blackall 2021). The consistency of their stories centers on issues of fear, the difficulty of social distance, and wondering whether or not anyone cares if “I” will live or die. Their fear includes constant anxiety about losing employment, covering for other sick staff, and struggling socially, mentally, and fiscally. In another *Guardian* essay, the focus is on UK supermarket workers who feel forgotten, void of material forms of thankfulness (Pidd and Wolfe-Robinson 2021). Issues of mask etiquette, long hours, physical risk, and exhaustion generate anger. Staffing shortages require incredibly long hours spent overhearing customers laughing about disobeying social rules of distance in their parties. Not only is the work unappreciated; the work is met with a cavalier spirit of disrespect and disregard that challenges traditional socialization expectations.

Jordan Kisner’s (2021) book review of Kayleen Schaefer’s *But You’re Still So Young: How Thirty somethings Are Redefining Adulthood* (2021) points to the institutionalizing of a precariat economy. The premise of the book is that the world has changed from the checklist of the 1950s in which one would “finish school, leave home, make your own money, marry and become a parent” (Kisner 2021); these were ongoing socialization markers that are now called into question. Instead, 30-somethings face financial insecurity, lack of job clarity, rising education costs, and a life driven more by anxiety and stumbling than by previous traditional stages of socialization. Precarity is working its way into families historically supported by clarity and assurance about the future, now part of an uncertain generation.

*The New York Times* explores the increasingly precarious nature of employment in the pandemic. The essay describes the firing of workers during the pandemic, stating that it takes longer to adapt to unemployment than it does for the death of a loved one (Senior 2020). Such a statement is extreme, but it does announce the extraordinary pain of economic insecurity. The essay discusses the U.S. Department of Labor reporting more 1.5 million Americans filing for unemployment. Every boss in America must now enact and find training for such difficult conversations. As people are laid off, they need to be assured that there is a procedural sense of fairness in decision making. Without question, such layoffs hurt morale and devastate productivity. The cautionary tale in this historical moment is that good employees are difficult to replace, and the temptation of companies, once those workers are removed, is to place more strain on others in covering jobs previously accomplished by a larger cohort of workers.

This tenuous employment market shapes precariat existence, establishing danger and fear where routine and certainty previously guided action. In addition, the movement of progress tied to capitalism increasingly embraces machines, replacing the labor of individual workers(*The Guardian*2021). This contemporary environment validates a prediction rendered years ago by the late economist Hyman Minsky (1990–1996), who stated that if democracy was to survive the market behavior of the “money manager capitalism,” the constant use of algorithms would require active restraint (*The Guardian* 2021). The uncertainty of employment includes the increasing inevitability of poor working conditions.

### 2.2. Physical Risk and Poor Working Conditions

*The New York Times* reports that dangers for restaurant workers unearth feelings of rage (Wells 2021). Working in a restaurant asking clients to wear a mask has resulted in altercations while workers are poorly paid and worry for their safety in terms of health and physical protection. The conditions are so severe that employees are asked to sign non-disparagement clauses, curtailing their freedom of speech.
Ginia Bellafante (2020) details how Amazon workers found themselves placed at risk each day during the pandemic. While the Dow Jones Industrial Average stock market index had its worst quarter since 1987, Amazon’s stock rose 5%. In her essay, “We Didn’t Sign Up for This’: Amazon Workers on the Front Lines,” she discusses the necessity of hiring an additional 100,000 workers. She recounts the story of a dissenting worker, Christian Smalls, at a fulfillment center in Staten Island. Smalls contended that the building in which he and his fellow employees labored needed greater attention for sanitation and a strict adherence to protocols related to the virus. For Smalls’ efforts, he was fired. Not only did they fire him, they also insulted him in public, stating that he was “not smart or articulate” (Bellafante 2021). They called his organizing efforts immoral and even, perhaps, illegal. Amazon disputed the fact that he was released because of his acts of agitation, claiming instead that he was released because he came back too quickly during a 14-day paid quarantine in order to lead a demonstration. The mayor of New York required an investigation into Smalls’ dismissal, with union leaders and political leaders demanding that Amazon reinstate him. Amazon claims it protects its workers, yet Smalls contended that the facility needed to be shut down long enough for intensive cleaning. While the governor of Kentucky was able to shut down another Amazon fulfillment center long enough for cleaning, in Staten Island the focus remained on testing employees, not sanitizing the facility. During this dispute, Amazon advertised the following: Their workers do “heroic work” (Bellafante 2021). Yet, the workers persistently view themselves as highly disposable.

The Guardian reports that exploitive working conditions were already a mess pre-pandemic and are now exacerbated (Kelly and Grant 2020). “Labour and migrant rights groups say that workers in sectors such as furniture, construction, contract cleaning, recycling and domestic work are also being paid less than the minimum wage and experience wage theft, unsafe working conditions, verbal and physical abuse, and unpaid overtime” (Kelly and Grant 2020). Workers have reported denial of pay, limited wages, poor working conditions, and ongoing abuse. The Guardian states that there may be as many as 100,000 people living in conditions of a modern form of slavery in the United Kingdom(Kelly and Grant 2020).

In an essay entitled, “‘We’re Modern Slaves’: How Meat Plant Workers Became the New Frontline in Covid-19 War,” Laughland and Holpuch (2020) discuss Covid-19 deaths at Tyson Foods poultry plants in Georgia. The conditions are simply bleak, with President Trump requiring that such plants remain open and workers risking their own lives by doing their tasks without surgical marks. Without issues of disability and unemployment, the conditions in the meat-packing industry seem little better than the classic depiction in Upton Sinclair’s The Jungle (1906). In 2020, the working conditions in Chicago’s meat-packing industry were horrendous; today’s pandemic continues this drama, currently relying primarily on Central American migrants. Another article from The Guardian explains that California workers have to choose between continuing employment and protecting their health during the pandemic (Ho 2020). Workers in the field risk their lives, harvesting produce while simultaneously exposing their lungs to dense smog in the fields. Such conditions require one to risk health while working in the midst of wildfire smoke for $5.50/hour with the addition of $1.60 for every box filled with strawberries.

The Guardian states that the National Health Service (NHS) was urged to not use Personal Protective Equipment (PPE) gloves coming from environments such as Malaysia because they were made under slave-like conditions; the people making the gloves were generally migrants from Bangladesh and Nepal (Pattisson 2020). “Illegal recruitment fees, long hours, low pay, passport confiscation and squalid, overcrowded accommodation are commonplace, workers have claimed. Experts say such conditions leave them vulnerable to forced labour and debt bondage, which are modern forms of slavery” (Pattisson 2020). The United Kingdom called this situation modern slavery in a document, “UK Government Modern Slavery Statement,” published in March 2020 (Manzoni). This particular production of healthcare equipment was fraught with difficulties; The Guardian investigated two large suppliers of medical gloves and found multiple indicators of passport confiscation, forced overtime, and wages withheld (Pattisson 2020).
In addition to the problematic conditions discussed above, healthcare professionals meet similar reactions from their employers, permitting their health and financial wellbeing to decline (Lee 2020). In a private online document, more than 1,200 workers shared their stories, which pointed to their pandemic work as akin to warzone employment. The comment from one professional was that CDC protocols were changing so rapidly that people were simply scared to get up in the morning and go to work. It seems that no profession can escape the neoliberal movement toward the maximization of profit, moving risk from institution to employee.

Not only are workers placed in precarious health and employment positions, their actions are increasingly investigated. For example, *The New York Times* reports increased surveillance during the pandemic as numerous people work at home (Satariano 2020). Employers scrutinize time utilization, prompting a greater investment in monitoring software. The goal is to maintain productivity, but the byproduct is a “creepy” form of surveillance (Satariano 2020). Adam Satariano explored the software, securing it for himself and engaging in his own self-surveillance. He offers an auto ethnographic account of his experience with “employee-monitoring software made by Hubstaff, an Indianapolis company.” Satariano gave control of this software to his editor. After three weeks of monitoring, he and his editor collectively offered the following intellectual assessment: “Ick.” The software costs the user about $7–20 a month. Workers know they are being watched and that privacy is increasingly violated. The software marks information at 10-minute intervals with a productivity score. The software mapped usage of his social media sites, including Twitter and Spotify, as well as when he was hunting for food and going on bicycle trips. The software knew his GPS coordinates, following him during jogs and wine shopping. The software even had close ups of his Google conference calls. The result was that Satariano’s productivity was listed at 45%. Satariano states that a marketing company with which he consulted permitted employees to work from home and immediately found a drop in productivity and in sales. Such companies are intrigued by such software as they struggle for increased productivity. Interestingly, while engaging the software, Satariano found ways to cheat, enhancing a public record of his account of “productivity.” Rebellion emerges from such surveillance and lack of trust. All of us know people that do extraordinarily good work in short periods of time and others who require much longer periods of time to complete a lesser quality of work. This software rewards the latter, not the former. Hearkening back to a book by James Buchan called *Crowded with Genius: The Scottish Enlightenment: Edinburgh’s Moment of the Mind* (2004), it appears that the legacy of the surveillance software is to make sure that the internet space will not be “crowded with genius” but rather with those who plod consistently through the day. Perhaps in this historical moment only those in control consider themselves geniuses, at least until someone else attempts to control them. This historical moment finds definition in professional abuse.

2.3. Wage Abuse, Union Busting, and Economic Disparity

Workers poorly paid found themselves without compensation as their employers refused payment (Scheiber 2020). Employees in a variety of areas of the economy, from domestic work to construction to food preparation, experience not only unemployment but also reduction in their already low wages. When the market is difficult and jobs are few, public complaints from employees go unattended. The following quote from Angeles Solis, the “lead organizer for Make the Road New York, a group that promotes the interests of immigrant workers,” indicates the nature of the concern: “Wage theft and a myriad of labor abuses have increased during the pandemic, and they’ve increased on an already vulnerable population” (Scheiber 2020). Scaling back hours and wages during the pandemic creates a perfect storm for those least protected. Employers want minimal enforcement of labor considerations during times of heightened panic. Contrarily, the argument of workers is that, during such moments, labor and wage standards must be aggressively supported.

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2 A Pew Research Center survey of U.S. adults published in December 2020 reported that while 20% of employed adults worked from home before the coronavirus outbreak, 71% are currently working from home (Parker et al.).
The distribution of wealth is now part of public conversation. Adler and Schneider (2020) examine the disparity between Amazon’s then CEO, Jeff Bezos, whose personal wealth advanced by $10 billion in a single day during the pandemic, and the financial uncertainty of warehouse laborers. With an Amazon fulfillment center in Poznań, Poland, a strike called for greater paid protection. The pandemic has announced an incredible inequity in wealth, with a typical Amazon worker on the warehouse floor making approximately $30,000 per year and Bezos, again, making $10 billion in a day.

Exploited workers in a UK garment factory stated that more than £27 million was stolen from them as they were systematically underpaid (Davies 2020). The concerns of the workers were not taken seriously as wages went into the hands of administrators, managers, and owners of production. Exploiting vulnerable workers and robbing them of tens of millions of pounds, in an environment of limited safety conditions and poor health and clearly lack of concern, seems increasingly commonplace.

The pandemic did not create economic inequality but exacerbated it, unmasking the reality of indifference to labor justice (Smialek 2020). Only the top 10% of investors found themselves wealthier in 2019 than they did prior to the Great Recession of 2007–09. 94% of the wealthiest families are stock-heavy, benefiting during the pandemic, whereas only 1 out of 5 poorer families are invested in the market. As those at the bottom of the economic scale began to catch up from the economic events of 2007–09, the pandemic altered all hope. Issues of race are evident; in 2019, Black families had 15% less net wealth than white families—approximately $24,100 for Black families and $36,100 for Hispanic families in comparison to $188,200 for white families. The differences are even starker when considering inherited wealth. For example, the wealthiest 1% in 2019 would have an inheritance of $1.6 million, while those at the bottom of the economic food chain would inherit an average of $30,000. Not only is there disparity in the current financial environment, but also wealth transmission makes the future bleak.

Robert Gebeloff (2021) continues conversation about disparity in wealth tied to class and race, reporting that 30 years ago in the United States the top 5% controlled half of the nation’s wealth, whereas today they control two-thirds. Such conditions fuel momentum for labor reform and unionization.

One example of laborers attempting to protect themselves comes from Cort Furniture Rental in New Jersey (Silver-Greenberg and Abrams 2020). They attempted to unionize. The company, owned by Warren Buffett’s Berkshire Hathaway Inc., replaced truck drivers with subcontractors, which stopped the plans for union organizing. Companies indicate that layoffs are necessary in difficult economic conditions, with corporate critics suggesting that workers are often punished in order to discourage unionization. Neoliberal critics suggest a pattern in the American business landscape, continued by the pandemic: protecting the company and minimizing labor solidarity.

Joseph A. Mc Cartin, a labor historian at Georgetown University, examined the ways in which the 1918 pandemic, this pandemic, and other events such as the Great Depression resulted in the targeting of union activity. Such actions included “union busting” and increasing disparity between managers and their laboring counterparts (Silver-Greenberg and Abrams 2020). The contrast in wealth accumulation in the modern workplace is far from fiction: During 1947–79, the ration of wages from top to lowest earner was 3.18-to-1. In 2018, it was 6.04-to-1 (Mishel and Kandra 2020). Again, the call for solidarity of labor has a background of fact.

Adam Witt, at a Jersey Shore University Medical Center, took a day off to help defend and support a nurse whose presence was required at a disciplinary hearing (Scheiber and Rosenthal 2020). He was the union president of the local nurses. His action resulted in his firing. With similar outcomes, Scheiber and Rosenthal (2020) state that during the coronavirus a large number of people have clashed with employers. The companies have not protected or valued their labor. The scope of this dismissive drama includes grocery workers, flight attendants, warehouse workers, and

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3 According to the article “Amazon.com warehouse worker yearly salaries in the United States,” the current average is $31,096 per year (Indeed 2021).
healthcare workers, among others. The implications of this impressionistic picture of the precariat dwell more within repetition than uniqueness of historical moment.

3. Implications: Déjà Vu

Since Bourdieu, multiple scholars have contributed to his insights. In an essay written for The Guardian 23 years after Bourdieu first used the term “precariat,” Julian Coman (2021) suggests that the world is at a fulcrum point of division, nurturing the possibility of global revolution. To substantiate his case, Coman provides an interpretive picture of Paris commemorating the 150th anniversary of 1871 Paris Commune’s vision of radical democracy. His essay reminds us that Paris is and has been a place of labor awakening.

The Commune movement of 1871 was anarchic, supported by the poor and hated by three different groups: the monarchists, the conservatives, and the liberal bourgeoise. Richard Nelsson (2019) states that the communards were “a radical, popular led government that ruled Paris from 18 March to 28 May, 1871.” They arose in the wake of France’s Franco-German war defeat and “the collapse of Napoleon III’s Second Empire (1852–70),” overthrewing the French regime that failed during the Prussian siege (Nelsson 2019). The communards had a practical agenda; they wanted their representatives to be accountable, for women to have a vote, for there to be equal pay, and for homes to be found for the homeless. The Commune called for citizenship for foreigners and access of all to and under the law. After commanding control of Paris, “the elected council of the Commune passed socialist policies and oversaw city functions” (Nelsson 2019). They were met with vicious suppression via the French army, and were eventually overthrown. Coman (2021) notes that this event generated wounds that are yet to heal.

