

ԵՐԵՎԱՆԻ ՊԵՏԱԿԱՆ ՀԱՄԱԼՍԱՐԱՆ
ЕРЕВАНСКИЙ ГОСУДАРСТВЕННЫЙ УНИВЕРСИТЕТ
YEREVAN STATE UNIVERSITY

ԲԱՆԲԵՐ ԵՐԵՎԱՆԻ ՀԱՄԱԼՍԱՐԱՆԻ
ՍՈՑԻՈԼՈԳԻԱ, ՏՆՏԵՍԱԳԻՏՈՒԹՅՈՒՆ
ВЕСТНИК ЕРЕВАНСКОГО УНИВЕРСИТЕТА
СОЦИОЛОГИЯ, ЭКОНОМИКА
BULLETIN OF YEREVAN UNIVERSITY
SOCIOLOGY, ECONOMICS

ՀԱՍԱՐԱԿԱԿԱՆ ԳԻՏՈՒԹՅՈՒՆՆԵՐ
ОБЩЕСТВЕННЫЕ НАУКИ
SOCIAL SCIENCES

№ 1 (16)

ԵՐԵՎԱՆ - 2015

«ԲԱՆԲԵՐ ԵՐԵՎԱՆԻ ՀԱՄԱԼՍԱՐԱՆԻ ՍՈՑԻՈԼՈԳԻԱ, ՏՆՏԵՍԱԳԻՏՈՒԹՅՈՒՆ»
«BANBER YEREVANI HAMALSARANI. SOCIOLOGIA, EKONOMIKA»
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Գլխավոր խմբագիր՝ Միրզոյան Հ. Ղ.

Խմբագրական խորհուրդ.

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MIGRATION AS A FACTOR OF SOCIAL SECURITY IN THE MODERN SOCIETY

YAKOV MARGULYAN, NADEZHDA POKROVSKAYA

The beginning of the XXI century is marked by significant transformations in the political, economic, social and cultural life of people. The evolution of the societal system and social processes led to the unpredictable level of mobility, flexibility and degree of everyday innovative changes, including the new understanding of the social security in the evolving social universe. Mankind created the global network of relationship and attempts to install the world regulation mechanisms with universal values.

The social system which is denominated as “modern” society, or actually existing model of human efficient co-existence’s rules, is no more described by the sociological concept of the modernity, but by the combination of the simultaneously appearing and reproduced social realities, which have the features of the traditional, modern and postmodern social organization’s models. The diversity of social realities, economic opportunities, political systems and civilization’s or regional cultures, reflected in the poly-stylistic approach in everyday behavior’s normative regulation, opens the new ways for individual and group choice, and for the changing of status and roles, which reflects the new behavioral patterns.

The social organization of modernity was representing the extreme rationalization of social life, with the expansion of the pure “economic” logic, theoretical model of choice and making decisions, towards the human activities which are not measured in monetary dimension. The reasoning as systemic¹ seeking for efficiency in gaining utility or pleasure and achieving equilibrium² into the traditionally affective and value-based fields, non-calculated and perceived sacred such as family, religion, love, inspiration etc.

In the modern society the mobility represents process, that reflects the rational choice of individuals to find the best conditions of work and life, influences the migrants’ flows directed from the developing and emerging countries towards the developed territories with the higher level of the social protection and of life standards, career opportunities and possibilities to climb the social grade. This rational explanation efficiently describes the migratory flows from poorest countries and regions to the richest States.

But this is not sufficient to analyze the real migration context. The examination of the migration, i.e., on the territory of the former Soviet Union, demonstrated,

¹ **Lazear E. P.** Economic Imperialism // Oxford Quarterly Journal of Economics, 115. – 2000. – Pp. 99-146.

² **Becker G. S.** A Theory of the Allocation of Time // The Economic Journal, 75, September, 1965. – Pp. 493-517.

that the flows from the Eastern and Southern countries former Soviet republics towards Russia are explained with the wide range of factors, including the non-economic ones. Even if, in fact, the job opportunities in Russian social-economic areas are wider, the important factors were also related to the political stability, the Russian language use (and access to the cultural heritage and scientific research results, the developed technologies and inventions, etc.), the more substantive content of the education and especially the level of the higher professional education system. That situation reflects more complex and sophisticated representation of the social processes and practices than usually is applied in the analysis of the migration in the modern social-economic models.

The modernity roots in the rational scientific mechanical approach. The classical cognition imposed the mathematics' overwhelming predominance, the math abstract reasoning has infiltrated into other scientific and practical branches. This preponderance of the exact scientific methods is justified from the methodical point of view, when the mathematical tools are implemented as a suitable gauge, a mean to measure and to operate, but not as a comprehensive substantial foundation for the content of analysis, especially, of complex subject as human behavior. The post-modernity overcomes this idiosyncrasy of the scientific models of rationality as one of the myths of the modern world view.

The socio-cultural investigations show, that the actual reality of making decision mechanisms and of preference in favor of geographical, social, professional mobility is more sophisticated than described in the classical models. In reality, the choice for a migratory behavior, the migration parameters, the reality of migrants' life and work reflects the context of all the types of societies, which co-exist simultaneously:

- traditional community, with the interpersonal relationship, the handmade tools, the natural cycle of everyday life, surviving and reproducing the community ("Gemeinschaft"³), with the specific authentic perception of the touch to the real life and to the nature. The migration to the rural areas represents, for example, the downshifting practices or the development of the organic agriculture. There are also the wide examples of the coming back to the family roots, to the place of birth, to the native landscape. The social security is often expressed as the will to save this ideal mode of life, with human values of personal relationship and the proximity to the nature, in the terms of the Universe and Eternity;

- pre-modernity, with the priority of the secular knowledge and with the revealing of the human place in the universe, with the economies due to the labor division and the practices of producing handicrafts, the social system with specialized social functions and structure of status, positions and roles' expectations. The social security in this case represents the conservative desire to maintain the existing traditional order, the Renaissance of the human place on the Earth and the simple structure of the society (simplified as Marxist division to the classes, or Hellenistic ideology of the aristocracy and elites, or the monarchy idea of feudal sovereign and people, etc.), on the long-term period of forecast and anticipation. It also introduced the notion of the individualistic responsibility for the personal destiny and path in life;

³ **Tönnies F.** Community and Society. – East Lansing, Michigan: The Michigan State University Press, 1957.

- mature modernity, with the urbanized industrial linear development, especially in the emerging countries such as BRICS with the mass chain production systems⁴ in giant plants based on automation with the refuse of the human communications in favor to the formal⁵ rational differentiated⁶ system of interconnected specialized roles (“Gesellschaft”) as a social “reproducing chain” and impersonal relationship, held by practical concerns of individual utility. The social security is understood as the order of the most efficient sharing mechanism of values created, and founded on the rationality of using resources to ensure the economic growth in the short- and middle-term perspective;

- post-modernity, with the virtual space and creative economy of knowledge and experience, based on the innovative leadership, the telecommunications and IT-sector, with the rejection of the linear narrative, which oversimplifies the complex reality, and with advocating multiple ways of knowing, the diverse values and controversial action⁷. To overcome the modernity’s explaining reality with universal regularities and strict features, the postmodern reasoning and social organization attempt to combine traditional elements with the extreme modernist practices, the postmodern approach focuses on the relative truths of each situation and actor, the understanding of the reality is rooted in an interpretation of concrete experience for individual perception and group initiatives. In this case, the social security is conceived as aimed to the development of personal self-realization and actualization and is perceived at the level of the momentary reasoning (only this instant does exist, and only this minute is valorized).

If the first three types of social organization are analyzed within the numerous economical, political, sociological, philosophical and even physical studies, the last one, the post-modern world is described by philosophers and thinkers, but is not enough evaluated within the strict frame of social science. The scholar analysis of migration as a specific subject represents this inter-disciplinary and fragmented knowledge, concentrated on different facets and manifestations of the migration concept and practices.

The migration theoretical studies should take into account the changes related to the information society and cognitive economy, with the era of the knowledge management and innovative growth. This obsession with the innovations and everyday changes is represented in the organization theory with the concept of an enterprise as a flow of transforming knowledge, of the continuous communication of shapes and ideas. In the social-economic environment, for the human resources management and for the business governance, the research also discovers a new form of migration: in the IT-sector and in the creative free-lance professions (artists, journalists, writers, but also teachers, researchers, developers, etc.) which choose not the geographical mobility, but the socio-cultural and the professional mobility with the virtual employment’s fields and change of the occupation. Among others, it

⁴ **Seidman S.** Modernity, Meaning, and Cultural Pessimism // Max Weber. *Sociological Analysis*, 44, 4. - 1983, Winter. – Pp. 267-278.

⁵ **Weber M.K.E.** *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*. – Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (P. Siebeck), 1925.

⁶ **Giddens A.** *The consequences of Modernity*. – Cambridge: Polity press, 1990.

⁷ **Hoffman L.** The Danger Of The "Truth" // *AHP Perspectives*, August/September, 2004. – Pp. 22-24.

leads to the move from the traditional labor market with the prevailing role of an employer, who dictates its conditions to the population as potential labor force, towards the employers' market, the market of job vacancies where the scared (even exceptional) human resource, the talented human beings have their dominating position of re-valorized personalities' features and competencies, and where the HR (the humans) are able to dictate their individual clauses and impose their requirements to the business.

This social innovation is reflected in the new migration flows, which are conceived and realized in the socio-professional, economic, governing and methodic directions:

- from traditional national employers towards the foreign companies and global corporations which are more generous and offers more adapted motivating remuneration system in the HRM;

- from agrarian or industrial mass producing giants to robotized chains in high-technologies sectors and to the services, especially, IT-maintain and aid in transfer of knowledge, lawyers activity, invention and development, marketing, communication support, financial consulting, accounting, audit, etc.;

- from traditional employment towards the entrepreneurship, self-employment and free-lance, with the high level of the autonomy in making decisions process and realization of business schemes;

- from traditional forms of working in office or workshops to the flexible autonomous virtual jobs;

- from full-time or part-time employment in favor to the outsourcing. HR-leasing and other forms of flexible taking part of professionals in the organizational business-processes.

The transformation of the society is built on the basis of the new understanding human role in the exploring and mastering the nature – in the value creation chains, the production and consumption, exchange and distribution. The synergy approach promotes the idea of the revitalizing of the alternation processes between the chaos of the creative emotional experience and the order of the modern rationality, in this logic the perfect picture of the postmodern social organization is related to the dynamic harmony in the social system, with homeostatic changes and evolution through the regular crisis.

These new migratory schemes impose to the today generations (especially, the human resources in companies, where the 50-60-years-old people meet the 40-years old representatives of the “generation X”, the “generation Y” and the “millennials” and the youngest business-participants from the “generation Z”) to acquire the special knowledge and skills, communication and negotiation tools and competences to live together, the ethics and the tolerance towards other cultures, beliefs and norms of everyday behavior. The academic research and education system meets the new social realities to discover, to analyze and to transform into the learning tools, and has to satisfy the new requirements of employers on the labor market and the new needs of the students as the future participants of the value creation chains.

These changes have a significant impact on migration processes, which play the role of a catalyst for the economic and political growth of a society and, at the

same time, hinder the development of the social system. The research of migration policies and their influence on the efficiency of the social security in the national States should be based on the interdisciplinary areas of exploring works in social sciences⁸, which examine different facets of the migration theory and migratory behavior, as on the level of individuals, and on the scale of the institutionalized actors.

On the one hand, migration processes stimulate regional economic development and have the positive influence on the redistribution of the population, of labor resources and demand, represent a factor mitigating demographic crisis and offsetting natural decline in population; immigrants help to revitalize declining communities and ailing economies: «In recognition of these contributions, states and cities [in USA] are creating welcoming initiatives that seek to integrate and maximize the contributions of immigrant workers and entrepreneurs of all backgrounds, without an emphasis on legal status... In terms of initiatives that facilitate the integration of foreign-born arrivals, some states offer driver's licenses to unauthorized immigrants»⁹, such social innovations reply to the social-cultural need of human standards of life and of equity, the comparable level of facilities and infrastructure for everyone (i.e., to avoid the potential push to the violence or crime), and in the same time, they react to the economic need of getting the most efficient ways to assure the labor resources to the value creating units and areas.

But, on the other hand, migration activates the shadow informal employment, leads to an excessive concentration of immigrants in certain regions, to criminalization of the local situation, to significant enhancement of social risks, dangers and threats, deeply influencing on the level and on the conditions of the social security system of the country and of the region. Currently, the Russian state is in the center of the intersection of large-scale and dynamic migration flows. In terms of immigration Russia takes 2nd place in the world (13.3 million by year) after the United States (35 million)¹⁰. The emigration analysis puts the complex problem of the brain drain in favor of the more developed Western Europe and North America regions, and the emergence of the Southern Asian and Gulf countries. Russia has also the special statistics of the eviction to such countries as Israel, Arab Emirates, Thailand, Singapore, Malaysia, Korea, etc. The well-known example of the 2010 Nobel prizes in chemistry were 2 Russian academic researchers who preferred the better research infrastructure, laboratory equipment and opportunities in Manchester University and left Russia some years before their inventions in chemistry. This case deeply influenced the national idea, the reputation of national research and academic network, but also the understating of the brain drain results and impact on the Russian science, education, and industry. The migration of the high-qualified people also led to the considerable reforms in the research and education system.

In the same time, the interesting and fruitful theoretical approach explains the

⁸ Бреттелл К. Б., Холлифилд Дж. Ф. Теория миграций // "Методология и методы изучения миграционных процессов". М., 2007, с. 36 // www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/FIELD/Moscow/pdf/Manual_on_Migration.pdf.

⁹ American Immigration Council, URL : <http://www.immigrationpolicy.org/perspectives>.

¹⁰ Ткачева Н. А. Социологическая концепция миграционной политики региона в системе национальной безопасности. Автореф. дисс. докт. социол. наук. Тюмень, 2010, с. 2.

individual migratory behavior, with conjugating the psychological and geographical concepts of population belonging and origins, which are described as «dichotomies of geographical thinking»¹¹. The reasoning in terms of Weberian ideal-types should be based on the statistical research and State legislative issues' analysis.

In the frame of this context, the attention of Russian and foreign researchers significantly increases not only towards the migration problems, but also to analyze the influence of the social consequences of migration on the provision of social security and protection of the national society.

Social security as an essential element of the national security system is defined as an integral concept that refers to the context and the ability of the governmental and social system of a country to ensure the effective functioning of the social sphere, to prevent destructive phenomena and processes, to maintain and develop the conditions, means and methods of human socialization and quality of life¹². It is expressed in the creation of favorable conditions for life and personality development, the analysis and wide-spread implementation of efficient practices of the standardized social protection system, activities of government institutions and civil society organizations, popular initiative.

The fundamental principle, which determines the social security of a local, regional community or national society, is the growing need for people to protect their social life and activity against emerging threats and risks. It consists in the assertion of such kind of social relations, governance and Public administration technologies, ways of living, in the empowering and nominating such political leaders and forces that provide the most effective solutions to the social, economic and political problems, create conditions for the improvement of the material and moral standards of living, consolidate and activate them in real producing affairs, will serve as to the expansion of freedom and the rise of the creative initiative of the citizens, protecting people from serious adversity.

The national State population has an objective need in providing social security, and the State and its regions require the relevant conceptual approaches, policies, and strategies. Awareness of these needs is increasingly reflected in legislation, official documents and speeches of political leaders. The most important areas to ensure the national or regional social security are:

- ♦ high quality of life, the standards which assure the dignity of everyday conditions;
- ♦ optimal level of stratification of the society in terms of wealth, sex and age groups;
- ♦ respect for the human rights and civil freedom; an effective migration policy;
- ♦ existence of significant "middle class";
- ♦ high birth rate and life expectancy in the country; stability of the family institution;

¹¹ **Голд Дж.** Психология и география: Основы поведенческой географии. М., 1990, с. 4-6 // http://www.gumer.info/bibliotek_Buks/Psihol/gold/index.php.

¹² **Маргулян Я. А.** Социальная безопасность российского общества: проблемы и способы обеспечения // "Материалы международной научной конференции Пярых Санкт-Петербургских социологических чтений «Социология безопасности: проблемы, анализ, решения". Ч. 1. СПб., 2013, с. 20.

- ♦ employment status and population mobility; professional motivation to productive activities;
- ♦ high spiritual, moral, and creative potential of the population.

The analysis of the accumulated experience and foreign practices of the migration processes' regulation witnesses the influence of the 3 most important political issues. These essential factors in the interrelation between migration and security are represented by:

- ♦ terror attacks threats (the terrorist act on the 9th of Sep 2001, on the Twin Towers, deeply influenced American immigration law, but also the global image of the migration),
- ♦ economic concerns (especially important impact was on the legislation of United Kingdom and Western Europe countries),
- ♦ socio-cultural and ethnic communication (the specific attitude to the Muslim population and immigrants from Arab countries represents the impact of this group of factors).

This analysis permits to distinguish the two essential areas of the migrants regulating policies and strategies, which focuses either on the controlling approach or the integration logics:

1) Immigration Control – this aspect involves the controlling of the migrants flows¹³. This includes border control, which is a crucial component of migration policy, but also of national security. In fact, border control often represents the main focus of policymakers when considering both immigration and security needs. This area of the migration policy includes the regulation of the following questions: a) illegal immigration; b) political asylum and refugees; c) family reunification; d) legal labor immigration, visas.

2) Immigrant Integration – this aspect concerns the incorporation of immigrants into the society. Incorporation is beneficial for security purposes due to the negative impact of the hostile position of immigrants as “aliens” in the society. The deep and real integration of newcomers, their families and children, born inside the receiving country, has gained greater urgency in the wake of the terror attacks in the USA and Europe in the 2000s, some of which were perpetrated by citizens of foreign origin. The incorporation concerns the newcomers and the second, even third generations and includes¹⁴: a) citizenship, legal position and social status; b) anti-discrimination; c) language requirements and culture.

T.E. Givens made an interesting comparative analysis of the American and European migration policies¹⁵, demonstrating, that in USA, the border control has taken precedence, while there has been almost no emphasis on immigrant integration. In fact, the US has no nationally-organized integration policy, the States and

¹³ **Givens T. E.** Immigration and National Security: Comparing the US and Europe // The Whitehead Journal of Diplomacy and International Relations, Winter / Spring 2010. – Pp. 79-89. See also URL: http://blogs.shu.edu/diplomacy/files/2012/05/09-Givens_Layout-1.pdf

¹⁴ **Givens T. E.** Immigration and Immigrant Integration in Europe: Empirical Research // Annual Review of Political Science 10. – 2007.

¹⁵ **Givens T.E.** Immigration and National Security: Comparing the US and Europe // The Whitehead Journal of Diplomacy and International Relations, Winter / Spring 2010. – Pp. 79-89. See also URL: http://blogs.shu.edu/diplomacy/files/2012/05/09-Givens_Layout-1.pdf

local authorities act in the concrete regional conditions and context to improve the migrants situation (i.e., the driving license). In contrast, Europe has taken a more internal approach, which has led to a greater focus on integration than border control. The US regulation has focused on external threats, particularly from Mexico, but also from Arab countries, and the European Union concentrated on the internal integration activities and requirements, such as cultural knowledge and behavioral models, i.e., the Netherlands, Germany, and Austria are requiring immigrants to take mandatory courses in language and culture¹⁶. In Germany, Italy, Greece, the immigration regulation is based on the principle of nation common origin population and stimulated by full integration of ethnic immigrants. With regard to immigrants without local roots, or at least European origin, the policy is implemented with functional integration¹⁷, or social citizenship - incorporation only in the sphere of employment and social security system, but their opportunities for political participation in society and get a new citizenship limited.

For instance, European countries have focused a great deal of time and energy on developing nationally implemented integration policies¹⁸ and also the European regulation. The focus of these policies has shifted over time from a multicultural approach to the strategic vision based on assimilation, incorporation of newcomers and their descendants, which places the integration burden on the immigrant.

The migration influences not only from external pressure, but also with internal concerns in the countries in differentiated ways, in the political, economic, socio-cultural areas. The official strategy of multiculturalism has existed in the migration policies in Sweden, UK, Netherlands, and in some countries of European Union the multicultural integration approach was manifested only in certain areas, such as education. But after the terrorist attacks in the U.S., Spain, UK and West European countries (Germany in 2010, France in 2011) declared the principles of multiculturalism ineffective. The Angela Merkel and Nicolas Sarkozy rejected the multicultural approach principles as non-successful experience, because of the reality with socially and economically well-allowed new citizens of the 2nd and 3rd generations, born on the European territory, who were using the all depth and amplifying of the social protection system, getting the allocations and the allowances and benefits in financial and natural form, but with the hostile attitude to the culture and essential values and normative regulation principles of everyday life in the receiving society. The non-incorporated local populations of foreign roots influenced the political system, led to the empowering of the left parties income governing bodies (as France, 2012, where the non-French inhabitants supported the left candidate) and to the ultra-right and nationalist parties in others (Netherlands, 2010, or Switzerland in 2007, where the local population voted not for the social, economic and political candidates' posi-

¹⁶ **Carrera S.** A Comparison of Integration Programmes in the EU: Trends and Weaknesses // Challenge Papers, (2006): 1.

¹⁷ **Collett E.** One Size Fits All? Tailored Integration Policies for Migrants in the European Union. EPC Working Paper. – 2006. – № 24. http://www.theepc.be/TEWN/pdf/602431467_EPC_Working_Paper_24.pdf.

¹⁸ **Urth H.** Draft Synthesis Report on Policies Concerning the Integration of Immigrants // Süßmuth R. and Weidenfeld W. Managing Integration: The European Union's Responsibilities Towards Immigrants. - Gütersloh, Germany: Bertelsman Stiftung, 2005. – P. 49.

tions, but against the potential new waves of the alien migrants). Such protest attitude is expressed towards the attempts of the policies of extreme tolerance in regard to the migrants religious and behavioural norms and patterns.

Today, the migration represents one of the most important factors of social security of the society. There are the following arguments, which reflect the influence of the migration processes on the social security conditions and corresponding political and regulating measures.

First, migration widely affects the demographic situation and structure of the population, both in the regions of the coming in, and of the eviction of migrants. This situation is due to the mobility of the population, especially young people because in the regions of the out-going flows there is a reducing in population growth rates. At the same time, in regions of significant inflow of migrants there is an increase in population, which changes the age pyramid of inhabitants towards expanding the range of working age groups, the sex imbalance is amplified by increasing the male population. The migration has an impact on the state of marriage, birth and death rates in the region, because there is a change of sex and age structure of the population, transforming the norms and values of demographic behavior, health status varies with the local population in the region.

The influence on the behavior patterns in the postmodern societies¹⁹ is complex, because of the tolerance and freedom values which are simultaneous with the traditional culture predominance in such fields as family or religious practices. The individual choice in the reproduction behavior, in creating family and birth of children, is now influenced by the traditional cultures of different origins, especially, as it is discovered in receiving countries. The mix marriage among the populations with local and immigrants' roots, leads to the special situation in cultural and educational field for their children, who often adopt the cultural models of the foreign civilization (example of Turkish towns' blocks in Germany or Arab blocks in France, after the waves of the migrants from Algeria).

Secondly, the migration has an impact on economic processes and the local and regional labor market. Many migrants organize their own business, promotes the creation of new jobs and the development of social and economic infrastructure. The migrants' activities create a multiplier effect on employment associated with the emergence of new jobs in the main production, requiring the appearance of additional vacancies in service sectors.

This multiplying effect permits to involve in the manufacturing sector and the service sector further local labor, which leads to an increase in their incomes, living standards and quality of life, which in turn stimulates investment in economic development. For example, in St. Petersburg, such a behavior is typical of many representatives of the Armenian diaspora, which has a nearly 300-year history. In the early 1730-s in St.Petersburg already existed Armenian street in the area of the third line of the island Vassilievsky and Sredny Avenue (in the middle of the island). And after only 7 years after the city's founding, in 1710, there already existed an "Armenian office". Emperor Peter I the Great deserved tribute to the dedication of the

¹⁹ **d'Appollonia C., Reich S.** Immigration, Integration and Security: America and Europe in Comparative Perspective. – Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2008. – Pp. 4-5.

Armenians and issued a special decree that mandated "to contain the fair Armenian people for the sake of Christianity in especial grace". Today, a large number of immigrants from Armenia have their own business in the supply, trade, construction, hotel, and restaurant business. They are working in education, health and science, administration and financial institutions, banking and investment services, in consulting and audit companies.

But, one of the significant problems with scientific social-economic and management studies of immigration is the failure to determine causality²⁰: cities or territories with increasing economy simultaneously attract immigrants, who are drawn to the work opportunities there, but who do not create the employment. In this case, increases in immigration will be related to higher wages and amplified job creation, but not necessary contribute to or cause these improving economic outcomes.

Third, migration has a significant impact on the social structure of the region's population, mobility of various social groups, ethnic composition, its placement, and resettlement. Active social mobility has a positive effect on regional labor markets, reduces the number of unemployed people, promotes the development of new areas, improves quality of life and develops the social structure of the population, reducing its disproportionate state.

Use of unskilled labor migrants enables local people to engage in intellectual and creative activities, usually more attractive for people and more reputed. In this way, the traditional society or modernity social-economic organization is more transferred to the migrants activities, that liberates the post-modern fields and spheres for the inhabitants with local roots. This strange form of the social stratified evolution represents the new subject for the scholar theoretical analysis in the migration research.

At the same time, illegal migrants significantly undermine social guarantees available to the regional citizens. This effect is associated with the presence of minimal wage rates and maximum limit for hours of work, provision of social infrastructure, etc. Given that the majority of illegal migrants are employed in the informal and shadow sectors of economy, there is an increase of losses due to the local budget shortfall in payment for the use of foreign labor, tax evasion and social security contributions and payments for the pension services, medical insurance, children education and disabled people care.

