

Migration research and theories

with special reference to Western Europe



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PREFACE

The aim of this paper is to make a general survey of migration research and theories carried out and developed by scientists and scholars in different fields. I discuss research and theories concerned with internal and international migration of population. In the latter type of migration one can further distinguish the 'traditional' intercontinental migration of population and the more recent type of labour migration on a temporary x) basis. The phenomenon of immigrant labour force, the use of foreign workers, is particularly typical of Western European countries. And because I am working with this problem - especially with the case of European Community - I will try in this paper to formulate a starting point for a theoretical framework for the analysis of the mecha-

x) temporary in the sense that there exist continuous in- and out- flows of workers between the emigration and immigration countries, and the workers do not usually intend to acquire the citizenship of the recipient country. Böhning has, however, formulated a model which describes, besides how the migration flow starting from some areas of a country of departure gradually turns into chain migration extending to the whole area of the emigration country and different

1. FACTUAL SURVEY

nism of foreign labour force in the Community.

'Migration' has been defined as 'population movements from one state to another' or as 'all population movements from one country to another with the aim of settling down in a foreign country for a longer, undefined time'. The term 'migration' indicates voluntary displacement from one country to another and does not refer to populations forcibly removed or transferred by treaty. 'Immigration' is the movement viewed from the receiving state, while population movements out of a country are called 'emigrations'.¹

Wiman defines the international migration of labour force as the migration of labour force on its own initiative from

segments of the population (a self-feeding mechanism), also tells how originally 'target' workers become more often permanent immigrants and some of them integrate into the society of the receiving country. (W.R. Böhning, *The Migration of Workers in the United Kingdom and the European Community*. Birkenhead 1972, pp. 54-71.) - This process cannot, however, develop independently and freely because of, for example, immigrant states' interventions by agreements, restrictions etc.

one country to another with the aim of working in the country of arrival a relatively long time (at least one year). Persons who have been working abroad a relatively long time as citizens of a foreign country can be called immigrant labour force.²

Researchers studying international labour migration will, however, encounter some concrete and definitional problems. Statistical criteria used by different emigration and immigration countries are varying considerably which makes comparing quite difficult. Such terms as 'foreign workers', 'immigrant workers', 'immigrant labour force', 'ausländische Arbeitskräfte', 'les travailleurs immigrés' mean different kind of workers in different countries. Sometimes seasonal workers and frontier workers have - in addition to permanent workers - been included in statistics and sometimes not.

Another difficulty is the time dimension: what is the 'longer' stay of the 'relatively long' stay that gives a right to speak of permanent immigrants. The United Nations has accepted the above-mentioned time limit of one year. Some researchers have disregarded time and used the registration instead. However, also criteria for foreign workers to become registered as immigrant or emigrant workers are varying country by country, so the implementation of this criteria is not unambiguous either. Despite, a large number of illegal immigrants, the so-called black labour force, in recipient countries, would be totally omitted according to this criteria. Hence, the numbers of foreign workers in Western European countries are varying source by source. These statistical difficulties turn out, however, to be minor ones if we consider the problem of foreign labour force as a wider economic and political phenomenon and problem. Then these numerical discrepancies are not so important.

Especially the latter half of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century were marked by heavy population migrations from Europe to

other continents. After the Second World War a strong European emigration was directed mostly towards North America: between 1946 and 1957 some 6.6 million persons migrated to the United States and Canada. From the end of the 1950's inter-continental migrations have constantly reduced, and immigrants, especially those from the Mediterranean basin and North Africa, have migrated mainly to Western European countries. From 1960 to 1970 more than 17 million Europeans emigrated from their countries. The majority of them, more than 13.5 million, went to other European countries.³

Table 1 shows the numbers of immigrant workers in the member states of the European Economic Community, Austria, Sweden and Switzerland by different nationalities in 1975.⁴ Well over half of all migrant workers come from Southern European countries - almost 3.7 million out of 6.4 million - and more than one-tenth from North African states. The biggest single nationality are Italians, followed by Turks and Yugoslavs. Migration flows of labour force from less developed countries to industrialized Western European states have from the 1950's increased considerably at the same time as migration between these advanced countries has decreased. Of the foreign labour force in the European Economic Community workers from the so-called third countries formed some 45 per cent in 1962 but as much as 74 per cent in 1975.⁵

