Alternative Patterns of South-North Student Mobility -
A Study of Indian Degree Students in Finnish and German
Universities

Jaakko Hyytiä (77972)
Master’s Thesis of Education
School of Education
University of Tampere
May 2012
ABSTRACT

University of Tampere / School of Education

HYYTIÄ, JAAKKO:
Alternative Patterns of South-North Student Mobility -
A Study of Indian Degree Students in Finnish and German Universities
Master’s Thesis of Education
110 pages, 5 appendices, 6 tables, 6 figures
May 2012

This study explores South-North tertiary student mobility from India to the EU. Traditionally, the vast majority of Indian students who aspire to study overseas have chosen the US, or another English-speaking country, as their preferred study destination. At the same time, very few of these students have opted for other, mainly western, countries. In recent years, however, the number of Indian students in EU countries like Germany, and even Finland, has slowly increased. This study’s aim is to disclose the circumstances in which, as well as the reasons why some Indian students have chosen to pursue academic degrees in Finland or Germany. Thus, this study seeks to provide a broader picture of the phenomenon by addressing the following three research questions: 1. What are the reasons and expected benefits for Indian students in applying to Finnish and German degree programmes? 2. Are there differences between students in Finland and Germany: a) Are Finland and Germany equally attractive as study destinations b) Have the studies met students’ expectations? 3. What are the students’ plans after obtaining their degrees?

The theoretical framework of this study combines classical theories of migration and capital to more descriptive historical and statistical material. This is to ensure the reader a broad enough backdrop before proceeding to the empirical findings of the study. Even though the chosen methodological approach could be characterised as qualitative, basic quantifications and tabulations have also been used in analysis and presentation. The data has been collected using a web-questionnaire that consisted of 8 background questions and 12 open-ended questions. A total of 146 respondents, all Indian degree students in Finland or Germany, answered the questionnaire: 71 from 12 Finnish universities and 75 from 25 German universities.

The results of this study show that the most common reason to choose Finland or Germany as a study destination was the good cost/quality ratio their universities can offer. The expected benefits from studying in Finland and Germany can be summarised as “soft” and “hard”. Soft denotes benefits such as cultural knowledge and new friends, while hard benefits translate as internationally recognised diplomas and up-to-date field-specific knowledge. The students did not always consider Finland or Germany their primary study destinations, Germany being a first choice more often than Finland. Overall, the students were quite satisfied with their studies, but partial satisfaction was more common in Finland. The majority of students enjoyed living in Finland and Germany, and would also stay for some time given that they would find meaningful employment. Advantages of studying in Finland and Germany were mainly linked to quality of life, safety, social security, nature, stable society, and freedom.
Yet, a large part of the students saw their current host countries as places to gather experience and knowledge before moving to another, often English-speaking country, and eventually back to India.

Keywords: International Higher Education, South-North Mobility, Student Mobility
# Table of Contents

1. INTRODUCTION ........................................................................................................... 1  
   1.1. BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY ............................................................................. 1  
   1.2. OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY ................................................................................ 3  
   1.3. OUTLINE OF THE STUDY ...................................................................................... 4  

2. INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION ..................................................................................... 6  
   2.1. SELECTED THEORIES OF INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION ...................................... 6  
   2.2. CONTEMPORARY INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION .................................................... 17  

3. FORMS OF CAPITAL AND INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION .................................... 22  
   3.1. HUMAN CAPITAL .................................................................................................. 23  
   3.2. CULTURAL CAPITAL ............................................................................................ 25  
   3.3. SOCIAL CAPITAL .................................................................................................. 27  

4. HIGHLY SKILLED MIGRATION .................................................................................... 32  
   4.1 BRAIN DRAIN, GAIN, OR CIRCULATION? ............................................................... 33  
   4.2 INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS: “THE SEMI-FINISHED HUMAN CAPITAL” ........... 40  

5. INDIAN HUMAN CAPITAL ABROAD ......................................................................... 44  
   5.1 INDIA’S SYSTEM OF HIGHER EDUCATION .............................................................. 44  
   5.2 INDIAN PROFESSIONALS AND STUDENTS ABROAD ............................................ 48  
   5.3 INDIAN DEGREE STUDENTS IN THE EU ............................................................... 51  
   5.4. INDIAN DEGREE STUDENTS IN FINLAND AND GERMANY ......................... 53  

6. METHODOLOGY .......................................................................................................... 58  
   6.1 RESEARCH QUESTIONS .......................................................................................... 58  
   6.2 RESEARCH APPROACH ......................................................................................... 59  
   6.3 COLLECTION METHODS AND PROCEDURES ...................................................... 60  
   6.4 METHODS OF ANALYSIS ..................................................................................... 64  

7. RESULTS ......................................................................................................................... 66  
   7.1. DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS OF BACKGROUND INFORMATION ...................... 66  
      7.1.1. Socio-Biographical data .................................................................................. 66  
      7.1.2. Language proficiency ..................................................................................... 67  
      7.1.3. Previous and ongoing academic education ..................................................... 68  
      7.1.4. Details of migration ....................................................................................... 71  
   7.2. STUDYING IN FINLAND AND GERMANY ............................................................ 74  
      7.2.1. Reasons to apply to Finland and Germany ....................................................... 74  
      7.2.2. Finland and Germany, first choice destinations? ............................................. 78  
      7.2.3. Expectations for the studies .......................................................................... 80  
      7.2.4. Meeting expectations in Finland and Germany ............................................... 82  
      7.2.5. Anticipated benefits for obtaining a Finnish or German degree .................... 85  
   7.3. AFTER THE DEGREE: STUDENTS’ FUTURE PROSPECTS .................................. 92  
      7.3.1 Reasons to stay, move on, or return ................................................................. 93  
      7.3.2. Reasons to stay .............................................................................................. 93  
      7.3.3. Migration to another country? ....................................................................... 95  
      7.3.4. Plans to return .............................................................................................. 98  
      7.3.5. Most common scenarios .............................................................................. 99  
   7.4. CONCLUSIONS ....................................................................................................... 102
1. INTRODUCTION

Before proceeding into a more general depiction of the background and objectives of this study, I will first briefly recount how this study came to be. I did my internship at the University of Tampere’s then Department of Education, now School of Education, in Autumn 2009 as a research assistant for two different research projects. Practically, the idea for this study came to me while assisting with one of the two projects: an ad-hoc research team studying mobility between the EU and India. My task was to look for reliable studies and statistics on student mobility between the EU and India. Having been interested in different cross-border phenomena in the educational context for a long time already, an academic spin-off in the form of a master’s thesis was a natural outcome.

While I thought it rather clear that most migration follows routes set by migration networks and historical ties, it seemed hard for me to believe that highly educated students of the information age would not be strongly influenced by other factors as well. Why were there plenty of Chinese students in Finland, but taking into account the population of the country, very few from India - the second greatest exporter of university students?

Later, when I got the opportunity to go for an exchange semester in Germany, I saw the potential to expand the study’s focus to include another EU destination country of a totally different capacity than Finland. Even though Germany plays in a different league when it comes to receiving foreign students the fact that Indian degree students were not among the top foreign students’ nationalities was the starting point for a study in both of the countries. In my view, conducting this study in two non-English speaking countries with no mentionable historical ties to India, gave me much needed insight into how and why students come to choose a destination country literally worlds away from their own in terms of language, culture, and history.

1.1. Background of the study

The fact that international mobility is more or less an organic part of present-day reality to hundreds of millions of people provides a large backdrop for this study. In
addition to those who are already on the move, there are many more that wish to follow the same well-trodden paths. Whether these plans ever really actualise depends on a multitude of factors. According to the recently published *Gallup World Poll: The Many Faces of Global Migration*, collected in more than 150 countries, regions, and territories:

> Roughly 630 million of the world’s adults desire to move to another country permanently, but less than one tenth of them - about 48 million adults - are planning to make the move in the next year. Less than half of those in the planning stages - about 19 million - are making necessary preparations to move, such as applying for visas and purchasing tickets (Esipova, Ray and Pugliese 2011, 30).

According to the same study, even more people - in fact nearly twice as much - would like to move abroad temporarily. One’s educational background is not a significant factor while making plans to migrate, but when it comes to actual implementation, it seems that the more education one has the more likely it is that he/she will make the move. (Esipova et al. 2011, 31-35.)

A rather large, and ever-growing, subgroup of well-educated migrants are the tertiary-level students who migrate to pursue studies in countries of the so-called “Global North”. A majority of them end up in North America or one of the countries of the European Union. In fact, most highly skilled migration, whether labour or student migration is directed towards the OECD countries (Lowell 2008; Vincent-Lancrin 2008). The US has remained the most popular destination for all forms of international migration and, even though the competition shows some signs of stiffening, there are still no worthy contenders on the horizon.

One of the characteristics of the growing competition for well-educated labour is the increasingly more obvious drive of capital rich western economies to extend their recruitment exercises to also involve foreign degree students. Students with bachelor’s or master’s degrees are well sought after. There are practically only two ways of easy access into the developed West. Both the “employment gate” and the “academic gate” require a higher educational background. This study will focus on the latter “gate”, even though in situations of highly educated mobility the case is not always either-or.
When measured by student outflow, China with its 421,100 outbound students is by far the world’s greatest student-sending nation, India comes second with 153,300 students, and the much smaller Republic of Korea stands on third place with 105,300 students (UNESCO-UIS 2009). Having China and India as 1st and 2nd in student export is no surprise considering they are the two world’s most populous countries. The overall quality of their higher education sectors still leaves a lot to be desired, and wherever there is quality tuition in offer, there is also extremely stiff competition. However, in India’s case especially, the outward mobility of students seems surprisingly low. This apparently low outflow no doubt relates to the financial standing of most of the country’s citizens; moving abroad to study is usually very costly.

A vast majority of Indians, who have the will, and most of all the sufficient financial means to study abroad, have traditionally headed to the US (Khadria 2007). Even though the number of Indian students abroad seems to lag behind that of China’s, there is a distinct tendency towards rapid growth. In fact, according to estimates from the Indian government in 2008 to 2009, some 250,000 Indians were studying abroad (Kapur 2010). As the Indian middle class continues to grow, concomitant growth in Indian-born enrolments, especially in the OECD countries, is to be expected. As the India-EU Strategic Partnership Joint Action Plan from 2005 indicates, there already is some higher-level interest in boosting academic mobility and cooperation between India and the EU.

1.2. Objectives of the study

This study was first spawned by a curiosity of the classical kind. Why does something occur in one context, but not in another? Apart from the UK, as a share of the whole flow, not too many Indians have traditionally ended up studying in European universities as most still seek their way to one of the numerous universities in the US. Lately, however, some European countries have experienced growth in Indian degree students’ enrolments - albeit most not dramatically.

The basic idea of this study is to explore the reasons and expected benefits of attaining a foreign university degree, either Finnish or German in this case. In addition, some comparisons between the views of Indian students in Finland and Germany will be made. The students’ post-degree scenarios will also be discussed.
The focus of this study is on Indian university degree students in Finland and Germany, a topic not yet overly examined, although there have been quite a few reports and studies in the past on foreign students in general, often funded and administered by state bureaus.

What makes this study different from a traditional “student satisfaction report” is the fact that I have deliberately chosen a single nationality under scrutiny. I am aware of the pitfalls of treating “Indians” as a single unit, and have in fact taken heed of the nation’s heterogeneous composition. It should still be noted, however, that considering the diversity of India, when it comes to choosing places of study, its citizens are surprisingly homogeneous. Therefore, I was extremely keen to learn the factors motivating students who have made the decision not to choose the same path most of their countrymen have. In other words, it is not “Indians” per se that interest me, but rather the unusual choices and circumstances that have led them to Finland and Germany.

While searching for the “how’s” and “why’s”, I have tried to focus on the individual student’s view on things, but have naturally also touched upon themes of a more general level. In essence, this is a study on Indian university students in Finland and Germany. Still, with slight adjustments in point of view, it also becomes a study on highly skilled South-North migration. Even though I will be discussing more difficult subjects such as “brain drain”, the aim here is not to express any particular opinions. I am rather interested in whether skilled student migration of the information age mixes well with traditional theories of migration, how big a part various capitals play in the process, and where do different non-English speaking European countries like Finland and Germany fit in?

1.3. Outline of the study

This study consists of, altogether, seven chapters. In terms of background theory, the approach I have chosen is to proceed from theoretical to descriptive, however, at times in parallel. In other words, chapters two and three will mostly discuss different theories related to international migration and migrants on a more general level. Different theories, ranging from macro to micro levels of analysis, will be introduced and discussed as thoroughly as is possible within the limits of a master’s thesis. Chapter two will discuss various general theories of migration, while chapter three
will introduce the concept of capital and its relation to migration. In a sense, then, chapter four is a synthesis of the preceding two chapters; highly skilled migration too follows certain regularities, while highly skilled migrants are embodiments of various capitals by default.

In chapter five, I will focus on the characteristics of skilled migration in the India to developed West context. The main purpose of the chapter is to provide a broad enough picture on Indian students and their global mobility – the main focus being on the EU, i.e. Finland and Germany. Even though the Indian system of higher education and its connection to outflow of students will also be briefly discussed, it should be noted that this is still by no means a study on the challenges of the Indian higher education sector.

Chapter six will discuss the choices I have made in terms of research methodology and procedures of data collection and analysis. After discussing various methods and procedures, chapter seven will present the results of this study. In order to better understand who the respondents of this study are and where they come from, I will first present a fair amount of background information. Finally, chapters 7.2, 7.3, and 7.4 will present the actual results of this study. The study’s possible limitations, as well as additional discussion on some of the results, will be presented in the final chapter.
2. INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

The aim of this chapter is not to provide a comprehensive or a complete depiction of all the different theories and phenomena of international migration, be they historically significant and/or currently en vogue. Neither is my aim to evaluate theories of international migration. Rather, the aim is to provide an introduction to the subject before proceeding to different types of capital related to international migration and the special characteristics of skilled and semi-skilled student migration.

I will first begin by presenting some of the more acknowledged theories of migration - the “classics” if you will. Along with these classics, I will also present some of the newer additions to the voluminous academic discussion and theorising of international migration. After examining what could be considered as the most significant theories, at least in the scope of this study, I will briefly turn to some of the special characteristics of modern day migration.

Before I begin exploring some of the many theories of international migration, I will briefly explicate the basic terminology used in this study, merely to avoid any misunderstandings. *International migration* is human movement that crosses international borders and results in a change of country of residence, whereas *internal migration* is human movement within the borders of a particular country. A *migrant* is an individual who has changed his/her place of residence within a country or has crossed an international border to another country. An *emigrant* is a migrant viewed from the perspective of the origin, whereas an *immigrant* is a migrant viewed from the destination country’s perspective. (UNDP 2009, 15.) It should be noted, however, that in this study the focus lies on issues of international migration, and as will be later explained, a very specialised field in that.

2.1. Selected theories of international migration

As Barbara Schmitter Heisler points out (2000, 77):

Theory and research in international migration have centered on two basic sets of questions: Why does migration occur and how is it sustained over time? What happens to the migrants in the receiving societies and what are the economic, social, and political consequences of their presence?
These sets of questions, however, mainly focus on migration from the destination country’s perspective, and what should also be considered is the impact emigration has on countries of origin, as well as the experiences of individual migrants and their kin. Fortunately, a large proportion of contemporary studies of migration are already trying to achieve this by adopting a more multi-faceted approach to international migration.

I will first begin by presenting some of the different approaches assumed for classifying theories of migration. Thomas Faist’s (2000) chosen approach to reviewing dominant theories of migration is by division into three levels of analysis: micro, meso, and macro:

On the micro level, the focus is on the decision-making individual. The values and expectations of the individual play a significant role and a move to another location can be seen in the context of improving and securing of survival, wealth, status, comfort, stimulation, autonomy, affiliation, and morality. International movement of individuals can also be placed on a continuum according to freedom of choice of potential migrants; on the one end the migrant is not the decision maker - e.g. slaves, spouses, children - and on the other end are those individuals endowed with a higher degree of autonomy due to resources such as money, information, and connections.

If on the micro level the focus is on individual values, desires, and expectancies, the meso level focuses on collectives and social networks. The meso level perspective, then, emphasises social ties and their contents in understanding complexities of international migration. It has an intermediary role between micro and macro levels and connects them through “a meso link”, that is, groups, formal organizations, social movements, institutions, and so on. The ties between movers and stayers vary significantly with respect to their structure and content; they might reach either the immigration or the emigration country, or both simultaneously. The ties can also exist as anything from a dense network to a total break.

Macro level approaches, in contrast to micro or meso level ones, concentrate on large-scale opportunity structures. In other words, factors such as income and unemployment differentials, regulation of mobility through nation states or regions with common borders such as the EU, repression or conflict affecting particular regions, dominant norms and discourses, population growth, available arable land,
and level of technology are all potential starting points for macro-level theories. Thus, political-economic-cultural structures affect the flows of international migration. (Faist 2000, 31-34.)

Regarding the aforementioned levels of analysis, Caroline Brettel and James Hollifield (2000, 2) have aptly noted, while discussing the differences of viewpoints towards migration in social sciences in general:

> A canyon almost as deep separates those social scientists who take a top-down “macro” approach, focusing on immigration policy or market forces, from those whose approach is bottom-up, emphasizing the experiences of the individual migrant or the immigrant family.

Drawing on Zlotnik (1998) and Kupiszewski (2002b), Jakub Bijak (2006) has created a highly expedient chart displaying selected migration theories offered by various disciplines of science (Figure 1). The chart should be taken as something of a visual aid to locate different theories of migration according to some of the most prominent migration theorists and their disciplines of science. It should be noted though, that since this chapter is not an in-depth analysis, nor an introduction to all theories of migration, I will only concentrate on theories that are, in my opinion, the ones most relevant to this study.
I have, due to the scope and depth necessary for this study and in order to create a simple enough depiction of different migration theories, decided to follow the structure outlined by Massey, Arango, Hugo, Pellegrino and Taylor (1993) in their contribution “Theories of International Migration: a Review and Appraisal” to the *Population and Development Review*. They have divided dominant theories of migration simply to ones focusing on, “the initiation of international migration” and to those focusing on, “the perpetuation of international movement” (Massey et al 1993). In comparison to some of the more elaborate categorisations of migration theory, a simple division to “initiating” and “perpetuating” has its advantages in lucidity; no speculation about ideology or whether a theory is purely economic, has its roots in sociology, or can perhaps be placed in the interstices of two or more academic disciplines is really necessary.

According to Massey et al (1993), theories that mainly focus on the initiating phase of migration include: *neoclassical economics, the new economics of migration, dual labour market theory,* and *world systems theory*. While theories concentrated on the perpetuation of international movement include: *network theory, institutional theory, cumulative causation and migration systems theory*. 

---

**Figure 1**: Selected theories of migration (Bijak 2006, 5)
For a start, neoclassical economics can be further divided into micro and macro theories. What differentiates micro and macro level neoclassical theories is the scope of the focus, as the basic proposal remains the same - capital directs flows of migration.

On the micro-level, the emphasis is put on rational individuals who choose to migrate because a personal cost-benefit calculation leads them to the conclusion that their human capital brings more positive net return somewhere else (Massey et al 1993, 434). According to macro-level theories, on the other hand, the mere existence of economic disparities between areas is sufficient enough to initiate international or internal migration (Castles & Miller 2009, 22). The “micro-theorists” believe that the conscious individual’s knowledge of his human capital’s value in the place of origin relative to the potential value in the destination country determines or at least increases the chance of international movement, whereas “macro-level theorists” concentrate on factors such as wage disparity between countries as determinants of migration (Massey et al 1993, 433-36). As a whole, neoclassical approach assumes that migration manifests economic disequilibrium, and will cease as soon as the state of equilibrium is reached (Harris & Todaro 1970, 129; as cited in Bijak 2006, 8-9).

The neoclassical theory has received a fair amount of critique and as has been pointed out, among others, in the Human Development Report 2009, “…if movement responds only to income differentials, it is hard to explain why many successful migrants return to their country of origin after several years abroad…” and, “…if migration were purely determined by wage differences, then we would expect to see large movements from poor to rich countries and very little movement among rich countries - but neither of these patterns holds in practice” (UNDP 2009, 13).

The new economics of migration

Compared to neoclassical theories, the new economics of migration approach adopted a very different stance towards initiation of migration, if still maintaining a purely economical outlook. Its main argument was, on the contrary to micro neoclassical theory, that individuals do not make decisions about migration in isolation (Castles & Miller 2009, 24), nor are the wage differentials between origin and destination a
precondition for migration (Bijak 2006, 12). Rather, larger groups or units of people, usually families or households, make decisions collectively and the main objective is not necessarily so much to maximize profit as to diversify sources of income and thus manage risks (Castles & Miller 2009, 24-25; Massey et al 1993, 436). For example, one family member is sent abroad to find work and another to the nearest city to work in a factory, while one might stay behind to cultivate land and take care of family property, and so forth. Income diversification thus depends on number of family members and their ability to work.

**Dual labour market theory**

One way to explain migration is to perceive immigration as something of a necessity in order for production in advanced economies to continue to thrive. Dual labour market theory divides the society’s labour markets into primary and secondary, where highly educated locals populate the primary sector and those in the secondary sector are mainly those disadvantaged by lack of education, gender, race, minority status, and so on (Castles & Miller 2009, 23-24). The built-in demand for immigrant labour stems from four basic features characteristic of advanced economies: structural inflation, motivational problems, economic dualism, and the demography of labour supply (Massey et al 1993, 441-444). When locals move away from the labour-intensive secondary sector to the capital-intensive primary sector, some jobs become “immigrant jobs” (Bijak 2006, 10). Consequently, this attracts more and more immigrants as the previous return home or move up the social ladder, leaving the bottom of the ladder - often also referred to as “3D-jobs” for dirty, dangerous, and difficult - to be filled again by newcomers.