Fourth, migration contributes to more urban areas, leading to an increase in the town population, the spread of urban lifestyle, change their social status, promoting the use of their social status and labor potential. Urbanization processes have both positive and negative consequences. They are forming not only areas of prosperity, but also a disaster area, leading to the extinction of vast rural areas and negatively affecting the lives of people, their conditions of work and life. While the migration policies, as well as urbanization and rural development planning in developing or emerging countries (Russia, but also the same processes are revealed in India and China), differ significantly, both witness the increasing disparities in income and

²⁰ **Strauss J.** Allies, not Enemies: How Latino Immigration Boosts African American Employment and Wages Strauss // June 2013. http://www.immigrationpolicy.org/sites/default/files/docs/allies_not_enemies.pdf.

access to services for wealthy urban residents and migrants²¹. Undocumented, circulate, and temporary migratory behavior is a world-wide phenomenon, based on the seeking better jobs opportunities and life conditions, and in the same time, seeking to avoid the strict and severe regulation, tax paying or social and cultural requirements, that provoke the fifth group of effect – the deviant behavior not only towards the local cultural, social and political norms, but also the deviation from the foreign origins' cultural system, values scale and behavioral limits and patterns, i.e. the Middle Asian Muslim migrants are less respecting the Islamic religious prescriptions, when they come for jobs in European territories of Russia, i.e., even in the field of the religious alcohol prohibition in their culture.

Fifthly, the negative social consequences of illegal migration are related to the expansion of the field of deviant behavior of migrants and their environment, leading to worsening of the crime situation and exacerbating regional socio-political conflict. This deviation affects more the migrants environment, than the local population, but also provokes the ethnic and religious conflicts between the local groups.

Low education and skill level of migrants, especially those from Central Asian states and their unwillingness to study the history, culture, language and national characteristics of the country of residence, clean lifestyle and desire to move the national and cultural conditions of life to the local level, are leading to an increase in crime, whether committed by migrants themselves, but also the local crime on ethnic grounds, dissemination of racist manifestations and discredit the image of migrants in the eyes of the local population, that leads to the increasingly expressed discrimination.

Significant impact on the deviant and delinquent behavior of migrants have their living conditions, which often do not meet the minimum acceptable standards of existence. The rooms and dormitories have not sufficient surface and facilities, they unfit for living, are overcrowding, lack of basic amenities. The long working hours, poor and disorganized meals, mental stress and nervous stress negatively affect the health of workers, increase the incidence of various infectious diseases, including tuberculosis and AIDS. So, the migration policy should be intended to “identify pragmatic policy responses that maximize human safety... The goal, of course, is to bring transparency and greater knowledge in the area to assist analysts and leaders in forming policy responses that optimize the safety and security of... [receiving State] citizens and immigrants from the devastating consequences of a deadly contagion”²². By the mid-XXth century, with the discovery of cures and vaccines for many infectious diseases and improvements in sanitation methods the death tolls from communicable diseases plummeted in the Soviet Union republics and in the developed countries in the world. But with the period of “perestroika” transition towards the liberal principles and free market economy, the first ideal understanding of freedom without the connected idea of responsibility led to the mass refuse of the vaccination for inhabitants, especially in Asian countries – for-

²¹ Global Knowledge Partnership on Migration and Development (Knomad) // http://www.knomad.org/powerpoints/internal_migration/Call_for_papers_IMU_KNOMAD_april2014.pdf.

²² **Totten R.J.** Contagious Disease, Epidemics, National Security, and U.S. Immigration: Historical Policy Responses. – U.C. San Diego Center for Comparative Immigration Studies Working Paper 187, June 2012. –http://ccis.ucsd.edu/wp-content/uploads/Robbie-J-Totten_Epidemics-and-U-S-Immigration-Policy-2.pdf.

mer SU republics. And today, the Russian medical services meet the migrants with the dangerous infectious diseases. The most significant problem is presented by the diseases, which were “eliminated” completely on the territory of centralized medical coverage in the Soviet Union, but now, from different internal and external sources, such diseases appear in the former Asian Soviet republics, so, the modern medical services already have no medicines against such diseases and are not able to face them and to cope with such epidemics. So, the biological border control should prevent the health risks.

In the same time, it is important to mention the susceptibility of modern national States to biological attacks by rogue groups and individuals, citing the 2001 mail-based anthrax attacks as bioterrorism. The epidemics pose also security threats to states in a number of ways, primarily through their negative effect on economic and military power, internal social security. Infectious disease does this primarily through its effect on human health and productivity, with possible results of an epidemic including a high mortality rate, sick citizens unable to return to work, and laborers performing suboptimally – all outcomes that can tax social and healthcare systems and stagnate the economic and military production of a state. Disease also has a psychological toll on citizens, creating anxiety, perceptual distortions and fear amongst members of a polity, which can curb social and technological innovation, disrupt trade, limit capital investment, and encourage firms and entrepreneurs to abandon long-term economic plans²³.

Negative impact on illegal immigrants is made by the constant fear of being detained by law enforcement bodies, of losing their jobs, of being expelled from the country.

As citizens of other States, migrants do not have equal social and economic rights, except the right to emergency medical care and schooling for their children. But, these rights also create problematic area for the local population due to the dangers of contamination with different grave diseases in the hospitals, especially, the famous case of tuberculosis contagion in maternity medical establishments in 2010 in Saint-Petersburg with the migrants from Tajikistan.

Among Russian citizens sufficiently stiff resistance dominates in the opinions towards integration of migrants in the Russian society. Thus, according to the U. Levada Analytical Center, only 10% of Russians believed that "Russia needs the migrants who come to become citizens of Russia", 15% believe that "Russia needs only those migrants who come to earnings" and only 8% that "Russia needs and those in the other". 53% of Russians have a positive attitude to the possibility of a ban to stay in their territory immigrants from Central Asia, 57% - immigrants from the Caucasus. Most of the respondents oppose the purchase of property by migrants, their employment not only in the state, municipal service in the public sector, but also in the private sector²⁴. Intolerance of the majority of the receiving society' population is very often provoked by the reluctance of ethnic migrants to adapt to the social environment. But, in the social activities the adaptation means, first of all,

²³ **Price-Smith A.T.** Contagion and Chaos: Disease, Ecology, and National Security in the Era of Globalization. – Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2009. – Pp. 20-21, 204-205.

²⁴ **Мукомоль В.** Методические и практические аспекты изучения интеграции иммигрантов: специфика постсоветского пространства. М., 2007, с. 142-171.

the active efforts of an actor to assimilate the behavior models and requirements of the social environment²⁵, based on the local culture, where the actor is acting inside. The unwillingness to integrate into the local society and the strategy for self-isolation in their ethnic group or fraternities is for many migrants quite deliberate in nature. Staying in such a buffer zone for migrants is "a way to cling to any social organism, but would not be in isolation"²⁶.

In the ethnic group or fraternities where the migrant worker is exposed, has its own subculture, which differs from the traditional culture of the local community, not only the language, religious affiliation, ethnic and cultural identity, but also a high degree of consolidation, demeanor and everyday behavior, insulating moods, mutual help and support in setting up at the new location, financial aid, etc. Forced self-isolation of these migrant groups transformed into public opinion of local people in distrust, suspicion and accusation of cronyism, closed groups and mafia. The mass media also create the image of the illegal immigration which refers to immigrants who violate the laws of the country of destination and the life rules and standards.

While ethnicity denotes where people come from, ethnic identity is the balance between commitment to, affinity to, or self-identification with the culture, norms, and society idea of origin and commitment to or self-identification with the host culture and society. Ethnic identity becomes pertinent upon arrival in the host country, given that there is a sufficient cultural distance between home and host countries. Individuals may exhibit a strong association with and commitment to either or both the culture of ancestry and the host culture²⁷. In the same time, there are other examples of migratory integration behavior when migrants prefer to incorporate into the host society, even they exclude the origin customs and traditional behavior and impose on their children the language, literature, behavioral patterns of the host society, usually, except the religious beliefs and requirements. In this case, the assimilation is perceived as a path to the climbing the social grades and status positions in the host society.

Today, the policy of the assimilation, which is quite popular in Europe, is replacing the concept of integration. The assimilation process is related to the inclusion and participation²⁸ practices. Community organizations emphasize the concept of participation, which denotes democratic notions of access, agency, and change, though it does not directly refer to relationships between social groups. Inclusion is probably the term closest to integration, with the advantage of providing a better link to mainstream policy concerns, since policymakers use it to refer to all social groups, not just migrants and minorities. Social inclusion is a stated policy goal for

²⁵ <http://soc-work.ru/article/843>

²⁶ **Sorokin P.A.** Social and Cultural Mobility. – New York: The Free Press, 1959. **Сорокин П. А.** Социальная мобильность / под общей редакцией В.В. Сапова. – М.: Academia, LVS, 2005. – P. 503.

²⁷ **Constant, A., Gataullina, L., Zimmermann K. F.** Gender, Ethnic Identity and Work // IZA Discussion Paper No. 2420. – 2006. See also: **Zimmermann K.F.** Migrant Ethnic Identity: Concept and Policy Implications // Discussion Paper Series, Institute for the Study of Labor, September 2007. IZA DP No. 3056. – <http://ftp.iza.org/dp3056.pdf>.

²⁸ **Rudiger A., Spencer S.** Social integration of Migrants and Ethnic Minorities. Policies to Combat Discrimination // The Economic and Social Aspects of Migration // Conference Jointly organized by The European Commission and the OECD Brussels, 21-22 January 2003.

governments directed at eliminating the exclusion of all disadvantaged groups to enable everyone. Integration as a policy objective implies an assumption about a desirable social order, with a high degree of internal cohesion. It is part of the process of nation-building. The normative dimension of integration often remains concealed, when access to the services and institutions of a society is conceived as a procedural matter, with the public sphere acting as a neutral arbiter of universal needs. This perspective relegates the substantial differences embodied by minorities to the private realm, while failing to identify the public realm as marked by specific interests, perspectives and practices, which are likely to be more appropriate for one set of people than another. If integration is measured in relation to an existing social order with its hegemonic practices and values, then its focus will always be on adaptation by migrants rather than steps that may be necessary to facilitate the inclusion and participation of newcomers. In pluralist democracies, such change will not be perceived as a threat to stability but as part of the flexibility and openness of a society which is constantly developing, striving for greater equality and more opportunities for all people. Democracy is based on the diversity of conflicting views, needs, values, norms, attitudes, aspirations and identities, to which migrants and ethnic minorities add another facet.

In these circumstances, many Russian universities are starting to implement innovative educational programs and technologies aimed not only at the training of highly qualified specialists, but also the formation of competencies for people with a profound moral character and tolerance as one of the fundamental elements that determine the development of human civilization today, in the global world.

By virtue of their social status, the representatives of the younger generation are more than anyone else interested in the replacement of the culture of violence and war to a culture of peace, mutual understanding and democracy, elimination of the enemy image, establishing of the principles of tolerance and good neighborhood. Higher School, along with other social and cultural institutions, is designed to solve the problem of the formation and massive reproduction of an autonomous and responsible personality, which would have a strong culture of tolerance.

In general, the academic educational strategy of developing tolerance among university students is concentrated on the following methodical measures and conceptual approaches:

- establishing a system of social and educational environment contributing to the formation of tolerant beliefs, attitudes and skills of tolerant behavior in school;
- distributing among students' teams a positive approach to ethnic issues related to the prevention of any manifestations of racism, chauvinism, extremism, xenophobia;
- emphasizing the unifying potential of students as members of different ethnic groups (cultural heritage, contributions to science, art, and the state; positive character traits and features);
- implementation of the idea to instill students with openness and respect for others, understanding the possibilities of human co-existence in the multivariate diverse, distinct cultural, religious and social spheres. This idea is based on the human values but also is represented in the cross-cultural management studies, where

the diversity is understood as a powerful source of the innovation and development.

One of the important components of the educational policy to promote tolerance among students is the use of modern innovative technologies. Thus, the technology of the future specialist training should be designed and associated with the process of setting goals and objectives, conditions, methods and means of formation of knowledge, information technology and telecommunication skills, personal experience. The education creates the emotionally valuable relation to professional activities. The strategic goal of training of future specialists is to form his or her professional competence and education of information technology culture, including a tolerant attitude toward other people and their values scale and culture.

A special role in shaping students' tolerance is played by the training of the educators themselves, the higher school professors, and researchers, but also the Universities administration and governance staff. This training includes the study of pedagogy of international and cross-cultural communication, defining basis of dialogue between cultures in the student team; regional ethno-pedagogies demonstrating traditions of education in the region inhabited by ethnic groups, taking into account the characteristics of a local approach to the construction of the educational process ; cross-cultural psychology, which allows to identify and to explore the similarities and differences in the psychology of young people belonging to different cultures and ethnicities, to establish their biological, socio-cultural, political, environmental and psychological characteristics; sociology, cultural studies, philosophy, ethnic art, anthropology, revealing the content of the social and cultural experience of ethnic groups, allows you to see the total in the cultures and the relationship between the general development of civilization and the contribution of individual nations in the process.

The academic educational approach is built not only on the transfer of knowledge from the older, previous generations towards the next, younger generation, not only the help to form the competences and skills for the future professional specialists, but also the transmission of culture, which is directed in both ways – the teachers dispose the knowledge and experience to the students, but the students also make example of the new perceiving models and behavior patterns for the representatives of the more aged people and help the universities teachers to learn the tolerance principles of everyday life behavior and mutual understanding and communication among different ethnics and religions.

Thus, in the conditions of deep transformation of Russian society is particularly important to assure the formation and implementation of long-term, comprehensive, system migration policies to ensure social and, ultimately, national security for a long historical period. This migration policy should be clearly coordinated at the State level with the release of the relevant financial and material resources. Particular attention should be paid to the scientific approach and to provide sociological foundations for the regulation for migratory processes.

Key words: *migration policy, migratory behavior, social security, modernity, postmodern, mobility*

ՅԱԿՈՎ ՄԱՐԳՈՒԼՅԱՆ, ՆԱԴԵՇԺԱ ՊՈԿՐՈՎՍԿԱՅԱ – Միգրացիան որպես արդի հասարակության սոցիալական անվտանգության գործոն – Հոդվածում դիտարկվում են հասարակության սոցիալական անվտանգության հիմնախնդիրները միգրացիոն գործընթացների ազդեցության համատեքստում, հիմնավորվում է երկարաժամկետ, համալիր, համակարգային միգրացիոն քաղաքականության ձևավորման և իրականացման անհրաժեշտությունը:

Նյութը կառուցված է դեդուկտիվ տրամաբանությամբ՝ հետժամանակակից սոցիալական իրականության առանձնահատկության բացահայտումից դեպի սոցիալական անվտանգության նորացված ըմբռնում փոփոխական ու բազմաբնույթ սոցիալական համակարգում և ճկուն ու դինամիկ սոցիալ-տնտեսական տարածության պայմաններում՝ հասարակական և անձնային զարգացման վրա միգրացիոն վարքագծի ազդեցության բացահայտում:

Բանալի բառեր – *միգրացիոն քաղաքականություն, միգրացիոն վարքագիծ, սոցիալական անվտանգություն, արդիականություն, պոստմոդերն, շարժունություն*

ЯКОВ МАРГУЛЯН, НАДЕЖДА ПОКРОВСКАЯ – Миграция как фактор социальной безопасности современного общества. – В статье рассматривается обеспечение социальной безопасности общества в контексте миграционных процессов, обосновывается потребность в долговременной комплексной и системной миграционной политике. Материал выстроен по дедуктивному принципу – от специфики постсовременной социальной реальности к обновленному пониманию социальной безопасности в изменчивой разнообразной социальной системе и к воздействию миграционного поведения на общественное и личностное развитие в гибком и динамичном социально-экономическом пространстве.

Ключевые слова: *миграционная политика, миграционное поведение, социальная безопасность, современность, постмодерн, мобильность*

WHO BELONGS TO THE NATION? DISCOURSES ON MIGRATION AND DIVERSITY IN EUROPE

KATHARINA HOFFMANN

The concept of the nation has shaped the current geopolitical landscape in Europe and beyond. Not only have borders and territories of states shifted and new nation states been built, but in addition the influence of inter-governmental or supra-governmental agencies has increased particularly since the end of the cold war, while at the same time new patterns of economic and political processes on a global scale have developed. The formation of the European Union as a geopolitical and economic union plays an important role in debates about the accommodation of diversity within the union and its member states.

Key issues of these debates have been the construction of a common European identity against the background of the continuing shifts of Europe as a territorial entity. The controversial discussion about the potential membership of Turkey is a striking example of a European border regime which is closely linked to identity questions. In dominant political discourses Turkey is, despite its secular constitution, categorized as a Muslim country which is irreconcilable with Christian European identities. The controversies about the definitions of a common European heritage as a reference point for external borders are interlaced with immigration policies which constitute internal boundaries within Europe and its nation states¹.

Since the second half of the 20th century the concept of multiculturalism and its critique as well as the pattern in the discourse of "the failure of multiculturalism" indicate the ways in which diversity has been discussed within European nation states. Nevertheless, the nation states are linked to concepts of EU as a political and economic and even as a cultural unity in contrast to other cultures or civilisations. Yet, although EU institutions frame migration and immigration policies with the introduction of EU-citizenship, the Schengen-agreement and legislation like the non-discrimination law, the member states continue to follow their respective national integration policies. Accordingly, multicultural approaches mostly focus on the national settings and are concerned with the concept of the nation. In dominant public and political discourses diversity has been discussed in terms of cultural, religious or ethnic difference intertwined with drawing boundaries between sameness and similarity on the one hand and otherness on the other which even includes EU citizens.

Multiculturalisms Contested

The term "multiculturalism" emerged in the 1960s and 1970s in North America and Australia and only later entered European discussions. The American politi-

¹ St'ú **José Casanova**, "Religion, European Secular Identities, and European Integration" in *Transit* 27, <http://migrationeducation.de/45.0.html> 13.06.2014.

cal and legal theorist Sarah Song defines multiculturalism in her article in the Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy as an "umbrella term to characterize the moral and political claims of a wide range of disadvantaged groups, including African-Americans, women, gays and lesbians, and the disabled." Nevertheless, according to her "most theorists of multiculturalism tend to focus their arguments on immigrants who are ethnic and religious minorities [...], minority nations [...], and indigenous peoples"² (Song 2010). Her definition is useful in the sense that it alludes to the different regional contexts in which the term has been developed and changed across time. "Like contemporary ethno-nationalisms", as the Australian scholar David Bennett stated at the end of the 1990s, "multiculturalism is in many ways an epiphenomenon of globalization, and since its coinage by the Canadian Royal Commission in 1965, the word itself has had a diasporic career, entering and inflecting numerous national debates about the politics of cultural difference, the 'limits of tolerance', and the future of the nation-state."³ In spite of common topics, there is no clear cut definition of multiculturalism in European contexts. It has been said that the various concepts share the appreciation of diversity, demand respect and recognition of different identities and above all foster attitudes that, as Alessandro Silj puts it, "the Other is not perceived as a threat to the identity, values and culture of the host society."⁴ However, the different epithets in academic discourse like "radical", "polycentric", "critical", "insurgent", "corporate", "conservative" or "left-liberal" multiculturalism indicate the variety of approaches which are linked to controversies on different levels and in different contexts⁵.

The prominence of the term "culture" in political discourses, which multicultural theoretical concepts have also adapted, is closely linked to shifts on an international scale. Since the end of WW II the term "race", based on the construction of biological difference and hierarchies between human groups has become problematic against the background of the crimes of National Socialism, colonialism and apartheid. Instead, the terms "culture" and "ethnicity" were introduced as alternatives with the UNESCO "Statement on the nature of race differences" in 1951. Although the replacement of "race" was meant as anti-racist strategy, scholars have pointed out that the understanding of human difference in terms of "equal but different cultures" obscure the realities of inequalities interlocked with the production of superior and inferior groups by policies in national and international contexts. Moreover, categorising negative ascriptions to groups as individual prejudices and stereotypes misses the point that such practices have been produced by the institutions of nation states⁶. To put it in a nutshell, "the language of culture rather than

² See Sarah Song, "Multiculturalism" in The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (Spring 2014 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2014/entries/multiculturalism/>, 16.06.2014

³ See David Bennett, "Introduction" in Bennett, David (ed.) *Multicultural States. Rethinking Difference and Identity*, London et al.: Routledge: 2:

⁴ See Alessandro Silj, "Introduction" in Silj, Alessandro (ed.) *European Multiculturalism Revisited*, London and New York: Zed Books: 2:

⁵ See Steven Vertovec, "Towards Post-Multiculturalism? Changing Communities, Conditions and Contexts of Diversity" in *International Social Science Journal*, vol. 61/199, 83-95:

⁶ See Caliendo, Stephen M. and Charlton D. McIlwain 2011: *The Routledge Companion*

race does not ensure its innocence" as Anne Phillips notes and underscores with the following example: "When people speak of the dangers of their culture being swamped by the migration of too many people from another, or it being better to keep some distance between cultures because of natural human preference for living with one's own, this is not so different from the fear of miscegenation."⁷

The construction of "otherness" has been fluid across time and space⁸. The continually shifting external and internal boundaries of the EU have been producing new societal formations which include former others, perpetuate exclusions of "old minorities" or produce new hierarchies between groups of "old immigrants" and "new immigrants". The geo-political enlargement of the EU has also led to redefinitions of the term "immigrant" and revisions of migration regimes. European countries which have been emigration nations in the first decades after WW II are now transit migration or immigration countries. At the same time the citizens of former emigration, now full member countries of the EU have been granted mobility and residence within the EU according to the introduction of EU citizenship since the Maastricht Treaty. They are no longer categorized as immigrants. Nevertheless, countries within the EU are emigration countries with diasporas in different parts of the world. Not only concepts of belonging but also remittances of diaspora members to relatives, investments, political or humanitarian support in the country of origin or imagined home show the multitude of current practices across state borderlines. Concurrently, the fortification of external borders has been intensified and Southern and Eastern countries at the EU borders are obliged to implement migration policies in order to become members of the European Union. In this vein, the metaphor "Fortress Europe" has often been used to signify European border and migration regimes.

Apart from these developments which play a crucial role in migration and integration policies, research found that the current migrant population in European countries is more diverse than those in post war decades. Steven Vertovec introduces the term "super-diversity" to categorize the complexities within and between presumed homogenous groups of immigrants along former categorizations according to the nationality, the ethnicity or the religious affiliations of immigrants. "Today", he argues, "newer, smaller, transient, less organised and more legally differentiated immigrant groups comprise global migration flows." The social and economic positions as well as migrants' self-concepts are influenced by multiple intersections of variables like gender, religious traditions, ethnicity, regional and local identities, language, cultural values and practices. Additionally, the respective immigration policies on national and communal levels, the employment strategies of companies or the attitude of locals towards immigrants shape the frames of their societal existences⁹. The term "super-diversity" might be appropriate to indicate shifts, but one

Race and Ethnicity, London et al.: Routledge, 177, Lentin, Alana and Gavan Titley "The Crises of Multiculturalism. Racism in a Neoliberal Age", London and New York: Zed Books, 70:

⁷ See Anne Phillips, Multiculturalism without Culture, Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 56:

⁸ Yuval-Davis, Nira 1997 Gender & Nation, London: Sage, 46-51:

⁹ See Andrew Geddes, The Politics of Migration and Immigration in Europe, London et al.: Sage. Papademetriou, Demetrios G. (ed.) Europe and its Immigrants in the 21st Century. A new Deal or a Continuing Dialogue of the Deaf? Washington: Migration Policy Institute, Penninx,

should also take into account that its evolving could also be a result of changed interpretative models which neglect immigrants' diversity in previous periods of time insofar as other categorisations of difference have been at play in politics and research.

The political scientist Bhikhu Parekh argues: "Multiculturalism is best understood neither as a political doctrine with a programmatic content nor a philosophical school with a distinct theory of man's place in the world but as a perspective on or a way of viewing human life." According to Parekh "a multicultural perspective is composed of the creative interplay of ... the cultural embeddedness of human beings, the inescapability and desirability of cultural plurality, and the plural and multicultural constitution of each culture." Nevertheless, he emphasises that a multicultural society has to develop a "common sense of belonging among its citizens" which should not be "based on shared cultural, ethnic and other characteristics". Instead, the political community as a shared community should be the frame for the deliberation of common sense¹⁰.

Parekh's approach which meets the paradigms of other multicultural approaches supports the idea of a civic nation and can be understood as a reconceptualisation of liberal democracies within nation or multi-national states. Two major concepts of the nation are being discussed at the moment. Social scientists distinguish between the concept of an ethnic nation and the concept of a civic nation. It is assumed that the concept of an ethnic nation emphasising common ancestors and culture demands the assimilation of newcomers, whereas the concept of a civic nation embraces all people who live in a particular territory "and show common allegiance to a political unit."¹¹ Both concepts are often interlocked with perceptions of a national culture as homogenous. In other words, the distinctions between the concepts of an ethnic nation and civic nation may be useful on a theoretical level, though the actual outcome when states follow one or the other of the concepts may, in fact, be the same. If one compares, e.g., the integration policies of the ethnic nation state Germany with the civic nation state France one can see that both states demand the subjection to principles or values which are seen as core elements of the respective national culture¹². Moreover, it is noteworthy that the differentiation of populations on the basis of coherent and homogenous groups plays an important

Rinus, Dimitrina Spencer and Nicholas Van Hear, Migration and Integration in Europe: The State of Research, ESRC Centre on Migration, Policy and Society (COMPAS) University of Oxford, t <http://www.compas.ox.ac.uk/fileadmin/files/Publications/Reports/Migration%20and%20Integration%20in%20Europe.pdf> 12.06.2014:

¹⁰ St u **Bhikhu Parekh**, "What is Multiculturalism?" in Guibernau, Montserrat and John Rex (eds.) The Ethnicity Reader. Nationalism, Multiculturalism and Migration, Cambridge et al.: Polity Press: 238-243:

¹¹ St u **Bruce, Steve** and **Steven Yearley** (eds.) The Sage Dictionary of Sociology, London et al: Sage, 206-7:

¹² St u **Silj, Alessandro** (ed.) European Multiculturalism Revisited, London and New York: Zed Books. Vertovec, Steven and Susanne Wessendorf (eds.) The Multiculturalism Backlash. European Discourses, Policies and Practices, London et al.: Routledge. Triandafyllidou, Anna, Tariq Modood and Nasar Meer "Introduction: Diversity, Integration, Secularism and Multiculturalism" in Triandafyllidou, Anna, Tariq Modood and Nasar Meer" (eds.) European Multiculturalisms. Cultural, Religious and Ethnic Challenges, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press: 1-29:

role in and between societies, has shaped particular social- political orders in such a way that it has become part of individual identity constructions and images of the nation as a natural unit. As the authors of the entry in the "Dictionary of Race, Ethnicity and Culture" point out the term "nation" is nowadays commonly understood as a "group of people united by culture, language, traditions and common interests", which indicates the uses in everyday language and how imaginations of a national community are part of the social unconscious¹³.

