

**POLICIES AND PRACTICES IN IMMIGRATION OF
FOREIGN STUDENTS IN INDIA: CASE STUDIES
COVERING THREE UNIVERSITY AREAS IN DELHI**

*Dissertation submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of*

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

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25/07/2011

DECLARATION

I, Shekhar Tokas declare that this dissertation entitled "Policies and Practices in Immigration of Foreign Students in India: Case Studies Covering Three University Areas in Delhi" submitted by in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy of Jawaharlal Nehru University, is my bonafide work and may be placed before the examiners for evaluation.



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CERTIFICATE

It is hereby recommended that the dissertation be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

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CONTENTS

Acknowledgement	i
List of Abbreviations	ii
List of Tables	iii
List of Figures	iv-v

CHAPTERS	PAGE NO.
Chapter 1: Introduction	1-18
1.1 Why Foreign Students Face Restrictions?	3
1.2 Student Visa Abuse	5
1.2.1 Bogus College	8
1.2.1 Bogus Student	9
1.3 The Research Problem	9
1.4 Rationale of the study	11
1.4.1 Students being considered as non-migrants	13
1.4.2 No well defined immigration rule or law	13
1.4.3 No longer a one way traffic: Flow of Foreign Students in India	14
1.5 Research Aims and Objectives	16
1.6 Methodology	17
Chapter 2: Review of Literature	19-54
2.1 Students as Migrants	19
2.2 Reasons for Migration: Conceptualizing Foreign Student Migration	22
2.2.1 'Degree Mobility' and Motivations	25
2.2.2 Do Social Characteristics of Degree-Mobile Students Reveal the Reasons for Migration?	32
2.2.3 Credit Mobility and Motivations	33
2.3 Immigration Policy: Formulation	36
2.3.1 Theoretical Approaches	37
2.3.1 (i) Domestic Politics Approach	38
2.3.1 (ii) Bureaucratic Politics Approach	40

2.4 Shifts in Governance of Immigration Policy-making and Implementation	42
2.5 Need for Coordination in Policy-making and Implementation	43
2.6 An Enhanced Role for Civil Society	45
2.7 How do Foreign Students Influence Immigration Policy	46
2.7.1 Strategies Adopted by Countries to Recruit Foreign Students	48
2.7.2 Reasons for Recruiting Foreign Students	51
2.8 The Challenges	53

Chapter 3: Foreign Students' Immigration in India: Some Trends and Policies

55-75

3.1 Foreign students in India: Some Trends	55
3.2 Stakeholders: Functions and Policies	60
3.2.1 The Ministry of Home Affairs	60
3.2.1 (i) The Foreigners Division	61
3.2.1 (ii) The Internal Security Division	61
3.2.1 (iii) The Human Rights Division	61
3.3 The Bureau of Immigration and Foreigners Regional Registration Office	62
3.4 The Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs	64
3.5 The Ministry of Human Resource Development	65
3.5.1 Ed.CIL	66
3.5.2 Indian Council for Cultural Relations	66
3.6 Delhi University	69
3.7 Jamia Millia Islamia	71
3.8 Jawaharlal Nehru University	72
3.9 Policy Overview	73

Chapter 4: Foreign Students' Immigration in India: Practices

Involved and Data Analysis

76-124

4.1 Methodology	76
4.1.1 Description of the field	76
4.1.1 (i) Mukherjee Nagar	78
4.1.1 (ii) Munirka Village	78

4.1.1 (iii) Jamia Nagar	79
4.1.2 Data-collection during fieldwork	80
4.1.3 Interviewee demographics: selection criteria and representativity	82
4.1.4 Accessing the field	83
4.1.5 Researcher positionality and establishing rapport with the respondent	84
4.2 Data Analysis	86
4.2.1 Who are they?	86
4.2.2 Age-Distribution	89
4.2.3 Occupation in the Home country	90
4.2.4 Education and Sources of finance	91
4.2.5 Social Networks	94
4.2.6 Travel Experience	95
4.2.7 Parents Occupation	95
4.3 Reasons for Student Migration	96
4.3.1 Explanation for Reasons	101
4.3.1 (i) Cultural Exploration and Travel Opportunities	101
4.3.1 (ii) Education	104
4.3.1 (iii) Employment	106
4.3.1 (iv) International Experience	108
4.3.1 (v) Political Environment	109
4.4 Hidden Reasons	110
4.4.1 Non Revelation	111
4.4.1 (i) Intentional Hiding	111
4.4.1 (ii) Unintentional Hiding	112
4.4.2 Direct Revelation	112
4.5 Problem of categorization	112
4.5.1 Categorising Foreign Students as the Student Migrants on the basis of Student Visa	113
4.5.2 Categorising Foreign Student into “Genuine Student” and “Bogus Student”	114
4.6 Is it Possible to Reveal the Hidden Reasons for Migration?	114
4.7 Possible expansion of the Stakeholders: Functions, Objectives and Perceptions	117
4.7.1 Landlords/ Residents	117

4.7.2	Delhi Police	119
4.7.3	RWA/Village Panchayat	120
4.7.4	Internal/Domestic Students	120
4.8	Interaction among different Stakeholders at implementation level	122
Chapter 5: Conclusion and Findings		125-131
5.1	Major findings of the Study	126
5.2	Policy Implications	130
References		132-140
Appendix		141

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

FS	Foreign Student
MHA	Ministry of Home Affairs
MOIA	Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs
MHRD	Ministry of Human Resource Development
ICCR	India Council for Cultural Relations
CE-TA	Cultural Exploration and Travelling Opportunities
AST	Age-structural Transition
IMI	International Migration Institute
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
WMR	World Migration Report
OCI	Overseas Citizenship of India
PIO	Person of Indian Origin
NRI	Non Resident Indian
GOI	Government of India
AOIU	Association of Indian Universities
BOI	Bureau of Indian Immigration
FRRO	Foreigners Regional Registration Office
RWA	Resident Welfare Association
JNU	Jawaharlal Nehru University
DU	Delhi University
JMI	Jamia Millia Islamia
UGC	Universities Grand Commission

LIST OF TABLES

Table No.		Page No.
Table 1:	International Students in Indian Universities: Continent wise	15
Table 2:	Reasons for student Migration	30
Table 3:	Contribution to the US economy by foreign students, 2007-08 (million)	47
Table 4:	Australia's top ten exports, 2007-08	48
Table 5:	Foreign Students in Indian Universities (Top Ten Countries)	57
Table 6:	Members of Association of India Universities	58
Table 7:	Sources of data on foreign students	58
Table 8:	Indian Universities with Foreign Students (Top Ten) (2007-2008)	59
Table 9:	Total Number of Foreign Students in 2010-2011	72
Table 10:	Sample size	77

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure No.		Page No.
Figure 1:	Immigration Policy is a Trade-off between Merits and Demerits	7
Figure 2:	International Tertiary Students in the World, 1975-2008 (millions)	11
Figure 3:	Number of Registered Foreigners by Profession (2008)	56
Figure 4:	Number of foreign students by country of Origin	87
Figure 5:	Number of Foreign Student in DU by Country	87
Figure 6:	Number of Foreign Students in Mukherjee Nagar by Country	87
Figure 7:	Number of Foreign Student in JNU by Country	88
Figure 8:	Number of Foreign Student in Munirka Village by Country	88
Figure 9:	Number of Foreign Student in JMI by Country	88
Figure 10:	Number of Foreign Student in Jamia Nagar by Country	88
Figure 11:	Age Distribution of Foreign Students	89
Figure 12:	Area wise Age Distribution	90
Figure 13:	Occupation of Foreign Students in the Home Country	90
Figure 14:	Foreign Students Enrollment Course-Wise	91
Figure 15:	Source of Finance of Foreign Students	91
Figure 16:	Course wise Enrollment of Foreign Students: Comparison	92
Figure 17:	Foreign Students Enrolled in DU, JNU and JMI: Comparison	93
Figure 18:	Source of Financing of Foreign Students Enrolled in DU, JNU and JMI	93
Figure 19:	Foreign Students Staying in Mukherjee Nagar, Munirka Village and Jamia Nagar: Course Wise Comparison	93
Figure 20:	Sources of Finance of FS in Mukherjee Nagar, Munirka Nagar and Jamia Nagar	94
Figure 21:	Reasons for Foreign Student Migration	98
Figure 22:	Reasons for Foreign Student Students Migration in DU, JNU and JMI	99

Figure 23:	Reasons for Migration of Foreign Students in Mukherjee Nagar, Munirka Village and Jamia Nagar	99
Figure 24:	Reasons for Migration of Foreign Students in DU, JNU and JMI: Comparision	100
Figure 25:	Reasons for Migration of Foreign Students in Mukherjee Nagar, Munirka Village and Jamia Nagar: Comparision	100
Figure 26:	Interaction among Different Stakeholders	122

Chapter 1: Introduction

Today the world is strongly marked by the globalisation and intensification of migratory waves (IMI, 2006). New migratory spaces are being set where people from different countries move to the countries where opportunities to grow are much better. Everyday people make decisions to leave their countries and move to other places in different countries for different reasons¹. This ubiquitous action of foreign students moving or planning to move across international borders is being studied increasingly. However, student movement is considered more as a mobility and not migration by many, i.e. ignoring students as migrants. Countries around the world keep changing their foreign student immigration policies frequently to maximize their benefits by stabilizing their higher education sector as well as economies. When compared to policies on mobility of goods and capital, immigration policies are very restrictive. Thus, even with increasing globalization, the foreign students despite their large numbers, are more immobile than mobility of goods and capital. Andres Solimano (2010) says 'trade and capital-market regimes are more open than immigration regimes' and he has called this asymmetry between capital and people's mobility (which includes foreign students) as "People's paradox of globalization".

Gordon H. Hanson (2009) says, "When economists discuss the rationale for global trade accords, they generally appeal to the benefits of free trade for global economic well being. By agreeing to keep trade barriers against each other low, countries can achieve a higher level of welfare than they could by succumbing to the unilateral incentive to improve their terms of trade through the application of tariffs." But unfortunately no such logic guides the policies that govern international migration. At best countries have only been able to negotiate a multilateral deal on migration under Mode IV of the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS), which basically deals with the temporary movement of "natural persons" in the

¹ The World Migration Report 2010, estimates that the number of international migrants will swell from 214 million in 2010 to about 405 million by 2050 (The Hindu, December 14th, 2010).

provision of services across borders. But within this mode also countries primarily encourages movement of highly skilled professionals.²

This asymmetric treatment of people's mobility in globalisation can be interpreted in various ways. Karl Marx refers to a concept called "commodity fetishism" which refers to social relationships which in capitalist societies apparently are transformed into objective relationship with commodities or money rather than relationships with people who produce these goods. In a way, this asymmetric treatment is because of the needs, hopes and conflicts that are attached to the immigration of people or foreign students (i.e. it is easier and less contentious socially to deal with objects such as commodities and money than people).

Among the different categories of international migrants, foreign students have been the most favoured category. In comparison to other international migrants, immigration policies of the most developed countries have been favourable to foreign students most of the time. The question that needs to be asked here is: why is there this favour to foreign students? Skeldon (2008) says, "Human capital, knowledge and creativity, rather than natural resources, are the keys to economic development. Because of this, Western states have increasingly sought to attract global talents, and especially international students, as part of a strategy to expand their knowledge economies." Governments around the world are recognizing the benefits of foreign student migration and; thus, adopting policies and measures that are in the national interest (UN, 2006 and Solimano, 2010). Students in developing countries and under-developed countries are quite happy about this as it gives them opportunities to lead good and stable lives. But there should be no confusion that this favour by developed or developing countries is only till they can reap benefits from these students and throw them out when they create imbalances in the economy or when economy is going through hard times.

² The WTO itself acknowledges that GATS Mode IV has been ineffective at increasing global labour flows (IOM/World Bank/WTO, Mamdouh, 2004). Making Mode IV a meaningful vehicle for migration would appear to require governments to substantially liberalize their commitments on labor movements associated with trade in services (Hanson, 2009).

Overall the immigration policies of many countries have favoured foreign students from time to time and have also restricted them from time to time according to their comfortability. The favour to foreign students in their immigration policies have been because of the merits attached to foreign student immigration and that is why such huge student flows. There are many merits of recruiting younger talents or foreign students. Firstly, it helps to correct the age-structural transition (AST) bias in their ageing population. Secondly, it helps in keeping the wage and pension commitments low by replacing older and long-term migrants with younger and short-term migrants (and foreign students). Thirdly, it helps to bring in the latest stockpiling vintage of knowledge embodied in younger cohorts of foreign students (and skilled workers) (Khadria, 2006) and lastly, it also helps countries to sustain their higher education industry³. But this flow is not totally free of restrictions i.e. there are also demerits attached to foreign student immigration.

1.1 Why foreign students face restrictions?

Foreign student immigration is also being opposed by many countries and the natives; this is because not everything is so positive about foreign student immigration. Some of the important reasons are the increasing terrorism, criminal activities by foreign students, rise in unemployment and abuse of student visa route by other migrants (restrictiveness is more if economy is going through recession or slowdown. For instance- recent global slowdown⁴ has led to increase in unemployment, thus, leading to more restrictive policies by many countries in Europe). Foreign student immigration can be perceived as a threat by governments of

³ For example UK has been shifting their focus from European countries to Non-European countries. In UK, Foreign Student fee contributed £ 4 billion in 2007 and in Australia HE is the 4th largest exporting sector generating \$ 9.5 billion in 2005-06 (Marginson, 2007 and IMR,2009). Western economies are increasingly seeking to both recruit international students and retain them after graduation because in an era of globalisation, international students hold several short- and long-term gains for institutions and countries. With public per student funding for higher education decreasing in many countries, universities and colleges are looking to diversify their generated income and the revenue earned from overseas student tuition fee (Verbik, Line and Lasanowski, Veronica (2007).

⁴ More than one in five people under the age of 25 in EU is unemployed. In Spain, the figure is 43%; in Greece 30% and in Italy 26% ("A history of student protests", By Gary Younge, The Hindu, December 7th, 2010, page. 11).

receiving communities. The threat can be an attack or abuse by foreign students or questionable activities that they are involved in. One of the important incidences that had a major influence on the immigration policy around the world and in U.S.A was the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks conducted by immigrants, which included several terrorists on student visas⁵ (Urias, 2009).

Foreign students can be perceived as a threat to the socio-cultural values of the receiving country. Myron Weiner (1992) says that “Security is a social construct with different meanings in different societies.” For example - an ethnically homogeneous society may place a higher value on preserving its ethnic character than a heterogeneous society and therefore, may regard foreign student’s influx as a threat to its security⁶. One of the recent examples is the attack on Indian students in Australia. Further, security can be understood in economic terms also, as in times of recession or normally also, it can lead to loss of employment for certain natives (if not at the time of study then in the future). For example, “The younger generation in Germany has, time and again, reacted violently towards the Indian community; for there is a growing feeling among them that the most important reason of their being unemployment is the presence of Indian migrant workers” (Khadria et. al, 2008).

These problems created due to foreign students immigration makes immigration policies more restrictive. But there is another dynamics to foreign student immigration and that is, the people coming on student visa in reality may not be students. In reality, they may be just using student visa route to enter the country for various reasons. This problem of student visa abuse has been discussed below.

⁵ In recent years, the FBI has warned government that state sponsors of terrorism have been funding students to come to the United States where many are studying technology-related fields that may contribute to weapons of mass destruction programs (Urias, 2009).

⁶ During field work observed that in Munirka village foreign students mostly Africans are being opposed while there was no such thing in other societal settings like Vasant kunj or Vasant Vihar.

1.2 Student Visa Abuse⁷

Although the factors mentioned above create several economic, socio-cultural and political problems but the main problem lies in loopholes in the student visa policy of different countries.⁸ Because of this, countries around the world have been trying to restructure the student visa policy in such a way that it minimizes the adverse affects of foreign student immigration. The main highlight of these reforms or restructuring has been to limit the abuse of student visa.⁹ The strategies include risk-based approach on a country-by-country basis¹⁰, with the lowest risk countries being moved to visa waiver status; inspecting the bogus colleges giving admission to bogus students; asking students to pay over fees in advance, in full for courses up to 6 months and two-thirds of the first year fees for courses of more than 6 months; restricting students on lower-level courses on a country risk basis or by taking action against colleges which appear to be complicit in abuse of lower-level courses, restricting students on language courses and Tagging^{11, 12} suspected foreign students etc¹³.

Recently in UK, conservative party has pledged to bring down migration to ‘tens of thousands’ from the existing ‘hundreds of thousands’. The result of this ‘wholesale slaughter’ plan of UK government would be the decrease in number of foreign students as they plan to cut down student visas by 1, 00,000 a year over the next four years.¹⁴ Even though reason for this could be the high unemployment among youths under 25 years of age, which has reached

⁷ ‘Foreign nationals specializing in crimes are entering the country on tourist and student visas with the single objective of cheating’, By Devesh K. Pandey, ‘E-mail frauds getting localised’, The Hindu, March 5th, 2011.

⁸ ‘More Restrictions ahead for students wishing to study in Britain’, By Hasan Suroor, The Hindu, March 24th, 2011.

⁹ ‘Too many individuals applying to study at UK have been coming here to live and work instead - we need to stop this abuse’ - UK Home Office spokesman. “Education leaders unite against student visa cuts plan”, BBC News, education reporter, January 27th, 2011.

¹⁰ ‘When a Muslim is singled out for denial of U.S. visa, By Vidya Subarmaniam, The Hindu, September 4th, 2010.

¹¹ ‘U.S. justifies use of ankle monitors on students: its use is a standard procedure across U.S. for investigations’, By, Sandeep Dikshit, The Hindu, February 1st, 2011.

¹² ‘Indian students forced to wear radio tags, The Hindu, January 30th, 2011.

¹³ ‘UK tells foreign students: Speak English or stay out: New visa rules to block bogus students make language tests compulsory and jeopardise language schools’ accreditation’, Guardian Weekly, Tuesday April 12th, 2011.

¹⁴ ‘Tougher immigration policy ahead’, By Hasan Suroor, The Hindu, December 16th, 2010.

close to one million and this has pushed youth unemployment rate to up to 20.3%, which is highest since 1992.¹⁵ But the UK government claims:

“That there is “significant abuse” of student visas with many using this route to enter Britain for economic reasons. It is alleged that loopholes in student visa regime are exploited by potential terrorists and spies. Immigration minister Damian Green says there would be a “thorough evaluation” of the rules to make sure that only “genuine” students are allowed into the country.”¹⁶

The question that straight away comes to mind is: what affects the immigration policy of a country? Whether it’s a question of how these students affect economy or the security concerns of the countries. The answer to this question in reality is that both of these are the top concerns of the immigration policy of any country.¹⁷ In fact, any immigration policy is a trade-off between merits and demerits attached to foreign student immigration (See figure 1). All the demerits mentioned above can be caused by people who enter the country through student visa route as it is the easiest way to enter the country¹⁸. But these demerits could also be caused by foreign students themselves.

There has been a lot of protest by universities¹⁹ and student community in favor of foreign students. Libby Aston, director of the University Alliance of larger, business-focused universities said:

¹⁵ ‘Youth Unemployment hits record high’, The Hindu, January 21st, 2011.

¹⁶ ‘Tougher immigration policy ahead’, By Hasan Suroor, The Hindu, December 16th, 2010.

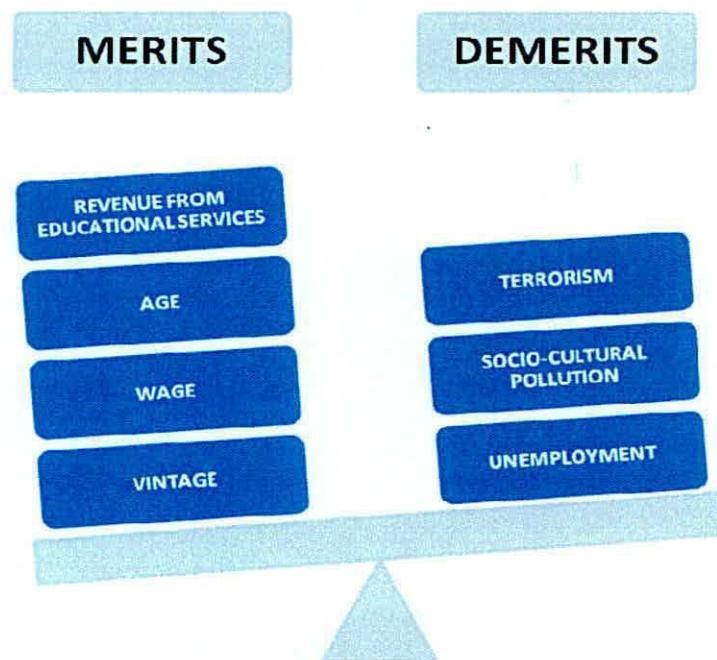
¹⁷ ‘India protests U.K. cap on immigration’ By Hasan Suroor, The Hindu, June 30th, 2010.

¹⁸ In 2009 Home Office investigation was launched after the British newspaper The Times presented evidence that hundreds of men from Pakistan’s North West Frontier had paid at least £1,000 to a gang to be admitted into bogus colleges, while some paid £2,500 for fake diplomas, attendance records and degrees. A total of eleven colleges were established in London, Bradford and Manchester, including one which had enrolled eight terrorism suspects arrested in Manchester and Liverpool in April 2009.

¹⁹ The report by Professor Edward Acton, vice-chancellor of the University of East Anglia, points out that overseas students bring in vital income worth nearly £5bn a year in fees and off-campus expenditure. “To implement the proposed measures as they stand would amount to a hostile act against Britain’s universities. “Student visa limits dire for universities, says report” By Hannah Richardson, BBC News education reporter, February, 18th, 2011.”

“This is not about bogus language colleges or bogus students. These changes would have serious consequences for universities across the country and will be yet another blow to the economy. Now is not the time to be taking spenders and knowledge out of the economy nor limiting university's income further.”²⁰

Figure 1: Immigration Policy is a Trade-off between Merits and Demerits



A study for the Higher Education Policy Institute (Hepi) said that the recent measures taken by UK government would cut the number of foreign students coming to UK universities, losing billions of pounds in income.²¹ Argument against the new student visa policy by universities reflect the seriousness of the issue as the countries around the world and their economies highly depend on foreign students and the money they bring in.^{22,23} Foreign students are also protesting against the new student

²⁰ ‘Student visa limits dire for universities, says report’ By Hannah Richardson, BBC News education reporter, February 18th, 2011

²¹ ‘Student visa limits dire for universities, says report’ By Hannah Richardson, BBC News education reporter, February 18th, 2011.

²² ‘Universities hit out at visa plans for foreign students’, By Toby Helm, Political Editor, guardian.co.uk, Saturday, March 5th, 2011.

²³ ‘8 British Nobel laureates protest immigration cap’ By Hasan Suror, The Hindu, October 3rd, 2010.

visa policies being imposed by developed nations. Student protests are quite active in countries like UK, USA and Australia and also visible through the social networking sites like Facebook: where foreign students have created one group named as ‘Students Not Suspect’.²⁴

The government, immigration officials, universities, communities and foreign students seem to be just arguing in favour or against the immigration of foreign students. All the plans, student visa reforms and arguments are concerned with issues of unemployment, stability of economies, money that feeds in their higher education sector, reducing bogus students and closing down ‘bogus colleges’ etc. But no one in reality seems to be interested in knowing: why this problem of student visa abuse occurs and how to minimize this abuse? Yes, immigration officials are trying to minimize the student visa abuse by tightening the check point procedure i.e. asking students to give figure prints and by taking other measures like cutting down the courses and adopting risk-based approach, etc. Unfortunately, all these measures may help only to reduce number of foreign students but it is not going to solve this problem of student visa abuse. The reason for this is that all these measures are not going to reveal the intentions of these people on student visa, which is very important to solve this problem. The next section discusses this problem but before that, this study tries to define to important terms i.e. ‘Bogus College’ and Bogus Student.

1.2.1 ‘Bogus College’

A bogus college is a sham university or a college used as a means to enable people from overseas to apply for a student visa and consequently reside in the host country, usually with bad intentions but may not be for bad intentions.^{25,26}

²⁴ “Students Not suspects” by jcwj, March 15th, 2011, www.jcwi.org.uk, Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants is a key campaigning voice in the field of immigration, asylum and nationality law and policy. It is completely independent from government funding, remaining entirely free from government influence.

²⁵ Recent Immigration fraud of by Tri-Valley University in the Bay Area near San Fransico, California. is an example of Bogus College, where the head of the Tri-Valley University was willing to offer student visas, even after knowing that these students had no intentions to attend courses. (Students facing deportation have options’ By Narayan Lakshman, The Hindu, January 28th, 2011).

1.2.2 'Bogus Student'²⁷

Where an individual migrates to a different country on student visa whose actual purpose is not study or combination of reasons where non-academic reasons are more influential then that individual is called Bogus Student. These individuals on student visa do not reveal the actual reason for migrating i.e. if the purpose for which these individual migrate and intend to deceive.²⁸ These reasons if revealed make it difficult for the individual to get a visa or enter another country. So it is basically non revelation of reasons (which could be intentionally or unintentionally) by people of student visa.²⁹

Having defined both the terms let us discuss the problem that study intends to look into.

1.3 The Research Problem

This study is interested in understanding and suggesting why this problem of "Bogus Student" or abuse of student visa arises. So the question that is posed is: why are countries not being able to recognise these "bogus students" who enter a country under false pretences? The reason this problem occurs is because of the impossibility of recognising the people who give false appearance or intend to deceive. In simple words, it is very difficult to know the reasons which influence an individual to migrate (i.e. difficult to know what motivates them to migrate)³⁰. This problem of

²⁶ "US authorities to launch an immediate crackdown on illegal use of student visas by foreign nationals to attend sham universities", 'After TVU row, call for crackdown on illegal use of US student visas, By Chidanand Rajghatta, The Times of India, March 9th, 2011.

²⁷ It has not being defined by anyone till now.

²⁸ 'After TVU row, call for crackdown on illegal use of US student visas, By Chidanand Rajghatta, The Times of India, March 9th, 2011.

²⁹ 'UK Tightens Student Immigration System', By Ishani Dasgupta, The Economic Times, March 24th, 2011.

³⁰ GVV Sarma, joint Secretary (foreigners) at the ministry of home affairs, said that although temptation do exist in people to enter country for various reasons but intentions may not be dangerous. Recently a duo on research work on "Security Analysis of Inida's Voting Machines" had being denied visa, as earlier when they came on tourist visa, they were involved in activities that could not be considered tourism.

“bogus students” will become clearer, when we look at what International Migration Institution paper on “Towards a New Agenda for International Migration Research” has to say i.e. “People’s motivations for migration are rarely straightforward and they do not easily fit the bureaucratic and legal categories required by states” (IMI, 2006). The present study argues that foreign students’ (those on student visa) real motivation or reason to migrate is something that is difficult to reach at and this is because of complexity of reasons or hidden reasons involved in student migration. Although hidden reasons have not been talked about by any theorist, theories do talk about complexity of movement and why people migrate. Thus, this study is an attempt to explore and understand the complexity of reasons or hidden reasons involved in student migration.

In the context of foreign students it is very important for the policy makers to formulate the immigration policies in such a way that it neither harms the economy of a country nor it is an easy target for those with false pretences or abuse of student visa route. The recent failure of the student visa policies of different countries to recognise the “bogus students” is mainly because of minimal interaction among educational institutes and immigration bodies; and other stakeholders involved. So, it is very important that these different stakeholders interact. Thus, this study intends to examine: who the stakeholders are, what are their objectives and how do they interact; do they work collectively towards one objective or do they have their self interest involved working for their own specified motives³¹. These motivations of the stakeholders could be influenced by political pressure from groups that are hurt by immigration, by business groups that may be benefited by immigration; by the bureaucrats in different ministries working for their own motivations; and stakeholders themselves influencing other stakeholders i.e. educational institutes or foreign students influencing different ministries involved in policy making or implementation (Hanson, 2009 and Collinson, 2009).

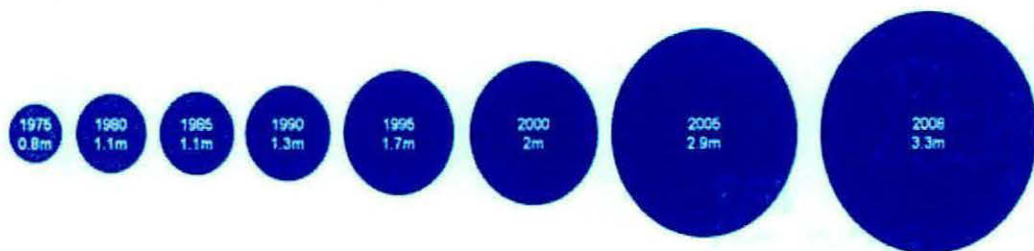
³¹ State actors, such as immigration control authorities, may be considered as particular actors among many others in the chain, exerting considerable control in some situations and less in others. Not all institutions of the same government – such as home affairs, foreign relations, development, trade and industry and health agencies or ministries, and local authorities – will necessarily be operating with the same set of interests or the same degree of control in any particular context or point in time (Collinson, 2009)

Thus, it is only by understanding and exploring the dynamics of immigration policy making and its implementation at the local level could help us to understand and explore the reasons for student migration. This could help policy makers to maximize the benefits attached with foreign students' immigration and minimize the abuse of student visa route. A perfect foolproof immigration system is very difficult to create. So, what immigration policymakers and implementers can do is to minimize the abuse. As UK government also says "there is no foolproof system. Even toughest system is vulnerable to abuse"³²

1.4 Rationale of the Study

'Cross-border student mobility is perhaps as old as the history of universities itself. Students from across the nation-states used to visit universities in different times for full-time study programmes and for occasional academic exchange earlier also. For example, many foreign students from the neighbouring countries such as China studied at Nalanda University, one of the well known seats of learning in ancient India' (Kumar, 2010). Although not very huge in numbers till 1970's but the number of international tertiary students have increased from 0.8 million in 1975 to 3.3 million in 2008, registering more than a four-fold increase in a period of just 33 years (Figure 2); and this numbers of foreign students is estimated to reach at 7.2 million by 2025 and 8 million by 2020 (OECD Education Database, 2010).

Figure 2: International Tertiary Students in the World, 1975-2008 (millions)



Source: OCED Education Database 2010, cited in Perveen, 2010.

³² 'Tougher immigration policy ahead', By Hasan Suroor, The Hindu, December 16th, 2010.

