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Bibliography on skilled migration

(edited by Enrico Todisco)

S O M M A R I O

- 574 Intellectual, professional and skilled migrations,
Enrico Todisco
- 574 Introduction
- 576 Preliminary remarks
- 579 The geographical approach
- 581 The socio-economic approach
- 587 The political approach
- 588 Final remarks
- 591 Bibliography on skilled migration,
*Gianmario Maffioletti, Enrico Todisco,
Francesco Tramontana*
- 591 – Introductory remarks
- 594 – Bibliography
- 667 – Subject and geographic index
- 674 – Authors' index
- 683 Libri ricevuti
- 690 Indice del volume XXX

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Intellectual, professional and skilled migrations*

Introduction

International migration can be viewed as one more component in an increasingly complex set of exchanges (trade, technology, capital, culture, sports, etc...) between countries that possess differential power (economic, military, political, technological). This growing interdependence among nations is associated with: expansion of the international economic system; increasing disparities within and between countries; improved communication and transportation systems that permit information, people and goods to flow rapidly even between distant territories; transnational institutions, like the United Nations and associated agencies; churches and religious organizations and a variety of smaller social service agencies and institutions that employ and transfer employees across nation states; and social networks created through intermarriage and social mobility patterns that link families and different groupings together in worldwide support systems.

International migration is not a homogenous process. It includes refugee and colonizing movements, selected groups of business migrants, permanent settlers and, above all, massive reallocation of manual, contract, temporary and seasonal laborers. At the moment the bulk of theorizing about international population movements has been focusing mostly on labor flows. Other population movements, as for example the "privileged few" (skilled technicians and professionals) opting to bargain their talents in their efforts to gain access to a new land, tend to be conceptualized as variants of the models applied to labor migration. Theories generally do not attempt to encompass the process in its totality, but concentrate instead on one of its specific aspects.

The academic community and many field practitioners have long since recognized the need for a sound empirically based and tested general framework as well as for an appropriate and specific nomenclature that would serve to quickly and readily describe past and present population movements and, at the same time, would be sufficiently flexible to incorporate new ones.

* This is a revised version of the paper presented at the recent International Seminar held on the Latina Campus of "La Sapienza University", Rome (Latina, October 28-29, 1993). I wish to thank Tony Paganoni for his helpful comments and assistance in revising an earlier draft.

Organized research and hypotheses testing on "intellectual, professional and skilled migrations" has only begun. "While the movement of people with specialized skills goes back several thousand years" (A. Segal, 1993, p. 153), contemporary flows are discernible for their ability to crisscross the globe in ever greater numbers, mostly moving from developing to developed countries. "The UN has calculated that between 1950 and 1975 international migration of high level manpower totalled between 300.000 and 400.000" (A. Segal, *ibid.*). This development has generated both academic interests and political concern. The one-way flow of "brains", in particular, has been responsible for numberless discussions (S. Ardittis, 1989, 1990; A. Rosella, 1969). The resulting lack of consensus, as far as the balance sheet of its merits and demerits is concerned, is mostly due to two divergent perspectives.

The perspective of immigrant-sending countries is, of course, quite different from the perspective of receiving countries, although both are concerned with the general issues arising out of the transfer of human resources and intercountry linkages. Those concerned about the brain and skill drains have argued that the departure of the economically active and productive segment of the population reduces a country's ability to produce and, hence, curtails income. This argument was often put forward in the context of the "world system" theory which, as derivative of Marxist theory, regards international migration as a movement of labor from peripheral to core nations caused by the advanced capitalist economies' search for cheap labor and their desire to perpetuate economic and political dependency relationships. Somehow related to this concern is the more pragmatic view that the brain drain represents lost educational investment to sending countries.

The distinct modes of incorporating immigrants into the receiving economy and community have been assessed by structural theories, but not emphasized by either orthodox or neo-marxist views.

First, thousands of professionals, technicians migrate every year. This flow, known as brain drain in the countries of origin, possesses several distinct characteristics. In the U.S.A., for example, the upper layer of the immigrant population does not tend to form ethnic enclaves, but are usually dispersed throughout cities and regions. More importantly, they join the primary labor market, where they help to alleviate shortages in specific occupations. Although they start at the bottom, in time they gain access to the same professional mobility available to domestic workers.

Second, in particular countries and regions, small groups of immigrants turn into commercial intermediaries. These middlemen become, at times unknowingly, a buffer to deflect mass frustration and an instrument to conduct commercial activities in impoverished areas. The perceived risks are counterbalanced by commercial and financial benefits. Examples abound: Indian merchants in East Africa; Chinese entrepreneurs in South East Asia; Jewish and Korean in inner city ghetto areas of the United States.

Third, a considerable number of entrepreneurial immigrants groups fall back on extensive division of labor within ethnic enclaves for the production of goods and services both for the ethnic and outside markets. These experiences reveal

possibilities, not contemplated by either orthodox, colonialist or segmented labor theories and illustrate the capacity of occupational and economic mobility in the first generation through the use of the immigrants' individual skills and collective resources.

In conclusion, the theory of alternate modes of structural incorporation captures the growing diversity of situations experienced by recent immigrant groups in both advanced and not so advanced economies.

The traditional understanding of "brain drain" continues to raise concern in some sending countries, and it does appear to gather much more interest than it did a few years ago. There is growing recognition that many highly skilled emigrants are people whose skills are surplus in the home country, that emigration to some extent acts as a safety valve to relieve pressures of unemployment or political dissatisfaction, and that migrants' remittances can have a positive economic impact at home. Furthermore, to the extent that the drain involves mainly highly skilled technicians not essential for important development needs, the problem becomes less acute. This is not to suggest that the loss of skilled and highly qualified workers should be ignored, since the quality of labor productivity will, to some extent, suffer. A common observation made, for example, about many Asian countries may be worth mentioning. Any remedy to the problem should redirect attention on what seems to be its root cause: the lack of an effective training and manpower policy that is responsible not to external markets and demands, but to the internal development needs of the sending country.

At the recent international conference, held within one of the campuses of "La Sapienza University" at Latina on October 28-29, 1993, the subject of skilled and highly skilled migration was the focus of a variety of papers and reports. Formal and informal discussions have re-echoed concerns expressed earlier on by Gould (1988): "the skilled international labor migration has a considerable potential to generate a range of empirical and theoretical concerns and to elaborate them within the overall cohesion of the integrating theme of how these migrations and the migrants themselves are distinctive and need to be given specific and urgent consideration, for their importance has seemed everywhere to be growing as the integration of the global economy proceeds and the international division of labor associated with it generates new patterns and structures of movement".

Preliminary remarks

Present trends indicate (Fassmann, Munz, 1992) that the worldwide movements of skilled workers are likely to increase in the future. Their number entering the United States from African countries is on the increase and so is the percentage of skilled workers moving around the African continent (Logan, 1992). The United Nations Population Fund estimates the number of persons living outside their country of origin to be in the vicinity of 100 millions; among them the percentage of the skilled component has substantially increased

(UNFPA, 1993). In the nine most populous countries of Latin America the presence of foreign people was estimated to have reached 4.540.000 in 1980, a little higher than the 1970 number when the foreigners were 4.378.000. Among these the professionals, in the same period, swelled from 102.000 to 193.000 (+ 89%) (Celade, 1992).

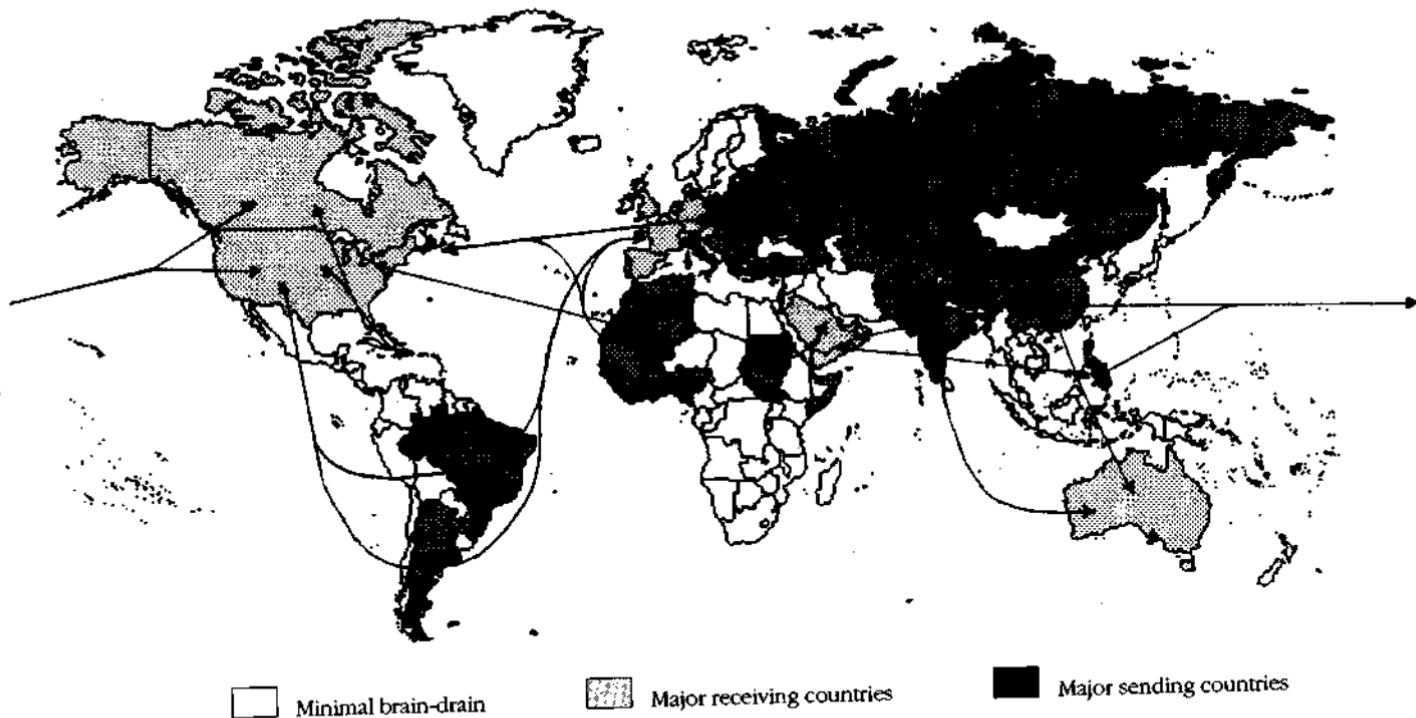
As new population movements emerge, their underlying reasons become clearer. The reshuffling of the power balance in the world, due to the downfall of Berlin wall, has caused the demise of the ideological confrontation of the "two blocks". Unlike in our immediate past, nowadays the "war" is fought on a different frontline. National economies want to invade and conquer international markets. International trade networks are influenced and molded, on one side, by economies which historically have occupied prominent positions along with the more aggressive and rapidly rising economies in countries of recent industrialization; and, on the other side, by the rest of the world that has had limited or no experience in the free market economy and are longing to be in the party (Eastern Europe), or else by nations, like China, which is attracting foreign capitals and experience a formidable economic boom. On the level of general and pressing worldwide concerns, the economic factor is, thus, securing top position. As a result, we could be on the threshold of a significant development: instead of weapons and missiles, people and employment could become the number one challenge in the future.

Due to the expansion of the EC, the close links with the other countries on the continent and the unfolding plan for the reunification of the two Germanies, Europe has inaugurated a new historical era, with previous forecasts being eroded in the meantime. Comparing Europe with the U.S.A., Servan-Schreiber at the beginning of '70's foreshadowed the decline of Europe, caused by the brain drain of its more trained personnel and by the smaller amount of money devoted to scientific and technological research. As was recently discussed in the Berkeley Round Table on International Economy, the importance of Europe today is universally recognized (Albonetti, 1993). This is not meant to deny, however, that flows of researchers, managers, scientists and professionals are also growing in many other parts of the globe.

Spurred by the globalization of economic interests, of trade and technology, people everywhere are seeking a higher level of education. In almost every country the number of young men pursuing higher studies is leavening, supported in their efforts by family expectations. The higher the qualification, the stronger the will-power to look for and the relatively easier the chance to find better opportunities in a foreign country (Fakiolas, 1993). Within the skilled migration component, it is easier to find persons who have collected a great number of international transfers. This is an important factor in explaining the migration patterns of the more qualified workers.

Given the acknowledged higher mobility of skilled workers, it is to be noted that compliance with government policies of both sending and receiving countries stands in striking contrast with clandestine flows. The illegal migration is more prevalent among the unqualified sectors of society. If a skilled person emigrates without proper documentation or later decides to join the ranks of the

Figure 1 – Global brain-drain in the 80's'



Source: A. Segal, 1993.

overstayers, he or she is responsible for generating "brain waste", since the qualifications achieved in the country of origin will not be utilized in the host country. A unique case is represented by political refugees who happen to be well qualified. Detailed analysis is deemed to be necessary to understand the impact created by the particular skills of a refugee, as soon as the settlement period is over.

Furthermore, as Fakiolas (1993) states, "the labor market conditions differ by country, there is no unitary impact of either emigration or immigration on the supply and the imbalances in skills". We are inclined to consider the labor market as a self standing unit. In reality markets are fashioned by men; that is the reason why markets differ from country to country and also inside wide trading areas. The labor market is not an unchanging meeting point between demand and supply; on the contrary, each incoming or outgoing unit interacts. This is particularly valid for the skilled individuals for whom contractuality is normally higher than for the other workers.