During that bloody week of the 21st–28th of May 1871, between 8,000 and 20,000 communards lost their lives at barricades or by firing squads. Violence seemed to spiral out of control. During this time, the Archbishop and more than 50 other hostages, many of them being priests, were killed by communards. The moment seemed to be a revolutionary experiment, pointing to the necessity of future generations taking communism seriously. “Karl Marx described the Commune as the ‘glorious harbinger of a new society.’ Lenin saw it as the forerunner to the Russian revolution” (Coman 2021). In the beginning days of fascism and foreshadowing World War II, France had a popular front government centered on anti-fascism. In 1936, that government witnessed more than 500,000 make a pilgrimage to the Père Lachaise cemetery with the objective of honoring the martyrs of the Commune, whose names are written on the Mur des Fédérés, or Communards’ Wall. There, “the last of the Communist insurgents, cornered by government forces, fought a hopeless, all-night battle among the tombstones. In the morning, the 147 survivors were lined up against this completely ordinary, plain brick wall, shot, and buried where they fell in a mass grave” (Paris 2015). Coman (2021) comments that “there are lots of echoes with today;” 1871 demonstrated great division, which continued in the pilgrimage of 1936 and the student protests of 1968, echoing within the precariat protests of today.

In France, the events of July 14, 1879, now known as Bastille Day, seem woven into the collective national memory. Yet, the events of 1871 are largely ignored. People considered the 1871 protests beyond the norm of respectable life, but today memory of the communards is once again dividing Paris. The Communnard commemoration events began on March 18, 2021. The mayor of Paris, Anne Hidalgo, planted a tree at Montmartre (Vock 2021), the heart of this revolt and repression, and “inaugurated a programme of 50 events commemorating the Commune, including exhibitions, plays, conferences and debates” (AFP 2021). Additionally, Place Louise Michel, which carries the namesake of the most famous communard, once again found parishioners filling the space and carrying silhouettes of shoemakers, washerwomen, and bakers who tried to garner control.

There is debate on the exact number of deaths, with some suggesting an exaggeration (Tombs 2012). Nelsson (2019) reports that 20,000 communards were killed, 38,000 arrested, and 7,000 deported, whereas Coman (2021) cites 8,000 deaths.
of the capital in 1871. The commemoration, aptly named *Nous La Commune* (We the Commune), consisted of educational, musical, and poetic renderings of the power of that time and space.

As one might expect in this historical moment of fragmentation and division, not all met this moment of celebration with enthusiasm. Opposing reactions have emerged, with historian Mathilde Larrere commenting that “the memory of the Commune remains deeply divisive,” making it seem “as if we were back in 1871” (AFP 2021). While officials in Paris assisted with the commemorative moment, stating that in 1871 these were revolutionaries and today they should be better understood as “radical pioneers” (Coman 2021), protestors have gathered on the steps of Sacré-Cœur. Some have suggested that the commemoration is a celebration of ideology and bloodshed, with some accusing Hidalgo of attempting to secure support from the Left in preparation for next year’s presidential election. Conservatives have repeatedly objected to any subsidies given to the friends of the Commune, who are organizing and, in the words of some, glorifying those violent events. *Le Monde* talked about the tense nature of this anniversary and *L’Express* even asked the question if it should be celebrated (Coman 2021). In a time of increasing fragmentation, no clear, straight answer is universally available.

The reason for the obvious renewal of interest in the communards is that the poor of then are the poor of now. More than 150 years later, the “poorly paid precariat is voicing similar demands” (Coman 2021). The communards comprise the public memory of the struggle of what is now termed the precariat. This impressionistic picture of contemporary inequities of labor and wealth, witnessed through a variety of descriptive, opinion-driven essays about events in the United States and Europe, announces the reality of Guy Standing’s warning that we must take the protests tied to precariat concerns seriously. To fail to do so puts much at risk.

Returning to Emmanuel Levinas, he claimed that the task of the human being is to attend to ethics as first philosophy. This is only possible when the face of the Other claims our responsible attention. Otherwise, we invite ongoing disparity to the point of instigating revolution. Working with Guy Standing’s title of *The Precariat* (2011), perhaps a Levinasian subtitle is meaningful: *The Forgotten Face, an Awakened Revolution*. Levinas provides no answers for a template inviting a perfect world. He simply reminds us that we have a fundamental obligation to ethics. Prior to ontology, prior to Being, there is an ethical call: “I am my brother’s keeper.” When we ignore such a call, we do so at our own peril. We are social creatures, derivatively created by our environments and others. It is unexamined acts of privilege that permit some people to ignore our phenomenological connection to one another. This era is a bumbling malaise of dissatisfaction.

Levinas repeatedly states that a derivative creature responsible for the Other ultimately engages life with the following mantra: “I am my brother’s keeper.” The shadow side of this statement lurks in the alleys of dismissive inattention to anyone but “me” and “my kind.” Today, however, one protest after another, surrounding gender, race, affectivity, and economic disparity, is calling the human community to attend to an immemorial call of responsibility for the Other. The notion of the precariat is not simply an example of fiscal inequality; it is a call to respond to the human face and our obligation to one another. Levinas (1968/1998) often used the phrase “otherwise than Being.” In this historical moment, it is “otherwise than inattentiveness.”

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More events are listed on the official website of the Convention and Visitors Bureau of the city of Paris (Paris2021).


“Covid-19 pandemic and the new forms of social support in Russia. Elements for the introduction of the Universal Basic Income-UBI”

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Introduction
The socio-economic impact of the COVID-19 pandemic in the world has manifested itself in a significant increase of sickness rate, unemployment, poverty, mortality and also social injustice. In this respect, many national governments have implemented a range of financial, monetary and social policy measures aimed at minimizing the negative effects of social risks. This has also happened in Russia where, in addition to central government initiatives, some Russian regions have implemented their own supplementary programs to support living conditions of citizens.

1 – Impact of the COVID-19 Pandemic on the Russian Economy
Economy. In 2020 during the acute phase of COVID-19 pandemic, the important measures adopted by the Russian central government were aimed in particular at supporting the economic and productive system and have worked in favor of some "categories of citizens and businesses". Consequently, with these measures it was possible to curb the decline of GDP which decreased by 4% compared to 2019, a value significantly lower than in most other states.

Standard of Living. According to Federal State Statistics Service (Rosstat), the share of Russian citizens with incomes below the subsistence level at the end of 2020 decreased to 12.1% (17.8 million people) compared to 12.3% in 2019. This was possible thanks to the provision by the state of additional social contributions.

Unconditional Payments. In combination with the already existing targeted social assistance, these additional social payments, which are similar to Universal Basic Income (UBI), were enabled to reduce absolute poverty. First of all, the amount of unemployment benefits was paid in accordance with the subsistence minimum already established at regional level. The unemployed people who have minor children in their households were paid additional contributions, on a regular basis, for a sum of 3 thousand rubles (about $ 40) per month. In addition, contributions amounting to 10 thousand rubles (approximately $ 134) were paid for several months to all families with children under the age of 16 years old.

2 - From emergency measures to the possibility of introducing the Universal Basic Income (UBI) in Russia
With reference to these government measures of generalized social support, in 2020 the Institute for Socio-Economic Studies of the Population ISESP of the Russian Academy of Sciences in collaboration with the Russian University of Economics Plekhanov carried out a survey among a selected group of 52 experts from the academic community asking the following question: “Is it possible to implement the Universal Basic Income in Russia?”.

The answers to this question highlighted a clear difference of opinion between the experts, divided equally between those who believe that it is currently impossible to introduce this measure in Russia (45.1% of the interviewees) and, instead, those who think that the right time has come to
introduce some transitional forms of Universal Basic Income in Russia (49% of the interviewees. 5.9% of the interviewees limited themselves to recognizing the simple "probability" of introducing such a measure. Basically it was recognized that the aforementioned government measures of support and generalized integration of people's incomes could represent an important starting point for introducing the Universal Basic Income (UBI) in the country. Among the experts interviewed, 32 of them also underlined the value of the fact that the introduction of the UBI could help reduce poverty by guaranteeing minimum living standards for the vulnerable population (93.5%), and also reduce socio-economic inequalities (67.7%), to guarantee social justice in terms of the right to a dignified life and equal opportunities (51.5%). 38.7% of respondents also highlighted the positive impact that the introduction of UBI could have on the dynamics of employment and more generally of the labour market.

3 - Initiatives for the launch of an experimental phase on the introduction of Universal Basic Income in Russia

From all the elements of this consultation promoted with experts from the academic world, it clearly emerges that it would be appropriate to test some transitional forms of Universal Basic Income in Russia and this with reference to the following situations: firstly, for low-income families with children (it should be noted that for this purpose a pilot project has also been defined inside the university and a simulation model has been developed); secondly, for young workers who have graduated from universities and entered the labor market for the first time (the stages of implementation of this objective have been outlined); thirdly, for the unemployed who have been registered with the employment centers and who have received additional and supplementary payments to the normal unemployment benefit (a simulation model has also been developed for this situation); finally, for workers with precarious employment risks, in particular for workers employed in digital platforms.

Conclusions

The experience of new forms of social assistance spread to the population in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic has created the conditions in Russia to identify possible solutions to the difficult problem of defining and applying the Universal Basic Income. Furthermore, the main elements of reflection and consultation conducted on the subject in the academic world have highlighted the following element: the advantages of applying a principle of unconditional and generalized social support objectively exceed those produced by targeted support measures.

In this regard, we must add the evident verification of the fact that the unconditional disbursements of these subsidies do not inevitably lead to an increase in inflation. More, in emergency situations of crisis, payments relating to UBI income can be made without special proof tests; in this case it is evident that the disbursements are solicited and justified by the state of need in which an entire population finds itself.

In conclusion, therefore, all the aforementioned elements lead us to believe that it would be very appropriate to start the promotion of unconditional payments to support income, according to the principles and logic of UBI Universal Basic Income, on a much wider scale than is currently taking place as part of a renewed and strengthened state social policy. The time seems ripe to proceed decisively in this direction.

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Introduction
There is evidence from several national contexts that the COVID-19 pandemic crisis is increasing artists’ precarity in general, threatening the sustainability of many (e.g., Adenle & Akande, 2020; Banks, 2020; Betzler et al., 2020; Borges, 2020; Brunt & Nelligan, 2020; Comunian & England, 2020; Dümcke, 2021). Moreover, the present increase of precarity affects more artists of the performing arts (Bataille et al., 2020), urban artists (Ferro, 2020), freelance artists (Visanich & Attard, 2020), female artists (Dümcke, 2021; Pacella et al., 2020), and probably even more the ones that are beginning their careers, that belong to ethnic minorities and that live in poorer areas (Comunian & England, 2020).

Manly by obliging to the closing of cultural institutions and canceling cultural events, the pandemic provoked a total or significant reduction of work activity in the cultural sector, especially in independent workers, in micro-firms and in non-profit organizations, in the venue-based sub-sectors (e.g., festivals, live music, performing arts, cinema, museums, etc.), and in higher level than in the general population (e.g., Kern, 2020; OECD, 2020). Correlatively to the reduction in cultural work, the pandemic provoked a fall in the income/revenues of the cultural sector, parallelly to many others (Milne, 2020). Along, an intended dislocation of many artists out or towards the periphery of cultural urban centers was observed (Eikhof, 2020). Moreover, the prediction for the medium term is that this negative effect of the crisis in artists will last and could amplify, due to drop of demand and investment and funding in culture (OECD, 2020).

1 The consequences on the emotional-psychological level and the lack of far-sighted solutions
There is evidence that work termination and postponement are having a significant impact on artists’ life satisfaction and wellbeing (Visanich & Attard, 2020), with many traumatically experiencing loss, grief, anxiety, and despair because of this (Brunt & Nelligan, 2020). Besides, by imposing distance between artists and artistic institutions with their audiences the pandemic crisis pushes an online shift of art exhibition in the form of online museum displays, virtual exhibitions, distant visits, virtual events, and streaming (Gu et al., 2021; Horváth, 2020). Such shift from real to virtual is not possible or easy to all artistic activities and systems, functioning as an “unequalizer” (Anheier et al. 2021). Effectively, the need to digitalize and transfer artistic content online requires costly training and time of work that will discriminate many artists which will be left behind (Comunian & England, 2020).

Although some cities and states to support artists and culture workers and organizations with measures like subsidies or tax delays or rebates (Anheier et al. 2021; Betzler et al., 2020; Dümcke, 2021; Joffe, 2021; Pacella et al., 2020; Serafini & Novosel, 2020), in general, much of this support is not adequate to the freelance, intermittent and hybrid work of the artists (OECE, 2020). Further, most support was given to institutions and their employees, rather to individual artists, that often are ineligible free lancers (Anheier et al. 2021).

More importantly, it seems that state support of the cultural sector in face of the pandemic crisis consists mainly of emergency reactions, in the absence of a needed strategic action that would contribute for a longer-term improvement of its conditions (Serafini, & Novosel, 2021).
**Closing remarks**

The COVID-19 pandemic crisis seems to increase the already existing precarity that tends to affect artists, as many other disadvantaged workers, promoting the social inequality they tend to be exposed to.

For the short-term, the COVID-19 pandemic crisis demands ways of helping artists in need, especially the ones in this condition who just live from artistic work (Joffe, 2021; OEDC, 2020; Visanich & Attard, 2020): emergency funds, in the logic of the universal basic income; solidarity grants; quick resolution of pending payments; advanced payment of new commissions; tax incentives; investment in cultural production. Besides, counselling and psychotherapy services and resources should be facilitated, to help artists dealing on the pandemic impact on personal mental health (e.g., Stuckey et al, 2021). Moreover, artists can be assisted on how to connect with their audiences and produce revenue at a distance (e.g., online exhibiting; livestreaming; etc.). Digitalization of art and culture demands development of digital skills in artists, greater extensibility of digital access (OECD, 2020), and adequate ground and planning (Quintela & Rodrigues, 2020), by artists and cultural workers (Polivtseva, 2020), to not threaten the quality of the work itself.

For the long-term the COVID-19 pandemic crisis stresses the need: to find ways of making freelance artists eligible to special social security measures in case of need, like wage-supplements or layoff (Visanich and Attard, 2020); to reinforce the importance that artists organize in cooperatives (Battaile et al, 2020) and lobby groups that represent them collectively; to invest in digital infrastructure (OECD, 2020); and to promote intersection of culture with education and health services (OECD, 2020). Moreover, this crisis stresses the need, potentially constituting an opportunity, for structural actions that help to reduce or eradicate artists’ precarity in the future and not only in the short-term, like conditions of stable and adequately remunerated work (Comunian & England, 2020) and social care (Quintela & Rodrigues, 2020).

Furthermore, this crisis appeals to the need of developing cultural infrastructures and seriously recognizing and assuming the social role of culture and arts, parallely to other social components like sports or health (Anheier et al. 2021). This would dignify art and artistic work and would develop its sustainability in general and in the face of the eventuality of future crises. Besides, the crisis opens the opportunity to move beyond a massive tourism-based culture towards models that favor cross-innovation between the cultural sector and traditional manufacturing and services; and to use culture to raise awareness on structural threats like climate change and population ageing (OECD, 2020).

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"Solidarity as a form of governing"

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**Introduction**

Since Plato there is an ongoing debate on different regimes or forms of government/governance and over time it became very common to reduce a complex debate on juxtaposing democracy and dictatorship (though different terms had been used at different times). The recent and ongoing challenge to gain control over the spread of the Coronavirus to pandemics and control manifested this debate again, suggesting not least China's success being based on applying dictatorial measures, measures that could no way be applied in "western democracies". Going hand in hand with the underlying rebuke of these approaches, we find at the very same time ongoing envy as the so-called western democracies failed in developing successful policies. Instead of engaging in the debate of concrete measures and programs (1) the elaborate will look at regimes in a more fundamental way, suggesting that solidarity may be a useful perspective, offering criteria to revisit political regimes.