This trend results from a range of different, not mutually exclusive factors: greater mobility of skilled individuals and workers in a globalized economy; the falling costs of transport and communication; the desire of countries to encourage university and cultural exchanges and to attract highly qualified personnel; the wish on the part of tertiary institutions to generate additional income or increase their prestige and raise their profiles, both nationally and internationally; or the need for a better educated workforce in emerging economies where local capabilities are often quantitatively and qualitatively insufficient (WMR, 2008).

Not only the number of foreign students have increased significantly but migration motivations have become highly varied and dynamic, and thus highly resistant to generalisation. Simple categorisation and clear cut dichotomies are inadequate or misleading (Collinson, 2009). The shortcoming in contemporary understanding of migration that the study intends to focus on have also been highlighted by IMI (2009) i.e. lack of attention to the motivations of migration (specifically the motivation of foreign students) and what influences immigration policy (specifically how foreign students influences immigration policy). So the detailed qualitative research with local level perspectives of different stakeholders focussing on foreign students, educational institutes, households, local communities, ministries; and discrete migration networks, systems or processes is likely to reveal more about the real (highly complex and varied) causes or motivations of student migration (or those on student visa); plus socio-personal characteristics of foreign students could also possibly reveal the their motivations or intentions. Thus, this study tries to fill this gap in migration studies.

Further, rationale for undertaking this study has also been because of the following reasons: firstly, even after such huge flow of foreign students, they have been ignored as international migrants. Secondly, there is no well defined immigration policy in the context of foreign students in India; and finally, India is looked at only as the country of student emigration. Most of the studies basically focus on India as a source country and not as a country of destination. These three issues have been briefly discussed below.

1.4.1 Students being ignored as Migrants

Despite the numerical importance of foreign students, they have been understudied by scholars of different disciplines (Findlay, 2010). The standard academic literature on migration pays virtually no attention to students as migrants; this is an ironic situation given that most migration scholars encounter foreign students on a daily basis. Recent key texts on theory of migration say absolutely nothing about student migration, or mention it only in a couple of lines (Boyle et al., 1998). Castles and Miller's book 'The Age of Migration' (2009) extends his attention to around three-quarters of a page and some slightly more extended treatment by Skeldon (2008). It seems, therefore, that different migration scholars have practically ignored students as worthy of attention in their studies of migration. So, there is a need to look at students as an important part of international migration (Discussed in Review of Literature).

1.4.2 No well-defined Immigration rule/law in India

India at present has no well defined immigration policy. They just have different visa categories and some guidelines to the foreigners regarding what to do and what not to do. Although India has no well-defined immigration rule or law per se, but after the creation of Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs (MOIA, henceforth) in 2004 it has launched many programs and schemes that have encouraged engagements of Indian Diasporas around the world. As Khadria (2007) says that "the Overseas Citizenship of India (OCI) – the so-called dual citizenship promised to the Indian Diasporas by the Indian government in 2005 and conferred in 2006 is an important landmark in redefining the contours of immigration policy in the new millennium - not merely for India but for an 'interconnected' world as well." Different ministries and implementing bodies created by these ministries are somehow engaged in their work to promote India as a country of destination and have launched several programmes also. Some of the latest programmes and schemes are Know India Programme, Scholarship Scheme for Diaspora Children; and Tracing the roots and Establishment of PIO universities etc. As discussed in the beginning, there are merits and demerits attached to foreign student immigration; thus, there is a need

for a well defined student immigration policy for maximizing the benefits and minimizing the demerits.

1.4.3 No longer a one way traffic: Flow of foreign students in India

In the contemporary wave of globalization, India is not only seen as the country of origin but also as the country of destination. India being treated as the country of destination is not an old one. The reason behind it is the fact that the India is the one of the fastest growing economies of the world in current times of economic slowdown. Both developed and developing countries are showing faith in India as a profitable destination and the country of better opportunities and better life. Besides sending large numbers of students abroad for higher education, India has also been host to foreign students from many countries (See table 1). Even though one may say that these numbers are quite low as compared to the number that goes out of the country, but this doesn't nullify the fact that foreign students in India are the top most migrant category with approximately 25% share in total migration. Thus, looking into foreign student immigration could surely and possibly provide insights that could help us to make an effective immigration policy which is foolproof. In most of the studies, what little analysis is done focuses on Asians studying in the West or India as source country of international students, but none of them talks about the foreign student immigration in India or India as a receiving country.

In table 1 below, most of the foreign students in India come from Asia followed by Africa. This could be because of the different scholarships provided by Government of India (GOI, henceforth). Although the data given by Association of Indian Universities (AOIU, henceforth) shows that 21,206 students were in Indian universities but real figures are quite high. This is because not all the universities are members of AOIU and not every foreign student are enrolled in universities. Bureau of Immigration, India (BOI, henceforth) data shows that for the year 2008 number of registered foreign students is approximately 50,000 (Data collected in person from Ministry of Home Affairs (MHA, henceforth), India and Annual Report Ministry of Home Affairs 2009-10). Another important point that needs to be noticed is that all the foreign students who are here for a period of less than 6 months or less than 180

days are not supposed to register at Foreigner Regional Registration Office (FRRO, henceforth). If these figures are included, the figures of foreign students (FS, henceforth) can go very high. So, we can clearly see that to under-estimate the number of FS in India would not be a good idea and thus is enough to do a research in this area.

Table 1: International Students in Indian Universities: Continent wise

Continents	2004-05	2005-06	2006-07	2007-08
Asia	9849	10493	13400	15437
Africa	2005	2403	3316	3796
Americas	593	654	776	626
Europe	178	206	238	309
Australasia	55	71	69	81
Miscellaneous	587	629	592	957
Total	13267	14456	18391	21206
*PLO- 478, *NRI – 97, *Palestine-32, (2007-08) *350 International Students not identified country wise (2007-08)				

Source: Dongaonkar and Negi (2009), International Students in Indian Universities: 2007-2008, Association of Indian Universities, New Delhi.

With all these issues, arguments and rationales, this study i.e. Immigration Policies and Practices for Foreign Students in India: Case Studies covering Three University Areas of Delhi” intends to work on the following objectives:

1.5 Aims and Objectives of the Study

The Study aims to explore and understand the reasons for foreign student immigration and the problem of “Bogus Student” or abuse of student visa route. Thus, to understand this problem, it also proposes to understand and explore the dynamics of immigration policy making and its implementation at the local level by widening the panel of actors both in the policies and practice i.e. the study intends to widen the panel of actors taken into account when different policy issues of foreign student immigration are formulated and when these policies are implemented. There are two broad objectives of the study, these have been mentioned below:

1- To study and critically analyse the present immigration policymaking process and its implementation in the context of foreign students. This will include:

- Analysis of foreign students’ trends and availability of data.
- What are the factors that influence immigration policy or policy-making, specifically foreign students (i.e. How FS influences immigration policy?)
- Who are the stakeholders involved, their objectives, their functions and how do they interact?
- The possible expansion of stakeholders and the practices that different stakeholders are involved into.

2- To explore and critically analyze the reasons for migration and thus the problem of categorisation and visa provision. This will include:

- To explore the reasons for migration and see if there are any hidden reasons involved.
- To look for the actual reasons for migration after FS have arrived and to see whether the demarcation between “genuine student” and “bogus student” is possible or not.
- To critically analyze the basis for categorization: To find out whether the official reason on which visa granted is the actual reason and its implications for policy making.

1.6 Methodology

The study is based on qualitative approach in order to understand and explore the interaction of different stakeholders at local level and different reasons for foreign student migration. Perceptions of different stakeholders on foreign students and immigration policy have been explored not only through field work but through literature review. Qualitative methods such as semi-structured interviews provide a useful medium for exploring individual perceptions and were therefore considered appropriate for exploring motivations of foreign students to migrate, perception about immigration policy and implementation of these policies at local level (Methodological issues of fieldwork and data analysis have been discussed in chapter 4 later).

The process of data collection for the study has been based on fieldwork; and exploration of secondary data from sites of different stakeholders. In the field relevant information is collected from foreign students, home ministry personnel, BOI/FRRO, local police, landlords, internal migrants/ domestic students and RWA/sarpanch. Further the secondary data has also been extracted from sites of MHA, MOIA, FRRO/BOI, Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU, henceforth), Jamia Millia Islamia (JMI, henceforth), Delhi University (DU, henceforth), Education Council of India (Ed.CIL, henceforth), Indian Council for Cultural Relations (ICCR, henceforth), Ministry of Human Resource Development (MHRD, henceforth) and Universities Grant Commission (UGC, henceforth).

Understanding and exploring the factors affecting immigration, its formulation, implementation and exploration of reasons for migration has also required the analysis of literature i.e. academic writing, government reports and newspapers— on theories of migration, theories of immigration policies, studies on foreign student migration and review of student visa systems of UK. As the study argues that all those who migrate on student visa may not be students or may have complex sets of reasons which could create problems for them legally. So, study has reviewed the existing literatures on reasons for migration, studies specific to reasons for student migration and the studies on foreign students. Based on these studies and

pilot study done earlier, the study selects several possible reasons that motivate students or those on student visa; and asked them to rank the three most important reasons (discussed later) plus the information on social characteristics of foreign students has also been collected {as there are close link between these two i.e. motivations and social characteristics of students (HEFCE study, Findlay et al, 2005 and 2006)}. Further, to better understand the problem of reasons for migration or student visa abuse, the study looks at interaction of different stakeholder at local level where the perceptions of local level stakeholders on foreign students, issues in policy and its implementation have also been collected, plus their objectives and functions have been looked at.

Chapter 2: Review of Literature

Much of the literature that does refer specifically to foreign students deals with direction, choice of destination and magnitude of the foreign student migration (Hazen et al, 2006). Contemporary and earlier migration research gives no attention to foreign students as migrants (As Li et al. 1996). But the focus of this chapter or the study is not the direction, choice of destination or magnitude of the foreign student migration. This chapter basically reviews the literature on foreign student migration; and how studies and theorists around the world till recently ignored the foreign student migration and its theorization. As mentioned earlier also the existing studies ignore the more dynamic and deepened understanding of motivations or reasons for student migration and no focus on problems attached to it i.e. exploitation of student visa route; where this exploitation is because of no interaction among different stakeholders. Thus in this chapter different studies explaining reasons given by migration theories in general and the reasons for foreign student migration have been reviewed. Further to understand the interaction among different stakeholders, the present study looks into the factors influencing immigration policy (theorization) and how foreign students in particular influences immigration policy have also been reviewed.

2.1 Students as Migrants

Foreign Students deserve to be considered as specific actors of international migration because motivations at individual level are highly influential. Although this gap has been identified a long time ago, still foreign student migration is not theorized. Thus there is a need to broaden significantly the theoretical framework in which this type of migration is conceptualised. This theoretical broadening could help us to understand why foreign student migration occurs and could also help us to reveal the motivation or reasons for student migration.

The primary ambiguity in the literature is how to address foreign students, in the frame of mobility or migration? Although student flows are quite significant but

some studies and theorists around the world has argued that students are not migrants, it's just that they are more mobile and at last return to their home countries. But migration in simple words implies the movement of an individual across state borders, moving from one country to another, and generally implies an adaptation process (Van Mol, 2009). So, in this context, we can argue that foreign student mobility can be seen as a specific form of migration, since students move across international borders and after arriving they also have to adjust to their new environment also. Van Mol (2009) argues that "student mobility points at relatively short exchanges in the mark of a programme or study, whereas student migration is highly regulated by states, and subject to strict policies, in order to avoid abuse and to control the stay of students". For example, Indian student migration towards USA and UK normally should imply a temporary component, since foreign students generally have to return home after graduating, but their stay is much longer than the other mobile students and is also encouraged by the government policies of these countries. Thus they should be considered international migrants. So, the main distinction is the time frame of the movement i.e. if it is for longer period then it is seen as a type of migration and when the duration is short it is seen as mobility. In the European context, the term mobility is preferred especially for study and work abroad programs where the duration is short and often is a part of an exchange framework (Jallade & Gordon, 1996; Teichler, 1996; Murphy-Lejeune, 2003 and; West, 2001 as cited in Findlay et al., 2006).

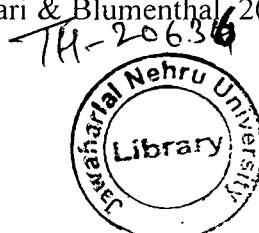
A contrasting view about student as migrants comes from the foreign students themselves. Even though scholars around the world consider student mobility as a specific form of migration but foreign students does not seem to consider themselves as migrants. For example during fieldwork in Munirka, Delhi it was quite clear that foreign students were quite offensive of the word migrants and told me that they are here just for some years and they are not migrants. As also the research of Allan Findlay and colleagues (2006) revealed that the foreign students define themselves rather as "having a mobility experience" or visiting students, etc. Same can be said about the so called "Eurostars - the European free movers who take full advantage of free movement moving between the different countries of the Schengen space – who

do not see themselves as migrants, whereas they can be classified as both migrants and non-migrants at the same time” (Favell, 2008). Therefore, theoretical student mobility can be defined as a specific form of migration, but practically foreign students probably do not define themselves as migrants. However, foreign students do accept that they do see themselves as future migrants.

Thus it is an area that should have been researched extensively by scholars from different disciplines around the world. Although, foreign students are not extensively researched as international migrants, interest in this field is increasing. Next section talks about how studies have ignored foreign students and what areas they have focussed on within this area of foreign student migration.

From the point of view of academic research in the field of international migration, there has been no focus on student mobility until very recently. The major texts on international migration pay little attention to students as migrants. “Three of the most widely-cited textbooks on migration – Cohen’s Cambridge Survey of World Migration (1995), Boyle, Halfacree and Robinson’s Exploring Contemporary Migration (1998), and Castles and Miller’s Age of Migration (1993, 4th edition 2009) – all either fail to mention students or discuss their mobility in a few lines” (King, Russell, Findlay A and Ahrens J, 2010). Castles and Miller’s in their book The Age of Migration (2009) extend their attention to around three-quarters of a page and some slightly more extended treatment by Skeldon (2008). It seems, therefore, that different migration scholars have practically ignored foreign students as worthy of attention in their studies of migration.

The existing studies tend to focus on issues such as the brain drain, brain gain, scale and dynamics of foreign student mobility (OECD, 2001a; and Bhandari & Blumenthal, 2011); migration processes (King, 2003); favourable state policies and regulations (Kuptsch, 2003a, 2003b; OECD, 2001b; and Bhandari & Blumenthal, 2011); employment opportunities in the destination countries (Paganoni & Todisco, 1995); structured study abroad programs fostering student mobility (Teichler & Steube, 1991; Teichler, 1996, 1997 and; Bhandari & Blumenthal, 2011) and about the



developmental effects of highly skilled on their homelands (Patterson, 2006; Docquier & Rapoport, 2004, 2007) that generally address the worldwide increase in their numbers and impacts while emphasizing the need for more research highlighting foreign student mobility (Bilecen, 2009). But in most of the studies, what little analysis there is focuses on Asians studying in the West, some are limited by country of origin or discipline (Hazen¹, and Alberts; 2006 and; Van, 2009).

More specialised texts on foreign students' migration have also started to emerge in recent years. The 2001 version of OECD's Annual Trends in International Migration has an entire chapter on student mobility between and into OECD countries (OECD 2001). The 2008 World Migration Report likewise has a chapter on student mobility, considered within the dual context of the internationalisation of higher education and skilled migration (WMR, 2008). Also noteworthy is the fact that the most recent general academic text on migration to hit the shelves makes much more explicit and detailed reference to foreign student migration than any of its predecessors (Samers 2010; King, Findlay and Ahrens, 2010). Although none of them seems to match the in-depth detail and originality of Murphy-Lejeune's *Student Mobility and Narrative* (2002) which is becoming a minor classic of its genre. Recent excursions into the field of foreign student migration have been either general statistical and policy overviews or edited volumes with a variety of smaller scale case studies of varying quality and significance. None of the studies try to conceptualize the foreign student migration or why it occurs (Bhandari & Blumenthal, 2011; Bhandari and Laughlin 2009; Byram and Dervin 2008; Dervin and Byram 2008; de Wit et al. 2008).

2.2 Reasons for Migration: Conceptualizing Foreign Student Migration

Only very recently some authors have tried to conceptualise or theorize student migration. King and Ruiz-Gelices, 2003; Balaz and Williams, 2004 examined international student mobility within the European Union (EU). Efforts have been made to frame European student mobility theoretically over the last few years,

(Findlay, King, Stam & Ruiz-Gelices, 2006; King and Ruiz-Gelices, 2003; Murphy-Lejeune, 2002) but this is just the beginning. The existing literature advocates that there are three ways of theorizing student mobility (King & Ruiz-Gelices, 2003; and Findlay and colleagues, 2006).

According to the first perspective student migration is as an element of highly skilled migration (Mahroum, 2000; Tremblay, 2002 and; Khadria, 2007) i.e. it is an opening to future skilled migration of international students (IMI, 2006). As Khadria (2007) says “The highly skilled from India have migrated not only through the “employment gate” but also the “academic gate” as students”.³³ Foreign students are seen as a stock of highly skilled personnel and in many countries the visa regulations are relaxed and give foreign students the opportunity to stay for some more years to search for employment when they complete their studies. Salt also points out that “Student mobility is another form of mobility by the highly skilled, given the potential for foreign students to enter the host country work force upon graduation” (Salt, 2005).

Secondly, foreign student mobility ‘has been analyzed as a product of globalization, both generally (as flows of people accelerate between integrating economies), and more specifically as national higher education sectors restructure around internationally defined standards and training appropriate to a global economy’ (Findlay et al., 2006). When internationalization of higher education systems around the world takes place it goes beyond national borders and is influenced by or cooperates with students, academic staff, administrators, institutions, governments or other stake holders in other countries (Thorsby, 1991) thus, enhancing the flow of foreign student mobility.

³³ “Figures collated by the US Institute of International Education's Open Doors 2007 survey reveal that in 2006-07, India retained its No.1 position in the US university enrolments (followed by China, Korea, Japan, Canada, and Taiwan) for the sixth year in a row”; India is the leading place of origin for international students in the U.S. with 83,833 in 2006/07 (an increase of 10% from the previous year), followed by China (67,723 up 8%). Recently China has replaced India as the number one source country in foreign student migration.

Thirdly, foreign student mobility has also been treated as an element of youth mobility cultures and the consumption geographies (Mansvelt, 2005 as cited in Findlay et al., 2006). “This kind of movement is not determined by economic factors but rather by experiential factors have a crucial role. Those international students have experienced different locales and as a result they have a greater agency in self-identification. Therefore their transnational experiences differ from a traditional international student since they had transnational stages during their biography development” (Findlay et al., 2006). Findlay et al. says that transnational experiences are expressed themselves as various forms of capital, particularly social and cultural ones. These foreign students are seen as migratory elite who are ready and enthusiastic to move; and unrestricted to transformations in their environment.

The important thing that needs to be asked is: can we apply the same theorization of student migration to different countries or every foreign student? Even though these factors are important these factors cannot be generalized as they could be specific to some regions only. It is important to recognize that as these are the causes of mobility of foreign students it could help us to analyze motivations of foreign students from different regions more deeply i.e. not only Asians going to developed countries but less developed to developing, developing to developing and developed to developing.

King and Ruiz-Gelices (2003)³⁴, Findlay et al. (2005), Findlay et al. (2006) and literature review on student mobility in 2010 by King et al. have derived different theoretical perspectives on framing and explaining international student mobility (ISM). One of the important studies have been done by HEFCE (2004), guided by the UK Higher Education Statistics Agency (HESA), they identified three types of student mobility and what derives student mobility i.e. motivation for mobility: (1) Mobility for an entire programme of study, termed as degree mobility; (2) Mobility for part of the programme, termed as credit mobility; (3) Voluntary mobility

³⁴ A study of the Year Abroad experience of a large sample of graduates from the University of Sussex (King 2003 and King and Ruiz-Gelices 2003)

undertaken for a variety of personal reasons (King et al. 2010). This theoretical perspective categorises students into three different categories of courses and then tries to look at factors that influence student migration. This study by HEFCE (2004) also makes the distinction between motivations and characteristics of the students and showed the important linkages between the two. The survey collected the information related to both motivations through direct interviews and the information on social characteristics of students was also collected as it could also reveal the motivations. These have been explained and analyzed below.

2.2.1 ‘Degree Mobility’ and Motivations

HEFCE (2004) presented a model of student mobility drivers and barriers. Although the analysis can be made at three different levels i.e. international/national, institutional and individual, but this study intends to focus on factors motivating at individual level. As discussed earlier also, at macro level, causes of student mobility is the globalisation and internationalisation of higher education and the creation of the global knowledge economy (Altbach and Teichler 2001; Kwiek 2001 Williams 2006; Altbach and Knight 2007; Kehm and Teichler 2007; de Wit 2008b; Gürüz 2008; Varghese 2008;). “This greater interconnectedness of the world’s higher education institutions is facilitated by the communications revolution, itself global in scope and instantaneous in effect, and by various processes of academic harmonisation, research networking and staff mobility which create a setting for student exchange programmes and student mobility more generally” (King et al. 2010).

In Indian or Asian context, the majority of foreign students still tend to go towards the western-developed countries but developing countries have also started to attract more foreign students. The destinations of foreign students are becoming increasingly diverse and they are now choosing the developing countries as destination. The possible macro reasons for this change in student flows are: the economic recession, recent slowdown in the developed economies, steep increase in the tuition fees in UK and Australia in recent years, introduction of student fee for foreign students in countries such as Germany and France; and study abroad programs

in non-traditional destinations are becoming more popular for students from advanced countries. These countries that place a premium on creativity and innovation to stay competitive have begun to understand that experiences abroad are critical for creative output (Bhandari and Blumenthal, 2011).

The institutional level factors can both reinforce or deter student mobility. So, good promotional information, easy visa process, institutional support, smooth credit transfer systems, preparatory language training if necessary, easy access to mobility grants, and committed and enthusiastic staff are the main causative factors at an institutional level which can boost mobility. On the other hand, institutions have to be quite careful about the policies they put in or be a little foolproof because it is very easy to exploit student visa route³⁵. Together with existence of an increasingly globalised higher education systems and different institutions, where particular networks of institutions, united by historical connections, common interests in research, perceived level of prestige, or by simple language considerations, function as channels along which students are sent and student migration is enhanced.

At the individual level, the question of what factors motivate a person to move to another country is frequently raised in the literature. The published literature has often taken a simplistic view of motivation (Raghuram, 2004). Nearly 20 years ago, Winchic and Carment (1989) were lamenting the focus on economic motives for the movement of people – “if such factors affect everyone, why do only some move?” Banai and Harry (2005) highlighted the need to study the characteristics, motivations and needs of those who are mobile. This would perhaps suggest that there is an ‘equation’ for each person who decides to move, made up of a mixture of the motivating variables. Determining what these variables are and the relative

³⁵ The visa situation in the US, UK, EU and Australia has changed very frequently in the past decade, especially it has received increasing attention since the events of 11 September 2001 in the US and increase in number of “bogus students” and “bogus colleges” in UK in the recent years. Following which the policies in UK, EU and Australia has changed to attract foreign students. Foreign students’ numbers in the US declined over the four following years of September 11, partly in response to ‘real and perceived difficulties in obtaining student visas (especially in scientific and technical fields)’ (Open Doors, 2005b: 1). Thus, the student flows has started to change because of the tougher immigration rules.

importance of each of these variables to the individual therefore becomes fundamental (Thorn, 2009).

There are many factors or reasons that influence student mobility. It could be totally an academic reason, cultural, adventure and travelling opportunities, political reasons, employment, family reasons, international experience or any other sub-motives within these major categories of reasons. In general, the root causes of migration may be economic, a result of relative inequalities in resource allocation or in the provision of subsistence, uneven development, or a struggle over resources (Weiner, 1992). Economic explanations go a long way toward explaining a great deal of international population movements which also includes foreign students but there are other reasons too. Some of the important reasons for migration have been discussed below.

Firstly, foreign students will be more eager to migrate for a degree course if better employment opportunities are available in host countries while they are studying and after they have completed their studies i.e. benefits in terms of better pay or better employment opportunities in the home country after completion of their course (WMR, 2008). In this context, Neo-Classical Economics: Micro Theory also talks about how difference in wages leads to movement of individuals (Massey et al, 1993; WMR, 2008 And Castle, 2009). Chiswick says “migration decisions are overwhelmingly basically based on economic factors. The central concept is “Human Capital”: people decide to invest in migration in the same as they invest in education and migrates if the expected rate of return from higher wages in the destination country is greater than the costs incurred through migrating”.

Secondly, movement of foreign student could also be because of the political instability in the home country. Foreign student movement/population movements are also due to the reasons that may have little to do with economic conditions. Indeed, much of the international population flows, especially within Africa and out of Africa is due to political reasons (WMR, 2008, and HDR, 2009). The political issue raised in the literature relates to personal safety and the role this has in influencing a move

from one country to another. Fear for a person's safety has long been a motivating factor for movement, particularly of the highly educated students. This is evidenced by the large scale emigration of highly educated people in times of political insecurity (Cheng & Yang, 1998). The issue of personal safety is relevant to all who are globally mobile, but perhaps more so for those who self-initiate their movements and that includes foreign students also. Thus this also gives a chance to those who are political migrants to migrate to another country through student visa route, therefore, leading to exploitation of student visa route.

Thirdly, student mobility is also influenced because of family reasons and relationships. Family reasons here only means that a person moves to another country not because of his own intentions but because his/her family moved or as a spouse. Family relationships basically mean influence of relationships on a decision to be globally mobile. It includes four components namely marital status, children, connectedness to the extended family and friends, and ancestry. All the above mentioned components usually influence the mobility of foreign students.

Fourthly, the existence of networks of foreign students or former foreign students plays a very important role in student immigration. Social Network Theory talks about how different individuals utilize their social networks for their benefits³⁶ (Massey, Douglas S et al, 1993; OECD, 2004a; WMR, 2008 And; Castle, 2009).

Fifthly, the cultural factors also influence the student migration (WMR, 2008). The cultural factors are those opportunities which were not available in the home country, but are available as a result of living abroad. They include factors such as increased travel opportunities, experiencing greater cultural diversity, and the adventure and challenge of living in another country. The cultural distance between the home and host countries is also considered. For many people, a desire to see more of the world and to experience life in another country is a strong motivating factor.

³⁶ The fieldwork for the present research has found that many of the international migrants had relatives in embassy and friends already studying here. As there are the cases where their siblings and parents had studied here earlier.

The challenge and adventure of overcoming difficulties and surviving in another country is welcomed (Crowley-Henry, 2007 and; Richardson & Zikic, 2007). Some younger people view this mobility as a “rite of passage” (Inkson et al., 1999 and Mason, 2002) – a transitioning phase filled with adventure, excitement and fun (Myers & Inkson, 2003), leading towards maturity (Moran et al., 2005 and Thorn, 2009). This desire to experience new cultural opportunities and to expand the range of experiences also applies to any foreign student. Broadening children’s minds and developing a tolerance for different cultures and languages are seen as desirable outcomes of mobility (Suutari, 2003).

Usually the movement of foreign students depends on cultural distance between the home and the hosting country. Cultural distance is a measure of the extent to which the new culture is similar to the host culture (Palthe, 2004). Language is just one aspect of the cultural distance between countries. Food and drink, religion and the way business operates are other components of cultural distance (Shenkar, 2001). If the distance is perceived as being large, this can result in greater stress and anxiety about the move (Chew & Zhu, 2002) and act as a deterrent from relocating to that country. A large difference will also result in an increased likelihood of a mobile person returning to their home country at a later date (Baruch et al., 2007). Some people, however, proactively seek positions in countries where the difference is large (Richardson & McKenna, 2002), enjoying the added challenge of adjusting and adapting to a new culture.

Sixthly, The perceived quality of life in the host country: as with all forms of travel, the activities offered by the host city and country, climate, cultural environment and tourist attractions, religion, in short, the desired quality of life, are decisive factors that could influence foreign students to do a course in a specific country (WMR, 2008).

Further, there could be other reasons too that leads foreign students to immigrate. Borjas (2002) says that “Neo-classical theory assumes that individual maximize utility: individual ‘search’ for the country of residence that maximizes their

well-being”. Thus, the maximization could be by exploring new culture, travelling, overseas experience, future employment prospects, freedom from political instability in home country etc. But it would be wrong to think that foreign students maximize their utility just by studying, it would be a complex set of factors that they would be maximizing. Thus, the foreign students migrate not only because of academic purpose but there are other factors involved.

As King (2002) says student migrations is an important component of the ‘new map of European migration’, and places ISM within the broader set of youth migrations motivated less by traditional economic factors and more by a mixture of educational/leisure/ travel/experiential goals. Further, in a study by Findlay and King (2010), they asked UK students overseas to rank the different factors as important or unimportant. Given below are the survey responses for the reasons for migration.

Table 2: Reasons for student Migration

Reasons for Migration	Percentage
Wanted to attend a world-class university	88.7
Opportunity for a unique adventure	87.9
Step towards an international career	68.7
Limited places in UK for this course	42.5
High student fees in UK	33.9
Family encouragement	27.3

Source: King and Findlay, 2010

What is interesting to note in the table 2 above is that the opportunity for a unique adventure is ranked second and is very close to the first reason i.e. wanted to attend world class-university. But this reason may not be applicable to every country. Suppose if seen in the context of India or many developing countries they don’t have any world class universities. So, why do foreign students come there? There could be other reasons influencing their mobility i.e. it could be seeking an international

experience, exploring a new culture, adventurous trips or more travelling opportunities, political instability in home country, family encouragement but not students aspiration, etc. These reasons could individually influence student decision to move but most of the time it is the combination of reasons that influence students' decision to move (although it could be very normal if it's not reflected upon the visa application form).

Waters and Brooks (2010a) provide a more pessimistic interpretation of the motivations of UK students to study abroad. According to them, "UK students, who choose to study abroad, mainly in the English-speaking realm of the top US universities, are 'accidental achievers'. They are not overtly motivated by strategic concerns about career development or developing heightened intercultural awareness; rather they seek adventure and excitement and often use the opportunity to study abroad (especially undergraduates becoming postgraduates) to prolong a carefree lifestyle and delay the onset of a career" (Waters and Brooks 2010a). Interestingly, some of interviewees in their study stressed this perspective that "returning year abroad students' hardly mention the academic experience, and that prospective students who enquire about specific destinations for the Year Abroad strike me almost as though they were booking a package holiday" (Waters and Brooks 2010a). Therefore, it seems that it is quite normal for students to be influenced by non-academic reasons and in reality it is the case for many foreign students.

