

MIGRATION AND MIGRATION PROCESSES IN THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL CONTEXT: METHODS AND THEORIES OF DEFINITION AND APPROACHES TO RESEARCH

The article is devoted to analyzing theoretical, methodological and conceptual parameters of migration issues and migration processes. To do this, the author has considered and systematized the methods and theories of definition and approaches to the study of migration and migration processes. In particular, such approaches to the definition and study of migration as economic, geographical, demographic, philosophical, sociological, psychological, systemic, institutional, as well as synthetic have been emphasized. At the same time, it has been stated that each of the approaches is also traditionally different in definition and methods of the migration study, and therefore they all have been necessarily delineated, analyzed, structured and systematized. It has been shown how theoretical and methodological approaches are correlated with the empirical practice of migration in European countries. The author has summed up that due to the combination of theory and empirical practice, in particular on the example of European countries, each author, using the term “migration”, puts different interpretations into it, using as a guide many different existing categories.

Keywords: migration, migration processes, population, European countries.

MIGRACJA I PROCESY MIGRACYJNE W KONTEKŚCIE TEORETYCZNO-METODYCZNYM: METODY I TEORIE DEFINIOWANIA ORAZ PODEJŚCIA DO BADAŃ

W artykule dokonano analizy parametrów teoretyczno-metodologicznych i koncepcyjnych zagadnień migracji i procesów migracyjnych. W tym celu autor rozważył i usystematyzował metody i teorie definicji oraz podejścia do badania migracji i procesów migracyjnych. W szczególności położono nacisk na takie podejścia do definicji i badania migracji, jak ekonomiczne, geograficzne, demograficzne, filozoficzne, socjologiczne, psychologiczne, systemowe, instytucjonalne i syntetyczne. Jednocześnie stwierdza się, że każde z podejść tradycyjnie różni się także definicją i podejściem do badania migracji, a zatem wszystkie są przeanalizowane, ustrukturyzowane i usystematyzowane. Ustalono, jak podejścia teoretyczno-metodologiczne są skorelowane z empiryczną praktyką migracji w krajach europejskich. Stwierdza się, że ze względu na połączenie teorii i praktyki empirycznej, w szczególności na przykładzie krajów europejskich, każdy autor, posługując się terminem „migracja”, wprowadza do niego różne interpretacje, kierując się wieloma różnymi istniejącymi kategoriami.

Słowa kluczowe: migracje, procesy migracyjne, ludność, kraje europejskie.

МІГРАЦІЯ ТА МІГРАЦІЙНІ ПРОЦЕСИ У ТЕОРЕТИКО-МЕТОДОЛОГІЧНОМУ КОНТЕКСТІ: СПОСОБИ І ТЕОРІЇ ДЕФІНІЮВАННЯ ТА ПІДХОДИ ДО ДОСЛІДЖЕННЯ

В статті проаналізовано теоретико-методологічні і концептуальні параметри проблематики міграції та міграційних процесів. Для цього автор розглянув та систематизував способи і теорії дефініювання та підходи до дослідження міграції і міграційних процесів. Зокрема, наголос було зроблено на таких підходах до визначення і дослідження міграції, як економічний, географічний, демографічний, філософський, соціологічний, психологічний, системний, інституційний, а також синтетичний. При цьому, констатовано, що кожен з підходів традиційно теж є різновекторним у дефініюванні та підходах до дослідження міграції, а тому всі вони неодмінно розмежовані, проаналізовані, структуровані і систематизовані. Встановлено те, як теоретико-методологічні підходи співвідносяться з емпіричною практикою міграції у країнах Європи. Підсумовано, що зважаючи на суміщення теорії та емпіричної практики, зокрема на прикладі країн Європи, кожен автор, вживаючи термін «міграція», вкладає у нього різні тлумачення, користуючись в якості орієнтира багатьма різними існуючими категоріями.

Ключові слова: міграція, міграційні процеси, населення, країни Європи.

Throughout the history of mankind, especially since the emergence of states, the world has been and still is characterized by processes of population movement from one geographical area and territory to another. These processes have become especially relevant in the context of population movements from one state to another and vice versa, although they also occur in a more internal dimension, in particular through population movements within the same country, etc. One way or another, but such processes are usually called migrations or out-migrations and are the subject of the presented scientific research in a theoretical and methodological context, in particular on methods and theories of definition and approaches to the study of migrations and migration processes.