Western European immigration countries have recruited foreign workers each mainly from certain countries. In 1974 almost half of the migrant workers in the Federal Republic of Germany were Turks and Yugoslavs. In France Algerians and Portuguese formed more than 40 per cent of the foreign labour force, in Belgium they

Table 1. Migrant workers in Europe by countries of origin and destination, December 1975

Country of origin	Country of destination							Total		
	Belgium	Denmark ¹	France	FRG	Ireland ²	Italy ³	Luxemburg		Netherlands	UK
Algeria	3000	180	420000	2000					500	
Austria				78000						
Finland										
Greece	8000	450	5000	212000		1000		2000	2500	
Italy	85000		210000	318000	200		10700	10000	56500	
Morocco	60000	820	165000	18000				28000	1000	
Portugal	3000	200	430000	70000		1500	12500	5000	4000	
Spain	30000	700	250000	132000		2300	1900	18000	15500	
Tunisia		80	90000	15000				1000		
Turkey	10000	5640	35000	582000		380		38000	1500	
Yugoslavia	3000	4630	60000	436000		4350	600	10000	3500	
Other	76000	28425	235000	328000	1700	49500	21100	104000	690000	
Total	278000	41125	1900000	2171000	1900	59030	46800	216000	775000	
Country of origin	Country of destination				Total					
	Austria	Sweden	Switzerland	Switzerland						
Algeria		200			425700					
Austria			21000		99000					
Finland		103000			103000					
Greece		8000			238950					
Italy	2000	2500	281000		975900					
Morocco		500			273320					
Portugal		1000	4000		531200					
Spain		2000	72000		524400					
Tunisia		200			106280					
Turkey	26200	4000	16000		718720					
Yugoslavia	136000	23000	24000		705080					
Other	21000	60000	135000		1749725					
Total	185000	204000	553000 ⁴		6430855					

1 1.1.1975; frontier workers and workers from Scandinavia not included. 2 1975; United Kingdom nationals not included; number of work permits delivered in 1975. 3 annual average 1975; frontier workers not included. 4 seasonal and frontier workers (over 250000) not included.

were Italians and Moroccans, in Luxemburg Italians and Portuguese, and in Sweden Finns. Workers from Italy formed more than one half of foreign workers in Switzerland, while in the Netherlands they had come from the Antilles and Surinam. As much as three-quarters of the immigrant labour force in Austria were Yugoslavs.

In the United Kingdom immigrants from the former Commonwealth (Pakistan and the Caribbean areas) were the majority.⁶

Table 2 indicates the division of foreign labour force of the European Economic Community by the country of departure in 1975.

Table 2. Migrant workers in the EEC by country of origin in 1975.

Member countries		Non-member countries	
Italy	705 000	Turkey	610 000
Ireland	455 000	Portugal	574 000
FRG	132 000	Yugoslavia	490 000
France	94 000	Spain	474 000
Netherlands	85 000	Algeria	445 000
Belgium	70 000	Greece	260 000
United Kingdom	52 000	Morocco	191 000
Danmark	7 000	Tunisia	83 000
Luxembourg	5 200	Other	1 365 000
Total	1 605 000	Total	4 492 000
per cent	26	per cent	74

Source: Main-d'oeuvre étrangère occupée dans les Etats membres répartie par nationalité, *op. cit.*, 1976.

2. CLASSICAL AND NEO-CLASSICAL MODELS ON THE PROVISION AND MIGRATION OF LABOUR

According to classical economists, Adam Smith and David Ricardo, a natural, demographic mechanism ensured the provision of additional labour. Ricardo wrote that '... if the increase of capital be gradual and constant, the demand for labour may give a continued stimulus to an increase in people'.⁷ According to Adam Smith, 'The demand for men, like for any other commodity, necessarily regulates the production of men; quickens it when it goes too slow, and stops it when it advances too fast'.⁸ This regulation Smith considered to be ensured by natural changes in the population growth, which was for its part regulated by the changes in the level of wages. When the scarcity of labour force

occured, i.e. when the demand for workers exceeded the supply, market forces would raise the wage level and hence improve the standard of living which would then result in growing supply of labour. Market mechanism and the competition between workers for employment were then hindering the wage level from growing too fast. Also the increase in the productivity of labour was compensating a rise in the price of the labour power: less labour would be required to produce the same amount of commodities.

