

СЕКЦІЯ 1

МЕТОДОЛОГІЯ ТА МЕТОДИ СОЦІОЛОГІЧНИХ ДОСЛІДЖЕНЬ

SYSTEMATIZATION OF THE EXPERIENCE OF STUDYING LABOR MIGRATION IN PUBLIC SCIENCES: ANALYTICAL REVIEW OF CONCEPTS

СИСТЕМАТИЗАЦІЯ ДОСВІДУ ВИВЧЕННЯ ТРУДОВОЇ МІГРАЦІЇ В СУСПІЛЬНИХ НАУКАХ: АНАЛІТИЧНИЙ ОГЛЯД КОНЦЕПЦІЙ

In this publication an attempt of systematization of the theoretical concepts of the study of labour migration as a social phenomenon. In particular, the main economic (E. Ravenstein, E. Lee, G. Borjas, G. Minser, E. Pletnev, P. Stoker, G. Simon, N. Piora, V. Evtukh, etc.), demographic (D. Coleman, A. Solimano, V. Zelinsky, G. Skeldon, etc.) and sociological (U. Thomas, F. Znaniecki, G. Park, G. Mackenzie, W. Sombart, T. Parsons, R. Merton, G. Becker, D. Massey, L. Rybakovsky, I. Wallerstein, T. Yudina, A. Zhurba, etc.) theories, both foreign and domestic authors. Economic paradigm involve the rational study of the motivational component of labour migration, based on the principles of economic rationalism and consumerist logic. The allocation macro (based on analysis of market spaces, economic institutions and macro-processes), micro (involving the study of rational individuals and households) and synthesizing (combining micro- and macro-concept) approaches allowed us to characterize the features of econometrics of labour migration. In contrast to economic, demographic theories are integrated, systematized socio-psychological, economic, political and other factors of labour migration. Their main disadvantage is the lack of understanding of their subordination and hierarchy. Sociological theories of labor migration include the coverage of a wide range of indicators (migration intentions and the mechanisms of their realization, the motives of labour migration the features of the functioning of migrant networks, social adaptation and integration of labor migrants, etc.) that allows them to claim some validity. Attempt to build a universal model of labor migration makes sense, however, the researcher is often difficult to determine the dominant determinants that have an actual influence on the analyzed value. Therefore, the use of an interdisciplinary approach in the context of the simultaneous study of economic, demographic and social factors influencing the implementation of the migration behaviour of the labour force is especially important in light of the current situation in the world, which is characterized by the emergence of a new reality movement of a work.

Key words: work migration, determinants of labor movements, economic, demographic and sociological concepts of labor migration.

вої міграції як соціального явища. Зокрема, основні економічні (Е. Равенштейн, Е. Лі, Г. Борхас, Г. Мінсер, Є. Плетньов, П. Стокер, Г. Саймон, Н. Піора, В. Євтух та інші), демографічні (Д. Коулман, А. Соліmano, В. Зелінський, Г. Скеддон та інші) та соціологічні (У. Томас, Ф. Знаніцький, Г. Парк, Г. Маккензі, В. Зомбарт, Т. Парсонс, Р. Мертон, Г. Беккер, Д. Мессі, Л. Рубаковський, І. Валлерштейн, Т. Юдіна, А. Журба й інші) теорії як закордонних, так і вітчизняних авторів. Економічна парадигма передбачає раціональне дослідження мотиваційної складової частини трудової міграції, засноване на принципах економічного раціоналізму та споживачької логіки. Розподіл макро- (на основі аналізу ринкових просторів, економічних інститутів і макропроцесів), мікро- (що передбачає вивчення раціональних індивідів і домогосподарств) і синтезувального (поєднання мікро- і макроконцепцій) підходів дозволив охарактеризувати особливості трудовіміграційних процесів. На відміну від економічних, демографічних теорій – це інтегровані, систематизовані соціально-психологічні, економічні, політичні й інші чинники трудової міграції. Головний їхній недолік – нерозуміння своєї підпорядкованості й ієрархії. Соціологічні теорії трудової міграції передбачають охоплення широкого кола показників (міграційні наміри та механізми їх реалізації, мотиви трудової міграції, особливості функціонування міграційних мереж, соціальна адаптація й інтеграція трудових мігрантів тощо), які визначаються соціологічними теоріями трудової міграції, що дозволяє їм претендувати на певну чинність. Спроба побудувати універсальну модель трудової міграції має сенс, однак досліднику часто важко визначити домінуючі детермінанти, які реально впливають на аналізовану величину. Тому використання міждисциплінарного підходу в контексті одночасного дослідження економічних, демографічних і соціальних чинників, що впливають на реалізацію трудовіміграційної поведінки, особливо актуальне у світлі нинішньої ситуації у світі, для якої характерна поява нової реальності міграції робочої сили.