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1 – **Government and governance**

The concepts of governance and government usually remind the forms of government that had been already issued by the ancient Greeks. Frequently, it happens that democracy and dictatorship are against each other and researches do not consider the substance of what happens and neither they consider the differences among China and Europe when those are juxtaposed. Nonetheless, in ancient understanding governance had been always linked to talking and acting about something together in the citizenry or with the citizens. Acting publicly stood at the centre of the entire debate of government and governance and this resulted to be relevant for the future development of democracy. This changed over time.  
*Marx* explained the nature and the tight bond among contract theories, fundamental rights and governance. His thought marked a major shift in the entire thinking not only as matter of economics, but as well in terms of new ways of reasoning on government and governance. Namely, it is possible to find at the very same time roughly the orientation and political science of what can be defined today as the political science to contract theories. The model of contracts in a private sphere is then transferred to the political system exist “game theories” that result to be perfectly applicable. The main point is that the discussion is about contractual systems and about the relationship among democracy and dictatorship on the markets. A shift from this economic perspective is necessary because all elements that can be observed today are related to private actors (e.g., integrated budgets, measuring effects of what economic actors do, etc.). The substance is still a contractual relationship of different social actors. Production is never taken into account. Economy is not separated from society, but it decides what society is.

2 – **Recent evolution in the economic model**

Nowadays society is experimenting “binarization”, the simplification of the social relationships on something that is considered to be economically effective. Actors who are talking about production are the major players in the economy because they discuss about content. An example could be Amazon because it is an easy system to use in order to buy goods and it is easy as well to fall into trouble with it. In other words, as much as the customer is reduced on a tiny aspect of the
contractual system, the “demos” is reduced on individual actors in certain small aspects of political decisions. For instance, it is not possible to cast one’s own vote on the final purposes of Artificial Intelligence.

Production in general is strictly related to production of life. This element is achievable only together with others in the political process. Researches about China have demonstrated that community engagement played a huge role in fighting the pandemic bringing people into public spaces and working together in solidarity. Interestingly enough the role of community work in this understanding is increasing since the privatization of the State-owned enterprises. Democracy is a community setting within and by the economic process.

The final objective should be to have solidarity as a form of governing. This result is achievable only if the contract system is abandoned and society as a whole works to find common spaces for acting together. Acknowledging this as a form of government is also possible merging its meaning with the rule of law and democracy.

(1) see for instance: Thomas Schmidinger/Josef Weidenholzer (Hg.), 2021: Viren regime. Wie die Corona kriseunsere Welt verändert. Befunde, Analysen, Anregungen; Bahoe books; N.N.; Human Rights Centre at the Law School, CSU; forthcoming;
Mary P Murphy/John Hogan, 5th March 2021; How Ireland's response to the pandemic is impacted by austerity era reductions; https://www.transformingsociety.co.uk/2021/03/05/how-irelands-response-to-the-pandemic-is-impacted-by-austerity-era-reductions/?utm_source=listserv&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=social-policy-ireland-listserv-Mar-2021; §2021/03/05

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Introduction
The socio-economic impact of the COVID-19 pandemic has been perceived differently by states globally. This contribution mainly concerns the effects it had in Turkey in terms of employment, economic relations, education, health, public authorities and governance system. The basis of this document is founded on a research conducted during September and October 2020, a period in which Turkey was experiencing its second peak of the Coronavirus. The research made it possible to collect a series of prime data with 441 direct interviews with families in four different districts of Istanbul conducted by means of Zoom and Whatsapp links.

1 – Multiple risks. The economic effects
Risk is a popular concept of contemporary social sciences approach (Beck, 1995) mainly discussed in relation to the dynamics and the construction of reflexive modernity. Risks related to the spread of the Covid-19 pandemic are the ones connected to everyday practices of survival effected from economy, culture, politics and sometimes also from modernity. In a country like Turkey the root causes of pandemic risk rather originate from informalities because most of the existing economic relations among its citizens are informal. The risks taken into exam by the research concerned four different areas: economy, society, politics and disaster. As a matter of fact, the research illustrates that almost 60% of the local population lost their jobs and/or saw their income reduced; 75% of those people which already before the pandemic crisis had low-income jobs has definitely lost their jobs. Particularly serious was the situation of informal workers who, in addition to the loss of jobs due to the lockdown measures, were not in condition to benefit from income support since they are not officially registered; moreover, they were unable to move to other territories in search of a new job because they were not insured and without the necessary documents for travel. It should also be considered that the majority of the workforce in Turkey is not equipped to work remotely, in the home working mode, and is therefore obliged to work in presence with a considerable increase in the risk of pandemic contagion. Moreover, it must be highlighted that no support was given whatsoever during that period. Some minimum support was given to the registered poor households three times between April and June. Also, some credits were provided to the small trade.

Another deepened crisis concerns the migrants who do not have a decent accommodation to live in. Hence without access to accommodation and health service they were the group suffering most from the pandemy. In fact being a migrant in time of Covid 19 causes very big vulnerabilities.

2 – Multiple risks. The effects on families and gender
A risk that has clearly emerged as a consequence of the pandemic and whose effects are destined to be projected well beyond the pandemic itself concerns the regression of gender equality which has been greatly reduced. In fact, in particular during the second peak of the Covid-19 pandemic, women have been hit the most by the social consequences of the virus. This happened because they have been strongly affected by the lockdown measures. Subsequently, the home burden increased...
and it resulted in a return to old and traditional gender roles. Gender equality was put at stake by the situation and there have been increasing news on the media concerning cases of domestic violence. Furthermore, the family basic income was reduced to an unsustainable level in most households.

### 3 – Conclusions. Multiple risks. Governance

Conflicting announcements characterized the Turkish government during the pandemic. Those came from the health commission, experts, the health minister and some other presidential figures. As a result, there has been an evident loss of trust spreading among the majority of people. The management of the crisis usually cannot be conveyed to the people because chaos could emerge in the society. Therefore, citizens have taken decisions independently; and some of them thought that precautions and safety measures were not effective and, hence, those were not followed. In addition to that the discussion became even more chaotic because of natural disasters that occurred in specific regions of the country in the same period. For instance, the lockdown rules that relegated people in their homes were not followed because of an earthquake, which hit the Izmir area in September 2020, forcing many people to leave their homes. This situation augmented and incentivized the loss of trust and caused an increasing spread of the Coronavirus over the months.

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“Social quarantine and its consequences: Challenges from COVID-19"

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Introduction
The COVID-19 epidemic in early 2020 has stimulated academic discussions about the impression of social quarantine. This notion is derived from the health measure of quarantine against the epidemic, which can be utilised to avoid and prevent infection in social ways, for instance, community ‘lockdown’. The overlapping needs of medical and social administrative functions can create some debate that may cause controversy in academic and policy-making circles. Despite some considerations, social quarantine is an effective and compelling way to combat the epidemic (Anderson et al., 2020). Others perceive social anxiety as a temporary measurement of emerging systems and a generalisation of the ultimate goal (WHO, 2020). Thus, this study aims to critically examine the effect of the social quarantine system on public health and the related social consequences.

From the public health’s perspective, ‘quarantine’ refers to restricting the movements of people who are believed to be infected with an infectious disease (Cetron and Landwirth, 2005). Historically, quarantining is a tool to control the prevalence of segregation disease, for travellers or expatriates, in prescribed medical facilities.

In the COVID-19 pandemic, which has now spread globally, numerous nations have isolated patients for 14 days within the network. With the wide dissemination of SARS-CoV-2 cases in 2020, numerous nations have also begun to adopt outskirt measures, including sign screening and restricting travel to and from abroad (Centres for Disease Control and Prevention, 2020; Public Health Agency of Canada, 2020).

However, the public must not only view the need to apply health and social quarantine as the main format but should also consider the social quarantine of the micro-level of social action and its macro-level effect on social and economic functions. The first issue concerns the behavioural and psychological basis of social compatibility. This issue regards the social compatibility system as a behavioural and psychological mode and will determine the effect of the operation on social quarantine. The second one discusses the principle of how social distancing can be normally managed to achieve a balance between the interests of public health and socio-economic development and the emergency management of social risks.

This examination will establish a hypothetical investigation of the ‘social quarantine’ issue and will investigate the origin of four methodologies, namely, the public health, social control, behavioural level and psychological level. We ought to use some common instances of these modes from certain nations for demonstration, to outline these various modes and therefore decipher social quarantine in various settings.

1 - Social Quarantine: Multiple Approaches with Diverse Purposes
When examining the social quarantine introduced to combat the COVID-19, we found that different countries worldwide have adopted multiple approaches to address the various needs of individuals, societies and communities. The following discusses different modes of social quarantine to meet various needs of societies/individuals.

A mode of public health. As a means of public health, social quarantine is an exhaustive tool used to control unexpected illnesses to prevent epidemics. Gordon (2020) pointed out that ‘quarantine’ is used to synthesise or reduce those who are asymptomatic but not resistant to infection.
Therefore, from a health perspective, social quarantine can ensure that infected individuals are distant from the general population. This clinical approach to social interaction may reduce the possibility of transmitting viruses through human contact and infecting healthy populations.

In the COVID-19 pandemic that is spreading globally in early 2020, social quarantine is a significant measure against infectious diseases through isolation of the society and distance amongst people, particularly when the immunisation is not accessible.

From a functional perspective, social quarantine measures for public health are embedded in two aspects. One is to stop the infection, detect, isolate and examine each suspected case and other is to providetimely and appropriate care to COVID-19 patients. Social quarantine is carried out in three stages in a specific area, namely, preventing uncontrollable sources, hindering the transmission process and ensuring the safety of susceptive population (TNCPERE, 2020).

**A mode of community action.** Social distancing measures target the spread of viruses amongst the population, including the closure of schools and organisations, mandatory travel restrictions and curfews and limitation in the size of parties (Favas et al., 2020). Community lockdowns, checkpoints, suspension of open markets, lockdowns and border controls are all due to the COVID-19. This pandemic is uncommon across the world, so national states must implement social quarantine to organise community and state actions. Four factors are necessary to make social quarantine effective.

The first is to support the views of the local community. The implementation of social segregation methods requires the cooperation of residents.

The second influencing factor is the interaction and collaboration with various stakeholders in the local community, including actual and potential patients, volunteers and local administrators. The WHO stated that measures taken by individuals, organisations, communities, local and national governments and international organisations could help suppress or stop the spread of the COVID-19 in communities.

The third reason is the provision of service. Local social quarantine services at the community level should be included to maintain social distancing by isolating suspected infections and sick residents and keeping them under observation. To do this, we need to organise voluntary services for the isolated families to provide them with necessary services.

The fourth factor is a favourable environment for health and hygiene practices, which makes operating or even increasing pollution at the community easy for community organisations (Chavis & Ganesh, 2020; Chen et al., 2020; Deng & Peng, 2020). They must improve local facilities to provide the necessary physical infrastructure and social mobility, such as in urban slums and informal peri-urban settlements, refugee or internally displaced person camps or poor rural populations (Favas et al., 2020; OCHA, 2020; Van Zandvoort et al., 2020; WHO, 2020b).

**A mode of individual behaviours.** For an in-depth understanding, social quarantine should also be used as a model of behaviour. An ideal social quarantine can be managed at the behavioural level, as every member of society should voluntarily apply social distancing. If people do not comply, then the social quarantine model will not be effective.

The media should promote to raise public awareness regarding the need for social distancing to maintain this mode of behaviour. Moreover, information about infectious diseases needs to be disseminated. People suffer from uncertainty, eager to express concerns over time and seek guidelines for future development. Quarantine or self-isolation may cause confusion and anger (Brooks et al., 2020). Furthermore, once people know about the disease, they usually have rules that affect any behavioural change. Thus, a direction of conduct must be provided to the public.

However, as a mode of behaviour, social quarantine will inevitably be affected by the moral and cultural characteristics of the local society. Thus, we need to express the relationship between social isolation as a code of conduct and local morality. Therefore, we should formulate a separate agreement according to a different cultural context.

**A psychological mode.** According to human perceptions and psychological characteristics, the epidemic will produce certain subjective feelings, such as danger, panic (specifically when in
crowds). The use of the measure of social isolation should have a considerable effect on the psychological characteristics of individual behaviour. This effect can be observed in positive and passive ways. In the former, social isolation will greatly affect people’s attitudes towards discipline, collective action and social grouping, in which the experience of living in a disaster has stimulated partnerships (Drury, 2009) and made us act for the common good (Carter, 2015). On the contrary, for passive feelings, the epidemic is due to a force of prejudice and inequality within social groups or even amongst different nations. Thus, from a psychological perspective, the content of social segregation should be studied together with psychiatric symptoms, mental disorders and mental health problems, as this may lead to biological and psychological abuse. In the case of COVID-19, these phenomena are observed in physicians and nurses because of fatigue, depression, frustration, inequality, ignorance and lack of communication with their families (Kang et al. 2020). Social distance may exacerbate loneliness and negatively affect health in the long run. Fear during a pandemic often, together with the economic difficulties associated with the increase in the prevalence of cases, drives risks and is usually associated with high levels of ethnocentrism (Schaller, 2012).

2 - Cases of social quarantine
After discussing the various methods of social quarantine, the following present different approaches adopted by Western and Eastern countries in combating the COVID-19 pandemic. When analysing the diversity of approaches, we must consider the policy contexts and the different socio-political environments.

2.A - Germany
Amongst European states, Germany lost control over individual social quarantine behaviour by the end of March 2020, when few were infected. However, this situation was under control by April 2020. Germany has the advantage of having better health facilities with well-equipped hospital beds and medical facilities than neighbouring countries. Their mortality rate is not very high, which is approximately 12 (per 1,000 people), and the social order is stable. As a clinical mode, the German healthcare system supports social quarantine on the following points. Firstly, Germany has a clinical classification system to prevent patients from congregating in large hospitals. Secondly, reserved medical resources are sufficient to ensure timely treatment. Germany is also amongst the top five countries of the European Union with a high number of nurses (13.2) and doctors (4.2) per 1,000 people (World Bank, 2020). Thirdly, Germany prepared a strong private and public laboratory sector, with nearly 200 of them having coronavirus testing capacity and ventilators (The Economist, 2020). To prevent the virus, Germany is using the smart medical system to develop telemedicine diagnosis and using a family doctor system to advice families and people at home and in local communities rather than in the hospitals. In this way, we must value the importance of the online consultation service in health care and social care systems. At the behavioural level, Germany, similar to many other countries, required to maintain social distancing practice. In the psychological mode, the pandemic did not cause public panic because of the low mortality rate amongst those infected in Germany and the shortest period of lockdown.

2.B - China
In the anti-pandemic campaign, a clinical form of social quarantine is mainly used in China. In the early stages of the epidemic, we observed overcrowding of patients in major hospitals in Wuhan. This incident has exacerbated the mutual infection amongst the public. In the early days of crisis management, China built two new hospitals in Huoshenshan and Leishenshan in Wuhan, targeting patients with severe COVID-19 symptoms. China also established 14 temporary health care centres
to isolate patients with mild symptoms. These health care settings provide quarantine facilities for people suspected of the virus. This strategy of centralised treatment and isolation has substantially reduced transmission cases and maximised the use of health facilities to reduce the shortage of medical services and stabilise the public’s situation. At the community level, the Hubei province formulated community-wide quarantine with major movement restrictions during the pandemic control campaign. Other provinces also implemented community lockdown and other measures.