In academic discourse, Benedict Anderson has presented the nation in his analysis which was published in 1983 as "imagined community". At the same time, Eric Hobsbawm pointed out that traditions "are often quite recent in origin and sometimes invented. ... [E]ntirely new symbols and devices came into existence as part of national movements and states, such as the national anthem ..., the national flag ..., or the personification of 'the nation' in symbol or image, either official, as with Marianne and Germania, or unofficial, as the cartoon stereotypes of John Bull, the lean Yankee Uncle Sam and the 'German Michel'"¹⁴. These now classic approaches along with further (de)constructionist approaches have scrutinised in which ways nations are the result of historical social-political developments and how narratives of nationhood, concepts of national identity and a unified national culture have obscured internal divisions and differences along power structures within societies. The emphasis on the construction of nations offers space to reconfigure discourses on belongings and the accommodation of diversity. Critical theoretical and political debates about the constructions of homogenous national communities which go along with the drawing of boundaries are at the least crucial in view of the fact that divisions between "us" and "them" are inseparable from the past and present of war, conflict, violence and suppression.

Classical liberal approaches have emphasised that the implementation of equal rights for individuals, the neutrality of state institutions towards cultural, ethnic or religious affiliations, the division between the public space as a secular space for political rational deliberations and the private space as a space for expressing different ethnic, religious or cultural identities are important and sufficient elements to pursue social coherence and justice within societies. In contrast, multicultural approaches have pointed out on what levels classical liberal social political orders are biased by the cultural concepts of majority groups as a result of continuous power struggles based on hierarchical structures which exclude or marginalise groups with different concepts of culture. This includes also critiques on the claim that dominant cultural groups declare their core values and norms as universal ones. Such multicultural critiques have partly picked up political issues and demands of social movements that have addressed racism¹⁵.

The British scholar Tariq Modood, who is a key figure in research about multiculturalism in European nation states, argues that "the primary interest of multicult-

¹³ St' u **Bolaffi, Guido, Raffaele Bracalenti, Peter Braham and Sandro Gindro** (eds.) 2003 *Dictionary of Race, Ethnicity & Culture*, London et al.: Sage, 195:

¹⁴ St' u **Hobsbawm, Eric** "Introduction. Inventing Traditions" in Hobsbawm, Eric and Terence Ranger (eds.) *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 1, 7:

¹⁵ St' u **Modood, Tariq** 2007 *Multiculturalism*, Cambridge et al.: Polity Press, 37-46:

turalism is not culture per se but in the political uses of non-European origin ethnic and related identities, especially in turning their negative and stigmatic status into a positive feature of the societies that they are now part of. This means that multiculturalism is characterized by the challenging, the dismantling and the remaking of public identities."¹⁶ In other words, his emphasis, which he shares with other multicultural theorists, is on "the politics of recognition of difference or respect for identities that are important to people, as identified in minority assertiveness, and should not be disregarded in the name of integration or citizenship"¹⁷.

Such concepts of multiculturalism differ from concepts of assimilation which support a one-way process demanding the subjectivation of immigrants to the dominant values, norms and national identity constructions. In contrast, concepts of integration are seen as two way processes which emphasise social interactions between immigrants and different actors within a society. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that mainly in current political discourses and policies the term integration is understood as a one way process that means immigrants are made responsible for their integration process. As, e.g., newly introduced citizenship tests illustrate the applicants have not only to provide language skills but also to demonstrate their knowledge about the host country and their acceptance of assumed core values and norms. In contrast, members of the majority are not questioned about their knowledge and loyalty to the nation state¹⁸. According to Modood the concept of multiculturalism differs from integration insofar as multiculturalism's demand for the accommodation of difference is intertwined with the recognition of "groups, not just individuals, at the level of: identities, associations, belonging, including diasporic connections; behaviour, culture, religious practice, etc.; and political mobilisation."¹⁹. Concerning the variety of groups and multiple forms of inequality as obstacles for a full citizenship including social, political and economic dimensions from Modood's point of view integration policies have to apply different ways and to include minority identities in political deliberations about the constructions of national identities instead of presuming that the hegemonic definition should be accepted. Policies which allow a wide range of groups to participate actively would offer possibilities to renegotiate the essentials of shared cultural meanings. Taking into account existing inequalities, multicultural policies should implement anti-discrimination instruments addressing individuals and groups to meet the principles of equality²⁰, see for his categorisation of currently discussed/practised modes of integration²¹.

However, Modood's "political multiculturalism", which Maleiha Malik categorises as an example of "progressive multiculturalism" representing a form of "liberal pluralism"²², varies from other approaches according to different national settings

¹⁶ Տե՛ս նույն տեղում, էջ 43:

¹⁷ Տե՛ս նույն տեղում, էջ 37:

¹⁸ Տե՛ս **Sue Wright**, (ed.) Citizenship Tests in a Post-National Era. International Journal on Multicultural Societies (IJMS), vol. 10/1:

¹⁹ Տե՛ս **Modood, Tariq** 2007 Multiculturalism, Cambridge et al.: Polity Press, էջ 50:

²⁰ Տե՛ս **Modood, Tariq**, Multiculturalism, Cambridge et al.: Polity Press, էջ 37-86:

²¹ Տե՛ս նույն տեղում, էջ 146-155:

²² Տե՛ս **Malik, Maleiha**, "Progressive Multiculturalism: the British Experience" in Silj, Alessandro (ed.) European Multiculturalism Revisited, London and New York: Zed Books էջ 20:

and/or different understandings about the applied basic terms and their interconnectedness which frame the analyses and assessments of integration policies. Accordingly, the various concepts have not only been criticised by classical liberal theorists or those who support concepts of assimilation. Particularly, the focus on collective identities, the required or already implemented rights for groups has been debated in academic discourses. The main controversial issues turn around essentialist and anti-essentialist notions of culture, identity or ethnicity. Furthermore, it has been questioned whether multicultural approaches address power structures within states and groups sufficiently in order to achieve social justice.

The British Ghanaian philosopher Anthony Appiah criticises the notion of authenticity which is crucial for the multicultural approach of the Canadian philosopher Charles Taylor with his demand for the recognition of different identities regarding individuals and collectives. Appiah emphasises that what we assume as collective identities of marginalised groups is not only the result of self-description but also an effect of the social ascriptions, societal practices and governance. In contrast to the Western philosophical understanding that individuals have a true self which he or she should be empowered to discover as a guidance for his or her life, Appiah states "We make up selves from a tool kit of options made available by our culture and society. We do make choices, but we do not determine the options among those we choose"²³. In a similar vein, Anne Phillips objects to approaches "with reified notions of culture" which tend to perceive groups as homogenous and assume collective identities instead of addressing power relations and the wide range of multiple identities within groups. Particularly, the political structures of representative democracies that negotiate with spokesmen or sometimes spokeswomen of minority groups would exclude the marginalised voices. She promotes the notion of "human agency" as a core element of multicultural concepts without neglecting that "people are cultural beings", shaped by diverse ascriptions, beliefs, values, norms, practices etc. Deconstructionist concepts of culture would also provide space to overcome the ongoing binary production of modern/liberal and traditional/illiberal groups with the tendency to perceive women in non-Western cultural groups as victims without agency²⁴. Yet, as Pnina Werbner notes, on local levels, drawing on British examples, multi-ethnic networks are already active to negotiate with government agencies. Thus, what Werbner calls "multiculturalism from below" indicates new democratic forms of representation, participation and ways of fairer distributions of resources²⁵. Last but not least Vertovec argues that the multilayered diversity of the new immigrant populations requires revisions of concepts in social science and policies in order to grasp and create appropriate measures to cope with the new developments,

²³ See Appiah, Anthony K. 1994 "Identity, Authenticity, Survival. Multicultural Societies and Social Reproduction" in Gutmann, Amy (ed.) *Multiculturalism. Examining the Politics of Recognition*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 155:

²⁴ See Phillips Anne, *Multiculturalism without Culture*, Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press. 1995, 9, 52-53, 25-31, 52-53, 161, 179:

²⁵ See Werbner Pnina, "Multiculturalism from Above and Below: Analysing a Political Discourse", *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, vol. 33/2, 206:

patterns, structures and multiple identity formations and their interconnectedness with cross-border practices²⁶.

Research findings about the discourses and policies on "migration and integration" across Europe emphasise essential shifts in the last two decades. According to the French political scientist Christophe Bertossi the dominant discourse patterns of "immigration and diversity" do no longer meet understandings of the "EU as a laboratory for the invention of a post-national and multicultural form of common belonging and citizenship". In contrast, "nationalism and national identity are the key frames in which multiculturalism is being discussed, disputed and challenged today"²⁷. The claim that "multiculturalism has failed" has not only been publicly announced by right-wing political movements but has also become part of the dominant political discourses in European nation states and has been officially declared by leading national politicians. Moreover, the claim has found approval across the various political perspectives²⁸.

Steven Vertovec and Susanne Wessendorf consider the following elements central in public discourses against multiculturalism across Europe since 2000: the portrayal of multiculturalism as "a singular, fixed ideology or dogma" pursued by liberal politics in line with claims of minority groups, multiculturalism's suppression of critical debates about societal problems, the prevention of social cohesion and common values, fostering of practices in minority groups, which violate principles of equality and democracy, and finally its responsibility for security threats caused by terrorism. Particularly, the condemnation of multicultural policies by the German chancellor Angela Merkel makes obvious that the political rhetoric has to be seen in a wider context, because multicultural principles have not been an objective of official integration policies so far. It even took decades before it was accepted in political discourse that Germany is an immigration country. The unanimous condemnation of multicultural policies in the media makes no effort to consider the complex social conditions and the effects of the various applied integration policies. In fact, research has analysed the descriptions of multiculturalism are "demonstrably partial, erroneous or false" in this context²⁹.

²⁶ St̃ u **Vertovec Steven** "Towards Post-Multiculturalism? Changing Communities, Conditions and Contexts of Diversity" in *International Social Science Journal*, vol. 61/199, 86:

²⁷ St̃ u Bertossi Christophe "Mistaken Models of Integration? A Critical Perspective on the Crisis of Multiculturalism in Europe" in Silj, Alessandro (ed.) *European Multiculturalism Revisited*, London and New York: Zed Books: 235-236:

²⁸ St̃ u **Vertovec Steven** and **Susanne Wessendorf** "Introduction: Assessing the Backlash against Multiculturalism in Europe" in: Vertovec, Steven and Susanne Wessendorf (eds.) *The Multiculturalism Backlash. European Discourses, Policies and Practices*, London et al.: Routledge: 1-31. **Triandafyllidou Anna, Tariq Modood and Nasar Meer** "Introduction: Diversity, Integration, Secularism and Multiculturalism" in Triandafyllidou, Anna, Tariq Modood and Nasar Meer" (eds.) *European Multiculturalisms. Cultural, Religious and Ethnic Challenges*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press:

²⁹ St̃ u **Vertovec, Steven** and **Susanne Wessendorf** 2010b "Introduction: Assessing the Backlash against Multiculturalism in Europe" in: Vertovec, Steven and Susanne Wessendorf (eds.) *The Multiculturalism Backlash. European Discourses, Policies and Practices*, London et al.: Routledge: 1-31. **Triandafyllidou, Anna, Tariq Modood and Nasar Meer** 2012b "Introduction: Diversity, Integration, Secularism and Multiculturalism" in Triandafyllidou, Anna, Tariq Modood and Nasar Meer" (eds.) *European Multiculturalisms. Cultural, Religious and Ethnic Challenges*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press:

Nevertheless, Vertovec and Wessendorf argue, current policies maintain multicultural principles within the presently promoted policies which prefer "diversity" as a key term (Vertovec et al. 2010b). Thus, the discourse of the "failure of multiculturalism" cannot simply be categorized as an anti-immigration policy. Indeed, the discursive strategy indicates a shift of migration regimes and integration policies, which introduce new hierarchies within immigrant populations and new regulations for legal access to Europe along the construction of "bad diversity" and "good diversity"³⁰. Along this differentiation, new borderlines between cultures have been drawn and indicate, as Alana Lentin and Gavan Titley have analysed, revised forms of racism under neoliberal conditions. European nations represent themselves as societies which enable citizens to live their lives according to the principles of "equality, freedom, justice and democracy". In this vein, the established social-political orders are only threatened by cultures ascribed as alien to Western cultures. Currently, the most important contradiction between cultures is expressed in cultural religious tropes. At the same time, the drawing of new internal borderlines also perpetuates older ones. A striking example for the reproduction of otherness is the infringement of the mobility and resident rights of Roma from Bulgaria and Romania as EU citizens. The debates in Western European nations about the societal threads, they would cause revived old ascriptions. Particularly, the French eviction and expulsion policy towards Roma is a striking example for the convergence of old and new forms of racism³¹.

Across the EU member states the debates on the core values and norms of national culture and identity are framed by the perception of Islam as incompatible with European political orders understood as heritage of the "Enlightenment" and moreover a threat, nourishing global terror against Western countries. In this setting the religious-cultural denoted term "Muslim migrant" has substituted the former mostly ethnic-national denoted term "guest worker" or "immigrant worker"³² and signifies the changed patterns of othering within European nations which revive the discourses and practices of orientalism. Again, the multilayered social practices of so called "Muslim migrants" with various religious concepts, ethnicities and regional origins are not an object of public discourse³³. Yet, the debate about Islam is also linked to the question of "good" and "bad diversity" insofar as it produces a binary classification of bad "extremist"/ "fundamentalist"/ "pious" and good "moderate"/"secular" Mus-

³⁰ St u **Lentin Alana** and **Gavan Titley**, *The Crises of Multiculturalism. Racism in a Neoliberal Age*, London and New York: Zed Books, 160-192:

³¹ St u **Lentin Alana** and **Gavan Titley**, *The Crises of Multiculturalism. Racism in a Neoliberal Age*, London and New York: Zed Books. Carrera Sergio "Shifting Responsibilities for EU Roma Citizens. The 2010 French Affair on Roma Evictions and Expulsions Continued" in: CEPS Papers in Liberty and Security in Europe No. 55, <http://www.ceps.eu/ceps/dld/8119/pdf> , 15.06.2014;

³² St u **Yilmaz, Ferruh** "Right-Wing Hegemony and Immigration: How the Populist far-right Achieved Hegemony through the Immigration Debate in Europe" in *Current Sociology*, vol. 60/3:

³³ St u **Vertovec Steven**, *New Complexities of Cohesion in Britain. Super-Diversity, Transnationalism and Civil-Integration*, http://www.compas.ox.ac.uk/fileadmin/files/Publications/Reports/Vertovec%20-%20new_complexities_of_cohesion_in_britain.pdf, 26.06.2014:

lims which is nevertheless fluid and allows ascriptions of all Muslims as a potential enemies of liberal political orders³⁴.

Conclusions

Multiculturalism has played an important role in the discourses on migration and diversity in European nation states. The various approaches can be best understood as revised concepts of liberal representative democracies. Despite the different theoretical frames and national settings, these concepts share the objective of recognising marginalised diverse collective cultural identities to achieve equality and social justice for all residents and to negotiate a common sense of belonging within nations. Accordingly, multiculturalism delineates modes of integration in opposition to those which demand the subjection to assumed unchangeable core principles of national identity. Nevertheless, constructions of difference in terms of "equal but different cultures" tend to neglect the heterogeneity within and across groups of old and new residents and are not sufficient to address the power relations, class inequalities and further systems of oppression which are at play. Moreover, the pluralist forms of social existences cannot be grasped in terms of group differentiations and concepts of authentic identities.

The case studies of integration and minority policies in European countries show a wide variety of policies which have only partially followed multicultural principles. Thus, the condemnation of multiculturalism in dominant political discourses across Europe indicates a shift in the debate about the accommodation of diversity. At the forefront are constructions of national identities and European identity which are usually based on ascriptions of sameness and recently also on similarity. Differentiating between "good" and "bad" diversity migration, immigration and minority policies have been revised and produced new boundaries between "we and the others" which generate new and revive old forms of racism along cultural and religious tropes.

Against this background it is crucial to discuss and develop further critical perspectives on diversity and belonging which take into account that individual and collective identity constructions intersect with multiple social categories and practices and their entanglements with systems of power and oppression (see as a reference point, e.g., the approach "critical diversity literacy"³⁵). Lastly, in migration contexts it is important to pay attention to the effects of the different legal status of immigrants which shape their social existences and the modes of (im)possible political representation and participation in national settings.

Key words: *belonging, culture, diversity, migration, multiculturalism, nation, racism*

³⁴ S. u **Mamdani Mahmood**, *Good Muslim, Bad Muslim. America, the Cold War and the Roots of Terror*, Kampala: Fountain Publishers; **Tyrer David** and **Salman Sayyid** "Governing Ghosts: Race, Incorporeality and Difference in Post-Political Times" in *Current Sociology*, vol. 60/3: 353-367.

³⁵ **Steyn Melissa** "Critical Diversity Literacy. Diversity Awareness in 12 South African Organisations" in Steyn, Melissa (ed.) *Being Different Together. Case Studies on Diversity Interventions in some South African Organisations*, University of Cape Town: <https://vula.uct.ac.za/access/content/group/525e7b60-fc27-4a57-85e2-e673b9467714/being-different-together9780620493826.pdf>, 30.06.2014:

ԿԱՏԱՐԻՆԱ ՀՈՖՄԱՆ – Ո՞վ է պատկանում ազգին. դիսկուրսներ Եվրոպայում միգրացիայի և բազմազանության մասին – Տասնամյակներ շարունակ Եվրոպայում ներգաղթյալների իրավական, սոցիալական և քաղաքական ինտեգրման վերաբերյալ ընթացող հանրային և քաղաքական քննարկումները լույս են սփռում կոլեկտիվ ինքնությունների կառուցվածքի վրա: Այդ քննարկումները ներառում են Եվրոպայի՝ որպես մշակութային միավորի, ազգության և կառուցվածքի մասին հիմնարար հարցեր: Ի տարբերություն մոնոմշակութային միավորների հայեցակարգերի, բազմամշակութայնության տեսական մոտեցումները ակադեմիական դիսկուրսներում քննարկվում են որպես ասիմիլացիայի հայեցակարգերի այլընտրանք՝ շեշտելով հասարակություններում և նրանց միջև մշակութային բազմազանության անցյալը և ներկան: Պատկանելության համընդհանուր զգացման զարգացման փոխարեն կիզակետում են պահվում ազգային կամ բազմազգ պետությունների լիբերալ դեմոկրատիաների վերանայումը, փոքրամասնությունների խմբերի և նրանց իրավունքների ճանաչմանն աջակցումը: Բազմամշակութայնության հայեցակարգերը դիտարկվում են տարբեր մակարդակներում: Ակադեմիական շրջանակներում քննական մոտեցումները փաստարկում են, որ բազմամշակութային մոտեցումները վերցնում են մշակույթները որպես տարբեր միավորներ, որոնք չեն համապատասխանում հասարակությունների բազմազանությանը: Գերիշխող հանրային և քաղաքական դիսկուրսներում հայտարարված «բազմամշակութայնության անկումը» վկայում է ողջ Եվրոպայում ինքնության քաղաքականության մեջ կարևոր տեղաշարժերի մասին: Ըստ հետազոտական արդյունքների այս դիսկուրսները պահանջում են ենթարկում դոմինանտ խմբերի նորմատիվ սկզբունքներին, որոնք ի դեմս իրենց տեսնում են երաշխավորներ ազգային և սոցիալական համախմբման համար: Ի հավելումն, միգրացիոն քաղաքականությունների նոր օրինակներ են ձևավորվում՝ հիմնված «լավ» և «վատ» բազմազանության տարբերակումների վրա:

Բանալի բառեր – *պատկանելություն, մշակույթ, բազմազանություն, միգրացիա, բազմամշակութայնություն, ազգ, ռասիզմ*

КАТАРИНА ХОФМАН – Кто входит в нацию? Дискурси относительно миграции и разнообразия в Европе. – Длющиеся в Европе десятилетиями дискуссии о легальной социальной и политической интеграции мигрантов касаются таких фундаментальных вопросов, как национальность и конституция Европы как культурной единицы, и проясняют структуру коллективной идентичности. Различные концепции мультикультурализма рассматривают его как альтернативу ассимиляции. Однако в академических и политических кругах идея альтернативы всё чаще подвергается критике, что свидетельствует о важных сдвигах во взглядах на идентичность. Как показывают исследования, всё большее распространение получает мысль о том, что мигранты обязаны усвоить нормативные принципы доминантных групп, видящих себя гарантми национального и социального сплочения. В результате появляются новые виды миграционной политики, основанные на дифференциации разнообразия по принципу “хорошо” и “плохо”.

Ключевые слова: *принадлежность, культура, разнообразие, миграция, мультикультурализм, нация, расизм*

NEW GENERATION: YOUNG MIGRANT PEOPLE IN ITALY

KATIA SCANNAVINI

Young immigrants in Europe: theories and analysis

New social geography (centers and margins) and the new socio-spatial order define new social dynamics, new processes of socialization, new risk, and new needs. Globalisation processes actually lead to higher and more pervasive levels of economic, political, social and cultural integration than ever before¹. The young immigrant generation arouses disturbing questions for the stability of social systems, placing into question the definition of social integration of developed societies where the presence of immigrant populations are firmly established. In this perspective, the young immigrant generations are *bulkier* than the first². The first generation can still be classified as foreign, holders of certain rights related to the residence permit, but not full citizens. They can be kept in a position that recalls, in the familiar image of Walzer (1987), the metics (μέτοικος) in ancient Athens: aliens accredited as productive workers, but not enabled to be a part of the community of citizens³. This institutionalized inequality, however, is more and more difficult to maintain in relation to new generations born or grown within European societies, which do not have another country where they might return, in fact, they have developed life experiences, social ties, and cultural orientations within the context in which they were reared⁴. The quality of cohabitation, the segmentation of society on the basis of ethnicity, the risk of marginalization and delinquency, the possibility of enriching the economic and cultural dynamism are to related to living conditions that will be offered to the new immigrant generation. In addressing the topic, prevails widely, perhaps in implicit forms, a traditional assimilationist approach, in a pessimistic version: the new immigrant generations should be integrated as quickly as possible in the culture and society of the country that receives them⁵. At the same time, it has recovered a neo-assimilationist theory, dropping the normative and ethnocentric assumptions of the past insists that assimilation - in terms of language learning, dispersion in the various labour market areas, mixed marriages, and so on

¹ Sassen Saskia, *A Sociology of Globalization*. New York, 2007.

² Dronkers Jaap & Vink Maarten, *Explaining immigrant citizenship status. First and second generation immigrants in fifteen European states*, MPRA Paper 26198, University of Munich, Germany, 2010.

³ Walzer Michael, *Interpretation and Social Criticism*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1987.

⁴ Christou Anastasia, *Immigration in Europe and the Integration of the (European) Second Generation*, University of Sussex, UK, 2012.

⁵ Portes Alejandro & Min Zhou, *The New Second Generation: Segmented Assimilation and Its Variants Among Post-1965 Immigrant Youth*, in *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences* 530:74-96.

- continues to take place in the transition from one generation to another⁶. In this sense, new generations resulting from immigration are assimilated, in other words, they become more and more similar to the native population (or resulting from previous migration processes)⁷.

The structuralist perspective, which acquires a special significance in the processes of discrimination, tends to overthrow causal imputation. Piore (1979) spoke of “rebellion of the second generation”, opposed to the acceptance of fathers, perceived as temporary migrants⁸. If young immigrants are not successful in school, and if they might not find space in the skilled labor market, become a potential reservoir of social exclusion, deviance: an opposition to the receiving society and its institutions⁹. According to the constructionist theory, the relationship between the destiny of the new immigrant generations and the self-preservation of societies can be seen as the showing of a classic fear of adult society towards young people who do not accept to internalize and reproduce the existing social order. Many scientific discussions, and also many researches, are on the “values” of young people, about the meaning they give to work and various institutions, in this a doubt about the “loyalty” of young people around the world built by adults become fundamental¹⁰.

Fears and reservations about the integration of young people of immigrant origin are not devoid of practical consequences. They might trigger circuits of marginality that feeds on itself: on the one hand, pushing new immigrant generations towards training and occupations “for immigrants” and discriminating them in hiring; on the other, creating mistrust towards school and social equity, pushing them to oppositional subcultures and sometimes to deviant forms of self-ghettoization (that Portes and Rumbaut in 2001 define *downward assimilation*)¹¹. With a play on words, we can recall that the three A (accent, ancestry, appearance) continue to weigh on the fate of the new immigrant generations, even more in the case of so-called “visible minorities”, for which the color of the skin is an indelible marker of “diversity”¹². Not all scientific positions in this debate, however, incline to pessimism. According to the prospect inspired by cultural studies and post-modernism, the new immigrant generations become the standard bearers of new social fluid, hybrid, syncretic identities construction, and therefore they are promoters of innovation processes in the sign of cultural cosmopolitanism and multiculturalism¹³. In this sense, the invention of new forms of identification allow them to simultaneously use two worlds per-

⁶ **Alba Richard & Nee Victor**, Rethinking Assimilation Theory for a New Era of Immigration, in *International Migration Review*, vol. 31 – n°4, 1997.

⁷ **Brubaker Rogers**, The Return of Assimilation? Changing Perspectives on Immigration and Its Sequels in France, Germany, and the United States, in *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 24 [4], 2001.

⁸ **Piore Michael J.**, *Birds of Passage: Migrant Labor and Industrial Societies*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK, 1979.