We plan to briefly review the "skilled movements", by examining several existing approaches: geographical, socio-economic and political. In the process we aim to clarify the temporal duration, the geographical dimension, the political implications, the economic premises and consequences, the social impact, the individual and collective reaction, etc., thus contributing, in some way, to shed further light on the individual and collective reasons and on the social, political and economic implications of the movements of the more qualified part of the international migrations. We realize, however, that much more attention ought to be given to, much more research undertaken and data collected for this particular aspect of international migrations.

The geographical approach

If "brain drain" came under close scrutiny because of its steady and one-way direction, the movements of the skilled people are today distinguishable for their differentiation of both patterns and destinations. Logan (1992) alleges that the international migration of trained experts can take one, or a combination of the following four basic patterns:

- from one developed country to another;
- from a developed country to a less developed country;
- from one less developed country to another;
- from a less developed country to a developed country.

This implies that the world can be divided "developed" and "underdeveloped". As a consequence, movements would occur inside the same square matrix of origin-destination. According to this view, one would naturally place the industrialized nations inside the developed world and the rest inside the underdeveloped one. However, in all countries of the world the degree and range of development and underdevelopment is both very varied and constantly

changing. There exists such a differential, that we run the risk of lumping together conditions which are obviously not comparable.

A limited solution could be found in the introduction of an intermediate group, with its own distinctive status. I am referring to the countries of new industrialization, which have been able to shake off an endemic situation of underdevelopment. The resulting origin-destination matrix would then turn into a 3x3 dimension. A similar evolution has taken place within some of the leading industrialized nations. The ushering of a post-industrialized era has clearly rendered the concept of "industrialized country" obsolete and surpassed. The economies of a selected number of countries have moved from an industrial base to a tertiary orientation. Not all industrialized countries have ended this transitional process, but surely they are on their way to it.

For all these reasons it seems to me that it is better to abandon any classification which makes reference to "developed" and "less developed" or "underdeveloped" countries to indicate the origin and destination of skilled and highly-skilled movements. This is even more valid for the highly qualified migrations where the motivations could be (and normally are) different from those prevalent in labor movements.

Since skilled migrations occur in the context of a multiplicity of geographical moves and transfers where distance is hardly a deterrent factor; and, since the movements of the more qualified persons are not necessarily linked to the degree of economic growth of the countries involved, making distinctions such as "developed" and "less developed" or "underdeveloped" must, in my opinion, be abandoned.

Besides, the communication system is now so evolved that it is possible to reach any part of the world in a handful of hours. Therefore taking into account the nations that have generated the flows and the nations that have received them is an important statistical fact, but that fact alone does very little to explain the real motivations, nature and restrictions inherent to these movements. In fact, there are administrative procedures to follow and political conditions may have a real impact.

A different classification was attempted by Gould (1988). He takes into account not only the geographical dimensions but also the occupational categories. He proposed four categories:

- 1) skilled persons who migrate within Third World Countries;
- 2) experts and professionals who move from a Less Developed Country (LDC) to a more industrialized one;
- 3) technicians who are transferred by multinational firms to LDC's;
- 4) staff changes within transnational companies (TNC), from a level of the productive process to another, inside the LDC's.

The attempt to reduce the heterogeneous realities present in movements of skilled personnel is not an easy task. However, the above classification is surely one that can cover a very good number of cases. For example we can fit in the second group the migration of the skilled manpower employed by an international company which moves from a LDC to an industrialized one for training program.

Salt and Kitching (1990) utilized the above classification, appreciating also the dichotomy proposed by Gould concerning the permanent and itinerant migration. It is really a remarkable way to conjugate space and time dimensions, where space is not perceived as a physical distance, but rather as economic disparity. Moreover it contains an attempt to consider also the motivation of the move in the third and fourth category.

The socio-economic approach

Migration is not an abstract reality. It equals "men and women who move". And one has to remember that the number of migrations, from a statistical point of view, is not equivalent to the number of persons who move, as the same person can migrate more than once within a set period of time.

Migrations are a relevant social phenomenon, whose individual characteristics or collective qualities have attracted the interests of scholars and engaged concerned politicians. As White (1988) suggests, it is useful to compare the unskilled and skilled categories with a view to gain better insights (see table 1).

Table 1 - *Low- and high-status international migrants in European cities*

	Low-status	High-status
Group composition on arrival		
Age of the employed person	Young adult	Wide range of adult ages
Sex of the employed person	Male	High proportion male
Presence of dependants	No	Often present
Employment		
Sectors	Secondary/tertiary	Tertiary/quaternary
Skill levels	Low	High
Remuneration with respect to local levels	Below average	High
Linkages to previous employment	None	Generally present
Employment of dependants	Not relevant	Relevant, 'problematic'
Social factors		
'Stay horizon' on arrival	Generally short	Varies, often short
'Stay horizon' after 1-5 years	Lengthening	Unchanged for most
Existence of chain migration systems	Common	Generally not
Importance of non-remuneration consideration	Low	Often high
Housing		
Prior housing class	Varies	Generally owner-occupation
Retention of previous residence	Yes	Usually
Employer involvement in housing search	Often	Generally
Housing class at destination	Privately-rented	Privately-rented
Housing quality at destination	Poor	Good

Source: White, 1988.

When a migrant decides to move, he is clearly involved in a set of motivations, each exercising a different pull and attraction, depending often on whether the individual is skilled or not. For the unqualified person, kinship ties or friendship relationships carry a lot of weight and these are likely to dictate the choice of one country more than another. It is a lot more consequential to find a congenial and at least relatively known ethnic community that can be of support and help, particularly during the initial period of settlement. For the unskilled the push factors are prevalent: it is important to go away, no matter where. He has a superficial knowledge of conditions existing in overseas labor markets. Instead of considering real economic indicators, the "collective image" (migration chains) that is generated inside his mind is the main stimulus.

In the case of skilled manpower the factors and roles are somewhat reversed. The pull factors are much more overbearing and the choice of one country rather than another one is the result of some deliberate pondering. Furthermore, the motivational factors are not "imaged" by relatives and friends, but by more institutional and impersonal facts such as international vacancies, working relationships among professionals, professional acquaintance with research groups, well-founded and proven needs of domestic as well as international firms.

Within this broad description, there is a host of varying situations. There is, for example, the person who moves with carefully-programmed plans and with a work contract already signed; there is the worker who might be moving to a different country with extensive knowledge about the potentiality of its labor market, but without a specific contract. Still different is the case of the skilled person who completes higher studies in a country other than his own, and, on the completion of the required courses, finds gainful employment in his country of adoption.

The role of the so-called intermediaries (recruiters) differs vis-a-vis either the skilled or the unskilled workers. The danger of malpractices (falsification of documents and contracts, exorbitant placement fees etc...) increases in reversed proportion to the level of education exhibited by applicants. Lastly, the unskilled is confronting an anonymous labor market; the skilled one has had contacts with previously well known organizations, firms, institutions, and often he has a firm contract before leaving.

The previous table was drawn with particular reference to European countries, but, to a large extent, we feel it can be applied to the social dimension of both skilled and unskilled migrations all over the world.

In our efforts to further the understanding of the issues regarding the *integration* of skilled immigrants, White's summary (1988) deserves a mention. The social implications, for the receiving country, are obvious when one bears in mind that the skilled person is comparatively older than the average migrant, moves with dependents of school age, often needs to find a job for his wife, and is concerned about housing requirements and costs.

Portes (1977) suggests three different levels of analysis by identifying three "determinants". A lengthier description of this classification can be found in the Celade's report. I only reproduce the recapitulative prospectus.

Table 2 - *Determinants and levels of migration movements*

Primary determinants	Secondary determinants	Tertiary determinants
international level	domestic level	individual level
differences inside horizontal political and economical order	unbalance between the skilled worker production and absorption capacity	type and level of professional training, social relationship context
differential of preference	structural tension	individual choice to emigrate

Source: Portes, 1977.

One or more of the above-mentioned factors can mix and play with a different emphasis and stimulation in the mind of the future migrant and clear the way towards making a choice for emigration. This is particularly true when the skilled man in any given country is on his own in coming to grips with the challenge of finding an occupation commensurate to his qualifications. On a purely individual basis, the human capital analyzes the different openings offered by the labor market, the living standards and the ways to improve his and his family's quality of life, and then makes an investment for his own future (UNCTAD, 1982).

The human capital alone, though, is but one ingredient that goes into creating the right opportunity for migration flows to occur. Many social scientists believe that flows are mainly the result of individual decisions, others are of the opinion that the flows are shaped by governmental policies. There is a third factor that very often is the main determinant of the skilled migration. And it is that firms develop and manage new technologies and the pertinent personnel allocation and production techniques.

Professionals seeking a higher qualification, both theoretical and practical, merit specific consideration. There are many individuals who have reached a certain level of specialization (a duly recognized degree, for example) and opt to continue furthering their career or training in a country other than their own.

Skills and professional know-how accumulated in one's own native country are not always comparable to the required standards, or recognized in a nation targeted for future settlement. In a less developed country, the level of the education and training system is, from a technical and scientific point of view, generally lagging behind the one available or expected in a more advanced country. So the case is made about the replaceability of the skilled manpower through space. If a professional hails from an advanced economy and decides to migrate to a less developed one, he or she is almost immediately employed, whereas a similar counterstream will more than likely encounter difficulties in securing employment, either because his qualifications are thought to be, or in fact are, not up to the expected level.

This situation of training opportunities can generate a "horizontal migration" (Celade, 1992). In general, such horizontal intellectual drain is justified by a structural deficiency (push factor) that can be compensated in countries of analogous economic-socio-scientific development. For example, a person living in a poor country can decide to obtain a needed specialization in another poor country where the education system provides the type of studies and/or of training needed. In this case, the movements deal with countries with low economic and social differential.

Normally, the above-named horizontal migration involves countries, which, geographically are not far from one another; and, when long distances separate the interested nations, normally they belong to the same geographic or linguistic area. If it is quite easy for an African to move to another African country, it is rather exceptional to see the same African moving to Latin America or to Asia.

Another element influencing the choice of a destination is the knowledge of an international language. The biggest exporters of skilled men to the US are mostly English-speaking countries. The skilled workers from Ivory Coast and Senegal are much more likely to migrate to France since their known language in their country is French (Logan, 1992). In this choice language is not always the primary or most salient determinant. A previous experience of colonization may have its bearing on the actual choice of destination. So, for this reason, the Somalis head for Italy, the Senegalese for France, the Pakistanis for the UK.

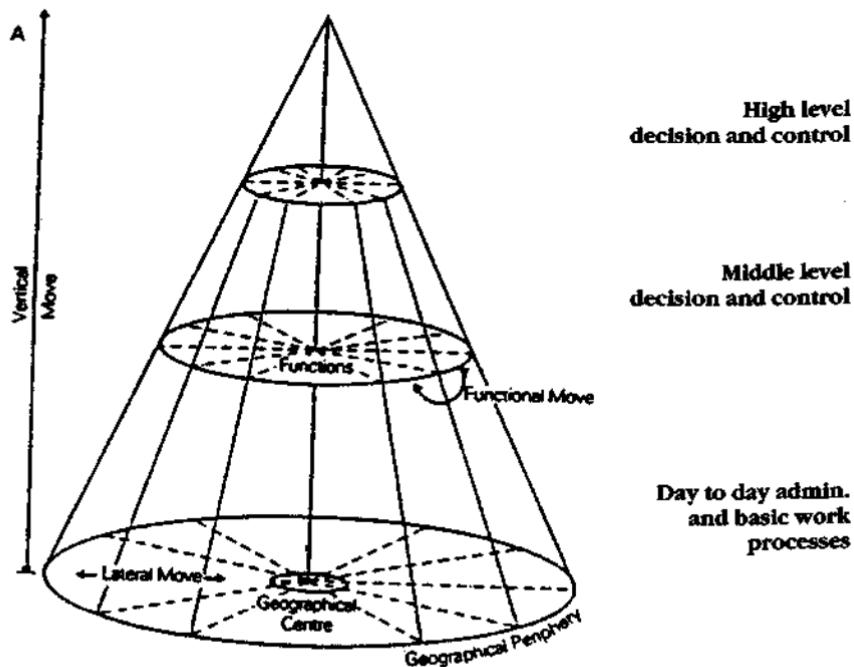
The skilled migration involves mostly qualified individuals, with high or very high level of education, with varying degrees of work experience, often gainfully employed at the moment of migrating. Salt (1988) states "an explanatory framework for international migration of the highly-skilled should be based on the desegregated nature of modern labor market, in which specialist skills and training mean that the workforce is segmented into self-contained non-competing groups. A close association exists between the career path of the individual, the nature of the job and the migration demands imposed by the organization of work and the internal structure of the employer".

The career path is a complicated one since the socio-economic position of the individual can be the result of transfers from one firm to another, as well as of the shift in the occupational level within the same organization or a combination of the two. The justification for either horizontal movements (change of the firm while retaining the same job), or for vertical movements (change of level inside the same organization), or for horizontal-vertical movements (when changing employer leads to a simultaneous changing of the level) stems from the skill and experience achieved. Anyway, for the skilled worker the consequence of each step is a better economic deal, more collective esteem and a higher level of responsibility. In order to reach such a goal, especially now that economies are much more internationally integrated, the skilled person ought to conjugate its social mobility with its geographical mobility.