China has an advantage in organising a community system, which comprises sub-district offices (government agencies), local communities (civil society institutions) and residential communities. This system is mature and well-designed in terms of providing social services and local control. In addition, the system’s application in public health is effective. The close partnerships and cooperation have been established between local governments and community agents. Different provinces have implemented community-wide containment measures through national recommendations and information guidelines. Therefore, in China, the community model of social quarantine plays a key role in disease prevention, thereby suppressing local transmission rates at low levels (Qiu et al., 2020, Chinazzi et al., 2020).

As a way of behaviour, social quarantine plays a great role in supporting social quarantine. Many cities began to implement ‘community closed management’ and ‘family outdoor restrictions’ policy to help residents maintain social quarantine and reduce the risk of virus transmission. With regard to psychological effects, daily reports of COVID-19 were limited in many places outside Hubei Province. This situation will not cause serious post-epidemic trauma, so the psychological model of social quarantine is equally applicable. Some researchers, such as Shen et al. (2020), stressed the importance of contact tracing and isolation of close contacts (preventing infection before symptoms occur), which releases the psychological stress of COVID-19. However, cases reporting virus-associated trauma are limited, thereby making the psychological mode less functional.

2.C - The Nordic countries
In the Nordic countries, although practices in each country vary, the concept of herd immunity prevails. During the pandemic, Sweden adopted an open-door policy, whereas Finland adopted a more conservative approach to virus prevention. Denmark and Norway are somewhere in between, and Iceland’s policy is changing. In all five cases, varying degrees of social quarantine were used, but none of these states completely prohibited social activities.

Regarding the clinical mode, the public health system of Nordic countries is well developed, and the health-care costs of the welfare state system are covered by the public budget. Thus, health facilities are equipped with high-quality services. This overall state of public health also affects the social quarantine situation. At the community level, flights in Nordic countries with many European states were cancelled to comply with the social distancing rules. However, these countries have not invested strong organisational effort in community lockdown or shutdown.

At the behavioural level, social quarantine was maintained voluntarily, without coercion from the state or community power or by their agents. Moreover, the same rules were recommended by non-governmental organisations, social organisations and religious groups in public education. The low mortality rate also reduced people’s fear of the virus, thereby leading to optimism about the future.

3 - Comparing the features of social quarantine modes by case studies

3.A - Clinical function
The four aspects of social quarantine listed above, namely, clinical, communal, behavioural, and psychological, help us to assess the situation of anti-pandemic interventions in different contexts.
Similar preventive measures were taken to respond to infection in different countries to assess the clinical function of social quarantine. We can conclude three points of the difference amongst different countries by comparing these different strategies. The first is to follow the social distancing practice by developing a smart care system.

The second is the success of the smart health system of family doctor system in Germany, in which general practitioners facilitated a system of distance-health services. China and some Nordic countries also developed this system, but such a system is not fully functional.

The third is the grading clinical system, which promotes the idea of social distancing by avoiding crowds in hospitals.

Thus, in the clinical setting, these cases in different countries illustrate the positive effect of social quarantine on public health, particularly before the invention of a vaccine. At present, most of the research on quarantine regards public health, focusing on disease prevention work. We need to evaluate how to use social distancing methods in the functioning of socio-economic systems and how to improve the efficiency of social distancing for public health.

3.B - Community function

Different community intervention strategies must be selected, calibrated and implemented according to the intensity of local COVID-19 transmission to avoid the risk of spreading the virus due to community transmission (WHO, 2020d). Effective local control and virus prevention for community transmission are closely related to the same process.

In China, the cooperation between governmental and non-governmental institutions is a prerequisite for community quarantine. Different agents implement community-wide quarantine measures. Furthermore, this effective community quarantine requires many volunteers to take actions at the local level and provide a full range of services for community life under community quarantine conditions, including door-to-door delivery, control of community mobility and decentralisation of social gatherings (Pan et al., 2020).

Moreover, with the help of telecommunications and smart services, people can remain isolated during the COVID-19. The rapid detection technology, a wide range of monitoring systems and online travel tracking registration systems (i.e., online course) were also enforced during the quarantine. Community-based lockdown, including traffic suspension and home-based quarantine, must develop a digital system to help regulate people’s behaviours and monitor the access of the community blocks. These technologies are efficient to control public mobility at the local level.

In short, the above comparisons clearly show how diverse the responses of the States and people when managing the COVID-19. Differences in public health practices, including the diverse social and political systems, have inevitably shaped the crisis management strategies across the countries presented above.

3.C - Behavioural and psychological mode of social quarantine

The behavioural and psychological patterns of social isolation should also be considered. Social behaviour is deeply rooted in human interaction and social organisation. Quarantine measures can be implemented to limit the movement of people amongst cities and reduce the risk of infection.

In psychology theory, loneliness and social isolation increase the burden of stress and often have detrimental effects on psychological, cardiovascular and immune health (Haslam et al., 2018). In the COVID-19 case, the risk of infection would stimulate anxiety and fear. People infected with COVID-19 can have mental health disasters.

People under quarantine often report anxiety and fear due to infection-induced panic, including isolation, anger, loneliness and negative feelings associated with perceived or real stigmatisation. Thus, social assistance is important for isolated persons to receive adequate information and psychosocial support from people they trust.

Accordingly, we need to incorporate social quarantine behavioural and psychological measures to achieve the best public health outcomes. The experience of policy practice in response to COVID-
19 has had a psychological effect and an influence on people’s mentalities and consensus about the adoption of social quarantine measures. Immediate effects can consider several symptoms, such as trauma and anxiety of the victims of the pandemic.

3.D - Interaction of four modes
In response to the COVID-19 global health emergency, pandemic research is divided into two approaches, namely, macro-level social viewpoint and micro-level individual perspective. Thus, clinical and community models of social quarantine refer to macro-level social approaches, whereas behavioural and psychological models refer to micro-level individual perspectives. From a macro-level standpoint, the COVID-19 pandemic is not only a public health crisis but also a socio-economic emergency (WHO, 2020f).

From a micro perspective, the behavioural model is influenced by new rules imposed on human communication and affects the norms of daily life. In the psychological model, social quarantine refers to social distancing that reduces human interactions. Social quarantine can also provide people with a sense of great uncertainty during the pandemic for global development. This behavioural model reconstructs social contacts and relationships and ultimately changes people’s minds, thereby affecting their mental health level. Once social distancing becomes a norm in people’s daily behaviour and influences the psychological mode, they support not only the clinical mode of social quarantine but also the community model of social quarantine.

Moreover, these four approaches are interrelated. These logical relations can also explain the difficulties in the production and operation of the national economic system. Over time, the clinical need for social isolation has diminished, and community barriers have been removed. However, these control rules have been integrated into people’s behaviour and affected the pace of rehabilitation. Therefore, the micro-behaviour model has a great influence on the macro-community model. This four-dimensional approach to social quarantine explains why returning to normal life and normal economy operation is difficult.

4 - Policy implications of social quarantine

4.A - Treating Abnormal as ‘Normal’ in Social Life
As the pandemic persists, effective control of its spread is a priority issue. Moreover, the inevitable problem is how to keep the economy running and maintain people’s daily lives. With the two sides aiming to balance their interests, many policymakers are reluctant to make decisions. Therefore, we need to study the two sides of viral infection to achieve the expected effect of social quarantine and return to normal life and production systems. Therefore, the added value should be learned to understand the four approaches to social quarantine.

The understanding of these four approaches shows that this effect should not be regarded as a policy choice but should lead to community actions. During the pandemic, many countries have changed their policy stance from a lockdown to an open door policy. Once the spread of the virus is stimulated, the policy will return to strict control. Therefore, policymakers should carefully examine the conflict amongst the parties in the implementation of their policies. Using the four approaches of social quarantine, we can define the complex meaning of social quality. Social quarantine must be accepted in the public health model. However, the application of this model in the sense of community action should be carefully evaluated regarding the kind of policies to be adopted and the extent to be implemented.

The negative effects of social quarantine on the economy and daily life should also be understood at the behavioural level. Currently, social quarantine is regarded as a temporary measure to prevent the disease in emergencies or transition periods. Hence, as long as our actions remain the same (e.g., using masks, keeping a 1-m distance in dining and maintaining checkpoints, which present the incitation for people’s normal activities), the goal of restoring normal business seems very far.
However, the current code of conduct to the needs of public health is still too early to adopt but also entails the costs of economic management and daily life. Some critics also pointed out that social quarantine may aggravate social inequalities and class disparities. The reason is that most vulnerable groups during the epidemic were low- and middle-income families, which were severely affected by market closures and lockdown of factories for months. Thus, the COVID-19 pandemic has highlighted the issue of inequalities amongst the social classes (such as what happened in Finland, see (Moisio, 2020).

In these circumstances, we can refer to another issue of herd immunity, which is a hot issue open debate for its ideological reasons.

4.B - Appropriate Public Policy Intervention
In addition to community actions, we should formulate a policy that promotes social distancing by providing behavioural guidelines and codes of conduct. In this epidemic, using masks and maintaining distance amongst individuals are the most effective and imperative strategy as a non-pharmaceutical way to safeguard and protect public health along with its influence on people’s behaviour and their psychological consensus.

Chinese guiding policies include strict prohibitions (and even imposition of punishments) on human behaviour to prevent cases of infection. These rules serve as social norms and behavioural guidelines to control human practices. Thus, we should attach equal importance to macro- and micro-level understanding of social quarantine and formulate assistance policies.

From this point, we should also mention the important role of the volunteers in social quarantine as data accumulators, nearby inspectors at checkpoints, the servicemen to the nearby isolated families and others. Considering all factors, the arrangements for providing volunteers’ commitment should be strengthened as the fundamental organisational means of social quarantine at the community level.

Policymakers provide genuine thought about the restarting social framework activities. The specific underlying reasons for this study are as difficult as social quarantine. Once some temporary arrangements of social quarantine for management became normal, we will not be able to return to normal life as before. Subsequently, in policy analysis, we need to identify four different methods of social isolation and discuss this ideal from different perspectives. Applying all other aspects of this concept equally is not needed to strengthen one aspect of this epitome (e.g., as a health system). Nonetheless, for national actions, the incident policies may face less pressure from the public and have the advantage of managing policies for crisis management. However, for long-term policies, the state will have to face challenges of the policy-making process once the situation stabilises. Thus, in terms of social quarantine strategy, once the situation becomes tempting, the pressure on policy implementation will increase, and adopting policies to isolate communities will be difficult.

Conclusion
The consequences caused by COVID-19 have not yet been fully revealed, so future development is uncertain. This uncertainty comes from various aspects, including the qualities, the pace of vaccine and drug production and people’s changing lifestyles and attitudes in daily lives. Accordingly, the far-reaching effects of social quarantine are the results of human interaction and a high degree of isolation from the public, including avoiding close contact amongst individuals to protect against virus infection. These policies can effectively respond to any threat to public health, but we also need to develop different social systems, focusing on community measurements in the clinical system (e.g., not just within 14 days). Thus, we need to establish a relationship between clinical and social approaches to social coherence.

The epidemic response policies should be designed not only to address public health concerns, but also to stabilise social systems. Although this clinical mode has positive effects, long-term social quarantine can lead to social conflicts amongst different social groups.
Measures that impede individual actions can intensify social tensions because fear and distrust may lead to stigma and discrimination. Thus, the feeling of stress and the perception of insurgence increase. The behavioural and psychological models should be mentioned in all these issues.

The real concerns are the lockdown measures and controls amongst the public, who are optimistic that barriers to the public’s economic system will be limited while ensuring public health protection. These measures can help people avoid transmission of infection but can also have a negative effect on the emotional state of quarantine, which can enrich social and world order. Nonetheless, the need to maintain a balance of interest between (1) public health and the individual’s daily life, (2) clinical needs and economically viable systems and (3) community mode and behavioural models should be thoroughly explored to keep the economy running and maintain social order.

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Introduction
This contribution is based upon an overview of several international (OECD, ILO, JCR, Cedefop) and national (UNESCO, FSGG and others) reports on the impact of the Corona-pandemic upon education systems (compulsory level and upper secondary education, adult education, special education; not university studies) as well as non-formal education in different shapes (from social education to leisure education).

The reflection analyses the education processes under lockdown in the first half of 2020 and the reopening of schools in the second half of 2020. The extent to which the way governments, families, teachers and students have handled education will help consider to what extent it can be thought as an essential service. This analysis also deals with the effect of delivering child and youth education in hybrid ways, hence questioning the face-to-face relation that was considered at the centre of the education practice. By doing so, the elaborate is going through organizational, curricular and assessment facets of education under pandemics, and it is going to be questioned what is understood by education practice given the restrictions and conditions that have allowed it to continue. As a conclusion, the document is going to provide with a balance between the evident and the groundswell transformations that education may be going through, and which are the challenges ahead.

1 – Education in lockdown
In order to correctly analyse the education processes during lockdown, three issues have to be addressed: how the system has reacted, what is the balance that underlines it and what the system lacked.

Addressing the latter of those elements, the education system has been lacking four different factors: time, training, guidelines and resources.

Time is intended as the time to prepare and adapt to the effects of the pandemic. In Spain, students left school on Friday afternoon and they did not go back on Monday morning. Therefore, many of them did not have time to collect their school books and no one had the just amount of time to adapt to the situation.

Like in any other sector of the society, for sure professionals were not trained for such a situation. Teachers, students and parents were caught unprepared in order to handle Covid-19 social consequences.

Clear guidelines were also a determining factor for the response to the pandemic and they were missing in the education system. Guidelines are necessary in the school system because of its bureaucracy and also for the enormous amount of people involved in it.

Furthermore, the lack of resources was evident for everyone not only in digital terms, but also in technological terms. Not all of the teachers, students and families were neither supported by the administration nor had the funds and capabilities for distance learning.

Nonetheless, the whole system reacted resisting and went on until the final examinations mainly thanks to the voluntary work carried out by teachers. However, this situation has not been the same for all families and for all schools. Economic and social disparity has been strongly highlighted during that period and not much could have been done in such a short time and precarious conditions.

The balance of those months of lockdown is an accurate representation of how education is able to go on even if it has been changed in all of its structure, but yet this continuity has had consequences...
in terms of performance, of motivation and of habits. In addition to that, there has been a change in relations of and within the school groups, but also with the families that have been put in the position of support for the teachers themselves.

2 – Education restricted
In the schools which have reopened earlier, there has been an implementation of safety and health procedures related to Covid-19, but, if these are possible, the situation suggests that other procedures against violence in school, bullying and dropout could also be implemented.

Even though in schools there has been some public investment in terms of infrastructure, particularly in computerization and digitalization and providing more staff, the issue is that the system is at a crossroads: it has the opportunity to take this chance to stick up to what it used to do; it is going to transform into something else for a different future.

Relations and social links have been reshaped fully. The traditional delivery of a teaching process face to face has been switched to “face to no face”. Socialization has been reshaped or broken as it used to be; emotional and personal development have come to the front as an educational need that schools are now more aware of.

School autonomy has proven to be effective not because it was mandated, but because most administration delegated every school to do what ever was in their capabilities.

In terms of curriculum, basic education has been restored to the role of the minimum content. Moreover, cultural transmission, which is at the axis of an educational function, has been also put at stake because information has reached students for many other sources. Now the discussions about knowledge and competence and what is more relevant have been brought to the front by the pandemic.

It must also be noted that NGOs and other groups that promote awareness, sustainability and contribute to the students’ education could not access schools and, therefore, those structures are perceived as restricted spaces.