⁹ **Gans Hebert**, Second-generation decline, in *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol. 15 -2, 1992.

¹⁰ **Perlmann Joel & Waldinger Roger**, Second generation decline? Immigrant children past and present – a reconsideration, in *International Migration Review*, vol. 31, no. 4, 1997.

¹¹ **Portes Alejandro & Rumbaut Rubén G.**, *Legacies: The story of the Immigrant Second Generation*, University of California Press, 2001.

¹² **Wrench John, Rea Andrea, Ouali Nouria**, *Migrants, Ethnic Minorities and the Labour Market Integration and Exclusion in Europe*, Palgrave MacMillan, London, 1999.

¹³ **Ambrosini Maurizio**, *Sociologia delle migrazioni*, Il Mulino, 2005.

ceived as distinct, and to be members of a group without giving up other possible memberships¹⁴.

According to existing international literature, it is possible to get closer to the phenomenology of the phenomenon. The transition from the first to the other generation of immigrants has always - in all contexts observable - objective evidence of cognitive, behavioral and social *discontinuity*. A first element of discontinuity consists on a different system of expectations in that majority of cases distinguishes the young immigrants from their parents. A second discontinuity concerns the specific search of an identity. From the conflictual dynamics of the difficult conciliation of social role may born crises at different levels: individual (identity crisis), family (intergenerational conflicts), social and cultural (radical reinterpretation or reinvention of the culture of origin). A third dissonance – the political-civil one -invests the citizenship dimension. Despite the presence of a mosaic of different national codes of citizenship, the young generation born or arrive in Italy and Europe at an early age may acquire or apply for citizenship in the European country in which have lived all or most of their existence.

Data of new generation in Italian context

Complexity is a fundamental aspect of migration process and presence of foreigners. As well as adults, children immigrants in Italy come from many different countries:

Migrant children in Italy (no-EU) - EUROPE

Citizenship	N	%	% of total
Europe	261.163	28,7	22,0
East-Central Europe	261.049	28,7	22,1
Albania	136.922	15,1	27,5
Macedonia	24.822	2,7	29,7
Moldova	26.234	2,9	17,6
Serbia/Kosovo/Montenegro	31.910	3,5	30,0
Ukraine	20.722	2,3	9,2
Other European countries	114	0,0	2,1

Italian Ministry of Home Affairs, 2013

Migrant children in Italy- AFRICA

Citizenship	N	%	% of total
AFRICA	300.451	36,4	28,7
<i>North Africa</i>	244.820	26,9	30,9
Egypt	38.715	4,3	31,3
Morocco	158.023	17,4	30,08
Tunisia	38.073	4,2	31,3
<i>West Africa</i>	73.449	8,1	25,6
Nigeria	19.393	2,1	29,1
Senegal	21.051	2,3	22,8
<i>East Africa</i>	6.702	0,7	14,4
<i>Central-south Africa</i>	5.480	0,6	22,2

Italian Ministry of Home Affairs, 2013

¹⁴ **Caponio Tiziana, Colombo Asher**, Migrazioni globali, integrazioni locali. Stranieri in Italia, Il Mulino, Bologna, 2005.

Migrant children in Italy – AMERICA/OCEANIA and stateless

Citizenship	N	%	% of total
America	74.006	8,1	17,7
<i>North America</i>	6.697	0,7	17,6
<i>Central-south America</i>	67.309	7,4	17,7
Ecuador	22.738	2,5	25,2
Peru	21.730	2,4	19,9
Oceania	208	0,0	7,9
Stateless	177	0,0	31,4
TOTAL	908.539	100,00	24,1

Italian Ministry of Home Affairs, 2013

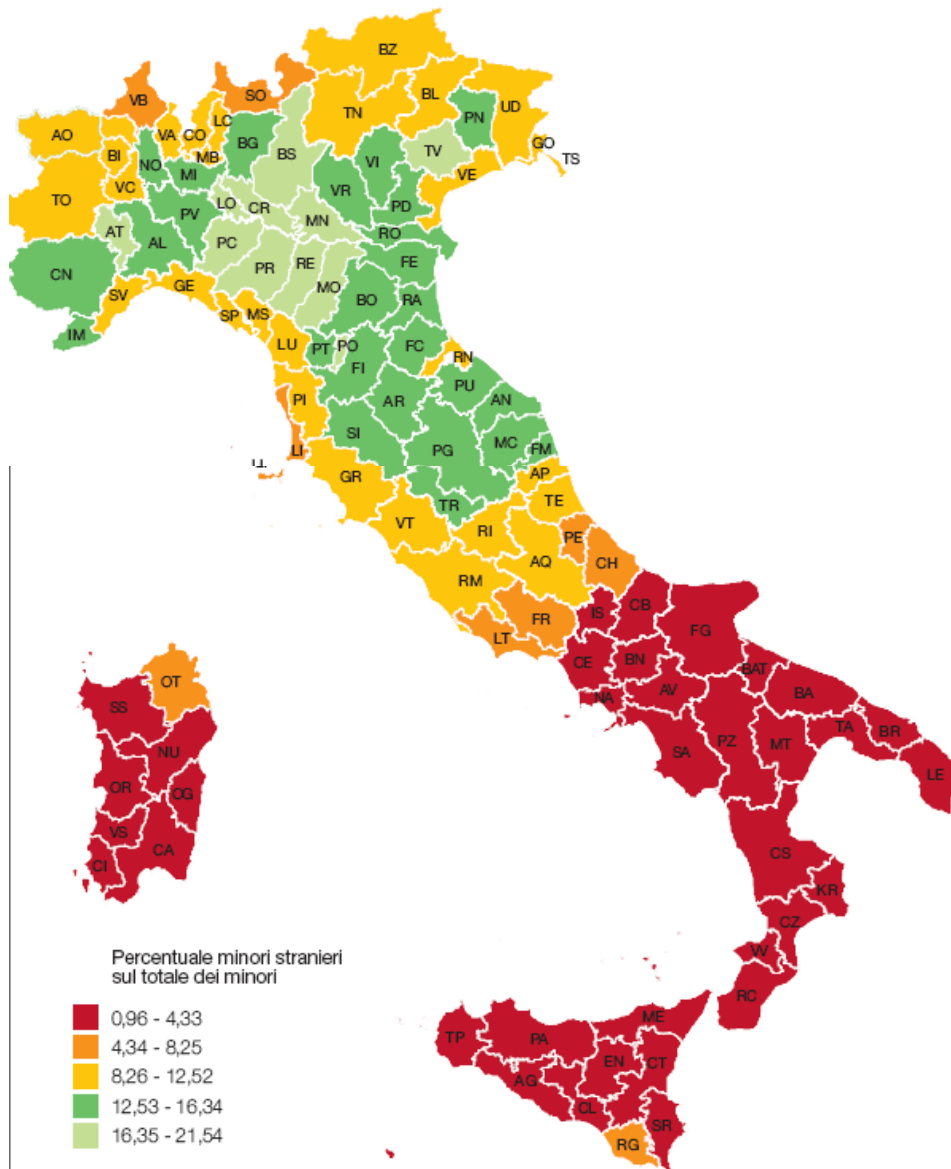
To sum up the number of European migrant children in Italy, the presence is equal to 3.110.134: one-tenth of all the children in Italy.

Migrant children live above all in the cities: the majority is located in the capital (80 089, of which 38,471 are female); followed by seven other cities in northern Italy (44,740), Milan (82 582), Brescia (46 644), Verona (24 552), Bologna (21,972), Modena (21,857) and Florence (23 082). In the south, the cities with significant data are Naples (11,684), Bari (6490), Catania (4907) and Palermo (640).

Presence of Migrant children in Italian cities

City	Migrant children	F	% of the total children
Milan	82.582	40.071	21,6
Rome	80.089	38.471	18,1
Brescia	46.644	22.035	27,3
Torino	44.740	21.747	21,6
Verona	24.928	12.016	23,5
Florence	23.082	11.001	20,6
Bologna	21.972	10.577	21,4
Modena	21.857	10.525	24,5
Naples	11.684	5.674	15,4
Bari	6.490	3.199	20,0
Palermo	6.410	3.033	22,5
Catania	4.907	2.405	18,9

ISTAT, 2013



Net Income for earners (%) and average (€)

Kind of income	Migrant families		Italian Families	
	Earners (%)	Average (€)	Earners (%)	Average (€)
Income from employment	65,3	11.050	40,5	16.167
Income from self-employment	13	13.848	14,8	18.581
Pension transfers	3,2	8.196	34,3	12.352
Non-pension transfers	29	1.979	21,9	1.995
Transfers to non-employment	20,3	1.649	9	3.085
Other non-pension transfers	12,4	1.920	14,3	1.103
Income from real or financial capital	25,4	400	40,7	1.216

Istat, 2013

Another major issue to understand what kind of contexts living migrant children is related to tenure status. The methods of access to the market of the houses are very different for foreigners than Italians. In fact, 71.6% of Italian families living in their own home, as opposed to immigrant families (64.7%) living in rented accommodation (another significant percentage, 20.2% have a home to use free or usufruct). In general, 43.9% migrant children live families at risk of relative poverty.

At any rate, regardless of whether the immigrant family is located in a rented or in a owned house, it is very important to understand the housing condition of immigrant families. In general, the most common problems are those related to overcrowding and poor quality of the dwelling. As a matter of fact, immigrant families experienced bad housing conditions more often than Italian families (14.9% of them living in a situation of severe housing deprivation, compared with 4.7% of the Italians ones).

Housing deprivation is more pronounced for immigrant families who live in metropolitan areas and for those in rented homes: It becomes higher with the increase in the number of minors. In contrast decreases in the presence of the elderly. There are no differences in terms of geographical area. The situation is quite different for those who live in the north compared to those living in the south of Italy.

Although there are problems of income and precarious habitability conditions, housing family space represents a highly significant context which affected second generation identity. The analysis of family ties between parents and children is essential to recognize the reactions that trigger the second generation during the process of identity and renegotiation strategy. Moreover, the analysis of family ties is crucial to comprehend how young migrants envision their future, and even more

what idea they have about family once become adults.

Certainly, it is important to remember that depending on how culture of origin is transmitted and regarding to the kind of relationships established with their peers, the second generations take different attitudes not only towards one's own family, but also and especially towards Italian society.

Family is, therefore, a crucial component for child's inclusion in Italy. It is in the family that immigrated child experienced ambivalent educational processes between maintaining traditional cultural codes and desire for integration and social advancement. Being a parent and at the same time being a migrant is not an easy challenge. The parental role involves many difficulties that will certainly have an impact on the growth of children of foreign origin. Households are often small and relatives live in the country of origin or elsewhere. A general context of the family so highly fragmented that is not able to support the growth of the migrant child, who can only rely on his own parents. The physical presence of the parents does not automatically mean the knowledge of Italian society and its institutions: often both parents must work outside the home to earn enough income to support the family, so that they fail to follow adequately their sons in education and social inclusion¹⁵.

However, when one spouse is not working (it is mostly women and often from families of Muslim religion), usually does not have a great social relationship and therefore have difficulty in learning Italian and encouraging their children in a peaceful integration in receiving society.

Very often the opposite is true: children of immigrants create a bridge between their family and the Italian society. They go to school and learn the language, habits, customs and local values. Then, at home, they convey and share their knowledge with the parents. At the same time, migrant children establish close relationships with peers that let parents have acquaintance with the parents of their classmates.

Often, there are situations of reversal roles: children take on adult responsibilities at an early age until to perceive themselves as 'parents of their parents'. All this greatly weakens father and mother's figure and their leadership.

The family, therefore, plays an indispensable role in the value-based formation of children to grant them solid identity and social grounding. It is the main context that determines most of the other agents of socialization the social inclusion of minors of foreign origin in Italy. The family background then determines paths and possibilities, very often it is the basis of the difficulties that children encounter, especially in the education sector.

- *School:*

The school is another important and crucial agent of socialization in the second generation children's integration process. In fact analysis, researches and *ad hoc* projects have focused on the dynamics relating to the inclusion of children of foreign origin in the Italian education system.

The proposals were not always in line with the intent and, therefore, the results cannot be always considered satisfactory. As a matter of fact considering school

¹⁵ **Maciotti Maria Immacolata**, Pugliese Enrico, L'esperienza migratoria. Immigrati e Rifugiati in Italia, Laterza, Roma-Bari, 2010.

system without promoting interventions that take into account of the family (which we have seen to be crucial as agency of socialization in the life of each child) external relations outside school and, more generally, policies aimed at supporting migrant children's social inclusion, it actually means to devalue the concept of interaction as such, but especially considering migrant minor in respect to only one dimension: that of student.

The reality is much more complex: each child interacts in a large social environment and in different contexts which, therefore, integrate each other, resulting in a series of answers and possibilities. Therefore, it is essential to think of the school as one of the main areas for the interaction of young people of foreign origins. So to be responsive to the needs of interaction, school system should definitely think about measures to be taken to involve other aspects of the child's life. At the same time, this it means that to understand the dynamics relating to the inclusion of students of foreign origin it is necessary to cross-check analysis and observations with family environment's data (quantitative and qualitative), peer relations , consumption, children's expectations and so on.

To investigate school integration means having the opportunity to understand the process of maturity of migration as a whole¹⁶. In fact the dynamics - underlying social differences that may characterize a given society - are easily recreated at school: it is important to consider, for instance, gender differences, those belonging to certain social groups or even to those relating to specific geographical origins. Actually, school lets to comprehend a certain number of aspects that highlights not only any disparities in relation to educational opportunities, but also inequalities in a broadest sense: it is possible to understand social and life conditions of students belonging to specific social groups, but even more you can foresee and think about the future dynamics, such as those relating to labor market composition and workers' characteristics (that, as it is possible to guess, in turn, it determines the possible projections of future conditions of a society or of parts of it).

It is important to emphasize the increasing number of foreign students within the Italian school system in recent years. Last year (2012-2013 academic year), as the Ministry of Education puts in evidence, there was a total attendance of 786.630 foreign students. Almost half of them (47,2%) were born in Italy, on the contrary the presence of the new arrivals was only 3.7%¹⁷. In other words, while in the previous years the growth in number of foreigner pupils in the Italian school system was mainly due to immigration, more recently the evolution of the phenomenon has seen the increase of the new generation migrant children.

Moreover, the Ministry of Education's data report another significant factor: in choosing the upper secondary school most students of foreign origins are likely to prefer technical and professional institutes than scientific or classic high school. Such information in itself does not reveal a lot if not contextualized¹⁸. In a simplis-

¹⁶ **Zincone Giovanna** (ed), *Immigrazione: segnali di integrazione. Sanità, scuola, casa*, Il Mulino, Bologna, 2009.

¹⁷ **Italian Ministry of Education, University and Research**, *Gli alunni stranieri nel sistema scolastico italiano*, Rome, 2013.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*.

tic way, in fact, it is possible to think this information indicates a low interest of young people of foreign origin in relation to scientific or classic high school. Actually this figure assumes a definite value if analyzed in dialogue with other major factors: the family condition, the area of residence, the difficulties encountered in the course of study (in turn investigated with respect to the live contexts of migrant children), the training proposal offered by each school. Taking into account all this issues allow to have a more complete picture and let to better identify not only the training gaps of foreign pupils, but also the possible causes and consequently, facilitating the formulation of responses more concrete and effective.

In any case, there is no doubt that migrant students experienced much more difficulties and problems at school than Italian students, as a recent research carried out by the Ministry of Education in collaboration with ISMU Foundation outlines¹⁹. The report puts in evidence that the rate of admission of foreign students in both lower and upper secondary school is generally higher than those of Italian students. Although the distance decreases with the increasing age of the pupils, it still remains significant for the whole secondary school period. In fact, the rate of educational achievement in first year of lower secondary school is respectively 64,1% for migrant students and 82% for the Italians ones. As regards the admission to final state exam of upper secondary school such percentage distance decreases slightly: 80% for foreign pupils and 90% for Italian students. Another interesting data is the school enrollment for each year of age. Also, in this case, the overall figure of foreign pupils (41,5%) reveals a strong delay if compared to that of Italian students (12,1%). Although all reasons are not known behind such school enrollment delays, it can be assumed that a fair amount of these is due to the placement of migrant students in lower than their age-appropriate grade²⁰.

Some observers of migrant population integration argue that the journey of a student of foreign origin is in fact an obstacle path where you get to the finish line only if he or she was lucky enough to be in favorable conditions to avoid situations of disadvantage or difficulties²¹.

According to Graziella Favaro, migrant students are never alone at school²². In class enters an onion: many layers of fear, worry, anger, unfulfilled desires, waivers furious. They come at school with a grooving up body and with the family in your backpack. The lesson can begin only after they have laid the backpack and peeled the onion.

It is possible to briefly identify the main obstacles to the educational inclusion: different cultural background, linguistic differences, non-verbal communication differences, stress and migratory trauma, cultural fatigue, identity redefinition, redefinition of relationship with parents, difficulties in school placement, late entries,

¹⁹ **Italian Ministry of Education, University and Research and ISMU Foundation**, Gli alunni con cittadinanza italiana. L'eterogeneità dei percorsi scolastici, Quaderni ISMU 1/2014.

²⁰ Ibidem

²¹ See, for instance, the considerations expressed by G. Zincone in the Introduction of the text already quoted (Immigrazione: segnali di integrazione).

²² **Favaro Graziella**, In cerca di futuro. Ragazze e ragazzi nell'istruzione superiore. Intervento al seminario Gli studenti con cittadinanza non italiana nell'istruzione tecnica e professionale, Milano, 24-25 ottobre 2011.

friendly relationships (inside and outside the school), family difficulties, socio-economic structure of the daily life context, characteristics of school education.

- *The issue of citizenship:*

Italian citizenship can be automatically acquired by birth to an Italian parent in line with the principle of *jus sanguinis*. Migrant children born in Italy can not have immediate recognition of Italian citizenship. The law specifies that it is possible to apply for Italian citizenship after eighteenth birthday. Requirements for citizenship are extremely strict: a young migrant must have been legally resident in Italy and in an uninterrupted manner since birth until the age of majority, and he or she must also declare his or her intention to acquire Italian citizenship within one year from his or her eighteenth birthday. If migrant children born in Italy do not exercise the right to citizenship as above explained, they end up having the same legal status as a newly arrived immigrants.

Granting citizenship is even harder for young migrant people not born in Italy, but raised in the country. They have to follow the same path of any regular immigrant who must live in Italy continuously for 10 years.

Despite minor changes made over the last few years, the ongoing law is still very restrictive and discouraging. Just as distressing are the wait times to gain citizenship: the law establishes a length of 730 days to conclude the procedure. According to the estimates of the Ministry of the Interior expectations, can reach an average up to 3 or even to 4 years.

As Reas Syed outlines: '[...] Migrants in Italy never gain a real and effective right to citizenship. The strict requirements result in an expensive, lengthy and discretionary procedure for naturalisation without any guarantee of being successful. In Italy, citizenship is therefore perceived by migrants and children of migrants more as a lottery than a right [...]. The status of non-citizen has several implications: it leads to discrimination in education, access to the labor market, and enjoyment of social and civil rights. For instance, children of migrants cannot fully exercise their right to freedom of movement within Europe or elsewhere. Students are often prevented from participating in any kind of abroad study or cultural opportunity. In higher education, some scholarships or other opportunities are still granted under the condition of citizenship'²³.

Also the President of the Republic, Giorgio Napolitano, has repeatedly expressed the need to facilitate the procedures to recognize Italian citizenship to all second generation immigrants. After one of his latest appeals (November 2011), a campaign collective signature was born in order to change the law on citizenship. The mobilization has taken the name of *L'Italia sono anche io* and has joined various local stakeholders who has been dealing with immigration and know the phenomenon from the inside.

In the *L'Italia sono anche io* website, from the archive of the network G2, it is possible to read some young migrant stories. Here it reports a part of the story of a young migrant girl called Neva. Her story is not so different from those of many other young people of foreign origin who is denied the opportunity to have recog-

²³ **Reas Syed**, Children of migrants and Italian citizenship: a never ending story, in Generation 2.0 for Rights, Equality and Diversity, Rome, 2010.

nized their own lives. Below it reports Neva's brief testimony with regard to issues related to the lack of citizenship:

I arrived in Rome in 1989. It was my thirteenth birthday, about twenty years ago. I attended both upper secondary school and University in Rome. Afterward I won a scholarship at the University of Florence and a PhD in Pharmaceutical Sciences at the University of Chieti. In Italy, among Italian friends, I did that educational training and personal maturation that has formed me as a person. I became aware of my diversity only once over the University. I was excluded because of my foreign nationality. During the PhD I started to have serious problems. Expecting year-on-year the renewal of residence permit it did not let me to regularly attend international scientific conferences. All this because the time of renewal go well beyond the 20-day prescribed by law. In the second PHD year I won a European Union scholarship to go to carry out part of my thesis at a very important specialist center located in Barcelona. Unfortunately, the length of my residence permit is just 90 days, despite the PhD provides the opportunity to spend 18 months within 3 years abroad. As a matter of fact, I'll have to wait a whole year to conclude my research, running the risk that the work may not be the most innovative and to be published by someone else. By now anyone who works with me, both in Italy and abroad, begins to realize that I'm not really Italian and working with me may lead to complications and obstacles²⁴.

It is important to underline that one of the main challenges of modern sociology is to understand how new social dynamics is changing relationship among individuals and how the economic crisis affects the marginalization of vulnerable families, especially the immigrants one. In particular, the new demographics of Italy underline the importance of young immigrant generations, their role in define the social, cultural and political future aspects.

Key words: *young imigrants, Italy, integration, identity, new generation*

ԿՄՏԻԱ ՄԿԱՆՆԱՎԻՆԻ – Նոր սերունդ. երիտասարդ ներգաղթյալները Իտալիայում – Ժամանակակից սոցիալական հարաբերությունները մեծ բազմազանություն են ենթադրում, բայց դա բազմազանություն է իշխանության և անհավասարության համընդհանուր հարաբերությունների ներսում, հատկապես վերջին մի քանի տարիների ընթացքում, երբ համաշխարհային տնտեսական ճգնաժամը խորացավ: Սոցիալական աշխարհագրության և սոցիալ-սպաստիալ կարգի վերասահմանումը ընթացքի մեջ էր: Հետևաբար միգրացիոն հետազոտության օգտագործումը սոցիալական փոխակերպման ժամանակակից գործընթացի ընդհանուր հասկացման համար շատ կարևոր է: Մասնավորապես, շատ կարևոր է վերլուծել և հասկանալ, թե ինչ է տեղի ունենում երիտասարդ ներգաղթյալների հետ: Հոդվածում ուսումնասիրվում է ներկա իրավիճակը՝ Իտալիայում երիտասարդ ներգաղթյալների ինտեգրման ազդեցությունը: Սույն ուսումնասիրության ընթացքում որդեգրված միջմասնագի-

²⁴ <http://www.litaliasonoanchio.it/index.php?id=568>

տական մոտեցումը նպատակ ունի հետազոտել երիտասարդ ներգաղթյալների սոցիալական փոխազդեցությունը և դրա ազդեցությունը իտալական հասարակության վրա:

Բանալի բառեր – *երիտասարդ ներգաղթյալ, Բոսնիա, ինտեգրացիա, ինքնություն, նոր սերունդ*

КАТЯ СКАННАВИНИ – *Новое поколение: молодые иммигранты в Италии.* – Современные социальные отношения предполагают большое разнообразие, но речь идёт о разнообразии в универсальных условиях власти и неравенства, особенно в последние годы, когда мировой экономический кризис драматическим образом усилился. Поэтому разного рода исследования о миграционных процессах и мигрантах приобретают дополнительное значение в русле общего понимания современных трансформаций. В частности, чрезвычайно важен анализ поведения и психологии молодых иммигрантов. В статье рассматривается, как сегодня обстоит дело с их интеграцией в Италии.

Междисциплинарный подход позволяет исследовать социальное взаимодействие молодых иммигрантов и их влияние на итальянское общество. Цель исследования – изучить условия, в которых оказались молодые иммигранты, и понять их перспективы.

Ключевые слова: *молодой иммигрант, Италия, интеграция, идентичность, новое поколение*

CRITICAL FACTORS OF THE POVERTY STRUCTURE IN FAMILIES UPBRINGING CHILDREN WITH DISABILITIES (PRE-UNDERSTANDING SITUATION IN THE REPUBLIC OF MOLDOVA AND UKRAINE)¹

LIA KALINNIKOVA-MAGNUSSON

Introduction

The investigation of the problem of poverty in the families, in which children with disabilities are growing up, is a rather new area in contemporary social-political and scientific discourses in the new independent Eastern partnership countries, associated with the EU, such as Moldova and Ukraine (a.k.a. former Soviet Union Countries). Education, in a more general sense, and, special education, in a more narrow sense, are significant parts of these discussions. The scientific-practical experience of these sciences is strongly connected to this problem. It is sufficient to mention that the creation of the special education system in these countries is an integral part of the first social projects of the young Soviet country such as: "fight against poverty", "fight against illiteracy", "social motherhood" et al., the implementation of which was under strict ideological control². Furthermore, the policy of combating poverty had not received systematic development and had not become a part of the general economic and social policy of the Soviet Union. Milanovic³ explained this fact by the interpretation that the policy of poverty was considered as an "alien phenomenon" contradicting with the created ideal model of the state welfare system. Despite the fact that the system of monitoring in regard to poverty did not exist during this period, it is clear that some groups of the population of the Soviet Union, in fact, lived below the minimum income threshold⁴. In the Soviet Union, the needs of the families with low income (*maloinushije*) were rec-

¹ The research is funded by the Swedish Research Council Vetenskapsrådet within the project «Human resources in poverty and disability: family perspective (in Moldova and Ukraine)»; 2012-2014. The Project is operated by the Research center of Russian and Eurasian Studies (UCRS) at Uppsala University, research leader of the project is Liya Kalinnikova Magnusson, researcher of the UCRS; senior lecturer in special education at the University of Gävle, Sweden; associate professor of the chair of social work and social safety at the Institute of social safety of the Northern Arctic (Regional) Federal University named after M. Lomonosov.