**World systems theory**

In the 1970s and 1980s, World systems theory, having its roots in historical-structural approach and Marxist dependency theory, brought new elements to economic migration theory (Castles & Miller 2009, 26). In its essence, the theory maintains that international migration is a natural outgrowth of capitalist market forces penetrating the developing world, and thus incorporating the so-called non-capitalist “periphery” into the world economy controlled by the “core” capitalist nations (Castles & Miller 2009; Massey et al 1993, 444-445). In other words, the world is essentially an economic system where multinational companies act as agents of neo-colonialism
while they transfer the surplus of developing societies to the developed core (Harrison 1988, 96). According to the theory, the appearance of multinational companies to peripheral regions accelerates rural change, leading to poverty, displacement, rapid urbanization, and so on (Castles & Miller 2009, 26). A natural consequence of this process is the creation of an uprooted group of people prone to migrate. In contrast to purely economic theories, the world systems theory also acknowledges the presence of other non-economic links, such as historical, cultural, and linguistic links, that influence migration between origin and destination countries, therefore adding sociological features to economic theory (Bijak 2006, 10-11).

According to some critics, even if more comprehensive than its predecessors, the world systems approach nonetheless pays inadequate attention to human agency, and renders too much emphasis to economic interest (Castles & Miller 2009, 27). For a more comprehensive critique of the world systems theory and its equivalents, see Harrison (1988).

As we move on to examine theories that focus on the perpetuation of migration, it should be kept in mind that conditions responsible for initiating international movement might differ significantly from those that perpetuate it (Massey et al 1993, 448).

**Network theory**

This theory’s basis is that links between people, interpersonal ties that is, connect migrants, former migrants, and non-migrants in origin and destination countries through a network of kinship and friendship ties, and shared community origin, thus forming what can be termed as migrant networks (Massey et al 1993, 448). The main role of migrant networks is to facilitate movement between origin and destination by reducing various costs and risks, not always monetary, associated with migration (Bijak 2006, 6-7). That is to say, most migrants tend to move to countries where they already have friends or family with whom - thanks to technological advances - it has become increasingly easy and cheap to keep in contact with already before making the final decision to migrate (Koser 2008, 10). In most cases then, excluding noneconomic forced migration, moving from a region to another is, these days, rarely a leap into the unknown.
After international movement between two or more countries or regions has been initiated, the network assumes its own “logic” and proceeds to expand according to its own laws set by webs of interpersonal ties. In other words, the network becomes self-sustaining, irrespective of the original causes that lead to its formation, whether they were colonial links or a guest worker scheme. (Faist 2000, 50-52.) In this sense, migration can be seen as an extremely dynamic phenomenon if indeed, as according to the theory, every migration decision alters the context in which future migration decisions are made. Khaled Koser (2008, 10) lists three ways migration networks contribute to the increase in numbers of movers: they provide necessary information, they finance trips by lending money to would-be migrants, and they help new migrants to settle by providing all kinds of economic and social assistance.

**Institutional theory**

According to Bijak (2006, 8) institutional theory, due to its links to institutional theory in economics, is yet another example of a hybrid theory having both sociological and economic features and therefore is distinctly neither, but rather lies in the interstice of the two disciplines. After international migration has begun, different actors emerge to cater to the needs of people wishing to cross political borders. Or as Massey et al. (1993, 450) note:

…private institutions and voluntary organizations arise to satisfy the demand created by an imbalance between the large number of people who seek entry into capital-rich countries and the limited number of immigrant visas these countries typically offer.

However, not all actors emerge in order to reap the benefits of human desperation. In addition to profit-seeking human traffickers, there are also humanitarian groups whose main goal is to help migrants overcome various obstacles and to secure their wellbeing (Massey et al. 1993, 450).

**Cumulative causation**

The central idea of this theory, much like in network theory, is that each migration act alters the institutional and socio-economic context in which later migration decisions are made, typically increasing the numbers of movers (Bijak 2006, 8; Massey et al., 1993, 451).
According to cumulative causation theory, at least six socioeconomic factors are affected by large-scale migration:

- **The distribution of income**: People and households appear to pursue not only increase in their absolute income, but also increase in income relative to other units in their reference group.

- **The distribution of land**: International migrants often invest in farmland in countries of origin, but then tend to leave their land uncultivated, thus obviating farm labour, and ultimately creating pressure for outmigration.

- **The organization of agrarian production**: Since farmland-owning migrants have more capital at their disposal they also tend to use more capital-intensive methods of agriculture, again displacing local farm labour.

- **The culture of migration**: Within a community, members’ acts of migration carry the potential to change values and cultural perceptions in ways that increase the numbers of migrants, i.e. creating a culture where emigration is perceived desirable.

- **The regional distribution of human capital**: Migration, it seems, is a selective process whereby the most highly educated, skilled, productive, and motivated individuals tend to emigrate, thus leading to depletion of human capital in their sending areas, while increasing the human capital of their receiving areas.

- **Social labelling**: As soon as recruitment of immigrants to particular labour sectors begins, these jobs become labelled as “immigrant jobs” and locals begin avoiding them, therefore reinforcing the structural need for immigrants. (Massey et al. 1993, 451-453.)

**Migration systems theory**

Distinct from most of the theories of migration described earlier, migration systems theory is actually more of a mélange of different theories and the term perspective is more appropriate (Massey et al. 1993, 454). In principle, migration systems consist of
two or more locations - mostly nation states - that maintain flows and counter-flows of people between them (Faist 2000, 50).

Often, regions within the same system are connected to each other by existing historical links such as colonial ties, trade, security alliances, and flows of goods or services (Portes & Walton 1981; as cited in Faist 2000). Such prior linkages between countries are essential for migration systems to develop. In fact, they are often a prerequisite for any migratory movement to commence. Additionally, Massey et al. (1993, 454) observe that sending nations may belong to multiple migration systems and countries within a system need not be geographically close. Instead, what matters are the political and economic ties they have. Essentially, migration systems theory emphasises that instead of being a linear, unidirectional, cause-effect phenomenon, migration is rather circular, progressively complex, interdependent, and self-modifying. (Faist 2000, 50-52.)

One of the more novel perspectives to migration is that of transnationalism. Even though some transnational themes were present in theories of migration already quite early on, until recent times the focus was mostly on how immigrants adapted to their new host societies. The term transnationalism is actually rather new and studies with transnational perspectives have recently experienced a significant increase in popularity. (Vertovec 2009, 13.) The core idea of transnationalism is that instead of complete assimilation or, “melting into the core”, immigrants tend to look back and actively keep up ties to their origin (Faist 2000). However, as Steven Vertovec (2009, 23) reminds, “…migrants have historically maintained long-distance social networks, and the fact that messages or visits take less time does not always lead to significant alterations in structure, purpose or practice within the network.”

Therefore, the tendency in conceptual overuse and conflation has led to “transnationalism” being used interchangeably with “international”, “multinational”, “global” and “diasporic” (Vertovec 2009, 17). This often leads to the misconception that all migrants are somehow automatically involved in transnational activities. Peggy Levitt’s depiction, in her book The Transnational Villagers, helps us understand what, on the other hand, qualifies as “real transnationalism”:

Instead of loosening their connections and trading one membership for another, some individuals are keeping their feet in both worlds. They use
political, religious, and civic arenas to forge social relations, earn their livelihoods, and exercise their rights across borders (Levitt 2001, 3).

For a more detailed discussion of the debate around immigrant transnationalism, see Portes (2001).

One of the more recent attempts to theorise migration and transnationalism is Thomas Faist’s theory of “transnational social spaces”. Through the theory, Faist endeavours to answer such fundamental questions of migration as: “Why are there so few international migrants out of most places?” and “Why are there so many international migrants out of so few places?” (Faist 2000). In simple terms, Faist’s theory is mainly grounded on the idea of dynamic networks of social and symbolic ties and the role social capital plays inside the networks, both as enabler and preventer of international movement (Bijak 2006, 7). Fundamentally, social capital is a local asset and is therefore not easily transferred from one region to another, thus explaining the immobility of most people. On the other hand, once migration has begun, social capital facilitates adaptation to the host society as well as helps maintain ties to the country of origin, creating what Faist has termed “transnational social spaces” (Bijak 2006; Faist 2000).

Due to its acknowledgement of multiple levels of analysis - micro refers to people’s desires, meso to social and symbolic ties, and macro to structural opportunities - Faist’s theory, or approach, offers one of the most comprehensive attempts to explain international migration. Thomas Faist is, of course, only one of many theorists having attempted to reconcile different migration theories in order to create a synthesis, something in the nature of a migration theory of everything (cf. Massey 2003; Massey & International Union for the Scientific Study of Population 1998).

Naturally, since scopes of theories and interests of theorists vary to great extent, consolidation of all theories of migration is not easy, nor perhaps possible, but moving to that direction is definitely necessary. As Massey et al. sum up the point: “…full understanding of contemporary migratory processes will not be achieved by relying on the tools of one discipline alone, or by focusing on a single level of analysis (Massey et al. 1993, 432).
2.2. Contemporary international migration

Since this study will only deal with a fraction of what is the whole complex phenomenon of international migration, most of this chapter will concentrate on more recent examples of South-North migration. Furthermore, those phenomena, mainly due to the focus of the study, will be viewed from a European perspective. However, since human migration most likely is as old as mankind itself, I feel a small glimpse at past events is called for, even if only in the form of a brief introductory list of some of the phases in modern time migration. Thus, what Thomas Faist (2000) calls, “The three longues dureés of international migration in modern times”, provide the backdrop for 21st century population movements discussed in this chapter. They are European colonization, transatlantic migration to white settler colonies, and South-North migration after World War Two.

Even though humans seem to have always been migratory by nature, large-scale intercontinental migration only began in the sixteenth century during the era of European expansion (UN DESA 2004, 3). However, since this by no means is a study of history of migration, I will not expound on the above-mentioned phases in detail. They merely serve the purpose of reminding how, in course of history, directions of migration flows have changed to a great degree.

At the moment, most of the focus is on movement from the so-called developing countries in the South to the economically more developed countries in the North. From a historical perspective, however, the vast majority of international migrants have moved into the opposite direction - from North to South. (Faist 2000, 25.) In many ways, European colonization and transatlantic migration, as can be understood in light of some of the theories presented previously, have created and enabled the subsequent migration movement from South to North.

As Thomas Faist (2000, 25) points out: “Migrations from economically more highly developed to less developed countries are attractive to a quite different sort of group than in the opposite direction.” This observation, again, is understandable when viewed from the perspective of some of the theories of migration introduced before.

In order to understand contemporary human movement, some classifications are in place. Roughly speaking, international migration can be divided into two categories:
voluntary or economic migration and involuntary or forced/noneconomic migration. The first category holds all migrants who have made the decision to migrate more or less themselves and the second holds all those whose decision to migrate has somehow been overshadowed by elements of coercion or pressure - either natural or man-made. Naturally, such simplifications never quite succeed to convey the whole picture. That is to say all migration includes elements of choice and pressure. (Keely 2000, 50.) At all events, this study’s focus still quite evidently lies at the voluntary end of a voluntary-involuntary continuum. Regardless, it should be kept in mind that there lies a vast grey area between the globally mobile management consultant and the downtrodden refugee on the run for his life.

Current migration movement undoubtedly shares some similarities with past migration trends, but more notable is the divergence. European mass migration to the Americas during “the First Global Century” between 1820-1920 developed, for the most part, unhindered by immigration policy and the volume of migration, in proportional terms, has never since been exceeded. Contemporary migration, on the other hand, is proceeding under conditions where countries of the global South are incapable of employing their own citizens, while widely adopted and increasingly restrictive immigration policies of today’s developed nations have prevented developing countries from exporting their surplus labour in the way European countries had done in the past. (Faist 2000, 28; UN DESA 2004, 21.) For example, at the highest peak of the transatlantic migration period, 14 percent of the entire population of Ireland emigrated, whereas the number of lifetime emigrants from developing countries today is less than 3 percent of their total population (UNDP 2009, 29).

What can be termed “contemporary migration” set in after the second world war, roughly in the 1960s and has ever since only expanded and diversified, with a distinctly growing concentration of migrants in developed countries of the global North (Faist 2000, 26-28; UNDP 2009, 32). This growing concentration is quite evident when we compare proportions of international migrants in developing and developed countries in 1960 and 2000. The proportion of international migrants in developing countries had decreased from 2.1 percent in 1960 to 1.3 percent in 2000, while the share of migrants in developed countries rose from 3.4 to 8.7 percent over the same period. (UN DESA 2004, 31.) Ever-increasing economic and demographic
disparities between the areas of the global South and North have stimulated large-scale migration from developing countries to more developed ones.

Advancements in transportation technology have had a vital role as cheaper and more accessible transportation has made moving abroad possible for more and more people. (UN DESA 2004, 24.) Then again, as observed in the human development report 2009, “Only 37 percent of migration in the world is from developing to developed countries. Most migration occurs within countries in the same category of development…” (UNDP 2009, 22) This means that a large share of those immigrants who reside in developed countries actually come from other developed countries. According to Under-Secretary-General of the United Nations José Antonio Ocampo, the number of international migrants is divided to three almost equally large types, as North-North, South-South and South-North each represent roughly one third of all migration, leaving North-South migration far behind in numbers of movers (Ocampo 2006).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>International migrants as a percentage of the population</th>
<th>Estimated number of international migrants at mid-year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>155,518,065</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>165,968,778</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>178,498,563</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>195,245,404</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>213,943,812</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: World’s estimated migrant stock 1990-2010 (UN DESA 2009)

The proportional growth of the world’s stock of international migrants does not seem as impressive as it does in absolute terms (Table 1). This relates to the concomitant increase in the world’s overall population. We can only speculate how large the aggregate share of international migrants would be without the migration barriers currently in place.

When the years 1960 and 2000 are once more compared, the diversification of international migration seems like a fait accompli. In 1960, only in 43 countries did the share of migrants exceed 10 percent of the population. In 2000, the number had risen to 70 countries. However, despite the seeming diversification of international migration, major destination countries have actually further increased their share of the global migrant stock. That is to say, a considerable number of international migrants still remain in relatively few countries. (UN DESA 2004, 28.) These are
mainly the traditional countries of immigration: the US, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, some European countries and the oil-rich Gulf countries.

When we look at migrant stocks, either in proportional or absolute terms, the US is beyond compare as a destination country. When, in 2010, the world’s estimated aggregate international migrant population was around 214 million - cp. 740 million internal migrants - the US alone counted for nearly 43 million of the whole stock. Meanwhile, Europe, when reviewed as a single unit, had a total stock of nearly 70 million migrants. (UN DESA 2009; UNDP 2009, 21.) However, treating Europe as a single unit doesn’t do much justice to the diversity that exists among its countries. Already among some EU-member countries there is notable variation; two Nordic countries, Finland and Sweden, provide a perfect example of how countries, despite political and geographical proximity, can have vast differences in sizes of their immigrant populations. According to estimations for the year 2010, 14.1 percent of the Swedish population was foreign-born, whereas the immigrant population of Finland was far more modest at 4.2 percent (UN DESA 2009).

According to the World Bank’s *Migration and Remittances Factbook 2011* the top ten immigration countries of the world, in millions of migrants, are as follows:

1. United States: 42.8 million
2. Russian Federation: 12.3 million
3. Germany: 10.8 million
4. Saudi Arabia: 7.3 million
5. Canada: 7.2 million
6. United Kingdom: 7.0 million
7. Spain: 6.9 million
8. France: 6.7 million
9. Australia: 5.5 million
10. India: 5.4 million

The world’s top ten emigration countries on the other hand are:

1. Mexico: 11.9 million
2. India: 11.4 million
3. Russian Federation: 11.1 million
4. China: 8.3 million
5. Ukraine: 6.6 million
6. Bangladesh: 5.4 million
7. Pakistan: 4.7 million
8. United Kingdom: 4.7 million
9. Philippines: 4.3 million
10. Turkey: 4.3 million

(World Bank 2011)

The fact that some countries appear on both top ten lists seems to validate what has already been stated about the complex nature of international migration. Some countries are, in fact, sources and destinations at the same time. One of these examples is India; while plenty of Indians continue to emigrate abroad for work and study, some emigrants are already returning home to exploit the possibilities made available by emerging markets, especially in the ICT sector (Sahay 2009). India also receives immigrants from neighbouring countries such as Bangladesh and Nepal. Furthermore, areas that have previously been sources of mass emigration have turned into countries of immigration and vice versa; throughout history quite a few European countries have gone through this metamorphosis from source to destination (Castles & Miller 2009, 120).
3. FORMS OF CAPITAL AND INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

The intention of this section is to introduce some of the different theories of capital and how capital in its various forms interlocks closely to international migration. For the purpose of this study I have roughly divided capital into four distinct forms: economic capital, human capital, social capital and cultural capital. These distinctions are not in any case inflexible and additional, revised, overlapping and competing theories exist in plenty. However, in order to maintain a clearer frame, I will concentrate only on some of the theories and theorists of capital. All the while, I will try not to take any sides in the perpetual dispute between “soft” and “hard” interpretations of the social world.

The most recognised of the different types of capital is, undoubtedly, economic capital, and as Thomas Faist (2000, 117) encapsulates its basic essence, “Economic capital is the arrangement of material resources to improve flows of future income”. It is fairly easy to understand why its simplicity and quantifiable nature appeals to us to the point of palpable overemphasizing. Hence the argument from Pierre Bourdieu that the term capital itself has been “contaminated” with economic theory to the extent where, what he calls “the universe of exchanges” has been reduced to encompass purely mercantile exchanges (Bourdieu 1986, 242). Following this point made by Bourdieu, a purely economic interpretation of the social world would undoubtedly lead to renditions of reality where all social exchanges have been brushed aside as constructs too complex to measure.

Since the general idea of economic capital is supposedly unambiguous to the majority - mainly as command over quantifiable resources, such as cash, assets and so on - the following chapter will concentrate on describing other forms of capital. Focusing mainly on other forms is not to say that the economic dimension has no significant role in international migration. On the contrary, it is the form of capital to which all other forms are being compared.
3.1. Human Capital

The aim of this section is to examine the concept of human capital in detail and to try and clarify its significance in relation to international migration. Human capital theory in its essence is actually quite straightforward - or simplistic, according to some critics - but in addition to being comprehensible, it is also an extremely elastic approach; it embodies everything from early year schooling to a master’s degree or on the job training. As Gary S. Becker (2008) explicated:

Schooling, a computer training course, expenditures on medical care, and lectures on the virtues of punctuality and honesty are also capital. That is because they raise earnings, improve health, or add to a person’s good habits over much of his lifetime.

In a sense, it could be argued that every act of cultivation, or what we do to increase our personal well-being, are in fact all acts to increase the amount of our personal human capital. This investment in turn, if correctly made, entails the promise of a better economic income in the future. Here lies the beauty of human capital theory; in addition to its quantifiable economic form of expression, it can be applied to both micro and macro levels. Many human capital theorists believe that what is true for the individual, is true for the whole society (Hurn 1985, 53). Therefore, it is not really surprising that the concept has found substantive foothold around the world and especially across the various genres of social sciences - in economics particularly.

On a micro level, human capital is simply a type of capital embodied to an individual; “Human capital theorists see education as an investment that, by increasing an individual’s human capital, knowledge, or expertise, will pay off in the future in the form of increased earnings” (Hurn 1985, 52). Becker (1993, 21) goes even further in claiming that in addition to potential future economic prosperity: “…education promotes health, reduces smoking, raises the propensity to vote, improves birth control knowledge, and stimulates the appreciation of classical music, literature, and even tennis.” Whether we consider an increased predilection to tennis a proper symbol for personal growth, is a matter of opinion, but Becker’s view does provide a good example of the universal, elastic nature of human capital theory. Unfortunately, as the word “human” implies, human capital is not transferrable in the same sense as economic capital is; it goes where its bearer goes, and ceases to exist when its bearer does.
On a macro level, then, schooling can be seen as a worthwhile endeavour for states to try and increase the degree of human capital of their own citizens. In order for the society to benefit as a whole, “It is clear that all countries which have managed persistent growth in income have also had large increases in the education and training of their labor forces” (Becker 1993, 24). Accepted and often cited examples of results from investing in high standards of education are the so-called Asian “Tiger” economies or the Nordic countries. They have all benefited from expedient political decisions to increase their citizens’ human capital. The increase has, in turn, resulted in substantial economic growth from their early, fairly impecunious stages.

Possibilities to seek human capital growth abroad are plenty, as will be later explained in a chapter dedicated to student migration. The trend to migrate for studies abroad - especially to the OECD countries that, in fact, host 85 percent of all foreign students - in order to accrue more, and perhaps better quality, human capital is fairly rife and shows no signs of cessation (Vincent-Lancrin 2008, 105-6). Moving abroad to study for a degree can be seen as an attempt to attain the best exchange rate between economic and human capital. From an individual’s perspective, this is crucial since generating human capital comes with some costs:

The benefits of attending school are the likelihood of obtaining a higher paying job or a job with greater prestige. The costs consist not only of the actual expenses of an education but the income that is foregone by individuals who choose not to work and attend school instead (Hurn 1985, 52.)

How is human capital then relevant to international migration? As illustrated above, human capital theory is well applicable to both micro and macro levels of the social world and, therefore, the game of “getting ahead” in the global economy is a priority to societies as well, not just the occasional individual (Vincent-Lancrin 2008, 105). In order to create industries of high technology and to take advantage of new technological advances, economies need a more sophisticated, higher educated labour force (Becker 2008; Hurn 1985, 53). According to this logic, a society’s right modus operandi is to make larger investments in schooling, higher education in particular. However, this approach, as will be later discussed, has proved not to be such a cure all for all societies.

The adamant faith put in the increase of human capital as a panacea of sorts has created a melange of projects studying and, ultimately, aiming to tackle such resilient
problems as poverty and poor levels of productivity. The esteem human capital theory enjoys can be discovered by taking a cursory glance at some of the studies published on issues such as brain drain. This subject will be discussed more thoroughly in a later chapter dedicated to the complexities around brain drain, brain gain and brain circulation.

Raising human capital always brings with it some costs, both on an individual and societal level, and yet it remains embodied to the individual only. An individual on the other hand, in most cases at least, has the freedom to move wherever he feels his knowledge could best be applied, and/or brings the best rate of return. In simplified terms, highly skilled migration is human capital on the move.