Ключові слова: трудова міграція, детермінанти робочих рухів, економічні, демографічні та соціологічні концепції трудової міграції.

У публікації зроблена спроба систематизації теоретичних концепцій вивчення трудо-

UDC 331.556=111
DOI <https://doi.org/10.32843/2663-5208.2021.30.1>

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Introduction. Since 2014, the average rate of migration flows in the European Union has increased by 30% [26]. Considering the recent events related to the arrival of migrants from Africa and the Middle East, the European com-

munity is puzzled first of all by their mass character (according to the UN estimates, about 1 million illegal migrants arrived in Europe in 2015, since the beginning of 2012 the number of Syrian refugees has increased more than 30 times: from

23,4 thousand at the end of 2012 to 799,9 thousand at the end of 2015 [1]). According to NBC in 2017–2018 the number of migrants to the USA and Canada who have arrived from Central America – Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador – has increased by almost 5 times [18]. This kind of activation of labor-migration processes and a sharp increase in the number of labor migrants, which was observed at the end of the XIX century – at the beginning and second half of the XX century, as well as modern migration trends became the impetus for new scientific research related to the search for dominant labor movement determinants, in particular.

Methods. Over the past 150 years, a number of concepts have emerged. Thanks to them it became possible to analyze labor migration from the micro to the macro level and vice versa. As we know, labor movements is a complex social phenomenon that is studied in the framework of many sciences, in particular history, law, ethnology, economics, demography, geography, sociology, etc. Each science while analyzing the population's labor-migration behavior determines its subject, tasks, and research tools. The theoretical approaches, formulated within the framework of a science, are not contradictory, but complementary. They are used by scientists to study the migration reality at different levels, and the analysis is based on various factors. Systematization and identification of groups of approaches to the study of labor migration, in which economic, demographic, and sociological determinants are conceptualized, will expand the possibilities of comprehensive research and explanation of its new forms (such as labor migrations of fugitives and exiles, rotational and transitional, prepared/planned and unprepared/unplanned forms of labor movement, etc. [27]), based on its origin and socio-territorial functioning space.

Results and discussion. Economic approaches include the econometric theory of migration, the theory of geographically determined labor, the neoclassical socio-economic theory of labor migration flows, the concept of the global (international) labor market, the theory of the segmented (dual) labor market, the institutional theory of migration (the theory of economic institutionalism), the concept of migration systems, the concept of economic distributional factors of migration. A characteristic feature of these approaches is the allocation of a rational motivational component of labor-migration behavior and the presence of a conceptual apparatus based on models of economic rationalism and consumerist logic. Within the economic concepts labor migrants are considered as a social group that operates on the basis of a goal-rational model of behavior and makes decisions based on spontaneous econometrics. Such an approach, of course, in

a certain way simplifies the conceptualization of labor-migration determinants since labor migrants often realize their activity through irrational motivation or factors associated with socio-cultural circumstances and social capital. Undoubtedly, economically oriented approaches have theoretical-cognitive and socio-practical value for understanding labor movements, since they operate with a developed mathematical arsenal and allow us to build formal models for interpreting labor-migration behavior. According to the authors, it is also advisable to divide economic concepts into macro-, micro-oriented and synthesizing ones. Macro-oriented approaches are aimed at analyzing economic (market) space, economic institutions, and macro-processes. Micro-oriented approaches analyze rational individuals and households (families) that initiate labor-migration behavior based on the balance of expenditure and income. While the synthesizing models of work-migration behavior combine the approaches of micro- and macro-oriented concepts.

Theoretical and methodological foundations of the study of labor migration as the social phenomenon were laid at the end of the XIX century by E. Ravenstein. He was one of the first researchers of migration processes. While studying migration flows on the example of Great Britain and North America, he concluded that economic factors are the dominant determinants of migration, and migration volumes are numerically determined by indicators of industrial, trade and transport infrastructure development. He substantiated his reasoning by the fact that all territories are distinguished by economic characteristics and groups of people constantly migrate between them. Most migrants move on short distances. Each migration flow has a reverse movement. Long-distance labor migration is directed to major centers of industry and commerce. Women mostly migrate between regions, while men – between countries [42].