An interesting concept was proposed by Salt and Findlay (1988) to explain the way in which skilled migration occurs. The following figure represents the organization, with its distinctive operational levels, placed inside a pyramid (cone shaped as in figure 2). At the core, there is the head office which is also

the geographical point of reference for all the operations. Peripheral operations may be widely scattered at far-flung international locations (Salt, 1988). Within this system labor migration can be realized in a wide variety of ways. It may take the form of a promotion, along the vertical axis; it may take the form of a lateral move to a new post, with no promotion; it may, instead, entail leaving one's own position for another one in a different operative branch of the organization. (The Salt-*Findlay*'s scheme is completed with a second figure where the ports of entry/exit to be found at different occupational levels are shown by a mark. Interested persons can make reference to the original paper).

Figure 2 – Structured internal labour market



Source: Salt and Findlay, 1988.

As mentioned above, the decisions taken by multinational firms has an influential impact on the movements of skilled workers and, more often than not, such decisions exercise a lot more influence than the governmental ones. Let me dwell a bit more on the TNC functions.

International companies, acting upon strategies generated by their headquarters, transfer their commercial and technical management necessary to fill all needs in a foreign branch. But the transfer of its more skilled personnel is not equivalent to the transfer of the accumulated technological knowledge and experience available at the central boardrooms. This is due to two reasons. First: generally, local conditions in countries of export are usually not comparable to those where the core group and facilities operate. The commercial penetration of such local markets is conditioned by the social and economic evolution and consumption habits of the people living on a given territory. People are simultaneously the engine of the production system and the recipients and consumers of such production. Man both as a production factor and as a consumption factor is not at the same level all over the world. In the developing countries said levels are lower, even if, in some countries, they are reported to be rising rapidly. The homogenization processes spurred and brought about by media have not levelled off consumers' attitudes. So, for example, it is not always possible or advisable to apply the same advertising technique in all countries. And the same can be said of working conditions.

Second: Because of survival reasons, multinationals are known to transfer not the whole productive system, but only the essential components to make local markets viable and profitable or to ensure the growth and international competitiveness of the company. The mechanisms which are held to be secret, expensive and essential to the smooth running of the entire production system are not transferred and the local firm is left with the responsibility to assemble the parts produced elsewhere. In instances when it is not possible to separate highly qualitative components from the entire productive chain, the management of foreign branches is entrusted to very reliable personnel, not drawn from local talents. In this case we are in presence of technology and management transfer simultaneously that generates skilled migrations. If the company decides to face international competition by keeping its well-guarded secrets, it is clear that the destination country does not benefit from the advantages of new technologies.

By way of conclusion, let me stress the following points:

- the movement of the skilled and highly skilled is swelling, not only on account of statistical evidence reported before, but also on account of the multiplication of skilled tasks. The Cedefop classification records 300 types of professional occupations and observes that only thirty years ago the number was a fourth lesser (Fakiolas, 1993).
- it is preferable to avoid making use of the term "brain drain", since it is historically associated with one-way directional flows. Oomen (1989) suggests using "talents' migration" or "professionals' migration", because it certainly does not have the same connotations and may be a more appropriate term to express their multidirectional peculiarity.

– Ghosh (1992) compares the "survival migrants" (unqualified workers) with the "mobility migrants" (skilled and highly skilled ones).

– Kouzminov (1993) points out that, among the motivations for moving are not only the expected better standards of living, greater opportunities to further their own career, higher earning capacity, but also the possibility to actively work

for an adequate recognition of human rights, including freedom to travel and to look for better employment opportunities.

The political approach

As stated previously, there are also determinants of a political nature influencing the skilled and highly skilled flows. Receiving countries are more interested in establishing some quotas to curb the number of immigrants accepted. They are much more motivated than the sending countries, as these latter are rather hapless in stemming the flows of professionals.

These flows are seen to benefit the sending country in a twofold manner: firstly, they slowdown the adverse effects resulting from the constant struggle of national leaders to reduce chronic problems of unemployment and mismatching of skills; and, secondly, the countries of origin can expect from skilled migrants' remittances a substantial contribution to partially offset an ailing national balance of payment and boost its foreign currency reserve.

Past, and mostly inconclusive, discussions about costs and benefits, derived from all types of migration movements on a world-wide scale or between specific sending and receiving countries cannot "sic et simpliciter" be applied to skilled flows. For the highly skilled, there are, in fact, greater liabilities incurred by the "donor" countries, as they financially support the costs of educating and training skilled manpower, only to see them taking off for foreign destinations upon completion of their education and training.

On the other hand, the receiving country utilizes talents, whose education costs have already been shouldered by another, and usually poorer, country. Bearing in mind that these talents are almost immediately utilizable by the local labor market, that they show a higher degree of potential productivity, that they are younger than the average domestic worker, that they normally enjoy good health and crave to work and earn, it is obvious why receiving countries prefer this type of migrations.

It is well known how contemporary government policies have generally become more restrictive, thus limiting, as much as possible, the active participation of foreign workers to their domestic labor markets. Paradoxically the restrictive policies favor the skilled migration. With the prevailing severe constraints, even the most cautious governments are noted to make some allowance for persons thought to possess high added value.

The admission of foreign skills is not trouble-free and may be regarded by the receiver nation and its people as a mixed blessing. An immigrant may be considered as a worrisome competitor by its native counterpart. An American physician, for example, could look upon the position occupied by a Pakistani colleague, with suspicion and distrust; but the host community may derive some benefits from lower and more competitive health costs (Blaud, 1981; Bowman and Maoris, 1967; Power and Lamson, 1972; Winkler, 1993). This positive result could be partially mitigated by the belief, be it erroneous or not, that the presence of foreigners is perceived as a threat resulting in a non quantifiable cost (Winkler, 1993).

Lastly, no matter what type of assessment (loss, gain etc...) is made in relation to the flow of skills, it is now obvious that it has become a structural component in contemporary societies. With the movement of persons particularly gifted, there follows necessarily a "trade" of scientific knowledge and ideas, along with technical know-how. Expertise, in a very real sense, no longer has boundaries. In many transnational firms and international organizations, the exchange and transfer of its managers and qualified personnel has become the rule. If this trend continues and is accepted by many governments, it is bound to spill over into regular exchange patterns, characterized by an accelerated, multidirectional movements of students, teachers and researchers. This is the goal of the European Community projects, such as Erasmus or Lingua. Their contribution should be evaluated as they are likely to offer stimulating experiences to EC countries, as well as to other countries, and most specifically to Eastern Europe. The sharing of educational methodologies and scientific knowledge, can lead to upgrade the performance level within the EC partners, with a view to increase their competitiveness and spur greater collaboration with other countries, in a spirit of international collaboration. The role of skilled and highly skilled migrants in bridging cultural distances cannot, as a consequence, be minimized. They can really become qualified messengers of international good will.

Final remarks

The skilled movements are a recent development within the already complex world of contemporary human migrations. They are increasing in quantitative as well as qualitative terms.

I wish to finally dwell on other categories which, in my view, merit at least a mention. Within the large sectoral movement of highly skilled, there are several distinct groupings, such as:

- religious of different creeds: they have intellectual and spiritual preparation. They are skilled, with a high degree of personal motivation and their assignments are characterized by interests other than economic. The motivation of the shift falls within the specific parameters of their religious mission; as a result, religious personnel may be called upon to accept being posted in different places of the world.

- artists (actors, painters, musicians, dancers etc...): the duration of their overseas' assignments vary greatly. Their important cultural role does not need any exemplification and it is very difficult indeed not to qualify their work as being very skilled.

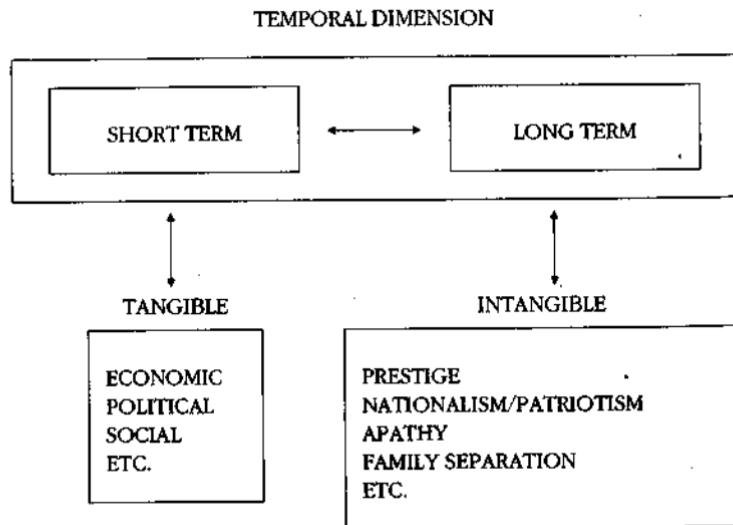
- men and women in sport: international competition have long since been dubbed as expressions of international good will. But this is also happening within the realm of national competitions. In Italy, as elsewhere, the media play an important role in informing its readers about competitions held in other countries, such as the NBA championship or the soccer leagues on the European or Latin American circuits (Todisco, 1993)

- "intelligent unschooled": these are individuals without previous educational or training background. Nevertheless, in a receiving country, they are actually capable to reach some indisputably high social and economic positions, in the political or in the production and business sectors. They are not "skilled" in the sense of formal education, but they develop highly competitive and competent activities.

- soldiers: for example, the officers operating with the NATO or soldiers serving the UN forces. These migrations are normally not permanent, last some years, have high resonance within the international community on account of security concerns. The mercenary soldiers are usually well trained and are subject to frequent, rapid and somewhat erratic movements.

In discussing the factors affecting skilled migration, we have pointed out their most common characteristics, which by now are well known to interested researchers. Less evident are the psycho-sociological features, which, in our view, are not drawing sufficient attention. Particularly helpful, in this regard, is the scheme reported by Logan (1992).

Figure 3 – *Typology of impacts of migration movements*



Source: Logan, 1992.

After observing the African situation, this author has affirmed that "the fundamental wealth of a Nation rests upon the training of its population. As Africa loses a significant proportion of its best and highly trained nationals, the region is simultaneously losing a significant part of the wealth necessary to establish a

foundation for future growth". The nature and dimension of these losses can be approached from different angles: in temporal (short and long) or in quantifiable or not terms (see above figure 3). As a matter of interest, Logan has placed on the discussion table some less evident underlying factors, such as the prestige derived from emigrating, vis-a-vis their own folks who decide not to migrate; the rediscovery of patriotism experienced in a foreign land. Many persons grasp the short and long term implications in migrating (possible upgrading of their qualifications, better working and living conditions, improving family standards etc...) but are slothful and not sufficiently motivated. Others, again, are too worried about leaving their own family and their own village, and the concern itself for family dependents can become a "screen" and hide feebleness of mind and will.

It is our firm conviction that, even if the movements of the skilled and highly skilled are rather minuscule, when compared to the totality of international migrations, they nonetheless contain a lot of implications for the development of international good will and cooperation. It is for this reason that the Seminar at Latina has been organized. Together with the bibliography included in this special issue of «*Studi Emigrazione*», I hope a better understanding and greater interest has been engendered.

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Introductory remarks

Though not entirely absent in ancient human migrations, the movement of skilled and highly skilled persons has been elevated to a status of its own and is certainly bound to involve greater numbers in the future. This, in turn, will create the need for further investigations and studies. As noted later, the literature is rapidly increasing in both qualitative and quantitative terms.

The following bibliographical sources have been mostly drawn from two libraries and a number of specialized journals. Entries have been obtained from the libraries of Centro Studi Emigrazione di Roma (CSER) and of Centre d'Information at d'Etudes sur les Migrations Internationales (CIEMI) in Paris.

Entries have also been retrieved from the following journals: «International Migration Review», «International Migration», «Studi Emigrazione», «Revue Européenne des Migrations Internationales», «Estudios Migratorios Latinoamericanos», «Population Index», «Population Studies», «Hommes et Migrations».

A "snow-ball" technique has been employed in the actual process of consulting various types of publications. This has given the opportunity to further enlarge the data available, but it has also produced several handicaps. The information obtained, in many instances, has been either incomplete or inaccurate. In the face of these difficulties, we have decided to include the titles that would contain sufficient references for the researcher to trace the needed bibliographical source. A insurmountable hurdle has been encountered when dealing with languages other than those of Latin origin. For example, many essays written in East/South/West Slavic or Arabic languages, describing such movements in the former U.S.S.R or elsewhere, were unfortunately unusable.

In our mind, the following bibliography could be considered a first database on skilled migrations. It is our intention to go on collecting, organizing and disseminating to interested academics updates and/or new information relevant to this type of international migrations. Obviously, this will not be possible without the active cooperation of researchers, students, publishers and other concerned individuals.

* A preliminary version of this bibliography has been presented at the recent International Seminar on Skilled and Highly Skilled Migration, held at Latina (Italy) on 28-29 October, 1993.

It is worth adding that some titles may not appear to be relevant to the issue under discussion, but in reality, upon further enquiries, they will be found to carry useful information. Aside from the exchange of technicians, professionals, scientists, etc. we have also included other categories, such as qualified professionals, students enrolled at universities for graduate or post-graduate courses and foreign entrepreneurs.

The present bibliography lists, in alphabetical order, publications according to author's name or title, in case of no author. We have relied on some key-words to facilitate anyone in his/her effort to locate the needed information. It is obvious that the same source may have been tallied with more than one key-word.