3.2. Cultural capital

Pierre Bourdieu (1986, 243) distinguishes between three fundamental forms of capital: economic, cultural, and social. In addition to human capital theory, I have decided to include a chapter on Bourdieu’s cultural capital, mainly in order to provide another, perhaps more critical perspective towards capital accrued through education. As distinct from human capital theory, Bourdieu underlines the use of cultural symbols as a way of signalling an individual’s or a group’s position in the social structure (Field 2003, 14). Bourdieu himself resented human capital theory for its economic tone and failing to take into account the previous investments made by others on behalf of the individual, in order to agglomerate even more capital to the same cluster. In other words, the unequal distribution of capital according to class distinction explained:

From the very beginning, a definition of human capital, despite its humanistic connotations, does not move beyond economism and ignores, inter alia, the fact that the scholastic yield from educational action depends on the cultural capital previously invested by the family. (Bourdieu 1986, 244)

Along with the forms of capital, one of the central cornerstones in Bourdieu’s sociology is the idea of society as various fields, on which, “Forms of capital (economic, cultural and social) are the core factors defining positions and possibilities of the various actors in any field” (Siisiäinen 2000, 11). The concept of social fields serves as a way to comprehend how possessors of different types of capital, or actors in a given society, relate to each other in the “grand game” of control over capital.
In *The Forms of Capital* (1986), Bourdieu further divides cultural capital into three more subtypes, or states: the *embodied state*, the *objectified state*, and the *institutionalized state*. In the *embodied state*, cultural capital is acquired by means of an intended process of “self-improvement”. This process of cultivation or incorporation could also be understood as “personal growth”. The process of incorporation is a personal project with certain costs, namely the time allocated to the “project”. In a way, individuals could be seen as investors, investing time in their projects of self-improvement, for example getting a good education. (Bourdieu 1986, 244-45.) The capital can, however, also be acquired unconsciously without a real deliberate attempt to cumulate it, mainly through early childhood upbringing and pedagogy (Siisiäinen 2000, 11). Moreover, in its embodied state, cultural capital cannot be transferred or accumulated beyond the capacities of the individual in question; it ceases to exist when its carrier dies.

Since cultural capital in its *objectified state* is not of particular relevance to this study, I believe a short description from Bourdieu (1986, 246) elucidates it more than adequately:

> The cultural capital objectified in material objects and media, such as writings, paintings, monuments, instruments, etc., is transmissible in its materiality. A collection of paintings, for example, can be transmitted as well as economic capital (if not better, because the capital transfer is more disguised).

The best way to exemplify the *institutionalized state* of cultural capital is through academic qualifications. Academic qualification is a legal certificate of the cultural capital an individual possesses at a given time, and since academic qualifications are validated by common frames set by institutions such as school systems or systems of higher education, they guarantee a somewhat stable exchange rate into other forms of capital, economic in particular (Bourdieu 1986, 247-48.) This sounds simple enough, but as a myriad of examples demonstrate, the needs mainly set by labour markets, and the kind of competences educational institutions are to produce, are far from being consolidated.

The inability to perform academic fortunetelling creates a problem of mismatch and educational inflation:

> Because the material and symbolic profits which the academic qualification guarantees also depend on its scarcity, the investments made (in time and
effort) may turn out to be less profitable than was anticipated when they were made (there having been a de facto change in the conversion rate between academic capital and economic capital) (Bourdieu 1986, 248).

Perhaps the most important facet that distinguishes cultural capital from human capital theory is the emphasis Bourdieu puts on the role of cultural capital as means for certain groups to differentiate themselves from groups not sharing similar tastes and resources. Consequently, some types of cultural tastes enjoy a higher status than others (Field 2003, 14). From a Bourdiean perspective, having a “Western” degree certificate would be interpreted as first-class proof of a person’s ability to adopt cultural tastes more to the potential employers’ liking.

3.3. Social Capital

In the course of recent history, theories of social capital have gained much attention in a similar fashion human capital theory once did, also mainly for the same reasons; they share the similar theoretical elasticity and “easy-to-grasp” essence, although social capital might have an even more across-the-board appeal to it. In some sense it comes very close to other theories of capital; it underlines the notion that social networks too, should be considered valuable assets. On the other hand, there is certain ambivalence to it, and the question whether it should be called capital at all inevitably arises.

Thomas Faist sums up social capital’s affinity to other forms by claiming, “Economic capital, human capital, and social capital have in common that they can, under certain circumstances, increase the autonomy of individuals, enlarge their freedom of choice” (Faist 2000, 117). In relation to highly skilled migration, the freedom of choice capital brings with it is not insignificant. Individuals with more accumulated capital get to choose their foreign destinations, not vice versa.

In essence, social capital could be encapsulated as the aggregate of actual and potential resources in networks of mutually recognized relationships, or simply put, the potential benefits of group memberships (Bourdieu 1986, 248-49). And as John Field (2003, 138) indicates: “Social capital can be termed capital in so far as it gives rise to resources that can be deployed in order to enable actors - both individuals and groups - to pursue their goals more effectively than they could without it.” Possession of social capital itself does not convey much about command over resources, since
access to resources is dictated by the type of connections one has. Being connected to other people might be nice, but the volume of social capital an individual or a group has at its disposal depends on the resources those other people control (Bourdieu 1986; Field 2003, 141). Additionally, “Connections bring obligations to other people, but by the same token those people then acquire obligations to you” (Field 2003, 3). In simplified terms, “when push comes to shove”, having friends is good, but having friends in high places is even better. Different examples of modern embodiments of social capital include: voluntary associations, trade unions, political parties, secret societies, and so on. (Siisiläinen 2000, 12). According to Michael Woolcock (2001, 3) the basic idea of social capital is that: “…one’s family, friends and associates constitute an important asset, one that can be called upon in a crisis, enjoyed for its own sake and/or leveraged for material gain.”

Social capital, in the course of history has had, and continues to have, a lot of advocates. It has inspired a great deal of politicians, policymakers, and other actors in a multitude of organisations. For the most part, the rationale seems to be presumed quantifiability and ease of project execution. The World Bank’s social capital pages\(^1\) are a case in point. The basic formula is simple - increase in a nation state’s citizens’ social capital has positive consequential effects to a nation state’s GDP. In order to understand this perhaps slightly over-optimistic reception from some actors’ behalf, I will briefly introduce some of the most renowned names of social capital theory. Pierre Bourdieu, James Coleman, and Robert Putnam, Putnam in particular, have undoubtedly had much influence in popularising social capital to the extent of being accepted by politicians as a tool applicable enough for policymaking.

Bourdieu’s main interests lied in Marxism and the unequal access to resources and power. Coleman’s starting point was the idea that individuals are rational actors in pursuit of their own interests, whereas Putnam’s emphasis was put on civic associations and the well being they create (Field 2003, 13). In Bourdieu’s view, social capital is an asset reserved for the use of elites in their attempts to cling to their privileged positions. Coleman on the other hand, saw that social capital could equally well be of use for the poor and marginalized. Additionally, in Coleman’s view, social capital is merely a by-product of individuals’ self-seeking; some cooperation is de

\(^1\) [http://go.worldbank.org/VEN7OUW280](http://go.worldbank.org/VEN7OUW280)
rigueur in order for an individual to attain personal goals. Putnam has taken the idea of social capital a step further and sees it as a collective good enjoyable on societal level as well, mainly through citizens’ active civic participation. Here lies the appeal of Putnam’s view of social capital for policymakers; it is a near “cure-all” for societies’ many problems. (Field 2003, 20-40.) For those interested in learning more of social capital, there is an interesting website\(^2\) dedicated to a comprehensive comparison of different theories.

Since social capital is, in the scope of this study, a theory among others, I have to remark that in relation to student migration it should be considered in its broadest sense; networks and relationships are resources. This, I believe, is the core of social capital upon which all the aforementioned theorists would agree as well. However, in order to elaborate matters further, some sorting of different types of social capital is in order to see if and why social capital might have some relevance to highly skilled migration. Michael Woolcock’s (2001) dissection of social capital (as compiled in Field 2003, 42) is a particularly useful and lucid one:

(a) bonding social capital, which denotes ties between like people in similar situations, such as immediate family, close friends and neighbours;  
(b) bridging social capital, which encompasses more distant ties of like persons, such as loose friendships and workmates; and  
(c) linking social capital. Which reaches out to unlike people in dissimilar situations, such as those who are entirely outside the community, thus enabling members to leverage a far wider range of resources than are available within the community.

In social capital literature, bonding and bridging capital are also often referred to as strong and weak ties (cf. Faist 2000; Field 2003). However, in spite the difference in terms, basic meanings remain essentially the same.

Without going too much into detail of Thomas Faist’s complex and extensive diversification of international migration theory, I will present the notion most applicable in the context of this study. Faist lists four functions of social capital in international migration processes: the selective function, the diffusion function, the bridging function, and the adaptation function.

\(^2\) [http://www.socialcapitalresearch.com](http://www.socialcapitalresearch.com)
Selective function denotes the influence kinship, communal, and friendship ties have on emigration decisions. Types of social capital are important to explain both immobility and mobility of people. Diffusion function means that the positive and negative feedbacks that travel through migrant networks have an impact on volumes of migration, also having the potential to transform networks from uni- to bidirectional. The bridging function signifies the tendency of migrants to maintain ties to their countries of origin. This manifests itself in many forms - travelling home for holidays, sending remittances, keeping up customs and so forth. The adaptation function includes various ways of getting someone acquainted with the destination country’s economic, political, and cultural spheres. Family, friends, community networks, groups and organisations often help newcomers with their daily problems in their new surroundings. (Faist 2000, 121-3.) The reason for merely scratching the surface of Faist’s work is that his theorising concentrates mainly on patterns of large-scale migration and therefore the relevance to specific cases of student migration, in my opinion, is only partial.

The basic assumption is that moving abroad will threaten to cut or at least weaken ties created in the country of origin (Faist 2000, 103). As for the idea of total loss of ties to origin, for most international students, I believe this has become rather obsolete. Still, the social capital resources available back home might not be of great use in the new host country. To add more to the mix, social ties do in fact work both ways; they include as well as exclude (Woolcock 2001). Due to lack of cultural and social capital relevant to the new cultural setting, newcomers might not always find it easy to penetrate local networks. This in turn means that when they compete for positions or promotions with locals, career growth scenarios might not always look equally bright. (Upadhya 2006, 19.) Additionally, as Faist points out:

It is quite consuming in terms of time and energy to construct or join new networks or organizations in the immigration country […] Adaptation costs arise in the absence of social capital because it is often a prerequisite for the mobilization of human and economic capital (Faist 2000, 127).

For any students moving from a cultural sphere to another, resources available through social networks might prove to be, if not vital, extremely useful at the very least. Prior to migration, social ties help getting the right kind of information and encouragement. Subsequently, they will help newcomers to adapt and begin
accumulating cultural and social capital more relevant to the new cultural surrounding.
4. HIGHLY SKILLED MIGRATION

In the previous chapter on human capital I described highly skilled migration simply as “human capital on the move”. Naturally, the phenomenon is a touch more complex than that and involves not only other types of capital, but is also an amalgam of political, economical and cultural facets. However, before going into more detailed discussion about the ever-growing flows of highly skilled migrants, or the lively discussion about their impact on sending and receiving countries, the term “highly skilled” first needs to be defined. As is the case with most well studied phenomena that enjoy an elevated level of scientific and political interest, highly skilled migration too can have various definitions, often according to a particular statistical need. Since this is not a statistical analysis of skilled migration, I will rely on the most elementary definition to explain the basics of the phenomenon.

In its most basic definition, highly skilled migration can be reduced to international mobility of adult individuals who have completed tertiary education, i.e. two or more years of formal college education. This is also often the mode of classification in more widely collected and available statistical data. In addition to education, occupation is occasionally used to classify the highly skilled. Furthermore, countries that use a point-based immigration system often apply both occupation and level of education to screen the most talented migrants. (Lowell 2008, 52.)

According to Barry Chiswick (2000, 61) one of the standard claims of migration literature is that economic migrants tend to be favourably “self selected” for labour market success. They are often described as more aggressive, ambitious, educated and entrepreneurial than their non-economic counterparts - or those who choose to remain in their place of origin. In other words, economic migrants seem to have the right kind of capacity to adapt quicker to their new surroundings and, economically speaking, thus become more productive members, i.e. taxpayers and innovators, of the receiving society (Chiswick 2005, 4). Principally then, highly skilled migrants are those most favourably “self selected” and therefore represent economic migrants in their most sought-after form.

Even if the very basic definition of highly skilled is applied, estimating the numbers of internationally mobile skilled individuals is not simple. According to Docquier and
Marfouk (2004, 6) “International emigration data are usually not available or of bad quality”. To fill the gap, the World Bank and the OECD have started compiling a database to keep track of the mobility of highly skilled individuals by using data from national censuses of the receiving countries (Lowell 2008, 53). For more detailed discussion about the databases (DIOC and its successor DIOC-E) compiled and used by the OECD and the World Bank, see Dumont, Spielvogel and Widmaier (2010).

With the lack of quality and breadth of migration data currently available, it is impossible to accurately assess how large the global stock of highly skilled migrants really is. Additionally, because the aforementioned databases mostly rely on OECD countries’ statistics of their immigrant populations, and since virtually not a single country in the world holds reliable or comparable data on its population abroad, most available data as well as attempts to estimate the size of the migrant stock are typically quite OECD centric (Dumont, Spielvogel & Widmaier 2010, 25).

4.1 Brain drain, gain, or circulation?

When discussing highly skilled migration it is almost impossible to avoid the term “brain drain”. Since the word “drain” quite obviously has a negative connotation attached to it, it is quite tricky to avoid value-laden use of the term. In general, the most heated debate around skilled migration is connected to the questions of benefit and harm caused by the mobility of educated people from the Global South to the Global North. In addition to “brain drain”, terms such as “brain gain” and “brain circulation” are commonly used - especially among those who review skilled labour migration in more positive terms. In any case, roughly speaking, “brain drain” is what happens at the origin end and “brain gain” at the destination end of the migration process. “Brain circulation” on the other hand implies that the process could carry more diverse benefits.

The two ends of the universe of discourse vary to a great degree; at the other end skilled labour migration from a relatively less developed country to a relatively more developed country can be referred to as “globalisation of human capital” and at the other end as “brain drain” (Khadria 2002, 4). These two contrasting views can also be called the “internationalist model” and the “nationalist model”. The internationalist model contends that skilled migration only reflects the operation of an international market for specialised human capital and laissez-faire migration policies should be
favoured. The nationalist model on the other hand regards human capital invaluable to countries’ economic development and loss of that capital is thus considered detrimental. (Sahay 2009, 23.)

According to Khadria (2002, 24) the “stereotypes” of skilled migration are both negative:

(a) the loss of skill, and (b) the loss of investment sunk in the public subsidies enjoyed by the potential emigrant in availing the post-compulsory levels of education in the public sector.

and positive:

(a) the remittances, (b) the transfer of technology, and (c) the return of the migrant(s) with enhanced human capital, to the home country.

And so, depending on the point of view, skilled labour flows are either something that, “…offer great potential benefit for both the sending and the receiving countries” (Sahay 2009, 3), or “…can lead to economic stagnation, waste of the public funds invested in higher education, and depletion of tax income” (Castles & Miller 2009, 65). Moreover, the space between these two ends of the spectrum fits a multitude of various terms, definitions and outlooks.

Notwithstanding the negative connotation, Khadria (2002, 4) points out that brain drain could also be treated as something of a “brand name” and, ”…to avoid any possible confusion arising from variable terminology, one can justifiably stick to the conventional terminology of ‘brain drain’ whenever a reference is made to the general issue of skilled labour migration…” In Measuring the international mobility of skilled workers (1990-2000) - release 1.0 Docquier and Marfouk have, in order to statistically examine brain drain, defined it as, “…the proportion of working age individuals (aged 25 and over) with at least tertiary educational attainment, born in a given country but living in another country…” (Docquier & Marfouk 2004, 6) And so “brain drain” can be attached, not only to South-North flows of skilled individuals, but to North-North and North-South flows as well.

On average, highly skilled migrants embody plenty of those types of capital that improve their personal chances of success, but also tend to turn into easily quantifiable gains in the receiving societies:
Highly skilled persons are mainly in high value-added and high productivity activities that are essential to the global knowledge society. S&T workers, physicians and businesspersons bring different competencies and their professional activities at various levels combine to advance economic and social development and national wealth. (Lowell 2008, 53)

Since the early 1990s, various governments around the developed world have been introducing different policies to induce the highly skilled. For more detailed description of various attraction and admission policies, see Lowell 2008. Concomitantly, the numbers of highly skilled migrants have increased significantly. For example, between 1990 and 2000 tertiary educated migrants accounted for a 46 percent increase in migrant flows in the OECD countries. (Lowell 2008, 51-52.) In fact, in some OECD countries educated migrants accounted for more than 90 percent of the increase between 1990 and 2000 (Ocampo 2006). Even though in absolute terms low skilled migrants still make up the majority of all migrants, the emigration rate for highly skilled persons exceeds the total emigration rate in all regions, testifying to the selectivity of migration (Dumont, Spielvogel & Widmaier 2010, 8).

According to Theo Dunnewijk’s calculations, in 1990, the OECD countries hosted some 40.3 million migrants, from which 12.1 million, or ca. 30 percent, could be regarded as highly skilled. In 2000, the number had already climbed to 57 million migrants and 20.1 million, or ca. 35 percent, of them highly skilled. In 1990, 50.4 percent of the highly skilled migrants in the OECD countries came from non-OECD countries and 49.6 percent of migrants from other OECD countries, while in 2000 the shares were already 57.5 percent and 42.5 percent, respectively. In Dunnewijk’s estimations, in 2007, the numbers of migrants in the OECD had already reached 73 million, almost 40 percent, or 29 million, of them highly skilled (Dunnewijk 2008, 7.) In total, the OECD countries host around 50 percent of all the world’s migrants (Dumont, Spielvogel & Widmaier 2010, 25). And as is the case with all other migration, the US is the most popular destination for skilled migrants. In 2000 the US hosted 53 percent of all OECD highly skilled immigrants, whereas the EU, the 2nd destination for the highly skilled attracted 16.3 percent of the highly educated migrants (Docquier & Marfouk 2004, 28).

When we look at regional emigration rates in Table 2, it does seem clear that the highly skilled, for the most part, are more prone to migrate than the population on average. However, when statistics are viewed as such, some rather important facets
about skilled migration remain concealed. First of all, a large proportion of migration occurs regionally. For instance, a great bulk of European emigration is actually relocation inside Europe. Also, the largest shares of highly educated migrants are either Asian (35 percent) or European (34 percent), together making up 69 percent of the world total (Lowell 2008, 54-55).

When discussing brain drain, it is often forgotten that there are two sources for highly skilled immigrants into developed countries; the first source being other developed countries and the second source less developed countries (Chiswick 2005, 5). However as mentioned before, it is specifically the flow from the less developed to the more developed economies that evokes concern about asymmetrical accumulation of human capital. Barry Chiswick summarises the known dilemma, “…the more highly favourably selected are the migrants, the greater, in general, will be the adverse effect of their departure on their origin” (Chiswick 2000, 61). Since skilled migration in general seems to entail more benefits for the wealthier than the poor countries, it has also been dubbed as “transfer of human capital from poor to the rich” (Castles & Miller 2009, 67).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>REGION OF ORIGIN</th>
<th>Situation in 1990</th>
<th>Situation in 2000</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Migration rate:</td>
<td>Migration rate:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TERTIARY</td>
<td>ALL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern America</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central America</td>
<td>12.9%</td>
<td>7.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Caribbean</td>
<td>41.4%</td>
<td>11.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South America</td>
<td>4.7%</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Europe</td>
<td>16.2%</td>
<td>6.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Europe</td>
<td>10.4%</td>
<td>3.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Europe</td>
<td>11.2%</td>
<td>6.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Europe</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Africa</td>
<td>6.8%</td>
<td>2.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Africa</td>
<td>9.8%</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Africa</td>
<td>20.7%</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Africa</td>
<td>15.5%</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Africa</td>
<td>6.9%</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Asia</td>
<td>6.9%</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South-Central</td>
<td>4.0%</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South-Eastern</td>
<td>10.3%</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Asia</td>
<td>4.1%</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oceania</td>
<td>6.1%</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Emigration rates by regions of origin (Docquier & Marfouk 2004)

Even though as aggregate numbers most of the highly educated migrants indeed are Asian or European, proportionally speaking areas that exhibit by far the highest rates of highly skilled emigration actually lie in the Caribbean. In fact, the emigration rates in some individual countries of the Caribbean are nothing but alarmingly high. From
the top ten emigration countries of tertiary educated, eight can be found in the Caribbean region (World Bank 2011, 9-11 compiled from Docquier & Marfouk 2006; Bhargava, Docquier & Moullan 2010). Tertiary educated migration from larger countries like the Philippines, China or India is indisputably voluminous, but compared to proportions of their total educated populations, their emigration rates do not come close to those observed on some of the smaller island states.

Brain circulation, which basically is another term for temporary migration, is sometimes seen as a workable remedy for developing countries to gain more benefits from their skilled emigrants. In other words, the aim is to create “win-win-win situations” where the destination country gains by obtaining a workforce easily, the origin country gains from remittances, transfer of skills and knowledge, while the migrants themselves gain jobs, income, and experience. Thus, skilled migration is turned into a sort of global circulation of talents (Castles & Miller 2009, 67-68). So far, no plausible global plan of implementation exists and it seems somewhat challenging to avoid the pitfalls of former guest worker schemes.

According to Anjali Sahay almost all of the brain drain literature come from the nationalist perspective and are overly absorbed in economical losses to sending countries, and thus fail to see other potential gains. Brain gain approaches, alternatively, view highly skilled migration as a possible source of gain for the sending countries and identify at least three different sources of possible benefits: remittances and savings, return migration, and diaspora networks. (Sahay 2009, 25.)