The assessment of the results achieved with the organizational measures carried out by the various interlocutors has become the main concern for the educational administration. The role that assessment plays in terms of qualification of the system, but also of classification of people, is considered to be very relevant; in any case, the teachers requested the personalization of the related processes. The assessment of results, organized by applying the bottom-down approach in particular, has proved to be the most suitable tool also for promoting better governance of the educational system; however, it should be noted that the evaluation practices introduced exclude a true and effective active participation of subjects considered as external to the school world, such as families.

In the end, what is at stake is the public value of education whether it is education itself or whether it is the accreditation it provides and therefore the issues about what is the basic minimum content that education should provide.

3 – Conclusion. Reorientation in education
Teaching and learning practice have been able to be delivered in distance content and family-school relations have been altered forever.

There has been hatred growing on both sides sometimes, but also appreciation. This is going to represent a crucial point of discussion for the near future.

The key elements of the system have proved to be transitions between stages. Subsequently, in terms of assessment the weaknesses of the system have proven to be both the old pastoral care guidance approach and the lack of social educational support.

Furthermore, timing of education has changed as well during the pandemic.

This has also an impact upon assessment. Long-term measurement is probably more relevant in terms of education.
The critical global situation, such as that generated by the Covid 19 pandemic, could imply also some benefits for the education system. In order to transform the system, there should be a shift from mass education to a schooling structure that includes and incentivize also guidance and orientation to students so to bring in more the personal and the emotional dimensions. This approach would surely involve a strong teaching and learning personalization method and it would also introduce care as a practice.

This radical transformation could be possible only if a reconsideration of the role and the measurement of merit would be integrated with a strong empowerment of teachers and families.

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Introduction: life as dialogue – to relate and transform the two concepts

Life: Life is a process of interaction of beings with the environment. If life thrives, the interaction reveals itself as a form of intelligent interaction in which one assimilates and reflects the other. This is a smart process. It is a dialogue. As far as human life is concerned, dialogue is special, since it implies a conscious understanding which leads, among other things, to a symbolic exchange. This interaction produces relations. Life takes place in relationships: the people we relate to, the places we connect to, all tied together in personal ecosystems in the form of communities of understanding.

Dialogue: The dialogue is reduced to its elementary basis: the interplay between two living beings. Life with other living beings unfolds in dialogues. In the dialogue a fusion of horizons takes place. The energy of this fusion is love. It unleashes the energy of the person in the form of a powerful will to be with the loved world, protect it, make it thrive and thrive with it. Everything develops from the primary dialogue between caretaker and child: language, relationships, all social constructs, including forms of cognitive and artistic dialogue. Dialogue is the engine through which knowledge and character develop. Without dialogue, either you are alone or you are dead. Even alone there is a dialogue, an interior dialogue.

All intrinsic values – all real values-values that are not instrumental for something else - are based on the unique. Everything that can be replaced is no real value. Some may think that everything can be replaced - and this is correct in a sense. The exception is that values cannot be replaced. For instance: one may decide to replace the parents of a child – formally this is correct. To the child the parents are however unique and irreplaceable. The special relations, produced through interaction in which the child assimilates and relates to the parents are part of the personality of the child. This is how the unique value is integrated in the child and cannot be replaced. Losing the relationships is a severe loss and it cannot be replaced. Similarly: Vincent van Gogh’s painting is a one-of-a-kind specimen of high value. All the numerous replicas are of little value. They are replaceable. The original is not replaceable.

What is a human life from this point of view? Human beings are caretakers. They take care the values they have. These are first of all the intrinsic values. These are the things that people love, and that make them feel well and make them happy. People feel committed to these values – it is their love dones, the places they love, and the things they love to do – and they find very important to take care of them. The loss of intrinsic values causes pain. People take care of themselves: life is taking care of the things they love. This life has a meaning, it is a good life. The threat of losing the people and things they love as well as losing the ability to be an active caretaker is the threat people have to live with. They develop their intuitions, skills and knowledge to cope with these threats, to protect loved ones and their ability to act; consequently, they develop social organization and supporting technological tools. Their values extend from intrinsic ones to include instrumental, good and necessary values.

Dialogue establishes common understanding, the understanding of why people feel and act as they do, with reference to the values that guide their action and the commitment they promote in enforcing them. Understanding is the platform of a community.

1 - Community or Theatre

Community: Human life is a mixture participating as caretaker in a community or struggling for victory and survival in conflict with others. Dialogue establishes common understanding, understanding why people feel and act as they do. It is because of their values and the situations and
possibilities to enforce the values. Understanding is the platform of a community. A community is a
community of caretakers, i.e., people driven by their love and concern for all things loveable. They
share understanding of being caretakers of intrinsic values, i.e., as existing through interaction and
dialogue creating specific relations of existential commitment. These communities are the basic
social unit. In it people are caretakers of community values.
The cognitive foundations are realized in a community. In this world of understanding there is a
drive for truth, a love of knowledge, a philo-sophia, aiming at nourishing the values by ensuring
their reality and uncovering their true conditions.

Theatre: A theatre is different. In it the actors are not concerned with being caretakers of basic
values but with positioning themselves in relation to others. They are worriers considering others as
subordinates, followers or enemies. If they are managers or leaders then they are not leading to
promote basic values but to look cool and victorious. The theatre is a scene for fiction and
deception. It is a scene of conflict and battles. In it words are deceptions meant to mislead the other
with scarrytales and seductive songs. In the theatre only secret words are sometimes meant to be true
– but even they cannot be trusted to be true and valid, because one cannot be certain when they are
truly meant. Here power rules by lies and controls media, research, justice.
It is the opposite of what happens in a community, in which humans feel safe, help and trust each
other. There are threats - life is fragile - but they can count on each other. Nobody is alone in his peril.
In a community empathy and support coexist. The theatre on the other hand is a world filled with
socially created threats. Nobody can feel safe. Socially created threats are constructed. The
resources necessary for its functioning are controlled and if the leading powers do not like people,
then they are lost. The phenomenon of precariousness, a process that is increasingly large groups of
the population, is part of the manipulative logic of theatrical construction and its functioning.

2 - Social forces and precarization

Two tenets characterising modern society - science and capitalist economy. These are powerful
instruments in the process of generating power to transform the world and produce livelihood for
the increasing human population. They operate through principles of abstraction and generalization
- i.e. a power that is an alternative to the specificity of dialogue and relational bonds based on
interaction. As the instrumental power increasingly dominates, the specificity of relations dissolves
and intrinsic values are undermined. As a consequence life becomes precarized despite increasing
productive social power. This undermines the community-caretaker life and enhances
manipulative/conflict-theatre life and there by precarization.
The abstraction and generalization is the basis of language, especially written language and further
for the development of scientific thinking and theories. General concepts are needed to convey
messages between specific settings. Aristotle’s philosophy with its references to common essences
and the subject predicate logic made the general concepts the topic of scientific cognition. This was
eventually replaced by mathematically defined and even more universal concepts in physics. With
this development the world was reduced to a physical structure without any reference to value. The
significance of dialogue ad interaction bonding people to the world with their world there by
creating meaning and intrinsic values was replaced by search for universal laws. The human
condition was made theoretically precarious, a situation, that was gradually implemented supported
by the developing economic formation.
The monetary capitalist economics is based on a principle of substitutability. This enables the
economy of scale in which the world is available as exploitable resources. In this world people are
work force and as such replaceable. In this world there are no intrinsic values. Personal relations
and bonding through internalizing the other through dialogue are time and mobility consuming
hindrances to the free exploitation of themas work force. Thus the life as based on genuine relation-
bonding and thereby the development of intrinsic values and a meaningful life, is gradually
dissolved. Family related bonding is increasingly weakened, and people increasingly live as singles.
Social precarization increases. Even groups that in traditionally possess good positions are
precarized, not allowed to control the work they do but permanently in stress due to mechanism of centralized control.

A recent third tenet, Artificial Intelligence (AI), the intelligent self-controlling technology, has been added as control instrument. This innovation promises to bring unimaginable development in technology and change. However, the control and use of technology is not only outside the range of public control, it is a control instrument with which makes it increasingly impossible for people to judge differences between real and fiction.

The credibility of media is a condition of democratic control and thus a political basis for overcomin precariousness by political means based on the desires of the population. This credibility has always been questionable because of their economic basis, however, the free social research has the possibility to challenge and correct media images. With the capitalization of universities this correction has been eliminated and the modern AI has made it impossible to present almost any fiction as if it was real. Thus there seems no way out of precariousness. Even the politicians are largely precarious and bought to be defenders of the system.

The accumulation of power is largely based on two forms of universality / generalization, an abstract and scientific and an economic. They cause instrumental values to increase and eventually take the place of the intrinsic values they should serve. When that happens peoples endeavours to produce meaning and satisfaction is lost. Their life is inherently precarious - only by existentially distancing themselves from the social tenets they may find new dialogues, relations, intrinsic value and satisfaction. The prize for this social moveisoften high - deep values have been lost.

3 The theatre and the lock down : existential precariousness

Lock downs is the lock down of live communities. Replacing live communities with web-community. The difference between community and theatre is amongs to their difference in validity. Community is concerned with real phenomena and values. Theatre is concerned with fictive narrations. During lock down world, everybody lives in a 'Chinese room,' i.e.a room with syntactical translations as communication with a ridde environment only, no semantics, no pragmatics – thus there is no distinction between fiction and reality.6

Many professional groups whose work is purely simboli already appear to work in Chinese rooms out of touch with reality, locked inside the room by internalized social self-oppression - and as if that is not sufficient - by enforced New Public Management (NPM) based self-regulation. To many groups lock-down not only was deprivation of life in their various communities, but also a liberation from constant unhealthy stress from despotic work conditions.

Already before lock down many professionals work in purely symbolic worlds in which the sole connection to the world is receiving and sending strings of symbols – without any semantic or pragmatic touch with reality. This alienation from reality produces an underlying precariousness that is well hidden under the theatre and glamour of apparent successes.

However, lock down everybody to life in a symbolic world. The whole population is in principle restricted to symbolic contact. In this situation validity of communication makes no realsense - except for the groceries left at the doorsteps. Validity of symbols can only – if at all - be re-established after the lock down. Before that happens, all world is like symbols, and the symbols are like empty signifiers (Saussure) – there is little difference between the faces in the movie, on the TV monitor and on the Zoom. Even if we speak with the face on the zoom, and think we know the person, we only meet the image, and we know that today it could in reality be a google based AI-bot knowing more about us than we do ourselves. In this way society seems about to gradually reintroduce and strengthen elements of a pre-Socratic world of the sophists (cf. for instanceTrasymachos claim that justic is the will of the mighty, Plato: The Republic, Book I)i.e. a despotism ridde behind a veil of fiction.

Clearly, lock down undermines local communities demanding them to be postponed in *epoché* - *epoché* of reality. *Epoché* is not a phenomenological method of recognition, it is the method to put people in a world of theatre and fiction. It is even more efficient method than the media. On the positive side, lock-down not only reduces stress from despotic authorities, it also facilitates formation of ‘net-communities’. These do, however, unavoidably become increasingly theatrical under continued periods of lock-down, forming a life of people in which each person is in her personal Chinese room. The rooms of the net-communities combine to constitute a web-theatre that produces a community-simulacrum. Its life as a fiction, a dream in a theatre - life as an empty signifier.

Precarization is the process that people experience as they discover that their life unstoppably is gliding into a fiction. Peoples wage attempts to maintain control over their life and maintain its reality as their life, is undermined by the power of internalized social self-oppression and New Public Management (NPM) model based enforced self-regulation.

4 - Precarization and dialogue

*Conceptualizing precarization*: Changing precarization from an economic to a social concept makes it focus on community as the source of safety. The loss of community, the displacement of community by theatre is creating precarization, forcing people into fear (e.g. as in the US) with propensity for reptile responses like hiding, passivity and/or aggression / fight. To the individual the loss of community is the loss of life-expression, the diffusion of horizons that form life is disrupted. This is a trauma for any. This is existential precarization. It is not even certain that the individual has the will to come out of such trauma. Insecurity and occasional helplessness is an inevitable, part of life. Disasters strike. People get sick and handicapped and need help. Community reaches out to help and society empowers helpers. However, modern society power usurps the power to help and take care controlling it with a variety of motives and interests. The control care is not only beneficial it also takes the care out of the caretakers hands and thereby makes her a subordinate tool an instrument with no personal will. If they personally care this may considered a crime. The caretakers thereby eventually discover that they have lost the meaning of their caring life. Their ethical commitment just a commitment to act as a subordinate slave. Then they are not even precarized, because prayers will not help give them the meaning of life back.

**Conclusions: reformulating the task of science**

*Task of science*: Still standing in the Holocene, seeing how life on all levels excels in power and technological control and at the same time is being disrupted and traumatised - to gather our great powers and knowledge to develop an Anthropocene life, the task of science is not outline deterministic mechanisms that paradoxically is used to generate power - economic, political or whatever – that always are used to further disrupt and precarize life.

The task of science is foremost to understand the dialogue of life, its blessings, its vulnerability, it’s very possibility, the possibility to cultivate it etc. General concepts are important to establish power, however, it is conceptualization of the individual other, that creates the bonding, intrinsic value and motivating sense of meaning. Epistemology needs to analyze for the possibility to understand and support the deep individual relational bonding and intrinsic value formation. The epistemological-scientific focus on necessities should be subordinate to an epistemological scientific focus on analysing the individual possibilities for relation formation to enable intrinsic values. It is through dialogue people have ethics, dignity, and a life and is not reduced to be instruments and tools in the ridiculous games in a social theatre.