The term “migration” originates from Latin. *migratio, migro*, which means movement, relocation and transmigration. As early as 1885, the English scientist E. Ravenstein in his work “Laws of Migration” first introduced into scientific circulation the very concept of “migration” and considered it as a continuous process due to the interaction of four main groups of factors, including those acting: at the place of initial residence of the migrant, at the stage of his

movement, from the moment of entry into another country or territory and personal factors¹. At the same time, English scientist formulated a kind of migration laws, which he derived by analyzing migration in Britain and North America. These laws are quite fair today, because they are based on many theories in migration studies – the science of migration. The main ones among them are: most migrations are carried out over short distances; the larger is the territorial center, the more attractive it is for migrants; each migration flow corresponds to its counter-flow; the growth of large cities is more due to population migration than natural increase; the scale of migration increases with the development of industry and trade and, especially, with the development of transport; socio-economic reasons for migration are decisive ones².

However, at the turn of the 19th-20th centuries the destruction of traditional institutions of society has suffered on a global scale. Industrialization, which covered the world at this time, led to the intensification of socio-economic processes in different states and regions. Therefore, migration became the companion of industrial society. By the beginning of the 20th century migration could often be triggered or stopped by government orders, i.e. it was controlled. In addition, the main historical forms of migration were almost conquests, which ensured the colonization of territories, and the slave trade, through which large masses of people moved in stretch. This was complemented by the fact that the lack of transport opportunities provided to the world by technical progress in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, limited the independent migration of people. Because of this, a person's geographical location almost always coincided with a certain social space, and therefore this phenomenon was practically not taken into account when making government decisions. Over time, everything began to be taken into account, and migration became pervasive and began to be treated in both positive and negative contexts and sense.

That is why in the second half of the 20th century an active study of migration began, when a significant number of definitions of this term were formulated in the scientific literature and its classification was developed. Since then, migration has for the first time been recognized as an important territorial, geographical, spatial and political phenomenon in the development of society and the world at large. Thus, in 1974, in the study "Economics of International Migration", this became a classic of migration theory, G. Tapinos, as a leading expert in this sphere, proposed an innovative approach to the definition of the term "migration". In his opinion, if we consider migration from a purely economic point of view, it is a "response to the lack of development"³. In turn, M. Poulen, considering migration through the prism of the spatial dimension, points out that international migration "is a change of country of habitual residence

¹ Ravenstein E., The Laws of Migration, "Journal of the Statistical Society of London" 1885, vol 48, nr 2, s. 167-235.; Palahniuk O., Míhratsiia yak sotsialno-ekonomichnyi fenomen ta heopolitychnyi vykyk rozvytku suchasnoho suspilstva, "Naukovi pratsi Chomomorskoho derzhavnoho universytetu imeni Petra Mohyly kompleksu. Ser. Politolohiia" 2014, vol 230, nr 218, s. 38.

² Simon J., The economic consequences of immigration, New York 1989, s. 15-18.

³ Tapinos Zh., Mezhdunarodnaya migratsiia naseleniia kak faktor ekonomicheskogo razvitiia. [w:] Tapinos Zh., Ioncev V. (eds.), Mezhdunarodnaya migratsiia naseleniia: Rossiia i sovremennij mir, Wyd. MAKSS-Press 2001, vol 8, s. 56.

of a person”, when at least one state border is crossed. The time criterion of migration, according to M. Poulen, is related to the identification of the habitual residence of a migrant person by establishing the duration of his residence⁴. At least it follows from this that science does not agree on the definition of migration, but instead one identifies the main approaches to defining and studying migration and migration processes, including economic, geographical, demographic, philosophical, sociological, psychological, systemic, institutional, and synthetic ones. Moreover, each of the approaches is traditionally also different in definition and approaches to the study of migration, and therefore they all need to be considered and systematized.

Thus, within the economic approach there are such theories as the theory of the world (international) labor market, the theory of the world system (“global city”), the theory of segmented labor market (dual labor market theory), neoclassical macro-level economic theory, neoclassical microeconomic theory, new economy theory labor migration, the theory of human (social) capital, the theory of cumulative (accumulative) conditionality / causality.

The theory of the world (international) labor market explains the nature of migration in terms of Marxist ideas. In this context, migration acts as a means of distributing “free” labor between the links of world production. Free labor force is not only those unemployed in the national labor market and the unemployed, but also those who work in organizations, institutions and enterprises of each country and intend to work abroad.