This deviation from the academic purpose (when on an educational tour) to non-academic reasons is also quite reflective from the work of Murphy-Lejeune (2002) (cited in King et al. 2010). In his study, he says that through some students' narratives it comes strongly that "The notion of ISM as an experience geared primarily to travel, adventure and enjoyment, rather than to academic achievement or career (employment) planning".³⁷

³⁷ Suggests a productive theoretical link to studies of tourism (cf. Battisti and Portelli 1994 and; Huang 2008)

Thorn (2009) in one of his papers incorporates highly educated people on their 'Big Overseas Experience' - a period where young people leave their home country for periods of two to three years, to obtain their Overseas Experience (Inkson & Myers, 2003). For many, this represents a 'rite of passage' (Mason, 2002), motivated by opportunities for cultural experiences and adventure (Chadee & Cutler, 1996). While their travels are self-initiated, they tend to be motivated by "exploration and novelty" (Inkson, Thomas, & Barry, 1999) rather than the opportunity to improve their career opportunities (Myers & Inkson, 2003).

Thus, it is very important to understand that foreign student may migrate on student visa but the purpose may deviate to non-academic reasons i.e. a person may be on student visa but the purpose may be non-academic, for example- permanent residency (Hazen, and Alberts, 2006). Similarly, this is true for other migrants too i.e. a person may intent to work in a specific country but the purpose may be exploration of new culture or international experience (Thorn, 2009). The reasons for foreign students migration discussed in this section in reality are not so easy to reveal. Therefore, it is necessary to look at some of the social characteristics of these foreign students and see if they reveal anything about their motivations.

2.2.1 Do Social Characteristics of Degree-mobile Students Reveal the Reasons for Migration?

Findlay and King (2010) surveyed large samples of final-year school students, asking them about their study-abroad intentions. Statistical analysis of the results showed that those who were applying to do their degree abroad had significantly better qualifications than those who were not applying abroad and they were more than twice as likely to apply to university abroad if their parents were university educated (Findlay and King 2010). A personal and family history of mobility (school exchanges, frequent travel, family members abroad etc.) was also shown to be correlated to the decision to apply to study abroad. To sum up, those who apply for university abroad are: academic high-performers, from the higher social-class

backgrounds, disproportionately concentrated in private schools and have ‘mobility network’ connections abroad.

Based on more qualitative research, Waters and Brooks (2010a) see UK students who study overseas as the bearers of privilege and class reproduction. Without quoting any figures, they say (Brooks and Waters 2009a): “the vast majority of our respondents... came from high socio-economic groups, had attended private secondary schools and had achieved high levels of academic attainment”. Buoyed financially by their families, such students are often strongly guided by their parents in a form of ‘parentocracy’ of education (Brown, 1997). These students are interested in acquiring the ‘right’ credentials and other embodied life and travel experiences, which can ultimately be converted into social status and economic capital (Waters and Brooks 2010a). In this way, and following Bourdieu’s notion of ‘forms of capital’ (Bourdieu 1986), students who move to study in an international arena, especially if they attend high-prestige universities, accumulate multiple and mutually-reinforcing forms of capital – mobility capital (Murphy-Lejeune 2002 cited in King et al., 2010), human capital (a world-class university education), social capital (access to networks, ‘connections’), cultural capital (languages, intercultural awareness) and, eventually, economic capital (high-salary employment).

Previous experiences of travel can also have a motivating influence. These experiences can be either as children (Cullingford, 1995), young adults (Banai & Harry, 2005) or as a previous self-initiated movement or posting. Exposure to a variety of cultures can lead to an interest in other cultures, and therefore, future global mobility. Thus, all these socio characteristics could reflect upon the motivations for mobility of foreign students.

2.2.3 Credit Mobility and Motivations

Credit mobility basically refers to mobility for a shorter duration or an exchange scheme. At a macro level, the motivations could be the creation of a more globalised environment, multi-cultural societies, competitive societies and

competitive graduates. For example, in Europe the different exchange schemes are introduced only for a multilingual, multiculturally aware European graduate population; and the enhanced competitiveness of European graduates, and of the European economy, in an increasingly competitive global scenario (King 2003). King says that these motivations are, indeed, picked up by exchange students when they are questioned or interviewed about the reasons for, and evaluations of, their mobility experiences.

More specific supra-national drivers include different exchange schemes of different countries. For example-EU enlargement, the Bologna Process, Socrates-Erasmus and other structures by which certain countries participate in mobility schemes (de Wit 2008c). “Moving beyond the strictly academic realm, other features of globalisation are also possible stimulants of student mobility – general economic trends (economic crises), economic and trade linkages, political affiliations (both colonial and recent), cultural globalisation, the spread of English as a global hegemonic language (especially in HE) – although multiple barriers may also exist in the form of economic costs, cultural and linguistic obstacles, visa and immigration control regimes etc. Many of these international-scale factors apply equally (in fact probably more) to degree mobility as they do to credit movement” (King, 2010). At the institutional level, credit mobility is strongly embedded in inter-university exchange schemes and other forms of academic networks.

On individual-level, there is a wealth of data, both quantitative and qualitative on factors leading to student mobility. On the qualitative front, the best study remains Elizabeth Murphy-Lejeune’s (cited in King et al. 2010) detailed ethnographic narrative of student mobility in Europe, based on 50 in-depth interviews with Erasmus students. This study, focused above all on experiences, perceptions and evaluations of the participants. For credit-mobility students, a simplistic answer for the cause of mobility was that it is a mandatory part of their degree programme; for others it might be an optional element in their degree. But this merely redirects the question to an earlier stage i.e. why did they choose that degree course, which has in-built mobility opportunities? For the Erasmus programme, the ‘EU discourse’ promotes two main

benefits and therefore motivations to students: acquisition of a foreign language and intercultural awareness; and improved employment prospects.

Findings on motivation of foreign students was moreover same in the University of Sussex Year Abroad survey by King and Ruiz-Gelices (2003) and in the much larger Europe-wide Erasmus five-year tracer study of mobile students carried out by Maiworm and Teichler (1996). More recently, the 2005 Erasmus Student Network Survey on the experience of studying abroad, which achieved responses from more than 7,000 credit-mobile students from 26 European countries via an online questionnaire, found roughly similar results. But in this study they found somewhat different results for Erasmus students, for whom learning a foreign language was their major motivation. Interestingly, when compared to non-Erasmus mobile students, where the career dimension and the opportunity to enjoy new experiences were more important; the chance to improve one's academic knowledge was ranked much lower, for both groups. This means that even for degree students the reason for migration could be non-academic.

Further, the recent National Union of Students' Student Experience Survey (NUS 2010) was conducted on students who had been, or were about to go on a study-abroad scheme. Responding to the question 'What did, or do, you hope to gain as a result of study abroad?' 76% cited 'greater confidence, 72% 'better employment prospects', 66% 'become more self-reliant', and 61% 'better language skills'. One thing that was missing from the responses is the failure of foreign students to mention any direct academic pay-off.

One the whole, it seems that foreign students are highly motivated by 'maturity and personal development'; 'understanding of another culture/country/language'; and overseas experience than they are by its intrinsic academic merit or even, in some surveys, by its employment pay-offs. In most surveys responses, relevance to academic achievements or employment prospects is somewhat less often prioritised (HEFCE 2004). But students whether degree or credit students are starting to emphasise on the value of being mobile (even though not

always in academic terms). Students go abroad to gain a different experience which give them competitive advantage, enhance their CVs, gives them transferable skills, the opportunity to travel, exploration of a new culture, an international career, and personal development in terms of maturity and confidence (YiXi Lu, 2006).

As clear from the literature above that foreign student motivations for migration are rarely straightforward and are highly complex. So, it becomes very difficult to fit them into the bureaucratic and legal categories required by states or described by migration theories (IMI, 2006). Student visa is given to a foreign student on the basis of academic purpose of stay in a country, but review of literature suggests that the student could migrate for totally non-academic reasons.

So, the most relevant issue that immigration policy makers need to focus is: on what basis to provide student visa? If the purpose of stay is not study then it could have dangerous implication for both the security of country and its economy. Thus, immigration policy makers should formulate and implement the policy in such a way that minimizes the exploitation of student visa-route, for which interaction among different stakeholders should be looked into, as immigration policy formulation is influenced by different stakeholders (these are discussed in next section of the chapter).

2.3 Immigration Policy: Formulation

Immigration policy shapes immigration patterns, which in turn have a tremendous impact on the demography, culture, economy and politics of a state. A rapidly expanding literature explores the immigration policies (although mostly on advanced countries) of receiving countries but immigration policy theory is not well defined (Meyers, 2004) i.e. what influences immigration policy-making? Massey et al. (1998) consider Immigration policy as “the outcome of a political process through which competing interests interact within bureaucratic, legislative, judicial, and public arenas to construct and implement policies that encourage, discourage, or otherwise regulate the flow of immigrants” i.e. state being the major player influencing

immigration policy. Policies to manage immigration can perhaps be conceptualized as falling into two categories:

- 1) Immigration control policy, namely, the rules and procedures governing the selection and admission of international students or foreigners;
- 2) Immigrant policy, namely, integration and assimilation, the conditions provided to resident immigrants, for example- housing/infrastructural facilities and student security (Hammar, 1985 and Meyers, 2000).

Immigration control policies deal with the issues like who can enter a country and how many can do so. Essentially, they create channels and define which categories of entrants are “legal” and which are “illegal” (Meyers, 2000 and Skeldon, 2007). The second category is concerned with those policies that deal with migrants after they have arrived, looking after their welfare (safety), looking after their activities in the destination country, how they mix with the natives and concerned with their housing, etc.

In this section present study tries to look into various theories to explain how state formulates policies and what influences state decisions with regard to immigration policy-making and how far the present politicised process of policy-making of the states or more coordinated framework including civil society could help minimizing the loopholes in the immigration system or making it more efficient. So, now study will first look into the theoretical approaches to study the immigration policy, need for coordination among different stakeholder and role for civil society. The last section of this chapter will deal with the influence of foreign students on immigration policy.

2.3.1 Theoretical Approaches

Although scholars have surveyed immigration policies of many countries (mostly developed) (Kubat 1979; Dib 1988; Cornelius, Martin, and Hollifield 1994),

conducted case studies of state agencies (Calavita 1992; Morris 1985; Heyman 1995), but few had attempted to describe in theoretical terms the behavior of bureaucrats and politicians with respect to immigration (Massey, 1999).

2.3.1 (i) Domestic Politics Approach

According to Domestic politics approach, policymaking is the result of negotiations as well as of compromises between the interests of different stakeholders. “In the interest group political process, organized interest or pressure groups try to force parties, legislators, and administrators to adopt specific policies” (Meyers, 2000). Sometimes some interest groups succeed in influencing the state and decisions are totally in their favour and sometimes influencing state becomes a very difficult job. In reality immigration policies are seldom formulated with a view to take into consideration all the views of different stakeholder’s or departments (major player in policy-making is the state only), thus creating tensions between different departments/ stakeholder’s with different responsibilities and aims (different implementing bodies); and those advocating particular types of immigration (different educational institutes). For example – different educational institutions attempting to develop education programmes or residents providing housing for new arrivals/foreign students might not be aware of how policies on admissions are either being planned or implemented (Skeldon, 2007). World Migration Report (2008) reads that “attracting international students to country will make sense only if they are able to enter to pursue their studies and, ideally, to do so without undue difficulties.”³⁸ Difficulties here mean that immigration procedures and other formalities should not be very rigid or restrictive and should be in-line with other promotional programmes of attracting foreign students.

³⁸ Migration authorities in USA feared that if they relax procedure to obtain student visas, it may lead to abuses and fraud. After the September 11 attack, United States tightened their procedure of getting student visa which resulted in the .6% increase in foreign student in 2002-03, as against 6.4% during two preceding years. Later after the concerns of educational institutes, the concerned authorities made the changes to relax the visa procedure (World Migration Report, 2008).

In the developed countries specially, immigration related departments or ministries and educational institutes do work together to achieve one common goal i.e. targeting foreign students to satisfy the growing demand for highly skilled human resources. “Foreign graduates are seen to possess characteristics that facilitate integration both professionally and socially, which makes them particularly attractive for recruitment and retention” (World Migration Report, 2008). But this seems to be true for only some advanced economies, in many developed and developing countries, policymakers in the field of immigration and educational institutes hardly work together.

Shughart et al. (1986) identify “three key interest groups in the political competition to formulate immigration policy: workers, capitalists, and landowners.” Workers opposing immigration as it leads to unemployment and lower wages for natives; and in contrast capitalist and landowners favour immigration, pressurising politicians to pass more expansive legislation and relax enforcement of restrictions as they get cheap labour or higher rents for landowners. Foreman-Peck (1992) also advanced a theory of state policy formulation that likewise focuses on who gains and who loses through immigration. When compared to foreign students, native workers (whether skilled or unskilled) will be opposed by the workers because foreign students are future skilled workers who will be talking up jobs in future. Capitalist including MNCs and educational institutes will be favouring foreign students because they can recruit the best at cheaper wage in MNCs and source of revenue for educational institutes. Further, landowners or landlords would be favouring foreign students because it will give them higher rents and play important role in the local economy.

According to Shughart et al. (1986), “as a country's economy goes through the business cycle their policy mix shift, with economic downturns giving greater leverage to workers and economic expansions benefiting capitalists and land-owners.” Many studies on immigration policies, including those of Zolberg (1981), Hoffmann-Nowotny (1985), Shughart et al. (1986), LeMay (1987), Layton-Henry (1990, 1992), Hollifield (1992a), Freeman and Betts (1992), Freeman (1995b), Joppke (1998b,

1999), and Meyers (2001a), apply the domestic politics approach. These studies also attribute changes in immigration policy to “situational” economic factors i.e. recession or high economic growth. Shughart et al. (1986), says that the policy-mix oscillates in tandem with the rhythm of economic growth. Here again when applied to foreign students, higher economic growth may lead to expansionary immigration policy and in times of recession or slowdown of the economy, it may lead to restriction on foreign students (as is the case with the recent UK’s immigration policy).

Another variant of the domestic politics model focuses on local politics and on center-periphery relationships within national politics. Money (1997, 1999) “begins her model at the local level, with an analysis of employers’ support of, and labor and public opposition to, immigration. She then explains how such local pressures reach the national political agenda as a function of the national electoral margin and the size and safety of “immigration” constituencies.” Similarly, Body-Gendrot and Schain (1992) also explain how the different center-periphery relationships in France and the United States have influenced the interaction of local politics and national politics over immigration policy. And several scholars describe the influence of pressures from provinces on Canadian immigration policy (Hawkins, 1991, 1998; Kelley and Trebilock, 1998). Thus, although political, but interaction among different stakeholders at local level can influence the immigration poly-making.

2.3.1 (ii) Bureaucratic Politics Approach

Another approach that is used to study immigration policy is the Institutional or Bureaucratic politics approach³⁹. Bureaucratic politics approach says that state is the only major actor in shaping immigration policy. This approach focuses on the role of the state (i.e., the administration/bureaucracy) in shaping immigration policy. If we look at the immigration department of Australia, it has over the years shaped the immigration policies of Australia. Birrell says that “the Department of Immigration in

³⁹ Also referred as intuitionist approach (Eyten Meyers, 2000)

Australia has never been just a passive arm of Government, faithfully implementing Government policy; rather it has actively promoted the goal of population expansion and the cultivation of public support for it”⁴⁰ (Meyers, 2000).

Schultz (1982), argue that bureaucrats have substantially influenced immigration policies around the world (although most of the studies are on few developed nations but they do have influential role in developing countries also). The pure institutionalist or bureaucratic approach argues “that political institutions can be autonomous: they can form public policy according to the interests of the state and remain unaffected by societal or interest group pressures” (Fitzgerald, 1996 cited in Meyers, 2000 and; Goldstein, 1988). Some scholars describe the state as autonomous, acting according to its own interests. Whitaker describes how “the policies and practices of immigration security have been deliberately concealed from the Canadian public, the press, members of Parliament, and even bureaucrats with no need to know” (Whitaker, 1987 cited in Meyers, 2001).

Others argue that state as a less autonomous body pursuing societal interest also. Calavita (1992) says that state and the bureaucratic institutions that make it up may have their own interests and may enjoy substantial autonomy, but state agencies and civil society do interact at times. Simmons and Keohane (1992), in their study of Canadian immigration policy, argue that “the state has a significantly independent agenda, which includes the pursuit of economic security, a rational- bureaucratic agenda, and continued legitimacy. But at the same time, they also find that various societal elements - labor, capital, ethnic groups, humanitarian organizations, and the provinces influence immigration policy.”

Overall the question that needs to be asked is whether to regard the state as a monolithic entity, united in its view of its interest, or whether various bureaucratic agencies pursue their own agendas, in what are known as the bureaucratic model. Some depicts it as relatively monolithic, some depicts state that is rift with internal divisions, as the policy agenda of the immigration department may collides with the

⁴⁰ Although Bureau of immigration in India is only an implementing body and has played no role in policy making.

policy goals of other state agencies or other institutions. In reality, states have different policies for different set of immigrants. Some of these immigrants are beneficial for the country in some respects some are dangerous for the countries security in all terms. So, any immigration policy is influenced by these immigrants differently at different point of time. At some point of time they may be highly beneficial but at any other point of time they may create problems for the destination country. So, each type of policy has been institutionalized differently and has its own policy network that includes a distinct set of actors. But to make the immigration policy more effective and free of loopholes, different ministries or departments should have more coordination and actors from civil society should also be included. This will result in a better immigration policy in terms of its formulation and implementation. These issues have been further discussed below.

2.4 Shifts in Governance of Immigration Policy-Making and Implementation

“In countries where there is already a well established governance structure on international migration, the ministerial setting for migration issues can range from a single ministry dealing with all or most of the issues involved, to a department within a broader ministry holding these portfolios, and the portfolios being spread across several ministries” (WMR,2010). Broadly speaking, immigration policy making and implementation can be governed in three ways (Selm, 2005 and WMR, 2010):

- 1- Single ministry which is totally and solely devoted to migration matters,
- 2- Immigration department is entirety within a broader ministry dealing with all internal or all foreign affairs,
- 3- Distribute migration policy making across two, three, four or more separate ministries.

The UK Border Agency is one example of the first model; the Netherlands is an example of the second model where there is a minister for Immigration and Integration, who is supported by a civil service apparatus that forms part of the Justice

Ministry. Although India lacks a structured immigration policy but India's unstructured immigration policy-making could come under third model. In most of the EU countries also, responsibility for migration issues is divided between different ministries.

“Much of the literature on policy making since the late 1970s has moved away from the traditional political science focus on parliament and political administration as the focus of decision-making. Instead, the emphasis has been on understanding the relationships and flows of resources between a wide range of actors influencing policy processes.” This new emphasis on “policy” and “advocacy coalitions” offered a new way of conceptualising the links between the state and societal interests i.e. between ministries and other stakeholders. Policy was increasingly differentiated into separate specialised sectors, and the officials dealing with these highly complex areas became functionally dependent on interest groups for expertise and information. A form of horizontal inter-dependency was developing, whereby policy makers needed to mobilise resources from actors outside of the classic hierarchical political structure.

In the words of Beck, the political hierarchy in immigration policy making “... is being displaced by theories that emphasize consultation, interaction, negotiation, network: in short, the interdependency and process character in the context of the responsible, affected and interested agencies and actors from the formulation of programs through the choice of measures to the forms of their enforcement. While the traditional understanding of politics proceeded with a certain naiveté from the assumption that the goals set can be reached by politics, provided the proper means are taken, politics in newer approaches is now viewed as the collaboration of different agents even contrary to formal hierarchies and across fixed responsibilities” (Beck, 2004).

2.5 Need for Coordination in Policymaking and Implementation

In most countries, immigration policy is seldom the responsibility of a single government ministry or department i.e. immigration issues, are not a concern of any single ministry but matters of high international politics, engaging the attention of

heads of states, cabinets, and key ministries involved in defence, internal security, and external relations. Thus, to speak of immigration policy as if it were a homogeneous and uncontested entity is deceptive (although temptation do exists to essentialize it into unity, obscuring intrinsic tensions and contradictions between different departments or ministries) (Selm, 2005; Skeldon, 2007 and; WMR, 2010). The two categories identified in the beginning are usually reflected in different areas of governmental responsibility with different government ministries or departments competing for influence.

“What is deemed ‘appropriate’ policy action is, of course, a highly political contested question, reflecting differing views as to what policy should ultimately be seeking to achieve” (Collinson, 2009). Different stakeholders and their policies, of course, will be seeking varied, and sometimes conflicting, policy outcomes at different levels and in different contexts. Consequently, any migration flow (Foreign Students) is likely to be influenced by highly dynamic interactions of policy objectives and measures taken by different ministries.

For an appropriate policy, it is often recommended that, when the governance of migration is divided between ministries, as is usually the case, mechanisms for coordination need to be established, because migration is very much a cross-cutting issue. Again, there are various models for addressing this. “In Costa Rica, for example, the General Directorate of Migration Planning Unit has been established to encourage coordination between the Ministries of Interior and Foreign Affairs, international organizations (including IOM) and civil society” (WMR, 2010). Prime Minister’s Office (Home Affairs Division) in Mauritius, is the main governmental body for coordination of migration policies and related issues, working with several ministries. “Ghana has encouraged ministries and agencies to set up migration focal points, while the National Development Planning Commission, which has principal responsibility for preparing the 2010 medium-term development plan, has responsibility for ensuring consultations with major stakeholders regarding the migration component of the plan” (GFMD, 2009 cited in WMR, 2010). Some even recommend that if any migration policy has to be appropriate or better governed or

free of loopholes, then there is a need for enhanced role and active participation of the civil society (WMR, 2010).

2.6 An Enhanced Role for Civil Society

Civil society including non-governmental organizations, policy advocacy groups, educational establishments, religious organizations, landlords, internal students and media, has an important role to play in migration policy making and its implementation (WMR, 2010). In the case of foreign students, some of the stakeholders can help gather data and conduct research, thus providing useful information regarding foreign students and strengthening the evidence base for policy-making and its implementation. It can access the least-accessible local level stakeholders (like landlords) and work in partnership with other local level authorities (RWA or Panchayat) to deliver assistance (Chappell, 2010).

The involvement of civil society in the migration arena and especially in contributing to migration policy and implementation has been limited. Civil society can help significantly by providing information, monitoring, housing and safety of foreign students. It could easily help in identifying the intentions or motivations of foreign students and their social characteristics which could also reflect upon their intentions. Thus, more information for better policy-making and its implementation could help in minimum exploitation of student visa route.

“One reason why it has been difficult for civil society to engage has been that migration policy covers such a broad scope and comprises extensive inter linkages, such as with trade, development, the environment, security and conflict management. Civil society organizations tend to have narrow and specialized interests – for example, in human rights advocacy – and may lack the breadth of expertise required to engage in migration policy” (WMR, 2010). Equally, access by civil society to formal policy forums is often limited by states. The Global Commission on International Migration concluded that, “... the policymaking process is more likely to be effective when it is based on widespread consultation [...] with diverse components of civil society” and, where they do not already exist, governments might

consider the potential benefits of establishing formal mechanisms for consultation with civil society (GCIM, 2005).

Some of the regional consultative processes (RCPs) on migration have vigorous mechanisms for the participation of civil society actors in regional migration policy dialogue – for example, the Regional Conference on Migration (or ‘Puebla Process’), the South American Conference on Migration, and the Abu Dhabi Dialogue. “The GFMD represents an innovative effort to achieve dialogue on migration policy between governments and civil society at the global level, certain aspects of which could easily be replicated at the regional or national level.” Clearly this could also help in consensus-building between stakeholders at the local level and ministries concerned. This could result in best-practice recommendations and could help in policy making and implementation.

2.7 How do Foreign Students Influence Immigration Policy?

For a long time, immigration rules in most host countries did not favour foreign students. However, due to economic growth and growing concerns about ageing populations in most developed countries, it has led to worldwide competition for highly skilled workers, which has led to modification of their legislations in favour of foreign students, easier access to work and residence permits upon graduation (YiXi Lu, 2006). Foreign student mobility is encouraged by several nations, particularly in North America and Europe, as a strategy to provide foreign students opportunities to interact in a different socio-cultural environment - broaden their understanding of other societies, cultures and nations. Some amounts of money are also earmarked by different countries for universities and institutions of higher education to host certain number of students from a given country.

However, as the process of globalization became more intense creating further demand for higher education on the one hand, and facing the challenge from demographic decline, shift towards revenue generating higher education industry, need for knowledge-based economy, (WMR, 2008), started perceiving foreign

students as ‘cash cows’. Hosting of foreign students has emerged as a big business in the recent decades in all the major receiving countries. The primary motive of hosting foreign students drifted away from ‘aid’ to ‘trade’ and higher education gradually became a commercial venture, a commodity to be traded in the global market. In many countries such as Australia, New Zealand, the US, UK and Canada, higher education is a major export industry. In 2007-08, for example, foreign students contributed \$15.543 billion to the US economy (Table 3), \$14.164 billion to Australia (Table 4), and \$6.5 billion (CAD) to Canada.

Table 3: Contribution to the US economy by foreign students, 2007-08 (million)

Total number of foreign students	623,805
Contribution from tuition and fees	\$10.639
Contribution from living expenses	\$10.979
Total contribution from foreign students	\$21.618
Less - US support of 30 percent	- \$6.488
Plus - Dependents’ living expenses	+ \$0.413
Net contribution to the US economy by foreign students and their families	\$15.543

Source: Open Doors (www.iie.org), last accessed on August 4, 2010.

Besides providing direct revenue to the university or institution, foreign students also generate employment in the local economy and create jobs across various sectors i.e. in the field of academic (teachers, educational administrators); non-academic (housing, transport, stationery goods, food, agricultural goods, industrial goods – mobile phones, clothes, soap, toothpaste, toothbrush), they are the cultural and political ambassadors and also contributes to the country’s GDP in near future. Thus, immigration policymakers of different countries⁴¹ have responded to

⁴¹ The growing competition among countries like the US, UK, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, Ireland, and Singapore and also non-English speaking ones like France, Germany, the Netherlands, and Japan are bringing even the Ivy League institutions to South Asia, particularly India, to look for the cream of students. Apart from sustaining their higher-education industry through trade in educational

demographic decline and shift towards knowledge-based economy by targeting foreign students.

Table 4: Australia's top ten exports, 2007-08

Export commodity/service	Value (million)
Coal	\$24.866
Iron ore	\$21.302
Education services	\$14.164
Gold	\$12.272
Personal travel (excluding education services) services	11.994
Crude petroleum	9.610
Professional, technical & other business services	5.963
Aluminium ores (including alumina)	5.903
Natural gas	5.854
Aluminium	5.465

Source: www.globalhighered.worldpress.com/2009/04/04/the-economic-contribution-of-international-students-australia, last accessed on September 13, 2010.

2.7.1 Strategies Adopted by Countries to Recruit Foreign Students

Foreign students are being targeted as competition for human capital is intensifying. Western economies are increasingly seeking to both recruit foreign students and retain them after graduation because in an era of globalisation, foreign students hold several short- and long-term gains for institutions and countries. There are four major strategies that reflect the range of motivations and policy tools at work in this field of higher education adopted by countries and institutions. These strategies may or may not always be coordinated and are sometimes even less directly decided at government level. These have been discussed below (WMR, 2008):

services, these competing countries also take into account the gain in political mileage that they would accumulate in the form of a bonus when foreign students become their long-term brand ambassadors in the international political arena (Khadria, 2007).

1. Strategies based on mutual understanding,
 2. Strategies based on skilled migration,
 3. Income generation and;
 4. Capacity building.
- (2, 3 and 4 are based on economic considerations)

Mutual understanding as a strategy is primarily concerned with political, cultural, academic and development goals. “The strategy authorizes and encourages international mobility of students and staff, both national and foreign, through scholarship and university exchange programmes, as well as partnerships between institutions of higher learning” (WMR, 2008). This traditional strategy is still the main approach pursued by countries like Japan, Republic of Korea, Mexico, and Spain and, in fact, most developing countries including India. “The EU has also launched the Socrates-Erasmus programme in keeping with the same philosophy: student and teacher exchanges, the networking of university departments and establishments throughout Europe, and the joint design of study programmes were intended to foster a feeling of “European citizenship” among European youth, thanks to better mutual understanding and knowledge of several European languages” (WMR, 2008). Although through this strategy students could become future permanent migrants but the principle that students should return to their country of origin is central to the concept of this strategy.

The strategy of **skilled migration** pursues all the goals mentioned in the mutual understanding but also brings in the economic goals. Thus, entails the more deliberate and targeted recruitment of foreign students. “It is in line with the philosophy of the knowledge-based economy, but also aims to attract talented students who could become knowledge workers at the service of the host country’s economy or boost the competitiveness of research and higher education in that country” (WMR, 2008). Though scholarship programmes is an important part of this strategy but promoting country’s higher education system, relaxing the visa or immigration regulations for the target groups are also important measures. The studies pursued by foreign students under this category are usually subsidized by the host

country in the same way as for local students. The countries that have adopted this approach include Canada (some provinces), France, Germany, the United Kingdom (for students from the EU) and the United States (for postgraduate students). This strategy looks for permanent settlement of some of the knowledge workers so that they can contribute to the development of the country in every sense.

“The strategy based on **income generation** pursues the same goals as those based on mutual understanding and skilled migration but, in addition, it directly pursues commercial ends” (WMR, 2008). The main highlight of this approach is that higher education services are invoiced at their real cost to foreign students and there is no public subsidies. With public funding per student in higher education decreasing in many countries, universities and colleges are looking to diversify their generated income and the revenue earned from overseas student tuition has become one important way of doing so (Verbik, Line and Lasanowski, Veronica (2007). For the purposes of this strategy, government authorities allow institutions a high degree of autonomy with a view to create a solid reputation for their higher education sector and protecting foreign students by means of quality assurance mechanisms (although there have been doubts about the quality of education in top countries like UK also). This strategy generally leads to a sizeable increase in the number of foreign students paying for their tuition at cost and to the development of profit-oriented mobility programmes and establishments. Although students are allowed to do paid work during the course of their studies but, subsequent permanent immigration is encouraged only for few. The countries having opted for this approach include Australia, Canada (some provinces), New Zealand, the United States (for undergraduate students), but also Denmark, Ireland, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom.