The development and characteristic features of capitalism have, however, until now resulted in a situation where the demographic mechanism described above has not been able to ensure the provision of labour for advanced, industrialized capitalist countries, but at the same time resulted in 'oversupply' of labour force and

thus severe unemployment in developing countries and backward regions of industrialized countries, too.

Internal migration and international migration - both the 'classical' overseas migration, especially at the end of the 1800's and at the beginning of the 1900's and the international migration of labour force during the past twenty years - have been studied by different scholars: sociologists, demographers, economists, political scientists etc. Especially in traditional economics migration has been explained by the law of supply and demand. The neo-classical model of the labour market is in many respects so over-simplified that it does not serve as a good starting point for macroeconomic analysis. Nevertheless, the concepts it is operating with, are useful in studying international labour migration. A number of necessary conditions which must be fulfilled before labour migration can take place between countries are namely following; first, in the country of arrival there must be demand for a certain type of labour which cannot be met by the domestic supply of labour; second, in the country of departure there must be an excess supply of labour, or the difference in the standard of living between the countries must be great enough to give rise to the emigration of labour which is already employed; and third, the institutional barriers must be small enough to allow international migration.⁹

During the recent decades the industrialized countries of Western Europe have been suffering from the scarcity of labour force especially in many low-paid, uncomfortable branches and jobs. This has resulted from the accumulation and concentration of capital in advanced countries, from a general and overall decrease in birth rates resulted from the increase in the standard of living and from ever-diminishing availability of labour force from the agricultural sector and countryside as well as from the increased level of education in these countries. It is just these low-paid, uncomfortable

jobs that have been occupied by foreign workers. Mediterranean countries have during the past decades been burdened by the excess supply of labour that has been available for fulfilling the demand of the EEC countries, Switzerland, Austria and Sweden particularly. Various Southern European and Maghreb countries have been 'sending' migrant workers in different times and in different numbers due to, for example, the cyclical trends (especially in receiving countries), unemployment rates and economic development. The difference between the standard of living in the industrialized immigration countries and in the emigration countries has been great enough in order to let the migration flows to continue according to the needs of the receivers. And as soon as the standard of living and general economic situation in the country of departure has improved and hence its domestic labour demand has also grown the migration of labour force from that country has ceased or diminished. Then new countries have been involved in the migration process, the peripheries have been widened towards the less developed countries.¹⁰

The third necessary condition has also been satisfied by recipient countries. Inside the European Community the free movement of labour has gradually been accomplished and different labour force agreements on bilateral basis have been made with a number of third countries. Also other Western European immigration countries have come to agreements with the countries of excess supply of labour. These arrangements have furthermore left the receiving countries at least to a certain extent possibilities to regulate migration flows according to their needs. In 1973, for example, the Federal Republic of Germany closed her borders to all new foreign workers from third countries as a result of the difficulties - unemployment etc. - due to the oil crisis and of the deepening of economic depression. The member countries of the

Community are also feeling anxious about the potential future flows of migrant workers from the new members of the Community – from Greece and Turkey especially – in the 1980's and 1990's. It is very obvious that the free movement of labour will not be realized – not at least to the extent it is now existing inside the European Community – in the case of these new member countries. The mechanism of the migration of labour and the present situation in the EEC will be a little more discussed later on in this paper.

3. THE PUSH AND PULL THEORY OF MIGRATION

In their migration research, sociologists have concentrated mainly on the analysis of the direction and volumes of migration flows, on the effects of migration on migrant workers at individual level and on the adaptation and integration of migrants to the new environment. For their micro-level analysis the sociopsychological frame of reference has been the most common one. The very common theory - or frame of reference - used in sociology has been the push and pull theory. Push and pull factors have served as tools in the prediction and description of the migration flows and in analyzing the subjective motives behind migration from one region or country to another. The method chosen for the study has very often been that of inquiry, but the samples have often been limited in size - because of high expenses - and hence the making of generalizations has not turned out to be very easy.