Note that not all the unemployed are part of the free labor force, as some of them focus on employment only in the labor market of their own country and can not be considered as a resource for other countries. Researchers highlight the economic and logistical preconditions for the formation of the international labor market: the former include the inclusion of more and more countries in the world economy, and the latter are the growth of the transport network and improved communication. There is a strong interdependence between large-scale international labor migration and the development of world industry, agriculture and transport. The movement of a large number of employees across state borders contributes to the development of those sectors of the world economy, which most often involve migrant workers, as well as the growth of material and technical base of world industry and transport creates new opportunities for migrant workers⁵.

Another economic theory of migration is the theory of the world system (“global city”) by I. Wallerstein. This theory is also based on the concept of the world labor market. I. Wallerstein considers migration as a consequence of economic segmentation of the world and the existence of a world-system labor market, and therefore the polarization of the world-system. Since the described by scientists system is a market one, its main purpose is to accumulate capital. The latter is optimized by creating a very wide geographical division of labor, which covers the whole

⁴ Pulen M., *Istrochniki dannyh dlya izmereniya mezhhdunarodnoj migracii v stanah Centralnoj Evropy*, [w:] *Mezhhdunarodnaya migraciya naseleniya*, Wyd. MAKSS Press 2000, vol 5, s. 14-15.

⁵ *Naseleniia Ukrainy. Trudova emihratsiia v Ukraini*, Wyd. In-t demohrafii ta sotsialnykh doslidzhen im. M. V. Ptukhy NAN Ukrainy 2010, s. 15-16.

world. The division of labor involves the flow of goods, capital and labor⁶. The world economy is governed by a small number of economically and politically developed urban centers (“global cities”), which include: in the United States these are New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, and in Europe these are London, Paris, Milan, etc⁷. All other regions of the world system instead form a periphery that provides the world economy with raw materials, land and labor resources and develop depending on the center⁸.

Thus, migration acts as a means of meeting the needs of “stronger” systems of the center due to the “weaker” periphery. Therefore, migration under this approach is considered only movement between unequal segments of the world system, in particular if they are determined by the global division of labor⁹.

To analyze migration processes there is also used the economic theory of the segmented labor market (the theory of the double labor market). The theoretical basis of this concept was laid in the second half of the 20th century in the scientific works of M. Payor. Within this approach, the main factor of migration is the structural needs of the economy in the regions of arrival of migrants (in a large city or country). The labor market is considered here as consisting of individual sectors or segments: 1) primary and secondary; 2) internal and external; 3) formal and informal. The primary sector is filled with a highly skilled workforce (specialists with higher education, management, representatives of the intelligentsia and science, etc.), and the secondary one are low-skilled (support staff, service workers, etc.). According to the scientists, the vast majority of migrant workers on arrival abroad – in the new countries – find work in the secondary labor market. The second segmentation model of the labor market is its division into internal and external in relation to a particular enterprise. The main staff of the company forms the core, which is the domestic market. The external market includes employees who can be involved from the outside to work at this company. According to M. Payor and P. Doring, Gastarbeiter (labor migrants) are focused on a competitive labor market, where the evaluation, distribution of labor and other processes are carried out on a competitive basis, while in the internal labor market they are governed by a set of administrative rules within the external they are controlled by economic variables and factors¹⁰. The third manifestation of labor market segmentation is its division into formal and informal components. The informal (informal, unregulated) sector is characterized by the predominance of manual or technologically simple labor, lack of social protection and access to sources of financing and credit, the dependence of income on the level of risk and certain circumstances. The key question in the theory of the segmented labor market is the question of what is the distribution of labor in the relevant

⁶ Vallerstajn I., *Analiz mirovnyh sistem i situatsiya v sovremennom mire*, Wyd. Universitetskaya kniga 2001.

⁷ Sassen S., *The mobility of labor and capital*, Wyd. Cambridge 1988, s. 128.

⁸ Frey W., *Migration and metropolitan decline in developed countries: a comparative study*, “Population and development review” 1988, vol 14, nr. 3, s. 595

⁹ Svitlov O., *Poniattia „mihratsii“: suchasni pohliady ta mozhlivi perspektyvy v konteksti teorii sotsialnoi mobilnosti*, „Aktualni problemy sotsiologii, psikhologii, pedahohiky” 2012, vol 16, s. 36.

¹⁰ Piore M., Doeringer P., *Internal Labor Markets and Manpower Analysis*, Wyd. Heath Lexington Books 1971, s.4

segments. The scientists link the answer to this question with the cultural and psychological predisposition of employees to one or another type of activity. In particular, some of them explain the increased concentration of foreign workers in the secondary labor market of any recipient country primarily by socio-economic conditions.