Finally, the strategy based on **capacity building** is not specifically based on recruiting foreign students but students are just one of many others. It basically encourages the importation of higher education, regardless of how it is supplied, in order to quickly strengthen the human and productive capacities of a developing country. When a country lacks the capabilities to fully respond to its higher education

requirements, or when its national system is still weak, cross-border education can help in building local capacities both with regard to courses available and the human capital needed for the local economy and system of higher education (Larsen and Vincent-Lancrin, 2002; Middlehurst and Woodfield, 2004 and; Vincent-Lancrin, 2005). Scholarship is an important tool to encourage international mobility of teachers, university personnel and students, but it also includes establishments of new programmes and foreign universities to provide their teaching services on a commercial basis. Although, short-term but one of the important impact of this approach is a considerable increase in the number of national students going abroad. This strategy is being followed mainly in Southeast and East Asia and the Middle East — China, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Vietnam and Dubai.

2.7.2 Reasons for Recruiting Foreign Students

Overall, there are four major reasons for recruiting younger talents or foreign students. Today labour markets in industrialized countries are facing many challenges. This includes:

1. The demographic decline of the native population.
2. It helps in keeping the wage and pension commitments low by replacing older and long-term migrants with younger and short-term migrants (and foreign students).
3. Transformation of the global economy into a knowledge-based and increasingly interdependent economy: recruiting students helps to bring in the latest stockpiling vintage of knowledge embodied in younger cohorts of foreign students (and skilled workers) (Khadria, 2006 cited in IMR, 2009)
4. To sustain their higher education industry⁴².

⁴² For example UK has been shifting their focus from European countries to Non-European countries. In UK, Foreign Student fee contributed £ 4 billion in 2007 and in Australia HE is the 4th largest exporting sector generating \$ 9.5 billion in 2005-06 (Marginson, 2007 and IMR,2009). Western economies are increasingly seeking to both recruit international students and retain them after graduation because in an era of globalisation, international students hold several short- and long-term gains for institutions and countries. With public per student funding for higher education decreasing in many countries, universities and colleges are looking to diversify their generated income and the revenue earned from overseas student tuition fee (Verbik, Line and Lasanowski, Veronica (2007).

Immigration policymakers and economies around the world have realised that they must now depart from their traditional reliance on mostly low-skilled employment in heavy industrial production based on available local natural resources. The importance of human capital in development of the economy has been realised and policymakers are responding by targeting foreign students to satisfy the growing demand for highly skilled human resources. Foreign graduates are seen to possess characteristics that facilitate integration both professionally and socially, which makes them particularly attractive for recruitment and retention. They are usually young, have a high propensity for acculturation and possess widely recognized professional and academic credentials and appropriate professional training in the relevant fields of activity. Australia and Canada have long pursued proactive migration policies targeting highly skilled migrants through their points-based selection systems for permanent immigration. Other countries are following this example as offering an ideal response to the current labour shortages in specific sectors and demographic decline (King, Russell, Findlay A and Ahrens J, 2010).

Recruiting FS is also important because it is an important source of revenue for educational institutes in many countries and helps to sustain the education industry. Foreign student “bring money that feeds into our institutions (of higher education) and helps our goal to open up opportunities for more people (within UK) to study” (Blair, 18 June 1999; DFES press release). Thus, foreign student recruitment is a means of financing the government’s objective of accessing higher education to a larger proportion of the hosting country without increasing taxes. Another objective is to promote trade: “People who are educated here have a lasting tie to the country. They promote Britain around the world, helping our trade...”⁴³ (Allan M Findlay and Alexandra Stam and; Allan M Findlay).

⁴³ Blair, DFES press release, 18 June 1999.

2.8 The Challenges

Attracting foreign students to a country will make sense only if they are able to enter to pursue their studies and, ideally, to do so without undue difficulties. If foreign students are to be attracted while they are also being expected to pay market-driven tuition fees, authorization to work in the host country will go a long way to persuading them to come. Many countries now attach growing importance to attracting foreign students and have therefore simplified or reviewed their application procedures for visas and residence permits for foreign students.

Yet, a country's immigration policy can also hamper the flow of foreign students. Immigration authorities are sometimes fearful that any relaxation of the procedures to obtain student visas may lead to abuses of student visa or fraud. Moreover, other political priorities may have conflicts with these policies. After the events of September 11, 2001, the United States, and bogus student and bogus colleges scam in UK, has led to clamping down on the conditions governing the admission of foreigners to the country. This meant tightening the procedures to obtain student visas and introducing longer verification periods (each applicant for a student visa must be interviewed face-to-face by a representative of the U.S. authorities) (Bollag, 2004; Field, 2004, Haddal, 2007 and Urias, 2009).). Thus, increasing terrorism, criminal activities by those on student visa, security (socio and economic) and student visa abuse (Borjas, 2002; Faist, 2002; Nye, 2004 and; Johnson, 2004) are also the major factors influencing immigration policy. Both public opinion and political behaviour today is hostile towards foreign students or students from specific regions of the world (for example-attitude of United States immigration authorities towards Muslim countries) (Borjas, 2002 and; Szelrnyi, 2006). But as discussed earlier the benefits attached to foreign students, relevance of foreign students in contributing to international understanding and economic and scientific development of the hosting country cannot be denied (McMurtrie, 2001; Zakaria, 2004 and; Kataiin Szelrnyi, 2006).

So it is very important for the policy makers to formulate policies in such a way that it minimizes the abuse of student visa or disadvantages attached to it. It should neither be very relaxed nor should it be very strict. On the one hand, strict immigration policy could result in decline in the number of bright individuals who can contribute in the progress of a country, decline in bright foreign students who in future contribute to the country or helps in improving country's image in the world and other benefits, etc. On the other hand, very relaxed immigration policy could lead to increase in number of crimes, terror activities, social unrest, etc. As Nye (2004) in one of his paper wrote that, getting a US visa has become a nightmare since the terrorist attacks in 2001. In many cases, those implementing the new regulations have become overly strict. As Zakaria (2004) explains that "every visa officer lives in fear that he will let in the next Mohamad Atta. As a result, he is probably keeping out the next Bill Gates" (Alberts, 2007).

Thus, to minimize the student visa abuse and formulate a policy that is neither too restrictive nor too open, there is a need to know the real reasons or motivations behind student migration. As it is difficult to reflect upon students intentions through visa application form, there is a need for coordination among different stakeholders, expansion of stakeholders i.e. civil society; and knowing the intention through direct interview of foreign students. So, the next chapter looks into the trends in foreign student immigration and; policies and functions of different stakeholders involved.

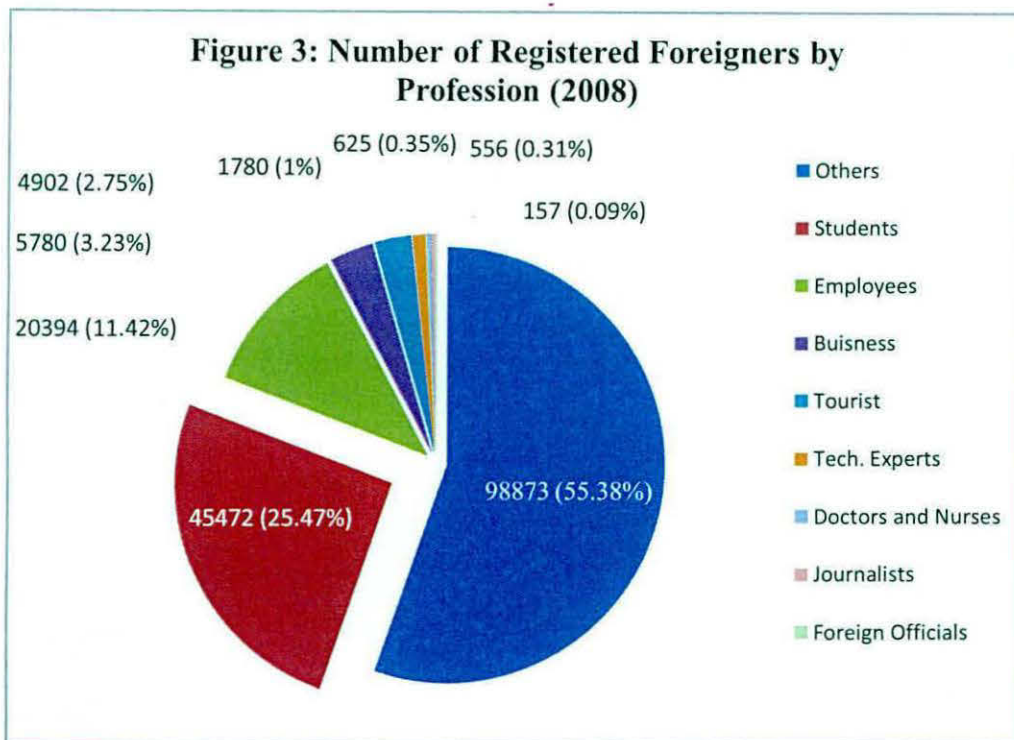
Chapter 3: Foreign Students' Immigration in India: Some Trends and Policies

3.1 Foreign Students in India: Some Trends

“Although ancient Indian universities such as Nalanda (circa first to fourth century AD) hosted students and scholars from across the world, modern Indian universities are focussed on meeting demand are inward looking” (Agarwal, 2011). At the time of independence, India hosted students from several developing countries with the motive to provide and contribute to the development of these countries and offer international curriculum and promote better understanding between nations. So, enrolling foreign students was considered an important part of public diplomacy (Agarwal, 2008b). Most foreign students in India have traditionally come from neighbouring countries in South Asia that have a large Indian Diaspora.

At present, India is a key player in foreign student mobility, in particular as a source country. Currently, India contributes about 7.5% of the total pool of international mobile students, second only to China, the leading source country. But apart from this, India also hosts a growing number of foreign students. Although this number, as compared to emigration is small, the country has potential and aspirations to host much larger number of foreign students. Foreign student flow is no more one way traffic and number of foreign students coming to India has been increasing. There are very few studies done on foreign students in India assuming that the number is very small and there is no need for research in this area. But if we look at pie-diagram below (See figure 3), it shows that out of total foreigners registered in 2008, 25.47% (1,47,472) are foreign students. This figure, both in absolute and percentage terms is quite significant (BOI, 2009 and MHA⁴⁴).

⁴⁴ MHA. Annual Report 2009-10.



Source: Bureau of Immigration, Foreigners Division, Home Ministry (India).

Further, the data collected by different agencies on foreign students in India shows large gaps and reflects that only very few foreign students come to India. The Association of Indian Universities (AIU) is the nodal agency for collecting student mobility data but it has faced difficulties in collecting and collating data on foreign students. Although data is available for development since 1988/89 but gaps can be clearly seen. For example, “according to AIU there were 615 U.S students in India in 2006/07, but this number stood at 2,627 as per Open Doors Report” (Agarwal, 2011). Further, for the year 2007-08, there are 396 students from US but BOI shows that the figure for the same period stands at 4452 (and according to open doors report it is 3150)⁴⁵. Also, 400 to 600 Chinese students studied engineering, IT, and computer science in India, but these are not reflected in AIU data. For the year 2007-08, AIU data shows that there are 219 Chinese students but BOI figure for the same period stands at 1150. Further, if we look at the data on the top ten source countries there are lot of differences. As visible from the table 5 below that USA does not feature in top

⁴⁵ (The Hindu, November 18, 2009 as cited in IMR 2009, p.63)

ten source countries in the AIU data, but in BOI data it is the top source country. Further, Malaysia, Yemen, Sudan, Thailand and South Korea also feature in BOI data (See table 5).

Table 5: Foreign Students in Indian Universities (Top Ten Countries)

AIU Data – Countries	2008	BOI Data - Countries	2008
Iran	2669	USA	4452
Nepal	1821	Iran	3771
United Arab Emirate	1560	Sri Lanka	2685
Ethiopia	1289	Malaysia	2447
Sri Lanka	997	Yemen	2045
Afghanistan	976	Sudan	1903
Saudi Arabia	835	Thailand	1894
Bahrain	600	Afghanistan	1872
Kenya	592	South Korea	1665
Oman	548	Bangladesh	1391
Total	11887	Total	24125

Source: AIU and BOI

One possible reason for this could be that not all the government or private universities or institutes are members of AIU. If we look at the table 6 below, out of 475 only 281 universities are members of AIU. There are large gaps in the data collected by AIU as the registration figure on foreign students done by BOI is quite high. The total number of foreign students for the year 2007-08 were 21,206 but data collected by BOI shows that for the year 2008, foreign students registration in the country stands at 45,472. Although, it may not be appropriate to compare BOI with AIU as BOI data is till 31st December and AOI data is for one particular session of study, still this rude comparison is not so rude as we know that most students take admissions in the months of April, May, June and July.

Table 6: Members of Association of India Universities

Status	Member			Non Members			Total
State Universities			177		58		235
Deemed Universities	Self Finance	29	59	47	71	76/SF	130
	Public Funded	30		24		54/PF	
Central University			26		14		40
Private University			8		29		37
Institution of National Importance			11		22		33
Total Universities			281		182		475

Source: Dongaonkar and Negi (2009), International Students in

Indian Universities: 2007-2008, Association of Indian Universities, New Delhi.

Table 7: Sources of data on foreign students

Source	2007-08
AIU	21,206
BOI	45,472

Source: AIU and BOI

So, surely there seems to be the problem of under-reporting of data by universities. This problem of under-reporting not only pertains to AIU data but also to BOI data, as foreign students who enter the country for a period of less than six months is not required to register. So, clearly if this number is also taken into account, absolute figure will rise significantly. Although, under reported but for further analysis study mostly look at the AIU data and BOI data, as these are the only two data sources available to study foreign students in India.

India hosts students from about 195 countries and approximately 55 of them send more than 100 students. According to AIU Data, Iran sends the highest number, followed by U.A.E., Nepal, Ethiopia, Saudi Arabia and Kenya. Over 90% students come from the developing countries of Asia and Africa: two third from Asia and one-

fourth from Africa (AIU, 2009). Numbers of foreign students from developed countries are also not less. According to BOI data, U.S.A sends 4452 foreign students, followed by U.K (1097), Canada (930), Germany (730), France (655), Russia (410) and Japan (323) (BOI, 2009). Students from advanced nations come to India for short duration study programs and the numbers have been increasing in long duration courses also (Bhandari and Blumenthal, 2011).

The majority of foreign students are enrolled at undergraduate level i.e. 77.6%, 12.5% are enrolled in PG and only 1.4% students in research programs. These students are mainly concentrated in the western and southern parts of India and prefer to study in and around metropolitan cities like Delhi, Mumbai, Chennai and Pune. According to AIU data (See table 8) top ten institutions account for 80% of the total number of students. Given below is the gender wise enrolment of foreign students in top ten universities. University of Pune is the most attractive destination for foreign students followed by University of Mysore and Manipal University; and University of Delhi is at fourth spot with 1131 students. There are some other universities that attract high number of foreign students but are not the members of AIU.

Table 8: Indian Universities with Foreign Students (Top Ten) (2007-2008)

	Universities	M	F	T
1.	University of Pune, Pune	2791	1016	3807
2.	University of Mysore, Mysore	859	453	1312
3.	Manipal University, Manipal	537	689	1226
4.	University of Delhi, Delhi	660	471	1131
5.	Osmania University, Hyderabad	559	123	682
6.	Alagappa University, Karaikudi	288	280	568
7.	Jamia Hamdard, New Delhi	337	172	509
8.	Bharati Vidyapeeth, Pune	359	135	494
9.	IGNOU, <i>Distance Education Mode</i>	2843	1625	4468
10.	Symbiosis, Pune, <i>Distance Mode</i>	NA	NA	2178
	Total	9233	4964	16375

Source: Dongaonkar and Negi (2009), International Students in

Indian Universities: 2007-2008, Association of Indian Universities, New Delhi.

Indian neighbours also send quite large number of students i.e. Sri Lanka (2685), Bangladesh (1391), China (1150), Maldives (664) and Myanmar (377); but “India’s neighbours send a much larger number of students to advanced countries than to India” (Agarwal 2008a). For example, Nepal sent 8,936 students to the US compared to merely 1,728 to India in 2008.

Overall, the number of foreign students has been increasing over past few years. Although, AIU data doesn’t show much increase in the number of foreign students due to under reporting but as revealed by other sources i.e. Open Doors Report and BOI data, the number of foreign students has been increasing.

3.2 Stakeholders: Functions and Policies

As discussed earlier in the review of literature, rarely is immigration policy the responsibility of a single government ministry or department i.e. immigration issues, are not a concern of any single ministry but matters of high international politics, engaging the attention of heads of states, cabinets, and key ministries involved in defence, internal security, and external relations (Skeldon, 2007). Although, there is no structure of India’s immigration policy, but some scenario of policy engagements by different ministries is visible (as mentioned in the review of literature). Different ministries have different objectives and are basically concerned with regulating or enhancing different types of migration (i.e. immigration control policy) but there is no focus on policies concerning issues after the arrival of migrants. Policies seem to be influenced by ministries and ministers in charge, and the relative importance of the ministries in question. Discussed below are stakeholders who are in anyways directly or indirectly involved in immigration policy making and its implementation. Their functions and policy areas they focus on have been discussed below:

3.2.1 The Ministry of Home Affairs

MHA is the nodal agency that looks into the various matters relating to regulation of foreigners (which includes foreign students also). MHA (Ministry of Home Affairs) works through five departments i.e. The Department of Internal

Security, Department of States, Department of Home, Department of Jammu & Kashmir Affairs and Department of Border Management. These departments do work separately but they do not function in water-tight compartments. All these departments are inter-linked and function under the overall charge of the Home Secretary. The work of these departments is distributed among different divisions, each headed by a Joint Secretary. Although there is no mention of foreign students in the documents of home ministry but major matters relating to foreign students come under the foreigners division of MHA. The names of some of the divisions that have the responsibility of dealing with immigration and foreign students are given below:-

3.2.1 (i) The Foreigners Division

This Division deals with all matters relating to Foreigners Act and Passport (Entry into India) Act, Registration of Foreigners Act, the Citizenship Act and the Foreign Contribution (Regulation) Act.

3.2.1 (ii) The Internal Security Division

This Division deals with matters relating to internal security, including anti-national and subversive activities of various groups or organizations, arms & explosives, National Security Act, etc. This division looks into the matters relating to security threat created by foreign students.

3.2.1 (iii) The Human Rights Division

This Division deals with matters relating to the Protection of Human Rights Act and matters relating to integration. That is, the protection of human rights of foreign students and problems relating to integration. Although there is rarely any violation of foreign students' human rights but integration problems do exist.

3.3 Bureau of Immigration and FRRO

Immigration bureau and FRRO offices come under foreigners division of MHA i.e., it is basically controlled by foreigners division. Bureau of immigration is basically an implementation body and is concerned with completion works. Immigration check is carried out for all foreign students/foreigners when they arrive in India. Students are required to furnish true particulars in the disembarkation card (arrival card) as to his name and nationality, his age, sex, place of birth and address or intended address in India, the purpose of his visit and the proposed length of stay in India. Immigration check is done at different international airports which include checking of passport, visa, disembarkation card, entering students/foreigner's particulars in computer, retention of arrival card and stamping of passport of the foreigner⁴⁶. Further, foreign students are also required to meet medical fitness standard before they leave their country. Entry of HIV⁺ persons or persons of notified diseases is restricted.

After arriving in India, foreign students are required to register in FRRO and show residence proof which they need to get from the landlords. If at any time foreign student proposes to be absent from one's registered address for a continuous period of eight weeks or more or one is changing his registered address then he is required to inform the registration officer of the area concerned, to leave either temporarily or permanently the jurisdiction of the registration officer. In case of return, the student should inform the Registration Officer about the date of return. Further, if the student wants to change the address or move to a different location, he is required to inform FRRO about the change of residence.

FRRO is responsible for the registration of foreign students and works with police to verify all foreign students (although during my field work, I found that most of them are not verified by the police). Registration is required for foreign students who enter India on a long term basis (i.e. visa valid for more than 180 days). This

⁴⁶ 'Immigration officer arrested: for allegedly facilitating travel of passengers on forged documents' By Devesh K. Pandey, The Hindu, April 4th, 2011.

includes foreign students⁴⁷, including those who come for study of yoga/Vedic culture/Indian system of dance and music. Foreign students are not required to register if he does not intend to stay in India for less than 180 days on each visit. Pakistan nationals are required to register within 24 hours and Afghanistan nationals are required to register within 7 days of their arrival in India. Children below 16 years of age do not require registration, on any type of visa. No fee is required to be paid for registration, but a penalty in Indian currency equivalent to US\$ 30/-(Rs.1395/-) in case of late registration is charged.

The Ministry of Home Affairs has recently issued guidelines delegating powers to the state governments/FRROs to extend research visa of foreign research scholars, the highlights of which are as under:

1) FRROs/State governments will be competent to extend the research visa of foreign research scholars staying in India subject to production of:

i) Valid Research Visa.

ii) Bona fide certificate from the University/Institute of affiliation about his/her pursuing the research project.

2) The total period of such visa will, however, be restricted to the duration of the project as approved by the nodal sponsoring Ministry/Institute of affiliation or 5 years, whichever is less.

3) Foreign scholars may, if required, also be given extension for the period not exceeding 6 months as the last and final extension, even after completion of the project or the 5 years whichever is less, in order to enable the research scholar to complete the final formalities of the research project.

⁴⁷ Requirements at the Time of Registration:- Valid passport (minimum for six months), Confirmed letter of acceptance or a provisional admission certificate from a university or a college or institution., Proof of availability of sufficient funds for the duration of studies in India for self-financing for NRI students., Health certificate and AIDS-free certificate, Student Visa (not required for the children of Indian Diaspora), Proof of long term (at least three years)/permanent residence in the country (not for the children of Indian Diaspora). In case of Research Visa, bona-fide certificate and letter from the nodal agency/Ministry sponsoring the Research. FRRO after registration gives a certificate of registration to international students

Every foreign student who is about to depart finally from India is required to surrender his/her certificate of registration either to the Registration Officer of the place where he is registered or of the place from where he intends to depart or to the Immigration Officer at the Port/Check post of exit at the time of final departure from India. If the certificate is surrendered other than to the Immigration Officer of the check post of exit, a receipt indicating such surrender of the document may be obtained and shown to the Immigration Officer at the time of final departure. Foreign students are also required to obtain a No Objection Certificate from the University. The student has to clear all his dues such as hostel charges, mess charges, library dues etc. before this certificate is issued.

All matters regarding the Bureau of Immigration come under the Law and Order Section of Department of internal security of MHA. Further, Grant of Visa for India in respect of citizens of Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Pakistan and Sri Lanka, including their long term stay in India and regulation of entry/stay of all foreigners in India and Grant of Indian citizenship by registration and naturalization are taken care of by foreigners division of MHA.

3.4. Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs (MOIA)

MOIA is the only ministry of the government that is actively engaged in attracting foreign students. But this ministry encourages only foreign students of Indian origin and NRIs to apply to Indian universities for higher education. One of the recent schemes developed by Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs for foreign students is SPDC. Scholarship Programme for Diaspora Children (SPDC) was introduced in the academic year 2006-2007. It's sole purpose is to make higher education in India accessible to the children of overseas Indians and promote India as a centre for higher studies. Under this scheme, 100 PIO/NRI students are awarded scholarship of up to US\$ 3,600 per annum for undergraduate courses in Engineering, Technology, Humanities, Liberal Arts, Commerce, Management, Journalism, Hotel Management, Agriculture, Animal Husbandry and some other courses.

Educational Consultants India Limited (Ed.CIL), a Government of India Enterprise, has been designated as the Nodal Agency for implementation of the programme and it is open to NRIs/PIOs from over 40 countries having substantial Indian Diaspora population. Assistance provided under this scheme comprises of financial assistance primarily towards tuition fee, admission fee and post admission services.

The Ministry is also in the process of setting up a PIO/NRI University for the overseas Indians. The University is to be accorded the status of “Deemed University” under Section 3 of the UGC Act. The University would be set up by Manipal Academy of Higher Education Trust (MAHET), Manipal at Bangalore, Karnataka and further it also plans to establish four other universities in other parts of the country.

3.5. Ministry of Human Resource Development (MHRD)

MHRD (The Ministry of Human Resource Development) is in-charge of the overall policy thrust. It gives clearance to all foreign collaborative agreements between universities concerning faculty, students and research projects. There are many governmental educational bodies that encourage foreign students to join Indian universities. Foreign students can apply directly to the institute of their choice or they can apply through Ed.CIL. Information regarding different schemes and universities is available at MHRD, U.G.C, etc.

Choosing the Course and Institute

A large number of foreign students are enrolled into Indian universities and they can choose from a wide variety of courses offered by Indian universities, institutes and colleges. Ed.CIL gives advice on suitable colleges and programmes after ascertaining the requirements and interests of the students. They can either apply to the institution of their choice directly or to Ed.CIL. Once you register with Ed.CIL and submit your application, it will take care of the formalities from pre-admission to post admission and act as your local guardian, till you complete your course in India and return to your home country. Foreign students are not required to give GRE,

GMAT, TOEFL, IELTS or any other test. Indian universities do not insist on the above scores. However, since the academic programmes are taught in English medium, proficiency in English is a must.⁴⁸ (During my field work I didn't find many students who are proficient in English).

3.5.1 Educational Consultants India Limited (Ed.CIL)

It is a Government of India Enterprise and has been designated as the Nodal Agency for implementation of many programs. Ed.CIL takes care of all aspects of both self-financing students and students on scholarships, from reception at the airport to monitoring academic progress and ensuring accommodation. One of the recent programs that are being implemented by Ed.CIL is DASA. DASA stands for Direct Admission to Students Abroad. Run by the Government of India, this scheme offers direct admission to undergraduate programmes to the deserving foreign nationals/ Persons of Indian Origins (PIOs) and Non-Resident Indians (NRIs). Administered by the Educational Consultants of India, the courses under this programme are offered by the National Institutes of Technology (formerly Regional Engineering Colleges) and other centrally funded institutes (other than IITs) and Punjab Engineering College, Chandigarh.

Through this scheme, the Government of India aims to provide quality education to the children of overseas Indians in the field of Engineering and Technology. All these institutions have reasonably good facilities for accommodation, sports and extracurricular activities.

3.5.2 ICCR (Indian Council for Cultural Relations)

ICCR, the public diplomacy arm of the government, facilitates exchange visits and offers scholarships under various schemes. Every year (ICCR) administers scholarships to international students, according to the terms and conditions of the Cultural Exchange Programme signed between the Government of India and the Government of the respective country for studying, training and research in various

⁴⁸ Even though at the time of checking documents they usually check whether the student has studied Higher Secondary in English medium or English as one of their subjects.

fields. At present India has Cultural Exchange Programmes with many countries. Its special focus is on neighbouring countries and the Indian Diasporas. ICCR is the Nodal Agency for arranging the admission to most foreign students. It covers 1800 scholarships under its umbrella, offered for undergraduates and post graduates (500 to Afghanistan, 100 Bangladesh, 60 for Sri Lanka and 30 for Mauritius). Out of these 1800 slots only 60-65% seats are filled. It also includes foreign students pursuing programs in Indian classical music, dance, painting and sculpture. ICCR offers the following facilities to the scholars i.e. living allowance, contingent grant, tuition fees, thesis and dissertation charges, medical benefits and study tour expenses.

The Government of India offers a number of scholarships every year to foreign students who wish to pursue their studies in India. Offer of scholarships are sent to the respective Governments through Indian diplomatic missions abroad. Nominations are received from the respective Governments in the Indian diplomatic missions concerned. Some of these Scholarships are:

General Cultural Scholarship Scheme (GCSS)

Scholarships are awarded under this scheme (GCSS) annually to foreign students belonging to certain Asian, African and Latin American countries for the undergraduate, postgraduate degrees and for pursuing research at Indian universities. However, scholarships for medical studies for MBBS, BDS or for medical research leading to a Ph.D. degree are not offered under the GCSS scheme.

Reciprocal Scholarships Scheme

Candidates wishing to do postgraduate study or research in any subject, for whom facilities exist in India, may apply for a scholarship under this scheme. Applicants wanting to study or wishing to specialize in Indian Classical Music, Indian Classical Dance, Painting, Sculpture, Drama and Indian Languages may also be considered for admission at the undergraduate level. For undergraduate courses, foreign students may join any university or a recognized institution. Foreign student wishing to study Indian languages should join a university or institution as a regular student.

Technical Cooperation Scheme of the Colombo Plan

This scheme is administered on behalf of the Department of Economic Affairs, Ministry of Finance and Ministry of External Affairs and is meant for students who are nationals of Asian countries. Under the TCS of the Colombo Plan, scholarships are awarded to the candidates of the following countries: Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Iran, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, Maldives, Nepal, Philippines, Papua New Guinea, Sri Lanka, South Korea, and Thailand. According to the scheme, scholarships are offered for under-graduate, post-graduate and research towards a Ph.D. degree. At the under-graduate level a few scholarships are also available for engineering degrees or diploma courses.

SAARC Fellowship Scheme

To promote interaction among students, scholars, academicians from SAARC countries, the Government of India has introduced the SAARC Fellowship and Scholarship Scheme. Six fellowships and twelve scholarships are offered annually to the nationals of member countries viz. Bangladesh, Bhutan, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. Therefore, one fellowship and two scholarships are offered to nationals of each member country. Fellowships and scholarships are offered for studies in areas of Economics, Education, Environment, Agriculture, Mass Communication, Language and Literature, Sociology, Transport Engineering, Applied Economics, Master of Business Administration Programme, Biochemistry, Social Work, Food Technology and Home Science.

Apasaheb Pant Scholarship Scheme

Under this scheme one scholarship is offered to a Kenyan national to pursue studies at the postgraduate level, preferably in the field of Economics or International Relations at Jawaharlal Nehru University. Apart from the usual dues, economy class air-fare is also provided.

Scholarship Scheme for Sri Lanka and Mauritius

Under this scheme 77 scholarships are offered annually, 47 for Sri Lanka and 30 for Mauritius. These scholarships are for pursuing studies towards under-graduate, post-graduate degrees and for pursuing research towards fulfilment of a Ph.D. degree.

Discussed above are all governmental bodies engaged in enhancing foreign student immigration and implementing the specified objectives. Other than these, universities at their own initiatives are also engaged in increasing the number of foreign students in their institutes through various programs. The present study looks into the policies of three central universities in Delhi i.e. DU, JNU and JMI. These have been discussed below.

3.6 Delhi University

DU receives applications from basically two categories of foreign students i.e. ICCR scholars and self-financing scholars. The applications of government scholars are routed through the Indian Council for Cultural Relations and the self-financing students apply through their respective High Commissions or Embassies. Around 4000 foreign students fill application forms each year out of which around 1,500 foreign students are issued eligibility letters out of which approximately 600 join each year. In 2008, around 575 students joined the University. Altogether, DU have little over 1,100 foreign students hailing from about 55 countries of the world with Korea, Vietnam, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Mauritius, Thailand, Bhutan, Iran, Afghanistan and China providing the largest number of students (AOIU and university website). Approximately 75% of the foreign students are registered at the under-graduate level courses while the rest are pursuing master and doctoral level courses.