The push and pull theory dates back to E.G. Ravenstein's observations of the regularities of the migration of population. According to him the volume of migration flow is directly proportional to the amount of population in the area of arrival and inversely proportional to the distance between the areas of destination and departure. This pull model has later been

mathematized by J.Q. Steward and G.K. Zipf by adapting Newton's law (gravitation theory). Migration flows from small to larger areas can be explained mainly by two factors; firstly, by unfavourable features of the area of departure which are pushing people to move, and secondly, by favourable features of the area of destination which as if are pulling people.¹¹

E.S. Lee and S. Stouffer have also added to the model the 'intervening obstacles' - distance, migration expenses, institutional hindrances etc. - or the 'intervening opportunities' that are affecting the volume of migration flows.

Stouffer writes 'the number of persons moving over a given distance is directly proportional to the number of opportunities available over this distance, and inversely proportional to the number of intermediate geographical opportunities.' According to Lee a prospective migrant rationally evaluates the positive and negative factors and according to the decision he thus makes migrants can be divided either into so-called 'target migrants' – when the pulling factors have been decisive – and into the forced migrants - when the pushing factors have outweighed.¹²

These push and pull factors can thus be seen forming a frame of reference that consists of four groups of factors relevant to migration, namely: 1) factors associated with the area of origin, 2) factors associated with the area of destination, 3) intervening obstacles and 4) personal factors. The area of origin has factors that are pushing a person to migrate as well as factors that are pulling him to stay. The situation is the same for the area of destination. Both areas also carry factors that are indifferent to the decision to migrate. The personal factors of the potential migrant affect to a great extent to what he or she considers to be pushing, pulling or ineffectual factors. The person is not even always aware of all those factors that are affecting his decision to migrate or not to migrate. Although the number of factors affecting migration is

almost endless one can, according to Lee, usually easily recognize the most important ones.¹³

According to D.J. Bogue the push factors of migration are following:

- 1) decline in a national resource,
- 2) loss of employment,
- 3) oppressive or repressive discriminatory treatment,
- 4) alienation,
- 5) retreat from a community because it offers few or no opportunities for personal development, and
- 6) retreat from a community because of catastrophe.

The pull factors are:

- 1) superior opportunities for employment,
- 2) opportunities to earn a larger income,
- 3) opportunities to obtain desired specialized education or training,
- 4) preferable environment and living conditions,
- 5) dependency, i.e. movement of other persons to whom one is related or betrothed, and
- 6) lure of new or different activities, environment, or people.¹⁴

For sociologists the push and pull factors have served as tools in explaining the personal motives behind migration, whereas economists have mainly taken the unemployment of the country of departure as a push factor towards migration and economic situation (conjunctures) of the country of arrival as a pull factor. Kari Hietala, for example, has used the following emigration function for explaining the emigration from Finland to Sweden:¹⁵

$$M = F(D_L^R - S_L^R, W^R - W^S, D_L^S - S_L^S)$$

where

M = the amount of emigration from a sending to a receiving country per time unit

D_L^R = the demand of labour in a receiving country

S_L^R = the supply of labour in a receiving country

W^R = the standard of living (welfare) in a receiving country
 W^S = the standard of living in a sending country
 D_L^S = the demand of labour in a sending country
 S_L^S = the supply of labour in a sending country

Here the emigration from a sending country depends on excess demand for labour in a receiving country ($D_L^R - S_L^R > 0$) which is a pull factor, on unemployment in a sending country ($D_L^S - S_L^S < 0$) which is a push factor and on the difference in the standard of living between the two countries ($W^R - W^S > 0$) which is a push and pull factor.