² **Kalinnikova L., Trygged S.** Retrospect on Care and Denial of Children with Disabilities in Russia// *Scandinavian journal on disability research*. 2014. Vol.16, issue 3, P. 229-248. URL: <http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/sjdr20> (дата обращения: 20.01.2014); **Калинникова Л., Магнуссон М.** Социальная политика в отношении детской «дефективности» в военно-революционный период и первую декаду советской власти (1914–1927 годы) // *Вестник САФУ*, 2015, № 1, с.157-166.

³ **Milanovic B.** Poverty, inequality and social policy in transition countries. Policy research Working Paper, № 1530. Washington, DC: The World Bank. 1995.

⁴ **Deacon D.** Eastern European welfare states. The impact of the politics of globalization// *Journal of European Social Policy*. Vol. 10. 2000. P 146-161; **Теодорович М. Л.** Бедность как социальная проблема: стратегический подход: Монография. Нижний Новгород, 2009.

ognized legally in 1974, when targeted cash transfers for such families were introduced⁵. Poverty, being legitimized by low, but stable living standards⁶, dependency of the ordinary person from the state, which was allocating resources in accordance to its own interests and values (suppressing or limiting the activity of the population in general), became objectified in social practices phenomena. "Equity in poverty" and transferring of the decision of the problem into the "bright future" was played back by the existing state welfare policy⁷.

Historically, the periods of the partnership of Moldova and Ukraine in the USSR differ. However, regardless of the circumstances of the historical time, the official ideology of socialism was implemented in all countries by the similar scenario, forming a common socio-economic and cultural context. The dominant role in this context the provision of the "citizen laborer as the most useful member of the society" and the main "beneficiary" of the public goods has played. This provision formed the basis of the principle of socialist humanism, which proclaimed the primacy a "new" human being: a fully developed human-worker brought up in a spirit of collectivism and dedicated to the idea of building of communist society. The maximum investment of human being physical and spiritual abilities for the benefit of society paves the way for communist ideals, when the "labor out of the main life tool became a vital necessity"⁸.

The official doctrine, in its main statements, extended to "defective" children, and was seen through the prism of the formation of their identity in accordance with the ideas of a new socialist society⁹. This thesis includes the idea that children with a new pedagogy and new methods of education can be "fixed / their development can be corrected" and that anyone can develop themselves in accordance with the ideals of the new society¹⁰. In these circumstances, children with developmental disorders were divided into "educable" (those who could be corrected) and "uneducable" (can't be corrected). This approach has led to a gradual isolation of both of the groups of the children from the society through the creation of a differentiated system of closed institutions. The functioning of these institutions was carried out by full state welfare support¹¹.

Parents of children with developmental disabilities, as well as parents of other children, in order to be able to fully participate in the building of the communist

⁵ Iarskaia-Smirnova E. & Romanov P. Single Mothers – Clients or Citizens? Social Work with Poor Families in Russia. In: Carlbäck, H, Gradskova; I. & Z. Kravchenko (Eds), *And They All Lived Happily Ever After? Norms and Everyday Practices of Family and Parenthood in Russia and Eastern Europe*. CEU press, 2012. P. 207-229.

⁶ Барсукова С. В. Самоидентификация "новых бедных" семей в процессе трансформации российского общества. Дис. ... канд. социол. наук : 22.00.04. Новочеркасск, 2005.

⁷ Теодорович М. Л. Указ. соч.

⁸ Большая Советская Энциклопедия. Гуманизм. М., 1969–1978. URL: <http://bse.sci-lib.com/article016819.html> (дата обращения: 20.01.2015).

⁹ Замский Х. История олигофренопедагогики. М., 1980.

¹⁰ Kalinnikova L., Trygged S. Retrospect on Care and Denial of Children with Disabilities in Russia// *Scandinavian journal on disability research*. 2014. Vol.16, issue 3, P. 229-248. URL: <http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/sjdr20> (дата обращения: 20.01.2014).

¹¹ Тенденция к изоляции детей с нарушениями развития от «всех остальных» была общемировой практикой первой половины XX века. Вместе с тем природа этого процесса имела различные корни и последствия для тех, кто нуждался в дополнительных ресурсах общества.

society, had a state promotion to be released from upbringing of their children. However, the choice of institutions for placement of a child with developmental disabilities, was significantly limited and carried out mainly on the small number of alternatives: either to send a child to a specialized kindergarten/school/internat or neurological internat (which often led to the rejection of a child upbringing later); or refusal to be employed (to a certain extent or completely) in favor of child care at home. Choices were usually varied depending on the place of residence of the family (urban or rural), and the choice was usually done internally.

It is believed that the official state ideology, along with various social institutions was involved in the formation of poverty rate¹². For this purpose, ideology used different mechanisms of control and legitimization of the appropriate practices¹³. For children with developmental disabilities and their families, "poverty rate" was manifested primarily in the low living standards not only for the disabled child, but for family members in general: poor social infrastructure assistance and segregation; limited conditions of an access to basic resources of society for a disabled child (health, education, entertainment, etc.), additional economic burden on the family and the problem of being successfully employed for parents etc.. According to numerous reports, this problem was accompanying the family and the growing child throughout the family life cycle, devaluing human resources in such families.

Systemic transformation processes taking place in the countries of the former Soviet Union, the transition to a market economy and liberalization, reducing the role of government control in various areas of the social sector and increased individual responsibility of each for the circumstances of his/her life, - increasing economic polarization in society and inequality among its members. In such circumstances, poverty for socially disadvantaged groups became an apparent reality.

The purpose of this article is based on the chosen research methodology to describe and analyze the critical factors of poverty in families, raising children with disabilities¹⁴.

The methodology of this study is based on the analysis of the issue of the relevant scientific literature, representing a fundamental (historical) perspective of the problem and contemporary publications. The main part of the analyzed publications consist of articles from the last ten years of international electronic scientific journal's bases: ERIC, Taylor and Frances, Scopus, EBSCO, and PsycINFO. Scientific articles were collected and selected in accordance to the research questions: How do the critical factors constitute the structure of poverty in families with children with developmental disabilities? Which of the critical factors are relevant to the study and the solution of the problem of poverty in these families for psychological and educational research? What is the role of special education in the structuring of poverty?

¹² Lewis, O. *The Culture of Poverty // Poverty in America* / Ferman, L. and others (Eds.): University of Michigan Press, 1965.

¹³ Foucault, M. Governmentality, in Rabinow, P. & Rose, N. (eds) *The Essential Foucault: Selections from Essential Works of Foucault 1954–1984*. London: The New Press. 2003.

¹⁴ In this article, the term "developmental disability" and "disability" complement each other, since not all children with disabilities receive a disability. However, both of these terms are used to refer to the soft, medium and severe disorders of the body, such as blindness, inability to walk, mental retardation, that resonates with the official definition of disability in the report of UNICEF "Children and Disability in Transition in CEE / CIS and Baltic States" for 2005, ppxii.

The analysis is based on the positions of the critical consideration of the problem of poverty in these families and the allocation of a number of critical factors that are the most influential on the occurrence of poverty among them. It is assumed that the critical factors involved in the formation and structuring of poverty are multidimensional by their nature. Each of the factors includes a number of sub-factors that are regulated by a complexity of relationships. For the analysis and interpretation of the critical factors of poverty in these families used interdisciplinary research model based on the use of sociological, educational, social and psychological approaches.

Critical factors of the structure of poverty among families with children with developmental disabilities

Critical factors of financial deprivation for families with children with developmental disabilities. The researchers with the focus on this area say that families with such children more often find themselves in situations of poverty and have far fewer resources to deal with it than the usual families. This position is supported by the theoretical approach of *human capital*. In the scientific literature, it is shown that raising a child with developmental disabilities is associated with a direct and an indirect additional economic burden on the family¹⁵.

Direct costs are directly related to the child's everyday needs related to his/her condition: changing and adapting home environment, establishing special equipment and furniture, clothing, medicine, expert assistance, treatment and rehabilitation aids, transport costs etc.. Indirect costs include financial implications associated with the redistribution of income in the family, as well as the employment of the parents. It is believed that if the indirect costs are not compensated through a system of formal (social benefits, insurance, social assistance institutions and special education, etc.) or informal support sources (extended family, charities, neighbors, friends, etc.), it is likely that they will have an impact on the frequency and the duration of the situations of poverty in these families¹⁶.

According to European and American researchers in the late 1990s, it was shown that the cost of a child with severe developmental disabilities, was at least three times higher than the average of such expenses when parents are upbringing a child without disabilities. In this case, everyone involved in the study of the family, received the maximum of the possible benefits for their situation. This fact raised the question of the need to increase the system of benefits for such families in the

¹⁵ **Lukemeyer A., Meyers M. K., Smeeding T.** Expensive children in Poor Families: Out-of-Pocket Expenditures for the Care of Disabled and Chronically Ill Children in Welfare Families // *Marriage and the Family*. 2000. Vol. 62. P. 399-415; **Shahtahmasebi S., Emerson T., Bertridge D., Lancaster G.** Child disability and Dynamics of Family Poverty, Hardship and Financial Strain: Evidence from UK // *Journal of Social Policy*. 2011. Vol. 40, 4, P. 653 – 673; **Parish S. L., Cloud J. M.** Financial Well-Being of Young Children with Disabilities and Their Families // *Social Work*. 2006. Vol. 51, 3. P.223-232.

¹⁶ **Lukemeyer A., Meyers M. K., Smeeding T.** Expensive children in Poor Families: Out-of-Pocket Expenditures for the Care of Disabled and Chronically Ill Children in Welfare Families // *Marriage and the Family*. 2000. Vol. 62. P. 399-415; **Shahtahmasebi S., Emerson T., Bertridge D., Lancaster G.** Child disability and Dynamics of Family Poverty, Hardship and Financial Strain: Evidence from UK // *Journal of Social Policy*. 2011. Vol. 40, 4, P. 653 – 673; **Parish S. L., Cloud J. M.** Financial Well-Being of Young Children with Disabilities and Their Families // *Social Work*. 2006. Vol. 51, 3. P.223-232.

range of 20% -50%, which should be provided in the provisions of social security. These studies have also shown that a significant number of cases have been reported about difficulties, which constitute the procedure to confirm the right on the benefits¹⁷.

To study the critical factors of financial difficulties for families with children with developmental disabilities, it is necessary to use different strategies or approaches of quantitative and qualitative research: *a subjective approach* (the family itself identifies costs or needs that are related to the problem of child development); *comparative approach* (actual patterns of the sample compared to the expenditure patterns of the control group [families who do not have children with developmental disorders]); approach "*standard of living*" (measures how income should be to raise a child with disabilities, keeping the living standard, adopted in the society); *budget standards approach* (takes into account details of the household budget "with" a child and "without", using differences in the budgets for the display of additional costs associated with the health problem of the child). Each of these approaches has its advantages and disadvantages, so researchers compliment them on the basis of their research methodology developed¹⁸.

Studying the critical factors of financial difficulties in the analyzed families, scientists are developing national research models. For example, there is a questionnaire for the study of California households with children or adults with disabilities (AFDC)¹⁹. AFDC²⁰ was established in the Department of Social Services at the University of California, and focuses on a comparative approach to the study of a number of indicators among families with children with developmental disabilities and those families who do not have such children. The questionnaire includes several sections: the specificity of the type of violation of a child's participation in social programs, demographic characteristics (education, ethnicity, human capital, family structure, etc.), material deprivation (specific family income, poverty rate, and various forms of monetary and non-monetary support etc.), employment, expenses etc., randomized sampling is recommended. Similar questionnaires are used in other countries. For example: FACS²¹ in England or HES²² in Australia.

Studies conducted on the basis of these questionnaires confirm significant additional financial burdens on the families because of the health problems of their children and that families are undergoing various hardships. At the same time, the studies emphasize that the costs which families are carrying have a variable value determined by the degree, depth, and sometimes the type of child developmental

¹⁷ Ward L. Supporting Disabled Children and their Families // *Children and society*. 1999. Vol. 13. P. 394-400.

¹⁸ Zaidi A. & Burchardt T. Comparing incomes When Needs Differ: Equivalisation for the Extra Costs of Disability in the UK // *Review of Income and Wealth*. 2005. Vol. 51, 1. P 89-114.

¹⁹ Lukemeyer A., Meyers M. K., Smeeding T. Expensive children in Poor Families: Out-of-Pocket Expenditures for the Care of Disabled and Chronically Ill Children in Welfare Families // *Marriage and the Family*. 2000. Vol. 62. P. 399-415.

²⁰ AFDC: Aid to Family Dependent Children

²¹ FACS: Family and Child Study. Shahtahmasebi S., Emerson T., Berridge D., Lancaster G. Child disability and Dynamics of Family Poverty, Hardship and Financial Strain: Evidence from UK // *Journal of Social Policy*. 2011. Vol. 40, 4, P. 653 – 673.

²² HES: House Expenditure Survey. Saunders P. The Costs of Disability and Incidence of Poverty // *Australian Journal of Social Issues*. 2007. Vol.42, 4. P. 461-480.

disorders. In a study, based on FACS, was noted that in families with children with mental retardation, the level of deprivation, which families are going through is much higher than in families with children with such as autism spectrum disorders. It is obvious that the state of poverty among families, raising children with disabilities, has an individual structure. There are still some open questions: What are the other characteristics of the family (size of the family capital/resources etc.) involved in the process of constructing poverty in these families? What is the specific role of the child disability constituting economic deprivation for the family?

Summing up the consideration of the critical factors of financial deprivation in studied families, concludes: "economic order" of the social welfare is controlled by the political system of the state responsible for the emergence of the "new poor" and the reproduction of poverty. Families raising children with disabilities by the key indicators of financial stress and deprivation have unequal economic situations compared with families, which upbringing ordinary children without disabilities²³. This also means that the low standard of living for the entire population will be reflected by double depletion in families with children with disabilities, securing them the status of "double poor"²⁴.

The critical factor of social "exclusion" and institutional practices of special education. This factor is reflected upon the socio-cultural inequalities of everyday experiences of children with developmental disabilities and their families. Embodied in the structure of the limitations (by size and forms) and segregated by its institutional practices nature, "social exclusion" is normalizing attitude to the "weak", designing the context of the life image of these families as a context of deprivation, where the human capital is impoverished and devaluated. As shown by current research, this factor is acting as a reproducing poverty factor. Special education, if it is implemented in the context of segregation, plays a critical role in shaping the social and cultural inequalities. A socio-cultural context of special education of the Soviet period was shaped by the principle of socialist humanism. Defectological science and practice developed under the ideological pressure of this principle, constructed "social exclusion". A social model of disability, which has been developed by Lev Vygotsky²⁵ at the beginning of the revival of the Defectology, was not destined to be implemented. A defectological educational model would solidify in the form of the "defectological square" lasting until the early 90s of the 20th century. Being inside of this "square", children with developmental disabilities and their families were deprived of support from both the church and philanthropic organizations. They were closed in a particular situation inside which special education was implemented²⁶.

²³ "...We should not forget also that children with disabilities are a diverse group with different needs and-just as importantly-these needs change, sometimes quite significantly, over the life cycle, as well as provided support"fromUNICEFreport: Children and Disability in Transitionin CEE /CIS and Baltic States. 2005. P.26.

²⁴ **Fujiura G. & Yamaki K.** Trends in demography of childhood poverty and disability // *Exceptional children*. 2000. Vol.66. P 187-199.

²⁵ **Выготский Л.** Коллектив, как фактор развития дефективного ребенка // *Вопросы дефектологии*, 1931, № 1-2, с. 8-17; № 3, с. 3-18.

²⁶ **Malofeev N.** Special Education in Russia: Historical Aspect.// *Journal of Learning Disabilities*. 1998. 31 (2): 181-185. doi: 10.1177/002221949803100208

Critically assessing the defectological educational model, we emphasize that it was formed gradually, science and practice of it were polished by the historical and cultural context of the Soviet period. The principle of the developed socialism "from each according to his/her ability, to each - according to his/her work"²⁷ had become a core to the rationing order to achieve communist ideals for each member of Soviet society (through labor), including children with developmental disabilities. The "Defectological square", became a symbolic result of the unrealized "utopia." In the new post-perestroika societies and the new economic circumstances, influenced by liberal political principles, the defectological educational model was no longer viable.

In Europe and other developed countries, institutional segregation practices have been the subject of critical debate over the past fifty years. For example, in the Nordic countries, successfully combining economic development with a sufficiently high level of prosperity, the discussion about the "School for All" has begun in the 60s of²⁸. All these years the undertaken discussion was never left without attention from the leading political parties and was a central theme of educational reforms within the applied period²⁹. During these years, educational policy documented recognition that all students differ in learning; school curriculum governed by the provisions that any abilities and learning needs of students should be met and taken into consideration, and that teaching can't be done by the same way for all³⁰.

Systematizing the analyzed research data, two main tendencies of the development of special education in the developed countries, relevant to the problem discussed in this article, have been identified.

The first tendency is the recognition that inclusive education is no longer an issue for compulsory education or special needs - it is rather a question of the right to participate in general education. It should be noted that there is a lack of comprehensive studies that would allow a more accurate assessment of levels of participation and the degree of involvement of children with disabilities in regular schools, including comparisons of their achievements in accordance with the form of education: special or regular training³¹. In some studies, it is emphasized that the inclusion has positive impact on the development of "self-concept" of students with special needs³²; that the social and academic development of students with special needs enrolled in regular classes, is more successful than in special classes³³. As a

²⁷ Конституция СССР 1936 года. <http://constitution.garant.ru/history/ussr-rsfsr/1936/>

²⁸ **Egelund, N, Haug, P & Persson, B.** Inkluder ande pedagogik i ett skandinaviskt perspektiv. 2006. Stockholm: Liber.

²⁹ **Isaksson J. & Lindqvist R.** What is the meaning of special education? Problem representations in Swedish policy documents: late 1970s -2014 // *European Journal of Special Needs Education*. Online publication: 22 January 2015.

³⁰ **Berhanu G.** Special education today in Sweden. *Special Education International Perspectives: Practice Across the Glob. Advances in Special Education*. 2014. Vol. 28. P. 209-241.

³¹ **Berhanu G.** Special education today in Sweden. *Special Education International Perspectives: Practice Across the Glob. Advances in Special Education*. 2014. Vol. 28. P. 209-241.

³² **Persson B. & Persson E.** Inkludering och måluppfyllelse – att nå framgång med alla elever. [Inclusion and goal attainment to achieve success to all pupils]. Stockholm, Sweden: Liber. 2012; **Westling Allodi M.** Self/concept in children receiving special support at school // *European Journal of Special Needs Education*. 2000. Vol. 15. P. 69-78.

³³ **Baker E. T., Wang M. C. & Walberg H. J.** The effects of inclusion on learning // *Edu-*

consequence of the situation, the importance of monitoring of inclusive/segregated processes in the education for children with developmental disabilities is becoming central and examples of "good practices" of inclusion and participation of children with special needs in the regular educational practices are becoming more and more frequent. Researchers, as in Sweden, have noticed that the development of inclusive education during recent years is influenced by two main factors: more and more parents exercise their right to choose their principal place for their children education; the work with such children in schools is becoming more and more individualized, underscoring the value of individuality in terms of human values of solidarity, dialogue, and equal opportunities³⁴.

Nevertheless, scholars argue that the comparison "inclusiveness" in accordance to the standards of what should be an inclusive education - this is one aspect of understanding the problem. "Inclusiveness" of different educational systems in inclusive education is another aspect of the problem³⁵. Educational practices for children with developmental disabilities are becoming more diverse and variable, and special education, despite the significant reduction in the number of special educational institutions or classes, continues to operate and is part of the inclusive education process.

The second tendency is increasing the number of students in special education institutions. Multiculturalism, cultural diversity is becoming an integral part of the standard compulsory education system of developed countries. As is well known, and emphasized in our research direction previously³⁶, there is a set of relations between the concepts of ethnicity, special educational needs, disability, gender, socio-economic factors, etc.. Researchers highlight (show this on the example of Sweden), that since 1992 to 2000, there is a process of a gradual increase of a number of students from migrant families at special schools: their knowledge is evaluated below average knowledge of their peers; they constitute a high drop-out rate in high school/secondary schools; they are representing the lowest number of students with the ambition to reach higher education³⁷.

Disproportionality composed by students of special schools and classes at the expense of increasing the number of students from socially disadvantaged groups and immigrants, is becoming an actual picture of the students composition at con-

tion leadership. 1995. Vol. 54, 4. P. 33-35; **Peetsma T., Vergeer M., & Karsten S.** Inclusion in education: Comparing pupil's development in special and regular education // *Education Review*. 2001. Vol. 53, 2. P. 125-135.

³⁴ **Göransson K., Nilholm C. & Karlsson K.** Inclusive education in Sweden? A critical analysis // *International Journal of Inclusive Education*. 2011. Vol. 15, 5. P.541 – 555.

³⁵ **Göransson K., Nilholm C. & Karlsson K.** Inclusive education in Sweden? A critical analysis // *International Journal of Inclusive Education*. 2011. Vol. 15, 5. P.541 – 555.

³⁶ **Калиникова Л.** Проблема человеческих ресурсов и социального капитала в малообеспеченных семьях, воспитывающих детей с нарушениями развития // "Материалы IX Східно- та Центральноєвропейської Регіональної конференції з проблем альтернативної та допоміжної комунікації «Комунікація для всіх»". Київ, 2013, с. 132-140.

³⁷ Between 1992 and 2001, the number of students with severe learning problems has risen to 67%, which means that about 200,000 students in Sweden received special educational support during schooling. While special education schools, enrollment was raised from 0.8%(1990)to 1.4% (2007-2008). From: Berhanu G. Ethnic minority pupils in Swedish schools: some trends in overrepresentation of minority pupils in special educational programs // *International Journal of Special Education*. 2008. Vol.23, 3. P.17-27.

temporary special educational institutions in Scandinavia and England³⁸. Researchers have linked this state to several factors. The *first* is that the determination of the level of learning in the case of mild mental retardation has strong methodological complexity. In this context it is very important to note that these children enter special schools after their failure to perform a fulfillment level of knowledge at compulsory school (it occurs during the period of schooling, what distinguishes these children from all the other children with mental retardation, whose retardation is observed at an earlier age). The *second* factor is related to the social situation of "ethnic minority", which are forced immigrants or fugitives (most often displaced persons from war areas). This social situation often creates conditions of poverty, which increase the risk factors of child development, which further affects the academic achievements during the school years, increasing the risk of the need for special educational support. The belonging to the ethnic minority becomes a kind of "guarantee" to get access to the system of special education³⁹.

Making a general conclusion for the discussed "critical factor of "social exclusion" and institutional practices of special education", as possible sources of poverty in families with children with developmental disabilities, we will stress that in this area special attention was paid to the social-cultural context of the special education institutional practices. Analysis based on the "defectological educational model" (the Soviet model of special education) and inclusive education, "School for All" (Scandinavian model of inclusive education), has shown that political reforms and the scientific knowledge play a crucial role designing the context of social exclusion/inclusion. Modern neo-liberal reforms, individual responsibility on the one hand, the lack of methodological scientific approaches in the field of special education on the other, lead to a disproportionality of students in special education institutions identified as a process of increasing the number of students from disadvantaged backgrounds and poor families, creating barriers to the system of compulsory education, limits the choices of professional education, constructs "underclass" and deprivation culture of poverty. Despite the fact that special education for many children serves as one of the major development environments, including special education in an inclusive process of education becomes essential. However, the overall picture of the relationships between inclusive and special education remains quite complex and problematic, further development of science and policy in this area deserves serious attention.

Critical factor of "human resources" and "family capital": confronting inequality⁴⁰.

³⁸ **Berhanu G.** Special education today in Sweden. *Special Education International Perspectives: Practice Across the Glob. Advances in Special Education*. 2014. Vol. 28. P. 209-241; **O'Connor & Fernandez S. D-L.** Race, Class and Disproportionality: Reevaluating the Relationship between Poverty and Special Education Placement // *Educational Researcher*. Vol. 35, № 6, P. 6–11.

³⁹ Существует целый ряд обстоятельств, которые затрудняют процесс «учения» у таких детей. На первом месте стоит социальный опыт детей, прибывающих в страну. Этот опыт приобретался в ином культурном и образовательном контексте, что становится существенным фактором их неуспеваемости в новых условиях обучения. Языковая грамотность становится следующим фактором, создающим высокий риск в обучении. В цели данной статьи рассмотрение таких факторов не является исследовательской целью; **O'Connor & Fernandez S.D-L.** Race, Class and Disproportionality: Reevaluating the Relationship between Poverty and Special Education Placement // *Educational Researcher*. Vol. 35, № 6, P. 6–11.

⁴⁰ This part of the article was primarily published in an article titled (Kalinnikova L.) "The

The theory of "human resources" is focused on explaining and understanding how families are confronting inequality, overcoming social and economic discrimination and poverty. The appearance of these theories in the 70s of the XXth century is relating to the general tendencies of rethinking "human values" in the developed societies of that time. "Human Resources" (HR) were an attempt to explain the scientific importance of the participation of each person in the economic life of the society, and to consider individual factors as an expression of "human capital"⁴¹. The scientific founder of the theory of the HR – T. Schultz and G. Becker received the Nobel Prizes for their "discovery" accordingly in 1979 and 1992. The main idea of this theory could be generally presented as a position, that people should be considered as a main value and wealth of the society; investing in people, their chances to make a worthy life choice is improving and this is one of the ways to improve the well-being of the humanity.