The international relations objective on the site of DU reads that globalization affects many sectors of society and higher education institutes are no exception. Universities worldwide respond to challenges presented by globalization in various ways. One response is the internationalization of the university campus. Thus, DU intends to expand network between states, regions, and international locations. University of Delhi has been for long reaching out to institutions in different parts of

the world for collaborative programmes, research networks, student exchanges and so on. The University of Delhi has recently joined the Universitas 21 network in 2007. Established in 1997, Universitas 21 is an international network of leading research-intensive universities around the world. It is an internationally recognized partnership, which facilitates collaboration and co-operation between the member universities, creating entrepreneurial opportunities, on a scale that no member would be able to achieve operating independently or through traditional bilateral alliances.

Professor Deepak Pental, Ex- Vice Chancellor, University of Delhi on joining Universitas 21 said, “I am delighted that the University of Delhi formally joins the Universitas 21 network, and makes an institutional leap in its continuing commitment to internationalization. I am aware that it is the first Indian University to join this internationally-respected consortium that has been a leader in promoting research-intensive links among select universities in North America, Asia, Europe and Australia. We at Delhi University regard this partnership as a crucial step in our pursuance of successful collaborations with fraternal institutions in different parts of the world.”

In total, DU have signed 16 exchange programs with Asian countries, 21 with European countries, 13 with North America, 2 with Australia and one with Africa. As visible from the figures DU is basically more focussed on coordination and cooperation with developed countries of the world. DU is also quite actively engaged in exchange programs with many European countries i.e. it is a partner to two major Erasmus Mundus programs. Overall the aim of these programs and policies of DU seems to be on increasing the mutual understanding and the exchange of knowledge between India and Europe through student and staff mobility. These programs are designed to target a specific group which include: students and academic staff registered in University of Delhi; nationals of India, registered in any higher education institution in India and; nationals of India, who wish to pursue higher education in European Universities, especially for students and staff.

3.7 Jamia Millia Islamia

There are three categories of foreign students in JMI i.e. ICCR (10%), general (5%) and Supernumerary (10%). General applicants - These are applicants who qualify for admission after clearing the regular entrance test and interview (For Ph.D. applicants this category does not apply). Supernumerary applicants - These are applicants who fulfil the eligibility criteria of the course of their choice but do not wish to appear for the entrance test and interview. Each year around 200 foreign students enroll in JMI i.e. 193 in 2007-08 (AOIU), 191 in 2008-09, 197 in (2009-10) and 187 in 2010-11 (see the table 9 below). The admission data for 2010-11 shows that a major proportion of the foreign students are under supernumerary seats that is 68 out of 187, which is 36% and this number exceeds the defined limits of the university, that is 15% under this category (shows the commercial strategy adopted by JMI). 71 students are on ICCR scholarships and 48 are self financing students. So, in all 116 students out of 187 are paying for their courses themselves i.e., 62% are paying themselves. This also shows the commercial strategy of JMI to earn revenue but unfortunately the number of foreign students is quite low. Most number of students are enrolled in under graduate courses i.e. 92, followed by 46 foreign students in PG courses and 49 under Ph.D.

JMI has adopted policies focussing on mostly Muslim countries as most of the foreign students enrolled are from Central Asian countries and most of the students are Muslims. It's strategy is also based on mutual understanding but it has reflected some commercial purposes also. Foreign students under the category of Supernumerary seats are charged very high i.e. between US \$ 6000-to US \$ 8000 as compared to general students paying between US \$ 1200 p.a. US \$ 2500 p.a. Further, English Language Course is another source of revenue as it is mandatory for all foreign students in Jamia Millia Islamia to enroll for the course. The duration of the course is 4 months. A fee of Rs. 4000/- is charged for this course.

Table 9: Total Number of Foreign Students in 2010-2011

TOTAL NUMBER OF FOREIGN STUDENTS DURING THE SESSION 2010-2011								
Updated on 12.01.2011								
S.No	Country	IGCR ¹	S.F. ²	S.N. ³	MoU ⁴	MALE	FEMALE	Total no. of students
1.	Afghanistan	18	05	36	-	56	03	59
2.	Bangladesh	-	-	03	-	02	01	03
3.	Cambodia	02	-	-	-	02	-	02
4.	Fiji	03	-	-	-	01	02	03
5.	Indonesia	07	01	-	-	04	04	08
6.	Iran	04	17	10	-	12	19	31
7.	Iraq	18	05	05	-	22	06	28
8.	Kyrgyzstan	01	-	-	-	-	01	01
9.	Laos PDR	07	-	-	-	06	01	07
10.	Libya	-	-	01	-	01	-	01
11.	Mauritius	06	-	01	-	-	07	07
12.	Nepal	-	14	06	-	19	01	20
13.	Nigeria	-	-	01	-	01	-	01
14.	Oman	-	01	-	-	01	-	01
15.	Palestine	01	01	-	-	02	-	02
16.	Saudi Arabia	-	-	01	-	-	01	01
17.	South Korea	-	-	01	-	-	01	01
18.	Sudan	-	-	01	-	01	-	01
19.	Syria	01	01	-	-	02	-	02
20.	Tajikistan	01	-	-	-	01	-	01
21.	Thailand	-	01	-	-	-	01	01
22.	Turkey	-	01	02	-	03	-	03
23.	Uzbekistan	02	-	-	-	01	01	02
24.	Yemen	-	01	-	-	01	-	01
	Total	71	48	68	5	138	49	187
			187			187		//
	Under graduate courses			92				
	Post-graduate courses			46	187			
	Ph.D. programme			49				

Foreign Students' Advisor
Jamia Millia Islamia

¹Under various scholarship schemes of Government of India.
²Students admitted after passing the entrance test organized by the university.
³Students under supernumerary seats for foreign nationals.
⁴Students under memorandum of understanding between 2 universities.

3.8. Jawaharlal Nehru University

JNU attracts students from all over the world and has around 400 foreign students from around 50 countries (2008). Foreign students from South Asia, South-East Asia, Central Asia, Africa and Europe account for the largest number. Under the existing admission policy, a 10% quota is fixed for admission of foreign students; 5%

through entrance and 5% for candidates from abroad whose cases are to be considered in absentia. Casual students are also there but they are not included in this 10%. Overseas students, who form about 10% of the annual intake, enrich the cultural and intellectual life of JNU. There is a long tradition of holding serious after-dinner meetings in the hostels to which the students often invite well known public figures, writers and intellectuals.

Internationalisation is an objective of JNU Act. JNU actively collaborates with many foreign Universities/Institutions and has established academic linkages with more than eighty institutions of repute in twenty nine countries. Many other proposals are under active consideration. There are two types of agreements. Agreement of Cooperation (AoC) is at the School level and Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) is at the University level i.e. where more than one School is involved in cooperation. So far 80 Memorandum of Understanding and 21 Agreement of Cooperation have been signed. JNU's interest in international cooperation is a mix of academic and cultural interests. While academic interests are pre-eminent, cultural interest are also crucial. Exchange programmes and joint research projects don't seem to be a commercial strategy of JNU.

3.9. Policy Overview

Immigration departments of some developed nations are quite developed and they are not only engaged in implementation work but also framing the immigration policy of the country. As far as India is concerned we don't have any specific department of immigration, we just have Bureau of Immigration which just implements the policy being taken by higher authorities i.e. MHA. But MHA is basically concerned with the issuing of visa to foreign students and regulating the different categories of migrants. There is no specific focus on foreign students or any policy that gives extra focus on the regulation of foreign students. MHA (foreigners division) basically focuses on stay of foreigners in India, regulation of entry/stay of all foreigners into/ in India and Grant of Indian citizenship by registration and naturalization.

The policymakers in the field of immigration i.e. MHA/BOI; other related ministries i.e. MHRD and MOIA and; educational institutes i.e. DU, JMI and JNU are working separately for their own goals. There is no visible interaction among MHA and MHRD/MOIA. Further, there doesn't seem to be any interaction between MHRD and MOIA as both are targeting foreign students of different categories independently. MHRD is the only major actor in shaping immigration policy in the context of foreign students. Further, the interaction between the bodies within MHRD i.e. Ed.CIL and ICCR; and educational institutes seem to be minimal as universities are themselves engaging in attracting foreign students accept the permission from MHRD for the approval of exchange programs.

“India has not been proactive in attracting foreign students and its coordination, communication, and recruitment strategy is weak. Most institutions recruit foreign students themselves, though some universities coordinate recruitment for affiliated colleges” (Bhandari and Blumenthal, 2011). The coordination mechanism for promotion of Indian higher education abroad put in place by UGC in 2004/05 has failed to make any impact. Ed.CIL is the co-ordinating agency for the admission of foreign nationals and overseas Indians, but it recruits less than a thousand students each year. ICCR, the public diplomacy arm of the government have been providing scholarships to many students but still foreign students from many developing countries feel that the amount of scholarship is not enough and foreign students from developed nation even doesn't consider it as an option. Further, all the slots are never filled up and this shows that a further push is needed to make these scholarships effective or to look into the matter why these scholarship seats are not filled. Present study suggests that ICCR scholarships are not much attractive for many students as visible from the survey collected that India was never the first choice for foreign students and they came only because they got the scholarship.

Although, some may argue that India hosts only a few number of foreign students but according to AIU data there have been consistent increase in foreign students since 1998/99 and number is much higher according to BOI data. In the recent years, MOIA and MHRD, the two main arms of the government have taken

several steps to attract foreign students. Further, MHA have been involved into streamlining of the visa process and granting of multi-entry visas for students of long term courses. There are special policies to take care of Indian Diasporas students and MOIA is responsible for this. Universities are setting up foreign student centers, special websites, familiarization sessions, and periodic monitoring of foreign students. Many private institutions are aggressively attracting foreign students and education hubs are also being created in cities like Chandigarh, Sonipat (Haryana) and Lavasa near Mumbai for wooing foreign students.

Overall picture of policies taken by Indian government reflects that at present it is not seeing foreign students as a source of revenue. Government seems to adopt the strategy of mutual understanding and sees it as an opportunity to maintain its influence in the region and within countries with the large Indian population. This could help in standard of quality, stimulating course innovation, enriching cultural and intellectual life, and creating an environment conducive for better international understanding. “The Indian higher education has a better reputation than that of china, the language of instruction is mostly English, and its capacity to absorb foreign students is comparable” (Bhandari and Blumental, 2011). Thus, there is no reason for India not to attract as many or even larger number of foreign students than other countries. However, foreign students’ recruitment in India is driven by private providers and not by the government. Therefore, to attract the higher number of foreign students there is a need for a greater role to be played by Indian Government.

Chapter 4: Foreign Students' Immigration in India: Practices

Involved and Data Analysis

4.1 Methodology

To minimize the student visa abuse and formulate a policy that is neither too restrictive nor too open, there is a need to know the real reasons or motivations behind student migration. As it is difficult to reflect upon students' intentions through visa application forms, the study tries to explore the reasons for migration in two ways: Firstly, by directly asking foreign students to rank the reasons for migration and; Secondly, by expanding the stakeholders at local level i.e. civil society. This study takes into account four new stakeholders into account i.e. landlords, Delhi Police, RWA/Panchayat and internal students. Roles and perceptions of these stakeholders in practice have been discussed in this chapter. This chapter starts by giving a description about the field and how study was carried out. Then it looks into socio-cultural characteristics of foreign students, reasons for migration and; perceptions and interactions of different stakeholders.

4.1.1 Description of the Field

A Primary survey was conducted in three central Universities in Delhi and locations nearby these universities i.e. Location 1: Delhi University: North campus and Mukherje Nagar, Location 2: Jawaharlal Nehru University and Munirka Village and; Location 3: Jamia Millia Islamia and Jamia Nagar. Purposive sampling is followed; where only those foreign students are interviewed who are staying in university hostels and foreign students who are staying in the specified locations are selected (these students staying in nearby locations, may or may not be student of these universities). Although 107 foreign students were surveyed but as decided earlier the present study restricted its sample size to 90 where 15 students each were interviewed from the universities and the mentioned areas of near locality (See table 10 below).

Table 10: Sample size

	University	Sample
Location 1	Delhi University	15
	Mukherjee Nagar (Includes Indra Vihar)	15
Location 2	JNU	15
	Munirka Village	15
Location 3	JMI	15
	Jamia Nagar	15
	Total	90

Details of all the three universities have been discussed earlier in chapter 3. Some of the details about the above mentioned locations have been discussed below.

Immigration continues to be one of the most important factors in the demographic evolution of urban areas in Delhi and its impact will be particularly salient in the areas where immigrants cluster.⁴⁹ These three locations in Delhi as case studies are different in its own way as Delhi is seen as the education hub of India and people come here to receive quality education (reasons for selecting these three locations have been discussed later in this chapter). But for a newcomer, life can be a bit difficult. Foreign students coming to Delhi basically likes to reside in university hostels or the areas nearby. Three such well known and renowned locations near DU, JNU and JMI are Mukherjee Nagar, Munirka and Jamia Nagar respectively. These locations come under the Municipal Corporation of Delhi. Mukerjee Nagar comes under D category, G.T.B Nagar area, Civil Lines Zone; Munrika Village comes E category, Hauz Khas area, South zone and; Jamia Nagar comes under F Category, Okhla area, Central zone. All three locations are urbanised and provide facilities of any metropolitan area i.e. Paying Guest accommodation; rented well-furnished rooms; food is also available through different sources i.e. tiffin, dhaba, restaurants and mess; transportation facility is also of very good standard and there is good connectivity to most of the places from these locations. Modes of transport include: bus, auto, taxi, rickshaw and metro train. There are hangout places also like the Kamla Nagar market

⁴⁹ “Delhi is a migrants’ city...you, me, all of us have come from outside.” ‘Migrant City’, interview of Ravi Sundaram by Sangeeta B. Pisharoty, *The Hindu: MetroPlus*, June 14th, 2010.

in DU, Vasant kunj shopping malls near JNU and New Friends Colony Market near JMI. Let us now look at the details of the three mentioned locations.

4.1.1 (i) Mukherjee Nagar

Mukherjee Nagar is located in North Delhi, adjacent to the ring road. Mukherjee Nagar was developed by DDA for refugee (migrated from Pakistan) by acquiring the agricultural land from Dhakka village. At present, it is predominantly a residential area comprising people involved in small businesses, students studying in DU, local institutes and those aspiring for various competitive exams. It is an attraction not only for domestic students but also for foreign students, and large number of foreign students resides here. This area is well known for providing coaching to Indian Administrative Service aspirants. There are more than 300 IAS coaching centres in Mukherjee Nagar itself. This location is much larger than other two areas surveyed i.e. Munirka Village and Jamia Nagar. There are many prominent localities within Mukherjee Nagar like Hudson Lines, Mukherjee Nagar Commercial Complex and Indra Vihar. This study focussed in areas around the Mukherjee Commercial Complex and Indra Vihar.

4.1.1 (ii) Munirka Village

Munirka village is a middle class colony located in South Delhi, India. Munirka Village is an urban settlement of most modern form where it is encircled by most renowned educational bodies i.e. JNU and IIT. Although it used to be a rural village, it is no longer a rural village at least by its appearance. Munirka is a residential area but commercial activities also take place at a large scale. Horizontal expansion of the village has almost come to an end. This has encouraged people to go for vertical expansion. One or two storey buildings or open spaces are a rare sight in Munirka village. Possibly Munirka village could be defined “as a place which on one hand is ready to accept the changes caused by rapid urbanization (i.e. availability and acceptability of most modern form of facilities) and migrants (who are not only changing the demographic structure but also the ideological change) and; on the other hand, not ready to give up their traditional characteristics, norms and values of their

society.” For example, people in these villages are using the most modern form of facilities like laptops, vacuum cleaner, sophisticated mobiles, latest cars, great interiors in their houses, wearing branded cloths but on the other hand you will find “hookahs” and “khaats” in their houses, women covering their faces, strict caste based rules, educated women not encouraged to work, etc.

The major stakeholders in Munirka village are Tokas Jats. Munirka village presents an interesting scenario. According to Verification done by Delhi Police (Vasant Vihar police station), migrants constitute more than 70% of the Munirka’s population and according to the present *Pardhaan* (sarpanch) almost 90% houses are on rent at one point or the other. Students, family, employee, self-employed both from different states and; foreign students, foreign business men and refugees basically from Africa resides here. So, providing accommodation to this ever increasing migrating population remains a major challenge. Like other two locations the residents in Munirka Village are not that much educated. For most of the households in Munirka village, rent is a major and the only source of income.

4.1.1 (iii) Jamia Nagar

Jamia Nagar is a locality just adjacent to Jamia Millia Islamia. It is known for the overwhelmingly Muslim area in south Delhi is as suave as any other middle class neighbourhood in the Indian capital. Unfairly described as a Muslim ghetto, Jamia Nagar is congested but modern. Its inhabitants include intellectuals, journalists, doctors, engineers, finance professionals and university professors. Jamia Nagar’s population overwhelmingly consists of students not only from India but also foreign students from Central Asia, South Asia and Africa. This is due to the proximity of Jamia Millia Islamia University, which gave this area its name. Jamia Millia was established by a group of Muslim leaders who answered Mahatma Gandhi’s call for non-cooperation movement. Now it offers classes in most modern subjects. There are a number of institutes in Jamia Nagar that offer computer classes, courses in spoken English and help prepare students for competitive exams. This is apparent from a look at various posters on the walls all around Jamia Nagar. Most of them are advertisements for schools as well as educational and coaching institutes. People or

students living here are modern in outlook but also rooted in their religion. On the streets one can find Muslims with long beards and women in burqa as well as men and women sporting the latest fashion available in India.

4.1.2 Data-collection during Fieldwork

During fieldwork, I conducted semi-structured interviews and wrote field notes on observations and conversations with foreign students and other stakeholders. Qualitative interviews and participant observation are the main research tools in qualitative fieldwork. Each can provide access to information on the topic of study that the other would not. For example, in a formal conversation a foreign student may not reveal some of the important things (for instance, his intentions) but if asked informally they may give you some useful information.

The preliminary interviews and field observations from my pilot survey served as a guide to design the initial questionnaire for foreign students. The semi-structured nature of the interviews allowed foreign students to take an important role in determining what issues to emphasise. I believe this also made them more comfortable to reflect upon and share their opinions. I designed the questionnaire to be as straightforward as possible, bearing in mind that some of the respondents would not be from English speaking countries. I asked for some personal information, such as nationality, age, gender, religion, occupation in home country, income if employed, parents' occupation and family income. Next section of the questionnaire was focussed on information regarding education of foreign students i.e. educational background in home country and host country, inspiration for studying abroad, aspirations for future. The most important part of this section was to explore the reasons that motivated them to migrate. Foreign students were asked to rank the three most important reasons for migration from the given reasons. They also had the opportunity of adding an additional reason or providing further information in an 'other' category, which they could rank also. Although choice of destination is not the focus of the study but this question is kept in this section to see whether India is a favoured destination or they are just by chance here. Thus it may reveal the reasons for coming to India. Third

section of the questionnaire is on Visa related information i.e. when did they come for first time in India and on which visa and for what purpose, experience of getting student visa and procedure of getting visa etc. Further, they are asked about the activities they are involved into in host country, who they interact with and questions relating to travel and exploring Indian culture. Last section deals with the questions on social networks, experience of study in India, their expectation before coming to India and a general view about student migration i.e. why students move, what they feel about other foreign students, immigration authorities and India's immigration policy. Further, the information on interaction between police, locals, landlords, domestic students, internal migrants, RWA/sarpanch and immigration officials has also been collected.

Observation during fieldwork contributed to my understanding of local dynamics in relation to migration in general and foreign students' migration in particular. Although not in every location but being a participant observer had given me access to richer data. Participant observation, Russell Bernard (2006:344) explains, "is not so much a method as a strategy for improved data collection during fieldwork, which includes staying in a community, experiencing the lives of the people you study, learning their language, establishing rapport, and being able to act in such a way that your presence does not disturb 'business as usual'." But being a participant observer and taking part in daily conversations and interactions without my presence being a significantly influential factor has given me access to information presented in a different way than in an interview. My fields were usually university hostels or their colleges. So during my fieldwork I usually use to reach around 8.30-9.00 a.m. and spend my whole day taking interviews, having lunch with them, went to college with them, played football and even attended DU's annual function organised for and by foreign students in International Students House (ISH). In International boy's hostel of JMI, they have a separate kitchen where students can cook themselves. So, after getting familiar with some of my juniors in BA and MA economics, I even cooked food with the foreign students in JMI. Although in Munirka I was a true participant observant even taking care of not disturbing the normal life, but in Mukherjee Nagar and Jamia Ngar, I could collect the data through interviews of

foreign students, landlords, domestic students, internal migrants, members of RWA and interacted with police personnel in the area.

Given the newness of the theme of the study the stakeholders were not aware about the macro scenarios of immigration policy or how policies are formulated at higher level i.e. by different ministries but could relate themselves to the local level functioning of different stakeholders and specifically to foreign students. As a result, at their level they could share with me their opinion, a matter-of-fact explanation of the issue, or the story of one's own. Stakeholders were quite open about the topic and that allowed me to gain an understanding of the interactions among these stakeholders and also the confusion among them regarding different procedures. It allowed me to become familiarised with the opinions of foreign students on the reasons for migration; as well as other stakeholders i.e. landlords, internal students, police, RWA/sarpanch, and therefore to gain rich insights into the functioning of different stakeholders at local level and the reasons for migration.

4.1.3 Interviewee Demographics: Selection Criteria and Representativity

Foreign students from these universities and nearby locations were selected as the target interviewee population. Interviewees also included landlords, internal students, internal migrants, local police and RWA/sarpanch. Foreign students who are here for even one semester have been interviewed. Therefore, it includes students here both on full time programmes and exchange programmes. A student even for one semester has been selected because they would help us in understanding the varied reasons for migration. Foreign students who are studying in these universities and foreign students who are studying in any institute and staying in mentioned localities have been selected. These locations have been selected to take care of heterogeneity in the sample. Heterogeneity is in the form of regions of the world they come from, courses, level of studies and location in the Delhi. These various locations near universities have also been selected to look at the interaction among different stakeholders; this increases the chances of exploring the reasons for migration or revelation of different reasons. The comparative view of the foreign students in these

universities and nearby locations could reveal the different reasons for migration as foreign students in these regions are from different regions of the world, different institutions and are enrolled in different courses. Nearby locations are also chosen because they gives us an opportunity of getting into their daily lives which could reveal reasons for migration and the processes involved at local level. Foreign student sample is a true representative of the overall population of foreign students in Delhi because it covers the all three central universities of delhi and the locations selected also have the high number of foreign students.

4.1.4 Accessing the Field

Delhi being a foreign city for the foreign students they were quite reluctant to talk to strangers. So, it was quite challenging for me to get myself introduced and get familiar to the foreign students. It was important for me to get into the life of these student setups formed within universities and mentioned locations, as it was the key to gaining a better understanding and exploring the interactions among different stakeholders and reasons for migration. In addition, it was also important to get familiar to these foreign students because that facilitated the task of finding more foreign students (i.e. snowball sampling) and building rapport with them. The strategies or “gatekeepers” one uses for accessing the field and making networks are very important as it influence how the researcher is subsequently perceived by foreign students and must therefore be given thorough consideration beforehand. As Russell Bernard advise the researchers: “Don’t try to wing it, unless you absolutely have to. There is nothing to be said for ‘getting it on your own’, Use personal contacts to help you make your entry into a field site” (Bernard, 1988). So through my friends in JNU, DU, JMI and Munirka I could start my field work in DU and nearby location. Some scholars’ advice cautions in relation to personal contacts and “gatekeepers” as a way of entering the field, as depending on their relations with the respondents (FS), relating to them may be facilitative but also obstructive and could affect access to FS also. So, balancing this act of exploiting the existing networks i.e. using the right network and creating new one independently was quite an experience in the field.

I first began to meet foreign students through the contacts I had established earlier in my two pilot studies. These initial foreign students in turn got me in touch with other relevant acquaintances, helping to the development of an informal network. This approach to finding new respondents (foreign students) is known as “snowballing” (LeCompte and Schensul 1999:55). Gatekeepers help was quite limited in DU, JMI and nearby locations because they were themselves not very close to or much familiar with these foreign students. But just relying on gatekeepers would have been detrimental to the heterogeneity of my pool of information regarding foreign students. Therefore, for the major part of my fieldwork I talked to foreign students independent of existing networks. Introducing myself to the foreign students was a very hardworking job as they would be quite hesitant in the beginning to talk. Every time I start talking to a foreign student, I had to show him/her my JNU identity card to help them feel more comfortable and open. Once they know you are a student then they were quite open but this was not true for all the location. An additional barrier in the field was lack of proficiency of many foreign students in English. So I finally had to drop many questionnaires out of the total sample but that doesn’t mean they were not useful for the study. Other times, my gender was the barrier to communication young female foreign students. Therefore, I could only interview certain girls in JNU and Benirka.

1.5.5 Researcher Positionality and Establishing Rapport

The researcher’s identity, behaviour, and attitude to “gatekeepers” and respondents (i.e. Foreign Students) affect how people perceive him, whether or not they choose to be cooperative towards his research. It therefore affects rapport-building, the process of “developing good personal relationships with people in the research setting that facilitate access to activities and information necessary for conducting the study” (Schensul *et al.* 1999:74). My previous experience in the field and academic background (i.e. having studied economics, education and International Migration) has also affected how I relate to my research and analyse the information I obtained. The aspects of my personal identity that most affected my interaction with foreign students and other stakeholders were: Firstly, me being a student, specifically

being a student of JNU (certainly not in every case) helped me deeply interview the foreign students and; explore the reasons of student migration and their perceptions on it. Secondly, having studied in all three universities has helped me to make these students more comfortable and open in interviews and reveal some of the processes involved at the local level. Thirdly, being a resident of Munirka village stirred this idea of working on this topic, as there are lot of foreigners staying in Munirka village (mostly Africans but also from developed countries, South-East Asia and Central Asia). So, it helped me to understand the research problem and work on it. It also helped me to create networks and get more familiar to the foreigners (those on student visa and those on other visa also) and other stakeholders.

Being a local has both its advantages and disadvantages for fieldwork. First of all, in case of Munirka it was very easy for me to get in touch with the foreign students and other stakeholders as I could introduce myself as a resident and the landlord. As most of the people doesn't speak in English in Munirka, so a resident landlord speaking in English sought of get them interested in inviting me not only for tea and chatting but alcohols, drugs (for some it seemed very normal to take drugs i.e. ganza), pubs; and later one even offered to have sex. Being an English speaking resident landlord was very helpful in order to integrate in this small community of foreigners; and to explore the different procedures involved at local level and exploring the reasons for migration. But this was not common for all the locations, being a local has its disadvantages too as in certain cases they seemed to be quite reserved. Different students had different reasons for this restrain which I realized after sometime. For example, some were not good in English speaking: so they will hesitate to talk to you, Muslim students felt that they were being seen as suspects by the landlords, Africans are being discriminated because of their colour; and whites being stared and overly approached my many. So, doors were hammered at me hundreds of times and also asked to come again and again but I kept myself going. Because of being a landlord, I often perceived an eagerness in foreign students and other stakeholders to explain certain aspects of local processes, about foreign students and reasons for migration.

As a researcher, it was crucial to present myself and purpose of the study in a much clearer and open way that removes suspicion and promotes trust with the foreign students and other stakeholders. As if the respondents being interviewed are not clear about the research area, they are likely to be suspicious and wonder if the researcher is acting as some kind of government agent or spy. So to avoid any confusion I use to quickly introduce myself as a student doing research for my M.Phil/Ph.D thesis. Most people, I believe, understood my intentions, although some inquired more thoroughly than others about the motivations and aims of the study.

Thus, having discussed the methodological and fieldwork issues let us now look at the data and its analysis.

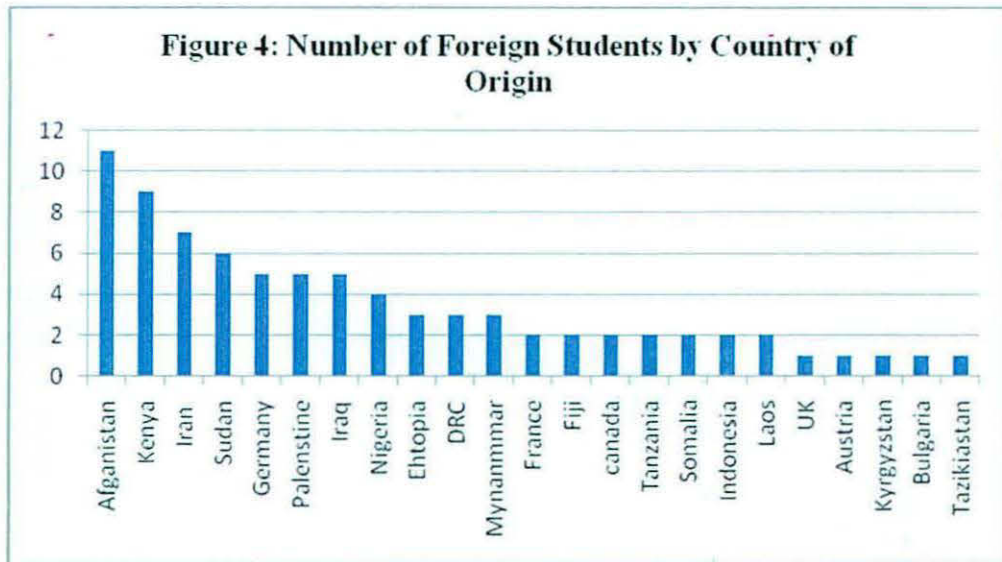
4.2 Data Analysis: Socio-Personal Characteristics and Educational Profile

This section of the chapter looks into the socio-personal characteristics and educational profile of the foreign students. Data on the country of origin, age-distribution, occupation in the home country and educational profile, social networks, travel experience and parent's occupation have been analysed.