In turn, according to neoclassical macro-level economic theory, migration is due to the geographical difference between supply and demand for labor. Moreover, this explanation applies to both international and internal migration. According to this theory, countries (regions) with a surplus labor force have low wages, while regions with a labor force are characterized by high wages. Wages are a major factor in “pushing out” in the migrants’ regions of origin and a major factor in “attracting” migrants in the regions of their arrival. As a result of migration, labor supply decreases and wages increase in poor (capital) countries; while in rich (capital countries) opposite processes occur. According to the provisions of neoclassical macroeconomics, the elimination of the wage gap leads to the end of the movement of labor between countries (regions). However, this thesis does not stand up to criticism, as migration, like any other social process, is characterized by inertia and occurs even after the causes that cause it disappear. After all, investment flows are moving in the opposite direction from the flows of migrant workers, namely from rich countries to poor countries. The factor that attracts investment is increased capital gains in poor countries. The movement of capital also includes human capital, i.e. the movement of highly skilled workers from rich to poor (capital) countries who hope to get high returns out of their skills in a poor (capital) environment¹¹.

In contrast, neoclassical microeconomic theory considers migration between countries as a simple sum of individual movements made on the basis of personal calculations of the benefits of migration. According to this approach, each individual acts as a rational person who decides on the implementation or refusal to move on the basis of calculations in the system of “costs-benefits” of migration. Note, that the costs and benefits of migration can be divided into monetary and non-monetary (which are associated with the weakening or severance of family or friendships and the creation of new ties, learning a new language, being in a cultural environment other than the migrant’s country of origin, the need to acquire new habits). At the same time, when assessing the benefits of migration, only monetary components are taken into account, because, firstly, they are easier to measure and, secondly, according to the classical theorists of neoclassical microeconomics, they have more influence on migration decisions than non-monetary components¹².

¹¹ Naselennia Ukrainy. Trudova emihratsiia v Ukraini, Wyd. In-t demohrafiit ta sotsialnykh doslidzhen im. M. V. Ptukhy NAN Ukrainy 2010, s. 11.

¹² Massey D., Arango J., Hugo G., Kouaouci A., Pellegrino A., Taylor J., Theories of international Migration: a review and appraisal, “Population and development review” 1993, vol 19, nr. 3, s.434.

Although the latter thesis is the subject of criticism in the connection with the increasing attention to the intangible aspects of human behavior¹³.

Another theory that is focused on migration (namely labor migration) is the theory of a new economics of labor migration, in particular by O. Stark. The focus of this theory is not the individual, but the household at which the migration decision is made. The basis of such a collective decision is not only the desire to maximize the expected income, but also to minimize the risks present in the local labor market. The basis of such a collective decision is not only the desire to maximize the expected income, but also to minimize the risks present in the local labor market. In order to maintain their well-being at the appropriate level, households try to diversify their own resources, in particular labor. Some family members can work in the local labor market, while others, by joint decision of the household, can be sent to another country (region). According to this distribution of resources, in case of deterioration of the economic situation in the local labor market, remittances from migrant workers will provide household members with an adequate level of income. Note that in developed countries, the risks of household loss of income are mainly minimized through the activities of the insurance market (insurance against unemployment, disability, and injury) or government programs. At the same time, in developing countries, such institutional arrangements are imperfect, not available to poor families or simply absent. Access to credit funds for poor families in developing countries is very limited; as such families are often unable to provide collateral to obtain credit. Under such conditions, labor migration becomes an attractive strategy of behavior as an alternative source of capital income. That is why governments can influence the scale of migration not only through policies aimed at improving the labor market, but also through the formation or improvement of insurance and credit systems.

A significant place in the system of economic migration theories of the micro level is occupied by the theory of human (social) capital. The vendor of this concept is G. Becker, who considered various aspects of human behavior as a manifestation of economic feasibility. T. Schultz, J. Minzer, A. Hansen and other scientists made a significant contribution to the development of this theory. The active application of the concept of social capital in the analysis of migration processes began with the work of L. Syaastad. These scientists state that in order to realize migration intentions, not only the desire of the individual is needed, but also various resources. Therefore, researchers talk about the selective nature of migration, as displacement is usually carried out not by the poorest and most disadvantaged sections of the population, but by those who have the necessary set of resources. However, this thesis does not apply to refugees and other persons who move on an involuntary basis.

One of such migration resource is human capital, which includes innate abilities and talents, as well as accumulated knowledge, skills, experience, education, qualifications, information,

¹³ Nacelennia Ukrainy. Trudova emihratsiia v Ukraini, Wyd. In-t demohrafi ta sotsialnykh doslidzhen im. M. V. Ptukhy NAN Ukrainy 2010, s. 11-12.

physical and mental health, and so on. The migration researchers believe that migrants have more human capital than those who do not dare to move¹⁴. A separate area of research in the theory of human capital is the issue of remittances of migrants as a means of redistribution of income. This topic is relevant for “donor countries” of labor. However, the socio-economic impact of migration transfers on the development of the state is twofold – both positive and negative.