Financial remittances and savings are perhaps the most direct and quantifiable benefits a developing country can gain from its “diaspora” of professionals abroad (Sahay 2009, 25). The amount of formal and informal remittances from migrant workers to developing countries has long ago surpassed that of international aid, and according to the World Bank, is in fact already three times as large (World Bank 2011). Yet, the positive impact of remittances depends on how they are actually utilised. For example, is the money used in conspicuous consumption or education of children? Therefore, benefits from remittances to developing economies remain somewhat doubtful. Furthermore, due to large shares of informal transfers, estimating the amount of remittances is also problematic. (Khadria 2002, 5-6, 25; Sahay 2009, 19.)
Whether return migration of the highly skilled, or “brain gain”, has the potential to offset the negative impacts of skilled emigration remains contentious to say the least. Either way, what comes to theories associated with return, according to Sahay (2009, 31-32) none of the them have yet explained professional return migration as a voluntary act to invest in the home country, but instead tend to focus on explaining return migration as a failure to remain in the destination for reasons such as homesickness, loss of employment, or an expired residence permit.

Returning professionals carry with them a potential for certain gains, namely in the form of investments in businesses, health, and education sectors, or by stimulating economic growth and acting as a means to counter dependency on foreign capital. It should be noted though, that measuring the positive impacts of return is still beset with problems caused by lack of data (Sahay 2009, 19). Additionally, as Sahay concludes, the benefits of return seem to be more readily available for the Newly Industrialised Countries. This is mainly due to the fact that, in comparison to less developed countries, they can provide a more suitable social and economic environment for better use of their returnees’ skills and savings. (Sahay 2009, 33.) Meanwhile, when a Sub-Saharan country loses close to a hundred percent of its trained physicians, it is very hard to see any short- or long-term benefits to be reaped from their unlikely return.

The idea of diaspora networks as transmitters of benefit to the countries of origin is understandably tempting, not least because a physical return is not necessarily required. On the contrary, much faith is put on the potential of new technologies of communications. According to Sahay the rise of highly skilled diaspora networks has been, “…fairly significant in the last couple of decades”. Diaspora networks function to link individuals or groups of intellectuals that retain strong ties to their origins. These active overseas nationals can be useful to their countries of origin in multiple ways, for instance by raising funds, by having access to distribution channels, promoting the image of their country and so forth, hence creating more opportunities for others from the same origins. (Sahay 2009, 33-35.) In some countries of emigration, the whole discourse of migration has changed dramatically, and in attempts to induce more remittances, skills, and business knowledge back to the homeland, migrants have been granted dual citizenships or have even been titled “heroes of development” in public talk. (Castles & Miller 2009, 71.)
One often cited positive effect of skilled migration is that the possibility of migration encourages future migrants to acquire better education at home in order to improve their chances of moving (Commander, Chanda, Kangasniemi & Winters 2004, 18). In simple terms, the essence of the argument is that since developed economies favour skilled migration, it is smarter for a future migrant to already invest in education in their origin country. And so the aspirations of those who bid for better living standards abroad, in fact also raise the overall level and quality of education in origin. The rise of education level in turn raises welfare and growth of the whole society. (Schiff 2005, 202.) In other words, drain becomes gain. However, according to Maurice Schiff, the positive impact of the so-called “brain-drain-induced brain-gain” to source countries is significantly smaller - if not actually negative - than has been claimed by advocates of the “new brain gain literature” (Schiff 2005).

How should problems inflicted by brain drain be tackled then? First of all, a phenomenon as endemic and ambiguous as skilled migration ensures that it is highly unlikely that there will ever exist a mutual understanding on matters of brain drain. In fact, whether it should even be considered a problem is not at all agreed upon. Should the starting point of discussion be “the human development of peoples” as the UNDP suggests or “the human development of countries”? Is brain drain, or skilled migration, a positive or a negative facet of globalization? Or, how much skilled emigration is detrimental to a country’s development and how much is good in terms of networking or use of “soft power”?

Against this backdrop, it is easy to understand why the proposed tools to combat adverse effects of skilled migration vary as significantly as they do. Everything from a global treaty of stricter regulation of skilled migration to enhancing the rights and scope for action of diaspora networks has been proposed. In any case, more and more researchers seem to indicate that instead of trying to hinder the mobility of people, remedies should be developed within the limits of the prevailing reality, “…the stock of a country’s professionals abroad should be taken as given and efforts made to explore ways of maximizing the home country’s returns from this stock…” (Khadria 2002, 6).
4.2 International students: “the semi-finished human capital”

To a large extent, internationally mobile students have already become part and parcel of the skilled migration phenomenon and thus, among other things, the discussions of drain and gain also apply to student migration. Even though, it should be noted that, “International students enrolled in a country different from their own are only one aspect of the internationalisation of tertiary education” (OECD 2011, 332), international student mobility is still the main form of cross-border education (Vincent-Lancrin 2008, 106). This study’s focus is on internationally mobile students in particular and thus discussion of other forms of cross-border education will be omitted for now.

Authors of skilled migration often distinguish two entry points for internationally mobile human capital; the “employment gate” and the “academic gate” (Castles & Miller 2009; Khadria 2005). If we apply a very basic definition, an internationally mobile student is someone who leaves his/her country of origin in order to pursue studies in another country. However, just like international migrants, mobile students too can be defined according to various criteria:

- **Permanent residence:** Students can be considered to be mobile students if they are not permanent residents of the host country in which they pursue their studies.

- **Prior education:** Students can be considered to be mobile students if they obtained the entry qualification to their current level of study in another country. Prior education refers typically to upper secondary education for students enrolled in tertiary programmes.

- **Citizenship:** Students can be considered to be mobile students if they are not citizens of the host country in which they pursue their studies. (UNESCO-UIS 2009, 36)

The UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS) defines international students according to permanent residence and prior education criteria, whereas non-citizenship is commonly used for data from OECD countries or the EU. Due to varying use of criteria by different countries, data on international students is often not entirely comparable. (UNESCO-UIS 2009, 36.) However, using other criteria than non-citizenship seems to be the most suitable approach, as some countries do not automatically grant citizenships to those with foreign parents even if they are born in the country. The problem is, then, that a person who has lived in a given country all
his life will count as a “foreign student” in statistics (UNESCO-UIS 2009, 35). For more discussion on statistical problems related to mobility of students, see Vincent-Lancrin (2008) or Dunnewijk (2008). Data on internationally mobile students from different sources vary to some degree and therefore, in this chapter, I have decided to mainly rely on statistics from the UIS report *Global Education Digest 2009*. The report, “…does not include students in short exchange programmes of one year or less…” and since the focus of this study happens to be on mobile students pursuing full degrees, the approach should be justified enough.

In face of stiffening global competition for highly skilled human resources, international students play an increasingly important part. From a destination country’s perspective they are considered to possess the right kind of qualities for easy integration, both professionally and socially (Vincent-Lancrin 2008, 119). Accordingly, quite a few countries have already developed specific policies to attract and retain international students (Lowell 2008, 51). Not to mention the aggressive marketing from educational institutions. In fact, in regards to being part of the internationalisation of higher education, there seems to be plenty of incentives for all parties involved:

> Governments see it as a fulcrum of economic development and as a means of improving the quality of their higher education and their institutions of higher learning, an element of prestige (and sometimes a source of income), giving them a competitive edge. Individuals see it as a further boost to their career both in their home country and on the international job market, or even as an investment towards possible future emigration. (Vincent-Lancrin 2008, 105)

International student mobility is most visible in the higher education sector. In effect, nearly 90 percent of all international students are enrolled in higher education (Vincent-Lancrin 2008, 110). Moreover, and also why international students can be referred to as the semi-finished human capital, they either already have a higher degree and are moving abroad to attain a post graduate degree or will be highly skilled after finishing their studies in the destination country (Lall 2006, 5). This makes it perhaps easier to understand why many consider student migration from developing to developed countries merely another form of brain drain.

“Semi-finished” implies that some, usually quite considerable, investments to education have already been made in the origin. Possibly by the student, the student’s family, or the source country’s taxpayers at the very least. The destination country
only needs a finishing touch in the form of some formal qualifications, in order to reap the benefits of new highly skilled manpower already well adapted to the surrounding culture. Furthermore, if we take into consideration the fact that most institutions abroad collect tuition fees, the flow of semi-finished human capital from developing to developed countries actually also carries with it large amounts of economic capital (Khadria 2005, 9).

According to the *Global Education Digest 2009*, the numbers of foreign students enrolled worldwide rose 53 percent to 2.8 million between 1999 and 2007. However, even though the absolute numbers of internationally mobile students have risen substantially, the outbound ratio has not changed much. Both in 1999 and 2007, two out of every one hundred tertiary students decided to leave their home countries to study abroad, or 1.9 percent and 1.8 percent, respectively. (UNESCO-UIS 2009, 36-37.) Put another way, the growth in enrolments of internationally mobile students is merely a natural consequence of the overall growth in higher education enrolments (Dunnewijk 2008, 13).

When it comes to the growing numbers of internationally mobile students, according to UNESCO-UIS (2009, 36-37), the greatest sending nations are, in thousands:

1. China: 421,100
2. India: 153,300
3. Republic of Korea: 105,300
4. Germany: 77,500
5. Japan: 54,300
6. France: 54,000
7. United States: 50,300
8. Malaysia: 46,500
9. Canada: 43,900
10. Russian Federation: 42,900

These ten countries account for 37.5 percent of the world’s mobile students. In comparison, countries that host the largest amounts of students are:

1. United States: 595,900
2. United Kingdom: 351,500
3. France: 246,600
4. Australia: 211,500
5. Germany: 206,900
6. Japan: 125,900
7. Canada: 68,500
8. South Africa: 60,600
9. Russian Federation: 60,300
10. Italy: 57,300

The 10 countries above host 71 percent of all internationally mobile students.

The flows of internationally mobile students are somewhat parallel to those of skilled migration. Around 85 percent of mobile students choose an OECD country for their studies and the US is particularly attractive, hosting around 22 percent of all students. Also, much like in skilled migration, most international students, 48 percent to be precise, to the OECD are Asian born, Europeans being the second largest group at 27 percent. Furthermore, 12 percent of students come from Africa, 7 percent from South America, 4 percent from North America, and 1 percent from Oceania. Most Asian students choose the US, but Oceania and Europe - especially the United Kingdom and Germany - are also popular destinations. Even though European or North American students seem to be relatively mobile as well, Asian students are more willing to follow full courses and bear the costs of their studies themselves. (Vincent-Lancrin 2008, 106-109.) For more detailed, and partly divergent, statistics on student mobility, see OECD (2011) and UNESCO-UIS (2009).

Even though the flows of internationally mobile students are still dominantly to the OECD countries, and to a very few of them particularly, there are strong indications that the alternatives for different forms of cross-border education and study destinations are widening. More and more international students actually seem to remain within the regions of their origin (UNESCO-UIS 2009, 39).
5. INDIAN HUMAN CAPITAL ABROAD

As some of the figures in previous chapters have already illustrated, India is a prominent source for internationally mobile skilled migrants. In this chapter I will provide a more profound, yet brief depiction of the system that produces a multitude of highly educated individuals, only to leave India en masse every year.

After a brief look into the education system that plays a role in not just accumulation of knowledge but also directly contributes to the process of skilled emigration, I’ll turn to providing some examples of how the globally mobile educated class of India is dispersed around the globe in form of skilled labour and student migrants.

In accordance with the focus of this study, I will lay stress on Indian students in the EU. Lastly, a special emphasis will be put on Finland and Germany, the two example countries of this study.

5.1 India’s system of higher education

India’s system of higher education, if compared to most European or North American systems, is rather complex. First of all, there are several types of institutions of higher learning in India: universities, colleges, institutions of national importance, post-graduate institutions and polytechnics. Secondly, the system that controls and monitors higher education in India can on no account be characterised as any less complicated.

India has a particularly long and rich history of higher education dating back to the ancient Vedic period’s Brahminical and Buddhist systems. However, due to strong colonial influence, the current system of higher education has its roots deep in the British model, even though some of the later technical institutions of management and engineering have also been modelled on the US system. (Chakrabarti 2007, 5; Choudhary 2008.) The long historical journey of the Indian system has resulted in the present situation where at over 18,000 institutions - or according to Kapur (2010) now already at over 22,000 - India has the world’s largest higher education system. In fact, the number of institutions in India amounts to four times as the total number of institutions both in the US and Europe. Yet, to meet the needs of the increasing
demand for higher education, India would still need to establish thousands of institutions more. (Choudhary 2008, 51.)

Since the establishment of the first English language institution of higher learning, “The Hindu College” in Calcutta in 1817, India has experienced a significant growth and diversification of institutions (Choudhary 2008, 55). Principally, there are four types of universities in India: state universities, central universities, deemed-to-be universities, and private universities. There are also institutions of higher learning and research equivalent to universities and in addition a variety of polytechnics and other institutions. For more details on institutions of higher learning in India, see Chakrabarti (2007).

According to Sanat Kaul (2006, 22), “…the main players in Indian Higher Education” are The University Grants Commission and the various councils. The UGC is mainly responsible for promoting and coordinating university education as well as determining and maintaining standards of teaching, examination and research. Among other functions, the UGC also monitors and disburses grants to universities and colleges (Chakrabarti 2007, 11). In addition, there are various professional and research councils, for instance AICTE - All India Council for Technical Education, that are responsible for recognition of courses, promotion and provision of grants to undergraduate programmes and so on. The UGC and the different councils essentially manage all of India’s higher education (Kaul 2006, 23). For more on the intricacies of the Indian higher education sector, visit the UGC website³.

According to Devesh Kapur, at the beginning of academic year 2008 to 2009, there were around 12.4 million students enrolled in 449 universities; 265 state universities, 25 central universities, 121 deemed-to-be universities, 33 institutes of national importance, 5 institutions established under legislations by various state legislations and some 22,000 colleges. Higher education in India has traditionally been state funded, but the private sector has now stepped in to meet the growing demand for higher education and numbers of private institutions are rising rapidly. (Kapur 2010, 307-8.) At all events, whether in state or private institutions, the ever-growing numbers of enrolments testify to the enormous potential India possesses in terms of

³ http://www.ugc.ac.in
human capital. This potential, however, at least from the academic research point of view, is not being properly utilised as only 0.65 percent of students are engaged in research (Choudhary 2008, 66 after Gol 2006).

Even though the numbers and variety of institutions presently available is impressive, the establishment of institutions and numbers of enrolments only first started to increase after the colonial period (Table 3). The annual growth in enrolments has been at around 5 percent for the past two decades - notably higher than India’s population growth. Therefore, it seems that such rapid growth in enrolments relate not only to the increasing demand for higher education in general, but to the population bulge in lower age cohorts as well. (Kapur 2010, 306.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Universities*</th>
<th>Colleges</th>
<th>Enrolment ('000)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1950-51</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>578</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960-61</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>1,819</td>
<td>557</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970-71</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>3,227</td>
<td>1,956</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980-81</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>4,738</td>
<td>2,752</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990-91</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>5,748</td>
<td>4,925</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000-01</td>
<td>266</td>
<td>11,146</td>
<td>8,399</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006-07</td>
<td>369</td>
<td>18,064</td>
<td>11,028</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3: Growth of institutions and enrolments in India at higher education level according to annual reports of the UGC (Choudhary 2008) * Universities include Central, State and deemed to be universities as well as institutions of national importance established both by the central and state governments.

From the 12.4 million students enrolled in universities and colleges at the beginning of academic year 2008 to 2009, 13 percent were enrolled in university departments and the remaining 87 percent in affiliated colleges. During the same period, the majority of students, almost two-thirds in fact, were enrolled in arts and science, whereas one-sixth of them studied commerce and management. Recent growth in enrolments, however, has been greater in technical programmes and professional education. (Kapur 2010, 307.) Notwithstanding the growth, considering the population of India, the potential for enrolments in higher education is much greater than is currently realised. According to the 11th Five Year Plan, the enrolment rate in higher education needs to be doubled to 21 percent from 11 percent between 2007 and 2012 (India. Planning Commission 2008). However, a mere increase of enrolments will not solve the problems India faces in higher education. One of the challenges is how to retain graduates:

For almost 350,000 students who make it to the engineering schools every year, barely 350 go on to earn a PhD in technology within the country. Despite India’s so called technological prowess, the country lacks sufficient
technical teachers. [...] With future teachers being wooed by the developed host countries, they reap the benefits. (Khadria 2005, 13)

There are numerous reasons why much of India’s “semi-finished human capital” ends up enrolling to foreign universities instead of domestic ones, some of them I have already mentioned in passing. A mismatch in supply and demand in higher education is, undoubtedly, a significant reason, but also other important push factors seem to contribute to the emigration of students. Most importantly, according to numerous indicators, the quality of most Indian institutions of higher education leaves a lot to be desired (Kapur 2010, 309). Problems of providing and maintaining good, or even mediocre quality of education are multifarious. Kaul (2006, 30) provides some examples:

Salary and compensation for teaching staff is poor and, therefore, higher education institutions are unable to attract and retain qualified and trained teachers. [...] Most institutions offer outdated programmes with inflexible structures and content. [...] Infrastructural facilities range from inadequate to dismal.

According to both Kapur and Kaul, one of the fundamental problems that plague the Indian system of higher education is that of poor governance, partly resulting from politicised and corrupt conducts in appointments. Another important factor is the highly centralised and bureaucratic regulation of the education system at large, thus most governmental institutions have very little leeway to decide on their own programmes (Kapur 2010, 313-14; Kaul 2006, 30). As Kapur further points out, “The lack of institutional autonomy and poor academic governance has made it increasingly difficult for higher education to attract talent, especially because (unlike the past) that talent has alternatives” (Kapur 2010, 314). In a globalised world these “alternatives” are more and more often found abroad. According to Kapur (2010, 316-17), the problem is that when poor quality of public higher education pushes students to seek for better quality in the private sector, what they then often get is of equally poor quality, and all the while the rigidness of state regulation dams up good alternatives.

To summarise the current situation, and this applies especially to the mobility between India and the US, there are two key drivers on the supply side: first more and more Indian students can afford foreign education, and second, the Indian higher education sector has continued to expand at the cost of quality. At the same time there
are two key drivers on the demand side. They are the aggressive outreach by universities to compensate for budget cuts, and the now wider range of recruitment channels and service providers. (Choudaha 2011, 26-28.)

The views I have presented in this chapter are naturally only some examples of the problems that beset the higher education sector of India, and far better and profound analyses than the one provided here are widely available. Yet, what needs to be noted is that not all Indian institutions are of poor quality. And it would be simplistic to claim that all students who study abroad have left India because of poor quality in higher education. Motives are in plenty, and one of the aims of this study is to explore them in more detail.

5.2 Indian professionals and students abroad

According to Anjali Sahay, most studies of Indian migration identify three distinct phases of emigration from India. The first phase, or wave, of emigration was initiated during the colonial period and mainly consisted of an underprivileged labour force driven to distant, and not-so distant, countries of the British dominion to seek for a livelihood. The second wave has occurred in postcolonial times and has coincided with the economic boom and acute labour shortages in the Gulf region, creating a huge and long lasting demand for inexpensive short-term immigrant labour. India, with its immense population has been an obvious source for low skilled labour. More recently, a third wave of emigration has emerged. This wave is characterised by distinctly large numbers of emigrant professionals and students. The flow has mostly oriented towards the developed countries of the West, particularly the US, Canada, and Britain. (Sahay 2009, 71-72.)

The so-called third wave of Indian emigration, namely the mobility of tertiary students, is in the prime focus of this study. Migration of professionals and students, or professionals-to-be, often goes hand in hand and relates to the two “gates” already mentioned in previous chapters - “the employment gate” and “the academic gate”. When it comes to the academic gate, nearly 80 percent of all Indian students abroad pursue graduate studies (Khadria 2005, 7). Or put in other words, prior to their arrival most of them have already reached a rather high level of education and hence the designation “semi-finished human capital”. After finishing their degrees, students are often encouraged to stay and work, either on a temporary or a more permanent basis,
thus transforming from student migrants to highly skilled labour migrants (Lall 2006, 5).

According to Binod Khadria, some of the most visible trends of migration from South Asia in the 21st century are, in fact, the primacy of temporary professional migration and the primacy of student migration (Khadria 2005, 7). Indian knowledge workers have been emigrating from India on a large scale already since the 1960s. The need for trained workforce in western countries, most notably for doctors and IT engineers, has been a significant pull factor (Lall 2006, 4.). In India’s case, the majority of tertiary educated migrants, both students and highly skilled labour migrants seem to prefer one country to all others.

Without any strong colonial ties, it might seem surprising that the US has emerged as the number one recipient country for vast crowds of highly skilled Indians. However, as Anjali Sahay explains, Indo-US relations already started to slowly evolve into closer cooperation during the Cold War era when the U.S. was actively trying to gain a foothold in Asia in order to promote its anti-communist views. In consequence to such issues as US aid to Pakistan and the Indian political elite’s predilection to socialism, major setbacks were experienced at times. Yet, despite some political disagreements, the two countries continued to deepen cooperation, especially so in the economic and technological spheres. Finally, the lengthy process has led to a situation where the US is India’s largest investor and trading partner (Sahay 2009, 57-63.) In addition to, and most likely because of, being India’s number one trading partner, the US has also become the number one destination for skilled Indian migration.

According to some estimates, Indian skilled migration to the US accounts for up to 80 percent of all Indian skilled migration to developed countries. The foundations for Indian highly skilled migration to the US were cemented by the 1965 and 1990 amendments to the US Immigration and Nationality Act that gave priority to highly trained and educated professionals (Khadria 2007, 86-87.) Ever since, the Indian diaspora in the US has continued to grow and according to the 2005 census, now entails a total of 2.3 million people (Sahay 2009, 58). Strengthening economic and political ties has had the effect of enhancing flows of skilled Indians to the US. Now that a strong enough migration linkage has been established, flows of migration will most likely only increase and further tie the two countries together (Sahay 2009, 70).
Even though the US induces the majority of skilled Indians and tertiary students, there’s a growing interest towards Indian students in other developed countries as well, not least because of the good reputation Indian immigrants have in many western countries. For instance, the role of Indian IT specialists as part of Silicon Valley’s success story should not be trivialised. In fact, it is an important part of positive image building. Also, such merits as being, “…the richest immigrant class in the United States…” (Sahay 2009, 171) have most definitely helped in establishing a positive stereotype. The success of Indians is not prevailing reality in the US alone, “The Indian immigrants’ annual income in Canada is nearly 20 percent higher than the national average, and their educational levels are higher too” (Khadria 2007, 89). Still, in pure numerical terms, the US is far ahead of others what comes to attracting Indian university students (Table 4).