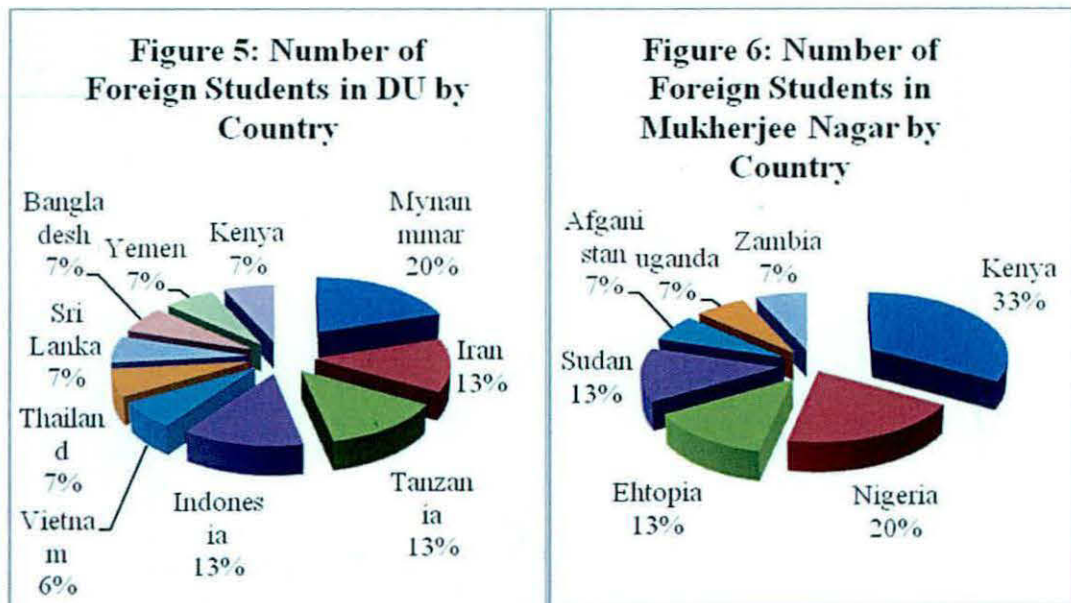
4.2.1. Who are they?

Fortunately, the data collected is very heterogeneous and consist of foreign students from 33 countries. Some of the countries can be seen in the figure 4 below. Most of the students are from Afghanistan, followed by Kenya, Iran, Sudan, Germany, Palestine, Iraq, Nigeria, Ethiopia, Congo, Myanmar, France, Fiji, Canada, Tanzania, Somalia, Indonesia, Laos, UK, Austria, Kyrgyzstan, Bulgaria and Tajikistan⁵⁰. Out of the total sample 42 foreign students are from Asia, 10 from Europe, 34 are from Africa and 4 are Americans (See figure 4 below).

⁵⁰ Others countries are mentioned in the appendix.



When we compare the first location i.e. DU and; Indra Vihar and Mukherjee Nagar, we see that (Figure 5 and 6) in DU foreign students are basically from South-Asia and African continent. In Indra Vihar and Mukherjee Nagar, most of the foreign students are from Africa.



In the second location i.e. JNU and Munirka, JNU (Figure 7) have foreign students mostly from European countries and also from Africa and Central Asia. In comparison, in Munirka, foreign students are mostly from Africa and some from

developed nations also stay there (Figure 8). Within the third location (Figure 9 and 10), JMI have students basically from Central Asia and in Jamia Nagar, foreign students are both from Central and South Asia.

Figure 7: Number of Foreign Students in JNU by Country

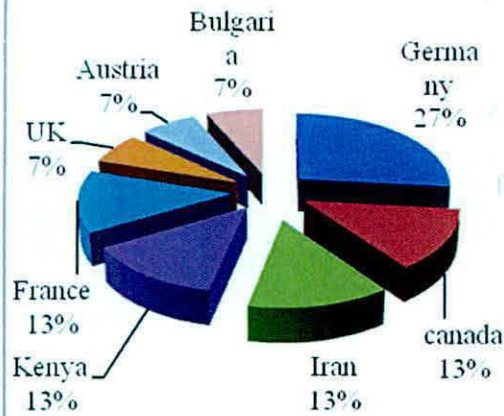


Figure 8: Number of Foreign students in Munirka by Country

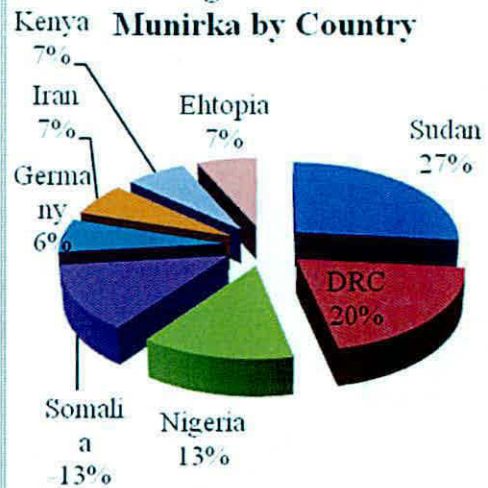


Figure 9: Number of Foreign Students in JMI by Country

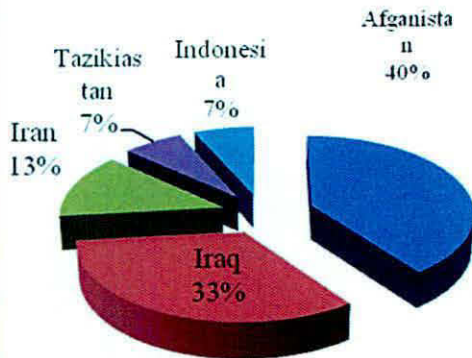
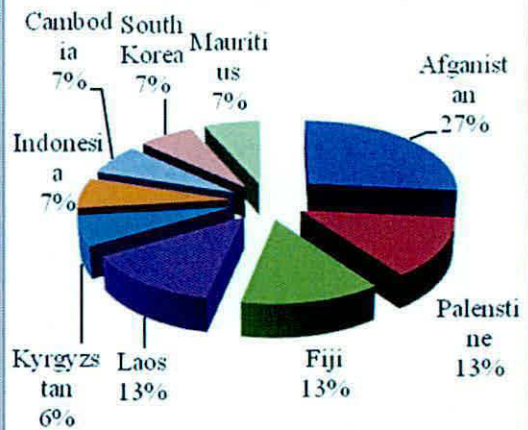
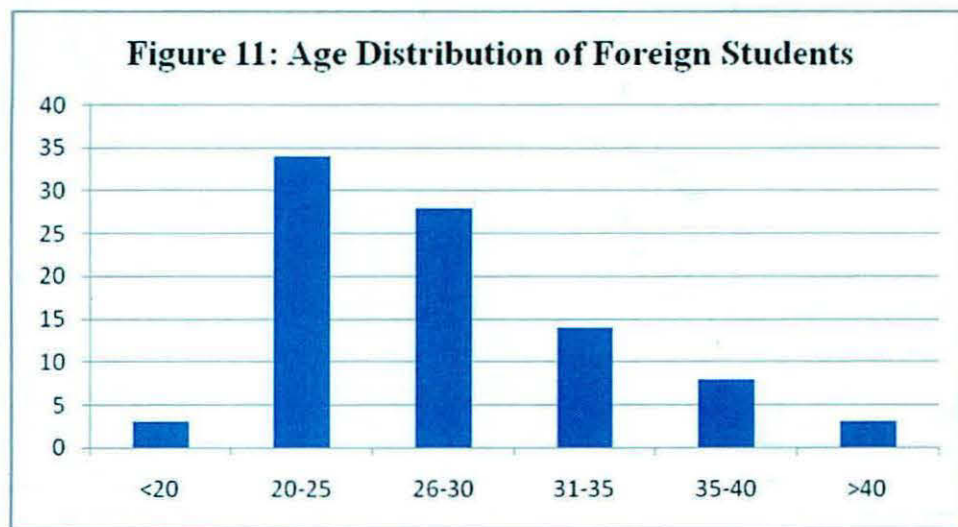


Figure 10: Number of Foreign Students in Jamia Nagar by Country

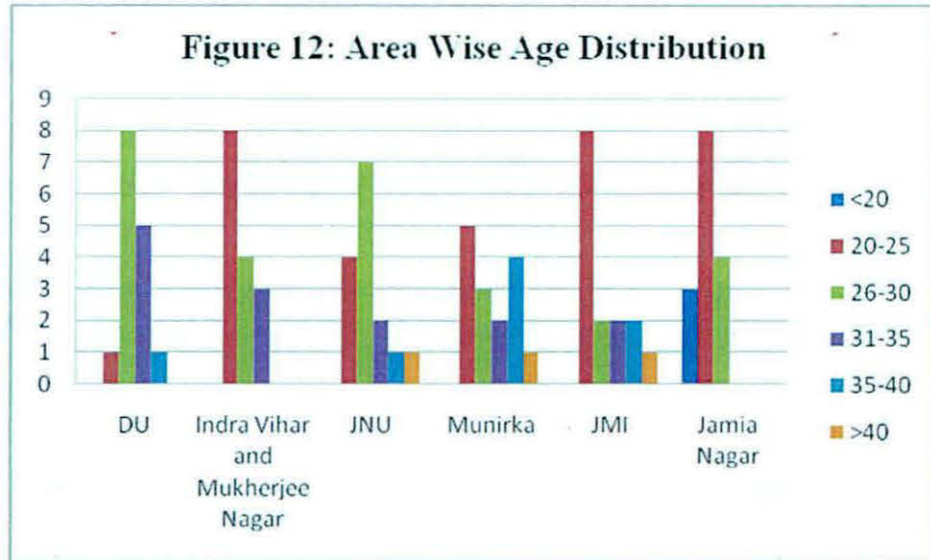


4.2.2. Age Distribution

Most of the foreign students are between the age of 20-25 years, followed by 26-30 years, 31-35 and equal number of foreign students below 20 and above 40 years of age (Figure 11). In absolute terms, out of 90 foreign students, 34 (38%) students are between the age 20-25 years, 28 (31%) students are between 26-30 years of age, 14 (16%) students are between 31-35 years of age, 8 (9%) students between 35-40 years of age and; 3 (3%) each below 20 and above 40 years of age.

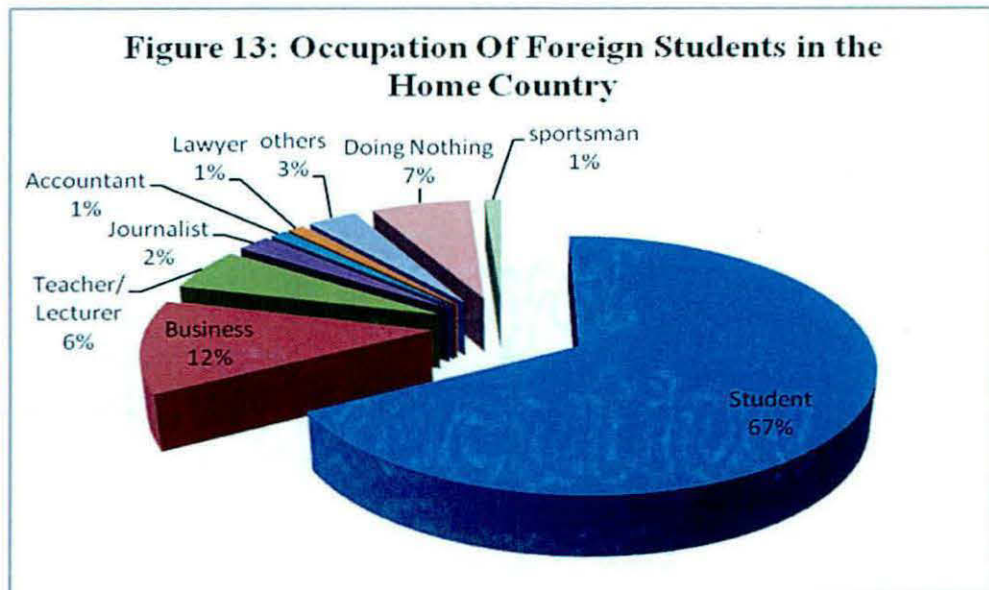


Comparing the 3 locations, it is visible from the figure 12 below that maximum number of youngest foreign students are in JMI and Jamia Nagar i.e. below 25 years of age they have 19 (63%) students out of 30. The students are from Afghanistan, Mauritius, Fiji and Laos and Cambodia. JNU and Munirka have the largest proportion of old students i.e. above 30 years of age 11 (37%) students are there. The possible reason for this could be as JNU is a research university and; because of existence of culturally and politically influenced student migrants (discussed later). Foreign students in DU and; Indra vihar and Mukherjee Nagar have the most number of students who are in late 30's i.e. between the age group of 26-30 they have 12 (40%) students.



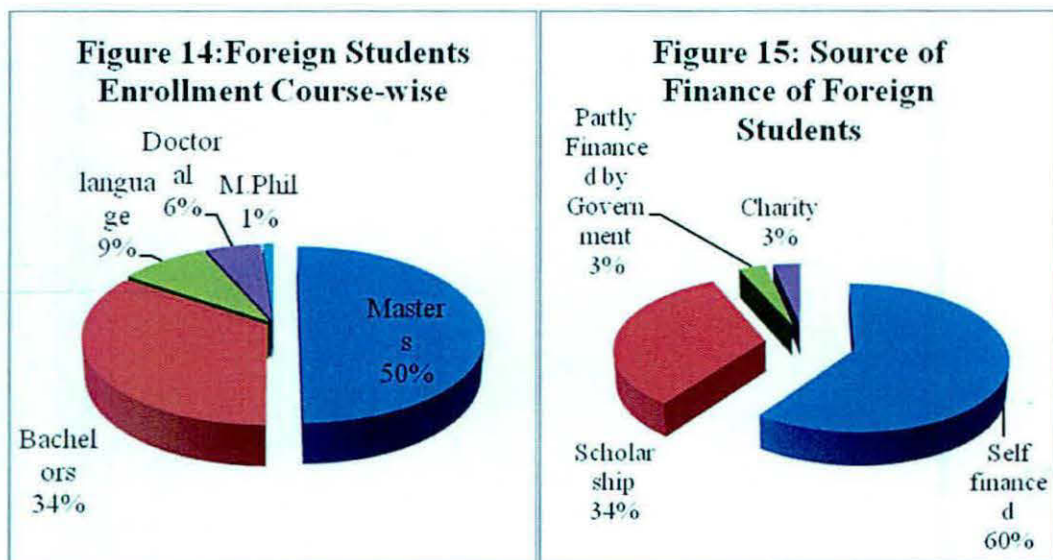
4.2.3. Occupation in home country

67% of foreign students out of the total sample were students in home country when they applied for student visa for several countries. 12% of total foreign students were doing business in the home country, 7% were doing nothing, 6% are lecturers and teachers, 2% are journalists, 1% accountants and 1% is sportsman. That is, 33% foreign students were either doing business when they applied for student visa or were into some other occupations including working or doing nothing (See figure 13 below).



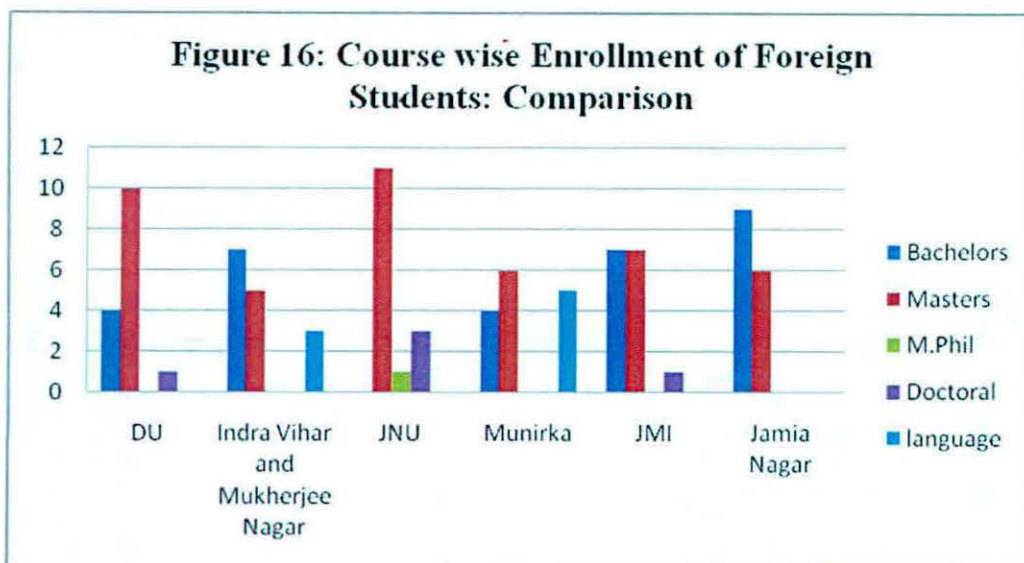
4.2.4. Education and Source of Finance

Foreign Students are enrolled mostly in master courses i.e. 50% (45) students are enrolled in master courses followed by bachelors (34%), private language courses (9%), doctoral (6%) and 1% in M.Phil (Figure 14). Out of the three selected locations maximum foreign students enrolled in masters are in JNU and Munirka i.e. 17 out of 30, but other two locations also have high number of master students i.e. 15 in DU and; Indra vihar and Mukherjee Nagar; and 13 master students in JMI and Jamia Nagar. Most number of foreign students are self-financed (See figure 15 below) i.e. 60%, followed by 34% on scholarship (mostly ICCR and some on Commonwealth and Home government scholarship), 3% partly financed by the home government and 3% being given charity.



Most number of bachelor students are enrolled in JMI and Jamia nagar i.e. 15 (50% within JMI and Jamia Nagar) out of 30, followed by 11 in DU and; Indra vihar and Mukhejee Nagar. Most of the Ph.D students are enrolled in JNU (i.e. 3) and one each in DU and JMI (see figure 16)

Figure 16: Course wise Enrollment of Foreign Students: Comparison



Foreign students in DU are mostly enrolled in master courses i.e. 10 out of 15 (i.e.67%) (Figure.17). They are pursuing masters in wide range of courses which includes Buddhist studies, Indian literature, Mathematics, English, Law, Philosophy, and M.com. Most of these students are on ICCR scholarship, some are on commonwealth scholarship and some study on charity money (Figure 18). Bachelors in DU are few i.e. 4 out of 15 and are doing courses in Life Science, Political Science and B.com (Financed by home government and self financed). In JNU, most of the students are doing master i.e. 11 out of 15 (73%) in Economics, Sociology, International Relations, French and History. 6 out of 11 are exchange students and they are pursuing their masters in Educational Science, Social Science, Human Rights and International Relations. All except two PhD students are self financed and these two PhD students are on ICCR scholarship.

Foreign students enrolled staying in Indra vihar and Mukherjee are mostly enrolled in DU only, except 3 (out of 15) who are doing English language course from private institution. Graduates are basically doing B.com (H) and Eco (H) (all on ICCR scholarship); and PG students are enrolled in Sociology, Law, M.com and Philosophy (mostly self-financed, see figures 19 and 20).

Figure 17: Foreign Students Enrolled in DU, JNU and JMI: Comparison

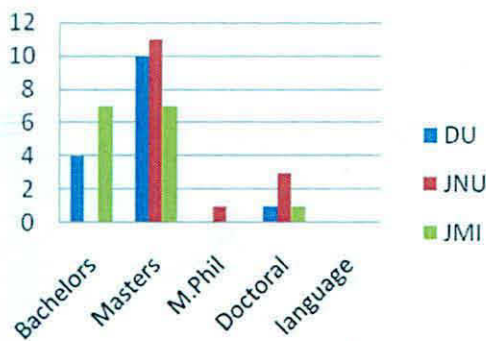


Figure 18: Source of Financing of FS Enrolled in DU, JNU and JMI

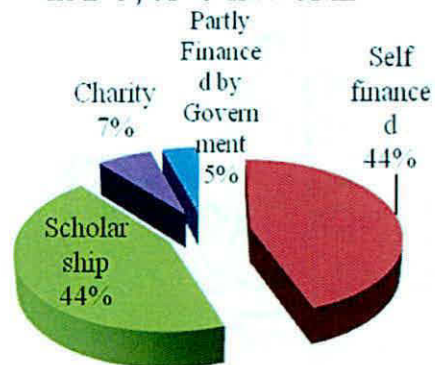
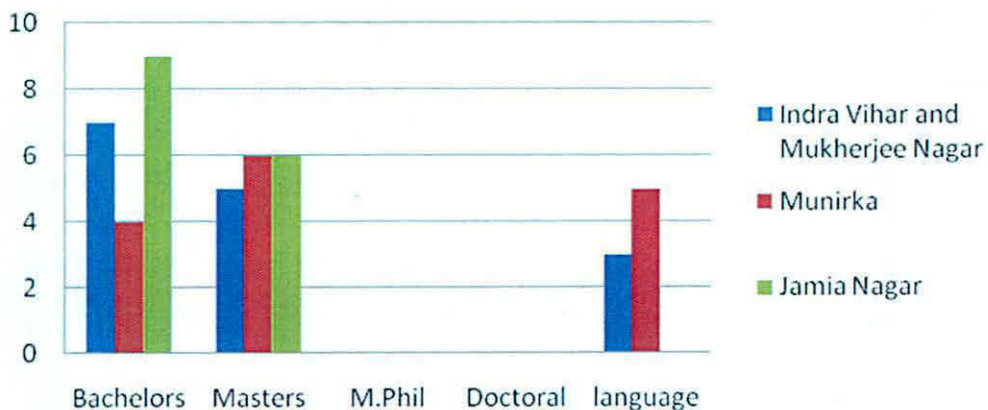
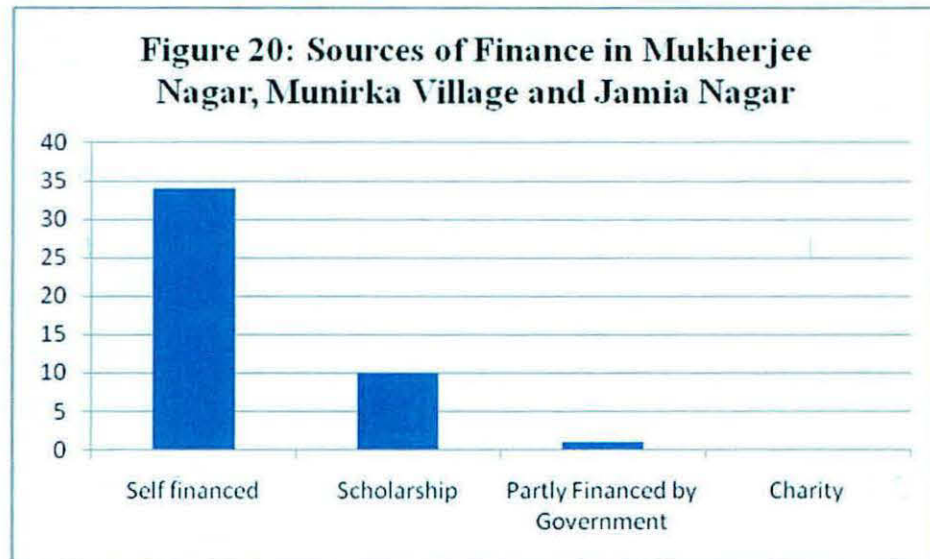


Figure 19: Foreign Student Staying in Mukherjee Nagar, Munirka Village and Jamia Nagar: Course Wise Comparison



In Munirka, out of 15 only one girl is enrolled in DU and rest are doing private courses and everyone is self-financed. Most of these foreign students are doing courses i.e. MCA, MBA, BCA and language courses from NIIT, Sikkim Manipal University, Global Open University and Karnataka Open University. In the third location i.e. Jamia Nagar, 5 graduate students are enrolled in JMI only doing English,

Hindi and Architecture (all on IICR scholarships); 4 students are enrolled in BBA (Bachelors in Business Administration) in JIMS and IIPM (all self financed). Most masters students are enrolled in JMI and some are doing it from private institutions also, basically doing English, Public Administration, MCA and MBA. Source of financing in these three locations can be seen in the figure 15 below.



Most of the foreign students in the study are not high academic achievers specially students from Africa and Asia. Some of the foreign students also had gaps in their studying years and are average students or little above average students in their countries. This is also reflected by the fact that 60% foreign students are studying here on self-financing basis. Some of the foreign students in JNU and DU are academic high achiever doing very good in their countries. Some of these foreign students are on national scholarships given by their government to brightest of students.

Social Networks

Interestingly out of 90 foreign student only 41 (46%) students knew someone i.e. relatives or friends before coming to India. If we look at university comparison the JNU had the maximum number of foreign students having social networks i.e. 11 out of 15 new someone before coming, followed by DU i.e. 8 students and JMI had 7

foreign students with social networks. Only few foreign students in the mentioned locations had social networks before coming i.e. 7 in Jamia Nagar and 4 each in Munirka Village and Munkherjee Nagar. Very few numbers of foreign students with social network in the specified location could be because most of them initiate their journey themselves and are in private courses.

Travel Experience

Most of the foreign students doing bachelors are on their first ever trip out of the country i.e. 26 out of 31 (84%) foreign students. 41 foreign students out of 59 (70%) enrolled in courses other than bachelors have been abroad many times in their lives. Although, younger students have less travel experience before coming to India but according to the data collected they are more travel enthusiast than older mates from other countries i.e. 37 foreign students, who are under the age of 25 years, have been on a trip within India at-least twice in six months and at-least five times in a year. The foreign students from developed countries and Asia are more travel enthusiast and wanted to explore new culture. The most travel enthusiast has been from Europe and Asia but the reasons for both are different i.e. for Europeans culture distance matters but for Asians cultural similarity motivates them. Interestingly, family members of 78 out 90 (87%) foreign students have been abroad for travel purposes and family members of 43 out of 90 (48%) foreign students have been abroad for study. In the present study, at least one family member of all the foreign students from developed countries have studied abroad and the second major category are the family members of foreign students from Africa.

Parent's Occupation

Parents of 47 foreign students out of 90 i.e. (52%) are doing business. This is quite reflective from the fact that 60% of foreign students are studying on self-financing courses. The maximum numbers of foreign students whose parents are doing business are in JMI and Jamia Nagar i.e. parents of 16 (53%) foreign students out of 30 (14 FS are on Self-financing in JMI nad Jamia Nagar). In JNU, the parents

of foreign students from developed nations are in government and private institutions at higher. Interestingly, mothers of 14 out of 15 foreign students in JNU are also working in government services and academic institutions. Thus, here also the most number of foreign students are self-financed but occupation is different. Comparatively in Munirka, there is a mix of occupations parents are involved into that is business, service and farming. In DU, parents of 9 foreign students out of 15 are into farming, these are basically students from South Asian countries. This is also reflected from the fact that 9 out of 15 foreign students in DU are on scholarships. In Mukherjee Nagar, parents of foreign students are basically in business and service. After looking at the socio-personal profile of the foreign students let us analyze the reasons for migration given by foreign students and then based at the perspectives of different stakeholders about foreign students. Based on these three things the study will reflect upon the reasons for migration. Let us look first look at reasons for migration given by foreign students.

1.3. Reasons for Student Migration

Coming to the most important part of the study, each foreign student was asked to rank the three most important reasons for migration out of the given six reasons. These six reasons have been selected after review of literature and after doing pilot survey two times. These reasons for student migration are as follows:

1. **Career/ Employment Reasons:** Foreign students (or people on student visa) will be more eager to migrate for a degree course or an exchange if better employment opportunities are available in host countries or the home countries after they have completed a particular course i.e. benefits in terms of better pay etc. (WMR, 2008).
2. **Cultural exploration and travel opportunities⁵¹:** The cultural factors are those opportunities which were not available in the home country, but are

⁵¹ During pilot study these reasons were separately asked to be ranked but it was found that people were willing to club these reasons together and many wanted to give both the reasons same rank. So, later for the study I clubbed both reasons together as one.

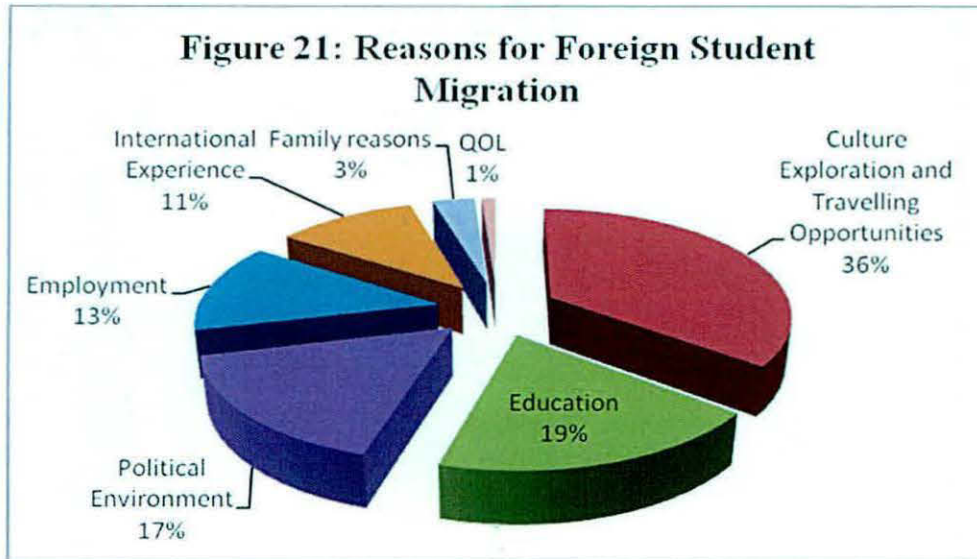
available as a result of living abroad. They include factors such as increased travel opportunities, experiencing greater cultural diversity, and the adventure and challenge of living in another country (but study reveals that similarity in culture could also influence students) (Crowley-Henry, 2007; Richardson & Zikic, 2007; WMR, 2008; Thorn, 2008 and 2009).

3. **Political Environment:** These are the factors relating to the political instability in the home country. This includes personal safety, fear of being killed due to political disagreements in the home country and situation of civil war etc. (Cheng & Yang, 1998; WMR, 2008; HDR, 2009; and Tokas, 2010).⁵²
4. **Educational:** This factor means that a foreign student migrates to a country only because of educational motivations and no non-academic motives are involved.
5. **Family Reasons or relationships:** These factors relating to your partner, family and friends, and connectedness to them. It means that a person moves to another country because his family moved or as a spouse. This category also includes your family ancestors or roots.
6. **Quality of life:** These factors include the characteristics, infrastructure and facilities of a country that improves the way a person is able to live his life. Factors such as weather, healthcare facilities and public transport etc.

One may ask that why foreign students are being asked to rank these different factors as we know that foreign students are basically here to study. But as discussed earlier in introduction and review of literature that there is a tendency of exploiting student visa route and foreign students are influenced by a factor of reasons including non-academic reasons. 90 foreign students were asked to rank these factors and as expected the survey revealed some interesting facts. The present study reveals that the most important reason for student migration according to the sample examined is cultural exploration and travelling opportunities i.e. 36% of the foreign students ranked it as the most important reason for student migration (See figure 21). The second most important was the educational reasons i.e. 19% of the students ranked

⁵² Later it was discovered that two political science students were influenced by the politics in India and wanted to have the experience of living in India to experience it from real close.

educational reasons as the most important reason. But interestingly, next three reasons are also are not too far behind i.e. political environment (17%), employment (13%) and international experience (10%), followed by family reasons (3%) and quality of life (1%).