Finally, migration processes, in terms of their reproducibility and self-sufficiency, are explained by the economic theory of cumulative (accumulative) conditionality / causality. The concept of “cumulative conditionality” was introduced into scientific circulation by G. Mirdal. D. Massi also made a significant contribution to the development of the theory. The main thing in this theoretical model is the thesis that each migration movement changes the social context within which there will be made the following decisions on migration. This change is usually carried out in the direction of increasing the probability of subsequent migrations. At the heart of the social significance of work within this concept is the concept of “stigmatization”. When a significant number of migrants occupy certain jobs in the recipient country, the locals label these types of work as “immigrant” (i.e., those that are unacceptable for the local population)¹⁵.

In contrast to economic factors, the influence of mainly geographical factors on migration is reflected in the studies of E. Ravenstein¹⁶, G. Becker¹⁷, M. Poulén¹⁸ and other researchers. Since the mid-60's of the 20th century, especially with the development of population geography and economic geography, social, economic and other factors began to be taken into account. It is within the framework of the geographical approach that such methods of migration analysis as graphical and cartographic were further developed, on the basis of which the first migration models were developed (for example, C. Stoffer' model)¹⁹.

In turn, within the demographic approach definition of migration and migration processes distinguish the theory of population and “demographic transition”. The founder of the theory of population was the French scientist A. Sövi. This theory defines population migration; on the one hand, as a demographic process that affects the reproduction of the population, its gender and age structure and causes changes in demographic development, and on the other – as a multifaceted phenomenon with economic, political, geographical and other aspects, which have an indirect impact on demographic development, taking into account the changes that take place in society²⁰. Instead, the theory of “demographic transition” (N. Keifitz, A. Sövi, L.

¹⁴ Moiseenko V., Hudinovskih O., Teoriya chelovecheskogo kapitala i issledovaniya migratsionnykh processov v Rossii, “Problemy prognozirovaniya” 2000, nr. 4, s. 128.

¹⁵ Naselennia Ukrainy. Trudova emihratsiia v Ukraini, Wyd. In-t demohrafiit ta sotsialnykh doslidzhen im. M. V. Ptukhy NAN Ukrainy 2010, s. 20.

¹⁶ Ravenstein E., The Laws of Migration, “Journal of the Statistical Society of London” 1885, vol 48, nr. 2, s. 167-235.

¹⁷ Becker G., Economic Analysis and Human Behavior, [w:] Green L., Kagel J. (eds.), Advances in Behavioral Sciences, Wyd. Ablex Publ. Corp. 1987, vol.1, s. 3-17.

¹⁸ Pulen M., Istochniki dannykh dlya izmereniya mezhdunarodnoy migratsii v stanah Centralnoj Evropy, [w:] Mezhdunarodnaya migratsiya naseleniya, Wyd. MAKS Press 2000, vol 5, s. 14-37.

¹⁹ Migratsiya naseleniya: teoriya, politika / ed. by O. Vorobev, A. Topilin, V. Mukomel, Wyd. Ekonomicheskoe obrazovanie 2012, s. 36.

²⁰ Migratsiya naseleniya: teoriya, politika / ed. by O. Vorobev, A. Topilin, V. Mukomel, Wyd. Ekonomicheskoe obrazovanie 2012, s. 33.

Taba²¹) connects migration mainly with demographic processes. The demographic transition involves the analysis of changes in the number and composition of the population due to migration processes and the evolution of economic systems.

As for the philosophical approach to the definition of migration and migration processes, its use can be traced in the concept of “passion impulses”, which was developed by V. Vernadsky²² and L. Gumilev²³. It is based on the concept of energy exchange between the system (human communities or ethnic groups) and the external environment. Passion as a characteristic of behavior is the effect of excess biochemical energy of living matter, which causes changes both in the natural environment and in relations within human communities – ethnic groups. It is individuals who are defined as “passionaries” who are characterized by very active migratory behavior. At the same time, L. Gumilev connects this process with certain periods of ethnic development, each of which changes migration. External migration increases during the inertial stage and during the so-called “explosion” stage – internal migration²⁴.