E. Ravenstein's scientific ideas became the basis for explanatory models and theoretical generalizations. In general, a theoretical understanding of migration processes is characterized by gradual transition from direct mechanical borrowing of the ideal market functioning models, developed in economic theory, to recognition of the need to take into account institutional, social, political, cultural and other conditions within which market institutions and mechanisms are functioning [42].

Along with the works of E. Ravenstein, the econometric model of E. Lee belongs to the number of classical labor-migration theories. According to this model, there are various groups of factors determining the content, attraction/repulsion of migration in each territory [36]. E. Lee believed that a person became an active

agent of migration processes precisely when he had the opportunity to make independent decisions concerning movement. A potential migrant may decide to move in a situation where the combination of factors of attraction / repulsion is so strong that can justify the difficulties associated with the process of migration.

Another important characteristic that determines the propensity for labor migration is a person at certain stages of the life cycle. So, those who change their social status position are more inclined to migration. These are people who complete their studies and enter the labor market, get married or divorce, retire, etc. [35]. E. Lee pays special attention to econometric characteristics of the labor migrant and the stages of life cycle, leaving aside non-economic factors, irrational and personal reasons that may also affect the course of labor migration processes.

I. Kukurudza, T. Romanenko assert that within the framework of the neoclassical socio-economic concept labor migrant flows are considered as the arithmetic sum of people's movements due to personal interests. In other words, the migrant worker, as a rationally operating object, decides to migrate or not to based on calculations in the system of "loss-benefit" from migration [11]. The decision on labor migration is made step-by-step. At the first stage, people inclined to migrate form their ideas about a potential region/country for movement. At the second stage, they estimate possible positive/negative consequences associated with changes in permanent residence and place of work. The decision-making process is quite complex, since the migration of the whole family should be beneficial for all its working members. However, most often in such situations the cumulative benefit is determined for the family relocation as a whole. The considered approach has certain limitations, in particular, it cannot be used in the study of forced migration. In addition, not all individuals decide to change their place of work and residence consciously, analyzing in detail all the advantages and disadvantages. This is because some people act impulsively or under the influence of external circumstances. In this case, the assessment of the possibility of obtaining benefits from the movement by a potential labor migrant is not carried out.

Within the framework of the concept of family migration economics (G. Borjas), labor-migration processes are explained from the family point of view. Benefits that married couples expect to receive during labor movements determine the best strategies for their behavior [32]. J. Mincer notes that adult family members can assess the potential benefits of labor movements in different ways. Therefore, moving outside the country can cause the appearance of "dependent" labor migrants who, leaving families for the sake of their well-being, work in foreign countries

Consequently, labor migration in the framework of the above theory is explained at the micro level by the ratio of benefits that the spouses expect to get from moving to another country [16]. It is possible to confirm the provisions of this concept only if the whole family migrates. Otherwise, they can be refuted, because, as practice proves, most often only some members of families move.

In the opinion of I. Lapshina, the most popular theory is the concept of geographically determined labor force. In accordance with it labor migration is a process determined by geographical differences in labor demand/supply [12]. According to this approach, there is a pattern: low wages are fixed in regions/countries with excess labor, while in administrative-territorial units with insufficient labor people get high wages. In other words, the amount of money for work done is the main factor for labor migrants to leave their own regions, and respectively – a pull factor in the regions of arrival. Labor markets in donor and recipient countries, in accordance with the macro-level neoclassical theory, are the primary mechanism that determines the movement of labor between regions/countries. That is why for the labor migration management it is necessary, first of all, to apply mechanisms to influence the labor markets of the regions/countries which migrant workers come from. Investment flows have the opposite direction to the movement of labor migrants: capital must "flow" from rich countries into poor ones. Increased rate of income from capital in poor countries attracts investment. This, in turn, causes the labor migration of highly skilled workers who have the intention to change their social status or improve their material well-being.

The concept of a global (international) labor market which explains the causes of migration processes according to the Marxist paradigm is one of the leading macro-theories of labor migration. E. Pletnev studied the labor-migration processes in the framework of this approach. He defines the international market as the basis of the capitalist mode of production [20]. He regards labor migration as a means of distributing "free" labor force (not only the unemployed, but also those people who work in organizations, institutions, enterprises and intend to get employed abroad) in the structure of international production. But not all unemployed people are part of free labor force because most of them are focused on getting a job in the national labor market, so they should not be considered as a resource for other countries.