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Introduction
The Virus came as a surprise into what Michel Foucault calls “the culture of danger” – a kind of culture without which there is no liberalism (Foucault 2008, 67). Such culture is in fact a culture without a threatening outside, one in which danger is contained within everyday practices and experiences of living. This internalization of danger prompts Foucault to formulate liberalism’s motto as a call to live dangerously, though without a touch of an adventurous spirit of exploring the unknown: “Live dangerously,” that is to say, individuals are constantly exposed to danger, or rather, they are conditioned to experience their situation, their life, their present, and their future as containing danger. I think this kind of stimulus of danger will be one of the major implications of liberalism. (Foucault 2008, 66)

1 - Neighbouring
The political culture of danger, whose emergence Foucault situates in the nineteenth century, is a culture of the inside, a culture of domestic fear of everyday dangers which “emerge, and spread everywhere, perpetually being brought to life” (Foucault 2008, 66). What is thus brought about is the idea of the inevitability of danger which is contained within individuals’ experiences of their “situation, their life, their present, and their future” (Foucault 2008, 66). Fear is as it were a constitutive outside of the security of the inside, the problem being that it also dwells inside the home (οίκος) of this kind of economy. It is thus not a fear of an apocalyptic catastrophe, not even a fear of death, but rather a fear of economic loss, perhaps of deficiency of one’s achievement. The basic social units within such a social fabric have the form of enterprise, and though Foucault posits this claim in the form of questions, he clearly expresses a vision of a society in which individuals and their neighbours are partly technologized institutions multiplied from within the social body. It “is not a matter of constructing a social fabric in which the individual would be in direct contact with nature,” writes Foucault, “but of constructing a social fabric in which precisely the basic units would have the form of the enterprise, for what is private property if not an enterprise? What is a house if not an enterprise? What is the management of these small neighborhood communities [...] if not other forms of enterprise?” (Foucault 2008, 148)
The metaphor of enterprise can also be projected upon individuals who, within the culture of danger, are also enterprises – enterprises neighboring with other enterprises rather than with an uneconomized outside which can be called nature. This seems to be a liminal space of marginality, the space between the inside and the outside, that separates the home of economy from the outside, from the environment. Both the employed and the unemployed of the world society participate in the building of this walled space as an integral part of the incessant process of construction of what might be called a self-building building. Peter Sloterdijk compares this process to foam whose building blocks are bubbles – “systems or aggregates of spheric neighborhoods in which each individual “cell” constitutes a self-augmenting context (more colloquially: a world, a place), an intimate space of meaning whose tension is maintained by dyadic and pluripolar resonances, or a “household” that vibrates with its own individual animation, which can only be experienced by itself and within itself” (Sloterdijk 2016, 56). The bubbles constituting the foam are mutually impermeable and, as Hannes Bergthaller puts it, “the walls that constitute individual bubbles are shared, thin, and constantly shifting, and the tensional forces which shape one bubble have
This outside is also the sphere of non-neighboring which the social reality of the “apartment individualism” of the bubble ignores (Cf. Bergthaller 2015, 167), thus withholding the possibility of any kind of kinship with the other. A bubble-like apartment is not a rectangular, two-dimensional space and, as it seems, the word ‘apartment’ is used to underline the apartness of individually inhabited spheres which, metaphorically compared to spherical bubbles, also question the groundedness of Heideggerian ontological architecture of dwelling in the earth. As Stuart Elden notes, “Sloterdijk takes the Heideggerian idea of being-in-the-world and analyses the ‘in’ the way Heidegger expressly denied as a spatial term, as a question of location, of where we are” (Elden 2013, 2). This “where” is not a simple topographical location, a point on the map or an area, but rather a three-dimensional volume. The crucial element of such a “volumetric” space is the atmosphere which constitutes the inside of each bubble, the dimension which adds verticality to the horizontal surface of the world. “Just as the world does not just exist as a surface,” writes Elden, “nor should our theorisations of it; security goes up and down; space is volumetric” (Elden 2013, 15). The atmosphere within Sloterdijk’s neighboring bubbles is not shareable, and what they share are only the contiguous membranes and, importantly, the precariousness resulting from their fragility. Christian Borch in his insightful reading of bubbling in Sloterdijk thus describes this predicament: “Each bubble is a singular entity which is at once separated or isolated from other bubbles and connected to its neighbours through the membranes they share. The shared membranes imply co-fragility. If one foam bubble bursts, this will affect the neighbouring bubbles” (Borch 2011, 31).

Neighboring within such a space is thus limited to superficial contacts and, importantly, to the care for oneself, for one’s security, which care is simultaneously protective of others. One of the means of protection is architecture. For Sloterdijk “architecture is a crucial way of establishing immunity” (Borch 2011, 32). What architecture enables is not only the sheltering protection from the outside, but also broadly understood air conditioning, the management of atmosphere productive of an illusion that the outside is not there.

2 Terrorism and viruses

The realization that the air is not simply a transparent outside, something out there, is gradually being recognized, especially due to the air pollution and, more recently, also through the masks we are wearing in the pandemic era. With the realization that buildings can also be sick, there seems to be no kind of inside which could be seen as granting security from the outside. In a sense we have all become roofless and homeless, with some of us convinced that the virus with which we have to share our space is an immigrant, though this time from China. The suspicion of its being a terrorist, or at least a terrorist-like creature, is also at hand. On the European Eye on Radicalization webpage, in an article comparing terrorism with coronavirus, the two phenomena are shown as two kinds of fear: “A Tale of Two Fears: Comparing Terrorism and the Coronavirus” (Marone 2020, not paginated). The Title’s allusion to Charles Dickens’s A Tale of Two Cities seems to be justified by the fact that the action of the novel partly takes place in the Paris of la Terreur. One of the similarities addressed in the article is that of secrecy: “Terrorism is based on secrecy - viruses are invisible to the naked eye and in many respects, they present a mysterious nature (at least for non-specialists). Moreover, for both threats, fear and their elusive qualities encourage the proliferation of conspiracy theories about their origin and development”. (Marone 2020, not paginated)

What thus links terrorism and viruses is the atmospheric invisibility, a possibility of an unexpected attack of nomadic (viruses probably do not have homes) creatures about the reasons of whose arrival we can only speculate. More importantly, however, the similarity between the two threats is somehow linked to Islamic fundamentalism, and to the demand of loving one’s neighbour which gets transformed to the precariousness of fear: “Both threats risk provoking not only fear, but also mistrust among people. With regard to terrorism, we can recall, for example, that Abu Muhammad
al-Adnani, then-official spokesman of the so-called Islamic State (ISIS), in a famous speech, “That They Live By Proof”, on 21 May 2016, incited ISIS’s sympathizers to scare the “crusaders” and terrorize them, “until every neighbor fears his neighbor”. [...] In some respects, something similar applies to COVID-19: in this case the distrust towards one’s neighbor, which may be less acute but more extensive, is due to the fact that the other person, against his/her will and (at least in the absence of symptoms) even without his/her knowledge, can represent a vehicle of contagion”. (Marone 2020, not paginated).

Conclusions
As it seems, however, the transformation of us, but also more or less of everything around us, into would-be vehicles of contagion can be somehow resisted through Donna Haraway’s call for “making kin, not babies” (Cf. Haraway 2015, 161). This call for bringing all of what she calls “critters” into the sphere of neighbouring is also a call for our care for the roofless, whoever they are. Perhaps regardless of the precariousness of the pandemic togetherness, we may still rethink this togetherness positively and, say, more extensively, of stretching and recomposing of kin “allowed by the fact that all earthlings are kin in the deepest sense, and it is past time to practice better care of kinds-as-assemblages (not species one at a time). Kin is an assembling sort of word. All critters share a common ‘flesh,’ literally, semiotically, and genealogically” (Haraway 2015, 162). Though there seem to be some difference between Haraway’s assemblages and Sloterdijk’s foams, those different images of ourselves enable us to see neighbouring as a much deeper and broader kind of relationship than a family-state-making kind of bond.

A need, or perhaps a demand, for a broader perspective on neighbouring has been addressed in Jessica Bruder’s Nomadland through the stories of American van-dwellers whose life-philosophies are related in the text in their remarks and life-stories which, however different, indicate a need for a different perspective on precariousness of homelessness. Though driving across America they use public roads, and thus orient themselves by topographic places, none of such places can be called their home, though, perhaps paradoxically, they insist on being called “houseless” rather than “homeless”: “Some call them ‘homeless.’ The new nomads reject that label. Equipped with both shelter and transportation, they’ve adopted a new word. They refer to themselves, quite simply, as ‘houseless’” (Bruder 2017. xii-xiii). Home seems to have become de-localized and is no longer associated with ownership or property, and it is the possibility of remaining on public land which brings in a new dimension of neighbouring. From the administrative perspective of the state the van-dwellers must be officially “domiciled” somewhere, as they are required “to maintain fixed – in other words fake – addresses” (49-50) which do not tie you to anywhere: “And living nowhere, it turns out, means you can live anywhere you want, at least on paper” (Bruder 2017, 50). This kind of freedom of belonging is also a freedom from belonging to the state, and thus also from the care of the state. Though they live in America, the van-dwellers are partly a product of what Bruder calls “more precarious individualism” incited by the replacement of defined-benefit pensions with what is called “401(k) plans” which “rely on employee contributions and can run dry before death” (Bruder 2017, 66). This “more precarious individualism” seems to have been a farewell to the hope of being cared for by the state and thus also of the feeling of belonging to it which resulted in a transformation of citizens into migrants, whom Bruder also sees as a tribe living on the margins of the welfare state: “And so, they found a way to hack the system. They gave up traditional stick-and-brick homes, breaking the shackles of rent and mortgages. They moved into vans, RVs and trailers, traveled from place-to-place following good weather, and kept their gas tanks full by working seasonal jobs. Linda [a van-dweller] is a member of that tribe, as she migrates around the West, I’ve been following her”. (Bruder 2017, 7)

The concept of tribe, however, is a misleading one here, as the people whose stories Bruder brings in in her book hardly ever stay, or remain, together in a single place or space. Their togetherness is of a different kind than tribal, and Cloe Zhao’s film version of Nomadland (2020) represents this kind of togetherness, somehow paradoxically, through the long sequences showing the main
character – Fern – alone. Though Fern moves on mostly by herself in the film, we never sense, Sherry Coman notes, “that she is lonely: the movie walks a beautiful line between what it means to be lonely, and what it is to be simply alone” (Coman 2020, 5). Being alone and without a stable kind of neighbourhood, the van-dwellers, as one park ranger who observed their yearly meetings in Quartersize RV park noted, impressed him with their “neighborliness,” adding that their “ability to coexist is based simply on their desire to enjoy the public land, and the fact that it belongs equally to the guy riding the bicycle as to the guy in the motorhome” (Bruder, 2017: 122).

Bergthaller’s figure of “apartment individualism” (see above), transformed into a nomadic kind of mobile apartment individualism, seems to be a new social space in which the public becomes as it were privatized, though without appropriation – perhaps a trace of the Thoreauvian idea of sauntering – of moving sans terre – “without land or a home, which, therefore, in the good sense, will mean, having no particular home, but equally at home everywhere” (Cf. Thoreau, 1965: 635).

What the “more precarious individualism” of having become uncare seems to have brought about is what Bruder signals in the foreword to her book as “a contagious feeling: Something big is happening” (Bruder, 2017: xiii). This new big thing is hardly theorisable, though the book allocates its emergence within the American social space as a blurring of the clear-cut distinction between the public and the private. The feeling is contagious, it is in the air, and the van-dwellers “are at the epicenter of something new” and, around “a shared campfire, in the middle of the night, it can feel like a glimpse of utopia” (Bruder, 2017: xii).

In the final scene of the film version of Nomadland Fern stops in front of the house in which she used to live – the red mailbox is covered in rust. The name of the town is Empire, and it was a company town of a gypsum mining corporation. In the book, the town – which used to be the site of “fortunes of wallboard manufacturers tied to the domestic construction industry” – “would completely disappear” (Bruder, 2017: 42). It is perhaps this disappearance which, along with the rust covering postal addresses, translates the possibility of neighbouring with the roofless away from the precarities of various, also ideological, domestic construction industries.

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Pandemic and social crisis in EU policies.  
From the "Green New Deal" (2019) to the "Social Summit" (2021) 

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Introduction
The profound and complex changes generated by the pandemic crisis in the social conditions of people - in the ways of thinking, the systems of relationships, the life situation and its perspectives – require both new scientific cognitive approaches, and the definition of an integrated system of public policies and private actions aimed at organizing a new order based on social inclusion and effective human promotion; an operation made difficult by the fact that the structural crisis caused by the pandemic has created a general situation of uncertainty between the expectations of a return to the normalization of the past and a wide spread awareness that this will not be possible precisely due to the profound changes brought about by this crisis in the traditional ways of living, thinking, working of individuals and communities. The feeling and conditions of uncertainty widespread in society have inevitably accentuated the phenomenon of social precariousness already widely present in our communities, caused mainly by the profound transformations taking place in the economy and in the world of work and, more generally, by the evident contradictions of a development model that generates profound inequalities between social groups, contradictions that the main international institutions and the states have undertaken to correct by building a new order based on the principles of sustainability (see the United Nations 2030 Agenda, 2015 and the consequent acts).

With regard to the spread of social precarity in our communities, it is useful to recall a further element that has long been well analyzed, highlighted and evaluated in particular by the scientific community. It concerns the fact that this negative process certainly originates, as we said, in the changes taking place in the world of work as well as in the growing economic inequalities that occur in our systems, but it is a process that progressively extends to involve the most diverse areas of community life, including the political one. The steps in this evolution are very clear: the job insecurity that arises in the world of work (employment - unemployment) gradually and quickly becomes professional precarity (due to the lack of skills adequate to the new job needs) and therefore social precarity (due to inequalities in the levels of income and opportunities) to the point of becoming psychological and existential precarity (due to the difficulty of formulating a life plan, create a family, having children, up to turning in on oneself, as shown by the many NEETs young people who decide not to work, not to get educated, and even to stop looking for a job) with the connected phenomena of disengagement and absenteeism in politics and the negative instinctive reactions of which widespread populisms are an expression. The pandemic crisis, with wide spread uncertainty about future prospects, accentuates the spread of the process of social precarity and its evolution from job precarity to existential precarity; and this is the essential element to be placed at the center of scientific, economic, cultural and political evaluations.

This Note addresses these open problems by focusing attention on a specific aspect concerning the approach and policies approved by the EU on social issues, which include the processes of widespread precarity, with reference to the path taken in the period of pandemic crisis, from the presentation of the Green New Deal strategy (2019) to the decision to organize a special Social Summit, on 7-8 May 2021 in Porto (Portugal).

1 - The EU recognition of the primary role of social policy: value and limits
In line with the international commitment to promote a new development model according to the principles of economic, social and environmental sustainability, between the end of 2019 and the beginning of 2020, i.e. before the spread of the pandemic crisis, the European Union has defined
and officially presented its strategy on sustainability of development and strengthening of social policy. The reference acts that mark the beginning of this new policy are the Communication on the "European Green Deal" (11 December 2019), the Communication on the "2020 Annual Strategy on Sustainable Development" (17 December 2019) and the Communication "A Strong Social Europe for Just Transition" (14 January 2020). These three documents mark the turning point to affirm - at least this is the explicit objective - a European policy oriented towards the construction of a new economic and social order. Their examination, like that of the political documents approved subsequently up to the Social Summit in Porto (Portugal) on 7 - 8 May 2021, offers useful knowledge elements to understand how the EU intends to tackle social problems, also with reference to the complex phenomenon of precarity.

The basic strategy defined in the European Green Deal has the objective of promoting a growth process of the community system by applying the principle of sustainability in a perspective that sets specific objectives to be achieved in 2030 and 2050. The strategy indicates two clear lines of path: the green twin and digital transition of the entire European production system. This radical choice is accompanied by the awareness that it requires profound structural changes in business models, work skills, organizational schemes and costs of production and services and that it will take a long period of time - 25 years, a generation - to transform the industrial sector and all value chains. This choice, it should be added, is not simple rhetoric: this is confirmed, in fact, by the numerous measures approved during 2020 and in the first half of 2021 with reference to the commitments defined in the subsequent "Annual Sustainable Growth Strategy 2020" (17 December 2019) as well as by the complex system of conditionalities that have been defined to link the recovery plans necessary to overcome the disasters of the pandemic crisis to the objectives of truly sustainable development.

The need to accompany and integrate this complex process of structural reconversion of the European economic and productive system with measures aimed at simultaneously strengthening the cohesion and social inclusion find precise indications in the specific document, already cited, "A Strong Social Europe for Just Transitions", which focuses attention above all on the following two main aspects: changes in the world of work and the functionality of the related service structures that operate at European, national and regional level, from specialized agencies to public employment services (SPI), which are also required to extend their operational area to welfare services (EESC-SOC/620). Key tools of these new inclusive social policies are both the functionality and cooperation between these systems of employment services and the open and collaborative dialogue between the social partners; the latter, in particular, interpreted as an essential element to promote what is referred to as a socially responsible transition and, above all, to fully implement the commitments already approved by the highest European authorities and by the states with the document European Pillar of Social Rights, presented as a new constitutional charter aimed at support and qualify the European construction of the 21st century (European Council, Social Summit, Goeteborg 2017).