Within the framework of the sociological approach, there are distinguished the theory of “push-pull” and the theory of migration networks. The theory of “push-pull” is focused on the factors of migration. In particular, in the countries of emigration, the factors of “pushing out” (unemployment, poverty, difficult working conditions, political persecution, low health care, food shortages, wars, discrimination, environmental pollution, natural disasters, etc.) are decisive in the migration movement and in immigration countries the factors of “attraction” are (better living conditions, more opportunities to find work, religious and political freedom, health insurance, higher level of education, etc.). The analytical value of the theory is limited because it is a static model. In addition, it mixes the determinants of migration at the macro level with individual motives.

A similar relative validity of the explanation of migration is characteristic of the psychological approach (O. Blinova, V. Konstantinov, A. Ovchinnikov, M. Slyusarevsky, A. Sultanova). Here the emphasis is on the motivational / behavioral direction (stratification theory of human behavior, the concept of aggregate motivation, etc.), i.e. the motives of migration, which guide migrants at all stages of the migration process. And migration is seen as a way to meet certain needs of an individual or group and as an act of behavior in which the main place belongs to the decision-making mechanism²⁵.

In contrast, the institutional approach focuses on macro-level factors. With the development of migration, a number of private institutions and voluntary organizations, the main function of which is to meet the demand created by the imbalance between the large number

²¹ Kejfic N., Taba L., Burzhua-Pisha Zh., Fajhtinger G., Novoc v zarubezhnoj demografii, [w:] Andreev E., Volkov A. (eds), Demograficheskie modeli, Wyd. Statistica 1977.; Sovi A., Obshchaya teoriya naseleniya. Vol 2: Zhizn naselenij, Wyd. Progress 1977, s. 340-343.

²² Vernadskij V., Biosfera i noosfera, Wyd. Ajris-press 2012

²³ Gumilev L., Emogenez i biosfera Zemli, Wyd. Kristall 2001

²⁴ Migraciya naseleniya: teoriya, politika / ed. by O. Vorobev, A. Topilin, V. Mukomel, Wyd. Ekonomicheskoe obrazovanie 2012, s. 37-38.

²⁵ Migraciya naseleniya: teoriya, politika / ed. by O. Vorobev, A. Topilin, V. Mukomel, Wyd. Ekonomicheskoe obrazovanie 2012, s. 37.

of people seeking access to rich (capital) countries are emerging and the limited number of visas usually issued by such countries. Such imbalances and barriers created by developed countries in the way of access of all interested parties to their territory, form profitable economic niches for entrepreneurs and institutions create preconditions for the development of the migration “black market”. The functioning of the underground market contributes to the exploitation and persecution of migrants, which, in turn, leads to the development of a network of voluntary humanitarian organizations, whose goal is to improve the treatment of legal and illegal migrants, their rights, etc. Scientists conclude that with the formation of a network of organizations aimed at supporting migration, migration flows are becoming increasingly independent of those factors that were the root cause of the development of migration between specific countries (regions)²⁶. Therefore, measures to create a stricter immigration regime may, on the one hand, increase the influence of the “black market” on the course of migration processes, but, on the other hand, provoke opposition from humanitarian organizations working to protect the rights of migrants²⁷.

In the context of defining migration and migration processes is the theory of migration systems within a systems approach is of interest (G. Zlotnik²⁸, J. Fouset²⁹). This theory combines the countries of origin and destination of migrants in a common space – the migration system. The countries that form such systems are characterized by a greater intensity of exchange of goods, services and people. The international migration system includes the “core” (which can be a country or a group of countries) and the “periphery” (countries associated with the “core” of large flows of migrants). The countries within a system do not have to be geographically close.

Migration flows reflect rather political and economic relations, than spatial location. Obviously, geographical proximity contributes to the formation of different relationships between countries, but it does not guarantee such developments, just as a considerable distance does not make them impossible. Most often, large-scale migration takes place between countries that are conveniently geographically located: they are characterized by cultural proximity, are political allies, trade partners, etc. Countries do not have to be part of a single system, as they may belong to several migration systems. However, such membership is more typical of “donor countries” and applies to “recipient countries” very rarely. At the same time, migration systems are not a stable entity, as countries can join or leave them in accordance with socio-economic and demographic changes, political or socio-political situation, and so on³⁰.

²⁶ Massey D., Arango J., Hugo G., Kouaouci A., Pellegrino A., Taylor J., Theories of international Migration: a review and appraisal, „Population and development review” 1993, vol 19, nr. 3, s. 451.

²⁷ Nasilennia Ukrainy. Trudova emihratsiia v Ukraini, Wyd. In-t demografii ta sotsialnykh doslidzhen im. M. V. Ptukhy NAN Ukrainy 2010, s. 19.