Gradually the theory has been built on a solid foundation of social and humanitarian knowledge. One of the most significant contributions to the theory of HR was the recognition that not only individual factors "human capital" raise the level of prosperity of the society and the chances of a decent standard of choice, an important role in these processes belongs to community resources, and, above all, family. Communities and families are also creating their capital, which allows their members to interact successfully with the world on the other side of their borders (especially children). Families in difficult life situations, having a family capital, are prepared to confront and meet "challenges" to dire life circumstances. Being mobilized, family capital, is participating in the redistribution and restructuring of family resources, strengthens support for family members; has an indirect impact on the services and agencies that are responsible for making decisions about the fate of family members; searches for information about the possibilities; helps participants to strengthen their identity. Finally, the "family capital", maintaining and growing out of the families, creates the conditions for access to the new social and economic resources⁴². Family capital is constructed from financial, cultural and social capital, playing a crucial role in maintaining the well-being of growing up children⁴³. Financial capital is made out of family income and the "wealth" of the family. Cul-

problem of human resources and social capital in low-income families with children with developmental disabilities" / Sat. Materiali IX Shidno-tat Tsentralno evopeyskiy Regionalnoy konferentsiis problems that alternativ edopomizhnoy kommunikatsii "Komunikatsiya forvsih" / ed. V. N. Sinova, M. K. Sheremet.-Kiev: DIA. 2013. pp 132-140. «Проблема человеческих ресурсов и социального капитала в малообеспеченных семьях, воспитывающих детей с нарушениями развития»/ сб. Матеріали IX Східно- та Центральноєвропейській Регіональної конференції з проблем альтернативної та допоміжної комунікації «Комунікація для всіх» / под ред. В. Н. Синьова, М. К. Шеремет.- Киев: ДІА. 2013. С. 132-140.

⁴¹ Schultz T. Investment in human capital // *American Economic Review*. 1961. 51 (1). P. 1-17; Becker, Gary S. Human Capital. N.Y.: Columbia University Press, 1964.

⁴² Belcher, J., Peckuonis, E. & Deforge, B. (2011) Family capital: implications for interventions with families // *Journal of Family Social work*. 2011. Vol. 14, P. 68-85; Van Eijk G. Does living in a poor neighborhood result in network poverty? A study on local networks, locality-based relationships and neighborhood settings // *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*. Advance online publication. 2010. doi:10.1007/s10901-010-9198-1.

⁴³ Coleman J. S. Social capital in the creation of human capital // *American Journal of Sociology*. 1988. 94, P. 95-120; Coleman J. S. Foundation of social theory. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press. 1990.

tural-based upon an education of the family members, and is considered as a powerful "chance to overcome poverty"⁴⁴. Social capital is accumulated as a result of the possession of strong social nets⁴⁵.

In families with low economic prosperity, social nets between family members and other people may have both negative and positive socioeconomic effects. In some cases, the mobilization of social capital can block family contacts with the "other/non-poor" families and generate dependent relationships within the family among its members. Such mobilization of social capital has a negative impact on family life and poverty reduction⁴⁶. Social capital can develop positively, embodied in the family traditions and rituals. By participating in the socialization of family members, social capital supports this process through a variety of "invisible" resources (material, human, social, linguistic, psychological and cultural), and contributes to its progress toward achievement and overcoming inequalities⁴⁷.

Discussing the problem of the HR in families with children with developmental disabilities, it is notable that the number of studies in this field is very limited. In those of them that were analyzed, it is stressed that at various life circumstances, the family is recognized as a primary and central source of care and support for its members. Attention is drawn to the fact that the primary resource of care and support, updated and distributed among its members is the symbolic expression of "family capital" (economic, cultural, social, etc.).

In families, raising children with disabilities, in comparison with conventional families, resources are generated and structured in terms of inaccessibility/limitation of certain elements of family capital individually. This introduces a number of features in the everyday life of families. It is believed, for example, that children and adolescents with developmental disabilities have experienced much less family resources available for them than their so-called normal peers could experience⁴⁸.

The primary support resource is also determined by the living conditions of children/adolescents with disabilities (in/outside the family). Here, the primary role is played by the size and composition of the family and how families use their social capital, preserving the old and creating new social connections. For example, parents, brothers and sisters of children/adolescents living in households are considered to be one of the main sources of social capital. The nature of these relations follows from the parent-child relationship with their mothers, so these connections are called "emotional" and "maternal", they are a decisive factor in the social adaptation of children/adolescents⁴⁹. In such families, the primary resource is fueled by infor-

⁴⁴ Field J. Social capital (2nd ed.) New York: Routledge. 2008.

⁴⁵ Bourdieu P. The forms of capital. In J.C. Richardson (Ed.), Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education. New York: Greenwood Publishing Group. 1985. P. 241-258.

⁴⁶ Bourdieu P. The forms of capital. In J.C. Richardson (Ed.), Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education. New York: Greenwood Publishing Group. 1985. P. 241-258.

⁴⁷ Swartz T. Family capital and the invisible transfer of privilege: Intergenerational support and social class in early adulthood // *New Directions for Child and Adolescents Development*. 2008. Vol. 119. P. 11-24.

⁴⁸ Bourdieu P. The forms of capital. In J.C. Richardson (Ed.), Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education. New York: Greenwood Publishing Group. 1985. P. 241-258; Coleman J. S. Foundation of social theory. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press. 1990.

⁴⁹ Kroese B., Hussein, H., Clifford, C., & Ahmed, N. Social support network and psychological well-being of mothers with intellectual disabilities // *Journal of Applied Research in Intel-*

mal networks of family support, the capital of which is actualized through the close relationships between family members. Those who live "outside the family" construct their nets out of the cooperation with specialists, their families and "co-residents" in co-accommodation. The nature of these relationships is "practical" and "emotional", limited by the structure of the "social care"⁵⁰. In such circumstances primary support of the accommodated outside of the family members is based on keeping contacts with the children through the formal institutional resources.

Earlier in the text, it was stressed that children with disabilities could bring certain instability in family functioning, putting additional stress for family members. And it doesn't matter how positive parents were describing their life situations, it is known that the presence of a child with developmental disabilities in the family, is affecting dynamics of the family life, reducing the quality of life of the family and its well-being⁵¹. Powerful source of an adequate primary care to its members in overcoming family disadvantage becomes a family "cultural capital" (parents' education, their self-esteem, ability to deal with difficult situations)⁵². Contradictory relationships between low levels of living, the financial burden and the need to take care of the child at home, affecting the ability of working family members to get permanent employment. This particularly affects the families of single mothers who have to frequently change or look for a job. They need flexible time-frames or part-time employment opportunities, to take work at home, or to look for other forms of employment. A characteristic feature of these families is the economic and social capital replenishment out of the resources of the extended family: parents and relatives (cousins of the child's parents and grandparents). It is believed that the older generation (rightfully) occupies a leading position in the family. Taking care of grandchildren, grandparents help their adult children, to maintain and extend these relationships⁵³.

In the attempt to determine the content of the social nets which are brought into the family with children with disabilities by the older generation, researchers have identified a number of significant features: "curb their emotions", "sacrifice", "supporting family relationships" and "the importance of the quality of life for families in the future." All of them emphasize that social nets with the older generation in the face of grandparents play an important role in the life circumstances of these families. Being extremely involved in the life of the family, grandparents contribute to emotional, instrumental and financial support to both "their own child" and "their grandson/granddaughter". Studies show that family functions and life level is supported by the significant contributions into the strengthening of the family relation-

lectual Disabilities. 2002. Vol. 15. P. 324-340.

⁵⁰ **Robertson, J., Emerson, E., Gregory, N., Hatton, C., Kessissoglou, S., & Hallam, et al.** Social networks of people with mental retardation in residential settings // *Mental Retardation*. 2001. Vol 39. P. 01-214.

⁵¹ **Калиникова Л., Магнуссон М.** Эмоциональные, поведенческие и когнитивные компоненты образа жизни семей, имеющих детей с тяжелыми нарушениями развития раннего возраста (анализ зарубежных исследований) // "Научный часопис. кореційна педагогіка та психологія.- 2010.- №13.- С.166-171.

⁵² **Fujiura G. & Yamaki K.** Trends in demography of childhood poverty and disability // *Exceptional children*. 2000. Vol.66. P 187-199.

⁵³ **Miller, E., Buys, L., & Woodbridge, S.** (2012). Impact of disability on families: grandparents' perspective // *Journal on Intellectual Disability Research*. 2012. Vol. 56. P. 102-110.

ships from the older generation. Grandparents develop a strong sense of responsibility and commitment, doing everything to preserve the family union members and family happiness⁵⁴.

Conclusions.

The present article had three research questions. The first question was aimed to find out the critical factors that constitute the structure of poverty in families upbringing children with developmental disabilities. The analysis of the fundamental and the contemporary research showed that the structure of poverty in these families is constructed of a number of factors (we have identified three main factors), which are multi-dimensional by their nature. Multidimensionality of each factor is manifested in the fact that each of them includes a number of sub-factors that exist at several levels: macro- (system control/governmentality), meso- ("social exclusion" and special education) and micro- (family), the relationships among the sub-factors have complicated regulations. All these factors have critical meaning for understanding the picture of the hardship and disaster (as a whole), which are leading the families with the children with disabilities to poverty. The dominant role is played by the macro- factor "governmentality"⁵⁵.

Critical factors of financial deprivation are controlled by "economic order" of a state social welfare and suggest that in terms of financial burden and deprivation in similar economic circumstances, families with children with developmental disabilities are at a disadvantage and symbolize the "double poverty " in comparison with conventional families.

The *critical factors of social "exclusion" and institutional practice of special education* show that a socio-cultural context of special educational practices can act as a source of poverty in families with children with developmental disabilities. Despite the fact that many special education placements for children with special needs, continue to be one of the most important contexts for their development, the inclusion of special education is an inclusive process is of paramount importance. However, the neo-liberal reforms, reducing the proportion of state control and increased individual responsibilities- on the one hand, the lack of fundamental methodology research in the field of special education - on the other hand, lead to disproportionality of students in special education institutions by increasing the number of students from disadvantaged and poor families that creates barriers to the system of general education for them, limits their choices of professional education, constructs "underclass" and poverty culture of deprivation.

Critical factor "human resources" and "family capital": confrontation inequality, is introduced as an important phenomena of the family construction, playing a significant role in understanding and overcoming poverty in those families with children with developmental disabilities. Different types of "family capital" (in its symbolic forms of social, cultural, educational, etc.) are redistributed within the family, and become a primary source of support to the family members.

The second question was addressed to those critical factors that are relevant

⁵⁴ Miller, E., Buys, L., & Woodbridge, S. (2012). Impact of disability on families: grandparents' perspective // *Journal on Intellectual Disability Research*. 2012. Vol. 56. P. 102-110.

⁵⁵ Foucault, M. Governmentality, in Rabinow, P. & Rose, N. (eds) *The Essential Foucault: Selections from Essential Works of Foucault 1954–1984*. London: The New Press. 2003.

psychological and educational research. The answer to this question was discussed in terms of the critical role of segregated special education contexts, as well as closeness and inaccessibility of families when they are in a poverty situation. Research in this area is extremely small.

However, for the classic psycho-pedagogical knowledge areas, such as: the impact of social environment on children's development and parent-child relationship; study of psychological and pedagogical resources of poor families and their dynamics during different life cycles; economic education, career guidance and employment of graduates of special educational institutions in the conditions of neo-liberal reforms of education and the market; scientific basis and the creation of groups of psychological and educational assistance for families and etc. - remain relevant to the study.

Finally, the third question: what is the role of special education in the structuring of poverty? The answer is partly given when there was an analysis of the answer to the first research question. We have emphasized that if the special education is embodied in the practices of segregation, these practices will create a context of deprivation of the lifestyles for children and their families, impoverishing "family capital" and devaluing "human resource" in these families; will play a critical role in shaping the socio-cultural inequalities and will participate in poverty reproduction in these families.

This study cannot claim completeness. For example, the structure of the critical factors of poverty can be significantly enhanced, and be organized on a different methodological basis. Several theoretical approaches to the problem of poverty reduction were not analyzed because it was not the main goal of this study. The investigation of the problem of poverty in families with children with developmental disabilities is continuing (based on Moldova and Ukraine case).

Acknowledgement: To Dr. Magnus Magnusson, PhD for reading and commenting upon the article.

Key words: *children with developmental disabilities; families with children with developmental disabilities; poverty; critical factors*

ԼԻԱ ԿԱԼԻՆՆԻԿՈՎԱ-ՄԱԳՆՈՒՍՈՆ – Ջարգացման խանգարմամբ երեխաներով ընտանիքներում աղքատության կրիտիկական գործոնները (Մոլդովայի և Ուկրաինայի հանրապետություններում իրավիճակի նախըմբռնման փորձ) – Հոդվածում ներկայացված են զարգացման խանգարմամբ երեխաներով ընտանիքներում աղքատության կրիտիկական գործոնների և նրանցում հատուկ կրթության դերի ուսումնասիրությանն ուղղված հետազոտության արդյունքները: Խորհրդային ժամանակների գաղափարախոսությունն օրինականացնում էր «աղքատության հավասարությունը» կյանքի ցածր, բայց կայուն ստանդարտների միջոցով: ԽՍՀՄ փլուզումից հետո պետական ռեֆորմների ազատականացումը մեծացրեց հասարակության մեջ տնտեսական բևեռացումը: Ջարգացման խանգարումով երեխաներ դաստիարակող ընտանիքների համար աղքատությունը դարձավ ակնհայտ: Հենվելով գիտական տեքստերի հիմնարար և ժամանակակից ուսումնասիրությունների արդյունքների վրա և

կիրառելով միջմասնագիտական մոտեցում, հոդվածում առանձնացվել է կրիտիկական երեք գործոն՝ «ԿԳ», որոնք կառուցվածքայնացնում են աղքատությունը նման ընտանիքներում. ֆինանսական անբարեհաջողության ԿԳ, սոցիալական «բացառման և հատուկ կրթության ինստիտուցիոնալ պրակտիկայի» ԿԳ, «մարդկային ռեսուրսների և ընտանեկան կապիտալի» ԿԳ: ԿԳ-ներն իրենց բնույթով բազմաչափ են: Յուրաքանչյուր գործոնի բազմաչափությունը դրսևորվում է նրանում, որ նրանցից յուրաքանչյուրը ներառում է մի շարք ենթագործոններ, որոնք միաժամանակ առկա են տարբեր մակարդակներում. Մակրո- (կառավարման համակարգ), մեզո- (սոցիալ-մշակութային և հատուկ կրթություն), միկրո- (ընտանիք), որոնք միմյանց հետ կապված են բարդ կապերով, և առանձնահատուկ ձևով կառուցվածքայնանում են յուրաքանչյուր ընտանիքում: Այդ բոլոր գործոնները կրիտիկական նշանակություն ունեն զարգացման շեղումով երեխաներ ունեցող ընտանիքների դժբախտությունների և գրկանքների ամբողջական պատկերը հասկանալու համար: Գերիշխող դերը պատկանում է մակրո- կարգի ենթագործոնին՝ կառավարման համակարգին: Հատուկ կրթությունը Մոլդովայում և Ուկրաինայում արմատավորվել է խորհրդային «դեֆեկտոլոգիական կրթական մոդելում», որը երկար ժամանակ նորմավորվում էր սոցիալիստական հումանիզմի սկզբունքով՝ կառուցելով սոցիալական բացառման համատեքստը «դեֆեկտոլոգիական քառակուսու» ձևով, որը դարձավ չիրականացված «ուտոպիայի» սիմվոլիկ արդյունքը: Դրա հետ միասին եվրոպական կրթության մեջ ներառական գործընթացները՝ պայմանավորված նեոլիբերալ ռեֆորմներով, և նոր տեսական մտածողության պակասը, նոր խնդիրներ առաջադրեցին աղքատության կառուցվածքայնացման և վերարտադրության գործում հատուկ կրթության տեղի և դերի մասին:

Բանալի բառեր – զարգացման խանգարումով երեխաներ, զարգացման խանգարումով երեխաներ դաստիարակող ընտանիքներ, աղքատության կառուցվածք, կրիտիկական գործոններ

ЛИЯ КАЛИННИКОВА-МАГНУССОН – Критические факторы бедности в семьях с детьми с инвалидностью (ситуация в Молдове и Украине). – В статье исследуется структура бедности в семьях, имеющих детей с нарушениями развития, и роль специального образования в их воспитании. Советская идеология легитимизировала «равенство в бедности» – низкие, но стабильные жизненные стандарты. Либеральные реформы после распада СССР усилили материальную поляризацию в обществе. Бедность для семей, воспитывающих детей с нарушениями развития, стала привычной реальностью. На основе современных исследований в статье выделены три критических фактора (КФ), структурирующих бедность в таких семьях: *КФ финансового неблагополучия; КФ социального «исключения» и институциональной практики специального образования; КФ «человеческих ресурсов» и «семейного капитала».* КФ многомерны по своей природе, каж-

дый из них включает ряд подфакторов, существующих одновременно на нескольких уровнях – макро- (система управления/governmentality), мезо- (социально-культурное и специальное образование) и микро- (семья). С их помощью складывается целостная картина лишений, приводящих такие семьи к бедности, причём доминирующая роль принадлежит системе управления. Спецобразование в Молдове и Украине коренится в советской «дефектологической образовательной модели», конструировавшей контекст социального исключения. Вместе с тем инклюзивные процессы в европейском образовании, обусловленные либеральными реформами, поставили новые вопросы о роли специального образования в структурировании и воспроизводстве бедности.

Ключевые слова: *дети с нарушениями развития; структура бедности; критические факторы*

THE ROLE OF WRITTEN COMMUNICATION IN THE GLOBALISED WORLD

MERI NAVASARDYAN

In the contemporary world, where the exploration of new means of communication obtains special importance, the role and importance of written communication is emphasized in view of the emerging globalised presence of an informed society. On the whole, communication penetrates all spheres of social life and it is difficult to picture all the social relations outside it. As the German philosopher Karl Jaspers notes, "Speaking or communicating with each other makes us human"¹.

In specialized fields, the word "communication" can be perceived and applied in both its broad and narrow senses. Speaking broadly, each action is distinguished as communication; in the narrow spectrum, communication is considered only the interchange of linguistic signs². According to Busmann,³ communication is generally defined as follows: "Taken broadly, communication exists among living organisms (people, animals) or people and data recycling machines, in the form of reciprocal communication by means of signs, symbols [...]; in its narrow (linguistic) sense, communication is interpersonal understanding, by means of lingual and no lingual signs, gestures, mimic, voice etc."⁴. Compared to the older technical definitions of communication, in where the role of a communicative technical duration, accepting foundation transmitting- means- recipient model, Busmann's hypothesis of communication as involvement in information sheds new light on the overall concept of communication.

There are many researches⁵ on productive organization of communication, that have been gradually extended to forming schools and directions of communication studies. In light of the fact that productive implementation of communication is preconditioned by the true and logical

¹ **Jaspers, K.** Der philosophische Glaube, Munich, University Press, 1954, P. 38.

² **Günther, Kleinberger, U.** Kommunikation in Betrieben. Wirtschaftslinguistische Aspekte der innerbetrieblichen Kommunikation. Bern, 2003, P.64.

³ **Bußmann, H.** Lexikon der Sprachwissenschaft. Stuttgart, 1983, P.392.

⁴ **Ibid.**

⁵ **Почепцов Г.** Теория коммуникации. М., 2003. **Основы теории коммуникации:** Учебник. М., 2005. **Хабермас Ю.** Моральное сознание и коммуникативное действие. СПб., 2000. **Кара-Мурза С.** Манипуляция сознанием. М., 2004. **Аронсон Э., Уилсон Т., Эйкерт Р.** Социальная психология. Психологические законы поведения человека в социуме. СПб., 2004. **Ефимова Н.** Психология общения. М., 2006. **Гер-Минасова С.** Язык и межкультурная коммуникация. М., 2000.

choice of its means⁶, such researches obtain particular importance.

The means of communication are classified according to different principles and distinctive features. Their most basic qualities classified by the manner of communication, include verbal and non-verbal means⁷. The means of verbal communication are comprised of oral and written means⁸. Accordingly, oral and written planes of communication are distinguished.

As opposed to oral speech, written speech has developing duration accompanied by cognitive processes, such as thinking about the content, expression and linguistic transmission, paying attention to the linguistic accuracy of formulations as well as the keeping permanent control and editing during writing.

As the renowned psychologist A. Nalchajyan notes, “The necessity of written speech is preconditioned by two primary circumstances: a) to make obtained knowledge serve and save it from oblivion, b) to provide communication for people divided from each other in space and time. Today, written speech has become the primary means of civilized communication in its various forms”⁹. Besides, whenever written and approved by people in authority, the written speech can be perceived legitimate or legally argued. Such examples include contracts, letters, agreements, written messages and so forth.

However, written communication is preconditioned not only by human means but also by internal and external factors.

There are a number of communicative conditions and verbalizing tactics, which can belong to either written or oral speech¹⁰. Of course, it is difficult to classify the ways of speech which illustrate attributes of both written and oral speech. Given this challenge, Koch and Österreicher¹¹ have developed a model which allows to differentiate the speech by two measurements. The first measurement refers to the means of communication whereby verbal expressions are used, and the second refers to the system of viewpoints discriminating these expressions. Among other things, on the medial level, we distinguish between the graphical and phonic communication, and on the conceptual level - between the written and oral. The medial axis is fixed, whereas the conceptual is moveable¹².

⁶ **Ա. Ալեքսանյան**, Միջանձնային հաղորդակցման ոչ խոսքային միջոցների հնարավորությունները մանկավարժական որոնման գործընթացում: Լրատու Մեսրոպ Մաշտոց համալսարանի: Գիտական հոդվածների ժողովածու: Ստեփանակերտ: Պոլիգրաֆ ՓԲԸ, 2008 թ., № 1, էջ 150-159:

⁷ **Argyle, M.** Non-verbal communication in human Social interaction. Cambridge, 1972, P. 243-263.

⁸ **Նալչաջյան, Ա.** Ընդհանուր հոգեբանության հիմունքներ, Եր., Լույս, 1991, էջ 470:

⁹ **Ibid**, p.472.

¹⁰ **Günther, K.** Kommunikation in Betrieben. Wirtschaftslinguistische Aspekte der innerbetrieblichen Kommunikation. Bern, 2003, P.65.

¹¹ **Koch, P., Österreicher, W.** Sprache der Nähe – Sprache der Distanz. Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit im Spannungsfeld von Sprachtheorie und Sprachgebrauch. In: Romanistisches Jahrbuch 36, Berlin/New York., 1985, P. 15-43.

¹² **Chabrie, U.** E-Mail-Korrespondenz zwischen zwei Schuljahren. Eine empirische Studie. Köln, 2003, P.33.

Ziber (1998)¹³ suggests his own typology of written and oral speech characteristics

Oral Speech	Written speech
Clearer, brief, restricted variation of lexicon, general phrases, linguistic conversions	More difficult, distinguished, longer richer, and more variable lexicon
Verbal uniqueness	Uniqueness of written speech
Appropriate to many and oral speech	Few particles
Clear and short speech with poor syntax of variation	More sophisticated, distinguished, longer speech with rich syntax of variation
“soft” not strict, syntax formulated in details	“strong” syntax formulated in details
No clear boundaries in whole sentences (it can be another principle of subdivision) whole phrases	Clear boundaries in whole sentences
Grammar rules and morphological structures for oral speech (for example use of present perfect, application of the conditional mode, use of 2 demonstrative pronouns, instead of personal pronouns)	Grammar rules and morphological structures for written orders and morphological structures (for example, more commonly used past tense, combined with conditional mode)
More mistakes possible	Fewer mistakes possible
Structured for oral speech	Structured for written speech
Indicated syntax	“more normal” (not indicated) syntax
Less rigid compositional structure of the text, with “softly” combined, means	Rigid compositional structure with “strong” and correctly combined means
Intercommunication typical for oral speech	Intercommunication typical for written speech
Little information about the length of the text	Much more information about the length of the text
Etc.	Etc.

We distinguish the types of texts from the means of communication. The types of the texts can be identified in case of existence of any function. Although the means of communication are multifunctional. For instance, the subject of the electronic message or e-mail subject can greatly vary in form by its intention and format.

It can be sent as congratulation, love letter or advertisement as well as application or inquiry.

In written communication, the sender and the recipient are separated spatially, situationally and in terms of time. The written forms of speech are the means of communication which can be controlled by the parties involved in it. Pondering over the content and the overall subject planning is a tedious task, as the subject is normally defined and will remain unaltered once the written text is sent out¹⁴.

In modern society, the challenge of written communication is in its multipurpose implementation via established social relations. The imperative mission in this context is to create and master social networks by applying the least time-consuming and exhausting approach can be regardless the spatial and cultural barriers.

¹³ See **P. Sieber**, Palando in Texten. Zur Veränderung kommunikativer Grundmuster in der Schriftlichkeit. Tübingen, 1998, P. 186.

¹⁴ **Günther, H.** Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit. In: Balhorn, Heiko / Niemann, Heide (Hrsg.): Sprachen werden Schrift. Mündlichkeit – Schriftlichkeit – Mehrsprachlichkeit. Lengwill. 1997, P. 64-73.

The development of this type of written communication in the last decade has been mostly stimulated by the growing demands of the information society. On its turn, it has created essential preconditions for the development of information society.

Since then, the creation of information, its transmission and distribution is possible via similar information networks.

It is worth stating that the establishment and further progression of similar social relations relies on written means, namely internet communication, as the latter does not require either face to face communication or oral communication. Generally it is conducted by written communication.

Whatever written in a message in order to transfer an idea to others is perceived as **written movement**.

Nowadays the information society in the entire world is focused on this particular written movement. Various social networks (facebook, twitter, etc.) are made available on the Internet for their users to be intensively involved in ownership of written movement. Some characteristics of written communication in social networks should be highlighted. The attributes of written communication in social networks are as follows:

- ✓ The text subject is unrelated to or detached from the situation, i.e. the author's state (position) is no longer important whereas the request – contact plays an essential role in this communication,

- ✓ There is proportional relationship between the creator of the text and the host (recipient), as both parties are pursuing similar goals,

- ✓ It assumes lack of emotions, as business letters are objective, clear and understandable,

- ✓ Reporting is the principal function of the text and appropriately as the main mode of communication,

- ✓ Written message is mainly used for an agreement to which is paid special attention.

Obviously, this type of written communication has a number of advantages and drawbacks. However the wider is the demand for this type of communication the less attention is paid to its negative aspects and disadvantages. Nonetheless, the field specialists also focus on finding effective ways of eliminating these shortcomings or at least decreasing the negative effects.