With respect to the complex processes of the social precarity and its evolution from work and professional precarity to value, cultural, psychological and existential precarity, it is interesting to note how the EU indications and approach are essentially limited to addressing the problems connected to the transformations in progress in the world of work because in this reality the main cause of social insecurity is identified. Of course, the value of the influence of other factors, identified as the megatrends of our time, is clearly present in EU documents, from demographic processes to the complex impact of the digital revolution, just to name a few. An awareness that leads to the affirmation that in the European social model "technological innovation must go hand in hand with social innovation" (COM (2020)14Final). But the main approach, we repeat, is focused on transformations in the world of work to guarantee all European citizens equal opportunities to prosper and in this way correct the profound inequalities that persist in European society, a real brake on the possibilities of growth and a threat to the social cohesion of the whole EU system. In this context, the actions to be taken to concretely implement the principles of the European Pillar of
Social Rights are seen as functional to the construction of the social market economy, established in the treaties as a distinctive element of the Union compared to the models of other international realities.

2 – Social improvement as a mandatory objective of the EU

On 17 December 2020, at the end of a year of tragic pandemic crisis, the European Parliament approved the solution "A Strong Social Europe for Just Transitions", (2020/2084(INI), which outlines a somewhat corrective strategy and rebalancing the commitment promoted up to then by the European Union because, with reference to the commitments of the 2030 Agenda for sustainable development, "so far - in the EU – priority has been assigned to economic and environmental sustainability", leaving as a background social sustainability. And again: the implementation of the ten-year Lisbon strategy "Europe 2020", launched in 2010 and in force in the decade 2010-2020, "should have given priority to sustainability and inclusiveness, rather than growth""(Res.2084,2020). The result of this unbalanced orientation of the policy pursued in particular by the financial crisis of 2008 onwards has created a situation in which the risks emerged in the social condition of Europeans, however much aggravated by the pandemic crisis, have reached a level of gravity - the EP resolution states – that "puts in difficulty both the sustainability and the inclusiveness of growth and social cohesion". These risks concern. For example, "the growing intergenerational inequalities, the reduction of social, health, economic and environmental opportunities and resources, territorial disparities and unequal access to basic social and health services, to jobs and business opportunities as well as to social infrastructure ".

To better address this serious situation of social and work degradation, the European Parliament stresses the need to promote a policy of intense social investments by clarifying that they “consist of investments in people, aimed at improving their living conditions; whereas key policy are as for social investment include social security, health care, long-term care, education, housing, employment, justice and social services for disadvantaged groups; that well-designed social policies contribute strongly to sustainable development and growth, as well as protecting people from poverty and acting as economic stabilizers". (Ibidem,2020) As part of this social investment policy, the European Parliament places at the first point interventions aimed at ensuring "decent work and sustainable and inclusive labor markets"(Ibidem,2020), followed, therefore, by equally urgent commitments in the field of social justice, equal opportunities, robust social protection systems, mobility of people and workers. The indications regarding sustainable labor markets are based on “concern for the increase in the number of workers with precarious and atypical forms of employment, of fictitious self-employed workers and workers with zero-hour contracts, even in national public administrations”(Ibidem, 2020). Hence the invitation to the Commission and the Member States "to work towards achieving the goal of eliminating involuntary temporary and part-time employment by 2030 and ensuring that 80% of the created jobs receive medium or high level remuneration and is concentrated in sustainable sectors"; moreover, to “eliminate the practices of zero-hour contracts and fictitious self-employment”(Ibidem,2020). In essence, at the heart of the interventions proposed by the European Parliament for the organization of a true social Europe we find, therefore, the open problems of the world of work and employment and the commitment to promote sustainable labor markets, functional to the goal of "just transitions".

In this regard, it is interesting to note that there solution of the European Parliament recalls the need to also modify the system of indicators and monitoring traditionally used by labor market services by introducing a new integrated system with "additional indicators" capable of detecting real trends in improvement of the set of national and regional economic, environmental and social conditions, in particular with reference to the complexity of the social dimension of development; finally the European Parliament approved the indication that the objectives of social and work improvement should be established in "ambitious and mandatory" terms and should combine "quantitative and qualitative objectives". In February 2021, with the beginning of the second year of the pandemic crisis, the European Parliament reaffirmed the value of the political commitment in the terms
indicated above with the approval of a new resolution aimed at "Reduction of inequalities with particular attention to working poverty" (2019/2188 (INI)) of February 10, 2021. The document represents a contribution to the European social summit that the new Portuguese presidency of the European Council decided to hold on 7 May 2021 to rebalance the Union policies and face the dramatic social situation accentuated by the pandemic crisis. The main object of the resolution is job insecurity. It is worth noting that the European Parliament, among the numerous support measures, also approves the recommendation to the Commission and the Member States to strengthen monitoring activity in particular in sectors characterized by a high degree of precariousness "in order to prevent the exploitation of workers in areas such as temporary work". Finally, it “considers of the utmost importance to ensure that the implementation of the European's recovery plan aims at eliminating poverty and socio-economic inequalities and is based on an effective mechanism with targets and parameters that allow for accurate measurement of all progress made" (Res.2188,2021).

In a speech delivered to the European Parliament on January 20, 2021, Commission President Ursula von der Leyen clearly illustrated the path to take to overcome the pandemic crisis and promote sustainable development in the Union: “As we overcome the pandemic, as we prepare necessary reforms and as we speed up the twin green and digital transitions, I believe it is time to also adapt the social rulebook. A rulebook which ensures solidarity between generations. A rulebook that rewards entrepreneurs who take care of their employees. Which focuses on jobs and opens up new opportunities. Which puts skills, innovation and social protection on an equal footing”. Subsequently, in view of the European social summit scheduled for May 7, 2021, the Commission presents a specific action plan, the Action Plan on the European Pillar of Social Rights (March 4, 2021 (COM(2021)102 Final). The Action Plan therefore provides the basic elements of the summit, essentially presenting three points of notable novelty: the first concerns the function of social policy which is presented as an essential factor of economic growth; the second concerns the commitment to review together with the member states the body of laws on the subject to strengthen social rights and at the same time strengthen the European social dimension; the third point concerns the confirmation of the approach followed so far by the European Commission which identifies the true tools of social progress in the protection and promotion of work and employment and in this regard it indicates three precise objectives to be achieved in Europe 2030: 1st Goal: “At least 78% of the population aged 20 to 64 should have in employment by 2030”; 2nd Objective: “At least 60% of all adults should participate in training activities every year”; 3rd Objective: "The number of people at risk of poverty or social exclusion should be reduced by at least 15 million by 2030" (Ibidem, 2021). A further important initiative promoted by the Commission together with the Action Plan for the European Pillar of Social Rights was the simultaneous presentation of a specific "Recommendation on Active and Effective Support to Employment (EASE) following the COVID-19 crisis" (Recommendation (EU) 2021/402, March 4, 2021). The document confirms the value of the new approach given by the Commission to European social policy and, in this context, to the centrality of the world of work.

The Social Summit in Porto on May 7, 2021, inspired by the motto "Time to deliver" of the Portuguese presidency of the European Council in the first half of 2021 and divided into three thematic areas - work and employment, skills and innovation, welfare state and social protection - takes place on the basis of these documents, specifically on the Commission's Action Plan and on a program of actions already defined until the conclusion of its mandate, at the end of 2024. In the Final Declaration the summit states the precise will to implement it and confirms, by this way, the value of new European agenda for the next decade defined to face the challenges of the present and the future without leaving anyone behind and linked to identifiable, achievable and clear objectives and indicators of social sustainability. The central point achieved by the Porto summit concerns the recognition of the fundamental role of the social policy, within which labor market policies are included, for a fair and sustainable development of the European system; practically social policy leaves the secondary role it had in recent decades, as stated in the resolution of the European...
Parliament already mentioned, and assumes a primary role at the center of the processes of post-pandemic recovery and the twin green and digital transition.

It should be remembered that the positive opinions expressed during 2020 and 2021 by the consultative bodies such as the European Economic and Social Committee–EESC and the Committee of the Regions-CoR as well as by three tripartite social summits, that is the most important forum for dialogue between the European institutions and the social partners, representatives of the world of work and businesses, contributed a lot to this political change, in the broadest sense of the term, in the approach to the open problems of contemporary development; a contribution that the informal European Council held on May 8, 2021, that is the day following the social summit, openly recognized as "another success of the European social dialogue". Particularly appreciated was also the joint proposal presented by the social partners to work for the definition and application of "an alternative set of indicators to measure economic, social and environmental progress, supplementing GDP index as welfare measure for inclusive and sustainable growth " (EUCO, Final Declaration, 8 May 2021).

Closing remarks
The lesson that we can draw from the illustration of European social policies adopted in the first and a half year of the pandemic crisis allows us to highlight two main elements.

The first concerns the turning point made by the European authorities in the explicit recognition of the value of social policy as a primary factor in a just and balanced development. The need to operate in a coherent way with the internationally approved guidelines for sustainability and to tackle the tragic effects of the pandemic with effective recovery measures has led the EU to change its traditional approach to social policy, removing it from that secondary position in to which it has been relegated and lived for many years.

The second element concerns the European authorities' assessment of social precarity which essentially focuses on the problems raised by the dynamics of the world of work. Few and limited to this area are the references to the diffusion of social precarity in official European documents, as we have seen in the illustrative path made in this note. In practice, in these official political acts there are no references to the complexity and riskiness of the diffusion of value, cultural, psychological, existential precarity, whose negativity and riskiness for human dignity as well as for the social cohesion of our systems has long been highlighted in a particular way by the community scientific. Consequently, we are aced with a very serious open problem which is certainly destined to produce deleterious effects on the very stability of democratic systems. Taking note of it and addressing it adequately is first of all an ethical duty for everyone, first of all, for the ruling class as a whole and specifically for those responsible for public decision-makers.

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“Fighting eight giants: basic income in times of a pandemic”

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Introduction
The devastating effects of the pandemic constitute a crisis that was easy to expect and that has all the potential to turn into a true pandemic depression. The depth of the crisis reflects the fragility of the economic system that has been forged in four decades of globalization, better described as rentier capitalism. This has made the global system particularly fragile in the face of shocks and is bound to significantly worsen the economic consequences of the pandemic. The social fragility before the onset of Covid-19 reflected the fact that the road to a Good Society was blocked by what we could define as the Eight Giants. The pandemic crisis has created a situation in which the policy for the introduction of the universal basic income no longer reflects only an ethical and human solidarity principle, but is now a precise economic imperative.

1 – Historical perspective on the evolution of the recent economy
Society as a whole is in a key transformational moment which reminds us of the economist Karl Polanyi’s thesis on the great transformation, which is more relevant than ever in today's situation. Polanyi argued that in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries international capitalism was dominated by finance and, more specifically, by finance capital; this situation had initiated a process of growing inequalities and insecurities which would have entailed, as a consequence, a genuine threat of the annihilation of civilization, which would have affected in particular the clear distinction and demarcation between economy and society. According to Karl Polanyi, an authentic “great transformation” of society would have been possible only by pursuing the objective of re-incorporating the economy into the broader process of social progress and of organizing a capitalism of the welfare state, capable of moderating the extent of situations of insecurity and inequality. This model of capitalism, which was partly realized in the following decades, was mainly based on the development of the industrial capitalism, on a very male oriented labour market and a very male-dominated welfare state system, rather than female workers; whether it was based on Beveridge principles, or on Bismarck principles or even on the Swedish model principles. This model of capitalism substantially broke down in the 1970s and initiated a global transformation, the construction of a global market economy.
At the beginning of this new phase, the neoliberals who also culturally and politically dominated that period issued a real "free market" agenda, defining a specific program that aimed to dismantle social institutions and alter the balance of power in favor capital and finance. The initiatives of the most important institutional representatives that emerged in that period - Margaret Thatcher, Ronald Reagan - were closely linked to the implementation of the orientations and commitments of this agenda. My argument is that from that time on, the entire evolutionary process of the global economic system has been based on a huge lie; that is, on the attempt to create a free market economy. The result demonstrates this because in fact, in the current situation, we have the most unfair market economy system, the least free of those ever experienced in the world before and which can be defined as rentier capitalism. John Maynard Keynes, the most famous economist of the twentieth century, predicted that rent capitalism would cease to exist before the turn of the century, which it did not. An explanation is that Keynes neglected to realize in his reasoning the power of capital and the elites on the processes of evolution of society. In fact, in recent decades, society has witnessed a progressive increase in income, wealth and power in the hands of property owners, be it physical, financial or intellectual property; while, on the
contrary, less and less income is going to citizens who rely on labour and work in the organization of their lives. In the same era, since the 1980s, we have witnessed a progressive crumbling and dissolving of the old welfare state, with the failing of the main forms of protection for citizens; or with the linking the assistance services more and more to apply methods aimed at social behaviour control (i.e., social assistance accompanied by means testing, behavioural testing, punitive sanctions in welfare schemes, workfare)

This situation is a global phenomenon and describes how the nature of the state has substantially changed: that is, how the contemporary state is increasingly oriented and involved in protecting the interests of plutocracy and the elites and the salaried-middle income, upper income groups, rather than concerned with the correction of the negative effects of the widespread increase in precariat and insecurity that involve increasingly large social groups.

2 – A weak economic system

Rentier capitalism has created a very fragile global economic system, lacking in robustness and resilience in the face of the repetition of financial crises. In this context, the Covid-19 pandemic - the sixth pandemic of the last hundred years, even if it was not as lethal as the Spanish flu epidemic was for example in the last century - is destined to have a huge and widespread long-term impact on the global economy.

In the current situation, the main factor of social insecurity that is registered all over the world concerns uncertainty; an element of widespread apprehension on which it would be urgent to intervene effectively to prevent it from causing new and different pandemics, social diseases, financial crises, recessive economic phenomena: what could be called black swans, due to their negative character, often unpredictable.

In this regard, the tragic circularity of history should lead us to conduct, for example, analyses on the consequences of World War II in order to understand how society has evolved since then, how the major weaknesses of the system were addressed and what those are still today more persistent and unresolved. William Beveridge’s report (1942) already stated that it was precisely from that tragic period that fundamental changes in the structure of society should have been promoted, that such transformations were essential to create the conditions for true progress and that to achieve it, it was necessary to defeat five "giants": disease, ignorance, idleness, squalor and misery.

3 – Basic income and the "eight modern giants"

Those five "giants" figuratively represented the main social weaknesses of that historical moment: poverty, lack of education, inadequate housing, lack of work or employment, inadequate health care.

It is a fact that the organization of welfare states, promoted in a widespread way especially after World War II, has managed to reduce the impact and negative consequences caused by those "giants". But in the current situation, things have changed profoundly and the "giants" have resumed spreading their nefarious action.

Furthermore, it should be noted that rentier capitalism has not only strengthened them, but has also contributed to generating "eight modern giants" which are: inequality, insecurity, unprecedented debt, stress, social precariousness, automation, threat of extinction, populism. The fact is that we will not get a good society in the 21st century unless we seriously weaken all eight of these modern giants.

It is in this context that the value of the proposal to adopt measures aimed at spreading basic income is affirmed, as a valid solution to counter the work of these "giants" and restore effective conditions of social, economic and ethical equality. A basic income understood as even a modest sum but aimed at building minimum security conditions, paid equally to everyone, men and women, without constraints or special tests or checks, without telling them what to do or not to do. Such an instrument, which in the past was justified by substantially ethical principles of human solidarity, in
the current situation of radical transformations induced by the pandemic crisis is justified rather by
the principles of widespread economic progress, social advancement, justice and freedom.