I. Kukurudza, T. Romanenko state the fact that at the heart of the institutional theory of migration (the theory of economic institutionalism) macro-level factors are considered. The development of labor migration entails the emergence of private institutions and voluntary organizations. Their main task is to ensure the demand created

by the disproportion between the large number of people seeking employment in another country and the volume of vacancies in the labor market. The situation on the labor market, as well as the obstacles created by public authorities on the way of migrants' access to the territory of recipient countries form the "black market" of migrants which contributes to the exploitation and persecution of migrants [11]. In exchange for a fee defined by the "black market", organizations and private entrepreneurs provide migrants with a range of services: secret transportation across state borders; fake visas and documents; signing labor contracts between a migrant and employer; credit, etc. Humanitarian organizations help migrants through counseling, social services, advice on acquiring legal status, etc. When it comes to institutional support for migration, we cannot but mention other organizations that work legally, demanding payment for their services and they also help other categories of citizens who require social protection. These organizations include foreign language courses, transfer of funds from abroad. Over time, information about such organizations is distributed through migration networks among potential customers. Thus, another type of social capital is established, through which access to recipient regions/countries is facilitated for all those who want to migrate.

Within the framework of the system approach proposed by P. Stoker, there are theories whose representatives study the migration process in the context of global flows of capital and goods as well as various factors that are global in nature [25]. In particular, this concept focuses on the presence of certain institutions that act as intermediaries between countries which are members of the migration flow. This "social capital", combined with the experience of earlier migrants, makes it easier for potential labor migrants to make a decision about the movement.

The theoretical model of migration systems developed by M. Kritz, L. Lim and H. Zlotnik explains the mechanism for uniting countries, which labor migrants leave or enter, into so-called labor migration system. The countries that make up such systems differ from others by a more intensive exchange of goods, services, and human resources. The international migration system consists of a core (which can be a specific state or a group of them) and periphery (countries connected with the "core" due to the existence of mass labor migration flows) [15]. Countries within such a system need not be geographically close. The flows of labor migrants are a reflection of political and economic relations, while the proximity of geographical location determines the course and nature of interstate relations. The scale of labor migration is indirectly dependent on geographical location, socio-cultural proximity, existing political relations, trade partnership, etc.

The study of labor migration takes place within the framework of J. Simon's theory of prosperity (technological development). He believes that the growth of the actual population is a boon both at the level of an individual state and at the global level. Taking it into account, he authoritatively notes that immigration should be considered only in terms of its positive impact on economic and demographic development of the host society. This scientific approach explains the nature of permanent or temporary immigration through the possibility of working in a foreign region, paying taxes, as well as consumption which are able to cover the costs of the recipient region/country. In other words, a significant amount of foreign labor resources is the key to the prosperity of the region/country of entry in the future [21].

In the framework of the theory of a segmented (dual) labor market developed by N. Payor, the dominant determinants of labor migration are the structural needs of the economies of the recipient regions/countries. A labor market is considered as a whole consisting of separate primary/secondary, internal/external, formal/informal sectors or segments [38]. The first segmentation model of the labor market is the most common in scientific practice. The primary sector is filled with highly skilled workers, and the secondary sector – with workers who have low qualifications. Primary market workers are involved in the labor process primarily on the basis of long-term employment contracts. They have stable employment and are supported by trade unions, while secondary market employees most often work on the basis of short-term employment contracts or temporary agreements. Those employed in the secondary sector work mainly part-time, have temporary or seasonal work and are not supported by professional associations. The primary market is distinguished by a high level of self-management and self-organization, employees' responsibility for the final results of their work, employment in key areas of work and participation in the management of an enterprise. Workers in the secondary sector are primarily engaged in performing auxiliary functions. They are characterized by the absence of elements of self-regulation, the impossibility of taking part in managing the production process, and a high degree of rationing of labor and working time. Employees of the primary sector receive a high salary which depends on their position, skill level, degree of responsibility. Also, this market is characterized by a combination of salary with other forms of income: dividends, profit sharing, etc. While workers in the secondary market receive significantly lower wages which directly depends on output and discipline.