²⁸ Zlotnik H., Empirical identification of international migration systems, [w:] Kritiz m., Lim L., Zlotnik H. (eds.), International Migration Systems: A Global Approach, Wyd. Clarendon Press 1992, s. 19-40.

²⁹ Fawcett J., Networks, linkages, and migration systems, “International Migration Review” 1989, vol 2, s. 671-680.

³⁰ Nasilennia Ukrainy. Trudova emihratsiia v Ukraini, Wyd. In-t demografii ta sotsialnykh doslidzhen im. M. V. Ptukhy NAN Ukrainy 2010, s. 19-20.

In contrast, some migration theories are quite common and developed, which do not depart from a certain direction of theoretical and methodological approaches to the study and definition of migration, in particular the theory of migration networks, which has successfully formed a separate analytical model in the works of F. Hugo, J. Taylor and D. Massi. The researchers state that the presence or absence of social ties abroad have a significant impact on individuals' decision to move or refuse to do it. Migration networks, which consist of a set of interpersonal connections between current migrants, former migrants and non-migrants in countries (regions) of origin and destination, significantly increase the likelihood of relocation, as they reduce migration costs and risks and thus increase the benefits of such processes. The first migrants who moved to a particular country did not have social contacts there, so the relocation was costly for them (especially if they crossed the border illegally). Once the first migrants have settled in the areas of settlement, there are reduced the costs of potential relocation for their friends, relatives, colleagues and acquaintances. This applies to the monetary costs of moving and settling, information and search costs (time, money and effort spent on finding and obtaining work), opportunity costs (earnings that migrants could earn during travel and job search at destination), psychological costs (associated with changes in the surroundings and the environment). These costs are evident in all migration movements; they increase in direct proportion to the increase in travel distance and increase significantly when it comes to crossing state borders, i.e. external migration³¹.

Accordingly, the representatives of the theory of migration networks claim that only the first flows of migrants come from the middle and upper middle classes of the social hierarchy and are characterized by increased resistance to stress, high level of education and so on. Gradually, as migration networks grow and cover an increasing population, the cost of relocation decreases, and therefore migration flows become less selective and start to represent the community or society from which migrants originate in general. According to this concept, it is quite difficult for governments of countries of origin and settlement of migrants to manage migration flows, as the process of forming networks is beyond their control and takes place regardless of the type of political regime. At the same time, some migration policy mechanisms (aimed at uniting migrants with families in another country) are still effective because they strengthen migration networks by giving family members special rights to enter the country³². Although this can certainly lead to both positive and negative consequences in the socio-political context, in particular regarding the assessment of the identities of the titular majority and immigrants, and so on.

Having analyzed the main theoretical and methodological approaches to the study of migration, comparing their statements with the results of empirical research, the group of

³¹ Massey D., Economic development and international migration in comparative perspective, "Population and development review" 1988, vol 14, nr 3, s. 397.

³² Nascelennia Ukrainy. Trudova emihratsiia v Ukraini, Wyd. In-t demohrafi ta sotsialnykh doslidzhen im. M. V. Ptukhy NAN Ukrainy 2010, s. 14-15.

researchers led by D. Massis formulated the main provisions of the so-called synthetic approach or theory of migration³³. According to this theory, migration occurs during social, political and economic transformation, accompanied by the spread of market relations to non-market societies. In the context of economic globalization, the transition to market relations and new methods of production in agricultural and command economies destroys the usual social and economic ties, leads to large-scale displacement of people and their exclusion out of the usual way of life. This creates mobile groups looking for new ways to achieve economic prosperity. One of such ways is employment in expanded national and international labor markets. These processes most often take the form of migration from rural to urban areas or from developing countries to developed countries. That is, the regions to which migration flows are directed are the areas with higher wages. In addition, according to the theory of synthetic theory, the international wage gap is not the only or most important factor that creates migration motivations. Households trying to respond to structural change use migration as a means of overcoming the hardships of a market economy.

Moreover, the state insurance system in the transition period is usually outdated, while government unemployment insurance programs are limited or non-existent. That is why households try to protect themselves from the risks of underemployment and unemployment by labor migration of one or more of his (her) members³⁴.