The emigration function described above holds if

- 1) the labour market is perfect in the sense that labour is homogenous and sufficiently mobile,
- 2) the standard of living is one-dimensional,
- 3) the emigrants are rational, have perfect knowledge and try to maximize their welfare as measured by the standard of living,
- 4) the explanatory variables vary sufficiently, i.e. they are not fixed or structural,
- 5) emigration is sufficiently free and unhindered.

Many explanatory models have been designed on the basis of supply, demand and price of labour input. The results of the tests of different models have varied, within a given country, according to age groups, periods of time and regions. And, of course, the phenomenon is even more complex when one has to study migration at international level.¹⁶ Kindelberger's model, for example, is based on the scrutiny of the mutual dependences between the supply and the demand of labour and the wage level.

I am sharing the opinion of those researchers who consider that by using

the push and pull theory and models one cannot 'explain' the migration phenomenon. The concepts of push and pull contain only such elements a researcher wants to give to them. With these concepts one cannot distinguish the phenomena of macro level from those of micro level.

4. MIGRANT WORKERS AS INDUSTRIAL RESERVE ARMY: A STARTING POINT FOR A GENERAL MIGRATION THEORY IN LATE CAPITALISM

The models constructed on push and pull factor are static in the sense that they are not able to analyze the economic process that is giving rise to migration. These models take the prevailing economic situation as given but not as from its grounds continuously changing one. In order to be a 'good' theory or model, a migration theory must take into account both economic development (and its changes), social relationships within whose framework the economic phenomena take place, political factors, and demographic factors and their relation to the given economic conditions. The migration theory must be derived from and based on comprehensive social theory.

A useful and good starting point for the construction of this kind of theory I consider to be the nature of migrant labour force as an industrial reserve army, i.e. its position as relative surplus-population. This reserve army is composed of workers redundant in relation to the rate of accumulation and the composition of capital. The generation and functions of the reserve army of labour in the development process of capitalism were revealed by Karl Marx.

The relative surplus-population is a result of the capitalist accumulation but at the same time a precondition for capitalist mode of production because it is making possible the continuous accumulation of capital. Marx argued that 'if a surplus labouring population is a necessary product

of accumulation or of the development of wealth on a capitalist basis, this surplus-population becomes, conversely, the lever of capitalist accumulation, and, a condition of existence of the capitalist mode of production.' The promotion of the accumulation of capital is possible only by taking new labour force into the production process. This accumulation of capital is a precondition for the extension of production and for the implementation of new production technology. The implementation and adaptation of this new production technology is for its part resulting in unemployment in some part of labour force. This army of unemployed is forming a reserve which can be directed by capitalists to the sectors where workers are needed. Industrial reserve army of labour is very flexible: it is especially needed in certain boom periods but when the depression is threatening it can be removed from labour market.¹⁷

Besides assuring the supply of a flexible labour force easily mobilizable according to the changing needs of capital expansion the surplus-population is helping to keep wages at a level that does not interfere with the expansion of capital, i.e. guaranteeing that the required additional labour is incorporated into the employed labour force without substantially altering the wage level. The mechanism of the reserve army of labour is nowadays working more extensively than in the days of Marx. The maintenance of industrial reserve army of labour has become much more difficult particularly in advanced Western European countries. So gradually the mechanism has extended over national borders and new peripheries have been involved.¹⁸

The use of immigrant workers in Europe is not, however, a phenomenon typical of the last two-three decades only. As early as at the end of the last century England, France and Germany, among others, were trusting on foreign workers. The development described and predicted by Lenin

has proved to be true in the twentieth century Europe. According to him one of the characteristics of imperialism is the decrease of immigration from other imperialist countries and the increase of it from more backward countries with lower wage levels. And this is the earlier mentioned trend of development inside the European Community. Internal migration flows of labour force in the Community as well as the supply of labour from those countries where the economic development has accelerated - Italy, Spain, Greece - have been diminishing. The bulk of immigrant workers into the European Community has during the past years originated from Portugal, Turkey, Yugoslavia and North African states - Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia. The peripheries supplying labour force have been widened into the countries of Black Africa as well.¹⁹ An interesting feature of the past few years has been the turn of migration flows to a new center with capital accumulation, namely to oil-producing Arab states at the same time as the EEC has closed its borders from newcomers because of economic depression.