The main position of this theory is the assumption about the principles of distribution of the working population in certain segments. So,

M. Khekhter and S. Liberzon focus on the fact that the cultural and psychological inclination of workers to a specific type of work can be the basis for such a division of labor [3]. V. Yevtukh, criticizing their ideas, notes that in the course of analyzing social processes, it is somewhat inappropriate to use the concept of an ethnocultural order. However, he justifies his explanation of the increased concentration of foreign workers in the secondary labor market of the recipient countries, on the one hand, by the presence of a specific socio-economic situation, and on the other, by the position of a new contingent of labor in the labor market, which is determined by the government. Thus, V. Yevtukh supports the position of those authors who consider that a purposeful policy of attracting foreign labor to non-prestigious low-skilled and low-paid jobs has led to the segmentation of the labor markets of recipient countries [5]. In contrast, T. Petrova believes that the segmentation of the labor market is based on a set of specific features of the social status and economic behavior of people in the labor market, which are distinguished into separate segments, because representatives of various socio-demographic, professional groups who have similar methods of recruitment, coordination and evaluation can get into the segment area [19].

The number of synthesizing theories of labor migration include O. Stark's socio-economic concept. It focuses not on the motives of labor migration of individuals, but on the whole household, at the level of which the decision on relocation is made. Such a collective decision is justified not only by the desire to increase the expected income, but also by the desire to minimize the risks associated with the movement. All household members, in order to maintain an adequate level of their welfare, strive to maximize their own resources, in particular, using their full working potential. Some family members may be employed in the local labor market, while others, by joint decision, may be employed in the recipient region/country. Under these conditions of the distribution of the available resources of the household labor force in case of a deterioration of the socio-economic situation in the national labor market, the cash inflows of migrant workers can provide other household members with an adequate level of existence [41].

Demographic concepts can be considered complex from the point of view of considering the phenomenon of labor migration. In these approaches, labor migration processes are considered from the perspective of their multi-determinism by various factors (socio-psychological, economic, political, etc.). However, a feature of these approaches is a certain deficit in the understanding of the subordination of labor migration factors and their hierarchies.

J. Coleman in his theory of the demographic transition noted that labor migration is the dominant component of the demographic development of the society. Introducing the term "third demographic transition", he characterized the process that resulted in high immigration in developed countries amid low birth rates. Thus, J. Coleman concerns that a large number of immigrants can lead to the replacement of the indigenous population and changes in culture, self-identification of the inhabitants of Western Europe countries, citing prognoses of demographers. If labor migration trends persist, he urges countries to take a responsible approach to the issue of immigration policy [10].

A. Solimano, developing the ideas of the demographic theory of labor-migration processes, notes that in the context of globalization, trends in the movement of highly educated personnel have changed qualitatively. On the one hand, the awareness of the important role of scientific knowledge for socio-economic development made it possible to turn intellectual work into the dominant factor of sustainable development and contributed to an increase in the mobility of the highly skilled labor force. On the other hand, in the context of globalization, highly skilled creative people have gained much more opportunities for free movement. States are forced to compete for such labor migrants, developing and implementing appropriate migration policies aimed at developing immigration channels, stimulating the influx of highly educated workers, and giving them various kinds of preferences from obtaining citizenship to tax benefits. In addition, the increase in the number of foreign students in internationalization of the education system, the development of transnational corporations contribute to the formation of fundamentally new social networks based on education and professionalism. In other words, in the context of globalization, the direction and extent of labor migration flows are largely determined by the direction of capital flow [40].

The theory of the mobile transition by V. Zelinskiy complements J. Coleman's concept of the demographic transition by expanding the number of transition indicators, in particular, together with the analysis of indicators of changes in birth rates and mortality, it involves considering the dynamics of the indicator of the population territorial mobility [45]. V. Zelinskiy identifies five stages of the demographic transition of the population, each of which is characterized by different forms of mobility. His innovation lies in the fact that he defined the role of globalization in the emergence of new forms of labor migration examining it in structural dynamics, analyzing the interconnection with demographic, socio-economic processes, the development

of transport communication, the formation of new channels of information transfer, the increase/decrease of economic opportunities, growth of well-being of the population as the most significant factor of migration attitudes. The developed model of labor migration has clearly defined spatial-temporal characteristics; it does not reveal causal connections between demographic processes and changes in territorial mobility, but it proves that the relationship between them is indirect as a result of the development of socio-economic, political and other processes.