Table 1 – Percentage distribution of the entries of this bibliography according to the language and the year of publication

Year of publication	English	French	Other languages	Total
Till 1960	–	–	1.1	0.1
1960-64	0.8	1.2	1.1	0.9
1965-69	4.8	6.0	7.5	5.3
1970-74	4.0	1.2	8.6	4.3
1975-79	11.0	4.8	11.8	10.5
1980-84	10.8	15.5	10.8	11.4
1985-89	23.1	26.2	26.9	23.8
1990	10.0	8.3	3.2	8.9
1991	6.9	13.0	11.8	8.1
1992	13.2	17.8	9.7	13.3
1993	15.4	6.0	7.5	13.4
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The lion's share of bibliographical sources are in English, with French and host a other European languages following far behind. It is also patently clear (see Table 1) that the scientific output has been rather quiet until the 1970's, only to see in the later years a sustained boom, possibly due to the oil shock of the mid '70's and the consequent relocation of highly trained personnel. Over the last couple of years, there has been a sudden and widespread explosion of interest for this particular aspect of international migrations.

Of all titles listed, two out of three have been published after 1985. In particular, 1992 and 1993 have been bonanza years, turning out almost one quarter of all the titles listed. We feel that this has been due, in no small way, to the following international gatherings:

- Seminar on "Organizational Structures of Science in Europe" organized by UNESCO's Regional Office for Science and Technology for Europe, held at Venice on April 27-29, 1992;
- Seminar on "Brain Drain Issue in Europe" organized by UNESCO's Regional Office for Science and Technology for Europe, held at Venice on April 25-27, 1993;
- Seminar on "Skilled and Highly Skilled Migration" organized by the "La Sapienza University" of Rome on the Latina Campus on October 28-29, 1993.

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SUBJECT AND GEOGRAPHIC INDEX

- Academia Europaea: 651.
Adaptation: 21, 152, 164, 195, 206, 216, 298, 332, 339, 449, 456, 487, 526, 533, 578, 620, 649.
Adjustment: 2, 17, 147, 488.
Adult formation: 175, 588, 660.
Aerospace industry: 770.
Africa: 15, 194, 326, 327, 421, 468, 482, 555, 566, 614, 648, 720, 782, 831.
Africans: 155, 595.
Agriculture: 720.
Algeria: 520, 590.
Alsace: 10, 814.
America: 17.
Andean Region: 509.
Arab countries: 110, 347, 633.
Arab Region: 4, 244, 344, 422, 606, 621, 664, 699, 834, 841.
Arabs: 665, 840, 843.
Argentina: 54, 55, 126, 267, 345, 547, 548, 663, 692.
Argentinians: 82.
Artisans: 47, 105, 497, 498.
Artistic culture: 150.
Asia: 7, 344, 387, 388, 408, 570, 571, 577, 614, 621, 635, 772.
Asians: 373, 490, 574, 595, 719.
Associations: 45, 660.
Atlas: 700.
Australia: 61, 255, 360, 387, 388, 414, 600, 612, 637, 682, 764.
Austria: 262, 366.
Austrians: 610.
Autobiography: 379.

Bangladesh: 719.
Behaviours: 434.
Belgium: 187, 578.
Bibliography: 182, 326, 382, 478, 706.
Biography: 562, 600.
Blacks: 218, 461.
Boundary migration: 762.
Brain drain: 4, 5, 11, 14, 17, 22, 27, 28, 29, 30, 35, 38, 39, 40, 41, 44, 48, 49, 52, 56, 62, 64, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 84, 94, 96, 107, 111, 112, 113, 117, 119, 127, 139, 141, 142, 148, 153, 167, 178, 194, 196, 197, 198, 199, 210, 211, 224, 229, 230, 232, 234, 237, 243, 251, 256, 262, 272, 279, 282, 286, 289, 290, 295, 303, 304, 305, 306, 308, 311, 313, 335, 342, 359, 360, 370, 371, 372, 379, 398, 402, 404, 410, 411, 416, 419, 422, 429, 432, 435, 437, 438, 460, 468, 473, 482, 483, 484, 486, 492, 499, 509, 510, 513, 514, 518, 522, 539, 540, 542, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 553, 554, 555, 560, 565, 570, 571, 576, 577, 585, 590, 594, 607, 608, 614, 617, 622, 632, 633, 637, 639, 643, 647, 648, 652, 655, 659, 664, 665, 666, 668, 669, 700, 707, 712, 713, 720, 721, 728, 729, 730, 731, 737, 743, 744, 745, 746, 753, 754, 755, 759, 761, 762, 766, 767, 768, 770, 773, 777, 778, 779, 781, 782, 783, 787, 788, 789, 793, 794, 795, 797, 799, 812, 813, 820, 831, 832, 833, 835, 840, 841, 843, 846, 847.
Brain gain: 199, 551, 553.
Brain waste: 262.
Britain: 111.
British: 809.
Buddhism: 356.
Bulgaria: 632, 703, 739, 838.
Business: 59, 66, 67, 68, 93, 99, 155, 180, 248, 284, 353, 365, 387, 395, 436, 461, 465, 516, 517, 525, 595, 599, 600, 610, 626, 663, 691, 716, 724, 769, 804, 806, 814.

California: 155, 180, 320, 353, 566.
Cambodia: 357.
Canada: 22, 122, 140, 179, 214, 215, 235, 247, 248, 330, 337, 398, 400, 459, 492, 496, 637, 649, 769.
Capital migration: 463, 465, 564.
Capitalism: 5.
Car industry: 765.
Caraibi: 751.
Careers: 399, 511, 669, 670, 672.
Caribbean: 510, 604, 776.
Central America: 40.
Central Europe: 219, 243, 366, 383, 476, 572, 628, 647.
Chain migration: 43, 611.

- Chicago: 425.
Chicanos: 320.
Children: 51, 165, 228, 579.
Chiliens: 82.
China: 39, 94, 140, 141, 193, 356, 357, 627.
Chinatown: 426.
Chinese: 155, 387, 426, 459, 461, 463, 465, 496, 611, 803.
Citizenship: 248.
Classes: 120, 121, 218, 330, 625, 663, 719.
Clothing industry: 140.
CNRS: 325.
Colombia: 251, 638.
Colonization: 128, 692.
COMECON: 343.
Common market: 131, 245.
Comparative study: 29, 46, 310, 353, 603, 658, 820.
Contract workers: 717.
Cooperation: 210, 252, 283, 338, 420, 464, 476, 481, 549.
Cooperation agreements: 593, 607, 609, 651, 831.
Costs and benefits: 11, 13, 48, 89, 106, 117, 119, 161, 167, 347, 366, 383, 479, 512, 572, 629, 655, 823, 827.
Council of Europe: 183, 366.
Court of Justice: 385.
Croatia: 453, 455.
Cuba: 627.
Cubans: 533.
Cultural mediators: 68, 93, 489.
Cultural policy: 540, 651.
Culture: 330, 356, 357, 489, 589, 642.
Czech Republic: 233.
Czechoslovakia: 349, 351.
- Decision making: 249, 291, 363, 396, 475, 561, 567, 623, 825.
Degree: 457, 738.
Demographic aspects: 60, 64, 184, 354, 521, 587, 851.
Demography: 33, 91, 145, 556, 781, 791.
Denmark: 447.
Developed countries: 5, 35, 37, 46, 76, 80, 148, 229, 257, 367, 394, 470, 643, 812.
Developing countries: 5, 34, 35, 37, 38, 62, 76, 80, 90, 91, 148, 178, 214, 289, 290, 308, 310, 361, 367, 409, 418, 501, 546, 643, 725, 783, 812.
- Development: 24, 88, 121, 178, 220, 287, 366, 386, 392, 415, 573, 689, 799.
Development and migration: 446.
Dominican Republic: 627, 776.
- East Asia: 717.
East Europe: 41, 145, 211, 219, 234, 243, 343, 346, 366, 383, 430, 484, 532, 572, 628, 630, 647, 736, 790, 810.
East-West: 3, 42, 232, 314, 334, 420, 464, 471, 646, 722, 819, 820.
EC: 168, 177, 185, 245, 300, 340, 443, 593, 686, 687, 756, 808.
Economic aspects: 26, 81, 120, 202, 237, 245, 293, 303, 337, 389, 426, 460, 484, 601, 701, 722, 731, 847.
Economic development: 192, 683, 684, 709, 728, 767, 810, 811.
Economic integration: 561, 607, 704.
Economic policy: 88, 404, 532, 559, 583.
Economic theory: 102.
Economy: 12, 19, 33, 47, 73, 95, 96, 98, 99, 117, 118, 119, 140, 201, 208, 250, 267, 298, 306, 316, 332, 357, 388, 401, 406, 459, 462, 480, 487, 489, 490, 496, 497, 512, 519, 532, 541, 564, 574, 591, 596, 597, 601, 620, 627, 631, 635, 684, 685, 702, 716, 719, 744, 765, 805, 806, 823.
Education: 13, 16, 20, 25, 70, 128, 133, 175, 176, 206, 228, 241, 318, 357, 373, 380, 391, 418, 457, 480, 528, 554, 562, 567, 575, 581, 587, 589, 645, 650, 720, 723, 725, 726, 729, 735, 738, 745, 764, 791, 801, 813, 826, 848.
Egypt: 49, 244, 257, 347, 668.
Employers: 112, 775.
Employment: 10, 12, 116, 118, 132, 152, 177, 195, 201, 212, 241, 285, 340, 353, 418, 427, 449, 456, 497, 526, 527, 531, 541, 578, 579, 581, 587, 597, 620, 627, 631, 645, 650, 698, 702, 808.
Engineers: 199, 219, 232, 254, 256, 394, 558, 586, 605, 695, 746, 747, 748, 790.
Enterprise: 19, 95, 98, 140, 201, 208, 231, 250, 316, 332, 356, 357, 388, 400, 401, 415, 459, 462, 489, 490, 496, 497, 505, 519, 526, 541, 591, 596, 627, 631, 635, 719, 805.
Entrepreneurs: 59, 105, 387, 425, 496, 692.
Entrepreneurship: 99, 155, 208, 231, 269, 284, 356, 395, 426, 436, 461, 465, 489,

- 516, 517, 525, 599, 658, 691, 716, 724, 804.
- Ethiopia: 20.
- Ethnic minorities: 626, 806.
- Ethnic relations: 588.
- Ethnicity: 93, 99, 140, 330, 353, 357, 400, 425, 459, 461, 489, 496, 588, 635, 804, 806.
- Europe: 30, 48, 58, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 95, 96, 101, 117, 118, 121, 124, 125, 131, 137, 175, 184, 185, 187, 266, 279, 282, 283, 287, 322, 329, 331, 334, 352, 369, 383, 385, 407, 427, 438, 479, 506, 532, 541, 542, 572, 579, 595, 634, 641, 655, 664, 665, 669, 670, 676, 679, 686, 702, 734, 750, 767, 778, 779, 802, 811, 818, 851.
- Exile: 524.
- Family: 277, 285, 487, 796.
- Family reunification: 43, 183, 479.
- Finland: 242, 243, 443.
- Foreign entrepreneurs: 47, 54, 55, 66, 67, 68, 93, 97, 180, 236, 279, 365, 401, 462, 490, 498, 564, 591, 595, 600, 611, 626, 627, 662, 663, 685, 798, 806, 814, 823.
- Foreign investment: 179, 273, 501, 709.
- Foreign students: 53, 138, 165, 181, 203, 221, 248, 261, 276, 302, 320, 358, 457, 615, 637, 640, 642, 717, 723, 758, 821, 827.
- Former USSR: 23, 27, 209, 210, 226, 240, 252, 264, 286, 432, 435, 451, 481, 523, 557, 630, 708, 713, 795, 845, 846.
- France: 2, 12, 19, 21, 47, 66, 67, 68, 95, 115, 152, 164, 177, 203, 204, 210, 213, 231, 250, 281, 289, 290, 356, 357, 450, 456, 457, 489, 490, 497, 498, 500, 507, 519, 526, 527, 578, 591, 595, 596, 618, 620, 631, 634, 637, 642, 765, 798, 814.
- Georgia: 737.
- Germans: 378, 610.
- Germany: 51, 100, 216, 298, 316, 332, 366, 391, 395, 488, 500, 512, 545, 578, 702, 725, 801.
- Ghana: 482, 645.
- Government policy: 432, 442, 813, 836.
- Graduates: 159, 427, 536, 537, 574, 575, 581, 775, 785.
- Greece: 794.
- Greeks: 97.
- Guadalajara: 128, 823.
- Guestworkers: 352, 641.
- Gulf countries: 110, 621, 698.
- Health: 115, 204, 285, 412, 426, 512, 527, 642, 720.
- History: 54, 55, 74, 103, 105, 128, 230, 231, 235, 239, 375, 459, 468, 563, 564, 587, 596, 610, 663, 673, 692, 722, 769.
- Hong Kong: 376, 716, 754.
- Human capital: 39, 48, 71, 147, 157, 169, 194, 214, 228, 249, 341, 347, 374, 446, 475, 561, 568, 587, 689, 715, 732, 742, 792, 834.
- Human resources: 466.
- Human rights: 183, 531.
- Hungary: 362, 639, 742, 743, 773, 797.
- ICM: 36.
- Identity: 330, 357.
- Île-de-France: 10, 356, 490, 519, 596.
- Illegal migration: 377, 597, 648, 781.
- ILO: 187, 532.
- Immigrants: 16, 103, 124, 165, 182, 183, 248, 445, 600, 603, 622, 697, 764, 806.
- Immigrants in Italy: 138, 181, 221, 299, 302, 598, 615, 640, 735, 758.
- Income: 744, 765, 828.
- India: 198, 303, 360, 576, 577, 689, 719, 729.
- Indians: 387, 400, 419, 636, 698.
- Indonesia: 418.
- Industrialization: 74, 236.
- Industry: 32, 54, 137, 140, 144, 298, 487, 573, 662, 692, 716, 765, 771, 806, 823.
- Integration: 152, 164, 307, 644, 734.
- Intellectual migration: 92, 158, 160, 166, 174, 246, 266, 280, 318, 325, 372, 397, 403, 431, 438, 450, 610, 651, 695, 718, 741, 759, 786, 800, 822, 824.
- Interculturalism: 589.
- Internal migration: 39, 145, 226, 268, 317, 364, 444, 487, 551, 560, 563, 648, 649, 701, 769, 801, 815, 845.
- International cooperation: 1, 156, 193, 486, 504, 532, 552, 616, 713, 736, 850.
- International law: 57, 186, 191, 322.
- International migration: 3, 4, 8, 34, 43, 61, 63, 81, 85, 102, 106, 117, 121, 123, 124, 144, 145, 154, 157, 179, 192, 200, 209, 215, 219, 222, 226, 251, 263, 270, 274, 275, 301, 317, 322, 326, 327, 328, 341,

- 345, 381, 382, 383, 404, 413, 419, 428, 440, 443, 469, 471, 478, 479, 529, 532, 534, 538, 544, 560, 566, 584, 621, 644, 646, 648, 649, 671, 672, 673, 676, 678, 679, 681, 701, 712, 714, 717, 720, 722, 733, 750, 751, 757, 760, 762, 763, 772, 781, 817, 819, 825, 834, 844, 845, 847, 851, 853.
- International organizations: 127, 205.
- International relations: 389, 693, 793.
- Investments: 792.
- Iran: 5.
- Ireland: 108, 428, 429, 477, 524, 584, 711.
- Irish: 427.
- Islam: 389, 635.
- Israel: 16, 195, 565, 650.
- Italians: 8, 54, 55, 60, 97, 105, 120, 236, 507, 595, 596, 662, 692, 698.
- Italy: 2, 25, 45, 53, 57, 86, 123, 138, 139, 156, 181, 182, 186, 190, 191, 193, 205, 221, 261, 302, 377, 379, 474, 500, 534, 536, 537, 552, 564, 592, 598, 615, 660, 690, 705, 735, 779, 850.
- Itinerant migration: 433.
- Ivory Coast: 482, 667.
- Japan: 179, 380, 803.
- Japanese: 99, 461.
- Jordan: 192, 505, 834.
- Koreans: 43, 425, 462, 525, 710.
- Kuwait: 26.
- Labor: 10, 12, 58, 109, 120, 152, 201, 259, 285, 299, 329, 391, 462, 480, 487, 497, 498, 512, 519, 526, 527, 531, 578, 579, 625, 627, 631, 771, 806.
- Labor market: 85, 91, 103, 108, 116, 117, 118, 119, 121, 132, 144, 147, 171, 172, 173, 174, 177, 195, 206, 212, 216, 241, 250, 255, 277, 281, 298, 299, 312, 324, 329, 332, 339, 340, 344, 390, 414, 445, 456, 480, 500, 532, 592, 597, 599, 620, 627, 640, 655, 656, 672, 675, 676, 684, 699, 727, 733, 765, 837, 853.
- Labor migration: 6, 32, 72, 73, 85, 110, 117, 119, 179, 223, 244, 257, 275, 292, 294, 343, 368, 373, 413, 417, 463, 465, 482, 488, 495, 503, 597, 606, 619, 624, 664, 665, 669, 675, 676, 677, 680, 698, 732, 749, 762, 772, 809, 811, 834.
- Labor mobility: 297, 380, 500, 521, 704, 749, 828, 830.
- Language: 138, 175, 255, 357.
- Laos: 357.
- Latin America: 40, 133, 134, 135, 136, 143, 162, 267, 321, 446, 502, 548, 555, 586, 587, 604, 614, 762, 763, 842.
- Lebanese: 595.
- Legislation: 1, 57, 96, 98, 152, 165, 191, 332, 375, 592, 598, 615, 616, 633, 640, 652, 680, 687, 690.
- Libya: 69.
- Lima: 128.
- Literature review: 493, 706.
- Lorraine: 10.
- Los Angeles: 462.
- Lyon: 66, 68.
- Maghreb: 21.
- Maghrebins: 490, 595.
- Mass media: 735.
- Measurement: 157, 342, 534, 556.
- Medical services: 2, 412, 518.
- Medicals: 115, 517, 724.
- Mediterranean countries: 466, 538.
- Mental health: 2, 518.
- Metal industry: 487.
- Methodology: 534, 588.
- Mexicans: 180, 320, 353.
- Mexico: 128, 352, 585, 658, 823.
- Middle class: 218, 719.
- Middle East: 44, 149, 275, 555.
- Migrant workers: 19, 26, 51, 57, 60, 86, 118, 187, 231, 247, 281, 285, 366, 487, 498, 518, 519, 522, 525, 527, 541, 543, 597, 765.
- Migration: 2, 33, 71, 82, 108, 119, 134, 135, 161, 162, 186, 190, 225, 374, 380, 451, 477, 501, 507, 521, 524, 540, 572, 645, 650, 705, 708, 716, 752, 807, 813.
- Migration and development: 7, 15, 33, 54, 74, 118, 147, 167, 170, 192, 194, 236, 265, 267, 306, 347, 364, 381, 384, 406, 606, 633, 693, 714, 715, 780, 781, 842.
- Migration of professionals: 18, 57, 99, 127, 133, 143, 155, 159, 163, 190, 215, 230, 235, 253, 284, 307, 309, 310, 331, 333, 334, 336, 337, 341, 347, 355, 379, 387, 391, 395, 398, 408, 424, 436, 446, 461, 465, 468, 474, 485, 492, 510, 516, 517, 520, 529, 533, 547, 548, 577, 586, 592,

- 594, 599, 604, 610, 623, 632, 643, 652, 670, 674, 681, 688, 710, 711, 717, 724, 734, 739, 742, 748, 762, 769, 838.
- Migration patterns: 43, 122, 130, 222, 223, 397, 409, 437, 440, 507, 544, 622, 644, 647, 674, 693, 694, 701, 750, 815.
- Migration policy: 1, 6, 12, 35, 42, 96, 109, 118, 126, 146, 149, 152, 165, 214, 223, 247, 251, 260, 307, 317, 327, 332, 352, 375, 393, 423, 440, 479, 508, 512, 619, 620, 641, 652, 656, 661, 693, 699, 720, 762, 763, 769, 788, 807.
- Migration theory: 32, 33, 50, 129, 130, 151, 164, 251, 260, 271, 291, 301, 324, 433, 434, 439, 440, 452, 458, 493, 494, 495, 507, 532, 534, 544, 556, 568, 569, 571, 580, 601, 622, 624, 625, 649, 674, 678, 701, 706, 732, 733, 815, 816, 819, 829, 830, 852.
- Migration trends: 35, 74, 138, 184, 186, 349, 441, 479, 776.
- Military careers: 469.
- Military conversion: 523, 535, 630, 770, 835.
- Military industry: 752, 835.
- Military migration: 239.
- Minorities: 397, 627, 738, 805.
- Missionaries: 692.
- Mobility: 70, 210.
- Models: 73, 110, 349, 488, 556, 644, 649, 694, 830.
- Monetary integration: 202.
- Morocco: 265.
- Multiculturalism: 175.
- Muslim: 635.
- National law: 57, 821.
- Netherlands: 97, 98, 105, 219, 531, 611, 613, 851.
- New York: 610, 804.
- Nigeria: 444, 482, 603.
- Nomads: 518.
- Nord-Pas-de-Calais: 10.
- North America: 95, 230, 287.
- North-South: 3, 72, 368, 466, 471, 520, 820.
- Norway: 323.
- Nurses: 516.
- Occupation: 91, 171, 172, 173, 426, 568, 723, 725.
- Oil countries: 347, 834.
- Oil industry: 698.
- Ontario: 496.
- PACA: 10.
- Pakistan: 719.
- Pakistanis: 400.
- Paris: 465.
- Pedagogy: 25.
- Pension: 188.
- Peru: 236.
- Philippines: 43, 396, 452, 608, 691.
- Physicians: 412, 516.
- Pirelli: 55.
- Poland: 238, 370, 371, 372, 485, 521, 532, 572, 657, 731, 828.
- Political aspects: 141, 184, 304, 507, 841.
- Portugal: 736.
- Portuguese: 595.
- Press: 692, 735.
- Professional integration: 21, 195, 206, 213, 277, 298, 332, 339, 409, 456, 526, 578, 620.
- Professional migration: 759.
- Professional mobility: 487, 618.
- Professional training: 8, 9, 10, 12, 20, 21, 25, 51, 58, 116, 132, 152, 162, 177, 183, 185, 201, 206, 207, 212, 213, 216, 281, 285, 298, 299, 300, 340, 373, 381, 385, 412, 449, 456, 469, 480, 487, 505, 512, 519, 526, 527, 531, 579, 588, 620, 660, 687, 696, 697, 764, 765, 796, 839.
- Professions: 522, 756.
- Psicopathology: 518.
- Psychology: 291.
- Push-pull factors: 69, 117, 119, 263, 366, 383, 396, 452, 512, 532, 572, 584, 590, 623, 708.
- Quebec: 122, 588.
- Race: 218, 320.
- Recognition foreign degree: 168, 261, 414, 612, 686.
- Red Sea Region: 606.
- Re-emigration: 363.
- Refugees: 317, 339, 393, 421, 648, 717, 720, 781, 803, 818, 853.
- Regional policy: 186.
- Reintegration: 20, 40, 449, 614, 782.
- Religion: 356, 635.
- Remittances: 96, 118, 138, 269, 306, 655, 691, 720.

- Republic of China: 849.
Republic of Serbia: 336.
Research: 43, 87, 88, 177, 205, 213, 220, 250, 287, 288, 348, 362, 386, 392, 447, 476, 519, 541, 559, 582, 591, 593, 602, 609, 628, 634, 642, 657, 683, 703, 719, 740, 778, 784.
Return migration: 2, 36, 37, 40, 62, 82, 96, 118, 124, 162, 186, 198, 208, 267, 269, 293, 306, 308, 309, 377, 379, 382, 416, 443, 449, 475, 479, 603, 614, 648, 655, 661, 691, 744, 782.
Returnees: 603.
Rhône-Alpes: 10.
Rights of migrants: 531.
Romania: 338, 386, 594, 683, 766.
Rural-urban migration: 603, 658, 769.
Russia: 225, 486, 513, 752, 788, 789, 835.

Saudi Arabia: 24, 347, 698.
Scholars: 198, 849.
School: 16, 20, 51, 53, 106, 122, 175, 185, 235, 261, 373, 505, 645, 696, 697, 821, 826, 827.
Science: 48, 224, 227, 233, 240, 242, 252, 264, 280, 283, 296, 314, 315, 323, 338, 346, 351, 410, 442, 453, 558, 602, 666, 703, 745, 761, 787, 799, 838, 848.
Scientific cooperation: 227, 613, 628, 634, 747, 784, 802.
Scientific policy: 23, 24, 31, 46, 65, 83, 87, 100, 125, 160, 205, 224, 227, 233, 240, 242, 252, 264, 283, 286, 288, 295, 315, 325, 348, 350, 362, 369, 386, 392, 403, 420, 430, 442, 447, 448, 453, 454, 455, 470, 472, 481, 506, 557, 582, 602, 613, 628, 657, 683, 703, 741, 746, 778, 784, 785, 802, 848, 850.
Scientists: 199, 210, 219, 225, 232, 246, 265, 284, 288, 336, 371, 378, 394, 485, 486, 513, 514, 540, 542, 545, 547, 549, 558, 605, 630, 632, 646, 647, 653, 666, 695, 739, 746, 747, 748, 774, 786, 790, 802, 822, 832, 833.
Scottish: 274.
Second generation: 1, 58, 132, 152, 201, 206, 207, 340, 449, 456, 480, 526, 578, 579, 660, 796.
Segregation: 525.
Self-employment: 541, 595.
Shanghai: 716.

Singapore: 597.
Skilled migrants: 1, 5, 36, 45, 57, 63, 81, 90, 114, 134, 135, 143, 186, 187, 189, 190, 191, 214, 222, 223, 229, 244, 255, 257, 259, 262, 270, 272, 274, 297, 318, 321, 337, 361, 367, 381, 396, 405, 406, 407, 421, 427, 443, 491, 502, 520, 537, 566, 574, 606, 616, 659, 662, 665, 672, 678, 679, 682, 688, 690, 705, 717, 721, 747, 759, 777, 782, 790, 809, 846.
Skilled migration: 226, 536, 646, 654, 712, 718, 810.
Skilled workers: 17, 85, 124, 136, 146, 162, 179, 187, 188, 238, 275, 289, 326, 327, 328, 329, 345, 376, 444, 472, 504, 515, 530, 548, 598, 604, 630, 638, 643, 676, 725, 751, 817, 837.
Slovakia: 65, 348, 483, 800.
Slovenia: 484.
Social aspects: 192, 808.
Social change: 50, 145, 383, 426.
Social integration: 16, 257, 449, 512.
Social mobility: 266, 268, 530, 603.
Social policy: 285.
Social security: 1, 138, 162, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 298, 474, 531, 592, 616, 705.
Social structure: 161.
Socialist countries: 423.
Sociology: 434, 493, 494, 796.
South America: 652.
South Asia: 6.
South-East Asia: 6, 339, 562, 717.
South-Mediterranean: 101.
South-North: 251, 538, 818.
South-Pacific: 170.
South-South: 244, 520, 834.
Southern Italy: 121.
Spain: 176, 296, 528, 654, 836.
Spatial mobility: 319.
Sport: 760.
Sri Lanka: 560.
Statistics: 53, 58, 121, 145, 182, 203, 248, 317, 366, 394, 457, 474, 526, 527, 640, 691, 717, 718, 758.
Students: 16, 69, 89, 101, 128, 197, 199, 204, 210, 258, 308, 443, 450, 451, 467, 554, 562, 570, 575, 581, 667, 725, 726, 735, 803, 836, 849.
Sub-Saharan: 720.

- Surinam: 98.
Surinamese: 97.
Sweden: 578.
Switzerland: 25, 187, 206, 207, 285, 480, 578, 696, 697, 796.
- Taiwan: 142, 144, 405, 406, 709, 771.
Talent migration: 576, 577.
Taxes: 77, 78, 79, 81, 276.
Teachers: 347.
Teachers formation: 25, 589.
Technological development: 217, 354, 364, 448, 454, 476, 549, 559, 582, 583, 593, 609, 653, 657, 740, 745, 746, 791.
Technological transfer: 163, 256, 265, 441, 503, 539, 586, 593, 709.
Technology: 29, 48, 65, 100, 104, 242, 254, 272, 292, 294, 296, 346, 351, 404, 609.
Temporary workers: 105, 191, 244, 248, 258, 488, 508, 597.
Texas: 353.
Thailand: 684.
Theory: 398, 437, 539, 583, 584, 654, 768.
Third World: 22, 215, 305, 350, 504.
Tobago: 367.
Toronto: 496.
Trade: 55, 140, 368, 459, 489, 490, 497, 498, 501, 635, 719, 780, 798.
Transfer of technology: 780.
Transnational companies: 751.
Trends: 38, 110, 123, 238, 312, 482, 671, 673, 851.
Trinidad: 367.
Turkey: 208, 389, 390, 391, 417.
Turks: 97, 702.
Typology: 271, 304, 317, 439, 717.
- UCSEI: 53.
Uganda: 70.
Ukraine: 431, 728, 839.
UNDP: 36, 37.
Unemployment: 58, 90, 116, 152, 250, 497, 526, 527, 531.
- UNESCO: 438.
Unions: 299, 749.
United Kingdom: 28, 160, 165, 166, 235, 246, 268, 270, 273, 275, 307, 329, 378, 399, 400, 412, 415, 424, 429, 492, 500, 563, 635, 636, 675, 680, 681, 719, 738, 748, 754, 755, 822, 833.
University: 24, 101, 113, 166, 221, 233, 237, 302, 371, 451, 467, 483, 552, 726, 785.
Urban migration: 128, 278.
Urban structure: 817.
Urbanization: 317, 526.
Uruguay: 74.
Uruguayan: 82.
USA: 5, 17, 18, 43, 44, 61, 72, 94, 99, 100, 103, 104, 109, 146, 154, 155, 180, 220, 284, 303, 320, 322, 333, 337, 352, 368, 373, 375, 395, 396, 405, 407, 408, 419, 425, 426, 445, 462, 463, 468, 475, 491, 492, 508, 517, 524, 525, 529, 533, 535, 558, 562, 566, 570, 585, 599, 602, 610, 622, 626, 627, 637, 641, 652, 685, 710, 722, 724, 726, 740, 769, 776, 804, 805, 821, 827.
USSR: 32, 94, 287, 410, 411, 565, 662, 761, 787, 844.
- Venezuela: 82, 253.
Vienna: 262.
Vietnam: 357.
- Welfare: 342.
West Africa: 239.
Western Europe: 41, 145, 391, 704, 817, 820.
Women: 165, 175, 177, 212, 277, 388, 401, 421, 541, 738.
Workers informations: 363.
World Bank: 831.
- Youth: 67, 122, 132, 152, 201, 206, 250, 340, 449, 456, 480, 526, 568, 578.
Yugoslavia: 333, 334, 335, 453, 454.

AUTHORS' INDEX

- AA.VV.: 1, 2.
Abadan-Unat, Nermin: 3.
Abdel Jaber, T.: 4.
Abdollahi, M.: 5.
Abella, Manolo I.: 6, 9.
Abete, Giovanni: 8, 9.
Abou Sada, Georges: 10.
Abu-Rashed, J.: 11.
Adams, C.R.: 13.
Adams, Walter: 14.
Adepoju, A.: 15.
Adler, Chaim: 16.
Agarwal, V.B.: 17, 18.
Agence pour le Développement des Relations Interculturelles: 19.
Agneta, Francesca: 20.
Aissi, Ahmed: 21.
Akbar, S.: 22.
Aksu-Koc, A.: 417.
Albou, Louis: 23.
Aldrich, Howard: 806.
Alghafis, Ali N.: 24.
Allemann-Ghionda, Cristina: 25.
Al-Qudsi, Sulayman S.: 26.
Andriyanov, V.: 27.
Angell, Ian O.: 28, 29, 30, 539.
Angelov, Georgi: 31.
Antosenkov, E.G.: 32.
Appleyard, Reginald T.: 33, 34.
Ardittis, Solon: 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42.
Arnold, Fred: 43.
Askari, H.G.: 44.
Associazione Professionale tra i Quadri e Tecnici Italiani nel Mondo: 45.
Aubert, Jean-Eric: 46.
Auvolat, Michel: 47.
Avveduto, Sveva: 48.
Ayubi, N.: 49.

Bach, Robert L.: 50.
Baldassari, Marina: 51.
Baldwin, G.B.: 52.
Barbera, Mariarosaria: 53.
Barbero, María Inés: 54, 55.
Barrett, D.: 56.
Basenghi, Francesco: 57.
Bastenier, Albert: 58.

Bates, Timothy: 59.
Battistella, Graziano: 60.
Baum, S.: 61.
Bautista, E. Bru: 62.
Beaverstock, J.V.: 63.
Bechhofer, Frank: 64.
Bederka, Stefan: 65.
Belbahri, Abdelkader: 66, 67, 68.
Bel-Hag, R.S.: 69.
Bell, M.: 70.
Bellante, D.: 71, 72.
Benaitig, Rachid: 47.
Benedetti, M.G.: 73.
Benigni, Costante: 191.
Beretta Curi, Alcides: 74.
Birmingham, Jack: 155.
Bernal, J.D.: 75.
Beyer, G.: 76.
Bhagwati, Jagdish N.: 77, 78, 79, 80, 81.
Bidegain Greising, Gabriel: 82.
Bierens, H.J.: 433.
Biggin, Susan: 83, 84.
Bilsborrow, Richard E.: 85.
Birindelli, Anna Maria: 86.
Bisogno, Paolo: 87, 88.
Blaug, M.: 89.
Blomqvist, A.G.: 90.
Bloom, D.E.: 91.
Bodenhofer, H.J.: 92.
Body-Gendrot, Marie: 93.
Body-Gendrot, Sophie: 94, 95.
Böhning, W. Roger: 96.
Boissevain, Jérémie: 97, 98.
Bolfíková, Eva: 800.
Bonacich, Edna: 99.
Bond, J.: 100.
Borgogno, Victor: 101.
Borjas, George J.: 102, 103.
Böröcz, József: 624.
Botkin, J.: 104, 220.
Bovenkerk, Frank: 105.
Bowman, M.J.: 106.
Breathnach, P.: 108.
Briggs, Vernon M.: 109.
Briks, J.S.: 110.
Broom, D.: 112, 113.
Bryson, J.: 415,

- Buckroyd, B.: 114.
 Bui Dang Ha Doan: 115.
 Bureau International du Travail: 116, 117, 118, 119.
- Caces, Fe: 441.
 Cagiano de Azevedo, Raimondo: 120, 121.
 Caldwell, G.: 122.
 Calvanese, Francesco: 123.
 Calvaruso, Claudio: 124.
 Caraça, João: 125.
 Caramuti, O.I.S.: 126.
 Carante, Gerardo: 127.
 Cardenas, Gilberto: 353.
 Cariño, Benjamin V.: 43.
 Carmen, David W.: 825.
 Castaneda, Carmen: 128.
 Cebula, Richard J.: 129.
 Cecchi, Camillo: 130.
 Cecchini, P.: 131.
 Centro europeo per lo sviluppo della formazione professionale: 132.
 Centro Internacional para el Desarrollo: 133.
 Centro Latinoamericano de Demografía: 134, 135, 136.
 Centro Studi Confindustria: 137.
 Centro Studi Investimenti Sociali: 138.
 Cerletti, Paolo: 139.
 Chan, Kwok-Bun: 140.
 Chang, Kyung-Sup: 710.
 Chang, P.: 141.
 Chang, S.L.: 142.
 Chaparro, F.: 143.
 Chapman, Murray: 291.
 Chen, Chaonan: 144.
 Cheng, Lucie: 574.
 Chesnais, Jean-Claude: 145.
 Chiswick, Barry R.: 146, 147.
 Chopra, S.K.: 148.
 Choucri, N.: 149.
 Chuvilyova, Tatyana: 150.
 Cinanni, Paolo: 151.
 Clark, G.L.: 154.
 Clausen, Edwin: 155.
 CNR: 156.
 CNUCED: 157, 158.
 Cohen, N.: 159.
 Collins, P.M.D.: 160.
 Comission Pontificale pour la Pastorale des Migrations et du Tourisme: 161.
- Comitato Intergovernativo per le Migrazioni: 162.
 Comité Intergubernamental para las Migraciones Europeas: 163.
 Commissariat Général du Plan: 164.
 Commission for Racial Equality: 165.
 Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals of the United Kingdom: 166.
 Committee on the International Migration of Talent: 167.
 Comunità Europea: 168.
 Confederation of Irish Industries: 169.
 Connell, John: 170.
 Conner, H.: 171, 172, 173.
 Connor, Steve: 174.
 Conseil de l'Europe-Direction de la Presse et de l'Information: 175.
 Consejo Escolar del Estado: 176.
 Coombs, P.H.: 178.
 Cordey-Hayes, M.: 312.
 Cormode, L.: 179.
 Cornelius, Wayne A.: 180.
 Cornford, D.: 114.
 Cortese, Antonio: 181, 182, 538.
 Council of Europe: 183, 184.
 Cristofanelli, Luigi: 185.
 CSER: 186.
 Cummings, J.T.: 44.
 Cuvillier, R.: 187.
 Cuzzocrea, Leonardo: 188, 189, 190, 191.
 Czichowski, F.: 192.
- Dafu, Peng: 193.
 Damachi, U.G.: 194.
 Damian, Natalia: 195.
 Danckwirtt, D: 196.
 Das, Man Singh: 197, 198.
 Dass, C.M.C.: 199.
 Dassetto, Felice: 58.
 Davies, Kevin: 200.
 Debeine, Pierre: 201.
 De Grauwé, P.: 202.
 De Koning, J.: 532.
 de Miribel, Patrick: 203.
 De Montvalon, Robert: 204.
 Denardo, Gallieno: 205.
 Deng, Z.: 141.
 De Rham, Gérard: 206, 207, 796.
 De Tapia, Stéphane: 208.
 de Tinguy, Anne: 209, 210, 211.
 De Troy, Colette: 212.

- Devise, Christine: 213.
DeVoretz, D.J.: 22, 214, 215.
Dewe, Bernd: 216.
Diebold, John: 217.
Diejomaoh, V.P.: 194.
Dillingham, Gerald L.: 218.
Dillo, I.: 219.
Dimancescu, D.: 220.
Di Renzo, Antonella: 221.
Djajic, S.: 222, 223.
Dobrov, G.M.: 432.
Dolgikh, Elena: 225, 226, 753.
Donnelly, S.: 227.
Donovan, S.: 228.
Do Prado, Fernando B.: 229.
Dorofeev, Vetchiaslav: 770.
Dowie, J. Iverne: 230.
Dreyfus, Michel: 231.
Drilhon, Gabriel: 232.
Drobnik, Jaroslav: 233, 234.
Dunae, Patrick A.: 235.
Durand, Francisco: 236.
Durcáková, Jaroslava: 237.
Dzienio, K.: 238.

Eaglstein, A.S.: 815.
Echenberg, M.J.: 239.
Ehrenhalt, S.M.: 241.
Ekberg, Ulla: 242, 243.
Ekpenyong, Stephen K.: 603.
El-Kordy, M.: 244.
Emerson, M.: 245.
Emploi et Immigration Canada: 247.
Employment and Immigration Canada: 248.
Enchaustegui, M.E.: 249.
Escobar-Navia, Rodrigo: 251.
ESF/Academia Europaea: 252.
Esmeralda, G.: 253.
Eustace, Peter: 254.
Evans, Leslie: 574.
Evans, M.D.R.: 255.
Evans, N.: 256.

Fahmy, A.: 257.
Fairweather, M.: 258.
Fakiolas, Rossetos: 259.
Falchi, Nino: 260.
Falsetti, Giovanna: 261.
Fassman, Heinz: 262.
Fawcett, James: 43.

Federici, Nora: 263.
Feinberg, E.L.: 264.
Fellat, Fedallah Mohammed: 265.
Fermi, Laura: 266.
Fernandez Lamarra, Norberto: 267.
Fibbi, Rosita: 206, 207, 796.
Fielding, A.J.: 268.
FILEF: 186.
Findlay, Allan: 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 678.
Flowerdew, T.: 276.
Foigt, N.A.: 277.
Fonck, H.: 58.
Fontaine, F.: 278.
Ford, Reuben: 679.
Forestier, Katherine: 280.
Forti, Augusto: 282, 283.
Fortney, Judith: 284.
Fragniere, Jean-Pierre: 285.
Frank-Kamenetsky, M.: 286.
Freeman, C.: 287.
Freeman, R.B.: 91.
Fresson, Silviane: 289, 290.
Fuller, Gary: 291.
Furter, P.: 206.

Galor, O.: 292, 293, 294.
Gancheva, V.: 295.
Garcia-Herdugo, Gregorio: 296.
Garonna, Paolo: 297.
Garrick, L.: 274.
Gaugler, Eduard: 298.
Generoso, Serafino: 299.
Gentz, Heinz: 300.
Georges, Pierre: 301.
Ge Rondi, Carla: 302.
Gertler, M.: 154.
Ghosh, Bimal N.: 303, 304, 305, 306.
Gish, Oscar: 307.
Glaser, William A.: 308, 309, 310.
Glaz'ev, S.Y.: 311.
Gleave, D.: 312.
Godelier, B.: 313.
Gold, K.: 315.
Goldberg, Andreas: 316.
Golini, Antonio: 317.
Gollin, A.: 318.
Golz, E.: 319.
Gómez-Quiñones, Juan: 320.
González, Gustavo: 321.
Goodman, L.W.: 724.

- Goodwin-Gill, Guy S.: 322.
Gornitzka, Nina: 323.
Goss, E.: 324.
Goujon, Marc: 325.
Gould, William T.S.: 326, 327, 328, 329.
Goyder, John C.: 330.
Grandjeat, Pierre: 331.
Grauer, Dieter: 332.
Grecic, Vladimir: 333, 334, 335, 336.
Greenwood, M.: 337.
Grigorovici, Radu: 338.
Grotenbreg, Hanneke: 98.
Groupement d'établissements: 339.
Groupement de recherches d'échanges et de communication: 340.
Grubel, H.G.: 341, 342.
Guha, Amalendu: 343.
Gunatileke, G.: 344.
Gurrieri, Jorge: 345.
- Habers, Christopher G.: 309, 310.
Hadjilov, Asen A.: 346.
Hadley, Lawrence H.: 347.
Hajduk, Anton: 348.
Hájek, Z.: 349.
Hall, Nina: 350.
Halpern, Joel M.: 562.
Hancil, Vladislav: 351.
Hankins, R.L.: 13.
Han Park, Insook: 43.
Hansen, Niles: 352, 353.
Hartwick, J.M.: 354.
Hassell, Derek: 355.
Hassoun, Jean-Pierre: 356, 357.
Hekmati, M.: 358.
Helmtadter, S.: 359.
Helweg, Arthur W.: 360.
Henderson, G.: 361.
Herman, Jozsef: 362.
Herzog, H.W. Jr.: 363.
Hietala, K.: 364.
Hodeir, Catherine: 95, 365.
Hoffman, Constance A.: 496.
Honekopp, Elmar: 366.
Hope, Kempe R.: 367.
Horiba, Y.: 368.
Hovey, Bela: 851.
Hryniwicz, Janusz T.: 369, 370, 371, 372.
Hsia, Hayjia: 373.
Huang, W.C.: 17.
Huge, Wolfgang: 216.
- Hunt, J.C.: 374.
Hurh, Won Moo: 425.
Hutchinson, E.P.: 375.
- Ince, Martin: 378.
Inglese, Salvatore F.: 379.
Inoki, T.: 380.
Intergovernmental Committee for Migration: 381.
International Labour Office: 382.
International Organization for Migration: 383, 384.
Inzerra, Daniela: 385.
Ionescu-Sisesti, Illeana: 386, 683.
Ip, David F.: 387, 388.
Irbeç, Yusuf Ziya: 389, 390, 391.
Irvine, J.: 392.
Isard, P.A.: 392.
Istituto Santi: 186.
- Jackson, J.: 108.
Jacobsen, Karen: 720.
Jacobson, Gaynor I.: 393.
Jacquier, Claude: 21.
Jalowiecki, Bogdan: 370, 371, 372.
Jamison, E.: 394.
Jay, Martin: 395.
Jayme, J.B.: 396.
Jobes, Patrick C.: 397.
Johnson, Henry: 398.
Johnston, R.J.: 399.
Jones, Trevor P.: 400.
Jourd'Hui, Yvonne: 401.
Joyce, Christopher: 402, 403.
- Kabra, K.N.: 404.
Kaddar, Miloud: 21.
Kanjanapan, Wilawan: 405, 406, 407, 408.
Kannapan, Subbiah: 409.
Karavaev, A.: 410, 411.
Karmi, G.: 412.
Katz, E.: 413.
Kau, J.B.: 374.
Kazemi, Nabil: 414.
Keeble, D.: 415.
Keely, Charles B.: 416, 733.
Keyder, C.: 417.
Keyfitz, N.: 418.
Khadria, Binod: 419.
Khalatnikov, Isaak M.: 420.
Khasiani, S.A.: 421.

- Khawajkiyah, M.: 422.
Khomra, A.: 423.
Kiley, S.: 424.
Kim, Kwang Chung: 425.
King, Haitung: 426.
King, Russel: 427, 428, 429.
Kirkpatrick, R.C.: 368.
Kitching, R.T.: 680.
Klapisch, Robert: 430.
Klochko, Yuri A.: 431, 432.
Kohlbacher, Josef: 262.
Kontuly, T.: 433.
Koppel, Bruce: 434.
Kortunov, Andrei: 435.
Kosa, John: 436.
Kostiouk, Valeri V.: 437.
Kouzminov, Vladimir A.: 30, 83, 84, 438.
Krishnan, P.: 439.
Kritz, Mary M.: 440, 441.
Kuklinski, Antoni: 442.
Kultalahti, Olli: 443.

Lacey, Linda: 444.
La Londe, RJ.: 445.
Lamarra, Norberto F.: 446.
Lamson, R.D.: 629.
Larsen, Sine: 447.
Larson, E.: 776.
Laverov, N.: 448.
Lawless, R.I.: 698, 699.
Layard, R.: 276.
Lebet, J.M.: 480.
Lebon, André: 449, 450.
Ledeniova, Liudmila: 451, 753.
Lee, Sun-Hee: 452.
Lenardic, Mira: 453, 454, 455.
Lépore, Silvia: 345.
Lever-Tracy, Constance: 388.
Lewis, G.J.: 458.
Li, Peter: 459.
Lien, Da-Hsiang D.: 460.
Light, Ivan H.: 461, 462.
Lin, Jan Chien Chen: 463.
Lingeman, Eddy: 464.
Liu Han, C.: 723.
Live, Yu-Sion: 465.
Livi Bacci, Massimo: 466.
Livingstone, I.: 467.
Locke, Frances B.: 426.
Logan, Ikubolajeh Bernard: 468.
Lohrmann, Reinhard: 229.

Long, J.F.: 469.
Long, T.D.: 470.
Louviot, I.: 471.
Lowe, Kate: 472.
Lowe, R.A.: 726.
Lucrezio Monticelli, Giuseppe: 473, 474.
Ludlow, R.R.: 475.

Macioti, Manfredo: 476.
MacLaughlin, J.: 477.
Maffioletti, Gianmario: 478.
Mahadevan, I.: 729.
Maillat, Denis: 479, 480.
Makarov, Igor: 481.
Maki, D.: 214, 215.
Makinwa-Adebusoye, Paulina: 482.
Makúch, Jozef: 483.
Malacic, Janez: 484.
Malecki, Ignacy: 485.
Malishev, Nikolay: 486.
Malkov, L.P.: 311.
Mallet, Annick: 487.
Malmquist, D.H.: 488.
Ma Mung, Emmanuel: 95, 489, 490.
Mandel, M.: 491.
Mandi, P.: 492.
Mangalam, J.J.: 493, 494.
Manning, Robert D.: 495.
Marger, Martin N.: 496.
Marie, Claude-Valentin: 497, 498.
Marjolin, M.: 499.
Marmora, Lelio: 345.
Marquegnies, R.: 187.
Marsden, D.W.: 500.
Martin, B.R.: 392.
Martin, Philip L.: 501.
Martinez Pizarro, J.: 502.
Martuzzi Veronesi, Fosca: 466.
Maselli, G.: 503.
Masotti, Pier Marcello: 504.
Masri, M.W.: 505.
Massey, D.S.: 641.
Massué, Jean-Pierre: 506.
Mastellone, Salvo: 507.
McCoy, T.L.: 508.
McDowell, J.: 337.
McEvoy, David: 400.
McGrath, Fiona: 428.
McKee, David L.: 509, 510.
McLeod, M.: 511.
McRae, Verena: 512.

- Medvedev, Vsevolod: 513, 514.
Meijia, Alfonso: 516, 517.
Mellina, Sergio: 518.
Merckling, Odile: 519.
Messamah, K.: 520.
Michałowska, M.: 521.
Mick, S.S.: 724.
Milet, Hélène: 10.
Miller, G.W.: 523.
Miller, Kerby: 524.
Min, Pyong Gap: 525.
Ministère des Affaires Sociales et de l'Intégration: 526.
Ministère du Travail et de la Participation: 527.
Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia: 528.
Moayed-Dadkhah, K.: 529.
Mobley, W.: 530.
Modell, John: 99.
Molenaar, A.N.: 531.
Molle, W.T.M.: 532.
Moncarz, Raul: 533.
Mondschein, Thomas H.: 534.
Montanarelli, Nicholas: 535.
Montanari, Armando: 536, 537, 538.
Mooney, Steve: 539.
Mora y Araujo, M.: 540.
Morokvasic, Mirjana: 541.
Mostertman, Louis: 542.
Mott, Frank: 543.
Mueser, Peter R.: 544.
Muller-Daehn, Claus: 545.
Mundende, D.C.: 546.
Muñiz, Carlos M.: 547, 548.
Muñoz, Emilio: 549.
Murcier, Alan: 550.
Murris, Roelof: 551.
MURST, CONICS: 552.
Myers, Robert G.: 106, 553, 554.
Myrc, Agnieszka: 370, 371, 372.

Naraghi, E.: 555.
Narain, V.: 556.
National Academy of Sciences: 557.
National Science Board: 558.
Naum, Nicolae: 559.
Nesiah, D.: 560.
Newton, J.R.: 585.
Ngheip, N.H.: 561.
Nguyen-Hong-Nhiem, Lucy: 562.
Nicholas, S.: 563.

Nitti, Francesco: 564.
Nordell, D.: 565.
Nteziryayo, A.: 566.

Ochocki, A.: 521, 567.
Odland, J.: 568.
Odynak, D.: 439.
Ogden, Philip: 569.
Oh, Tai Keun: 570, 571.
Okolski, Marek: 572.
O'Malley, E.: 573.
Ong, Paul M.: 574.
Oommen, T.K.: 576, 577.
Organisation de Coopération et de Développement Économiques: 578, 579.
Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development: 580, 581, 582, 583.
O'Rourke, K.: 584.
Osborn, T.N.: 585.
Oteiza, Enrique: 586, 587.
Ouellette, Monique: 588.
Ouellet, Fernand: 589.
Oufrifa Bouzina, F.Z.: 590.
Oyeneye, Olotunji Y.: 603.

Pace, J.H.: 740.
Padrun, Ruth: 401, 591.
Paggi, Marco: 592.
Paillon, Michel: 593.
Palade, Doru: 594.
Palidda, Salvatore: 595, 596.
Pang Eng Fong: 597.
Papperini, Giovanni: 598.
Parlin, Bradley W.: 599.
Pascoe, Robert: 600.
Passaris, C.: 601.
Passman, Sidney: 602.
Pearson, R.: 171, 172, 173.
Peil, Margaret: 603.
Pellegrino, A.: 604.
Pendrous, Rick: 605.
Pennisi, G.: 606.
Perkins, J.A.: 607.
Pernia, Ernesto M.: 608.
Petit, M.J.: 609.
Pfanner, Helmut F.: 610.
Pieke, Frank N.: 611.
Piga, Y.: 612.
Pinkster, Harm: 613.
Pires, José: 614.
Pittau, Franco: 615, 616.

- Pizurki, Helena: 516, 517.
Pohl, R.: 618.
Pole, C.: 172, 173.
Pongsapich, A.: 621.
Portes, Alejandro: 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627.
Posner, Michael: 628.
Power, J.H.: 629.
Proctor, John: 630.
Pugliese, Enrico: 123.
Puledda, Vittoria: 615.
Pushkarov, Dimitar: 632.
- Qutub, I.: 633.
- Radda, G.K.: 160.
Radvanyi, Pierre: 634.
Rafiq, Mohammed: 635.
Ram, S.: 636.
Rao, G.L.: 637.
Reboani, Paolo: 297.
Rédei, Marie: 639.
Reeger, Ursula: 262.
Reginato, Mauro: 640.
Reichert, J.S.: 641.
Renaud, Bertrand: 642.
Reubens, Edwin P.: 643, 644.
Rhoda, Richard: 645.
Rhode, Barbara: 646, 647.
Ricca, Sergio: 648.
Richmond, Anthony H.: 649.
Ritterband, Paul: 650.
Rizzolatti, Giacomo: 651.
Rockett, Ian R.H.: 652.
Rodgers, Keith: 653.
Rodriguez, Vicente: 654.
Rogers, Rosemarie: 655, 656.
Rokosz, Bogdan: 657.
Rollwagen, Jack R.: 658.
Rosella, Annalisa: 659.
Rosoli, Gianfausto: 660, 661.
Royston, Erica: 516, 517.
Ruland, Loes: 105.
Rumiz, Paolo: 662.
- Sabato, Jorge F.: 663.
Safar, H.: 664, 665.
Sagdeev, R.Z.: 666.
Saint-Vil, J.: 667.
Saleh, Saneya A.W.: 668.
- Salt, John: 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681.
Salter, M.J.: 682.
Sandi, A.M.: 683.
Santikarn Kaosa-Ard, Mingsarn: 684.
Sassen, Saskia: 685.
Saulle, Maria Rita: 686, 687.
Savona, P.: 688.
Saxena, Pradeep, K.: 689.
Scacchia, Maurizio: 690.
Scalabrini Migration Center: 691.
Scarzanella, Eugenia: 692.
Schlottmann, A.M.: 363.
Schmitter Heisler, Barbara: 693.
Schraml, Lisa A.: 50.
Schroeder, R.C.: 13.
Schwarzweiler, Harry K.: 493, 494.
Schweitzer, W.: 694.
Scott, A.D.: 341, 342.
Scuola Professionale Emigrati: 696, 697.
Seccombe, Ian J.: 110, 698, 699.
Segal, Aaron: 700.
Selan, Valerio: 701.
Sen, F.: 702.
Sendov, Blagovest: 703.
Sengenberger, W.: 704.
Sequi, Fabrizio: 705.
Sergi, Nino: 616.
Shah, Nasra M.: 26.
Shaw, R. Paul: 706.
Shcolnikov, V.: 753.
Shearer, J.C.: 707.
Shergold, P.R.: 563.
Shevtsova, Lilia: 708.
Shieve, C.: 709.
Shin, Eui Hang: 710.
Shuttleworth, Ian: 428, 429, 711.
Silj, Alessandro: 712.
Silverleaf, J.H.: 160.
Simanovsky, Stanislav: 713, 789.
Sinclair, Clive A.: 110.
Singer, P.: 714.
Singleton, Ann: 681.
Sirageldin, I.: 715.
Siu-Lun, Wong: 716.
Skeldon, Ronald: 717.
Slottie, D.: 11.
Smith, D.C.: 160.
Soleilhavoup, J.: 618.
Srinivasan, Shaila: 719.
Stanley, William D.: 720.

- Stanton Russell, Sharon: 720.
Stark, Oded: 292, 293, 294, 413.
Stark, Tadeusz: 721.
Steckel, R.H.: 722.
Stecklein, J.E.: 723.
Stevens, Rosemary: 724.
Stevens, W.: 725.
Stewart, A.: 275.
Stheahr, T.E.: 726.
Stigler, G.J.: 727.
Stinner, William F.: 397.
Stogny, Boris: 728.
Strachan, A.: 428.
Szrelecki, Z.: 521.
Sukhatme, S.: 729.
Suruga, T.: 380.
Sutherland, Gordon: 730.
Szul, Roman: 372, 731.
- Tan, Edita A.: 732.
Tapinos, Georges: 733.
Tarius, Alain: 734.
Tassello, Graziano: 735.
Tavares-Rodrigues, Maria-Eugénia: 736.
Tavkhelidze, Albert: 737.
Taylor, Paul: 738.
Tchalakov, I.: 739.
Teich, A.H.: 740.
Teplán, István: 741, 742, 743.
Thalassinos, L.I.: 744.
The Royal Society: 748.
Thomas, Brinley: 750.
Thomas, Tredway: 230.
Thomas-Hope, Elizabeth M.: 751.
Tikhonov, Valentin: 752, 753.
Tilley, L.: 754, 755.
Tizzano, A.: 756.
Todisco, Enrico: 757, 758, 759, 760.
Tolz, V.: 761.
Tommasoli, Massimo: 20.
Topel, R.H.: 445.
Torrado, Susana: 762, 763.
Trestieni, Ion Dan: 766, 767, 768.
Troper, Harold: 769.
Tsarkov, Vladimir: 770.
Tsay, Ching-lung: 771.
Tsukashima, Ronald Tadao: 772.
Tuffy, Francis: 773.
Turney, J.: 774.
Tytler, D.: 775.
- Ugaldel, A.: 776.
UNESCO: 777.
UNESCO-ROSTE: 778, 779.
United Nations Conference on Trade and Development: 780.
United Nations Department of International Economic and Social Affairs: 781.
United Nations Economic Commission for Africa: 782.
United Nations Institute for Training and Research: 783.
United States President's Council of Advisors on S&T: 784.
Universities' Statistical Records: 785.
- Valiukov, V.V.: 787, 788, 789.
van Heech, T.J.: 790.
van Imhoff, E.: 791, 792.
Vas-Zoltán, P.: 793.
Verganelakis, Antonis: 794.
Verma, Ravi P.: 649.
Vinogradov, Boris: 795.
Viola, Saturnino: 261.
Vimot, Olivier: 206, 207, 796.
Visco, G.: 86.
Vizi, S.E.: 797.
Vollenweider-Andresen, Lise: 101.
Vuddamalay, Vasooodeven: 798.
Vyrost, Jozef: 799, 800.
- Wagner, M.: 801.
Wainwright, David: 802.
Wakabayashi, K.: 803.
Walddinger, Roger: 804, 805, 806.
Walsh, B.: 807.
Walton, John: 625.
Walwei, U.: 808.
Wapenhans, W.: 810.
Ward, A.: 811.
Ward, Robin: 806.
Watanabe, S.: 812.
Watts, H.: 228.
Webb, M.A.: 813.
Weber, Wolfgang: 298.
Weibel, Nadine: 814.
Weisberg, Y.: 815.
Wellis, Kenneth G.: 816.
Werner, H.: 808.
Werth, M.: 725.
White, Michael J.: 544.

- White, P.: 817.
Widgren, Jonas: 818.
Wihtol de Wenden, Caitheline: 819, 820.
Willshire Carrera, John: 821.
Wilson, James: 822.
Wilson, Patricia A.: 823.
Wilson, Richenda: 824.
Winchie, Diana B.: 825.
Winkler, D.R.: 18, 826, 827.
Witkowski, J.: 521, 828.
Wittmann, Heinz: 829.
Wood, Charles H.: 830.
Wood, P.A.: 415.
Wright, C.: 470.
Wright, P.: 832, 833.

Yahya, H.A.: 834.
Yakovlev, Igor: 835.
Yanci, Pilar Gonzales: 836.
Yeates, J.: 837.

Yossifov, Assen: 838.
Young, C.: 61.

Zagrobs'ka, A.F.: 839.
Zahlan, A.B.: 840, 841.
Zañartu, Mario: 842.
Zandvliet, C. Th.: 532.
Zarour, T.A.: 843.
Zaslavsky, V.: 844.
Zayonchkovskaya, Z.: 845.
Zemlianoi, Sergei: 846.
Zenger, André: 187.
Zerouou, Zahia: 10.
Zhang, Wei-Bin: 847.
Zhou, Min: 626, 627.
Ziman, J.: 848.
Zinberg, Dorothy: 849.
Zirilli, Stefano: 850.
Zlotnik, Hania: 85, 851.
Zolberg, Aristide R.: 852, 853.

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INDICE DEL VOLUME XXX (1993)

CONTRIBUTI STORICI

	N.	Pagg.
PAOLO BORRUSO, <i>Le missioni cattoliche fra gli emigrati italiani in Francia durante la seconda guerra mondiale (1939-40)</i>	111	490-512
CAROLINE DOUKI, <i>L'émigration toscane de 1860 à 1914: rythmes et flux</i>	109	29-47
JOSEPH GENTILLI, <i>Gli italiani nell'Australia occidentale: una comunità isolata in fase di invecchiamento</i>	109	2-28
STEFANO LUONI, <i>Forging a Democratic majority among the Italian-Americans in Pittsburgh</i>	109	48-62
NUNZIO PERNICONE, <i>Luigi Galleani and Italian Anarchist Terrorism in the United States</i>	111	469-489
MARISTELLA SVAMPA, <i>Inmigración y nacionalidad: el caso de la Argentina, 1880-1910</i>	110	289-310

RICERCHE E STUDI

CARLO BORZAGA, LUCIANO COVI, EMANUELA RENZETTI, <i>L'immigrazione extracomunitaria in provincia di Trento: risultati di indagini sul campo</i>	110	194-218
ODOARDO BUSSINI, <i>Da immigrazione culturale a immigrazione di lavoro. L'inserimento degli extracomunitari nel mercato umbro</i>	110	219-238
GIANCARLO CHIRO, JERZY J. SMOLICZ, <i>Is Italian language a core value of Italian culture in Australia? A study of second generation Italian-Australians</i>	110	311-343
NADIA CUFFARO, <i>Migrazioni internazionali, agricoltura e sviluppo: riflessioni su alcuni casti di studio</i>	109	75-99
RENATO D'ARCA, <i>L'immigrazione dai paesi in via di sviluppo in Puglia: aspetti metodologici e principali risultati</i>	109	100-126
CARLAMARIA DEL MIGLIO, ANNA FRANCESCA MARCHINI, <i>Identità e cambiamento dell'immigrata filippina in Italia</i>	111	450-468
ROSARIO LAMPUGNANI, <i>Multiculturalism, ethnic mobilisation, ethnic political action and integration</i>	110	265-288
FRANCESCO LAZZARI, <i>Nuove e vecchie migrazioni tra crisi dello Stato e diritti partecipativi del cittadino</i>	109	63-74
ILARIA LAZZERI, <i>Gli extracomunitari nella Comunità Europea: quadro normativo attuale</i>	110	239-264
SANDRO SEGRE, <i>Immigrazione extracomunitaria e delinquenza giovanile: un'analisi sociologica</i>	111	384-416
MORENO TOIGO, <i>Emigrazione, sviluppo e dipendenza: il caso della Tunisia</i>	111	417-449

CARINA FRID DE SILBERSTEIN, <i>L'emigrazione italiana in Argentina in una raccolta di Fernando Devoto</i>	109	147-153
ROBERTO MAGNI, <i>Dal lavoro alla persona. La riforma degli attuali meccanismi delle leggi di immigrazione</i>	109	127-132
SILVIO PEDROLLO, <i>Letteratura dell'emigrazione</i>	109	161-166
MATTEO SANFILIPPO, <i>Emigrazione e modernizzazione. A proposito di un volume di Emilio Franzina</i>	109	154-160

RESOCONTI

GRAZIANO BATTISTELLA, <i>Conferenza internazionale sui diritti umani dei lavoratori migranti</i>	109	138-146
PAOLA CORTI, <i>Un convegno del C.E.D.E.I. (Parigi 5-6 marzo 1993)</i>	110	344-345
FRANCESCO LAZZARI, <i>ISIG Summer School</i>	109	135-137
EGMONT LEE, <i>Le migrazioni in Europa, secoli XIII-XVIII (Prato, 3-8 maggio 1993)</i>	111	513-515
MARCO MARTINIELLO, <i>ISA Intercongress on Migration</i>	109	133-134

RECENSIONI

109	167-192
110	346-368
111	516-559

SEGNALAZIONI

110	369-376
111	560-567

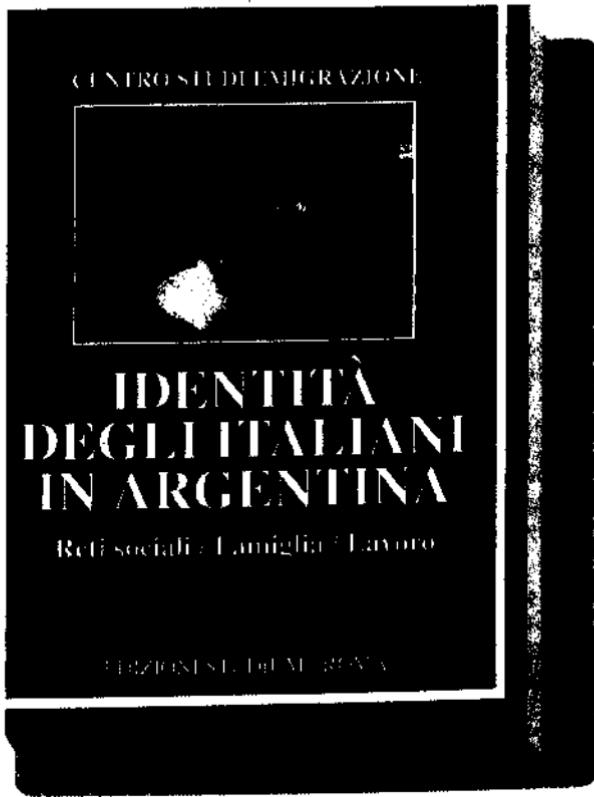
LIBRI RICEVUTI

110	377-382
111	568-571
112	683-688

N. BIBLIOGRAFICO

ENRICO TODISCO, <i>Intellectual, professional and skilled migrations</i>	112	574-590
GIANMARIO MAFFOLETTI, ENRICO TODISCO, FRANCESCO TRAMONTANA (a cura di), <i>Bibliography on skilled migration</i>	112	591-682

Finito di stampare nel mese di febbraio 1994



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VOLUME XXVII

NUMBER 3

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An international journal of migration studies

VOLUME XXX

N. 112

DECEMBER 1993

Table of Contents

Bibliography on skilled migration

(edited by Enrico Todisco)

Intellectual, professional and skilled migrations. Enrico Todisco

Introduction

Preliminary remarks

The geographical approach

The socio-economic approach

The political approach

Final remarks

Bibliography on skilled migration.

Gianmario Maffioletti, Enrico Todisco, Francesco Tramontana

Introductory remarks

Bibliography

Subject and geographic index

Authors' index

. Books received

Index of volume XXX

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