Marios Nikolinakos has drafted a general theory of migration in late capitalism which I consider to be a very valuable and fruitful presentation, reasoning for future migration research.²⁰ From the starting point and the frame of reference he has chosen it is possible to explain and tackle this wide and complex problem. In the coming last pages I will to a great extent rely on the facts and reasoning presented by him.

I am sharing the opinion of Nikolinakos that one cannot demand a theory to cover the entire multiplicity of situations at any point of time. A theory can point out the dynamic of the system, the direction in which it is moving and the laws of this dynamic. In order to be able to construct a theory of labour migration in the European Community or in Western Europe, that is to 'explain' the dynamic and mechanism of the use of foreign labour force, we must

view the phenomenon as an individual and class one, as an economic and political one, we must deal with factors both in the countries of origin as well as in the recipient ones, we must take into account demographic, sociological and socio-psychological components, i.e. we must make the analysis both on the macro-level and micro-level.

I have already earlier in this paper mentioned some of the structural problems and characteristics of late capitalism in Western Europe, which have caused labour migration since the Second World War. These are demographic developments and the accumulation of capital and the related increase in demand for manpower.

After the Second World War Western Europe experienced a rapid economic growth marked by technical progress and the increasing importance of foreign demand. The structural changes resulting from that were accumulation of capital and the increase in the organic composition of capital. This was made possible by the expansion of the market (internal market through wage increases, reduction of custom duties through the EEC, increased foreign trade). The demand for qualified workers increased and was satisfied by the supply from native labour force. This resulted in a change in the structure of the labour market and in a shortage of workers in low-qualified, low-paid jobs. This gap has been filled by the import of foreign workers which have thus acted as a reserve army of labour force for Western European countries.

The task of this reserve army of labour was then to secure the growth and the standard of living, to make possible the realization of capital and to save the system. So the import of labour force made possible the accumulation of capital in metropolitan countries as Marx had described the development, and facilitated the need of exporting capital. The import of foreign workers made possible for the Western European countries to select as object countries of capital export those ones that guaranteed

the minimal risk and a comparatively high profit. A state has had to take the role of regulator and planner in the service of capital in order to save the system from profound structural changes.

Without further analyzing the structures of developing countries inherited from the colonial period I content myself only with mentioning that the export of relative surplus of labour force from developing emigration countries is for its part retaining the international division of labour on an unequal basis, and at the same time acting as a system stabiliser for emigration countries, too. When a number of emigration countries are more closely integrated into the economic system and area of Western Europe - and with formal agreements especially into the European Community - their development will follow that of advanced industrialized countries in the sense that they also start suffering labour shortages. Then new countries are involved in migration process, and some of the former emigration countries join the group of immigrant countries.

Against the background I have tried to present above we must analyse the 'gains' and 'losses' of emigration and immigration both on individual, class and international level: migration as a relief for unemployment and as a means of acquiring profession or a better standard of living, remittances of emigrant workers as a source of foreign currency and as a compensator of the deficit in the balance-of-payments, social costs for the immigration countries from putting up an infrastructure for foreign workers etc.

While analyzing the gains and losses of migration for emigration and immigration countries we must keep in mind the internationalisation of the accumulation of capital and of the labour, the international character of capitalism of today. That is why the phenomenon of migration must be seen, except on individual and country level, also as a class phenomenon, i.e. one has to realize the class character of migration

This holds implicitly the notion that in analyzing international migration and in constructing the general theory of migration it is not right to make a distinction between indigenous and foreign workers. Nor it is very important where - from which particular country - the foreign labour force is coming from.

TIIVISTELMÄ

Väestön muuttoliikettä koskevan tutkimuksen perusteorioina voidaan pitää klassista ja neoklassisia malleja, työntö ja veto-teoriaa ja marxilaista teoriaa. Mikä on niiden selitysvaima tutkittaessa teollistuneisiin Länsi-Euroopan maihin suuntautunutta työvoiman muuttoliikettä toisen maailmansodan jälkeisenä kautena?