The essential advantage of this kind of written communication is that it allows overcoming cultural differences and establishing intercultural communication networks. This yields special significance to the development of globalised society.

Due to it, in the course of social and economic changes cultural relations are gradually expanding. Intercultural communication takes place within the social interaction and negotiation¹⁵ of participants from various cultural spheres.

By saying participant, we understand at least two different cultures: individuals, groups, organisations, communities, societies or states.

A number of scientists were engaged in this principle in the 70s during globalization in America. The concept of intercultural relations has many syno-

¹⁵ **Bolten J., Ehrhardt C.** Interkulturelle Kommunikation. Sternefels. Verlag Wissenschaft & Praxis, 2003, P. 145.

nisms, one of which is interracial communication as defined by Andrea Rich in 1974. Communication specialists Bechert Johannes and Wolfgang Wildgen have paid special attention to understanding the borders of communication in their book.

The goal of intercultural relation is to create a clear concept of positive development in commercial relations among separate cultures, in this case among the partners. Awareness of foreign culture and language prevents from possible misunderstandings and fosters positive conditions for further business transactions.

Intercultural communication is considered as communication in difficult conditions, where people are opposed to everyday life with their different world views, perceptions, and lifestyles¹⁶.

Social relations are modernised via constant modifications of technical achievements in compression, networks of communication exchange and speed. As a result, human language and human relations are constantly being affected by the growing influence of new media on communication and language forms.

Technological progress has also stimulated a new form of communication that can be considered as a breakthrough in the history of communication . Such examples include office messages and e-mail correspondence, as well as online information as focal points of communication.

As a rule, the communication via e- mail or fax is targeted at the achievement of a specific result. Each business message has its peculiar character with unique stylistics, format and content. Structural sequence, strong conceptual grounds, syntax structure of a sentence are the composites of successful writing. The latter also requires simple, yet advanced vocabulary, respectful language style, as well as avoidance from foreign words and abbreviations.

A well – structured letter can influence the reader and affect the way of thinking. It differs from a telephone conversation. Along with facts of time saving and convenience, it has an impact of antipathy to worldwide spread yelling and unstable attitude toward a written word. It is not surprising that many people prefer phone conversations over written communication. However, business communication requires factual style and pen-and-ink evidence that can be easily verified and referred to. While writing such texts turn into communication for fun. Their main intention and goal is to inform, encourage, persuade the reader. Therefore, the key function of the text is to reach the goal.

Why should one write a letter nowadays? The following quote made by an American teacher and critic of computers Clifford Stoll gives an accurate picture of our current reality: “One morning we'll wake up and realize that we are no longer able to write by hand; envelopes and papers have disappeared from our desks and ink has dried up. We'll open our mouths and no sound will come out, we shall have forgotten how to shake hands or laugh loudly. Of course, we may continue communicating in the same non-informative style. The only difference of our missions will be the content”¹⁷.

Those who want to conform to modernization should respect the norms of society although he uses a technique, trains and develops memory. There are always

¹⁶ **Hepp A., Krotz F.** Globalisierung der Medienkommunikation. Wiesbaden: Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2005.

¹⁷ **M.-M. Kothes, R. Schmidt,** Besser schreiben. Berlin: Cornelsen Verlag, 2007, P. 145.

situations that require written forms of communication. Social communication is the result of unprecedented technological progress and dissemination of information technology. With its vast and limitless possibilities, the technological progress dictates us the use of such communication illustrated, for instance, in the operation of Latin keyboard for written Armenian.

In this article, we not only attempted to juxtapose the written and oral communication, but also emphasized the significant difference between these two forms. It has served us as focal point for understanding how social networks and technological processes have stimulated the formation of a fundamentally different new communication system with its advantages and drawbacks. Nonetheless, emerging from the interpenetration of written and oral forms of communication, this system, known as a new sign system, should not be considered as automatic combination of existing forms of communication. To the contrary, it brings in new phenomena and opens floor for discussion of questions important for the development of communication theory.

Key words: *Globalizing world, information society, communication organization, intercultural communication, social networks, means of communication, written and oral speech, conditions of communication*

ՄԵՐԻ ՆԱՎԱՍԱՐԴՅԱՆ – Գրավոր հաղորդակցության դերը գլոբալացող աշխարհում – Հոդվածում համեմատական վերլուծությամբ վեր են հանվում հաղորդակցման բանավոր և գրավոր միջոցների հատկանիշները: Վերլուծվում են գրավոր հաղորդակցման դերի կտրուկ բարձրացման պատճառներն ու հիմքերը գլոբալացվող աշխարհում, որն էլ իր հերթին հիմք է դառնում գրավոր հաղորդակցման սոցիալական շարժման ձևավորման համար: Դուրս է բերվում գրավոր հաղորդակցման նորմերի մշակման անհրաժեշտությունը, հրատապությունն ու կարևորությունը սոցիալական ցանցերի ձևավորման, աճի ու ընդլայնման ժամանակակից պայմաններում:

Բանալի բառեր – *գլոբալացվող աշխարհ, տեղեկատվական հասարակություն, հաղորդական կազմակերպություն, միջմշակութային հաղորդակցություն, սոցիալական ցանցեր, հաղորդակցման միջոցներ, գրավոր և բանավոր խոսք, հաղորդակցման պայմաններ*

МЕРИ НАВАСАРДЯН – Роль письменной коммуникации в глобализирующемся мире. – В статье путём сравнительного анализа выделяются свойства устных и письменных средств коммуникации. Анализируются причины и основы резкого увеличения роли письменной коммуникации. Рассматривается необходимость и актуальность выработки норм для неё в условиях роста и расширения социальных сетей.

Ключевые слова: *глобализированный мир, информационное общество, коммуникационная организация, межкультурная коммуникация, социальные сети, средства коммуникации, письменная и устная речь*

SCIENCE AND ART IN SOCIAL WORK: AN OLD QUESTION IN THE MODERN ARMENIAN CONTEXT

MIRA ANTONYAN

The exact nature of social work has been the subject of debate in recent decades. As social work has gained recognition as a profession, social workers, and vested interests have begun to question whether the field is one best defined as a science or an art. This question is undoubtedly a powerful one: distinct theories, models, and applications of social work have been adopted based on the answer, often greatly influencing the direction of social work's development.

Especially in the context of a nation like Armenia, where the practice of social work is relatively new, it is important to recognize that the nature of social work is both time and location specific. This helps to explain the fact that, although the science-or-art question has been answered countless times, the answers have differed depending on time and location. In the region and Armenia, in particular, the context of the science-or-art question is one wherein the notion of science is binary, either something is a science or it is not. This differs from the more integrative, interdisciplinary nature of science described in Western insights. Western views of the nature of science provide a space for the fast development and acceptance of new, non-traditional sciences while the Armenian view does not so readily make room for new types or functions of science.

Today, Armenian social work is experiencing increased recognition and celebration. Even state social services with bureaucratic traditions have begun to employ social workers and promote social work techniques through governmental case management institutes. In accordance, debates focusing on the necessity of social work have become obsolete. In light of this, it is timely to discuss developments of the profession. Of course, this leads to more and more questions: How, in what directions, and according to which theories, should the profession develop? Who will manage cases? Will evidence-based practice, the scientific basis of social work, be employed? Whose intuitive, creative work will be considered legitimate, reasonable, or rational and in which circumstances?

Currently, these questions bear troubling results; there are no case managers trained in evidence-based practices, nor a scientific basis from which we may choose to trust or not trust a social worker's intuitive, creative work. This means that social work practice is in chaos, which is natural considering the country's soviet and post-soviet heritage. However, an intensive search for solutions is as logical and natural as the chaos which necessitates it. Therefore, this article attempts to synthesize global debates on the science-or-art question and, from this background, predict possible ways social work may develop in Armenia.

With modern definitions of social work found everywhere from school text-

books to agency mandates and with diverse cultures each developing and performing social work in unique ways, it is helpful to begin by examining a definition of social work which is globally accepted. With over 90 member organizations, the International Federation of Social Workers (IFSW) is considered the preeminent global representative of social work and social workers. Accepted and ratified during the 2000 General Meeting, IFSW defines the profession as one that “promotes social change, problem solving in human relationships and the empowerment and liberation of people to enhance well-being”¹

In regards to the science-or-art question, the IFSW definition recognizes that social work is composed of a complex, “interrelated system of values, theory and practice” that “bases its methodology on a systematic body of evidence-based knowledge derived from research and practice evaluation”². The term “evidence-based” describes the practice of social work with a strong grounding in and reliance on research. Accordingly, it can be stated that today the global community of social workers views social work, at least partially, as a scientific pursuit.

As a rule, it can be said that in North America (particularly in the USA and Canada), specialists tend to emphasize the scientific basis of social work (individualized, science-based casework). However, European social work seems to have effectively straddled the line between art and science, developing a form of social work that is more comprehensive and collectivist than that seen in North America³.

It becomes useful, then, to examine where this drive for a science-based profession stems from. For many models of social work, it arises from American Abraham Flexner’s 1915 paper titled *Is Social Work a Profession*. This paper was profoundly influential on the future of social work in North America and, due to the influence of North American social work models, on social work globally. Flexner argued that while the source of social work material is “obviously from science and learning”, social work still borrowed too much of this science and learning from other disciplines to be considered a profession in its own right.

Since attaining professional status was seen within the field of social work (as it was and continues to be in most fields) to be highly desirable, Flexner’s report was, as Barbara White describes it, the “impetus for social work to... self-consciously examine itself.”⁴ Consequently, Flexner’s report and social work’s subsequent self-examination led to a push for pure, social-work research and scientific inquiry that continues to this day. Jenna Benn notes that Flexner’s paper shifted social work’s focus to casework and other individual forms of social work which could be easily quantified in a scientific way, at the expense of social work’s less quantifiable forms⁵.

While other parts of the world were not so deeply influenced by Flexner’s report, the growing dominance of the neo-liberal paradigm in recent decades has

¹ <http://ifsw.org/policies/definition-of-social-work/>, 23.11.2014 23:20.

² <http://ifsw.org/policies/globalisation-and-the-environment/> 16.11.2014 15:45.

³ Russell, A new Paradigm of Social Work, NY, 2011.

⁴ White, B. (2008). *Comprehensive Handbook of Social Work and Social Welfare: The Profession of Social Work*. Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons. p. 82.

⁵ Benn, J. (2006). *The Privatization of Social Work: A Deviation or a Logical Progression?* *Journal of Student Social Work*, 4., p. 55.

prompted a global trend towards bringing social work into line with neo-liberal policies. Given the nature of such policies, this trend aligns naturally with the Flexner-provoked push to establish social work as a science-based profession. For instance, Shaw, Arksey and Mullender argue that social work in the United Kingdom “has the potential to offer a distinctive and valued contribution to social science research”⁶ and Norwegian Edgar Marthinsen describes a similar “struggle for intellectual respectability” through an increase of science-based practice in Scandinavian professional social work⁷.

In some cases, the lack of science in social work has actually led to it being defined as an art, which does not bode well for the profession in the current neo-liberal context. As an art, social work is defined as a creative, intuitive, aesthetic practice with no need for a scientific foundation. Martinez-Brawley and Zorita note that the lack of scientific background in the field of social work is sometimes seen as proof that social work is an art, not a science. However, the authors note that this reasoning is circular, arguing that because science is not present to a great degree in social work, it cannot possibly be important or necessary for the profession. Martinez-Brawley and Zorita instead argue that the current lack of science in the field should be a reason to push for social work to become a more scientific field, rather than a reason to relegate the field to the realm of an art⁸.

In this vein, Edgar Marthinsen argues that the popular idea that social work lacks its own suitable scientific background stems from “the dominant epistemological view of how knowledge is diffused between science and professionals”⁹. He claims that social work does not lack a scientific background because it is art-based by nature, but because the profession, considered by the other social sciences as only an applied profession, has not been allowed the opportunity to develop a scientific basis. He further asserts that “around the world... we may rightfully claim that social work is a distinct social field” that is held back only by its lack of recognition within the social sciences. Thus, it can be argued that social work *is* already a science-based profession that is simply not recognized as such. Such arguments contend that social work fits well into today’s neo-liberal world.

Furthermore, a new direction in social work globally is rejecting the science-art binary, some argue that there is room for both science and art in the field. American Donna Dustin, for instance, argues that it is factually evident that social workers work within two different realms of rationality - science and art – and it must be acknowledged that alone, both realms have limitations. She also argues that the mediation of both realms is “by its very nature, a difficult task”¹⁰. Canadian David Austin further argues that, while science is a part of social work, the profession (like

⁶ Shaw, I., Arksey, H., & Mullender, A. (2005). Recognizing Social Work. *British Journal of Social Work*, 36, p. 243.

⁷ Marthinsen, E. (2011). Social work practice and social science history. *Social Work and Social Sciences Review*, 15(1), p. 8.

⁸ Martinez-Brawley, E., & Zorita, P. (1998). At the Edge of the Frame: Beyond Science and Art in Social Work. *British Journal of Social Work*, p. 197-212.

⁹ Marthinsen, E. (2011). Social work practice and social science history. *Social Work and Social Sciences Review*, 15(1), p. 10, 16.

¹⁰ Dustin, D. (2007). *The McDonaldization of social work: Social Work Practice in the Specialist Field of Care Management*. Aldershot, VT: Ashgate, p. 146.

all professions) has many elements and some of those elements “do not have distinctive professional characteristics”, nor should they be described as or be rationalized into being seen as scientifically-based¹¹. Therefore, Austin believes the social work field should not put so much time and effort into new forms of proving the field’s ‘scientific base’, such as the evidence-based practices described in IFSW’s definition of social work¹².

Klein and Bloom further assert that the art of using practice wisdom may be reframed as a way to fill in the gaps left from “the incomplete understanding that may result from previous empirical work”¹³. According to Molly Magill, the use of integrative practice and research models will neither “hinder the moment-by-moment artistry” of social work nor ignore the scientific basis of the field¹⁴. Their argument accepts the need for art in social work, without creating a conflict with the need for science. Instead, science can be seen as a way to increase transparency in the field and justify interventions and techniques.

To some, calls for integration are seen as a way to ‘save’ social work from being deemed either a pure science or a pure art. As a pure science, social work may lose an important connection with its clients and its mission, in general, focusing purely on enacting a medical-style model of problem solving. As a pure art, social work would lose valuable opportunities to learn from science and be informed by best practices in the field. In the context of social work in New Zealand, Kelly and Stanley argue that “bridging this gap” between science and art is “critical to the longevity” of social work and the prosperity of the field’s clients¹⁵. They believe that social workers must be critical of any dogmatism, and instead search for a middle ground. They warn that the thrust in New Zealand today (which can be felt globally) is towards neo-liberal policies that advocate for casework-style, individualized, micro approaches that allow for social work “practice without the need for critical or structural analysis”¹⁶. In line with this, Jennissen and Lundy worry that today “the voices of social workers are largely absent” in government policy, replaced by quantifiable, “economic indicators” to “determine the social welfare agenda”¹⁷. They argue that social workers’ wisdom and understanding is being replaced by purely scientific data.

McIver reminds us of a century-old argument, that social casework alone deals “with consequences but not with causes” while forgetting that “the consequences are eternal so long as the causes endure”¹⁸. With an integrated approach, it may be

¹¹ Austin, D. (1983). *The Flexner Myth And The History Of Social Work*. *Social Service Review*, p. 374.

¹² Austin, D. (1983). *The Flexner Myth And The History Of Social Work*. *Social Service Review*, p. 374.

¹³ Klein, W., & Bloom, M. (1995). *Practice Wisdom*. *Social Work*, 40(6), p. 806.

¹⁴ Magill, M. (2006). *The Future of Evidence in Evidence-based Practice: Who Will Answer the Call for Clinical Relevance?* *Journal of Social Work*, 6(2), p. 107.

¹⁵ Kelly, S., & Stanley, T. (2012). *Where Science Meets Art: Sociology and Social Work*. *Sociology Mind*, p. 335.

¹⁶ Kelly, S., & Stanley, T. (2012). *Where Science Meets Art: Sociology and Social Work*. *Sociology Mind*, p. 336.

¹⁷ Jennissen, T., & Lundy, C. (2011). *One hundred years of social work a history of the profession in English Canada, 1900-2000*. Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfrid Laurier University Press. p. 292.

¹⁸ McIver, R. (1931). *Relation of sociology to social work*. (Textbook). p. 6.

possible for the social work field to continue to fix micro problems while simultaneously affecting macro, social policy issues in a way that respects both the art and the science of the field. This point of view stresses the idea that tools of logical empiricism (traditionally used in medical science and natural sciences) do neither ultimately nor cumulatively form comprehensive knowledge. Without such a view, even the comparatively collectivist, comprehensive view of social work held in Europe may be in jeopardy.

Globally, throughout the past two decades, such heated discussions over the science-or-art question have been sidelined by assertions from professional platforms in Western social work that social work is at a “breaking point” and “in crisis”¹⁹. In Europe and western societies, neo-liberal ideas have begun to dismantle universal welfare, leading to a “crisis” of social work identity at the systems level; no longer is the idea of fighting social problems at any cost considered noble and valuable. Furthermore, individual social work and services in western countries have turned traditional frameworks upside-down²⁰ and some authors have even declared social work “dead”, arguing that society no longer speaks in terms of “the right to welfare” but instead of “the right to receive services”²¹.

Globally, social work responded to the standardized, neo-liberal framework through the “life preserver” of case management methodology²². Case management is the scientific-methodological technique that connects “the artificial world of formal social interrogations and the real world”, so that this connection leads to a form of “care”²³. However, in post-soviet Armenia other realities contributed to this movement towards case management, including a lack of proper theoretical grounds and the influence of the apparent “impossibilities” of reality. Consequently, when the science-or-art question is asked today, it is commonly answered in line with the growing trend towards a neo-liberal framework in social work. Such answers argue that if self-accountability is given greater importance than social-accountability, individuals will experience social work by working directly with social workers to solve individual problems. This way of answering the science-or-art question also establishes a more organized, standardized, policy-based notion of social work at the structural level. Thus, both individualized care and the overarching structures of social welfare have been adapted to the rise of neo-liberalism.

In post-socialist, and particularly in post-soviet, countries, the modes of understanding social work are conditioned by the factors that “created” social work in these countries. Social work in Armenia began immediately after independence, a time when state social care was suddenly removed and there was neither time nor possibilities, nor resources, nor experience to establish new types of social care in a tempered, appropriate manner. The collapse of the Soviet Union after 70 years of rule left Armenians with no traditional mechanisms for the provision of social sup-

¹⁹ Bamford, T. (1990) *The Future of Social Work*, London, Macmillan Education Ltd. p. ix.

²⁰ Lesnik, B. (1997). *Change in social work*. Aldershot, Hants, England: Arena.

²¹ Payne M (2005) *Modern Social Work Theory*. London Palgrave, p. 26.

²² Moxley, D. (1989). *The practice of case management*. Newbury Park: Sage Publications, p. 14-18.

²³ Folgheraiter, F. (2004). *Relational social work toward networking and societal practices*. London: Jessica Kingsley. p. 21.

port and triggered an economic crisis and a devastating 6-year war with neighbouring Azerbaijan. Furthermore, Armenia was faced with the overwhelming aftermath of the Spitak earthquake. With no supports in place, Armenia had no choice but to build the profession of social work from the ground up to respond to these crises. Consequently, the influence of outside models of social work from Europe and America outshined any attempts to establish a culturally and socially specific model.

At the beginning of the post-Soviet period, individuals were forced to rely only on their own natural social networks. The extreme levels of need at the time threatened the overuse and eventual collapse of these natural networks. Even after 20 years of independence, artificial or structured support can be found only as a non-fundamental, additional type of support. Alongside the natural support networks, social work developed suddenly and modeled after the case management, which was the main methodology brought to the country through foreign aid activities. This ideology has remained dominant until the present day and, to some degree, still remains a borrowed ideology. That is to say, the notions of case management and social work, in general, have not been fully applied or naturalized to Armenia's specific society.

Therefore, in contemporary Armenia, as paradoxical as it may seem, the social work field is, on the one hand, established and prospering and, on the other hand, in crisis since it missed the opportunity to develop theoretically in the absence of outside influence. This is a special kind of crisis that exists somewhere between the undeniable influence of Western social work models and the nostalgic memories of universal welfare under the paternalist, social state that existed before the countries shifted to their current, post-socialist state. Armenia is in transition; the old has not been fully forgotten while the new is not yet fully established.

It is not an overstatement to allege that currently social work in Armenia is more of an art than science since it is currently based on organized activities that rely on the personal revelations of practitioners. Although social work is becoming increasingly organized, the limited use of scientific research and methods in the field is profound. Social work activities in the country also rarely stem from highly organized models and structures. Still, the social worker is considered an expert, advisor, or a wise companion for people in need. Thus, while science attempts to inform the social work field with theories and general procedures that would help social workers' solve social problems, in Armenia, science is replaced by the "magical power" professionals possess. This paints a deeply worrying picture in which social workers, regardless of their intentions, may cause major harm to their clients and society as a whole.

The social idea of human intervention²⁴ relies inherently on the ability of direct or indirect social service providers. This means that Armenia, with its form of social work based almost solely on intuition and artistry, is an interesting case study for a type of social work that lacks a scientific basis. It is possible to see that, through trial-and-error and grasping-in-the-dark approaches to social work, some professionals are able to foster positive change through their individual or organizational

²⁴ Giddens, A. (1991). *The consequences of modernity*. Cambridge: Polity. p. 102.

models of practice. Seeing this positive change, such professionals do not feel the need to base their practice in science. Regardless of their sometimes positive outcomes, there is still a need for science to provide theoretical grounds in order to make successes the non-arbitrary norm. Furthermore, since there are no studies on the effectiveness of social work, there are often overlaps between the natural social networks and supports and existing structural, professional forms of social work. Thus, science will play an important role in the efficacy of Armenian social work.

It is time to form a basis for scientific social work in Armenia. To reach such a state, the first step is to develop a scientific basis for Armenian social work. At the same time, scientific techniques and tools should be taught and developed in Armenia. Helping individuals, groups, and society, in general, should be something that social workers and other vested interests do from an evidence-based background. This does not negate the creative, artistic elements of social work practice in Armenia. On the contrary, the artistic side of social work should be celebrated and fostered while the need for scientific background and understanding are simultaneously recognized as important for a social worker to be a true professional. It is important to remember, as is the current trend in global social work, the place of art in the field because a social worker who uses science is only an expert on one side; the client is also an expert in their own issues. In a perfect situation, by meeting with clients throughout their career, professional social workers will inevitably develop practice wisdom, based on the mix of their educational and evidence-based background and the client's own expertise in their own life and experiences. This practice wisdom must also be given a space to influence the development of social work as a science. For instance, practice wisdom gained by professionals may guide future research and best practices in clinical and macro-level practice.

In line with this, social work in Armenia must find a solution that has a scientific basis while saving space for artistry in practice. This may even be framed as the establishment of a new, unique form of social work in the country; it may not be possible to change social work without destabilizing the current educational and practice systems. For instance, educational courses that focus on research and technical skills must be established and social work professionals must have the opportunity for continued learning trainings. For instance, some international organizations currently provide short-term trainings to transmit fundamental skills and techniques to social workers. Such efforts should be framed positively since they show recognition for the need to provide professionals with the skills to adequately act with clients from international perspectives. However, they do nothing to address the underlying lack of science in Armenian social work nor the need for society specific skills. While the exact methods are outside the scope of this article, it is clear that the social work field must find a solution that addresses the issue in a comprehensive, realistic way that also includes the underlying issues so that the future of social work has a strong basis. Only in this way will the status quo change and Armenia's social reality flourish.

Keywords: social work, science, art, profession, Armenian social work model

ՄԻՐԱ ԱՆՏՈՆՅԱՆ – Գիտությունը և արվեստը սոցիալական աշխատանքում. հին հարց ժամանակակից հայկական համատեքստում – Սոցիալական աշխատանքը որպես մասնագիտություն ճանաչվելուց ի վեր կասկածի տակ դրվեցին տարածված կարծիքները՝ արդյոք այդ դաշտը լավագույնս սահմանվում է որպես գիտություն, թե արվեստ: Հոդվածում ի մի են բերվում հարցի վերաբերյալ առկա փաստարկները՝ փորձելով հասկանալ Հայաստանում այդ վեճի ապագան: Ներկայումս Հայաստանում սոցիալական աշխատանքի մասնագիտությունը արդեն ճանաչված և ընդունված է լայնորեն, սակայն պրակտիկ գործունեության մեջ գիտական հենքերի բացակայությունը հանգեցրել է որոշակի ճգնաժամի: Հոդվածում մասնավորապես համոզմունք է հայտնվում, որ կրթության և հետազոտությունների զուգակցումն ու դրանց արմատավորումը պրակտիկայում այն ճանապարհն է, որը թույլ կտա առանց վնասելու մասնագիտության արդեն իսկ ձևավորված արվեստականությունն ու ստեղծագործականությունը, ապահովել սոցիալական իրականության հետագա զարգացումը:

Բանալի բառեր – *սոցիալական աշխատանք, գիտություն, արվեստ, մասնագիտություն, սոցիալական աշխատանքի հայկական մոդել*

МИРА АНТОНЯН – Наука и искусство в социальной работе: старый вопрос в современном армянском контексте. – После того как социальная работа получила признание как профессия, возник вопрос – что это, наука или искусство? Статья синтезирует глобальные дискуссии, затрагивающие спорный вопрос, и с этой точки зрения рассматривает будущее социальной работы в Армении. Сегодня социальная работа получила здесь признание. Тем не менее, ей ощутимо не хватает прочных научных основ. В статье, в частности, утверждается, что нашей стране нужна новая форма социальной работы, опирающаяся на науку, но не отрицающая интуиции и творческого подхода.