For the past few years, the numbers of internationally mobile Indian students have been on the rise - this is especially true for the developed English-speaking world. Apart from Germany, all other top recipient countries have exhibited continual growth in numbers of inbound Indian students during the last decade. Germany is also an exception because it is, in fact, the only non-English speaking country among the top recipients with inbound flows of over 3,000 students per year. Moreover, points based immigration systems in favour of skilled migration seem to be a common denominator among the top destination countries.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>2005</th>
<th>2006</th>
<th>2007</th>
<th>2008</th>
<th>2009</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>84,044</td>
<td>79,219</td>
<td>85,687</td>
<td>94,664</td>
<td>101,563</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>16,685</td>
<td>19,204</td>
<td>23,833</td>
<td>25,901</td>
<td>34,065</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>20,515</td>
<td>22,357</td>
<td>24,523</td>
<td>26,520</td>
<td>26,573</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Zealand</td>
<td>1,563</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>2,452</td>
<td>4,094</td>
<td>5,710</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>4,339</td>
<td>3,585</td>
<td>3,421</td>
<td>3,257</td>
<td>3,273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>2,829</td>
<td>1,812</td>
<td>3,219</td>
<td>3,501</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4: Flows of mobile Indian students at the tertiary level (ISCED 5 and 6) to selected countries (UNESCO-UIS - UNESCO Institute of Statistics Database 2011)

Student outflows from India have grown rapidly during the past few years. According to Devesh Kapur, data from the Indian government indicates that there were some 250,000 Indian students studying abroad in 2008 to 2009. An example from Kapur demonstrates the rapid growth in numbers of Indian students abroad, “In 1993, there were barely 300 Indian students in Australia. In 2008 to 2009, the figure crossed 97,000.” (Kapur 2010, 326.) Similar growth, if not quite as drastic, has been exhibited in other western countries as well.
5.3 Indian degree students in the EU

When it comes to single EU member countries, the inbound flows of Indian students seem modest compared to the traditional countries of immigration; Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and the US. Most notably, the UK stands out from the crowd as recipient number one by receiving ten times more Indian students per year than Germany, which is second. However, as Lall (2006, 5) points out, this is only natural since, “In most cases students from developing countries tend to choose the former imperial power due to language issues and the historical connection between the two countries…” Even though the UK does attract most of the Indian tertiary students coming to the EU, their numbers are on the rise in almost all of the other member countries as well (Table 5).

For the most part it seems the largest EU countries, the UK, Germany and France, also attract the largest numbers of Indian students. However, some of the smaller member states defy the logic of population size. For instance, Cyprus and Sweden attract more Indian students per year than the much larger Italy. The patterns of growth are very dissimilar, even among countries of similar cultural and political backgrounds. The inflow of Indian students to Sweden has mushroomed over the past couple of years, whereas in Denmark, growth has remained steadier. Even though historical relations and colonial attachments play an important role in student migration, there are also other factors that contribute to dissimilarities among the EU member states.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2005</th>
<th>2006</th>
<th>2007</th>
<th>2008</th>
<th>2009</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>16,685</td>
<td>19,204</td>
<td>23,833</td>
<td>25,901</td>
<td>34,065</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>4,339</td>
<td>3,585</td>
<td>3,421</td>
<td>3,257</td>
<td>3,273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cyprus</td>
<td>565</td>
<td>793</td>
<td>838</td>
<td>1,076</td>
<td>1,527</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>502</td>
<td>717</td>
<td>891</td>
<td>1,038</td>
<td>1,252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>687</td>
<td>937</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td>295</td>
<td>386</td>
<td>589</td>
<td>627</td>
<td>727</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>331</td>
<td>440</td>
<td>345</td>
<td>432</td>
<td>489</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>305</td>
<td>358</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>370</td>
<td>355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>328</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finland</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romania</td>
<td>271</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Czech Republic</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulgaria</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lithuania</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hungary</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portugal</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 5: Flows of mobile Indian students at the tertiary level (ISCED 5 and 6) to the 27 EU member states (UNESCO-UIS - UNESCO Institute of Statistics Database 2011)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>24</th>
<th>...</th>
<th>16</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Latvia</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slovakia</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estonia</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malta</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luxembourg</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The EU has no uniform scheme of granting visas for students, nor a unified system to coordinate student admissions and scholarships, apart from the Erasmus Mundus Programme. There are also stark differences in numbers of English language programmes on offer in different member countries. According to the survey *Perceptions of European Higher Education in Third Countries* by the Erasmus Mundus Programme, in terms of higher education, Indian students perceived the EU not as a unity, but rather a collection of individual countries. In the same survey, Indian students reported that they expected the largest differences between member states to be in living expenses and level of tuition fees, as well as facilities for international students, visa regulations, work permit regulations, quality of teaching, and teaching methods. (ACA 2005a.) Furthermore, the variety of languages, high cost of living and unfamiliar culture were all listed as weaknesses of the EU as a study destination in *Perceptions of European Higher Education in Third Countries, Country report - India* (ACA 2005b). From this point of view - though in other contexts often praised - European diversity actually poses a challenge to student recruitment from outside the EU.

Since 2004, the EU has put more effort into building a more profound and wide-ranging partnership with India. The launching of the India-EU strategic partnership has meant that more emphasis has been laid on educational collaboration. The Joint Action Plan from 2005 lists four priorities in terms of deepening academic interaction between India and the EU: the implementation of a special window under the Erasmus Programme, linking EU and Indian universities, encouraging the development of EU and India studies in each others countries and increasing the number of Indian students in the EU as well as EU students in India (Lall 2006, 3; EEAS - The European External Action Service 2005). According to the 2008 revision of the Joint Action Plan, cultural and people-to-people links between the EU and India have deepened as specific funding has been made available to increase the participation of Indian students in European graduate programmes (EEAS - The European External Action Service 2008).
However, it is difficult to estimate how much effect political efforts at the highest EU-India level have had on the increase of Indian students in single EU countries and how much of it is actually due to efforts and preoccupations of individual member states. Likewise, it is difficult to predict how much of the growth comes from a natural spillover effect resulting from more and more Indians aspiring for tertiary education and the fact that admission to quality institutions in India is extremely limited.

Regardless of the Bologna Process, the fact remains that institutions of higher education and the quality of tuition they offer still vary considerably from member state to another. In order for the EU members’ educational institutions to be able to compete toe-to-toe for the “best and the brightest” with their North American counterparts, there is still a lot of work to be done in terms of marketing and harmonisation. Yet, results from Graduate Impact Surveys conducted for the Erasmus Mundus Programme, the “flagship” of the EU’s higher education agenda, seem to indicate that the EU could already be considered a desirable study destination:

> The vast majority of participants (89%) judged the EU to be a very good or good study destination. The fact that graduates are more positive about the EU as a study destination than first-year students gives reason to believe that the Erasmus Mundus experience has a positive impact on the EU’s image as a place for study. (EMA - Erasmus Mundus Students and Alumni Association 2010)

Naturally, Erasmus Mundus participants’ satisfaction for the programme does not automatically reflect the sentiments of all international students in all EU based institutions. Erasmus Mundus is an elite programme that provides quality education for a limited amount of graduate students. Whether it has enough promotional value to help induce more students to the EU from non-EU countries, is another thing. Whatever the ultimate reason or collection of reasons, it seems that numbers of Indian students in the EU are slowly increasing, and above all, some diversification of destinations is likely.

**5.4. Indian degree students in Finland and Germany**

The two example countries chosen for this study are Finland and Germany, both EU member states. Most important for this study’s purposes, neither is an English speaking country nor shares colonial ties with India. Finland and Germany are traditionally perceived as technology and heavy industry-led economies with GDPs
per capita approximately the same. Apart from some similarities, differences between the countries are still perhaps more notable. With a population of ca. 81.8 million people\textsuperscript{4} Germany is the most populous member country of the European Union. It is located right in the middle of Europe and its language widely spoken inside the EU region. Finland, on the other hand, has a rather small population of ca. 5.35 million people\textsuperscript{4}, is located at the outskirts of the Union’s Northeastern border and its language is marginal on any standard. (European Commission 2011.) Thus, the starting point for comparison is rather interesting.

It also needs to be noted that the following statistics from Finland and Germany are not completely comparable. The OECD defines \textit{international students} as: “…either as students who are not permanent or usual residents of their country of study or alternatively as students who obtained their prior education in a different country…” and \textit{foreign students} as: “…foreign students are defined as non-citizens of the country in which they study…” (OECD Online Education Database 2011)

Germany’s official government statistics on foreign students have differentiated between foreign students who have acquired their university entrance qualifications in Germany and students who have acquired them abroad. This distinction is made to ensure that students who have actually already lived in Germany for quite some time prior to their studies, but do not have German citizenship, will not be defined as internationally mobile students - but only those have come to the country for study purposes. (Isserstedt & Kandulla 2011, 10.) Conversely, Statistics Finland does not make this distinction and all international/foreign degree students are those who do not hold Finnish citizenships (Statistics Finland, Concepts and definitions 2011). Therefore, even though in the following statistics international and foreign students in both Germany and Finland will only be referred to as “foreign students”, it should be kept in mind that different classifications were applied; prior country of acquiring university entrance qualifications for Germany and other than Finnish citizenship for Finland. Both in Finland and Germany, “foreign students” are those studying for a degree. The following figures comprise of all tertiary-level students, this includes universities, polytechnics, and the like.

\textsuperscript{4} 1\textsuperscript{st} of January 2010
In 2010, around 181,000 foreign students were studying at German institutions of higher education. This corresponds to ca. 8.5 percent of the entire student body. (Isserstedt & Kandulla 2011.) In 2010, around 15,700 foreign students were studying at Finnish institutions of higher education (Universities and Universities of Applied Science) this corresponds to ca. 5.2 percent of the entire student body (Statistics Finland 2010b, 2011). In terms of volume, Germany, with its much larger higher education sector, can naturally accommodate far greater numbers of foreign students than Finland. However, mere difference in size does not explain why there is also a significant difference in proportional stocks of foreign students. Between 1997 and 2010, the number of foreign students in German institutions of higher education nearly doubled from around 100,000 students to 181,000, and apart from some small fluctuations, has remained approximately the same since 2008 (Isserstedt & Kandulla 2011, 11). Meanwhile, the number of foreigners studying in Finnish institutions of higher learning has more than doubled during the past decade, from 6,372 in 2000 to 15,707 in 2010 (Garam & Korkala 2011, 35; CIMO & Statistics Finland 2011a).

When the two countries are compared according to most common nationalities, the definition used for Finland, and most common origins of foreign students, the definition used for Germany (Table 6), some similarities and dissimilarities can be observed. First of all, China’s global influence as the number one student-sending country is obvious in both German and Finnish institutions. However, apart from China in first place in both countries in 2006 and 2009, the lists of top 10 nationalities and countries of origin seem very different. Some differences are easier explained than others. It is only natural that fellow EU member states and countries of geographical proximity are among the top origin countries. Or, like in the case of Turkey, a sending country that shares a special historical connection with Germany. It would be much harder to explain why certain nationalities with no obvious historical linkages tend to choose one country over another. In order to examine all possible factors behind each individual group of nationalities’ mobility would require far more time and resources than are available for this study. However, it should be noted that students’ most common nationalities or origins seem to have altered quite notably in a relatively short time span as Table 6 indicates, and thus the top 10 of most common nationalities and countries of origin is under constant revision. The number of Indian students in Finland and Germany will most likely continue to alter to as well, and
even though their numbers are currently on the rise, future development is hard to predict since growth depends on a variety of factors. According to the figures from past few years, Indian students, despite being the second greatest student-sending nation after China, did not make it to the foreign students’ top ten list in Germany, and only barely made it in Finland.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>2006</th>
<th>2009</th>
<th>2006</th>
<th>2009</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. China</td>
<td>(2105)</td>
<td>1. China</td>
<td>(23 140)</td>
<td>1. China</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Russia</td>
<td>(1595)</td>
<td>2. Russia</td>
<td>(1182)</td>
<td>2. Russia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Estonia</td>
<td>(700)</td>
<td>4. Sweden</td>
<td>(572)</td>
<td>4. Russia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Nepal</td>
<td>(615)</td>
<td>5. Germany</td>
<td>(399)</td>
<td>5. Turkey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Ethiopia</td>
<td>(467)</td>
<td>8. USA</td>
<td>(212)</td>
<td>8. Austria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Ghana</td>
<td>(395)</td>
<td>10. India</td>
<td>(197)</td>
<td>10. Austria</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6: Top 10: the most common nationalities (Finland) and countries of origin (Germany) for foreign degree students in Finland and Germany in 2006 and 2009 (CIMO & Statistics Finland 2011b; Isserstedt & Kandulla 2011; Isserstedt & Link 2008).

In 2006, Indians represented ca. 1.96 percent of all foreign students studying in Finland, Indian being the 10th most common nationality in Finnish universities and polytechnics. In 2010, however, the number of Indian students had already increased to ca. 3.2 percent of all foreign students and Indian had become the 9th most common nationality among students studying in Finland. (CIMO & Statistics Finland 2011b.)

According to statistics from Statistics Finland5, in 2009 55 percent of Indian university degree students in Finland were categorised as studying Technology, Communications and Transport, whereas 25 percent were students of Natural Sciences and ca. 7.6 percent studied Social Sciences, Business and Administration. Overall, these categories represented almost 88 percent of all Indian university students. (Statistics Finland 2010a, extract received via email 9.6.2010.)

In 2006 there were 3,583 Indians studying in German institutions of higher education. This placed India as the 14th most common country of origin for students in Germany; Indians represented 1.9 percent of all foreign degree students in Germany. In 2009 the number of Indian students in Germany had decreased to 3,236 and they represented 1.8 percent of all foreign students but were still at 14th place. (Isserstedt &

---

5 Tilastokeskus
According to OECD statistics\(^6\), after the peak year of 2005 when nearly 4,000 Indians were studying in Germany, the number of Indian students in German higher education per year has varied between ca. 3,100-3,500 (OECD Statistics 2011). According to the Federal Statistical Office Germany\(^7\), 42 percent of Indian students in institutions of higher learning in Germany during the winter semester 2008/2009 were studying *Mathematics and Natural Sciences*, 32 percent were studying *Engineering*, whereas around 12 percent were categorised as students of *Law, Economics, and Social Sciences*. (Federal Statistical Office Germany 2010, extract received via email 26.5.2010.)

---

\(^6\) Students with prior education outside the reporting country criteria applied

\(^7\) Statistisches Bundesamt
6. METHODOLOGY

In previous chapters, I have dealt with the theoretical framework of this study, as well as the global and local contexts in which Indian students have began their studies in Finland and Germany. The following chapter will concentrate on explaining the methodological choices I have made and the procedures I have followed in order to be able to study Indian university degree students in Finland and Germany in the best possible manner.

6.1 Research questions

The starting point of this study was the observation that from the massive flows of internationally mobile Indian students, only a very few will end up studying in European countries where English is not the prevalent language. As previous chapters have indicated, apart from the UK, the rest of the EU member states receive merely trickles from the overall flow of Indian students.

Therefore, the aim of this study was, by attempting to capture the Indian university degree student’s point of view, to make interesting findings that could reveal something novel about the role of non-English speaking EU countries, such as Finland and Germany, in relation to future student migration from India. From the three research questions below, the first one forms the main core of this study. Numbers two and three are more complementary in nature in order to better understand the whole context of this study; the roles of individual destination countries and the international students they host in relation to internationalisation of higher education and the globalisation of employment. Therefore, the three research questions I set out to answer in this study are:

1. What are the reasons and expected benefits for Indian students in applying to Finnish and German degree programmes?

2. Are there any differences between Indian students in Finland and Germany: a) Are Finland and Germany equally attractive as study destinations? b) Have the studies met students’ expectations?

3. What are the students’ plans after obtaining their degrees?
6.2 Research approach

The chosen approach for this study is qualitative. But before going into more detail about the selected research approach, I will briefly address some of the issues relating to reliability and validity of this study. In short: “Reliability refers to the consistency and repeatability of the measurement and research results […] Validity refers to whether your thesis answers the questions it is intended to answer.” However, since reliability and validity primarily relate to natural sciences, they are not easily applied to qualitative research as such. In order to increase the reliability and validity of a qualitative study, these issues should be regarded at every step of the study. Furthermore, the methods and the larger framework affecting interpretations made from the study’s results should be clear enough to the reader. (Kananen 2011, 66-67.)

Keeping all of this in mind, I have strived towards transparency at all stages. On a more concrete level, this should be visible in how I have - whenever categorisations have been made - validated them with quotations from respondents both in Finland and Germany. I will also openly discuss some limitations that might have affected this study in Chapter 8.

The selection of research approach was dictated purely by pragmatism, and was not dependent on personal predilection towards either quantitative or qualitative approaches. As Silverman simply puts it (2001, 25): “…the choice between different research methods should depend upon what you are trying to find out.” Thus, I have in my view, merely chosen the best manner to examine a particular set of questions. By doing so I have deliberately tried to avoid any complexities around the ideologically infused qualitative versus quantitative discussion.

In social study, methodologies can either be defined very narrowly or in broader terms (Silverman 2010, 110) and since I see no added value in labelling this study one way or the other, I have decided to describe it as broadly as possible as a qualitative study with certain quantitative features. In fact, good qualitative studies are often complemented with quantitative elements as they can help piece together a fuller picture of the subject (Silverman 2010, 13; Alasuutari 1999, 33). Here, the main focus will still remain on qualitative methods and the quantitative measures I have taken are mainly descriptive and will help easier discern the findings and their analysis. By doing so, I have followed Silverman’s guideline:
…there is no reason why qualitative researchers should not, where appropriate, use quantitative measures. Simple counting techniques, theoretically derived and ideally based on participants’ own categories, can offer a means to survey the whole corpus of data ordinarily lost in intensive, qualitative research (Silverman 2001, 37).

The above-mentioned applies to this study especially well because it is a qualitative study as far as the following definition goes:

Qualitative researchers aim to gather an in-depth understanding of human behaviour and the reasons that govern such behaviour. The discipline investigates the why and how of decision making, not just what, where, when” (Glenn 2010, 104).

However, the data I collected was extensive enough to be used in quantitative research as well, and as a method of collection, I used a web-questionnaire - often a method of choice in quantitative research. That is to say, the data was too extensive to examine without the help of simple quantitative methods, but still, in order to answer the research questions, the emphasis had to be laid on qualitative analysis.

6.3 Collection methods and procedures

As I was weighing up different methods of data collection suitable for this particular study, I tried to have the aforementioned depiction of the purpose of qualitative research from Glenn as my guiding principle. To attain the goal of deeper understanding, a multitude of methods would have been at my disposal. In fact, I also considered conducting a series of face-to-face interviews in Finland and Germany. Instead, I decided to create a web-based questionnaire that would focus on open questions: “An open question is one where the range of possible answers is not suggested in the question and which respondents are expected to answer in their own words” (Brace 2004, 55). By asking respondents to answer in their own words I wanted to make sure that I would not lead them into producing answers according to my personal presumptions (Kothari 2004, 101).

There were three main reasons why I preferred to conduct a questionnaire-based study instead of a series of interviews. Firstly, I wanted to learn about the “why’s” and “how’s” from representatives of as many fields of study and places of study as possible. Without any financial support available, travelling to different universities around Finland and Germany was out of the question and therefore conducting a survey seemed like the more cost-effective option. Secondly, and more importantly, I
wanted *bona fide* explanations for choosing to study in Finland and Germany, as well as critical opinions about everyday life and studying. Even though I acknowledged the fact that surveys and interviews can be equally truth revealing (Mäkelä 1998, 50), I felt that in this context I could have too easily been perceived as a representative of Finland and its university system. This could have resulted in the interviewees’ reluctance to voice out possible harder critiques in a face-to-face situation. Thirdly, by utilizing a questionnaire, respondents usually have adequate time to give well thought out answers (Kothari 2004, 101). Many of the questions required some unhurried reflection and completing a survey was not as connected to time and place as an interview.

In order to keep the amount of replies within manageable limits, I had already, quite early on, decided to narrow down the scope of this study to involve university degree students only. Since there are a wide variety of different institutions of higher learning beyond the sphere of traditional university system, in both Finland and Germany, including students from all of them would have resulted in too much ambiguity regarding comparisons and classifications. My initial plan was to approach the students via official university channels only in order to maintain mutual reliability; the students would consider my survey trustworthy and I would make sure that only Indian university students answered the questionnaire. This principle I had to partially give up, as I will later explain.

The web-questionnaire I created in *SurveyGizmo*⁸ (see Appendix A) consisted of two sets of questions: The first part had eight background questions from which four were further divided into a series of short follow-up questions. The questions ranged from place of birth to details of migration. The students’ answers to these questions have been used as a basis for chapter 7.1 *Description and analysis of background information*. The second part of the questionnaire had 12 open-ended questions. With these 12 open-ended questions, I approached the research questions from as many angles as was possible without stretching the survey too long and thus scaring away respondents. The questions in this part of the questionnaire ranged from applying to degree programmes in Finland or Germany to asking if the respondent

---

⁸ *SurveyGizmo* is a web-based software company that provides tools to create online surveys, questionnaires and forms. The service is free of charge for students. [http://www.surveygizmo.com](http://www.surveygizmo.com)
was considering a return to India. I also collected answers regarding the respondents’ sense of community and the ties they were maintaining to their homes and other countries abroad (see Appendix A). However, in order to maintain focus and coherence, this part of the study had to be cast aside quite early on. Answers to the open-ended questions form the basis of chapters 7.2 Studying in Finland and Germany and 7.3 After the degree: students’ future prospects.