**1st Giant: INEQUALITY.** It can be represented as both wealth inequality and income inequality.
The reference to these two situations has taken on great importance because the ratio between
wealth and income has increased dramatically in favour of the former. This is demonstrated by the
fact that, for example, the financial wealth possessed by small groups of private operators has
reached the point of even corresponding to 100% of the total national income of various states.
Thus, in Great Britain where the financial assets represent over 1000% of national income, in
Sweden and Switzerland where the share is equal to 900%, in France where it is equal to 670%. To
this it should be added that if we were able to calculate all the wealth accumulated in tax havens, we
would have to correct and raise much more than the Gini index, that is the most important
internationally shared measure of inequalities, is currently done.
In this analysis, financial wealth must not be considered as a specific element in its own right
because it also has direct implications on the physical well-being of people, the spread of
pathologies, properties. For example: it is a fact that inequality in the distribution of wealth creates
the conditions for which the majority of citizens have a weak capacity to organize adequate
defences in the face of the spread of diseases because they cannot refer to a sufficiently resilient
public-private system.
In these conditions, the wealth linked above all to the annuity positions should be recycled to
financially support a basic income and to structure a new income distribution system, which puts all
people in the best condition to do their jobs well, pursue the personal development and living in
safety.

**2nd Giant: INSECURITY.** When it becomes chronic, insecurity lowers people's mental
bandwidth, their intelligence quotient-IQ, their capacity to be rational. In this specific process,
states are like mediators between people and the external environment: they can allow them to live
in chronic insecurity or not. If states fail in their task of reducing people's insecurity, they are unfair
in asking them to act responsibly and rationally because insecurity is a corrosive factor.
Companies should be able to provide people with ex ante protection. The ex-post safeguard created
after World War II was mainly based on the welfare state systems but ultimately failed to correct
the inequities of the market and, therefore, of the system as a whole.

**3rd Giant: THE DEBT OF STATES AND FAMILIES.** It is currently an unprecedented debt and
is the result of the conditions in which financial capital has been able to operate in recent decades.
These conditions highlight the fact that the financial system is able to grow as people get into debt.
In other words: financial capital wants us all to be in debt because this is the best condition for
making profits. This is not an accidental situation, but organized as a system; but it is also a
situation in which it is not considered that debt corrodes the ability to be healthy and rational.
Normally, when severe economic and financial crises occur or, as currently, an unforeseen
pandemic crisis, millions of people end up living on the edge of unsustainable debt. In 2020, for
example, at the start of the pandemic, household debt in many states was nearly 200% of national
public income. Corporate debt also increased greatly because they deliberately borrowed money,
including to take advantage of tax relief, and then distributed the profits to their shareholders. It is
in this way that many companies have presented income increases compared to the past.

**4th Giant: STRESS.** In the current situation, millions of people live in permanent stress, as
evidenced by numerous surveys. A stress that, among other things, produces tumours, ulcers,
various types of diseases and, on another front, negative and counterproductive social behaviours.
Rentier capitalism rewards the plutocracy and the lack of a specific public policy aimed at reducing
the widespread stress among the people that is damaging the stability of the social system.

**5th Giant: PRECARITY.** Precariat does not only concern the problems of unstable or occasional
work, even if it constitutes a part of it. Precariat is a wider phenomenon that concerns the system of
fundamental rights. It is a dramatic social flaw that does not allow people to have, exercise, enjoy
civil, cultural, social, economic and political rights. In a nutshell: if you are part of the precariat, you have no rights.

The original Latin meaning of the word precariousness was that of “obtaining with prayer”. Citizens and precarious workers live in a situation in which they are forced to ask, for example from public administration bureaucrats or employers, for positive discretionary evaluations and favors in order to survive. This undignified way of organizing a society causes anger among those people and does not make them feel part of their community, with all the psychological and political consequences that this entails.

6th Giant: AUTOMATION. Artificial intelligence and robotics in general are increasing inequalities and the spread of precariousness and insecurities. To benefit from the positive effects of new technologies, states should at least control, condition and guide the related processes. A discussion with the creators and owners of the Artificial Intelligence - AI instrumentation becomes necessary to share their income and incomes for the benefit of the whole society.

7th Giant: THREAT OF EXTINCTION. The real risk of extinction of many values and assets caused by the deterioration of the environmental situation could be the decisive factor in encouraging the transition to basic income. Carbon-taxes are only a practical example of a structured approach to tackle global warming, pollution, the disappearance of ecosystems, biological species, ways of life. To function properly, such carbon-taxes should be supported by a capital fund referring to the commons. This instrument could initiate a process of reconversion of the revenues obtained in this way in order to make the related taxes politically, economically and socially acceptable.

Basic income could help change people's habits and promote a better way of life, giving a fair value to human life and the ecosystem in which it takes place. With the payment of a basic income, capable of guaranteeing a minimum income to the recipients, it would be possible to involve people also in jobs that are not excessively paid but socially useful; it is the way to enhance, for example, the ecological assistance and community work, carried out by men and women, which is not recognized at all by economic statistics.

8th Giant: POPULISM. It is a political monster encouraged and promoted by a society in which precariousness and the sense of insecurity are widespread, where people are stressed, frustrated by the conditions of inequality and worried about their survival.

Former US president Donald Trump was a concrete example of how populism is cultivated and enhanced by such a society. However, it is a fact that in this case this political approach has not been able to establish itself firmly because people have recognized the implications and consequently avoided re-electing him as president a second time. Similar examples relating to the appearance of similar political monsters can be found in several other countries, within the EU and outside it, with widespread experiences of abuse of power, violation of consolidated fundamental rights, control of social media etc.

A change agenda that defeats populism is badly needed. This assumption implies the ability to know how to start a new era based on progressive ideas for the future.

4 – Conclusions

The basic income does not represent the only solution to all the problems previously illustrated and marked by what we have defined as the fight against the eight Giants but it is an essential component of a new forward-looking agenda that, for the coming years, defines the terms and the conditions for a real and balanced advancement of society.

Forty-three cities in the United States are experimenting with basic income, thirty-two city councils in Britain have voted in favour of local pilot projects, one province in South Korea is applying it concretely, and India and Africa are also moving to initiate similar experiences.

Each basic income experiment has led to improvements in people's health and nutrition; in addition, it has produced more work and promoted the empowerment of women and people with disabilities and a sense of hope thanks to the security of having a guaranteed minimum income.
Financially, the best-case scenario for basic income would be a combination of property and green taxes to support its implementation. The related funds should subsequently be re-used to support green investments and to gradually increase the level of the basic income itself. To achieve this result, the first step for basic income goes in the direction of dismantling the system of intellectual property rights; a system that in the last two decades has actually allowed the granting of monopoly powers to large companies with the result of creating a situation decidedly contrary to any free market ideal. To this we must add the negative effects spread by the degradation and lowering of general levels of education which, it should be emphasized, as already happened in the early 1930s, has led many people living in precarious and insecure conditions to be subject to manipulation by the promoters of populist political ideas.

However, it is a fact that the growing part of the precariat is made up of young graduates who, despite not having a sense of the future to build, are highly educated and, consequently, aware of the fact that the old policy is no longer justifiable, nor desirable. This need for change should be supported and oriented because it illuminates the possibility of building an ecological, egalitarian and emancipatory society. Indeed, this historical moment is full of possibilities and/or needs for change: in this regard, adequate initiatives in the education sector and for a reflection on new political orientations could help to identify and build a positive outlet for this complex situation.

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ABSTRACTS

“I don't know whether to laugh or cry, or how to survive it all”: The situation of women in the Czech Republic during the corona pandemic

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Since the beginning of the pandemic in spring 2020, it has become increasingly clear that the COVID-19 pandemic will have more serious social and economic consequences for certain population groups than for others. While the economic crisis in 2008 in the Czech Republic mainly affected men, the current crisis shows that it is mainly women and mothers who have to shoulder the financial and social burden. Especially regarding the situation of women in the family and in the labor market, it has been shown that the pandemic does not open up completely new problem areas, but rather only the existing ones emerge more clearly. In this article, the situation of women in the Czech Republic during the pandemic is to be presented on the basis of data from different sources; also in a European comparison similarities and particularities are pointed out. The basis of the data serves as a starting point for further qualitative research that locates the female world in the field of tension between family, work, and personal.

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Home office in times like this

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Constant accessibility, permanent training, even the expansion of the home office, constant availability and thus the blurring of working time, free time and unpaid care time – all these are developments and mechanisms of control that are reinforced by the pandemic. In this context, the home office plays a leading role, since on the one hand, child rearing, household and work can no longer be separated. This can be particularly conflict-laden for women living in cramped living conditions. On the other hand, many supervisors fear that work tasks will be neglected if there is insufficient supervision. In Germany, this led to restrictions on home offices in the second Corona wave relative to the first wave. This reveals various contradictions within the enforcement process of home office work.

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Pandemic and Social Distancing

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Social distancing, defined here as disparaging, cool and regulated behaviour, seems to be not only a proven means of containing a pandemic, but also a vehicle of modern agile capitalism. In the course
of the current crisis, certain behaviours, such as social distancing in particular, which, according to the thesis, are internalised from a behaviour in a state of emergency to a permanent social disposition and thus become a permanent feature of social interaction. For the majority of people, it will be difficult or no longer possible to return to the status quo, as "the Other" now poses a threat per se or potentially. This resulting uncertainty about behaviour in social space adds to existing social insecurities and inequalities and exacerbates - especially in Germany - the crisis of the political class. In addition – as initial studies show - psychological and social-psychological pathologies are increasingly being diagnosed as a result of home office and social isolation, for example in single households. Using the examples of anthropological-psychological research results on proximity and distance and the relevant classical and current sociological literature, the question of social distance and its effects on solidarities and pathological ways of life will be discussed. The paper concludes with a non-representative survey of German students of social sciences on their sensitivities with regard to social distancing.

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ATTACHMENT 1

CONCEPT NOTE

Shifts and reorientation within the social crisis and pandemica catastrophe

As soon as one approaches the area of pandemics, one notices, especially as a social scientist, that on the one hand one approaches an area that one cannot adequately understand oneself, not only because one does not have the specific medical or virological expertise to be able to reasonably evaluate an assessment, but also because one can hastily fall back on common patterns of interpretation of social empirical values, since these are at least limited in their validity or suspended. This form of being in lapse of a historical situation or epoch with the accompanying cognitive barriers and limitations accompanies on the one hand any cognitive process, but also opens epistemologically horizons of cognitive processes, when the known domestic is no longer self-evidently given, but must first be deciphered through the interaction of various factors. Nevertheless, as a social scientist, one can draw attention to inconsistencies differences and contradictions within discourses and highlight how operational concatenations emerge that depict a snapshot of the balance of power within events. Thus, a teleology crystallizes within hopes and expectations of pandemic events from the standpoints of the state, society, and ideological images of the actors.

During a lockdown or in the context of pandemic events, people operate socially in an unknown space that suddenly seems to have been recomposed. In this respect, it acquires something weird "unheimlich" in the Freudian sense, since it no longer seems to be known "heimisch" at home but has been transformed into something unknown underhand. Societies are based on the construction of processes of order and demarcation; when these waver, orientation difficulties and processes of uncertainty develop. Everyday social experiences are suspended in crisis situations, and a narrowing of social space emerges based on disorientation and endangerment. These reorientations intervene in the entire life contexts of the actors, even in private configurations, and shape their existence. Such effects are reinforced by state interventions and media coverage, as they are aimed at enforcing dominazione effects.

Domination of nature becomes virulent as nature is declared an enemy by the crisis. Voltaire declared "war" on "nature" after the 1755 Lisbon earthquake and tsunami. Explanatory models of social self-understanding and the epistemological object are called into doubt and subjected to critical appraisal by the arsenal of measures that accompany pandemics as a social response. Effects of domination are readjusted and mechanisms of surveillance are brought more strongly into society. Using Foucault's analysis of the plague as well as Deleuze's mechanisms of the society of control, this could be concretized within the framework of individual analyses. The epistemological pair plague/cholera is contrasted in Foucault with the relation of inclusion/exclusion, by which a different social way of dealing with or behaving can be shown in a differentiated way. This epistemological game can also be found in various lockdowns during the Corona epidemic. For example, tourists in Ischl (Austria) or Berchtesgaden (Bavaria) had to leave the area as potential corona infected persons, only locals benefited from medical treatment, the foreigners had to return to their home towns as potential carriers of transmission, which can be considered rather detrimental for a containment of the pandemic. Separations and divisions are made here, which progressively contribute to the epidemiological spread of the virus.
Border closures, for example, imply that the stranger/the other is perceived as carrying a threat. The border closures manifest this act to establish separations. In this respect, specific pairs of oppositions and groupings are established through the setting of boundaries (boundary closures). Healthy/sick, inside/outside, the native/the foreign. In this respect, the close, native transcends to the foreign/unknown, since the other could potentially be a virus carrier and the suspicion aligns the behavior.

Such effects are intensified by the fact that previous behavioral patterns are suspended. For example, the Corona crisis, like the Chernobyl experience, defies immediate empirical perception because the threat cannot be heard, felt, tasted or seen. It can only be recognized and read via physical and medical apparatus. Thus crises carry the uncanny in the Freudian sense in to social and societal conflict. The accident and the shock name modes of experience through which socially broken, such crisis situations become transparent and experientially realized and burn themselves into the social texture. Pandemics and many other "natural disasters" are characterized by the fact that the social actors are not or cannot be aware of the causes as well as the transmission mechanisms or crisis triggering modes. Religious or astronomical explanations are used in order to be able to act under pressure.

The interplay between change and persistence that characterizes crises is to be highlighted in the context of the conference, since on the one hand problem contexts are projected that preclude a return to normalization, while on the other hand elements of persistence are emphasized that prophesy a return to normalization, or are anchored in it.

On the one hand, the Corona virus potentially infects all people, on the other hand, it is racist and classist, since more poor people and people of color are affected by it and thus the disease pattern and mortality rate is dramatically higher among them than among the richer part of society. This is not only due to the different health insurance systems, but also to the respective housing, working and living conditions.

The lockdown of Gütersloh (Germany) as an example could be used as a case study, where a local lockdown occurred from 23 June – till 6 July 2020 due to working conditions within the meat industry. The political scandal of working conditions in the German meat industry, which emerged only with Corona, it was not – otherwise this would have happened earlier - the endangerment of life and safety of Eastern European contract workers that was in the foreground of public interest, but rather the protection of the locals from the spread of the virus. In fact, in Germany double standards are systematically applied; hygiene conditions in refugee accommodations, for example, are not remotely of the same administrative interest as those in università lecture halls, which remain closed as a precaution even in the winter semester.

Its imply corresponds to the democratic logic of national state societies to place the life and survival interests of their own citizens - in this case those of each and every German - in case of doubt above the vital interests of migrant workers, refugees, or whichever of the host countries affected by the German (by now, after all, only touristic) will to conquer. This hierarchization of "relevance to life" along the lines of nationality is part of the prevailing democratic consensus, to which state intervention always refers and can refer, indeed must refer (Torres 2020).

The crisis is hitting everyone, but not everyone equally. While poorer households in particular bear the brunt and often suffer considerable financial losses, many super-rich are able to increase their wealth despite or precisely because of Corona. This makes the pandemic a burning glass for economic inequality.
While Corona is not the cause of existing inequalities, the current pandemic is nevertheless an amplifier of social dislocation. While many fear for their jobs or have to make ends meet with much less money due to short-time work, others continue to live in great wealth. Inequality is not only expressed in different income and wealth situations, but also in different access to health care and education or in housing conditions.

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