Developing the ideas of V. Zelinskiy, G. Skeldon perfected them and developed the author's theory of the regionalization of labor migration. Defining the nature of the interconnection between the level of economic development of the state, its political structure and forms of citizens mobility, he divided regions according to the degree of their population involvement in labor migration processes: "old" and "new" regions, in particular, Western Europe, North America, Japan are characterized as regions with a high level of immigration; regions geographically adjacent to the world center (for example, Eastern China, South Africa, Eastern Europe), where both immigration and emigration flows are present at the same time; labor emigration regions (North Africa, Turkey, Mexico, the Philippines); the so-called "resource niches" regions (some areas of Africa, Central Asia, Latin America) where labor migration flows are not clearly delineated [39]. F. Martin, D. Taylor developed the concept of G. Skeldon in their works. They tried to explain the origin of the "migration peak" from the point of view of the economy. They understood this concept as a temporary increase in the scale of migration associated with the economic development of the country. With the growing well-being of migrant workers, migration networks are emerging. They contribute to an increase in the flow of new labor to the recipient regions/countries. Countries in the mature stages of economic development are characterized by a decrease in the outflow of the population. As a result they turn into countries which import labor force.

Compared to economic concepts, sociological theories of labor migration do not claim transparency and clarity of the relationship between calculated variables, but sociologists compensate for the "non-mathematical nature" by covering a wider range of indicators which allows their models to claim external validity.

Classical prerequisites for the formation of a sociological approach to the study of labor-migration processes are presented in the works of W. Thomas, F. Znanetskiy. They studied behavior of individuals who were influenced by the environment. Understanding the social life of individuals as a process of adaptation, during the study of personal documents the authors of the the-

ory tried to build a typology of social characters, based on the real dynamics of the motivation of specific people, and to characterize ways of adaptation in the conditions of a new society. Thus, W. Thomas, F. Znanetskiy tried to analyze the consequences of migration and adaptation of immigrants in the recipient region/country, using qualitative methodology [43].

The works of the Chicago school theorists are of particular interest to researchers of labor migration. In particular, the socio-ecological concept of migration by G. Park, G. Mackenzie [37] was an attempt to explain the impact of industrialization and urbanization processes on the social being of a person, as well as the rationale that labor migration most often serves as an indicator and accelerator of social mobility.

In sociology, one of the first typological concepts of studying historical forms of migration was the theory of V. Zombart. He studied the nature of relationships among migrants, their public relations with representatives of the recipient region/country, as well as the influence of the "capitalist spirit" development on diversity of single and mass migration forms [7].

In the framework of the positivist sociology M. Todaro attempted to delineate the characteristics of labor-migration behavior for an objective assessment of its consequences and the possibility of developing management mechanisms. The main idea of the author is that labor movements of a specific individual or members of his family should be considered as the result of a choice depending on geographical, environmental, and socio-economic factors [44].

The methodology of T. Parsons' structural functionalism is focused on the study of the social determinants of labor-migration processes in their systemic and functional unity [17]. According to categorical imperatives of R. Merton concept, the main functions of labor migrations can be viewed from the point of view of their obvious and latent manifestation. The labor migration is viewed from the point of view of the possible interaction of people with each other as members of social organizations or groups undoubtedly leading to structural changes in society [14].

A particular case of the functionalist approach is the assimilation theory of M. Gordon and A. Handlin. They explain the peculiarities of the life of national minorities based on the principle of the linearity of the process of labor immigrants adaptation in the community of the recipient region [33; 34].

According to V. Iontsev ethnosociological approach (K. Davis, Y. Arutyunyan, L. Drobizheva) is aimed at not only a simple accounting of the number of labor migrants, but rather a study of the influence of personal characteristics and value orientations on the formation of labor-migration behavior [8]. According to this

approach culture is a collective way of adaptation to the surrounding world and social environment which makes it possible to better explain the essence and characteristics of the mechanisms of labor migration processes through the prism of historical traditions, including inter-generational experience. We should note that this theory is often referred to historical concepts, despite the fact that it is closely related to ethnographic studies.

The theory of social change (Y. Shchepanskiy, P. Shtompka) defines labor-migration processes as an attribute of social reality, homogeneous series of social interaction acts leading to changes in the socio-functional and socio-structural nature [28; 29].

A special place among microlevel theories of labor migration processes is taken by the concept of human capital developed by G. Becker. He defined various aspects of human behavior as a manifestation of economic expediency. In his opinion, to realize the intentions of labor relocation, not only the desire of the individual matters, but also the availability of various resources. Hence, labor migrations have a selective nature, since displacement, in his opinion, is characteristic of non-poor strata of the population who possess the necessary set of resources. Thus, G. Becker argued that labor migration is determined by a number of factors: the difference between the population and its level of life in developed countries compared to third world countries; reduction of administrative and other barriers to migrants and links with the development of globalization processes; the need to cover the deficit caused by low birth rates in the labor market of developed countries at the expense of young people from abroad [31].