Before distributing the questionnaire to my target group in Finland and Germany, I ran some pilot tests with the help of some international degree students at the University of Tampere. After doing so, I adjusted and revised the form and phrasing of questions once more according to the feedback. I began the actual data collection in Finland in February 2010 by first contacting the international offices of all 16 Finnish universities and requested them to pass on my questionnaire to all Indian degree students currently registered at their institutions. In most cases my message was submitted directly to Indian students, but whenever approaching Indian students directly was not possible, it was posted on general mailing lists for international students. I also contacted the Bharatiya Students Union of Finland6 and received some responses through their networks as well. All recipients received an introductory email (see Appendix B) with a link to the questionnaire, along with a cover letter (see Appendix C). The questionnaire was open to replies from the 10th of February until 10th of March 2010. I received a total of 76 responses and accepted 71 of them; 5 responses had to be discarded as they were only partially filled. According to the statistics from SurveyGizmo, in addition to completed surveys, a total of 104 had been started but then immediately abandoned.

At first, I employed the same data collection procedures in Germany as I had in Finland, but after a while I had to diversify my modus operandi. At that time, I was studying at the University of Konstanz in Germany and was fortunate enough to receive help and guidance from the university’s International Office. The staff at the university instructed me that, unlike in Finland, in Germany I would have to utilise a variety of methods in order to catch the attention of Indian students. Most importantly, official channels would not be the most effective way of making contact. First of all, the German university network is much larger than the Finnish one and

6 http://bsuf.pbworks.com
secondly, a much more complex combination of different federal, state, and university rules and regulations seem to be in place regarding contacting students. This, I found out rather quickly when inquiring about Indian students at different institutions; some staff were very helpful, some reluctant to pass on any information, and some did not even have the tools to locate students according to criteria such as nationality in their own databases.

From the 104 universities operating in Germany (DAAD 2012), I contacted a total of 47 universities from which 13 were universities of technology, randomly in different parts of Germany. I located the universities from the German Academic Exchange Service’s website. Since the success of getting my message delivered to the right target group through universities was varying to say the least, I also turned to various students associations, or information portals for Indians in Germany such as the Inder, and even posted a message in the Facebook group “Indian students in Germany”. Considering all the extra measures I took in Germany in attempting to contact students, and even though I did get responses from a variety of different universities, the result was nonetheless not as good as I had expected.

The questionnaire was open to Indian students in Germany from the 25th of May 2010 until the 5th of August 2010. The one-month time frame I had initially set had to be extended due to difficulties in collecting enough responses. In the end, I received a total of 81 responses and accepted 75 of them; 6 had to be discarded as they were not fully finished or were not filled in by suitable respondents, such as students who were categorised as Indian students due to peculiarities of getting German citizenship rather than being actual international degree students. According to SurveyGizmo’s statistics, a total of 164 respondents abandoned the survey before beginning to fill it in.

I screened a total of 157 responses and accepted 146 of them for this study. The criterion was simple: only Indian university degree students were accepted from both countries. The respondents in Finland represented students from 12 different universities, including students from all 3 Finnish universities of technology. The

10 The German Academic Exchange Service or DAAD (Deutscher Academischer Austauschdienst) is Germany’s largest international academic co-operation organisation: http://www.daad.de
11 For example, the Association of Indian Students, Aachen: http://www.aisa.rwth-aachen.de
12 http://theindernet.blogspot.com
respondents in Germany represented 25 different universities, including students from 7 universities of technology. Since some of the respondents did not clarify where they were currently studying, it is possible that the data consisted of representatives from even more universities. However, as this is not an attempt to rank universities but rather a description of individual student’s role in the internationalization process of higher learning, I will not list the universities whose students took part in the study. The other reason for this is that some of the universities, especially in Finland, had only very few Indian degree students and therefore it might be possible to single them out according to their answers.

6.4 Methods of analysis

According to Gibbs: “One of the functions of qualitative analysis is to find patterns and produce explanations” (2007, 4). In order to best describe the methods of analysis I have used in this study, I will merely refer to it as qualitative analysis. In other words, I have again tried to avoid strict labels. According to Alasuutari (1999, 43), qualitative analysis comprises of two stages: reduction of findings and solving the riddle. Naturally, a perfect separation can only be made analytically, whereas in practice the stages tend to be interwoven.

Reduction of findings can be further divided into two phases: First, the data is examined through a theoretical-methodological perspective relevant to the particular study. In this case, the data has been examined through the lens of international student migration and the accumulation of capital as explained in chapters 3 and 4. Second, the number of different findings is reduced by means of combining similar categories. Various “raw findings” are combined into one or more categories for easier examination. This, however, does not mean that the search for overarching characteristics should result in categories of average individuals. Thus, in this study, I have rather created categories according to responses, not individuals providing them. While creating categories, I have kept in mind that in qualitative analysis, reporting divergence is important. Therefore, I have avoided combining categories for the sake of convenience, even when they have consisted of only few responses. After reducing the findings into categories that represent the data as well as possible, the riddle is ready to be solved - or in other words, the researcher’s interpretations will be
validated. One way to achieve this is by credible argumentation that relies on previous studies and statistics. (Alasuutari 1999, 42-47, 51.)

The concrete method I have used to analyze the data could best be described as *analytic categorization*. In my categorization of responses, I have followed the instructions of Gibbs (2007, 42): “In analysis you need to move away from descriptions, especially using respondent's terms, to a more categorical, analytic and theoretical level of coding.” In this case, by first typing similar responses, the starting point of analysis has been the data itself. This is also called *data-driven coding* and researchers using the method are encouraged, as far as possible, to try not to impose an interpretation based on pre-existing theory, in contrast to *concept-driven coding* (Gibbs 2007, 46). Therefore, I started by first analysing the data, and only after initial analysis began to create a more specific theoretical framework for the study. However, as Gibbs further points out: “These two approaches to generating codes are not exclusive. Most researchers move backwards and forwards between both sources of inspiration during their analysis” (2007, 46). And so, in this study too, the categories have, after initial “open coding”, been examined through a more narrow theoretical scope in order to move from a descriptive to a more analytical level of categorization. Apart from the more theoretically inspired categories, when comparisons have been necessary, some of the results have also been presented in form of simple tabulations and figures. The categories in chapters 7.2 and 7.3 form the empirical backbone of this study. The results have been summarized in chapter 7.4.
7. RESULTS

7.1. Description and analysis of background information

The following section will describe the respondents in more detail but, naturally, in a way that prevents any single respondent from being recognised. An adequate background description is important in order to provide a more complete picture of the respondents in terms of who they are, where they come from, and what they do. This, in turn, should help in discerning a more general view of the study and its results presented later on.

7.1.1. Socio-Biographical data

According to the data, almost 83 percent of the respondents in this study were male. Female students represented 17 percent of the total, while one respondent left the question unanswered. In relation to male/female distribution, there was no remarkable difference between Finland and Germany: Finland had 82 percent male and 18 percent female respondents, while the German data consisted of 84 percent male and 16 percent female respondents.

To the question of citizenship/place of birth, all 146 respondents answered Indian/India, and additionally, some gave more detailed descriptions; e.g. the city or the state they were from. But since the vast majority provided their nationality only, no breakdown by state or city of origin was possible.

Almost 99 percent of the respondents provided his/her year of birth. The average year of birth for the whole group was 1983. The oldest respondent was born 1966 and the youngest 1989. There was some divergence between respondents in Finland and Germany; on average the students in Finland were 2 years older\(^{13}\) than their counterparts in Germany\(^{14}\). The oldest respondent from Finland was born in 1966 and the youngest in 1987, whereas the equivalents for Germany were in 1971 and in 1989, respectively. Since all pursuers of university degrees - from bachelor to PhD level - were welcomed to participate in this study, such stark variations in age were not unexpected.

\(^{13}\) Average year of birth 1982, mode 1983

\(^{14}\) Average year of birth 1984, mode 1985
In total, respondents reported 15 different mother tongues, 6 classified themselves as bilinguals, and one respondent did not answer the question. In relation to native languages, no major differences between the students in Finland and Germany occurred. The largest language groups were the same, with some minor differences in numbers of speakers; in both country groups the three most common native languages were Hindi, Tamil and Telugu, with 51 percent of all respondents belonging to one of the three aforementioned groups. In addition to the three largest groups, both countries hosted a significant number of individuals from a variety of different smaller language groups (see Appendix D).

7.1.2. Language proficiency

In addition to mother tongue, I also asked the respondents to mention other languages they have fluency in. Around one third, or 29 percent, of respondents assessed that they have a good command of English, whereas some 67 percent assessed their English skills as excellent. In addition, 4 percent of respondents stated English as their mother tongue. The result is not particularly surprising if we consider the role of English as the contemporary lingua franca, or its particular role in Indian society.

On average, students knew four languages, and knowing five or more seemed not uncommon. Unfortunately, the task to sort all of the spoken languages and their knowledge according to level of proficiency proved to be a much too laborious task. Thus, I will only provide more detailed information of the languages most relevant to the students’ present surroundings: German for students in Germany and Finnish or Swedish in Finland, depending where the students’ institutions were located.

A bit over 50 percent of the students in Finland knew at least elementary Finnish and/or Swedish. The number of German speakers among the students in Germany was notably higher at around 87 percent. What was even more conspicuous though, was the difference in language proficiency. Almost 93 percent of the students who spoke Finnish and/or Swedish had mainly “basic” proficiency in them, and the remaining 7 percent had “intermediate” skills. Among the students in Germany there was a variety of different skill levels: 43 percent had “basic” skills, 28 percent “intermediate”, 23 percent “good”, and 6 percent claimed to have “excellent” proficiency in German.
Within the respondents studying in Finland, not a single one had received any language lessons of Finnish before moving to Finland, and as a few respondents pointed out: no tuition was ever available in India. Again, there was a rather stark difference to the situation among students in Germany, as around half of the students had received at least some kind of instruction in German language before moving to Germany, typically at one of the Goethe/Max Müller Institutes.

Exactly 44 percent of the Indian students in Germany were learning German at the time of answering this survey. Meanwhile, 35 percent of the students in Finland were learning Finnish or Swedish. These numbers include students from all proficiency levels, recent arrivals, and students who have already lived in Finland or Germany for a longer period. In other words, the data is too diverse to make any comparisons or conclusions about motivations to continue learning Finnish or German.

### 7.1.3. Previous and ongoing academic education

Most of the Indians surveyed in Finland and Germany had completed a minimum of a Bachelor’s degree prior to their arrival. In both countries, around 92 percent had completed their previous degrees in India, while only around 8 percent had completed them in another location; their current host country, the US, the UK or, in the case of Finland, another Nordic country.

Most of the students had acquired their previous qualifications in one of the many sub-disciplines of natural sciences, technology or engineering. In fact, over 80 percent of the respondents had their degrees from these academic fields.

In relation to levels of previous academic qualifications, some dissimilarities between students in Germany and Finland emerged. On average, respondents in Finland seemed to hold higher academic degrees: 55 percent of the students held Bachelor’s degrees, 42 percent held Master’s degrees and additionally 1 student classified his degree as a “post graduate degree”. Meanwhile, from their counterparts in German universities 67 percent held Bachelor’s, 28 percent held Master’s, 2 students had PhDs, and 7 of the students had other types of degrees such as a diploma from polytechnic or high school, and lastly 2 classified their qualifications as “post graduate”.
A bit over 75 percent of the respondents were currently in progress of attaining higher academic qualifications when completing the survey. Only around 5 percent were attaining a degree lower or of same academic level as their previous one; some for instance wanted to compliment a degree in engineering with a business degree. Nearly 20 percent of all respondents did not elucidate the level of their ongoing degree programme.

In both countries about 50 percent of the students replied that they were currently pursuing a Master’s degree, 30 percent in Finland were currently enrolled in PhD programmes, whereas in Germany around 19 percent were enrolled in PhD programmes. Bachelor degree pursuers were not common among the respondents.

When compared to official statistics in section 5.4, Indian degree students in Finland and Germany, students of engineering were slightly overrepresented in the German group. The Finnish group had, on the other hand, a more equal distribution among academic disciplines, in fact, too equal a distribution if compared to official statistics. What should also be noted is that since a good number of the students were enrolled in programmes more or less of an interdisciplinary nature, categorising them according to academic fields should be considered with certain reservations. Additionally, if some of the students had changed their academic orientation, they had mainly done so inside or between the fields of natural sciences and engineering. In any case, around 80 percent of the students were pursuing degrees in engineering, technology, or natural sciences. It should also be noted that the data for this study was collected in 2010 and the statistics for Finland and Germany are from 2009, but since this is not a quantitative study, all statistical comparisons should be considered indicative.

Approximately 80 percent of the students had started their studies between 2007-2010. This means that most of the students had been living in their new host countries for a maximum of three years, although some only a few months. Again, some dissimilarity occurred as Finland hosted more students who had began their studies earlier; 27 percent of respondents from Finland and 11 percent from Germany had begun studies before 2006.

In the Finnish group, 92 percent of students received instruction in English, whereas 72 percent of students in Germany reported English as the language of instruction.
Except for one student enrolled in an Erasmus Mundus Programme, none of the students in Finland paid any actual tuition fees, but since membership in a student union is compulsory for all, most should have paid at least the minimum membership fee of roughly 90-100€ per year.

One third of the students in Germany did not pay any tuition fees, some paid anything from 50-250€ per semester, and most paid a fee of 250-800€ per semester, while few respondents left the question unanswered.

The students had different ways of funding their studies, and in Figure 2 below I have divided respondents into different categories according to sources of income.

The first category *WORK* contains all respondents who financed their studies by working. Since the group was by no means a homogenous one, the category holds individuals in very different employment situations. Some were fully employed by private sector companies, some had research grants, some were working in research teams or as research assistants, and some had part-time student jobs.

The second category *FAMILY* consists of students who funded their studies purely with help from family. Additionally, a few of the respondents also received some financial assistance from their spouses who were already employed.

The third category *MULTIPLE* consist of students who had multiple sources of income. All kinds of sources and combinations of sources were common; some had a part time job and in addition to scholarship, some received financial support from their families and did internships, some had savings, plus a loan and additionally received assistance from their families. Some, for example, funded the first year with their own savings, received a grant for the second year, and now had a job as a research assistant.

The fourth category *GRANT* consists of students who were recipients of different kinds of scholarships. Again, the sources varied; some received grants from private trusts, some received governmental or EU scholarships, and some received assistance from the universities they were currently studying at. However, most did not specify their sponsors.
In the fifth category SELF students either did not specify how they funded their studies or merely informed they were self-funded, or had no other sources than their own savings or had taken student loans. In the last category, N/A students either did not answer at all or provided incoherent answers.

![Figure 2: Ways of funding studies (Finland and Germany)](image_url)

The sources of income between students in Finland and Germany varied to some extent. In Finland, the largest group was that of grant receivers, as 31 percent of the respondents answered that they fund their studies with a scholarship of some kind. For 25 percent of the respondents, working, either full- or part-time, especially at the university, was the prime source of income. Approximately 15 percent had multiple sources of income, 13 percent received assistance from their families, only 6 percent were digging into their savings and 10 percent did not reply the question.

The situation for students in Germany was somewhat different, as 25 percent of respondents seemed to create their income through multiple sources. Almost as numerous, 21 percent, were the students who received scholarships, whereas both categories WORK and SELF had 20 percent of students each. Only 7 percent of students were fully dependent on family assistance and 7 percent didn’t answer at all.

7.1.4. Details of migration

A large number of students had found information about their future studies through the Internet. A good few had also received information and encouragement from
friends or family members who had studied, or were currently studying either in Finland or Germany. Some of the students had also been convinced by their colleagues or professors in India to apply for programmes in Finnish or German universities.

Approximately one third of the students had made the decision to apply for their current programmes because of, at least to some extent, influence by their friends, family members, colleagues, or professors. Roughly the same number of students described that the Internet was their main source of information. A couple of the students also mentioned newspapers or scientific articles as their main motivators to apply.

Except for one notable difference, sources of information were similar among students in both countries. The difference was, that while 39 percent of the Indian students in Germany specifically mentioned DAAD as their main source of information, not a single Indian student in Finland could reference a similar source, for example CIMO\textsuperscript{15}. Some of the students had also received information from German consultants at educational expos held in India, while none of the Indians in Finland had such experiences to mention.

In both country groups the vast majority of students had immigrated in order to pursue academic degrees. This seems like a logical assumption to make when students’ arrival dates and the dates they began their studies, are compared: 82 percent of the students had arrived the same year they began their studies. Only 13 percent of the students had come before the year their studies began - mainly one or two years prior - typically for work-related reasons. Some 5 percent of students left the question unanswered.

The majority, 86 percent, of the students had moved to Finland or Germany alone, while only 8 percent had arrived with their families, 4 percent had arrived with friends, or colleagues, and 3 percent of the respondents did not answer the question. When asked if the students knew anyone from Finland or Germany beforehand, 61 percent answered that they had no prior contacts whatsoever, while 38 percent replied

\textsuperscript{15} Centre for International Mobility or CIMO is an independent agency under the Finnish Ministry of Education and Culture to promote international co-operation and mobility: \url{http://www.cimo.fi}.
that they knew people currently living in Finland or Germany or people who had previously lived in either one. These contacts consisted mainly of old schoolmates, friends or friends of friends, acquaintances, relatives, colleagues etc. and only very few of the students seemed to have very close personal ties to either one of the countries. Two respondents did not answer the question. More detailed descriptions of the educational data have been compiled and tabulated in Appendix E.
7.2. Studying in Finland and Germany

7.2.1. Reasons to apply to Finland and Germany

I asked the surveyed students to elaborate on why they had chosen Finland or Germany as a study destination, and in addition, whether these countries were in fact their number one choices. I received some very interesting answers, if not near in-depth analyses of the circumstances and decisions that led to migrating to Finland or Germany. For the most part, students in Finland and Germany gave somewhat similar answers, but some country-specific responses were evident as well. However, the most significant differences did not seem to have much to do with destination countries as such, and the variation on individual level was far more considerable. That in turn meant that I was unable to create any all-inclusive easy-to-read categorisations. In some sense, it could have also been possible to try and reduce the replies into a country-specific analysis of push and pull factors, but I feel this approach would have led into momentous simplification.

In most cases, it was not just one single decisive factor that gave the last push towards studies in Finland or Germany. On the contrary, it seemed to be a mixture of different factors that helped make the decision. Since I did not ask the respondents to give answers in order of importance, it was practically impossible to deduce which of the factors had carried the most weight on a priority scale. Some respondents named one or two reasons behind their decisions, whereas some shared very interesting and elaborate personal histories with often rather complex webs of coincidences and circumstances that lead to the decision, and as it seems, for some, it more or less “just happened”.

All aforementioned considered, I will first list and exemplify the most common types of reasons given for deciding to study in Finland and Germany. After this, I'll turn to some of the more country-specific answer categories.

The most common reasons to migrate and pursue studies in Finland and Germany were:

1. Overall quality of education and research
2. Free or almost free tuition
3. The best and/or most suitable programme available
4. Current institution reputed in own scientific field
5. Wanted to avoid traditional destinations of Indian students
6. Came with spouse

Even if the variety within the answers I examined was notable, some reasons were still more recurrent than others. Of these reasons two stood out above others: the quality and price of education were frequently mentioned as the main motivational push factors towards Finland or Germany, and more often than not, a combination of the two factors was mentioned, as the following excerpt exemplifies:

Because of free but very good and high technology education. Finland was my first choice. FININD5

A large proportion of respondents mentioned that the quality of education in a specific field was a factor when deciding on the country. Both Finland and Germany seemed to be reputable mainly in the field of engineering. Finland was mainly noted as famous for ICT, whereas Germany was reputed in more than one sub-discipline of engineering. This seems only natural since the majority of the study’s participants were students of engineering.

In Finland and Germany, tuition fees for university are either completely absent or near absent. However, in Germany, there are substantial differences between regions and institutions. In any case, one might need to muster up only a fraction of the financial resources needed to complete a degree in most of the English-speaking countries. GERIND41 provides an example of the cost comparison to English-speaking countries:

Germany being good in automobile and aerospace fields was my first choice and also the cost of education is very less as compared to US or UK or Australia. GERIND41

Some of the other important factors tipping the scale towards Finland or Germany have actually very little to do with Finland and Germany being the particular countries they are, or their country images for that matter. What seemed to be at least equally important as expectations of price and quality was the name of the institution.

---

16 In this study only women stated this as a reason
Being a household name in a specific field of science seemed to be a decisive factor, as the answer below shows:

Because the University of [X] has strong research groups in my areas of interest, and German universities are well known for their high standards in Physics. GERIND31

In addition to having a good reputation, the suitability of a degree or research programme was important, even if the best-suited programme happened to be available outside the English-speaking sphere. One could easily come to the conclusion, then, that decisions regarding which country to study in are made in a void of sort, and purely unrelated to specific nation states or cultural preferences. Inside the sphere of the so-called “Western world”, this is probably true as: “the quality and suitability of the programme, not the country matters”, was a sentiment expressed by many of the respondents, and is especially clear in the excerpt below. This notion will be elaborated more in section 7.2.2. Finland and Germany, first choice destinations?

[University X] is considered to be one of the best in signal processing. I applied for 8 universities across EU and I choose [university X] based on its reputation and not based on country. Its like iam going to move to a new and unknown place and so i thought its dosen't matter were i move - because any new EU country will be equally new. FININD14

Not all respondents had purely academic intentions when they ended up studying in Finland or Germany. Some of the female participants in this study had initially followed their spouses, but had subsequently found suitable degree programmes for themselves. This category was not significant in numbers of given responses, but the reason to move was definitely distinct from all other answers. One of the study’s female respondents provides an example of this scenario:

Since my husband is working here, i decided to do my higher studies here.