1970-luvun puolivälissä Länsi-Euroopassa työskenteli n. 6,4 milj. ulkomaista työlläistä suurimpien kansallisuusryhmien ollessa italialaiset, turkkilaiset, portugalilaiset ja jugoslaavit. Työlläisten muuttoliike on sitten 1950-luvun kehittynyt seuraavasti: muutto vähemmän kehittyneistä Länsi-Euroopan maista on kasvanut huomattavasti kun sitä vastoin kehittyneiden maiden välinen muuttoliike on samanaikaisesti heikentynyt. Aivan viime vuosina on myös ensin mainittu muuttoliike heikentynyt ulkomaista työvoimaa käyttävien maiden ryhdyttyä rajoittamaan uusien siirtotyöläisten maahantuloa lamasta aiheutuneen työttömyyden vuoksi.

Klassisten taloustieteilijöiden Adam Smithin ja David Ricardon mukaan luonnollinen, demografinen mekanismi turvaa lisätyövoiman tarjonnan. Kapitalismin kehitys on kuitenkin osoittanut tämän oletuksen paikkansapitämättömyyden. Neoklassinen työmarkkinamalli on osoittautunut monessa suhteessa liian ylimalkaiseksi ja yksinkertaistetuksi käydäkseen makrotaloudellisen analyysin pohjaksi.

Työntö ja veto -teoria on varsinkin sosiologiin yleisesti käyttämä muuttoliiketutkimusten viitekehys. Tämä teoria perustuu Ravensteinin havaintoihin väestön muuton säännönmukaisuuksista: muuttoliikkeen volyymi on suoraan verrannollinen saapumisalueen väestön määrään ja kääntäen verrannollinen lähtö- ja saapumisalueen väliseen etäisyyteen. Työntö ja veto -teorian ovat myöhemmin matemaattisesti Steward ja Zipf. Lee ja Stouffer ovat lisänneet malliin 'väliintulevat esteet' ja 'väliintulevat mahdollisuudet'.

Työnnön ja vedon mallit ovat luonteeltaan staattisia, sillä niiden avulla ei voida analysoida sitä taloudellista prosessia, joka synnyttää muuttoliikkeen. Käyttökelpoisen ja hyvän lähtökohdan myöhäiskapitalismin ajan yleisen muuttoliiketeorian rakentamiselle tarjoaa konseptio siirtotyövoimasta teollisena vara-armeijana, ts. sen asema suhteellisena liikkaväestönä. Tämän vara-armeijan synnyn ja tehtävät kapitalismin kehitysprosessissa paljasti ensimmäiseksi Karl Marx. Suhteellinen liikkaväestö on kapitalistisen kasautumisen tulos samalla kun se on kapitalistisen tuotantotavan ehto, koska se mahdollistaa jatkuvan pääoman kasautumisen. Teollisen vara-armeijan toimintamekanismi on vähitellen laajentunut yli valtiollisten rajojen, ts. siitä on tullut kansainvälinen ilmiö.

Nikolinakosin hahmottelema myöhäiskapitalismin ajan yleinen muuttoliiketeoria pyrkii selittämään ulkomaisen työvoiman käytön dynamiikkaa ja mekanismeita juuri em. konseptiosta käsin erittelemällä siirtotyövoiman asemaa kehittyneiden Länsi-Euroopan maiden teollisena vara-armeijana. Länsi-Euroopan sodan jälkeen kokema nopea taloudellinen kasvu sekä tämän kasvun synnyttämät rakenteelliset muutokset (esim. pääoman kasautuminen ja työmarkkinoiden rakenteen muutos) aikaansaivat tarpeen tuoda ulkomaisia työläisiä. Työvoiman vara-armeijan tehtävänä on Nikolinakosin mukaan turvata elintason kasvu, mahdollistaa pääoman realisoiminen ja pelastaa järjestelmä. Suhteellisen liikkaväestön vienti vä-

hemmän kehittyneistä maista ylläpitää osaltaan epätasa-arvoista kansainvälistä työnjakoa samalla kun se toimii järjestelmän vakauttajana myös näissä työvoimaa luovuttavissa maissa.

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