If the ranking of only foreign students staying in universities (See figure 22) are taken then also the most influencing reasons is the cultural exploration and travelling opportunities but increasing only marginally i.e. from 36% to 38%. The second most important reason being educational (22%), followed by political environment (18%), employment (9%), international experience (9%), family reasons (2%) and quality of life (2%). When the reason ranked by foreign students staying in the mentioned localities (See figure 23 below) are separately seen, still the cultural exploration and travelling opportunities emerges as the most important reason for student migration but it's proportion falls from 36% to 33%, followed interestingly by political environment (24%), education 20%, international experience (13%), employment (5%) and family reasons (5%).

Figure 22: Reasons for Migration of Foreign Students Staying in DU, JNU nad JMI

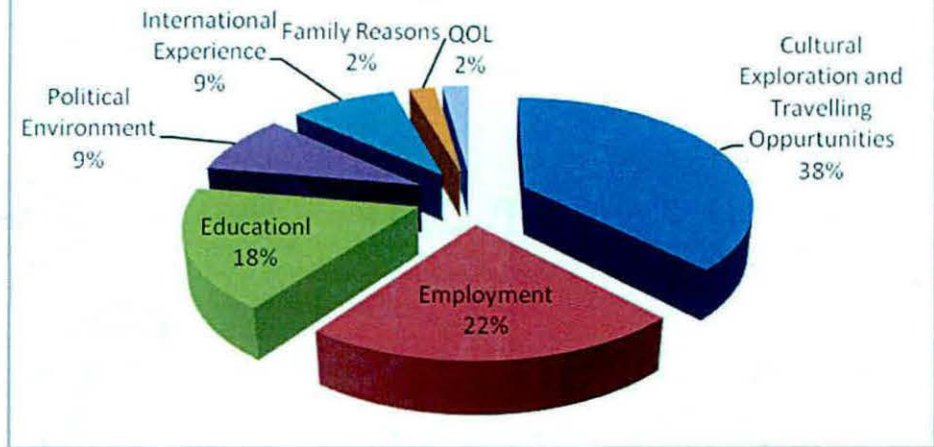
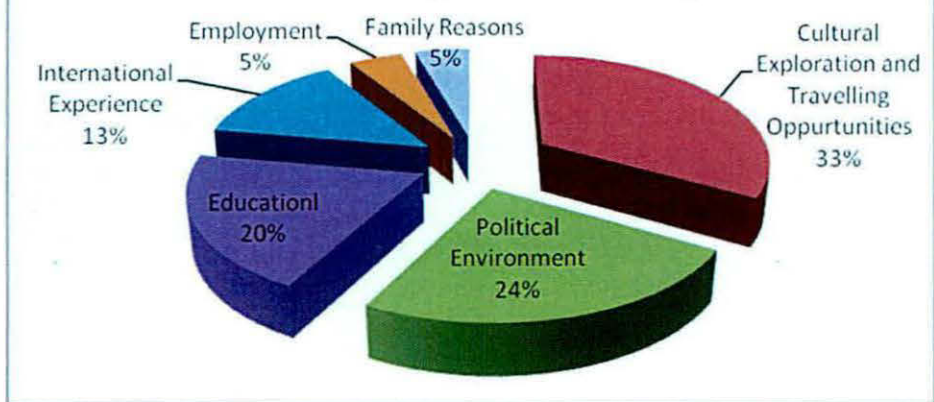
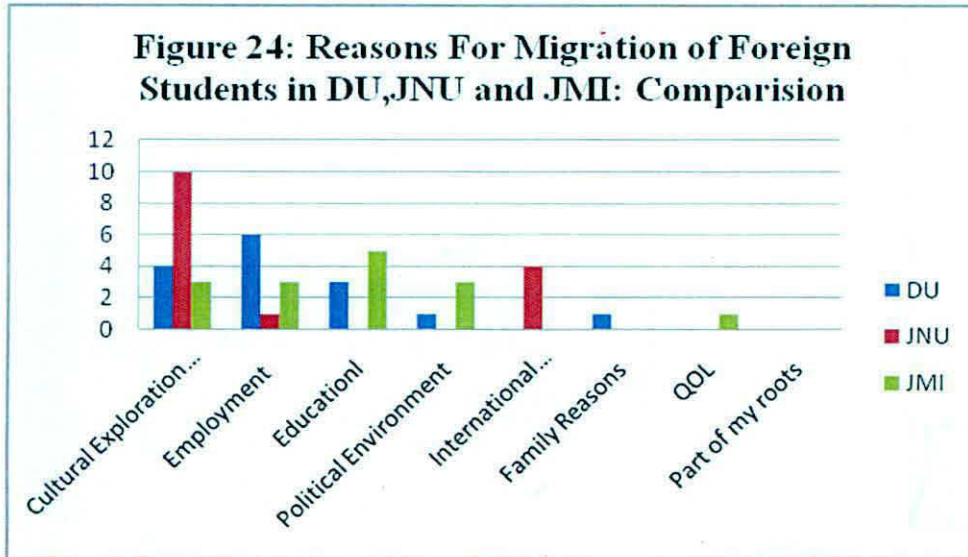


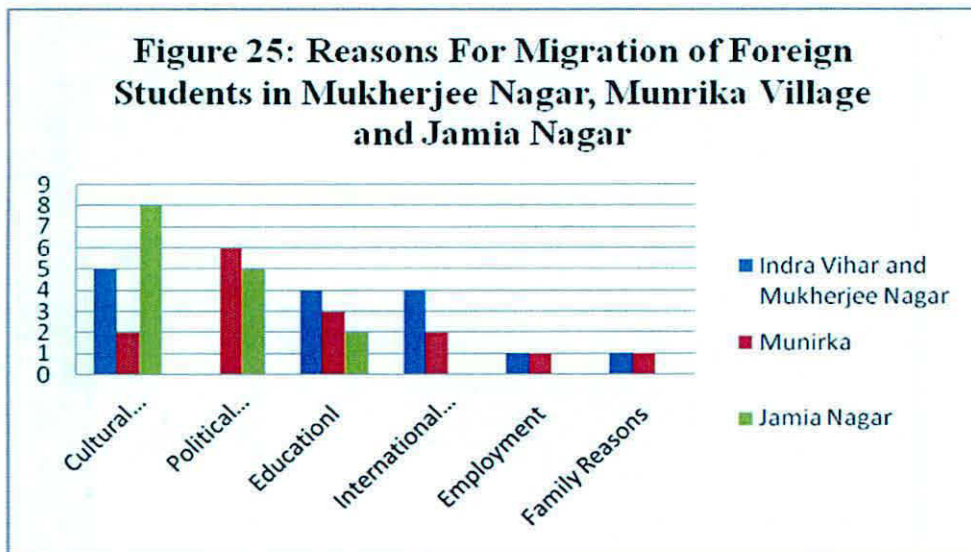
Figure 23: Reasons for Migration of Foreign Students Staying in Mukherjee Nagar, Munirka Village and Jamia Nagar



Within university comparison (see figure 24 below) shows that foreign students in DU are majorly influenced by employment, culture and educational reasons. In JNU, the most influencing factor is the cultural exploration and travelling opportunities, and international experience. In JMI, foreign students are influenced by education, and equally by culture, political environment and employment.



When a comparison among the three mentioned locations is done cultural exploration and travelling opportunities seems to be the most influencing in the case of students staying in Jamia Nagar with little less influence of political environment. In Munirka, the most influential factor is the political environment and; in Indra Vihar and Mukherjee Nagar culture, education and international experience has the almost equal influence on foreign student migration (See figure 25).



4.3.1. Explanation for Reasons

As mentioned above that cultural exploration and travel opportunities comes out to be the most important reason for student migration (36%), followed by education (19%), political environment (17%), employment (13%), international experience (11%), family reasons (3%) and quality of life (1%). Interestingly, cultural exploration and travel opportunities remain as the most important reason for student migration even after looking at the comparison analysis. Let us look at the possible explanation for these reasons.

4.3.1 (i) Cultural Exploration and Travel Opportunities

This reason comes out to the dominant reason even when only university rankings are examined or only locational rankings are examined. The possible explanation for existence of this reason can be understood by looking at some of the narratives of the foreign students. Foreign student's narratives clearly and straightforwardly tells why foreign students could come for non-academic reasons or how most of these students treat cultural exploration and travel opportunities available as a part of broadening their minds or enhancing their knowledge. Some foreign students clearly accepts that only sitting in class or only academic reasons cannot influence a student to study abroad and; culture and travelling opportunities do play an important role. Some students clearly accept that they are here not just for education but something more; and if they had to get quality education they could have got in their own country. Let us look at some of the narratives of some foreign students:

“I came here for India and not to seek education, discovering a new culture in a developing country which will be a powerful country in some years is more important for me”

French Student – JNU

“I know it’s totally non-academic but I came here for my personal well being. I was brought up internationally. I have lived in 5 countries, so living in one place for too many years is not for me; it’s just a personal preference that I want to explore new cultures through travelling”

German Student - JNU

Interestingly these explanations for reasons were also constant with the expectation they had in mind before coming to India. So, purposely I used to ask these students regarding their expectation in regard with the choices of reasons they have been asked to rank. For example, the same German lady, while explaining the expectations she had before coming to India said that:

“I saw just what I thought and expected i.e. very colorful and diverse, people dress differently, religious diversity – Germany is more boring”.

A student from Europe directly revealed that how she used student visa route to experience the Indian culture. She said that:

“I wanted to experience a new culture which is totally different from Europe. I know it’s not a rational reason legally but there is nothing bad I am doing here. I just used education as a means to explore Indian culture and to travel”

The possibility of treating cultural exploration as a part of education also exists. This becomes clear when we read the narrative below:

“India and Indonesia have same culture, we have studied Hinduism in our country, we have also learned about Rabindernath Tagore, Sir Syed Ahmed and Gandhi ji. So, wanted to feel India and also explore original sources of Gandhi and Tagore”

Indonesian Student (Jamia Nagar)

“Education is a broader term, for me its historic search. Buddha appeared in Gaya and that’s why I am here”

Buddhist Studies student (Monk)

Some foreign students emphasized more directly on travelling and exploring and treated class-room education as secondary.

“The moment you leave your own country, in a way you broaden your mind i.e. travelling broaden your mind.....Degree is not the only qualification, education is not only about going to class. Major learning of life is through done through travelling and exploring new things”

Kenyan Student (Indra Vihar)

In some cases there was a confusion regarding reason for migration but when foreign students make their expectation clear, it also clarifies the motives for student migration. For instance- a Palestinian student said that:

“I came to better understand the India culture that I like a lot; wanted to live in a West Asia but India is a much safer country”

This statement above may refer that may be this student moved because of political reasons or safety reasons but confusion clarifies when we look at his expectation i.e. he said:

“I came to India not exactly to get education but to understand the country in a better way through travelling and exploring”

Palestinian student (Jamia Nagar)

“I am from Indian origin; my great grand-father was from Bihar. Although this reason influenced me but I wanted to live in a country where I can feel like home and share the same culture and language”

Mauritian student (B.A.Hindi, Jamia)

An exchange student from Bulgaria said that “India is a constellation of many cultures and that’s why I choose this program. It takes time to see whole of India and I wanted to see India”. She further said that I love to be more in street than in classroom; to see how people live. Education is shallow in a way if I just had a degree from Oxford just by attending classes and giving exams, that degree doesn’t matter to me, to me learning process is crucial”

Thus, we can see how foreign student have different concepts about getting their education. Some treats culture exploration and travelling as a part of education but some directly reveals how they used education as a means to explore a new culture and travel. In case of JNU, reason for its dominance is may be also because in JNU students are mostly form European countries and there is lot of cultural difference between Indian culture and culture in European countries. Interestingly, the present study reveals that similarity in culture also influences foreign student migration but basically from south Asian countries or where Indian Diasporas reside and this reason is quite influential in Jamia Nagar.

4.3.1 (ii) Educational Reasons

Some students very directly says that anything other than education has no role to play but some foreign students accepted that other factors have a role to play but still the major influencing factor is just getting your education. Some even went to the extent that these things are for social science students and they don’t have time for anything other than education, attending class is more important and that’s the way it should be. This reason will become clearer by looking at students’ narratives. Let us look at explanation given by some of the foreign students:

“I am here not for joy ride, I am here to study. My parents have lot of expectation and I have no time for other things”

Canadian student

“Everybody likes to travel to see new people and culture but I cannot go out for travel and explore new things. Although, I will get knowledge about culture but I prefer knowing more about B.tech, which is more

important for me. Social science students can do these things; I don't have time for this."

Iraqi Student (JMI)

Foreign students did reflect that the most influential factor is education but it can vary from student to student.

"Getting quality education is the most important and the only reason why I am here. Yes other factors especially culture and travelling opportunity is influential but for me education is the top most in the list of influencing factors. It basically depends on your preferences."

Kenyan student (Indra Vihar)

"This concept of India is quite encouraging, beside getting this degree I want to experience this culture where people from different religious, race and different political ideology; survive together under one umbrella called India"

Afghani student (JMI)

"As a sportsman I could not focus much on education but my carrier (kick boxing) ended few years back. So, wanted get good education now as I have more time.....my only other interest is kick-boxing but it is not famous here."

Tazikistan Student

Some of the responses reveal that reasons for migration could change after they arrive in the host country. Thus, implications for the policy-makers and implementers are to keep a constant eye on the foreign students. One of the students from Afghanistan says:

“I came here only for education but now I feel education is not everything. You can study at your room or class but when you get out of your room and experience the environment around, it changes you as a person. The way I used to think has changed, it has changed my life. Something’s you will never learn if you will not see them in real.”

Afgani Student (jamia nagar)

Another fact that the study comes up with is that the program or course that student is enrolled into may demand cultural exploration or exploring more by travelling.

“My interest is in Sri Lankan literature but to study more about that I need to study Indian literature also. I wanted to explore northern part of India – UP, Bihar and Bengal because Buddhist studies are located there and my interest is in Buddhist studies and Bengali literature.”

Sri Lankan Student

“We have less literature on philosophy in Indonesia; I am interested in Gandhian philosophy which I could get more in India only. I have also lived in Gandhi ashram in Indonesia and I live in Bali where most of Hindus stay. So, basically wanted to explore more literature on Gandhian philosophy and that why I am here”

Indonesian student (DU)

4.3.1 (iii) Employment

Interestingly, 25% of the total foreign students were in working or doing business in the home country when they choose to study abroad. Thus, this reflects the possibility of people already working in their home country to enhance their employment opportunities or may be business opportunities by pursuing a degree in India. Here, it is important to note that although these people are here to study but the most important reason for migration was not study i.e. better employment

opportunities in the host country in future. One may ask that how is this different from the foreign students who goes to a country for better education at the time of studying and better employment in future. One important difference can be made by straightly looking at the reason that influenced the student the most at the time of deciding to go abroad. Although in both cases employment is a reason but at the time of decision which influences you more matters more. Further, if employment is the reason then there are greater chances of other reasons coming into picture making it complex set of reasons (other than education). That is, although many European students come to India for enhancing their employment opportunities in home countries (because foreign study for a year is valued in job market) but when they come for employment reasons then there is a tendency that they will travel more or explore Indian culture. Further, another reason could be getting a degree just for the sake of it and no interest in quality education. Interestingly, there is no reference made to better education or quality of education. Let us look at some of the narratives:

“I have worked in London, Spain, Belgium and right now working in Sri Lanka as a journalist (at present on leave). India is the most important country in the region, so wants to work in India but before that thought of experiencing the Indian environment before I work in future”

UK Student (JNU)

“In Europe it is referred as good if you study abroad for at least one year as it increases your future employability”

German Student (JNU)

“Studies is just a part of what you are going to gain because experience you get by being in a new country increases you knowledge and thus your employability”

Kenyan Student (Indra Vihar)

“I have job and family; I just want to get this degree anyhow so that I get the promotion”

Yemen (DU)

“I am here for better position, better salary and better standard of living”

Ethiopian Student (Munirka)

“In my country nothing works properly. There is no guarantee when you will complete the degree. So, I am here just for degree, I don’t have other interests”.

Iraqi (Business man)

“I came to India because it is easy to get a job when you have international experience of studying in a foreign country”

Thailand (DU)

4.3.1 (iv) International Experience

Thorn (2009) says that international experience is a period when usually young people leave their home country for periods of two to three years, to obtain their Overseas Experience. For many, this may represent a ‘rite of passage’, motivated by opportunities for cultural experiences, adventure, and exploration through travel. It may be just being in a foreign country or overall feeling of being in a new country and may not be motivated by any special reason. The narratives of some foreign students also reflect that a person may choose to spend some time in a new environment, new country or some international place just for the sake of leisure without any specific reason. One foreign student from Kenya said that:

“After teaching same thing for long years, I got burned out of teaching so decide that I need to move out of this environment and get some international experience”

Kenyan Student (JNU)

“In our society you should get married first and then should do your Masters or PhD but I did not wanted to marry. So decided to get freedom from parents to learn how to depend on our own and just enjoy our life”

Kenyan Student (Indra Vihar)

“Learning is not about classroom, you learn more informally through interaction, observing and travelling. I believe that just by observing new places you learn and with increasing globalization it has become necessary to have overseas experience because then only you can become a global man”

DRC (Munirka)

“To me education does not mean only formal study, even by talking to you I am learning something, engaging in different activities shape your mind and makes you global”

Bangladeshi Student (Mukherjee Nagar)

4.3.1 (v) Political Environment

Political environment have been very influential in Munirka and Jamia Nagar. Some of the people on student via directly or indirectly revealed that they are here because the political environment in their country is not stable, especially those people from Sudan, DRC, Afghanistan and Iraq.

“I came for safety but I am not safe even here. Indians don’t like Africans they say we eat people and laugh on us”

Sudan (Munirka)

“It is difficult to exist in DRC (Democratic Republic of Congo) because political environment is not good, only small group of people are occupying most resources and jobs also. Politically powerful people kill people for their benefits, there is no safety”

DRC (Munirka)

“I believe political environment and quality of life are important because they can guarantee good life. I live in a place which is not stable, each day survival is difficult. Education means nothing if you don’t have PE and QOL. I decided to study here because I want to live a safe life”.

Afghani Student

Overall these migrants seem to reflect that India is a safe country to live and political instability in their country forced them to leave their country for some time so that they can lead stable life. They highlighted the problem of political ideology, dictatorship and security, etc.

Based on the importance given to reasons for migration and its explanation; the study suggest that there is a tendency among those on student visa or foreign students to hide reasons for migration intentionally or unintentionally. Thus, present study suggests that indeed there are hidden reasons or reasons which could not be revealed or are not revealed by students while filling up the Visa application. Given below is the possible definition or explanation of hidden reasons.

4.4 Hidden Reasons

Hidden reasons refers to a situation: where an individual migrates to a different country for a specific reason or combination of reasons and do not reveal the

actual reason for migrating i.e. if the purpose for which an individual migrated is different from the actual purpose, then there are some hidden reasons involved (i.e. if the purpose for migration is different from what is revealed⁵³). Hidden reasons basically include those reasons which if revealed makes it difficult for the individual to get a visa or enter another country. So it is basically non revealed reasons (which could be intentionally or unintentionally) and directly revealed reasons after migrating. Although sometimes there may not be any hidden reasons (for example, Somalia students in present study) but we can put the hidden reasons into two categories:

4.4.1 Non Revelation: This is a situation when immigrant⁵⁴ foreign students do not reveal the actual reason for immigrating. Foreign students or immigrants may reveal that they are here for study but the actual purpose may not be study. Hiding of reasons by immigrants can be both intentional and unintentional. These two have been discussed below:

4.4.1 (i) Intentional Hiding: This is a situation which occurs when immigrants intentionally hide the reasons for migration because they have some negative themes in mind or because they may not get the visa if the true reason is revealed (although they may not have any wrong intentions). For example, an individual looking for civil rights, political rights and security, etc. may not get visa if he reveals these reasons.⁵⁵ So one easy option to enter the country is student visa and thus the demarcation between the “Bogus Student” and Genuine student is very difficult. This demarcation

⁵³ For example, in the present study, one of the respondents (salim- name changed) is staying in Munirka for last seven years, for five years he stayed on student visa and at present he is here with a refugee certificate given by UNHCR. Although he always revealed that he is a student and is here on student visa but in reality he was always an asylum seeker looking for safety (who had political disagreement in his country - this was revealed by salim when asked what is the most important reason for migration).

⁵⁴ Those on Student Visa

⁵⁵ In the case of Sudan, DRC and Afghanistan, It is found that it is due to the political instability or civil wars and safety (Edgardo, Jose et al. ,1995; Moore, Will H et al. ,2004 and Wood, William B. ,1994); that they are facing in their country, which directly or indirectly somehow affects the life of migrants and thus force them to migrate here. This hidden reason has also been hinted by HDR report 2009, which also talks about the political displacements in these two countries.

before migrating to a country is very difficult compared to demarcation after migration has taken place (Chapkis, Wendy, 2003).

4.4.1 (ii) Unintentional Hiding: This is a situation which occurs when immigrants unintentionally hide the reasons for migration. In this situation immigrants are themselves not aware that they are hiding some reasons for migration.⁵⁶

4.4.2 Direct Revelation: This is a situation when immigrant/ international student directly reveals the reason for immigrating i.e. sometimes The hidden reason may be revealed directly, if revealed before migrating then migration to another country becomes difficult but generally it is not revealed before migrating.⁵⁷

4.5. Problem of Categorization

Further another related and sequential problem that arises in practice is: the problem of categorization and this is due to the problem of not knowing the actual reasons for student migration. Categorization problem is basically of two types, these have been discussed below:

- 1- Categorising foreign students as the student migrants on the basis of student visa;
- 2- Categorising foreign students into “Genuine Student” and “Bogus Student”

⁵⁶ In the study I found that one of the respondents studying in LSR college, Delhi University, migrated because her mother was had been transferred to Kenyan embassy in India. So this is clearly a case a family migration and unintentional hiding.

⁵⁷ Many political migrants in Munirka Village directly revealed that they are here because of safety reasons. Some of the foreign students even revealed that only purpose to come India was cultural exploration and travelling opportunities and not studying.

4.5.1 Categorising Foreign Students as the Student Migrants on the basis of Student Visa

The simple categorisations that underpin most migration policies and theories are proving inadequate in today's globalized world. Simple categories used to characterise migrants (economic migrant, political migrant, family migrant and student migrant, etc.) primarily reflect bureaucratic and legal or theoretical categories but conceal the often complex and hidden motivations of migrants in the more globalized environment (IMI, 2006). Migration theories and bureaucratic processes have a very strict categorization of migrants, i.e. economic migrants, student migrants, family migrants or political migrants. But in reality this strict categorization of different migrants may not be possible. "People's motivations for migration are rarely straightforward and they do not easily fit the bureaucratic and legal categories required by states" (IMI, 2006) i.e. student visa application form filled by foreigners rarely reveals the actual motivation and thus difficult to be fit in legal categories. For example- the present study reveals that the official reason for which foreign students' migrate is study but purpose is not study in some cases and combination of reasons in many cases i.e. many foreign students revealed that study was just a secondary motive and their main motives included other factors. So should we treat them as student migrant if the purpose is not study or is not only study but combination of reasons?

It is very important to look into the basis of categorisation i.e. what should be the basis for categorization of international migrants? Should it be visa category or should it be actual reason for migration? Although the visa is provided on the basis of purpose of stay in India but as it is shown that it is difficult to know the actual purpose of immigrating, it seems to be one of the loopholes to be exploited. At present visa is given on the basis of purpose of staying but the problem with visa provision is very much visible as it only seems to be saying that visa is provided on basis of purpose of stay but in reality it seems to be working on social trust. As the study reveals that the most important purpose for foreign students or those on student visa to migrate is cultural exploration and travelling opportunities i.e. 36% and only 19% of foreign students has the study as the most important reason for migrating. Even though for some foreign students cultural exploration and travel opportunities works in

combination with educational reasons but there are those also for who are just because of single factors which includes International experience, family reasons, political reasons and, cultural exploration and travelling opportunities. BOI still treat all of them as the student immigrants without even trying to know whether the reason revealed is the real reason (although it is very difficult to know the actual reason for migration before the foreign student arrives).

4.5.2. Categorising Foreign Student into “Genuine Student” and “Bogus Student”

Another problem that arises from the difficulty of not knowing the actual reason for migration or due to the complexity of reasons is the problem of categorizing foreign students into “Genuine Student” and “Bogus Students.” As the actual reason for migration is not known the categorization of Genuine Student and non-genuine students i.e. bogus students become difficult. Further, as it is more difficult to know the actual reason for migration before foreign students arrive than the after the arrival of foreign students, it is difficult to categorize foreign students into genuine and bogus before arrival than after foreign student have arrived.

4.6 Is it Possible to Reveal the Hidden Reasons for Migration?

The solution to both these problems in practice is only possible if actual reasons are known. There three ways through which study has tried to reveal the reasons are: Firstly, through directly asking them through interviews; Secondly, by looking into their socio-personal characteristics and; thirdly, by expansion of local level stakeholders and looking at the perceptions and interaction of different stakeholders.

The present study suggests that it is quite impossible to know the reasons for migration on visa application form. This study tries to reveal reasons for student migration after foreign students have arrived. As discussed earlier, there is a tendency in foreign students to deviate from academic reasons to non-academic reasons. Students basically from developed nations in JNU and some from African in DU, seem to be majorly influenced by cultural exploration and travel opportunities and this

is due to the cultural distance between India and their home country. These students from developed nations are high academic achievers, higher social class background with both parents in higher government and private sectors. These students seem to be the bearers of privilege and class reproduction (Water and Brooks, 2010a); interested in acquiring the 'right' credentials and other embodied life and travel experiences, which can ultimately be converted into social status and economic capital. It is very important to note that they are not attending the best of universities in the world. Therefore, it is not the human capital they are looking but social and cultural capitals are more important for them. This could also be revealed from the fact that they have a family history of travelling abroad, studying abroad and have social networks.

For most of the foreign students in DU and those staying in Jamia Nagar, it is not the cultural distance but the cultural similarity that is influencing their motivations. Some students also seek the similarity in culture or some common history, as it helps them to quickly adapt to the country without any difficulties. The foreign students basically staying in DU are from the South Asian countries including Afghanistan, Myanmar, Indonesia, Bangladesh, Srilanka, Vietnam and Thailand. Foreign students from Afghanistan and other countries revealed that it is also due to the cultural similarity and historical reasons that influenced. Chew & Zhu (2002) says that if the distance is perceived as being large, this can result in greater stress and anxiety about the move. Afghani students told that they feel more comfortable in India as we share the same history and is a secular country. There is a combination of cultural exploration and political reasons that are influencing them majorly. These students are not high academic achievers and are basically children's of big business men in Afghanistan (Mostly self-financed). In case these students social networks doesn't seem to work because only few had social networks.

Other foreign students from South Asian countries also revealed that how cultural similarity in terms of religion and language plays an important role (Shenkar, 2001). These foreign students are basically high academic achievers on scholarships; parents of most of these students are farmers and; socio-economic background of these students is not so strong. Thus, socio-economic status may not matter in some cases. Another reason that supports the cultural exploration and travelling

opportunities is that most of the students from South Asian countries are travelling out of their country for the first time and had social networks also, therefore, more eagerness to explore new culture and places.

In Munirka Village, Jamia Nagar and JMI, most of the students revealed that political environment in the home country influenced them to migrate. Some of the student themselves accepted that they are seeking asylum as they are not safe in their countries. So, they used student visa as the easiest route to save themselves. These foreign students are mostly in mid 30's and are low academic achievers or had long gaps in their studies in past. Most of them are here on private courses, entered country by taking admission in language courses and had done many small diplomas and courses in India. For example- some foreign students from Sudan and Afghanistan had applied for refugee certificate after arriving on student visa in India. Some of these have been given work of translation by UNHCR and other organisations in Delhi. Socio-economic background of these students is low and; parents are in farming and business and; very few had social networks before coming (Although they quite active in creating social networks after arriving). Thus, quite visible that these foreign students are influenced by political instability in the home country.

Thus, the social characteristics like age, academic profile, travel experience, social networks, parents occupation and socio-economic do reflect upon the reasons for migration. But not all may be actively acting upon the students i.e. some may be more influenced by age, some by earlier travel experience, not only higher but low academic achiever could be more mobile and parents' occupation may affect the mobility differently, etc. Usually young foreign student with high academic profile, higher socio-economic status, better social networks and more travel more experience are more mobile than other. Having said that these social characteristics influence mobility of different students differently. Thus, possibly there is a connection between social characteristics and mobility of foreign students. To further, strengthen the base revealing the actual reasons for migration and to minimize the student visa abuse we look into the functions, objectives and perception of different stakeholders at local level. These have been discussed below.

4.7 Possible Expansion of the Stakeholders: Functions, Objectives and Perceptions

Scholars of the recent immigration debate have identified an increasing gap between policies and how they are being practiced or implemented. For example- the inability of policies to recognize the reasons for which foreigners migrate (or foreign students migrate), it fails to deter whether the person immigrating is really a student (Chapkis, Wendy, 2003 and Victor C. Romero, 2003). As discussed earlier that when the governance of migration is divided between ministries and it has to be policy free of any loopholes; then there are two things that needs to be done i.e. mechanisms for coordination need to be established and need for enhanced role and active participation of the civil society (WMR,2010). Function and objectives of some of the stakeholders have already been discussed in chapter 3. The study now extends the stakeholders at the local level and looks at their functions, perspectives or possible role they can play. These have been discussed below.

4.7.1 Landlords/Residents

First thing that foreign students look for is the accommodation (i.e. housing facility) in a good and safe locality. In practice, landlords are the major stakeholders providing housing and may be safety also. Landlords provide housing to both foreign students and internal students; provide residence proof to foreign students which they have to show at FRRO for registration and; interacts with village Panchayat on decision regarding provision of housing supply to these individuals. Present study finds that foreign students were somewhat seemed to be staying in clusters, as there were many adjacent buildings where in one building you would find more foreign students or those on student visa. But some buildings were without a single foreign student (may be because landlords had bad impression of these foreign students/migrants). So we can see some sort of sorting on the part of some landlords. Landlords in all three locations said that it is difficult to get their police verification, as different police personnel seem to be in some confusion regarding their verification. There were discrepancies in answers provided by different police

personnel. Beat police personnel said that they could verify the foreign students but in police station they said that we don't have power to verify them, it has to be done by FRRO. Only few landlords in Mukherjee Nagar knew that foreign students are verified by FRRO and Munirka and Jamia Nagar, they seemed to have no clue about it. Foreign students themselves accepted that they are not being verified by FRRO police personnel at the residence (which they are suppose to do) and they just register themselves there.

In Mukherjee Nagar and Munirka, when asked that whether the tenants staying are foreign students or not, most landlords replied that: these foreigners say they are students and rarely anyone had an idea about the visa they are on, it seems to be working on trust that they are foreign students. Further, during the interaction with landlords it was revealed by some that we don't know when they study especially those from Africa as either they are going out at the late night time and coming late next morning. One of the landlords in Munirka said:

“These “hubshis” are not students; they are drug peddlers, running sex rackets and do internet frauds. You come any time late night you will see only “habshis”, they go to pubs at priyas at night looking for girls. You go to priyas at nights you will find 100's of these Africans there”^{58 59}

In regard with students from South Asian and Central Asian countries, landlords said that they seemed to be quite calm and little close. Especially students from Central Asian countries excluding Afghanistan are basically engaged with the people in their community only. So could not refer much about them. Possible reason for this could be their inability to speak proper English and age as a barrier (most of student from Iraq and Iran are comparatively old).

⁵⁸ 'Nigerian held for drug trafficking', The Hindu, November 9th, 2010.

⁵⁹ 'Spurt in financial frauds', By Devesh k. Pandey, The Hindu, March 5th, 2011.

Landlords can be very important stakeholders as they provide housing and gets higher rent in return plus they could also help in student security and monitoring of these foreign students. Societies may react to immigrants because of their purported social behaviour such as criminality, welfare dependency; delinquency, etc. There is a tendency to hate some communities also, so it is important to take care of their safety and security (recent attacks on Indian students in Australia). The landlords who had nothing else to do other than looking after their business of renting were to some extent interested if some structured sought of work is given to them and paid also. Most of them seemed to be reluctant as they had other things to do. In practice there is no interaction between landlords and FRRO/Police/Educational institutes. Landlords do interact with the panchayat or RWA/internal students (although very negligible interaction).

4.7.2 Police/Delhi police

Another important stakeholder that could play an important role in monitoring and safety of foreign students is Delhi Police (But may facilitate it also)⁶⁰. Delhi Police personnel get the order from FRRO to verify the residence proof. But landlords cannot ask them to verify these foreign students because verification is already a part of registration of foreign students. In practice it was found in Munirka, that DP basically interacts with village panchayat on decisions regarding whom to give rooms (although revealed by the study that housing facilities to the foreign students is denied by both police and villagers). In the other two places, i.e. Mukherjee Nagar and Jamia Nagar, there is no such interaction between DP and RWA.

During an informal discussion with the beat police personnel in Mukherjee Nagar and Munirka, it was quite clear that they are not much concerned about foreign students or migrants but very opposed to rooms being given to Africans. These police personnel are themselves confused about whether the foreign students can be verified or not but willing to verify them when being bribed. The researcher itself went to the vasant vihar police station and was refused by saying:

⁶⁰ 'Policemen under scanner in Delhi airport racket', By Devesh K. Pandey, The Hindu, April 5th, 2011.

“Inki (referring to Africans) verification nai hoti yaha” i.e. “These people are not verified here”.

SHO in Mukherjee Nagar, Munirka and Jamia Nagar were not very willing to interact and provide much information regarding foreign students. They basically referred their registration is done through FRRO and we have a very less role to play. If complaints from landlords or foreign students come they just look into it. In Mukherjee Nagar and Jamia Nagar, SHO didn't know anything about RWA's in their areas. They said that we just cater to problem person to person and if needed sometimes talk to RWA groups (but rarely). In the Vasant Vihar police station, wrong name of the president of the village was told and said that they don't deny anyone of the housing facilities but in reality there are informal meeting and beat officer also keep on pressing to not to give rooms to Africans. There seems to be no problems with the foreign students from other countries.

4.7.3 RWA/Village Panchayat

RWA and Village Panchayat are quite active in discussing anything about the foreign students. Landlords seem to be the sole stakeholder and the major player in regard with foreign students. This is because he is the sole benefiter in monetary terms as he gets higher rents from foreign students. Informal interaction sometimes with Delhi police and landlords regarding whether to give rooms to foreign students do take place, but it is not so powerful, there is no compulsion to follow decisions of panchayat or RWA.

4.7.4 Internal/Domestic Students

Domestic student can also be a significant player in revealing the characteristics of the foreign students as they are the ones spending more time with them. Internal students have basically made their view regarding the different communities of foreign students i.e. Europeans, Africans, Muslims from Central Asia and South Asians. In DU and Mukherjee Nagar, domestic students are of the view that foreign students from all the regions are quite reluctant in opening up specially the students from western countries. So, not much you can reveal about them if they are

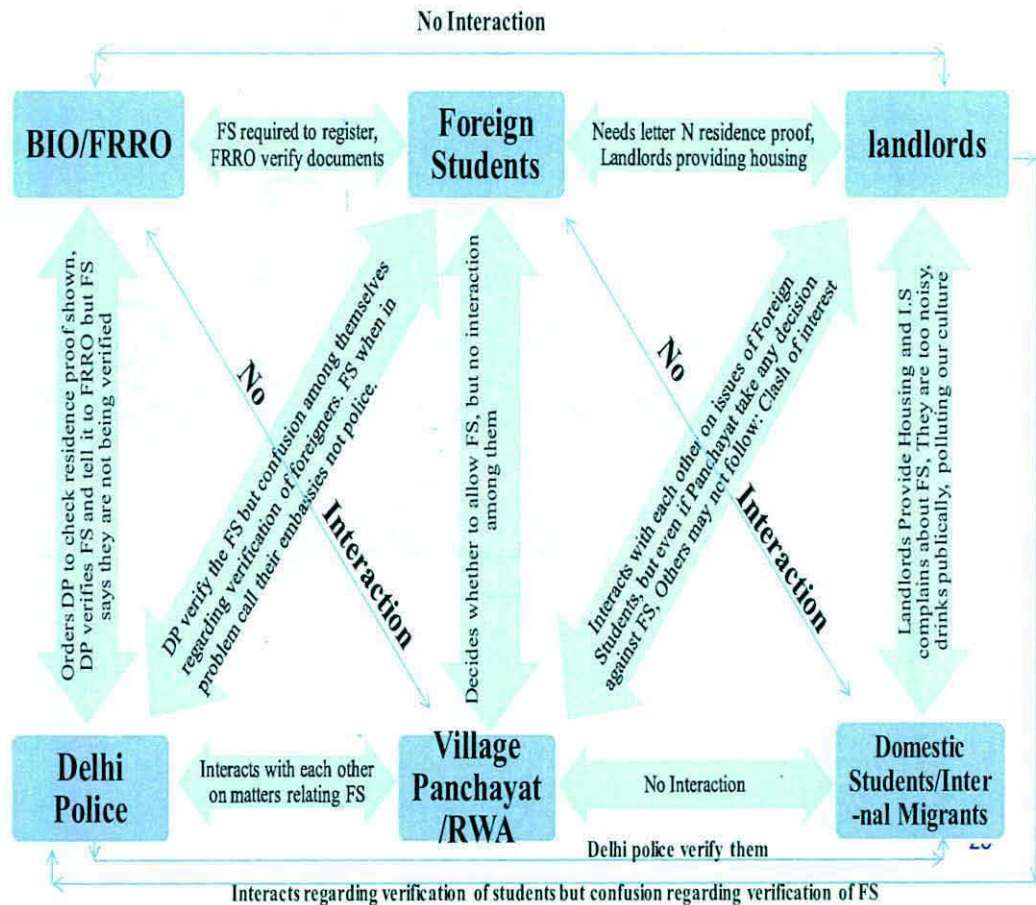
not your friend. Domestic students staying in Mukherjee Nagar and Munirka felt that although there are foreign students from African communities but if you look at their activities they doesn't seem to be students. One of the students preparing for Civils' in Mukherjee Nagar said: his neighbours are from Africa studying in some private institute, most of them just stay in their rooms and drink. Rarely I see them going for classes as if they are taking a refuge here. I don't understand why they stay here if they have nothing to do except drinking. In Munirka Village also domestic students seemed to have quite negative views about foreign students from Africa. One of the students said they have created nuisance in the whole building, all the time someone is coming to their house, abusing, shouting, fighting, drinking openly are the only activities they are involved into....who says they are students. You go to their rooms you will not find a single book, what you will find is empty bottles of alcohol and remaining of cigarettes.

About the students from western countries in JNU, domestic students are of the view that even though they have quite closed groups but they are open to sharing and discussing things. Regarding the activities that foreign students from western countries are engaged into reflected their eagerness to explore more about this country which has a very diverse culture and geography. Some domestic students reflected that how foreign students are quite easy going and do not take much pressure of studies, even at the times of attending classes they sometimes go for trips. Domestic Students in JMI said that foreign students from Central Asian countries especially Afghanistan are quite calm and warm hearted. But domestic students do tend to keep a distance and don't engage much except the classes (may be because of their religion). This was also reflected in the responses of foreign students when they shared problem regarding integration.

Possibly domestic students can be a very good source of information regarding these foreign students or people on student visa. Thus may help to reflect upon the reasons for student migration. As visible from the information collected from the domestic students that foreign students do have interest other than studying and some are here just to seek refuge. But to create a mechanism that requires the fix role to be played by these domestic students is quite difficult to achieve.

4.7 Interaction among Different Stakeholders at Implementation Level

Figure 26: Interaction Among Different Stakeholders



In practice there is very less coordination among different stakeholders (See the figure 26 above). FRRO is the main implementing body and it registers foreign students and verifies their documents. FRRO orders Delhi Police to check residence proof shown; Delhi Police verifies Foreign Students and tell it to FRRO but Foreign

Students say that they are not being verified. Delhi Police verify the FS but confusion among themselves regarding verification of foreigners. Foreign students need letter and a residence proof from landlords providing housing. Further, landlord is an important part of registration but there is no interaction between FRRO and landlords. Interaction between foreign students and Delhi Police is also negligible as when in problem foreign students call their embassies not police. RWA/Panchayat and Delhi police do interact with each other on matters relating to foreign students but at last landlords decide whether to allow foreign students or not. RWA/Panchayat and landlords interacts with each other on issues of Foreign Students, but even if Panchayat/RWA takes any decision against foreign students others may not follow i.e. there is clash of interest. Landlords provide housing to domestic students also and complains about foreign students are told to landlord. There is no interaction between RWA and domestic students. Foreign students and domestic students also interacts less except in JNU.

The present study suggest that the above mentioned stakeholders have some role to play in implementation of policies but for that a mechanism is required that fixes the responsibilities of the different stakeholders. So, if a sense of paid responsibility is given to some stakeholders and a mechanism which encourages coordination among these stakeholders could definitely help in revealing the reasons for student migration and thus solving the problem student visa abuse, categorization, recognising bogus students and providing implications for better policy and its implementation. Doing so will help to reduce the exploitation of student visa route because then it have the possibilities to reflect upon important issues and also upon some facts regarding foreign students. For instance, the interaction with the stakeholders mentioned above does reflect upon the reason for student migration to an extent if not fully (by looking at activities they are involved into). Thus implications for policy-makers to make changes in the immigration procedures and formulate new policies to reduce the abuse of student visa route. Overall, these three ways of revealing or knowing the actual reasons for student migration are quite useful in reflecting upon the intentions of foreign students. First two methods i.e. direct asking through interviews and reflection through social characteristics have been used earlier

by King and Findlay in their various studies. The third method that is looking for a coordinated mechanism at local level and expansion of stakeholders from civil society have been recommended by World Migration Report 2010.

Chapter 5: Conclusion and Findings

The importance of transfer of human capital, including that of semi-finished human capital (Majumdar, 1984) is at the top agendas of most countries around the world. Thus, the countries around the world have increasingly sought to attract global talents, and especially foreign students, as part of a strategy to expand their knowledge economies. Even though flows of foreign students have been relatively smooth but after the events of September 11 in USA and increase in number of 'bogus colleges' in UK recently, it has led to restrictive policies by many countries. This restriction has been because of the "bogus students" who enter a country under false pretences. However, it is very difficult to know the reasons which influence students to migrate. One of the major focus of the study was to explore and understand the intentions of the students to migrate.

Migration motivations of foreign students are too varied and dynamic to be captured adequately in this study. Simple categorisation and clear cut dichotomies are inadequate or misleading. At present there are gaps in contemporary understanding of student migration i.e. there is lack of attention to some of the reasons for student migration. It is because of this reason that student visa route is often being abused by other migrants. The immigration authorities around the world rely on simplistic categories and dichotomies to characterise migrants and are not able to fully recognise the true intentions of migrants. Of late, the work in this area is being done and accordingly policy-makers around the world are changing their immigration policies to minimize the student visa abuse.

Thus, this study has aimed to explore and understand the reasons for foreign student immigration in India and; analyze the present policies and trends in foreign students' immigration in India. For exploration and revelation of the actual reasons for migration the present study employed three methods. Firstly, foreign students were interviewed and were asked to rank the most important reason for migration. These reasons included: cultural exploration and travelling opportunities, educational reasons, political environment, employment reasons, family reasons and quality of

life. In addition to these one more category was given i.e. “other” where a student could rank any other reason which he/she felt was not there. Secondly, information on social characteristics was collected to see the relation between social characteristics and reasons influencing student to move. The social characteristic of foreign students on which information was collected included age, academic profile, occupation in the home country, travel experience, social networks, and parent’s occupation. Thirdly, the study tried to explore the dynamics of immigration at the local level by expanding the number of stakeholders as it could possibly reveal important information in regard with foreign students i.e. the reasons or intentions of foreign students. Thus, this study looked into perspectives, objectives, functions and interaction of local level stakeholders. In addition to this, review of literature was also done to unearth the complexity of reasons involved in student migration; immigration policy-making and how foreign students influence immigration policy.

Total 90 foreign students were interviewed from three central government University areas in Delhi i.e. Location 1: Delhi University (North campus) and Mukherje Nagar, Location 2: Jawaharlal Nehru University and Munirka Village and; Location 3: Jamia Millia Islamia and Jamia Nagar. To identify and select the respondents purposive sampling was followed wherein only those foreign students were interviewed who were staying in university hostels and foreign students who were staying in the specified nearby locations were selected. 15 foreign students from each of these locations were interviewed. Further, landlords, RWA/Sarpanch, Delhi police and internal students were also interviewed through questionnaires and informally.

5.1 Major findings of the study

The present study found that the most important reason for student migration according to the sample examined was cultural exploration and travelling opportunities i.e. 36 percent of the foreign students ranked it as the most important reason for student migration. The second most important was the educational i.e. 19 percent of the students ranked educational reasons as the most important reason. But

interestingly, next three reasons are also not too far behind i.e. political environment (17%), employment (13%) and international experience (10%), followed by family reasons (3%) and quality of life (1%).

There was a tendency in some foreign students to deviate from academic reasons to non-academic reasons (see narrative in chapter 4). Students basically from developed nations in JNU and some from Africa in DU, seemed to be mainly influenced by cultural exploration and travel opportunities and this was due to the cultural differences between India and their home country. These students from developed nations were high academic achievers, belonged to higher social class background with both parents in higher government and private sectors. These students seemed to be the bearers of privilege and class reproduction (Water and Brooks, 2010a); interested in acquiring the 'right' credentials and other embodied life and travel experiences, which can ultimately be converted into social status and economic capital. It is very important to note that they are not attending the best of universities in the world. Therefore, it is not the human capital they are looking for but social, cultural and mobility capital are found to be more important for them. This could also be revealed from, and substantiated by the fact that they have a family history of travelling abroad, studying abroad and have social networks.

Also, for most of the foreign students in DU and those staying in Jamia Nagar, it was not the cultural differences but the cultural similarity that was influencing their motivations. Some students also sought the similarity in culture or some common history, as it helped them to quickly adapt to the country without any difficulties. This was in line with Chew & Zhu's (2002) observation that if the distance is perceived as being large, this can result in greater stress and anxiety about the move. Other foreign students from South Asian countries also revealed how cultural similarity in terms of religion and language plays an important role (Shenkar, 2001). These foreign students were basically high academic achievers on scholarships; parents of most of these students were farmers and; belonged to lower socio-economic background. Thus, foreign students even with low socio-economic status may prefer cultural exploration and travel. Social characteristic that supported the cultural exploration and travelling

opportunities was the travelling history of these students. Most of these foreign students were out of their country for the first time and had social networks also, therefore, more eager to explore new culture and places.

In Munirka Village, Jamia Nagar and JMI, some of the students revealed that political environment in their home countries influenced them to migrate. Some of the student themselves accepted that they were seeking asylum as they were not safe in their own countries. So, they used student visa as the easiest route to save themselves. Most of them are here on private courses, entered country by taking admission in language courses and had done many small diplomas and courses in India. Some foreign students from Sudan and Afghanistan had applied for refugee certificate after arriving on student visa in India. Thus, revealing the actual reasons for migration. Some of these were also doing the work of translation in UNHCR and other organisations in Delhi. Socio-economic background of these students was low and; parents were in farming and business. Age wise these foreign students were mostly in their mid 30's and early 40's and were low academic achievers or had long gaps in their studies in past. Thus, here also social characteristics were consistent with the reasons revealed by foreign students.

One important additional finding is that many students were influenced by more than one reason. In most cases 'cultural exploration and travelling opportunities' (CE and TA) was more important than educational reasons; and in some cases educational reasons were more influential than those of CE and TA. Other combinations included CE and TA and, employment; political environment and quality of life; political environment and education and so on.

As explained above, social characteristics like age, academic profile, travel experience, social networks, parents' occupation and socio-economic status do reflect the reasons for migration. But not all may be acting similarly upon all the foreign students i.e. some students may be more influenced by age and some by earlier travel experience. Further, not only higher but low academic achiever could be more mobile and parents' occupation may affect the mobility differently, etc. Usually young foreign student with high academic profile, higher socio-economic status, better social

networks and more travel experience are more influenced more by non-academic reasons, especially cultural exploration and travelling opportunities. This is in consistent with the earlier studies (King, 2004 and; Water and Brooks, 2010a). Further, by looking at the perceptions and interactions of stakeholders at local level helped to reflect upon the migration intentions of the foreign students and were also consistent with reasons revealed by foreign students in some cases.

At the policy level, the present study observed that student immigration and related issues were of concern for many countries and accordingly four types of strategies were adopted by most countries to attract foreign students. These include strategies based on mutual understanding, strategies based on skilled migration, income generation, and capacity building. In the Indian context, policies taken by Indian Government do not view foreign students as a source of revenue. The government seems to adopt the strategy of mutual understanding and see it as an opportunity to maintain its influence in the region and within countries with the large Indian population. However, foreign students' recruitment in India is driven by private providers and not by the government. Therefore, to attract the higher number of foreign students there is a need for a greater role to be played by Indian Government (Bhandari and Blumenthal, 2011).

MHRD is the only major actor in shaping immigration policy in the context of foreign students. Although MHRD, MOIA and educational institutes i.e. DU, JMI and JNU are attracting foreign students, there is no visible interaction among MHRD, MOIA and the educational institutes. Different ministries and educational institutes are working separately to attract foreign students. MOIA attracts the Indian Diasporas and MHRD attracts foreign students other than Indian Diasporas. Further, the interactions between the bodies within MHRD i.e. Ed.CIL and ICCR, and the educational institutes seem to be minimal as universities themselves are engaged in attracting foreign students except the permission from MHRD for the approval of exchange programs. Ed.CIL, the co-ordinating agency for the admission of foreign nationals and ICCR, the public diplomacy arm of the government has been quite inefficient in attracting foreign students. Most of the foreign students apply to Indian universities directly and not through Ed.CIL and ICCR scholarship slots are never

fully filled up. This shows that a further push is needed to make these bodies more efficient so that they can attract more students.

At the university level, all three universities are engaged in international collaborations with other universities around the world. University of Delhi has been for long reaching out to institutions in different parts of the world for collaborative programmes, research networks, and student exchanges. DU basically focuses more on foreign students from developed nations and seems to be adopting mutual understanding strategy. JMI focuses on student from Muslim countries and income generation seems to be the strategy adopted to raise the university revenue. Internationalisation is an objective of JNU and it has been actively collaborating with many foreign Universities/Institutions and has established academic linkages with more than eighty institutions of repute in twenty nine countries. JNU's interest in international cooperation is a mix of academic and cultural interests. While academic interests are pre-eminent, cultural interest is also a crucial part of JNU's strategy. Exchange programmes and joint research projects do not seem to have a commercial strategy but rather influenced by mutual understanding strategy.

5.2 Policy Implications

As there are both merits and demerits attached to foreign students' immigration, the confusion regarding what policies to follow in the context of foreign students still persists. Countries are adopting measures like country-wise risk base analyses where students from high risk countries are restricted, admission to lower level language course are reduced, admission fee is asked for in advance and inspection into bogus colleges is undertaken. Unfortunately, these strategies have only led to reduction in number of foreign students and have not been effective in curbing student visa abuse.

The existing policies and measures taken by countries may help in detecting the bogus students but the study suggests that there is a greater need to look into the real reasons for student migration. This difficulty of knowing the true intentions or

reasons for student migration has been also due to the lack of interaction among different ministries involved. The present study suggests that there is a need for more coordinated approach for an appropriate immigration policy and an enhanced role for civil society. Deep analysis of reasons for student migration, social characteristics of foreign students and expansion of stakeholders at local level could possibly help reveal the reasons and other important information regarding foreign students better. Thus, a larger framework with coordination among ministries concerned, educational institutes and local level stakeholders could definitely help better policy-making and implementation.

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QUESTIONNAIRE (FOR RESEARCH PURPOSE ONLY)

Shekhar Tokas (M.Phil)

Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India

Instruction: For each question, Please fill the information in the space provided and by ticking the options.

PERSONAL INFORMATION

1- Name of Respondent (Optional):	9-Marital status: Married/unmarried:
2- Sex: Male/Female	10- Present Address:
3- Age/date of birth:	11-(A) Occupation in home country:
4- Country of origin:	(B) If working, Income (US \$):
5- Nationality:	12- Number of dependents or relatives (In India):
State:	13- Father's occupation:
6- Religion:	14- Mother's occupation:
7- E-mail:	15-Family income:
8- Contact Number:	

EDUCATIONAL INFORMATION

16- Educational achievement			
High School	Year:	Stream:	Country:
Graduation	Year:	Course:	Country:
PG	Year:	Course:	Country:
Doctoral	Year:	Course:	Country:
Others	Year:	Course:	Country:

QUESTIONNAIRE (FOR RESEARCH PURPOSE ONLY)

Shekhar Tokas (M.Phil)

Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India

17- At present you are in which
Year:
Course:
Fee paid:
Year of completion:

18- How do you finance your education?
Family:
Self:
Scholarship (If yes, which one):
Bank loan:

19- Who first raised the idea of studying abroad?

1. Father
2. Mother
3. Parents together
4. Myself
5. My boyfriend/girlfriend/marital partner
6. Relatives/ friends
7. Others (specify)_____

20- Given on the right side are a range of factors which influences the decision to study in another country. **PLEASE** rank these factors to reflect the relative importance of each of these factors. You may not rank all of them if you think they are not relevant to you.

21- Please explain the rankings that you have given in the question number 20.

A-

REASONS	RANK
CAREER/EMPLOYMENT	
CULTURAL AND TRAVEL OPPURTUNITIES	
POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT	
EDUCATIONAL	
FAMILY/RELATIONSHIP	
QUALITY OF LIFE	
OTHERS	

QUESTIONNAIRE (FOR RESEARCH PURPOSE ONLY)

Shekhar Tokas (M.Phil)

Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India

22- Do you have any family members or relatives who have ever stayed or studied in India?

1. Yes, specify
2. No

23- Did you applied only for India? if yes why?

If No, then in deciding to study abroad, please name your top three countries of choice in order: #1 ____; #2 ____; #3 ____.

24- Did your institution/government facilitated your study or immigration to India? If yes, how?

A-

25. What factors did you or your family consider when choosing the country for studying abroad? Please pick **three** most important ones, and **rank** them.

REASONS	RANK
1. Immigration country	
2. English-speaking country	
3. Reputation as a safe country	
4. Chances of getting a S.Visa	
5. The prestige of that country's degree	
6. Knowing someone lived or studied (living or studying) in that country	
7. Living and study costs is low	
8. Others, specify	

26- Please explain the rankings that you have given in the question number 25.

A-

27- What is the highest education level you want to achieve?

1. Bachelor's degree
2. Master's degree
3. Ph. D
4. Others

28- What are you likely to do after finishing your present program/course?

A-

QUESTIONNAIRE (FOR RESEARCH PURPOSE ONLY)

Shekhar Tokas (M.Phil)

Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India

VISA RELATED INFORMATION

29- Have you visited India earlier? If yes,

(A) When was the first time?

(B) Under which visa:

(C) How many times (Also mention the places):

(D) Activities you were involved into:

30. How old were you when you first came to study in India? _____

31. How long have you been in India? _____ year(s) _____ month(s)

32- How was your experience of getting visa? Why? Easy/very easy/Difficult/very difficult

33- Did your educational institute help you to get your visa processed? If yes, did they charge you anything?

A-

34- Whether permission to visit India or to extend stay in India has been refused previously, if so, when?

A-

PERSONAL ACTIVITIES

35- During **last year/Semester**, how often did you engage in the following activities in India? (How many times in a day or weekly)

- a. Volunteer
- b. Religious activities
- c. Go to bar/pub
- d. Smoke cigarette
- e. Drink beer/alcohol
- f. Party at your room or friend's room/social gatherings
- h. Arguments/fights with natives
- i. Attended seminar or conference
- J. Others (Specify)

36- Whom do you interact with? Who are they? What do they do? (If IS what do you think about them?)

A-

QUESTIONNAIRE (FOR RESEARCH PURPOSE ONLY)

Shekhar Tokas (M.Phil)

Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India

37- How many times you have gone for adventures trip/discover India/ travelled to different places? A- Number of places location when

38- Are you further interested in exploring the cultural differences between India and your country?

A-

39- Which countries you have travelled so far and what is the frequency of your travel?

A-

OTHER INFORMATION

40- Who suggested you about the institution/ university that you are enrolled into?

Who are they?

Where are they?

What are they doing?

Family/relatives:

Friends:

41- Have you found your experience of international study at DU/JNU/JMI/INDIA to be an advantage? Yes No

In relation to continuing to the next level of education		
In relation to employment/career options		
When faced with understanding different cultures or cultural exploration		
In relation to more opportunities of to travel and discovering India		
In relation to the freedom from political instability in the home country		
In terms of quality of life		
Others		

QUESTIONNAIRE (FOR RESEARCH PURPOSE ONLY)

Shekhar Tokas (M.Phil)

Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India

42- Given on the right are some of the expectations of international students before choosing to study abroad. Please pick three most important ones, and rank them. You may not rank them if you think they are not relevant to you.

EXPECTATIONS	RANK
Better quality of education	
Cultural understanding or exploration	
Freedom from political instability in the home country	
More opportunities to travel and discover a new country	
Better quality of life	
Others (specify)	

43- Please explain the ranking in question number 41.

A-

44- Is your situation in your country better than heirs? If Yes, why? If No, why?

A-

45- How many times have you gone back to your country since you first came to India?

A-

46. On average, how often do you communicate with your parents or other (who are they)?

1. More than once a week
2. Once a week
3. 2-3 times a month
4. Once a month
5. Less than once a month

47- How easy/difficult do you think it is to integrate here and Anything you would like to share?

A-

48- What do you think about reasons for student migration and students from other regions of the world?

A-

QUESTIONNAIRE (FOR RESEARCH PURPOSE ONLY)

Shekhar Tokas (M.Phil)

Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India

INTERNAL MIGRANTS

1- Do you know the foreigner's staying in your neighbourhood? If yes, what are the activities they are involved into?

A-

2- Do you interact with them? If yes, what are the things they talk about?

A-

3- Do they ask anything about education or related to education (Institute /University /Course /Other)?

A-

4- (A) Are they students? If yes, which institute/college/university they are enrolled into?

A-

4- (B) If No, why do you think so?

A-

QUESTIONNAIRE (FOR RESEARCH PURPOSE ONLY)

Shekhar Tokas (M.Phil)

Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India

5- How do they behave publically (drugs/drinking publically/ abusive/ fighting/ criminals/ others?

A-

6-Do they create any problem? If, yes whom do you complain to?

7- Does police come for their verification?

A-

8- Anything you want to share regarding international students/foreigners staying in your area/Delhi?

A-

QUESTIONNAIRE (FOR RESEARCH PURPOSE ONLY)

Shekhar Tokas (M.Phil)

Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India

INTERNAL/DOMESTIC STUDENTS

1- Do you know the foreigner staying in your neighbourhood? If yes, what are the activities they are involved into?

A-

2- Do you interact with them? If yes, what are the things they talk about?

A-

3- Do they ask anything about education or related to education (Institute /University /Course /Others)?

A-

4- Do you think they ask more about adventure/ travel/ discovering India/ discovering culture/others than the education or studying?

A-

5- How do they behave publically (drugs/drinking publically/ abusive/ fighting/ criminals/ others)?

A-

6- Anything you want to share regarding international students staying in Delhi?

A-

QUESTIONNAIRE (FOR RESEARCH PURPOSE ONLY)

Shekhar Tokas (M.Phil)

Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India

LANDLORDS

1- Do you know where foreigners are suppose to register when they come to Delhi?

A-

2-Does police verify these foreigners? If yes, do you face any problems?

A-

3-Does officials from FRRO/BOI come to verify them?

A-

4-What are the documents they are supposed to give for verification?

A-

5- Do you know on which Visa they are here?

A-

6- Do you interact with them? If yes, what are the things they talk about? Do they ask anything about education or anything related to education?

A-

7- (A) Do you think they are students? If Yes why? If No why?

A-

QUESTIONNAIRE (FOR RESEARCH PURPOSE ONLY)

Shekhar Tokas (M.Phil)

Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India

8- Does police ask you regarding activities they are involved in?

A-

9- Do you interact with police/Panchayat/RWA/FRRO/BIO regarding foreigners? If yes, what topics are being discussed?

A-

10- Whom do you contact when you face any problem regarding foreigners (international students)? Are they helpful?

A-

11- Can you suggest some measures which could help in monitoring them? What role can you play in their monitoring?

A-

12- Any additional information you would like to share regarding your tenant?

A-

