

MILESTONES THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL MIGRATION STUDY IN INTERNATIONAL

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The article presents some theoretical benchmarks used in explaining the behaviors specific to the international migration, invoking the concepts, widely used in the analysis of the phenomenon: the migration flows, areas of origin and destination; differences in economic, cultural, social and symbolic capitals between the two areas in the production of migration; characteristics of the labor market segmented of the areas of destination; relative deprivation of households in the areas of origin, the constitution of a specific culture of migration, the role of migration networks and the institutions in autosupporting the process. It is emphasized the idea that a comprehensive theoretical model with high explanatory and predictive power is still only one goal.

Keywords: structural factors, social networks, transfer of capitals N0: General

In this material we propose to present the main contributions to the theoretical guidance in this area only intended to indicate the main themes and concepts of specialized language for the use in any possible concrete approach. Therefore, our intention is not to make a critical and evaluative presentation of the theories of migration. The lines of analysis presented are selected from a work which became famous in the area,¹⁴⁷ confronted and completed by national contributions, which will be listed on the mileage. It is specified in this context that the specialized literature is so rich in approaches of explaining the behavior of spatial migration of individuals that there were more attempts typologization of theories, a kind of "metatheories" in the field. If we only take into question the perspectives of sociology and economy, we believe that the most appropriate classification of the theories of migration is the one that distinguishes between approaches of level macro mező and migrosocial, including those which take into analysis the structural factors, social networks and institutions and the elements of social capital, culture of migration.

The Theory of Neoclassical Economy

It was one of the dominant theoretical construction in the field of migration during the 60s-70s, being built around the question why? The specific theory is the favouring of the role of economic factors in explaining the migration flows (at the macro level) and also in explaining the individual decision to migrate (the micro level).

The explanation of the migration flows¹⁴⁸ in the case of this theory takes into account the differences emerged between the demand and the supply of labor, reflected in the difference between the level of wages. In countries and geographical areas characterized by a relative poverty of capital, including the low demand of labor in comparison with the offer, the salary will be decreased compared with that in the countries or areas where the situation is reverse. In these circumstances, labor will take advantage of its mobile character and it will move to areas where to maximize the economic profit. The same logic determines the migration of highly skilled professionals to countries rich in capital, they aimed to maximize the reward from investment in human capital in a poor country. In the outlook of the supporters of this theory, the international

147 Massey and others, 1998, Worlds in motion. Understanding international migration to the end of the millennium, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

148 Arango, Joaquim, 2000, Explaining migration: a critical view, International Social Science Journal, p.284.

migration flows become balancing mechanisms of the internal weaknesses on the labor market at the global level. Thus, in time, the pressure between the two antagonistic movements (population-capital-population) determined trends of reducing wages in the rich country and a growth in the poor one, which would entail the reducing of economic disparities. The attenuation of the differences between wages will determine, ultimately, the reduction of migratory flows, to a stop. The explanatory model based on a hypothetical presupposition of the unbundled access to information and of the absolute freedom of movement of labor, leaving out the aspects of the economic, cultural or political context of migration. In terms of individual motivation (micro analysis), neoclassical theory holds that the decision to migrate is a rational kind, the individual, calculates and evaluates the monetary benefits of this action and respectively the wage gains, to obtain an acceptable job at the destination, plus benefits and quality of environment (natural, cultural and social) and also the structure of opportunities that the migrant will have access through the migration, comparing them with those they would obtain if the property remained immobile in the country home. In the same time the individual takes into account individual travel costs, materialized in the cost of travel, the survival in the country of destination until finding a job, the difficulty of adapting to a new job to a new market of labor and the effort to learn a new language and to adapt to a new culture, the psychological cost of the disruption of the old relationships and establish new ones, and the losses suffered by the household, with the departure of the migrant. The decision to migrate is positive if the result of the calculation performed by an individual is positive and will be oriented to the destination which will offer the greatest reward in relation to individual skills. The migration becomes – considers Arango – a form of investment in the human capital.¹⁴⁹

The new economy of migration

Firstly, the new theory of migration concerns the individual and his intention to migrate, in the broader context, taking account his family, its position in the social structure and of the community prestige. Thus the families or households decide upon the migration of some members adopting strategies to minimize the risk at home, concerning the loss of income, unemployment or inflation, by diversifying sources of income, primarily with the raising of money sent home by migrants. Secondly, the new theory introduced in the explanation of the decision to migrate not only the difference in wages between the country of origin and the country of destination through the reporting of the income to the household income distribution in the community of origin by introducing the concept of relative deprivation. As a result of migration in the communities of origin imbalances occur between families with migrants, who have the additional resources generated by remittance of money from abroad, compared with non-migrant families who can not cope with continuous growth of prices and other economic factors. Therefore the factor that triggers migration consists of the position that a household occupies in terms of income in the community of origin and not of the absolute income of the household. Thus one of the important consequences of the phenomenon of migration at EU level is to increase the likelihood of migration in the households without migrants, as a result of rearranging positions in the distribution of income and relative amplification deprivation..

The (dual) segmented labor market

The theory introduces in the analysis a new concept, namely that of labor market for dual employment, which includes a primary sector, consisting of jobs and good working conditions, generous benefits and the possibility of upward mobility and a desirable secondary sector, with low-skilled jobs and unstable conditions of heavy or dangerous work and poor opportunities for upward mobility. Local workers avoid the jobs in the secondary sector because of the drawbacks

¹⁴⁹ Idem, p.285.

mentioned, mainly low wages, preferring unemployment. Transforming secondary sector in one attractive for the local employment, by increasing wages is not an adequate solution whereas it would entail an increase in salary range in other areas, which would generate structural inflation. If previously, the demand for skilled labor in the secondary sector was satisfied by the female labor force, adolescent employment and the population from the rural areas, social and demographic changes in these specific categories of people have reduced the potential for their employment in jobs with bad payment, unqualified and unstable. In these circumstances the immigrants become the most attractive labor force from the perspective of the employer, who no longer need to choose the strategy of increasing earnings, with negative consequences for inflation. On the other hand, the employment situation in the secondary sector of the country of destination is acceptable from the perspective of migrants. No matter how small the wages would be in this sector there are higher than in the country of origin. Also, at least initially the migrant is not put in a position to integrate into the culture of destination, and social prestige associated with employment place is not affected because it is identified with that obtained in the country of origin.

The theory was centered on what happens in the country of destination, clarifying to some extent, why this employment outside is accepted while developed economies are faced with unemployment spectrum, but are reproached that leave out many processes, relations that accompany migration. And in this context it highlights the relevance of observations made by Arango ¹⁵⁰ "... a theory which states that international migration is driven by demand and excludes all the factors of "push" can not aspire to explain only a part of reality"

The development of ethnic communities of migrants and the studies that have been devoted them led to identification of a third segment of the labor market: ethnic enclave (economic), companies associated with the property of the immigrants"¹⁵¹.

According to the above theory, the particularity of the enclave lies in combining the characteristics of primary and secondary sector, which creates new opportunities for the mobility for immigrants and the possibility of using of a previous investment in the human capital features present in the primary sector but absent in the secondary. The studies of the authors recalled have shown that the immigrant community development are needed at least two conditions:" the presence of immigrants with sufficient capital and entrepreneurial skills "and "renewing the labor force of the enclave through sustained immigration"¹⁵² ".

The historical structural tradition (dependency theory and the world system theory)

Dependency theory provides a macrostructural perspective, centered around the idea that capitalist development gave rise to a global order characterized by the existence of a center, characterized by industrialized countries which develop asymmetric relations with less developed countries, which represents the periphery, and which are required a structural dependence of the center. From the perspective of this theory, migration, including international one does not represent only one of the mechanisms contributing to the perpetuation of capitalist order which leads to greater impoverishment of the underdeveloped areas. Its role consists in highlighting the structural mechanisms in explaining migration as a counterweight to psychologizante theories, focusing on individual factors, derived from neoclassical theory.

The world wide system theory develops the idea of global world order promoted by the dependency theory. The most representative exponent, Immanuel Wallerstein conducts a comprehensive analysis of the occurrence of a "world system" and of way of the gradual

150 Arango, Joaquim op. cit., p. 290.

151 Portes, A., Wilson, K., 1996, Immigrant enclaves: An analysis of the labor market experiences of Cubans in Miami. in Robin Cohen (ed) "The sociology of Migration, Brookfield, Vermont, U.S.: Edward Elgar Publishing Company Gurak, Douglas, p. 315.

152 Idem, p.314.

incorporation in new states order, discussing the existence of three concentric zones: center, consisting of dominant powers; semiperiphery and periphery, each having distinct roles in the international division of labor. Key concepts in the world system theory are the role (which relates to structure the relationship of a country with the rest of the world countries and the international division of labor.) the dependence and the vulnerability of the country fluctuation in the world, and both are presumed to have effects on performance and the degree of economic development. The basic idea is that the dominance of the developed countries of the capitalist center of the world, which strengthens its position through penetration of underdeveloped areas in searching of resources of raw materials, cheap labor and new outlets. In terms of migration, the main effect is the emergence of a class of individuals stemming from the traditional community and migrates more conveniently to more propitious areas or to urban areas (in the first phase) or to countries from the center of the world economy. The factors leading to the emergence of this category of persons are: modernization of agriculture activities which entail reducing the need for employment and, implicitly, the creation of surplus of labor in rural areas, the development of extractive industry of raw materials which attract mainly the local employment from rural areas, such taking them from their traditional environment, the insurance policies of labor practiced by foreign firms, by the international corporations to provide low wages, for small periods of time, especially with female labor.

The theory of migration networks

The interest in networks of migrants occurred in particularly at the end of last century and to overcome the theoretical reduction perspective concerning a kinship networks, those based on common origin and their role, including the atomized migrant torn from the context and the environment of origin. The empirical evidence of kinship networks those based on the common origin and its role including the integration of individuals in the new environment of destination, while maintaining them at the same time in relation with the old environment the extent of the clandestine forms of migration, the importance of family reunification as the inability of the political factors to control the migration flows have brought to the fore the theme of migrant networks¹⁵³.

The theory of migrants network is trying to integrate disparate elements into a unitary construction, based on the centrality of networks in explanation and on highlighting the dynamic and cumulative migration features. The perspective proposed is one of the interconnected areas: the area of origin considered as community and area of destination, addressed the ethnic immigrant community. The role of social and symbolic relations of the community of origin is the fact that these links are established, it provides information about the possibility of emigration for potential migrants, the support arrangements for finding the most reliable and cheapest arrangements to overcome the prohibition of entry into the country of destination, support in finding a job and housing and providing livelihoods for a period of starting searches, insurance and social emotional support. Once maturing the migration networks increase the accessibility of the migration strategy, reducing the selectivity phenomenon. The inclusion of each new individual network entails the possibility of extending the phenomenon, broadening the circle of those who have access to the network resources, increasing them at the same time. The process is thus viewed from a dynamic perspective going to a moment of its development which can exist independently of factors which have generated it, being able to autosupport itself, having certain characteristics and mechanisms of the constituent networks¹⁵⁴. In this sense, the empirical

153 Gurak, Douglas, Caces, Fe., 1992, Migration Networks and the Shaping of Migration systems. În Kritz. M., Lim, L., Zlotnik, H., (eds.), „International migration systems – a global approach”, Oxford: Clarendon Press, pp. 153 – 154.

154 Guilmo, CZ, Sandron, F., 2001, The Dynamics of Internal Migration Networks in Developing Countries, "Population: An English Selection, 13 (2), pp.135-164.

research (including Romania) have stressed the important role of family relations, friends, acquaintances in facilitating access to the destination area.

The institutional approach

The theory is centered on the study of institutions that develop in the process of migration, institutions with a unique specificity. The institutions are considered very heterogeneous, ranging from agents and companies, individuals, state institutions involved in the process of migration, regardless of their legal character and to voluntary organizations involved in this process. The agents analyzed, are those who speculating the economic opportunities offered by the difference between the large number of individuals wishing to emigrate and restrictions on entry, of employment, residence or legalization of the situation in the most developed countries deal with the facilitation of entry, transport, finding a job, housing, etc. to obtain documents. In the country of destination on the other hand, voluntary organizations providing support to migrants, fighting for their rights in certain cases, providing them with material and legal aid etc.¹⁵⁵. Therefore, this approach is closely related to the other and, in particular to the theory of migrant networks, deepening the formal and informal ways to support realization of migration flows, contributing to autosupporting phenomenon to a certain stage.

Migration approach from the perspective of social capital

In 1987, in an analysis of Mexican migration to the U.S., conducted by Douglas Massey and his collaborators introduced the concept of networks of migrants in terms of social capital, thus opening a new line theory, the inclusion of migration networks in the sociological concept of social capital (understood as social relationships based on trust, solidarity and reciprocity)¹⁵⁶. The theory uses a dynamic perspective on the migration analyzing the benefit of international migration when the migration networks have developed, contributing to increased profits by reducing costs and risks associated with the process, including increasing the likelihood of future occurrence of this phenomenon, through attracting potential migrants. Moreover, Massey and his collaborators have tried to unite the perspective of migrant networks and the institutional perspective in social capital theory, considering that in time individuals business and organisations become better known and institutionally stable to immigrants, constituting another form of social capital, that migrants can rely for access to foreign markets for labor.

The systemic approach

The systemic perspective of trying to capture the dynamic nature of migration, integrating aspects involved in this process, both in the area of origin and destination based on the idea that international migration can be understood by migration flows, between a group of countries that exchange a relatively large number of migrants between them.

The intention of the approach is to overtake the complexity of the phenomenon by including in the analysis the factors that intervene at different levels: macro, meso, and even if to a lesser extent, micro, actioning in different contexts: economic, political, social, demographic from a temporal perspective, taking into account the historical elements and the process that changes in the course.

Conclusions

We believe that from the presentation of the main theoretical orientations in explaining the migration of labor several general considerations can be stated:

155 Massey and others, 1998, op.cit.,, p.44.

156 Massey and others, 1987, Return to Aztlan. The social process of international migration from Western Mexico. Berkley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, p.170.

As emerges from an overview on the main approach, the individual decision to emigrate or to remain immobile is more complex, being taken in the context of different cultural, historical, political, community elements that can not be excluded from the analysis.

Migration theories are based on socio-structural ideas that start from the macro level (citing factors related to economic structure, wage differentials and differences in demand for labor), then being completed at *mező* by intermediate elements, the type of migration networks and most recently, the social and symbolic resources (capital). "In any case in the research of migration the missing link between systemic perspectives, usually macrostructure and medium theories (*mező*), is focused on social integration"¹⁵⁷. Looking upon very profound issues of the relative immobility in the context of globalization, Thomas Faist suggests that none of the migration theories, taken separately has no explanatory power on the concrete migration behaviors. Moreover, stakeholders in the analysis are consistent with others, who in many cases, in relatively similar contexts in the same structural restrictions induce certain individuals (from specific local resources, continuing with the regional and national individuals, who can not be transferred across borders at the pleasure reach and up to protectionist policies of some countries of destination) resulting in immobility. There are also additional factors, such as a lack of international labor power and the lack of implementation of international agreements on protection of migrants.

The factors which generates border migration may act in opposite directions, combining the different ways and generating specific effects depending on the local contexts in which they are produced, being driven by international policies.

International migration, seen as a constant history of social life, which acquires new dimensions and structures in contemporary society is a very complex phenomenon, conditioned by multiple factors, which are at multinivelar level. On the other hand, obvious attempts to build theoretical models of highly comprehensive, with an increased degree of generality and predictability didn't have the expected effects. The solution, we believe is the coverage of the study of particular phenomena, recorded in cultural, political, social distinct contexts, with the intention of studying the multiple levels, the effects on areas of destination, but also of those of origin detecting the ways of combining the specific factors to each particular context.

Therefore, we consider that, although taken separately, none of the theories described has a complete explanation value from which can be ideas, concepts and perspectives can be taken as hypotheses to be tested in concrete contexts.

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