Empirically, in particular on the example of European countries, this is manifested in the fact that in the early 20th century the governments of these countries tried in every possible way to limit immigration flows, which could significantly upset the traditional for their societies racial-ethnic and, accordingly, cultural-civilization balance. However, after the First and Second World Wars, the situation somewhat changed. Western European countries have opened the “door” for mass migration of their former colonies, who exported cheap labor and occupied economic niches, which were avoided by indigenous peoples (chemical industry, utilities, agriculture, services, etc.). However, until the 70-80’s of the 20th century migrants have traditionally been seen as “temporary guests” (Gastarbeiter), but in the early stages of the regulating migration processes policy did not set the task of socio-cultural adaptation of workers. Only an increase in the share of migrants in the late 20th century up to 10–15 percent of the total population has provoked European countries to take more decisive steps to regulate migration processes and develop policies for their integration (if not assimilation, in particular to replace the policy of multiculturalism in some countries)³⁵. This, in part, was due to the fact that the new migration wave of the 90s of 20th century was characterized by the following features: 1)

³³ Massey D. Sinteticheskaya teoriya mezhdunarodnoj migracii, [w:] Mir v zerkale mezhdunarodnoj migracii. Nauchnaya seriya: Mezhdunarodnaya migraciya naseleniya: Rossiya i sovremennyy mir / ed. by V. Ioncev, Wyd. MAKS-Press 2002, vol 10, s. 132-148

³⁴ Naselennia Ukrainy. Trudova emihratsiia v Ukraini, Wyd. In-t demohrafi i ta sotsialnykh doslidzhen im. M. V. Ptukhy NAN Ukrainy 2010, s. 21-22.

³⁵ Apanovich M., Politicheskie aspekty migracionnykh processov v sovremennoj Evrope [avtoref. dis. ... kand. polit. nauk: spec. Politicheskie problemy mezhdunarodnykh otnoshenij, global'nogo i regional'nogo razvitiya], Moskva 2012.

there appeared new types of migrants – from highly qualified migrants to asylum seekers, illegal, temporary and transit migrants; 2) the role of some European countries in migration processes has changed, as, for example, Italy, Spain, Portugal and Greece, which have traditionally been “donor countries”, have become attractive for immigration flows; 3) mass migration from East to West, which was feared in the early 90’s of 20th century due to the collapse of the USSR and the liberalization of migration policy in Central and Eastern Europe, there was no significant increase in international migration to and from the countries of Central and Eastern and Western Europe from another eastern direction – from Asia; 4) there was an increase in the number of illegal movements both among those who arrived illegally and among those who remained in the country without legal status; 5) the attention to the issue of forced migration, which began to be considered as part of the broader problem of migration, along with the problem of refugees and asylum seekers increased³⁶.

As a result, and also taking into account the combination of theory and empirical practice, in particular on the example of European countries, it was ascertained that using the term “migration”, each author puts in it completely different interpretations, using as a guide many existing categories with the movement of individuals and its main stages. This situation is very much intensified today by the incessant globalization, which significantly affects most of the phenomena and nowadays processes. In addition, the scientific term “migration” has long been universal, which differs significantly from the period when there were previously only two well-known approaches to defining this process, in particular as relocation (as a “narrow” interpretation of migration) and territorial inter-settle movements (as a “broad” interpretation of migration)³⁷. After all, it is more universal to state that migration (population) is any territorial movement of the population associated with the crossing of both external and internal borders of administrative-territorial entities in order to change permanent residence or temporary stay in the territory for study or labor activity, etc., regardless of the factors under which it occurs³⁸.

Although it is obvious that from the various definitions of migration that exist in science, we can distinguish three conditional approaches to its interpretation, in particular: a) as a spatial movement of persons, regardless of its nature and ultimate goals; b) as the transfer of a person or persons from one state to another in order to change their place of residence for a certain period or forever; c) as a process of spatial movement of a person or persons, which always leads to the territorial redistribution of the population both in the country of origin and in the recipient country.

³⁶ Timur S., Changing Trends and Major Issues in International Migration: an Overview of UNESCO Programmes, “International Social Science Journal. International Migration” 2000, vol 52, nr. 165, s. 259-260.

³⁷ Palahniuk O., Mihratsiia yak sotsialno-ekonomichnyi fenomen ta heopolitychnyi vydyk rozvytku suchasnoho suspilstva, “Naukovi pratsi Chornomorskoho derzhavnogo universytetu imeni Petra Mohyly kompleksu: Ser. Politolohiia” 2014, vol 230, nr. 218, s. 38-39.

³⁸ Mihratsiini protsesy v suchasnomu sviti: svitovi, rehionalnyi ta natsionalnyi vymiry: Poniatiinyi aparat, kontseptualni pidkhody, teoriia ta praktyka: Entsyklopediia / ed. by Yu. Rymarenko, Wyd. Dovira 1998, s. 740.

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