GERIND56

Another, rather surprising, reason to pursue higher studies in Finland or Germany was to get away from other Indians or to avoid the US in particular. It seems, however, that avoiding studying in the US or the other traditional countries of immigration was more a question of getting a different kind of experience, and in most cases, not really about having any particular antipathy against a single country. Even though the group looking for opportunities outside the traditional countries of immigration was numerically marginal, it was distinct and unusual enough to be categorised as its own.
GERIND58 and GERIND15 for instance laid much emphasis on the fact that compared to most Indians they had chosen an alternative path:

[…] as a lot of Indian population goes to USA for higher studies, I would not have the opportunity to interact with many different people. I like meeting different people and learn new languages, and therefore Europe was my motivation […] GERIND58

[…] At some point of time, I felt that it is not good idea to do what everyone is doing. 95% students from India opt USA, UK, Canada or AUS as higher study destination. […] GERIND15

GERIND37 and FININD11 were among the few students who had already experienced the lifestyle and working culture in the US through previous studies or work and had, therefore, decided to “broaden horizons” or search for a different lifestyle by moving to a European country:

I did not want to go to the United States as wouldn’t did not like the place. I did not go to UK as Masters Education was only one year. […] GERIND37

[…] I zeroed upon Finland because of following factors: - My personal motivation to move to Europe, as I’ve already been to USA during employment time. […] FININD11

The following reasons to start studies in Finland or Germany were mainly characteristic for answers in only one of the countries:

Finland

1. A Friend/Family member/Colleague/Professor recommended going to Finland

2. Originally came for work/research project, then continued higher studies

Germany

1. Wanted to learn German language, had already learned it, or studied it as a major

It seems that the so-called “jungle drum” played a much bigger role in attracting students and scientists to Finland than it did in the case of Germany. A rather large proportion of the Indians in Finland wrote that a friend, family member, colleague, or a professor had an influence of some kind in their decision to move. By contrast, none of the Indians in Germany mentioned such a factor having influenced their decisions.
My guide in IISc [X], India was a visiting professor in [university X]. He recommended me to apply here. FININD28

In addition to this, yet another feature seemed to be a lot more characteristic to students in Finland. In the Finnish group, 8 respondents had first come for work and had then decided to continue their studies; perhaps as the Finnish university system offers a flexible frame to fit in both work and studies. This was also the case with FININD1:

I was already working here for several years so decided to pursue master degree here. As in the univ. classroom attendance is not compulsory so it was easier to work and study at the same time. And education is almost free so it wouldn’t harm to take admission and study. […] FININD1

The German language itself seemed to be one of the factors attracting a lot of students to Germany, whereas learning Finnish perhaps not too surprisingly, was not in such high favour. Being skilful in German language might open up significant possibilities on a much larger employment market. Furthermore, some of the Indian students, like GERIND15, were actually students of German philology:

[…] I was learning German language and it gave me inspiration to explore opportunities in Germany. GERIND15

7.2.2. Finland and Germany, first choice destinations?

I asked the surveyed students to state if Finland or Germany were in fact destinations they initially wanted to study in. I divided the answers into four categories: Y1, Y2, N, and N/A. Where Y1 stands for: Yes, Finland or Germany was my first choice. Y2 means: Yes, it was one of the countries I applied to and wanted to study in, or specific country played no role in the decision. N means: No, it was not my first option. In the N/A category, respondents left the question unanswered.

As Figures 3 and 4 below show, the number one goal was often not Finland or Germany. In the N category, the most popular were the English-speaking countries, especially the US with 19 mentions. This is not exactly a novel phenomenon, and as presented in chapter 5.2 Indian professionals and students abroad, the US has been drawing the majority of Indian students for decades. In this study, after the US, the second most popular destination was the UK with 9 mentions. Other often mentioned
destinations, were mainly either other English-speaking countries\textsuperscript{17} or other EU-countries. Only one or two of the students mentioned a desired destination outside the Western sphere - in all cases this “other location” was India.

![Figure 3: Attractiveness of Finland as a destination](image)

The most popular Y2 destinations were, in the case of Finland, either other EU-countries, or more specifically other Nordic countries. Characteristic for the Y2 respondents in Finland was that most of them, while applying to Finland, had also applied to at least two other Nordic countries. Moreover, some of the students actually stated that they wanted to study in one of the Nordic countries, and which one specifically, was not that important. This is illustrated in the answer from FININD53:

[...] I was interested to the Scandinavian culture, so that also influence me to come to Finland. Though, I also was trying to get in Sweden and Norway. [...] FININD53

What comes to Y2 respondents in Germany, all of the 9 respondents that gave an Y2 answer, stated that country itself made no real difference in their decision to move. In GERIND64’s case coming to Germany basically just happened:

[...] Germany just happened to be one of the countries where wouldn’t obtained an offer to study . I wouldn’t have minded any other country Provided my expectations are met . GERIND64

\textsuperscript{17} Australia, New Zealand and Canada
As can be noted from the figures above, the difference in being the number one destination was rather notable between the two countries. Germany seemed to be far more often the students’ primary destination. In the German group, 37 percent of students replied that Germany was their number one destination, whereas only 21 percent of students in the Finnish country group regarded Finland as their principal destination.

In the other $N$ and $N/A$ categories, differences were rather insignificant. However, in total, the number of students who did not answer at all is of some significance, as 33 from the total of 146 respondents chose not to answer this question. This represents almost 23 percent of all respondents. It is also noteworthy that around 33 percent of the students had placed neither one of the countries as the most desirable destination. Again, the quality/price ratio seemed to make the difference and tip the scale towards Finland or Germany; many of the students wrote that they had abandoned their initial plans to go to the US or UK due to more affordable tuition fees in Finland or Germany.

7.2.3. Expectations for the studies

The question of initial expectations for studies in Finland or Germany and whether these expectations had been met, stimulated some of the most interesting and
multifaceted replies in the study. Some degree or research programmes fell terribly short of expectations, some were part success/part disaster, and some exceeded all expectations and were praised to the skies.

I will first begin by describing the most common expectations, along with some examples from both countries and then, in section 7.2.4. Meeting expectations in Finland and Germany, elaborate further on some of the country-specific differences I found.

The expectations were, in most cases, not incredibly detailed. Rather, students tended to refer to non-tangible abstractions such as “high quality”, or, as some expressed, a “higher” quality than available in India. The most common types of expectations I have summed up below:

1. High quality in research and education
2. High quality of infrastructure, facilities and technology
3. To be able to improve skills and knowledge
4. Practical work and application (connection of academia and industry)

The first category comprises all expectations placed on the quality of the degree in terms of tuition, assistance, classroom work, and expertise of the professors and other members of the staff. Expectations in the second category emphasised the physical settings of a programme: the basic infrastructure, facilities, and technological solutions available for students. In the third category, expectations were mainly placed on possibilities of personal and professional growth. The fourth type emphasised practicality and connections to non-academic working life or “industry”.

Some respondents emphasised only one of the facets of “quality”, while some had more wide-ranging expectations. For example, some mentioned they had high hopes for a particular professor’s expertise of the field, whereas others expected excellence across the board. The following answer is, in a sense, an ideal one as it more or less summarises most of the types of expectations I came across in this study:

I expected good quality of education (which offers latest knowledge of the field, basic concepts, future trends, basic knowledge of various related branches) and availability of infrastructure necessary for studying (for example books, access to journal papers, e-books). I expected the study
environment to offer growth to my capabilities, knowledge and improve my personality through working in international environment. […] FININD31

Since the quote above lacks the fourth type I listed, in the following citation a connection to practical application is clearer. Additionally, it serves as a good example of a clearly defined expectation, where the whole purpose of a degree programme serves a distinct professional goal, and omits such abstractions as “high quality” or “increase of knowledge”.

My degree should prepare for a career in the German industry and my knowledge level should match the industry expectation. […] GERIND67

This is not to claim certain goals or expectations are better than others, rather, the citations above exemplify some of the radical differences in students’ expectations for academic programmes; some accounts were quite detailed, often technical descriptions of what a good degree programme should offer, while others for instance expected an overall good learning atmosphere. However, as the following section will explicate, often even if the expectations were of generic nature, the shortcomings and failings could be more than well pinpointed.

7.2.4. Meeting expectations in Finland and Germany

Below, in Figures 5 and 6, I have categorised the students according to how they felt their current degree programmes have met their initial expectations. YES signifies overall contentment, PARTLY denotes partial satisfaction, NO represents dissatisfaction and N/A means question left unanswered.

Since met expectations quite understandably seemed to provoke no more than the affirmative comment, “yes, they were met”, it seems only natural I focus on expectations only partially met, or not met at all.

However, since a large proportion of the respondents were actually quite content with their studies, I feel some of the more positive accounts where expectations were met or even exceeded are also in order:

I was expecting to improve my skills and knowledge in my field of interest, but today i see that i gained more than what i want or aiming before coming to Finland. I gain lots of valuable research knowledge, novelty in my field of research, industrial experience (R & D) much more during last 5 years of my stay in Finland. I wouldn't have learnt these many things in short span of time i.e. 5 yrs in India due to resources, competitiveness, educational cost etc. FININD5
I want be technically sound, and the exposure and kind of teaching and facilities I get here, are very good. The kind of opportunities we have only encourage us to work better. GERIND58

As is evident from the figures above, partial dissatisfaction/satisfaction was a lot more common among the students in Finland than among their German counterparts. In around half of the cases of partial dissatisfaction/satisfaction, students explained the infrastructure was exactly according to their expectations if not better, but the standards of tuition left a lot to be desired. A quote from FININD9 summarises the situation:
I wanted a strong emphasis on teaching methodology; sadly, I cannot say that it has been met. However, the facility and independence offered by the programme has more than offset that inadequacy. FININD9

Some of the students were also surprised to find that not as many courses they had originally expected were offered in English. Language in general, proved to be a source of some discontentment. However, some blame can also be put on the different presumptions of rules of social interaction:

Technically yes [has met expectations]. But I wanna learn Finnish and European culture by getting close to people. But its tough to get close to Finns because of various reasons like language etc FININD29

The number of students, who felt their expectations had not been met at all, was relatively small. In total, about 8 percent of the respondents were discontent with their studies. That translates to only 6 students per country. Even if the number seems low, the actual causes of dissatisfaction were quite severe. Students had observed the following black spots in their programmes: zero classroom discussion, no peer support, no support from the staff, weak investment of time and effort in teaching or tuition, nepotism or self-seeking, language difficulties, or the programme did not exist anymore.

This following example paints a very bleak picture of the prevailing practice in one of the departments of a certain technical university:

[…] Good profs are always busy making money for them and for their research group. Research Group pile up same country people as of prof and gather their friends and family - giving no interest on real teaching. Most class are taken my some assistants / not so good teachers with poor communication skills. courses are not challenging enough. I did my master with very less effort and was very easy to get a average grade. FININD14

Except for the poor level, or downright lack of personal tuition - observed mainly in some of the Finnish universities - no universal causes of discontent could be found and neatly categorised. In fact, the problems pertaining to partial and total dissatisfaction were more institute-specific than country-specific.

The line between independence and individualism seemed like an especially fine one as what for some might stand for trust and independence, could from another perspective translate as disinterest or lack of support. The same seems to be true with flexibility of studies; some saw flexibility as a positive feature, whereas others would
have appreciated a clearer or stricter structure for the programme. The following quote illustrates this duality:

[...] Individual work level is good here but lack of motivation and proper guidance from the professors. Finnish people won't mingle with others that easily (this is important for more communication) but people are good. One has to be highly self motivated to survive here especially in Finnish research field. FININD60

Since many students expected substantially higher standards of education from their new host countries than were available in India, some disillusionment with current academic programmes was par for the course:

I expected education in Germany better than India but I am disappointed. GERIND72

7.2.5. Anticipated benefits for obtaining a Finnish or German degree

I asked students they thought the degree they were about to obtain would help them in achieving their future goals. The benefits students anticipated reaping from their degrees ranged from “none” to “the sky’s the limit”. Whether expectations placed on programmes had been met or not, had actually surprisingly little to do with expected benefits: 10 of the 12 students who felt their expectations had not been met at all still saw some benefits coming their way. This seemed to be due to the fact that even if the programme itself had not been exactly knowledge broadening, experiences gathered outside academia had been valuable enough. Or alternatively, obtaining an international degree was still worthwhile as it nonetheless opened up more job opportunities on a global scale.

Despite the variety of answers, all of them represented at least one of the three themes of “capital-related benefits” I have compiled below. Again, among the answers were a large variety of different perspectives, and different aspects were emphasised: there are benefits available to those who hold an international degree-certificate, personal or professional growth benefits, as well as accrued cultural knowledge, or social connections formed. Equally common amongst responses were overlapping accounts that highlighted more than one type of a benefit.

I would like to point out that since the question was phrased in a fashion that was possible to understand in more than one way, some undoubtedly answered the question keeping in mind only the benefits of an actual degree certificate, while others
have understood the question as having to do more with the whole experience of living and studying abroad. Keeping this in mind, the purpose of this section is not to categorise people, but dimensions of degree-related benefits. The following categories were created according to what I have presented in chapter 3. *Forms of capital and international migration*. Under the categories below, I have classified answer-types, and combinations of sort, in an attempt to represent all the replies given.

1. Professional and personal growth benefits:

   Deeper knowledge and understanding of own discipline, broader academic knowledge, work experience, independence, experience/knowledge of high standards, new perspectives, increase in cultural knowledge, understanding of European/Western mindset, experience of different work/study environment

2. Networking benefits:

   New personal and professional connections

3. Credentialist benefits:

   Internationally recognised degree certificate: a climb to another pay class, a stamp on CV, a stepping-stone

The first category, *professional and personal growth benefits*, means that an emphasis, when degree-related benefits were described, was placed on experience and knowledge accruable from the learning process rather than obtainment of the degree certificate. In other words, not the diploma itself, but the experience gained while attaining it was of importance. The professional and personal growth category should be understood in its broadest possible sense, as encompassing all increase in personal and professional growth. Thus, forming a combination of the human capital theory and the concept of cultural capital in its embodied state.

One of the most recurrent and strongly emphasised benefits for obtaining a degree from Finland or Germany was that Finnish and German universities place substantial emphasis on research work, thus especially the quality they are able to provide in terms of academic research was lauded. This is how one of the respondents in Germany commented the research-oriented way of doing things:

[... ] I definitely enjoy a better quality of research-oriented education, as here at the University, the course structure is designed to make good researchers out of the students in near future. GERIND28
It was not only high standards in research that earned praise, independence and freedom were also often mentioned as important qualities of academic culture in Finnish and German institutes. As FININD9 explains:

There is a degree of freedom given here, something which I have not experienced anywhere else. This and the rich pool of resources at hand has prepared me for independent work. FININD9

Somewhat expectedly, deepening one's knowledge was often mentioned as the most anticipated benefit of a Finnish or a German degree. Often the level of knowledge accruable in Finland or Germany was compared to an equivalent programme somewhere else. GERIND58 compares his experiences from India and the US to his ongoing studies in Germany:

Studying in Germany is totally different than in India or in USA. The approach is more keen and strict. You have to have a sound knowledge of things to get through the exams. So studying in Germany gives me knowledge more profound than I could expect from anywhere else. GERIND58

The idea that certain experiences are available to those alone who travel abroad was pervasive. Different manifestations were in abundance. Increasing one’s cultural knowledge might prove beneficial from a variety of reasons; for example, it could enhance a person’s ability to work in a more multicultural surrounding, or prepare for future work “stints” abroad as part of an international research team or at the service of one of the ever-expanding MNCs18.

The following quote exemplifies some of the things a new alien surrounding brings along with it. A learning process could prove to be more beneficial and diverse, and if experienced in a foreign culture, perhaps more “multilateral” as well.

Different work cultures are very useful for all of us. Diversity is important for new ideas. Each culture has some positives and some negatives, so both have the scope to improve. If you take the example of USA, achievements are outcome of whole world's share, not only original American people. FININD53

Increasing one’s cultural knowledge could also be seen beneficial as such, especially to those who were not expecting any “hard” benefits to actualise. Even though it is unclear from the quotation below whether the master’s programmes were of no

18 Multinational corporations
benefit for a career in Finland, globally, or generally in sense of deepening knowledge.

I consider the 'soft' benefits of having a degree here higher than that of the 'hard' one. I got exposed to Finland and the West in general (presence of exchange students). In a way, it was my period of internationalisation. As far as hard benefits go, I do not think I have not benefited much, despite almost having two master's programs and a three-year work stint here […] FININD45

One might also argue, especially from a Bourdiean perspective, that this “internationalisation” is merely a process to acquire a certain western outlook. In other words, to create the right kind of cultural capital to become a more appealing candidate in the eyes of MNC recruiters.

In the second category, Networking benefits, an emphasis was placed on the importance of creating new networks while staying abroad. Again, this could be seen from two perspectives: firstly, one emphasising professional connections of the international kind and secondly, from a perspective that emphasises creation of new border-crossing friendships. However, networking, at its best, can surely be both. A connection to social capital theory is obvious, as the potential for establishing local or border-crossing ties could prove beneficial in many ways. The quotes below exemplify a more clear cut division to professional and personal benefits:

During Master's and Phd in chemical process engg degrees in Finland, i have gained the following valuable things during my work [in company X] and study (in city X and city X): […] Research networking Collaboration with research community Project leadership qualities […] FININD5

[…] Apart from my studies, I came to learn a lot about living in a foreign country (which has a completely different culture from my home country), got to make some good friends from different nationalities, etc. […] GERIND55

Lastly, I will present some of the most common examples of what I have here decided to call credentialist benefits. In addition to obvious links to credentialism, the examples relate closely to Bourdieu’s concept of cultural capital in its institutionalised state. The following two answers are good examples of how not only high academic standards of certain programmes, but also the image of the host country, can raise the value of a degree:
Finland is known well for its high quality of education and I hope having good degree from reputed Finnish University will be good enough for getting a good job. FININD41

In my case, I am going to be a Scientist and Science was born in Germany. Biggest of the inventions we know till date are done by German Scientists. So I feel it has an excellent value in the outside world. GERIND33

The key words here are internationality and recognisability. A combination of the two seems to create a good stepping-stone for a variety of future employment scenarios. An international degree seemed to often translate as “not Indian”, but as I will later exemplify, having some international experience and a degree to prove it might be advantageous in more ways than one. The answer below provides a rather clear example of credentialist emphasis:

I believe not only am I receiving a much better education in my field here, but my degree will also hold a much higher value than one I might have got from my university in India. It should be easier for me to apply to other reputable universities after completing my studies here. GERIND7

Then there were those, even if very few, who did not show such adamant trust towards the recognisability of their “international degrees”. On the contrary, some felt the qualifications they were going to obtain had mainly country-specific relevance:

Degree from finland is helping me as iam inside finland. Finnish employers think its great to have a Masters from [University X]. Is the university giving a good competence to students to work in real world? i doubt that. [...] FININD14

As for some of the clearest examples of credentialist perspectives, some respondents went as far as to state that receiving a degree was comparable to that of getting a stamp - a metaphor used by more than one respondent - to prove your eligibility for higher salary or position:

It will be great stamp for my future career, particularly the DAAD fellowship. GERIND74

Its like getting a stamp of Masters on your CV, so it might help to fulfill certain criteria in terms of minimum salary for masters degree holder in Europe. FININD1

The examples above, could be approached from at least two angles: firstly, an institution has reached high standards to an extent where its reputation is far-flung enough to serve as a guarantee of quality, a stamp if you will, for anyone graduating from one of its programmes. Secondly, and this I observed as well, the quality of the programme itself is conceived adequate at best, but a general presumption of high
quality by others is enough to validate a degree with the so-called “stamp of quality”. In other words, an institute enables no real increase in knowledge per se, but nevertheless awards well-recognised degrees. The idea that higher education always deepens knowledge is, then, perhaps not as axiomatic as could be assumed.

As with most of the answers given in this questionnaire, here too, India provided the backdrop for comparisons. When it comes to India, what the stay abroad had made respondents realise, varied. Some had grown quite critical towards some of the prevailing practices of the Indian system of higher education, but often the stay abroad had also initiated considerations of how to apply accrued knowledge back home. In the following quote, a PhD student explains how his degree will affect his work back in India:

“This will enhance my knowledge on the subject immensely. Unlike in many other institutions, PhD is writing a thesis and do the defence. But here the theoretical skills which I learn will be useful for my work. Since I am working in the academic field in my country, I can teach students with ease from my skills attained from here.”

FININD40

Students frequently divided their answers into so-called “soft” and “hard” benefits, and what seems to make an international degree so desirable, is exactly this combination of soft and hard benefits. As the following two quotes illustrate, while deepening one’s knowledge, enhancing a resume, or “getting ahead” in working life, it is also possible to create new networks of friends, learn and use new languages, broaden one’s cultural horizons, or even get in touch with self:

“If I continue in my field of research, the reputation of my lab combined with my academic portfolio (publications, collaborations, talks etc.), and professional connections I have made in [X] will influence my career opportunities in academia. If I decide to move outside of academia or start my own venture, cultural immersion in Finnish society, and a better understanding of the European mindset would be useful in a very general way.”

FININD20

Well, apart from degree, I grew up as an individual living in a different society and surviving everyday challenges. I got plenty of time to think and lots of peace.

FININD43

The position I’m inclined to take here is that, even if the hard benefits might be equally attainable in India, it is the soft benefits that make the difference. A foreign degree certificate stands not only as a proof of completing academic minimum requirements, but as evidence that the degree holder in question is capable of more
than just coping in the globalising world, and has actual potential to mix in and excel in it. Thanks to studies in Germany, one student saw his opportunities of working for German companies improving:

I can work for a German company in India, as I know their culture, their language. I can easily get fit in to the Company. GERIND40

In theory, an engineer’s job description could be exactly the same in Europe, the US, India, or China for that matter, but it is the surrounding working culture and everyday life that begins to transform dramatically when one starts to cross national and cultural borders. If we consider the impending working lives of the modern-day highly educated, the growing role of multinational corporations as employers, a continual internationalisation of academia, not to mention everyday life, are setting very demanding minimum requirements for students in terms of experience and education.

If indeed the purpose of having a degree is to prove that we are skilled in a particular area of studies, then the purpose of an international degree would be of a proof that these skills could be applied no matter the everyday surrounding.
7.3. After the degree: students’ future prospects

When discussing future prospects, there are a lot of “if’s” and “but’s” involved. Therefore, results presented in this section are by no means to be taken as tenable predictions of future migration scenarios. Foretelling one’s own future is no easy task, and relates to countless factors out of reach for a study like this; previous personal experiences, progress of one’s studies, current and future employment opportunities, family and relationships, and external factors such as global recessions or an expiring residence permits. The difference in respondents’ age and experience is of some significance as well. At the bachelor level one’s future might seem a whole lot more uncertain compared to someone already involved in post-doctoral research. Exceptions, of course, are never impossible.