The concept of cumulative conditionality (G. Mirdal) is one of the theories explaining the labor-migration processes in terms of their renewability and self-support. The basis of this theoretical model is the thesis that every perfect labor-migration action changes the social context within which further decisions on relocation will be made. This shift is usually carried out in the direction of increasing the likelihood of further labor migrations [15; 16]. Regarding the regional distribution of human capital, the concept of cumulative conditionality, as well as the theory of human capital, puts forward the thesis on the selective nature of labor migration, as a result of which it is carried out by the most qualified and active workers.

D. Massey's synthetic (network) theory of labor migration is an integrative concept that synthesizes the main ideas of classical theories of labor migration and proves the dominance of the economic factors of labor migration in the context of globalization. Analyzing the mechanisms of labor migration, the author studies its social, political, economic consequences, focus-

ing on the duration of movements, the tendency for self-preservation and strengthening. D. Massey justifies the need to study the migrant community, which is a combination of both former and potential migrants. Their interpersonal relations are of family or friendly nature and form the so-called migration network which simplifies the process of labor migration, reduces the risk of displacement and increases the likelihood of their activation [13].

L. Ribakovskiy's concept of the three stages of migration process considers migration processes not from the point of view of the territorial aggregates of people (as a series of migrants leaving/arriving), but from the perspective of the participants in the movement [23]. The labor migration process, in his opinion, consists of three main stages that are closely inter-related: the output (or preparatory) stage which is the process of forming the territorial mobility of the population; the main stage as an immediate act of movement; the final stage of labor migrants adaptation in a new workplace in the recipient region/country. Analysing the first stage of displacement, one should focus on the presence of a certain socio-psychological state, since it is necessary to distinguish between potential migration and migratory mobility. Potential migration, in the opinion of T. Zaslavskaya, is a positive attitude towards displacement. It is combined with the adopted, but still unimplemented decision to change jobs and permanent residence [21]. Migration mobility is an objectified state, the ability of an individual to migrate which has developed as a result of accumulated migration experience. L. Korel calls this experience a migration biography. Human mobility depends on the number of movements made, the duration of residence in the recipient region/country, as well as on participation in various forms of migration [21].

The course of adaptation in a recipient region/country depends on many factors. One of the most significant is the psychological factor of adaptation which is closely linked to plans on duration of stay in the region/country of entry. If a person intends to settle permanently, the formation of attitudes to adapt to the new environment takes place at the preparatory stage of the migration process and is manifested in such actions as learning the language, culture, traditions and customs of the region/country. When it comes to temporary residence, the settings for adaptation will have specific characteristics. Even at the initial stage of the migration process the migrant prepares to return to his homeland after a certain period of time. In this case, the adaptation may be expressed in a tolerant attitude to the norms of behavior that exist in the recipient region/country [3].

The terms "adaptation" and "provision of necessary facilities" in the context of this theory are closely related to the consideration of such cate-

gories as “newcomer” and “old-timers”. The first term is used to single out a group of people who migrated to a new place of residence, and the second – characterizes migrants who settled a certain area and lived there for more than 10 years. On average, it takes about 8–10 years for a new settler to set up, during which the welfare of new settlers reaches the living standards of old residents in places of settlement. According to L. Ribakovskiy, adaptation is a stage of the migration process, the beginning of which is characterized by the “transformation” of a migrant into a new settler, and the end - by the transition of a new settler into the category of old-timers. In this regard, the migration process having gone through all stages of development is complete [23]. In other words, any sociospatial mobility that does not end with the adaptation of new settlers is considered by L. Ribakovskiy as an incomplete migration process. The effectiveness of the state management of labor migration processes depends entirely on the influence on the formation of migration intentions and behavior at all stages of the process.

The concept of the world system (global city) by I. Wallerstein is substantially close to the theory of international labor market. He believed that the dominant concept in understanding the essence and causes of labor migration processes is the world labor market which is managed from a small number of economically and politically developed urban centers (global cities), e.g. in the USA – New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, and in Europe – London, Paris, Milan. All other regions of the world system form the periphery, which produces raw materials, land and labor resources for the world economy and is developing depending on the wishes of the center [2].

We should note the advantages of the conflictological approach to the study of labor migration. One of his representatives, A. Dmitriev, views the conflict related to migration as the interaction of two main participants – permanent residents and labor migrants. The essence of the conflict situation lies in the participants’ perception of each other as the infringement of their own material and spiritual aspirations. Authorities of the recipient region/country often join the conflict as a third party [4].

In the methodology of modern sociological analysis, special attention should be paid to the vitality theory, individual and social subjectivity. Within the framework of this concept, T. Yudina considers migration as a result of the interaction of social space and vital forces, as a result of which new needs are formed which, in turn, activate the individual and social subjectivity with the help of which people assimilate the optimal social space for the realization of vital forces [30]. No less interesting is the concept of spatial self-organization of the population by I. Pribytkova [21]. She believes that territorial displace-

ments of the population are carried out in a certain socio-spatial continuum, each point of which is characterized by a certain set of life benefits, namely: the possibility of getting an education, purchasing dwelling, organizing quality recreation, socializing, and pastime; the level of economic stability; political freedoms, etc. The defining parameters for labor migrations are the employability and indicators characterizing the quality of the workplace. The combination of all these indicators forms the space of opportunities within which individuals move.

From the point of view of studying social issues of labor migration, A. Zhurba’s scientific studies are valuable. Investigating theoretical and practical problems associated with the social and legal regulation of migrant labor abroad, he determined the nature and content of international migration, its positive and negative consequences [6]. V. Kolkpova, A. Kuzmenko, analysing illegal migration and countermeasures, outlined the legal nature of relations between the state and illegal foreigners. In particular, they revealed the content, features of the development of the social and legal mechanism to counter illegal migration. Its components are organizational and structural entities, administrative and legal measures, and regulatory support. The scientists analyzed the problems of improving its influence and the negative effects of migration [9].

Conclusion. Analysis of theoretical approaches to the study of labor migration, presented in the sociological literature, allows to identify the main causes and factors of labor migration processes, as well as to determine the mechanisms of self-development, renewability and self-support of labor movements. The dominant determinants include geographical, socioeconomic differences in labor supply/demand, development of regions/countries, wage and income levels, unemployment, etc. The mechanisms of self-development and self-support of labor migration include: migrant workers’ networks; social institutions and organizations supporting labor migration processes; cultural and social capital; functioning historical, cultural, technological and other links between regions/countries of departure/entry of labor migrants. All this became the basis for the analysis of theoretical approaches, within which a trend to develop a new methodology in the study of labor migration, both external and internal, has emerged. Explaining the determinants of labor migration only by studying the dynamics of sociodemographic and economic factors would be a clear simplification. The scale and direction of labor migration is determined by the interaction of a large number of variables, such as: geographical location of the country; its role in the world economy system; income distribution; the level of unemployment, the education system development,

the nature of the political regime; level of safety of life; environmental well-being/distress; historical, political, socio-cultural relations with other states, immigration policy, etc. In the system, all these factors determine the labor movements of the population at different stages of the mobile transition. It is obvious that today in the study of labor migration there is a shift towards the social sciences, in particular, sociology. And despite the fact that today a number of methodological principles and theoretical approaches of sociological science are far from being fully implemented in various kinds of studies of the social practices of labor migration, work in this direction is carried out quite actively. The current socio-economic, political situation in the world determines the latest trends in labor movements, which, in turn, requires the transformation of theoretical and methodological approaches to the study of the new reality of labor migration. After all, both the labor and migration processes themselves and their consequences for society change. Of course, an attempt to build a certain universal model of labor migration makes sense, but there is a threat that it will be difficult for an empirical analysis. Moreover, when it comes to any model, it is often difficult for a researcher to determine the true number of factors that actually affect the figure being studied. That is why it is advisable to determine the most significant factors in the research process, since it is simply impossible to include everything in the model. In this sense, the relevance of an interdisciplinary approach that contributes to the analysis of labor-migration processes in the context of demographic, economic, social factors influencing the implementation of labor-migration behavior is beyond doubt. Research of migration intentions and mechanisms for their implementation, labor migration motivation, features of migration networks functioning, the internal state of a person who is experiencing socio-psychological discomfort, stress being influenced by the new environment of the recipient region/country, provides an opportunity for a comprehensive, in-depth study of the forms, mechanisms for the social adaptation of migrant workers and their social integration with the local population, as well as help predict the consequences of this process both for the ethnic and personal identification of migrants, and for the economic and socio-cultural development of a region/country.

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