Ключевые слова: *социальная работа, наука, искусство, профессия, армянская модель социальной работы*

ԴԱՏՈՂՈՒԹՅՈՒՆՆԵՐ ՍՈՑԻԱԼԱԿԱՆ ԱՇԽԱՏԱՆՔԻ ՄԵԹՈԴՆԵՐԻ ՄԱՍԻՆ

ԱՐՏԱԿ ԽԱՉԱՏՐՅԱՆ

Մեթոդ հասկացությունը լայնորեն գործածվում է բոլոր գիտություններում: Այդ հասկացությամբ սովորաբար նկատի են ունենում տվյալ գիտության օբյեկտի և առարկայի ճանաչողության եղանակները: «Մեթոդը օբյեկտի ուսումնասիրության կանոնների համակարգ է նրա գործնական օրինաչափությունների հիմքի վրա»¹: Մեթոդը լայն առումով «իրականության պրակտիկ և տեսական յուրացման հնարների և գործողությունների ամբողջություն է»²: Քանի որ մարդկային պարզ հետաքրքրասիրությունը հաճախ հանգեցնում է մեծ մոլորությունների, «իրերի ճշմարտության որոնման համար անհրաժեշտ է մեթոդ»³, ասում է Դեկարտը: Մեթոդը որևէ գործունեության եղանակ է, որը շրջանառության մեջ դնելուց առաջ մանրակրկիտ փորձարկվում և ստուգվում է: Մեթոդը նաև գործունեության սկզբունքների և հնարների ամբողջություն է: Ամենալայն իմաստով մեթոդը ինչ-որ նպատակի հասնելու, որոշակի խնդրի լուծման ուղի է, եղանակ⁴: Այն կարող է լինել գիտական և ոչ գիտական: Յուրաքանչյուր մարդ իր ամենօրյա գործունեության ընթացքում մշակում է որոշակի մեթոդներ, որոնց կիրառմամբ փորձում է ավելի արդյունավետ դարձնել իր գործունեությունը: Սակայն նման ճանապարհով մշակված մեթոդները գիտական չեն և կարող են հանգեցնել մոլորությունների: Դրան հակառակ՝ գիտական մեթոդը մշակվում է այս կամ այն գիտության կամ տեսության շրջանակներում, հետևաբար՝ տվյալ գիտության կամ տեսության մաս է: Որևէ մեթոդի կիրառումը թույլ է տալիս կանխատեսելի դարձնել գործունեության արդյունքները: Սոցիալական աշխատանքը մասնագիտական գործունեություն է, որի օգնությամբ բարելավվում է սոցիալական համակարգերի և ենթահամակարգերի գործառույթը: Այդ համակարգերից ամենափոքրն անհատն է, ամենամեծը՝ համաշխարհային հասարակությունը: Սոցիալական աշխատողները միջամտում են միկրո-, մեզո-, մակրո- և մեգա- մակարդակներում: Այդ միջամտությունն իրականացվում է զանազան մեթոդներով: Ի տարբերություն այլ օգնող մասնագի-

¹ «Социология». М., 2004, с. 392.

² «Метод» // "Философский энциклопедический словарь". М., 1989, с. 358.

³ Декарт Р. Сочинения в двух томах. Т. 1. М., 1989, с. 85.

⁴ Տե՛ս «Материалистическая диалектика». Т. 2. М., 1982, էջ 166-67:

տությունների(բժշկություն, մանկավարժություն, իրավաբանություն, դայակություն և այլն)՝ սոցիալական աշխատանքը մարդկանց ծառայություններ մատուցելիս նկատի է ունենում «սոցիալական, տնտեսական, հոգեբանական գործոնների ողջ ամբողջությունը, որոնք ազդում են անհատի, ընտանիքի, սոցիալական խմբի և համայնքի կյանքի վրա»⁵:

Սոցիալական աշխատանքի տեսաբանները մեթոդը բնութագրում են որպես «ընթացակարգի որևէ համակարգված եղանակ»⁶, «որևէ մեկի կողմից գործառույթի իրականացման... համակարգված գործընթաց»⁷, «հիմնախնդիրների նկատմամբ յուրահատուկ մոտեցում»⁸:

Սոցիալական աշխատանքի պրակտիկա մուտք գործած առաջին կամ ավանդական մեթոդներն առանձնացվում էին ըստ այն բանի, թե սոցիալական աշխատողն անհատի հետ գործ ունի, թե խումբ է ձևավորում, կամ էլ՝ զբաղվում է համայնքի կազմակերպմամբ: Դրանք դիտվում էին որպես միմյանցից անկախ ընթացակարգեր, և յուրաքանչյուրն ուներ իր տեսական հիմքերը, որոնց վրա հենվում էր, և ենթադրում էր որոշակի հմտություններ: Այդ մեթոդներն այդպես էլ անվանվում էին՝ դեպքի հետ աշխատանք, խմբային աշխատանք և համայնքային կազմակերպում⁹:

Մասնագիտության հետագա զարգացման ընթացքում բազմաթիվ նոր մեթոդներ որդեգրվեցին ու ներդրվեցին, որոնք ընդհանուր առմամբ կարելի է դասակարգել երեք խմբի՝ դեպի շահառուն, դեպի հիմնախնդիրը և դեպի աշխատողը կենտրոնացած¹⁰, սակայն նշված երեք մեթոդները մնացին որպես սոցիալական աշխատանքի դասական մեթոդներ: Երբեմն նկատի ունենալով ընտանիքի՝ որպես խմբի առանձնահատկությունը, որպես առանձին մեթոդ են առանձնացնում նաև ընտանեկան աշխատանքը:

Որոշ հեղինակներ սոցիալական աշխատանքի մեթոդ ասելով նկատի են ունենում շահառուի հետ սոցիալական աշխատողի կողմից իրականացվող որոշակի «հաջորդական գործողություններ» և որպես մեթոդներ առանձնացնում են «անհատական աշխատանքը կոնկրետ դեպքի հետ», «աշխատանքը խմբի հետ» և «աշխատանքը միկրոսոցիալական միջավայրում»¹¹: Այս երեք մոտեցումները բխում են սոցիալական աշխատանքի հիմնական նպատակից, որն է՝ կանխել կամ չեզոքացնել ճգնաժամային իրավիճակների և սոցիալական անարդարու-

⁵ «Concepts and Methods of Social Work». Ed. By W. Friedlander, PRENTICE-HALL, INC., Englewood Cliffs, 1976, p. 6.

⁶ «Commission on Social Work Practice», NASW, Working Definition, p. 7.

⁷ **W. Schwartz**, The Social Worker in the Group, in Beulah Roberts Compton and Burt Galaway, Social Work Processes, rev.ed.(Homoewood, III.:Dorsey, 1979), p. 17.

⁸ Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language, s. v. «method».

⁹ Տե՛ս **M. McMahon**, The General method of Social Work Practice, Prentice Hall, 1990, p. 32.

¹⁰ Տե՛ս նույն տեղը, էջ 330:

¹¹ **М. Фирсов, Е. Студенова**, Теория социальной работы. М., 2001, с. 402.

յան սոցիալապետ և հոգեբանորեն վնասող ազդեցությունները և հաղթահարել անհատների, խմբերի և համայնքների առողջ զարգացման ճանապարհին ընկած արգելքները: Մասնագետների կարծիքով, անհատական աշխատանքի մեթոդի հիմնական առանձնահատկությունն այն է, որ այն «իրականացվում է մեկը մեկի հետ իրավիճակում, երբ սոցիալական աշխատողը շահառուի հետ միասին լուծում է նրա անձնական և սոցիալական խնդիրները»¹²:

«Սոցիալական խմբային աշխատանքի շահառուներն են անհատները, ովքեր ունեն տարբեր խնդիրներ»¹³: Սոցիալական խմբային աշխատանքը սոցիալական աշխատանքի միջամտության մեթոդ է, որի ժամանակ մի փոքր խումբ մարդիկ, ովքեր ունեն ընդհանուր հետաքրքրություններ կամ խնդիրներ, կանոնավոր հավաքվում են և մասնակցում միջոցառումների, որոնք նախատեսված են իրենց ընդհանուր նպատակներին հասցնելու համար¹⁴: Ըստ Գ. Կոնոպկայի՝ «սոցիալական խմբային աշխատանքն...օգնում է անհատին ընդլայնել իր սոցիալական գործառույթը և խմբի նպատակաուղղված փորձի միջոցով ավելի արդյունավետ լուծել անհատական, խմբային կամ միկրոսոցիումում ծագած խնդիրները»¹⁵: Սոցիալական խմբային աշխատանքի ժամանակ խումբը միջավայր է և համատեքստ անհատական խնդիրների լուծման համար: Սոցիալական խմբային աշխատանքի հիմնական նպատակներ են համարվում շահառուների միջև միջնորդավորված, շփումը, առկա խնդիրների ինքնագիտակցումը, սեփական խնդիրների իրատեսական գնահատումը, սոցիալական նորմերի և արժեքների ընդունումը¹⁶: Մասնագիտական շրջանակներում հստակություն չկա խմբային սոցիալական աշխատանքի՝ որպես մեթոդի վերաբերյալ: Իր գործունեության ընթացքում սոցիալական աշխատողը գործ է ունենում երկու տիպի խմբերի հետ՝ ա) որոնք ինքն է ձևավորում իր նպատակից ելնելով, բ) արդեն գոյություն ունեցող, որոնք ունեն խմբային որևէ սոցիալական հիմնախնդիր:

Առաջին տիպի խմբերը ներառում են միանման սոցիալական խնդիրներ ունեցող անհատներին, և սոցիալական աշխատողն ինքն է նրանց միավորում խմբի մեջ, որպեսզի դրա օգնությամբ լուծի անհատների խնդիրները: Այս դեպքում շահառուներն անհատներն են: Երկրորդ դեպքում սոցիալական աշխատողը գործ է ունենում արդեն ձևավորված խմբի հետ, երբ այն իր սոցիալական խնդրի պատճառով դառնում է շահառու: Օրինակ, սոցիալական աշխատողի շահառու կարող է դառնալ շեղվող վարք ունեցող անչափահասների խումբը կամ կոնֆ-

¹² М. Фирсов, Е. Студенова, նշվ. աշխ., էջ 402:

¹³ Նույն տեղում, էջ 410:

¹⁴ Տե՛ս R. L. Barker, The Social Work Dictionary, NASW Press, 1991, էջ 218:

¹⁵ Տե՛ս М. Фирсов, Е. Студенова, նշվ. աշխ., էջ 410:

¹⁶ Տե՛ս նույն տեղը, էջ 416:

լիկտային ընտանիքը: Երկու դեպքում էլ խնդիրը լուծելու համար նա ստիպված է աշխատել խմբի հետ: Սակայն այդպիսի աշխատանքի նպատակը դառնում է խմբի հիմնախնդրի լուծումը: Եթե մենք «խմբային սոցիալական աշխատանքի մեթոդ» ասելով նկատի ենք ունենում միանման սոցիալական խնդիր ունեցող և միմյանց անծանոթ անհատ շահառուների խնդիրը խմբային աշխատանքի միջոցով լուծելու ընթացակարգը, ապա երկրորդ դեպքում մեր շահառուն արդեն ձևավորված խումբն է, որն ունի խմբային խնդիր: Գործողությունները, որոնք իրականացնում է սոցիալական աշխատողն այդ երկու դեպքերում, էապես տարբերվում են միմյանցից: Հետևաբար, ճիշտ չի լինի դրանց ամբողջությունն անվանել խմբային սոցիալական աշխատանքի մեթոդ: Մեր կարծիքով, այն դեպքում, երբ սոցիալական աշխատողի շահառուն խումբն է, այն կարող է դիտվել որպես հավաքական անհատ, և խմբի հետ տարվող աշխատանքն էլ կարող ենք համարել անհատական աշխատանքի մեթոդի կիրառում:

Խմբային սոցիալական աշխատանքի մեթոդի կիրառումը ենթադրում է խմբի ձևավորում, նրա անդամների միջև հաղորդակցության հաստատում: Սոցիալական խմբային աշխատանքի բոլոր սահմանումներում այդ ընթացակարգերը նշվում են որպես առաջին քայլեր: Այս մեթոդի կիրառման դեպքում սոցիալական աշխատողը կարող է ստեղծել տարբեր խմբեր՝ կախված լուծվելիք խնդիրների բնույթից: Դրանով պայմանավորված՝ առանձնացնում են կրթական, վերականգնողական, սոցիալականացման, ինքնօգնության, թերապևտիկ և այլ խմբեր¹⁷:

Այսպիսով, նկատի ունենալով պրակտիկայում խմբի հետ աշխատելու սոցիալական աշխատողի փորձերը, կարող ենք դրանք դասել երկու տիպի՝ աշխատանք խմբում և աշխատանք խմբի հետ: Առաջին դեպքում շահառուն անհատն է, իսկ խումբն այն միջավայրը, որում լուծվում է նրա հիմնախնդիրը: Խնդրի լուծման այս եղանակի առավելությունն այն է, որ խմբի անդամները դառնում են սոցիալական աշխատողի աջակիցները խնդրի լուծման գործընթացում: Սոցիալական աշխատողն իրեն օգնելու համար նույնիսկ կարող է խմբում ներառել մարդկանց, ովքեր տվյալ պահին որևէ խնդիր չունեն կամ անցյալում հաջողությամբ մասնակցել են նման աշխատանքի: Շահառուներին օգնելու այս եղանակը թույլ է տալիս արագացնել տարբեր անհատ շահառուների խնդիրների լուծման գործընթացը: Այդ շահառուների համար իրենց խնդրի լուծման խմբային մեթոդը հանդես է գալիս որպես անհատական աշխատանքի այլընտրանք: Այս մեթոդի կիրառումը նպատակահարմար է այն դեպքերում, երբ կան միևնույն սոցիալական խնդիրներով շատ անհատ շահառուներ:

Մեթոդների նշված անվանումները երբեմն կապվում են շահառուի տիպի հետ, երբեմն՝ միջամտության առանձնահատկության հետ: Երկու

¹⁷ Տե՛ս նույն տեղը, էջ 418-420:

մոտեցումներն էլ վիճահարույց են: Բհարկե, կարելի է համաձայնել, որ երբ սոցիալական աշխատողի շահառուներն են անհատը, խումբը, ընտանիքը և համայնքը, սոցիալական աշխատողը կարող է կիրառել այնպիսի մեթոդներ, որոնք կկոչվեն համապատասխան անվանումներով: Սակայն այս դեպքում պետք է հիշել, որ սոցիալական աշխատողը համապատասխանաբար պետք է լուծի անհատի, խմբի, ընտանիքի և համայնքի խնդիրները, որոնք դժվարացրել են նրանց կյանքը: Ընդ որում, անհատից բացի, մնացած դեպքերում խնդիրները կլինեն ընդհանուր համապատասխան հանրությունների համար: Բոլոր նշված դեպքերում նա կունենա սոցիալական դեպքեր, և նրա կողմից ծավալվող գործընթացը արդարացի կլինի կոչել «սոցիալական դեպքի վարում»: Վերջինս էլ ենթադրում է հետևյալ որոշումների իրականացումը. կարիքների գնահատում, միջամտության պլանավորում, միջամտություն, միջամտության արդյունքների գնահատում, ավարտ, շարունակական վերահսկողություն: Այսինքն՝ սոցիալական աշխատողը բոլոր շահառուներին վերաբերվում է որպես անհատի՝ առաջին դեպքում այդ անհատն իսկապես ֆիզիկապես գոյություն ունի, մյուս դեպքերում կա հավաքական անհատ, որն ունի ընդհանուր խնդիր կամ խնդիրներ, որոնց լուծումն ըստ էության էականորեն չի տարբերվում այն դեպքից, երբ սոցիալական աշխատողը ծառայություններ է մատուցում ֆիզիկական անհատին:

Եթե վերևում նշված մեթոդների անվանումների հիմքում դնենք միջամտության եղանակը, ապա կստացվի, որ մենք ունենք անհատի խնդիրների լուծման չորս տարբեր եղանակներ.

1. դեմ առ դեմ աշխատանք անհատի հետ և նրա մեջ փոփոխություններ կատարելու միջոցով նրա խնդիրների լուծում,

2. աշխատանք անհատ շահառուի ընտանիքում՝ որպես նրա կենսագործունեության միջավայրում, որպեսզի լուծենք անհատի խնդիրները,

3. աշխատանք խմբում՝ որպես անհատի միջավայրում, որպեսզի լուծենք անհատի խնդիրները: Այստեղ հնարավորություն ենք ունենում գուգահեռաբար լուծելու այլ անհատների համանման խնդիրները նույնպես,

4. աշխատանք համայնքում՝ որպես անհատի միջավայրում, որպեսզի բարելավենք այն և լուծենք անհատի խնդիրները: Այս դեպքում գուգահեռաբար հնարավորություն ունենք լուծելու այլ անհատների և խմբերի/ընտանիքների համանման խնդիրները:

Պատահական չէ, որ ասում են, թե անհատ շահառուի ցանկացած դեպք վարող նաև ընտանեկան ու համայնքային սոցիալական աշխատող է: Սա ասելիս նկատի են ունենում, որ սոցիալական աշխատանքում ընդունված համակարգային և էկոլոգիական մոտեցումները ստի-

պում են դեպք վարողին շահառուներին իրենց խնդիրներով դիտարկել սոցիալական միջավայրի համատեքստում: Անհատի դեպքում այդպիսի պարտադիր միջավայրեր են ընտանիքը և համայնքը, իսկ դեպքում՝ համայնքը, հետևաբար՝ դեպք վարողը ստիպված է աշխատել նաև դրանց հետ որպես համակարգերի:

Մեր կարծիքով, սոցիալական աշխատանքի մեթոդների այսպիսի մեկնաբանությունն ավելի հիմնավորված է, քանի որ չափանիշը սոցիալական խնդիրների լուծման եղանակն է: Իրականությունը թելադրում, պայմանավորում է իր ուսումնասիրության և փոփոխության եղանակները: Յուրաքանչյուր եղանակ կամ մեթոդ ունի իր առավելությունները և թերությունները: Ընտրության ընթացքում մենք հաշվի ենք առնում դրանք, ունենք ընտրության որոշակի ազատություն, բայց կան նաև այդ ազատությունը սահմանափակող գործոններ:

Խումբը կամ ընտանիքը շահառու դառնալու դեպքում կարող ենք աշխատել նաև համայնքի հետ և այդպես լուծել նրանց խնդիրները: Օրինակ, որևէ մշակութային խմբի կյանքը կարող է դժվարանալ տարբեր պատճառներով: Կարող ենք փորձել խնդիրը լուծել՝ բարելավելով համայնքը որպես տվյալ խմբի գործառնման միջավայր:

Երբ խումբն է հանդես գալիս իր խնդիրներով որպես շահառու, և երբ խումբ ենք ստեղծում և աշխատում նրա հետ, որպեսզի օգնենք այնտեղ ներառված անհատներին, կիրառում ենք սոցիալական տարբեր տեխնոլոգիաներ: Երկրորդ տեխնոլոգիան լիիրավ կարող ենք կոչել խմբային սոցիալական աշխատանքի մեթոդ, իսկ առաջինը՝ պարզապես աշխատանք խմբի հետ, որն ավելի շուտ նման կլինի անհատական աշխատանքին (քանի որ ունենք մարդկանց խումբ, որն ունի ընդհանուր խնդիր, ոչ թե խմբի բոլոր անդամներն ունեն միևնույն խնդիրը, այլ որպես հավաքականություն նրանք ունեն ընդհանուր խնդիր, որը դժվարացնում է նրանց՝ որպես խմբի գործառնման):

Խմբի, ընտանիքի և համայնքի շահառու լինելու դեպքում կարող ենք կիրառել անհատական սոցիալական աշխատանքի մեթոդը և փորձել այդ ճանապարհով լուծել նշված հանրույթների խնդիրները: Ուղղակի պետք է հաշվի առնել, որ այդ դեպքերում միջամտության արդյունավետությունը նույնը չի լինի:

Այսպիսով, անհատ շահառուի հետ աշխատելիս սոցիալական դեպք վարողն ունի այլընտրանքներ՝ անհատական, խմբային, այդ թվում և՛ ընտանեկան, ինչպես նաև՝ համայնքային աշխատանքի մեթոդները: Դրանք կարող են ծառայել ինչպես որպես հիմնական, այնպես էլ որպես միջամտության լրացուցիչ մեթոդներ:

Նշված մեթոդների անվանումների հետ կապված խառնաշփոթը հաղթահարելու համար երբեմն մասնագետներն օգտագործում են ընտանեկան և համայնքահենք սոցիալական աշխատանք հասկացույթ-

յունները՝ նկատի ունենալով՝ համապատասխանաբար ընտանիքի և համայնքի ներուժի օգտագործումն անհատ շահառուի խնդիրների լուծման ընթացքում: Սակայն դա օրակարգից չի հանում հետևյալ մեթոդաբանական հարցը՝ խմբային, ընտանեկան և համայնքային սոցիալական աշխատանքի մեթոդ հասկացությունները նկատի ունենալով աշխատանքը՝ համապատասխանաբար խմբի, ընտանիքի և համայնքի որպես շահառուի՝ հետ, թե՞ աշխատանքն ընտանիքում, խմբում և համայնքում՝ որպես դրանց գործառնման միջավայրի: Մեր կարծիքով, խնդիրը կարելի է լուծել երկու ճանապարհով: Առաջին, երբ ասում ենք, անհատական, խմբային, ընտանեկան և համայնքային աշխատանքի մեթոդներ, նկատի ենք ունենում անհատ շահառուի կյանքին սոցիալական աշխատողի միջամտության եղանակը, իսկ երբ շահառուն խումբը, ընտանիքը կամ համայնքն են, միջամտությունն իրականացվում է անհատական աշխատանքի տեխնոլոգիայով, և այդ դեպքում նույնպես գործ ունենք անհատական աշխատանքի մեթոդի հետ: Իրավիճակի հանգուցալուծման մյուս ուղին՝ ընդունելն է, որ սոցիալական աշխատանքի դասական մեթոդները՝ խմբային, ընտանեկան և համայնքային, իրենց հերթին լինում են երկու տիպի

1. աշխատանք խմբում / ընտանիքում և համայնքում,
2. աշխատանք խմբի / ընտանիքի և համայնքի հետ:

Առաջին տիպի ռազմավարության կիրառման դեպքում՝ ա) շահառուն և միջամտության օբյեկտը կլինի անհատը, իսկ խումբը / ընտանիքը և համայնքը՝ նրա խնդիրների լուծման համատեքստ, բ) խումբը / ընտանիքը կլինի շահառու և միջամտության օբյեկտ, իսկ համայնքը՝ նրա խնդիրների լուծման համատեքստ:

Առաջին տիպի ռազմավարության կիրառման դեպքում սոցիալական դեպքը վարողը կարող է կիրառել խումբը/ընտանիքը և համայնքը որպես միջավայրեր՝ բարելավող զանազան ընթացակարգեր և տեխնոլոգիաներ, օրինակ՝ խմբային և ընտանեկան աշխատանքի տեսակները, համայնքային աշխատանքի տեսակները և այլն:

Երկրորդ տիպի ռազմավարության կիրառման դեպքում սոցիալական աշխատողի շահառուն և միջամտության օբյեկտը համապատասխանաբար կլինեն խումբը/ընտանիքը և համայնքը, իսկ միջամտության մարտավարությունները կներառեն բոլոր այն ընթացակարգերն ու տեխնոլոգիաները, որոնք թույլ կտան լուծել նշված շահառուների սոցիալական հիմնախնդիրները:

Բանալի բառեր – սոցիալական աշխատանքի մեթոդ, անհատական աշխատանքի մեթոդ, խմբային աշխատանքի մեթոդ, համայնքային աշխատանքի մեթոդ

АРТАК ХАЧАТРЯН – *О методах социальной работы.* – В статье рассматриваются вопросы, обусловленные методами социальной работы, в частности

сти, делается попытка по-новому их классифицировать, выделив индивидуальную, групповую и общинную социальную работу. Выражается мнение, что в Армении смутно представляют себе эти методы. Например, часто употребляются такие понятия, как метод групповой социальной работы и метод общинной социальной работы, но при этом не проводится разграничение между группой в качестве клиента и в качестве среды деятельности индивида. Точно так же не различается, когда клиентом социального работника выступает община и когда она является средой обитания индивида или группы.

Ключевые слова: *метод социальной работы, метод индивидуальной работы, метод общинной работы*

ARTAK KHACHATRYAN – Reasoning about the Methods of Social Work. –

The article discusses the problems related to the definitions of Social Work Methods, particularly, the author is attempting to clarify the definitions of classical methods of Social Work - individual social work, social group work and community social work. The author expresses the opinion that in the process of implementation of Social Work profession in Armenia, no clear impression about these methods was formed. Especially in teaching rooms, in publications often the terms social group work method and community social work method are being used without a clear differentiation between cases, when the social worker is working with the group as a client and when he/she is working in the group, as an environment of functioning of individual. Adequately there is no clear understanding of cases, when the community is the client of the social worker and when it is an environment of functioning of the individual or group.

The author suggests classifying the traditional methods of Social Work in two ways:

1. group/family and community methods of Social Work, considering that the social worker is working adequately in the group/family, and community and when the client is an individual, the group/family, and community – as an environment.

2. Individual, group/family, and community methods of Social Work, when the client is adequately the individual, the group/family and the community.

Keywords: *social work method, case work method, group work method, community work method*

ՏԵՂԵԿՈՒԹՅՈՒՆՆԵՐ ՀԵՂԻՆԱԿՆԵՐԻ ՄԱՍԻՆ
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Հանդեսը լույս է տեսնում տարեկան երեք անգամ: Հրատարակվում է 2010 թվականից:
Ժամանագրին է 1967-2009 թթ. հրատարակված «Բանբեր Երևանի համալսարանի» հանդեսի:
Журнал выходит три раза в год. Издается с 2010 года.
Правонаследник издававшего в 1967-2009 гг. журнала "Вестник Ереванского университета".
The Bulletin is published thrice a year. It has been published since 2010.
It is the successor of "Bulletin of Yerevani University" published in 1967-2009.

Խմբագրության հասցեն. Երևան, Ալեք Մանուկյան փող., 1, 106
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Ստորագրված է տպագրության 10. 05. 2015:
Տպաքանակ՝ 100: Չափսը՝ 70x108 1/16: Թուղթ՝ օֆսեթ:
Տպագրական 5 մամուլ: