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ACTUALIZATION OF THE SUBJECTIVE APPROACH IN SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCHES OF MIGRATIONS

ACTUALIZAREA ABORDĂRII SUBIECTIVE ÎN CERCETĂRILE SOCIOLOGICE CU PRIVIRE LA MIGRAȚIE

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Migrations appear to be an inseparable part of the modern world. They are characterized by the sufficient size, intensity and, unfortunately, almost always are accompanied with negative social consequences. For the donor countries this includes loss of population layers, decay of small towns, transformation of family relations, crisis of ethnical identity; for the recipient countries – destruction of entirety of the social-cultural space, exacerbation of ethnical and social conflicts. These and other social problems actualize the necessity to perform social analysis of tendencies in modern migration processes in order to create scientific base for the formation of adequate international policy in the migration sphere. Due to this a series of important theoretical problems arise for sociology – migration forecasts; definition of mechanisms for its realization; estimation of demographic consequences of different migration types; definition of state's attitude towards migration processes and their regulation; studying of different modern cultures, as well as a number of other problems requiring conceptualization.

Currently sociological researches outline two key theoretical-methodological approaches to migration studying. First of them, the so-called objective approach, presupposes understanding of migration as a phenomenon, which appears to be objective and 'forced'. Here migration is represented as a phenomenon arising in the context of different social processes (social-informational, globalization, stratification, exchange of activities and skills, etc.) and appearing to be conditioned by them. The current approach presupposes studying of migration processes with the stress on investigation of peculiarities influence of different types of systematic changes (including those relating to the sphere of the social policy and labor market) onto the flow of migration processes. With the subjective approach, the labor migration, to the contrast, appears to be a result of 'free' refusal of a certain person from 'stable' way of life in favor of drastic changes. In this case analysis of the phenomenon is performed through studying

of life strategies of immigrants, main obstacles and difficulties of their lives, as well as decisions, hopes and expectations resulting from them [8, p. 23-41].

This or that theoretical-methodological approach to studying of labor migration phenomenon defines the perspective of the research itself. Correspondingly, desire of the sociologist to work within the objective approach, most likely, certifies about his/her intention to analyze macro processes, for example, to study stratification aspects of modern economic space functioning. Application of the subjective approach, quite the reverse, presupposes availability of strong research interest in and attention to studying of feelings, experience of immigrants, as well as practices well spread in their environment.

Application of the subjective approach during the migration studying has not yet become the best research practice. Meanwhile, taking into consideration that migrating in the era of public life individualization in the modern world is more often appears to be a result of 'interweaving' mainly among subjective factors, here arises the necessity to actualize heuristic potential of the subjective approach in the social researches of the migrations. Achievement of such a goal demands conceptual experience realization of migration processes and phenomena for its further usage in the modern scientific solutions.

Search potential of the subject approach to the sociological researches of migration was first used at the beginning of the XX century. Exactly in this period sociologists, the representatives of Chicago school, managed to reason the practicability of its application while studying social groups in the urban context. First of all that entails the research 'The Polish Peasant in Europe and America' by W. Thomas and F. Znaniecki [11]. Aim of this scientific work lies in studying the disorganized traditional community under the influence of drastic social changes in the context of migration. Researchers tried to determine why the certain social value (life in America) had such a substantial influence on some subjects and had no such effect with others. Sociologists believed that it was impossible to present a scientific answer on this question until they found information about earlier practices of the certain persons from the given community and the whole community (Poland) in general. This demanded analysis of everyday routines of Polish peasants both before and after migration. For this reason during several years the researchers collected personal documents of polishes (764 letters) and performed in-depth interviews. They tried to concentrate attention on such processes as arising and development of the phenomenon under study via analysis of diverse information about practice of peasant life at the moment of emigration [3, p. 40-41]. The current work had not so applicable, but fundamental character, as it was oriented on the solution of scientific and not practical tasks. Among its sufficient results is reasoning for application of analytical induction method to sociological research which foresees intensive analysis of several systematic differential cases [12]. Here such cases

are viewed as typical, thus substantial and defining characters of which correspond to all phenomena of the given class [14]. As to the process of data analysis itself, here determining is the principle according to which statement of general hypotheses on the basis of the unique example are reasoned by comparing them to hypotheses obtaining from other examples, in other words – by determining certain types of phenomena or events [4, p. 14-24]. Analytical induction method in modern sociology is being criticized for its complexity; the latter is acknowledged even by the authors of ‘The Polish Peasant...’ themselves [5, p. 52]. Notwithstanding, the method remains of current concern and may provide good results, under condition of adequate application, namely, following the triangulation procedure [14].

Method of social genealogies is also considered to be efficient while studying migrations. In the given case one understands special tactics for research execution, when actions of the sociologist are directed onto reconstruction of history of the separate family in order to detect peculiarities of social, migration and labor mobility characteristic for certain historical period. D. Bertaux is considered among the founders of the method. At the beginning of 90-s of XX century the scientist expressed his considerations about the necessity to research drastic social transformations in the recently formed post-soviet space. He thought it was irresponsible by the West to unconditionally impose matrix of social (market) relations to ‘other’ society possessing its own values and cultural model. As a result the common project with Russian sociologists ‘Cultural model of Russian national masses and forced transition to market’ arose (from the Russian side the project was managed by M. Malysheva), which reconstructed the history of several families by performing in-depth interviews with representatives of several family related generations. Analysis of manifold factors and connection influence among them allowed to detect main logical classes – cultural model of the transition to market relations. In other words, the research tried to analyze the consequences of mass migration processes of Russian peasants from the villages into towns during the period from 30-s to 90-s of the XX century. In particular, changes of the traditional family professional practices were investigated on the background of internal migration processes and changes in labor relations, as well as changes in the family value systems, first of all – reasons and consequences of ‘community’ phenomenon disappearing [1].

Sufficient contribution into the development of the subjective approach for migration studying was made by the German researches, who applied method of ascending to theory in their scientific works (in due time offered by B. Heizer and A. Strauss and creatively established by F. Schutze). The question is about combining analysis of the objective characteristics of person’s life and subjective meanings s/he lays on his/her life experience. Increased interest to mate-

rials reconstructing the past is characteristic for such scientific works, as well as interest to the personal experience of participation in social processes. Basic sources here are autobiographies of narrative interview – spontaneous story presenting the kind of reconstruction of the life flow aiming to express perception of the event sequence, characteristic for the personal life experience [4, p. 116-136]. These provide base for mini-theory explaining actions, interrelations and processes and reconstructs more or less real social picture [6, p. 189].

Thus, one of the greatest fundamental researches of migration influence on the person's life for the last decade under the name 'Life in the shadow world: complex of problems of the 'illegal migration' was performed in Germany under the leadership of I. Alt. Current research studies certain life situations as forms of 'illegality' phenomenon. Basing on different information sources (among the most important are 30 in-depth interviews with the illegal migrants living in Munich) different data was collected about the certain events, actions and social relations. Before constructing the 'illegality' image there were grouping and connecting of the data into general categories, which at the end allowed presenting the author's vision of the illegal migration nature as a result of 'biography loss' [7, p. 65-84]. Taking into account that life in illegality is usually accompanied with risks and threats, the research deeply analyzes main safety strategies of modern illegal immigrants, namely usage of social contacts, 'purchase' of corresponding documents, fake marriages, creation of self-protection structures and others [7, p. 163-173]. Special attention in the book is devoted to peculiarities of arising and functioning of contact social networks, which form the so-called labor net – private, commercial, criminal, etc. [7, p. 287-289]. These and other miscellaneous parts from real life of illegal immigrants finally create the whole vision picture of such an aspect of social reality as life in illegality, explaining conditions, under which it becomes possible.

Availability of fundamental scientific works, where subjective approach to migrations studying is dominating, activates modern applied researches of the migration processes. Modern researchers of the labor migration are attracted by such topics as: inter-ethnic relations between the community of the labor immigrants and the 'dominating' social medium [2], migration of women and children, activity of immigrants in the sport sphere (for example sport labor migration) and others; appearing of more and more interdisciplinary researches in the above mentioned sphere is also a rather characteristic feature [10, p. 36]. Case in point the research of Portuguese sociologists, which is dedicated to processes of modern family development and transformation, which was performed with the help of the in-depth interview. Particularly, efforts of the sociologists were directed onto defining different models of 'female self-sacrifice' in the environment of female labor immigrants from the Eastern Europe. Within the flow of the research it was established that 'sacrificial' behavior of

women is usually supported by men; the latter think that the departure of a woman (wife, mother) abroad in order to earn money and support family is absolutely justified. However, women themselves are usually ashamed of such situations; it is usually very difficult for them to continue 'to perform' traditional social roles and preserve strong relations in the family after transforming from the 'housewife' to 'breadwinner'. However, there are cases, when distance make immigrants' families stronger, strengthening its integrational resources [13, p. 41-71]. The current conclusion appears to be reasonable considering the results of other researches, presenting immigrant family as a social community with sufficiently high adaptation potential and resources of self-organization, possessing internal reserves adjusting to difficult circumstances. Among other things this entails applied researches performed by the author in different time in order to estimate social capital of non-governmental organization, including those protected by the church, within the widening of the social services provided to the socially exposed categories of population [9].

Drawing final conclusions. Application of the subjective approach in the migration researches appears to be well reasoned in the context of gradual growth of the globalization in the modern world, due to which existing values, beliefs, orientations and norms more and more become the individual choice of a person. Consequently, there are reasons to believe that strengthening the tendency to apply the subjective approach to migration research, which currently exists in the sociology, will favor not only the renovation of balance in the system of scientific knowledge about migrations, but also appearing of the proved additional information resources while developing concepts of migration policy.

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