I asked the students to try and predict their futures in terms of employment and place of residence. Additionally, I wanted to know the arguments against and for staying, moving to another location, or returning to India. I had formulated a total of four questions related to the subject, all of which could be summarized as follows: Where do you see yourself after completing this degree? Why?

Four future-related questions could undoubtedly seem hyperbole, and this indeed was the sentiment expressed by some respondents. I, on the other hand, did not so much want to pressure my respondents into sessions of figurative “palm reading”, but to more or less see which employment sectors were the most popular ones. But more importantly, where would these potential employees be located geographically speaking. This, again, relates to what I presented in chapter 4.1 Brain drain, gain, or circulation?

A large proportion of the respondents did not elaborate their occupational objectives in terms of specific fields or desired work places. Nonetheless, I have started with the premise that most would look for employment in fields related to their studies. As was to be assumed from questions of such conjectural nature, most replies did not include a definite requirement for a specific position or unconditional limitations for its geographical location. From the more elaborate replies I received, the only generalisation I dare to make is that a large proportion of respondents seemed to orientate towards further studies or a career in research, either in academia or
industrial R&D. Later I will also briefly discuss the students’ favourite destinations in terms of future employment or studies.

7.3.1 Reasons to stay, move on, or return

I asked the students if, after finishing their studies, they were planning to stay in their new host countries, move on to another location, or planning a return to India? The question itself is dividable into two parts: firstly, “Your plans of future migration?” and secondly “Your reasons to do so?” I wanted to see which countries were the most preferred destinations after being finished with studies in Finland or Germany. The second part of the question, however, I find to be of more importance. What kind of factors would influence a student’s decision to stay or to go?

As already noted, trying to predict whether someone might leave or stay involves a lot of “if’s” and “but’s”. All variables considered, a categorisation whereby students would be categorised by intentions to migrate or to stay proved impossible to create. Most answers represented the following basic idea: I would move/stay/return if A or/and B actualises. In addition to this, the answers I received were not of uniform quality; some produced impressive reflections of factors and conditions influencing their decisions, whereas others settled for a simple “yes” or “no”. Therefore, instead of categorising respondents I have, once again, categorised their answers instead. This approach, I believe, is justified in a study that relies heavily on the qualitative approach.

I also decided to turn my attention towards the respondents who for a reason or another saw staying, going, or returning infeasible. Their numbers in this study were not striking in any way, but I felt that reasons behind such total decisions deserved some attention as well. Still, the extreme ends of the “stay, go or return -continuum” were by no means as popular as the gray zone in between. In other words, most respondents were ready to consider their options according to how new opportunities presented themselves.

7.3.2. Reasons to stay

I will first begin by discussing the reasons given by respondents who saw staying in Finland or Germany a feasible option. What is noteworthy, however, is that a willingness to stay does not automatically translate as wanting to stay forever. On the
contrary, in the context of this study it meant that most respondents were indeed eager to return to India, but the question was more about when and under what conditions this could come about. It seems that the willingness to stay in Finland or Germany meant, then, that before eventually returning to India, exploring other locations than the current host country was not a high priority. This I will discuss in more detail in 7.3.5 Most common scenarios.

The reasons to stay could be roughly divided into two categories: Work/study related reasons and Quality of life related reasons

Some of the most recurrent reasons for staying in the first category were: good employment opportunities, good working environment/atmosphere, creative ethos, opportunities for quality research, good working culture, latest technology and good resources available at work, job security, and quality of education. The following two excerpts are typical examples of work/study related reasons to stay:

Cool and nice working environment, work flexibility, peaceful place to live and work […] FININD5

The high quality of research work, supportive working environment, recognition of work, international team of experts […] GERIND6

In the second category, some of the most common reasons given were as follows: culture, clean environment, safety, friendly people, individualism, reliable governing and justice system, good infrastructure, low crime, no pollution, social security, and work/personal life balance. Quality of life is not easy to encapsulate and, thus, as the quotes below show, it is something that relates to one’s personal life and relationships as much as to the surrounding society:

Its a nice place to live in, equal opportunities and welcoming atmosphere. It gives that sense of security which other destinations abroad might not be able to offer. My girlfriend is also from Finland, and I intend to stay with her. FININD5

ethics, importance given to environment/garbage segregation/organic food etc., culture, low crime rate, location in Europe, welcoming attitude towards immigrants GERIND71

However, the strongest motive to stay could be placed in neither one of the categories above. For some reason, perhaps related to differences in age and time of stay between average respondents in Finland and Germany, a relationship with a local was presented as a reason to stay by a few of the respondents in Finland, but by none in
Germany. Respondents motivated by a relationship felt most strongly about staying put, and a glimpse of that can be seen in the answer given by FININD57 above, even though the relation was even clearer in answers dealing with moving to another country or returning to India.

7.3.3. Migration to another country?

After presenting some of the reasons to stay, it is only logical to turn to some of the most important reasons why, by some, a longer stay in Finland or Germany was seen unthinkable. Or alternatively, some other location was seen more preferable. It was not a simple task to assess how many of the respondents could not see themselves staying at all, since many of the answers given were somewhat ambiguous. This, of course, is only natural when discussing purely hypothetical migration scenarios. Again, I have categorised the answers in order to piece together a more digestible general view of the variety of reasons for not staying or preferring another location.

When it comes to organising desired destinations according to popularity, I must admit that due to the phrasing of the question and divergence of style and breadth of the answers, I did not even begin to try creating a sound order by popularity. The major trends, however, were quite obvious. Popular destinations were much alike to the ones presented in chapter 7.2.2. Finland and Germany, first choice destinations?

Excluding India, as it was covered in a later question, most respondents who were interested in migrating elsewhere had set the “English-speaking world” as their main goal. North America, Australia and New Zealand, as well as the European English-speaking sphere were seen as attractive options; the US again being the most desired destination. To some, exploring other non-English speaking European countries seemed to be a viable option as well. Additionally, a significant share of the respondents presented strong cosmopolitan views as they deliberated the possibility of migration; to some, migration depended purely upon the employment opportunities on offer. The destination itself, under certain conditions, was seen somewhat trivial. In other words, the sphere of “developed Western countries” dominated respondents’ lists of desired destinations. Overall, roughly 60 percent of the respondents could consider, or were already considering, moving to another country after finishing their on-going studies.
To begin with, it must be said that, in general, the grounds respondents gave for thinking about leaving were much more detailed than the reasons given for wanting to stay. The following categories encapsulate most of the reasons stated for not wanting to stay, or preferring another country instead: Foreigner premium, Weather and language, International experience, and Social environment.

In the first category, respondents felt that if they stayed, they would have to pay too big a price, both in economical and social terms, for their dissimilarity; for instance when competing for jobs or when trying to take part in the surrounding society. In this sense, some other countries were seen better oriented towards newcomers. The answers below reflect the feelings of exclusion from respondents in both Finland and Germany:

Here opportunities are less for Non Finnish people, so maybe Finland may miss out utilizing full potential of Indian Students, unlike USA, AU and UK. FININD11

[...] I cannot personally cannot live here my life long as the publice life in germany is difficult for many foreigners. The germans are freindy but the insecure feeling in them while socializing with you makes you uncomfortable and the home feeling is also not there. You are anytime a foreigner , doesnt matter how long you are here. [...] GERIND 27

In the second category, an unpleasant climate was stated as one of the reasons for not wanting to stay in Finland or Germany. From a Finnish or German perspective this might seem peculiar since the climate in Finland tends to be substantially colder and the availability of sunlight more limited as well compared to Germany. In addition to poor weather, for many respondents, language proved to be a significant source of concern. In fact, language was one of the most common reasons for wanting to move to another country. This is only natural, as language plays an important role when trying to settle into a society. The inclusion/exclusion dimensions of knowing or not knowing the local language is emphasised clearly in the answer given by GERIND35 below:

I would like to work in countries where English language is used as the main language or the official language. I guess a warmer climate would be more favoured. FININD38

May be, after few years of work in Germany, I will relocate to some English speaking country like UK or USA. The major reason for that is, my family may find it difficult to overcome the language barrier and since there are not many indians in Germany they may find it tough to socialize. GERIND35
As the answers from FININD1 and GERIND66 below clearly indicate, not all students were even looking for a chance to “integrate”. The fact is that many of the students were going through a “period of internationalisation”, as it was put by one of the respondents. Therefore, it should be only natural to explore all available opportunities for internationalisation and not plan a career based purely on the opportunities offered by one’s current host country.

[...] Finland is more or less just a stopover or transit or timepass location to gain some experience. [...] FININD1

Yes I am open to migrating to other countries for work or further studies plainly because I would love to explore different lands and different cultures. Anywhere in US or Europe. GERIND66

The fourth category is a multifaceted one and some of its dimensions have already been presented in the previous three. The “foreigner premium”, lack of language skills both among the students themselves and the locals, or the lack of a cosmopolitan atmosphere were often cited as preventing a “homey feeling” to develop. Also, the absence of a local Indian community might contribute to feelings of exclusion. Therefore, some of the countries with larger old-established immigrant populations were preferred to Finland especially, but the problem of a “wrong type of culture” was linked to Germany as well, as the excerpts below suggest:

[...] There isn't a lot of cultural exposure in Finland. [...] Even though you get adjusted to the cold and learn the language, you live a kind of restricted lifestyle. There is little social interaction. Sometimes, attitude towards non-europeans can make one upset. I do like the educational environment here but it needs to open up little bit to allow and integrate more foreigners into the system. [...] FININD56

[...] The culture of a country is another huge factor. Germany, for instance, is lower down on my list, since I perceive the culture to be so starkly different from my own and can't imagine adapting to it. GERIND7

In addition to the categories mentioned above, some reasons that would influence people to stay, also applied when planning a move to another location; a better job offer or expectations of better quality of life somewhere else would influence a decision to migrate. Better employment opportunities for foreigners in the English-speaking countries were often mentioned as a motive to migrate. What is noteworthy, however, is the fact that very few actually mentioned the potential of a greater income as a reason to look for opportunities elsewhere. Even though “low income and high taxes” was also mentioned by a few as a good reason to move somewhere else,
reasons such as “more opportunities for foreigners”, “better climate”, “proximity of kin”, and “familiar language and culture” seemed to weigh much heavier on the scale.

Yet, all aforementioned considered, around 25 percent of all respondents were not considering moving from their current host countries, except eventually back to India. Some 16 percent of the respondents could not provide an answer to the question of possible future migration.

7.3.4. Plans to return

Only 4 percent of respondents could not see themselves returning to India at all. Obviously then, most of the students do seem to be willing to return and are especially ready to do so if the conditions are right. From the students who were not particularly eager to return, most had relationship related motives; they had become involved with a local girlfriend or/and had an otherwise established situation in the new host country. FININD14 was one of the few who were very articulate about not returning to India:

i have not planned to return to india. I would if lose my work, my home and my love here - that wont happen very easily as i will fight to regain the life essentials. FININD14

But as previously stated, most respondents were indeed quite sure of their eventual return to India. The motives for doing so, perhaps not all too surprisingly, were mostly family and work related. Or, as was the undertone in some of the replies - does one really have to explain the reasons for returning home? Considering this, I thought it unnecessary to create any categories representing reasons for return.

When discussing a possible return home, respondents provided a lot less “I will return if I get A or B” type answers. An eventual return to India was taken as a, more or less, matter of course by about 54 percent of the respondents. Again, some answers were more elaborate than others but in general, detailed reasoning was, compared to the replies concerning leaving or staying in Finland or Germany, more often omitted:

Yes. I am going to leave immediately after the completion of thesis, unless of course the volcanic eruption comes in between. GERIND1

Sure, sooner or later will return to India. Main reason would be employment opportunity or starting a family. FININD1
Even if over half of the respondents were sure of their return, nearly 28 percent of them had set some, mainly family and work related, conditions to their return, for example getting meaningful work, getting married, or going back if parents became ill. It is quite understandable that returning home, if no real career opportunity is to be expected, does not seem like the ideal option either. In addition to the “maybe group”, some 14 percent of respondents left the question of possible return wholly unanswered.

Yes, only if I can transfer my knowledge in a way that is socially uplifting for India. Wont shift to just work under some corporate. Or could shift once family needs me urgently. Another condition could be an unanticipated career requirement. FININD51

no opportunities and financial situation; would make me go back to india... or pursuing higher studies GERIND30

What came across quite strongly in the replies I examined is that after earning some experience and new perspective abroad, most of the potential returnees seemed to have pretty positive expectations for their career opportunities in India. What one has to consider though, is that whether someone eventually returns, stays or does anything as planned for that matter is always subject to change. There are simply too many outside factors at play. Therefore, what I have now presented are the different positions respondents of this study have, at this point in time, taken towards a choice of possible migration scenarios.

7.3.5. Most common scenarios

In this section I have classified by type some of the most commonly expressed scenarios of future migration. This naturally does not mean that the three types I have here created would represent the whole spectrum of schemes available for the respondents. As always, creating categories that would mirror the entire data perfectly to the last respondent and response would be impossible to execute. Having said that, still, I must note that the majority of respondents seem to fit into the categories below rather neatly. The types below represent respondents according to the stances they’ve adopted in questions of return, stay or further migration. Thus, they should not be taken as average individuals, but as “caricatures” formed from responses. The three categories are: Cosmopolitan opportunist, Fast-track returnee, and Experience acquirer.
The first of my types of academic migrant holds a strong cosmopolitan mindset when it comes to capitalising on opportunities on a global scale. I am aware of the negative connotations the word “opportunist” might bear, but in this context it should be understood value-neutrally as acute readiness to relocate and accommodate to new environments whenever opportunities might arise. A cosmopolitan opportunist seems ambitious and is ready to abandon his/her comfort zone in order to compete for better career opportunities abroad. GERIND75 and FININD62 seem both exceptionally open and positive about their future employment:

I would like to start working. By working I mean in an Industry in any place in the world. It does not matter to me where I get my first job. GERIND75

The future looks bright, I have no concrete plans at the moment, but I will be where the action is. FININD62

The second type is a mix of respondents who have decided to return to India as soon as they are finished with their ongoing studies. In comparison to the first group above, the second group of academic migrants seems to hold a somewhat different stance towards global career prospects. Their main interests lay within India and its employment markets. The reasons for choosing so are in plenty and have already been briefly dealt with in the previous section.

yes, I will go back after my Masters course. Here there is language barrier, low net salary and has boring life. GERIND72

I would like to return to India after I finish my master's programme. FININD24

Quite a good number of respondents stated “family reasons” as grounds for going back to India as soon as their studies were over. Not all though, as there were also those who had different or additional motives. Many of the respondents had planned their studies abroad to be of transitory nature anyway, only to improve career opportunities back home. This is understandable as nowadays India hosts a highly competitive employment market that has the capacity to offer jobs and benefits comparable to those in the US or Europe in a variety of sectors. Therefore a return could also be seen as a positive career move; an upgrade rather than a downgrade from what’s available in Finland or Germany.

The last type I have designated as the “experience acquirer”. Of course, this does not mean that the other types would not be interested in acquiring experiences. However,
a typical experience acquirer has set “working in India” as the ultimate goal. The best way to secure a position at one of the many well paying MNC’s or at a top university could be to acquire as much international experience as possible.

I would like to pursue further studies preferably in Finland or USA. But my final destination of work is India. FININD68

I would return sometime to India. Not sure when. When I think, that I have gained enough experience and can do something in my country for its betterment. Probably in 5-10 yrs after my studies. GERIND27

Many of the respondents seemed to have actually planned it quite well as to where and for how long they would first acquire academic prestige and international experience before returning to India to capitalise on their newfound knowledge and status. Most of the answers given in this group were similar to the answer by GERIND27 above, though often more detailed and further planned.
7.4. Conclusions

In order to conclude what I have discussed in previous chapters, the following section will present the results in a condensed form, and at a more general level. The focus will be in summarising results that more or less directly address the three research questions I initially set out to answer. The study’s limitations, possible implications, and the connection to theory and previous studies, will be discussed in chapter 8.

First, I will begin with the reasons and expected benefits for Indian students in applying for Finnish and German degree programmes. The most important reasons for choosing Finland or Germany were the quality and cost of education. In fact, this particular combination seemed decisive, even though other reasons were also mentioned. It seems that plenty of respondents decided to come to Finland or Germany because tuition fees in the English-speaking countries were too high for them. In other words, the assumed cost/benefit ratio was in favour of Finland and Germany.

The benefits students were expecting to gain from their studies in Finland and Germany can be summarised figuratively as soft and hard. Soft benefits comprise of attained cultural-, social- and self-knowledge, as well as new networks of friends. Hard benefits, on the other hand, come in form of formal credentials such as internationally recognised diplomas, as well as up-to-date field-specific knowledge and new professional networks. Again, it is the combination of both benefits that make international degrees from western universities worthwhile to acquire.

Secondly, a small comparison between respondents in Finland and Germany was made in relation to the attractiveness of Finland and Germany as students’ primary destinations, and whether the students’ initial expectations were met or not. The results seem to indicate that neither Finland nor Germany was always considered a primary destination, whereas the “usual suspects” of student migration, the already often-mentioned English-speaking countries, crowded the top of the list. However, among respondents in Germany, their current host country was more often stated as their number one destination. Finland, on the other hand, was more often among a group of preferred destinations and, as it seems, lumped together with other Nordic countries. Still, in both countries about one third of the respondents did not consider
Finland and Germany as their number one study destination. Additionally, for many respondents, the destination country itself was not as important as the institution and its reputation.

When it comes to meeting expectations, only a very few respondents, which was around 8 percent in both countries, reported that their experiences have not met their expectations. In both countries over 70 percent of respondents were either fully or partly satisfied. The number of partly satisfied students was higher in Finland, as many students were disappointed with the methods of teaching, while still being satisfied with the infrastructure and the learning environment.

Thirdly, I enquired the students’ plans after obtaining their degrees. This of course, was a purely hypothetical question but, nonetheless, I wanted to find out some common reasons affecting migration decisions. Above all, employment opportunities seemed to dictate the actual decision, but given that one’s income would be secured somehow, factors like safety, social security, pure nature, and positive work atmosphere were among important reasons to stay. The most important reasons to move on to another location after studies, again mainly to English-speaking countries, were the difficulties of integrating into the surrounding culture and society, difficulties of learning the local language, and not being able to adapt to the climate. Reasons for returning to India were, quite understandably, related to family and work.

The most common future scenarios were: to first study and acquire enough experience in Finland and Germany to be able to move on to another country and climb the international career ladder even higher, move straight back to India after finishing studies, or after acquiring enough work experience in Finland or Germany move back to India to pursue a career there. It is notable that almost all of the respondents were planning to move back to India at some point in the future, only the details of plans and scheduling seemed to vary.
8. DISCUSSION

8.1. Discussion of limitations

In order to maintain the standards of transparency I had set for this study, I will first begin by addressing the issues of limitations regarding both the data collection procedures as well as the analysis of the findings in general. After this, based on previous studies and my familiarity with related theory, I will continue by discussing some of the results and their possible broader implications.

At different stages of this study, I identified the following issues as possible limitations: authenticity of responses, divergence of collection methods, divergence in breadth and quality of answers and divergence between respondents in Finland and Germany.

First of all, since the questionnaire was distributed via email it was impossible to be absolutely certain that all the respondents were actual Indian degree students. However, there were some methods at my disposal that improved the probability of authentic responses. Some of them were built-in the SurveyGizmo system. For instance, SurveyGizmo could trace all responses according to individual IP-addresses assigned to the computers respondents were using. Thus, in case of suspicious responses, I could check in which country and city the surveys were filled in, and that no surveys were filled in from the same computer more than once. SurveyGizmo also showed the exact path respondents had followed to get to the survey, i.e. a link from a certain web-forum. Naturally, simple technical measures as these cannot ensure total authenticity of all responses.

In order to increase the probability of authentic responses, I tried to avoid contacting respondents through channels that were likely to attract also other than Indian students. Therefore I preferred official university channels. Unfortunately, since contacting universities did not seem to provide enough responses - at least not within the time frame I had in use - I turned to various other channels. By posting announcements on various websites and Facebook groups I did, however, also increase the possibility of dubious responses. In fact, only after I had extended my search of respondents outside university channels, I also had to begin eliminating
unsuitable answers. Generally speaking, I had to rely on alternative communication channels beyond universities considerably more in Germany than in Finland.

As was to be expected from a study in which the most important information was collected as open-ended responses, without specifying a desired length for answers, divergence between breadth and quality was notable. Even though I had formulated the questions in such a way that simple “yes” or “no” answers would not be possible, some respondents were still eager to provide answers as briefly as possible. Others, on the other hand, seemed to respond with a long narrative to almost any question. Furthermore, the respondents’ language skills varied to a great degree, posing additional challenge to analysis. However, in order to really take into account the whole data, it was important to bring all types of answers to the fore in form of unedited quotes.

The divergence between respondents in Finland and Germany was also evident, even though not substantial. On average, the respondents in Finland were slightly older and were currently completing higher degrees than their German counterparts. Since accurate statistical comparison was not the prime ambition of this study, the comparisons between Finland and Germany I have made should be regarded as somewhat tentative. Having said this, the results do still point towards differences in foreign students’ views about tuition in Finland and Germany. When it comes to the generalisability of this study, I have adopted the view that qualitative studies should rather aim at transferability (Kananen 2011, 68). In other words, even though the results of this study are not supposed to be repeatable in all possible cases, they should still be transferable to a similar context.

8.2. Discussion of results

In this section I will discuss some of the results presented in chapter 7 in more detail. The aim is not to provide definite answers to all questions raised by this study, but to speculate and arouse, perhaps, more apt ones related to the theme of international student migration. The following will mostly focus on how the different types of capital presented early in this study relate to Indian students and international students in general. I will use previous publications and results from previous studies as points of reference. A total of four topics will be re-introduced, all derived from the results of this study that, I find, deserve further discussion.
8.2.1. Attracting foreign students

The results of this study indicate that Finland attracted more students through, what could figuratively be called the “jungle drum”, than Germany. In other words: friends, relatives, colleagues, acquaintances, and so on, were more often mentioned as sources of information and as having influenced the decision to migrate. Likewise, what was broadly described as “the Internet” was another important source. Meanwhile, students who had decided to study in Germany relied mostly on DAAD and/or the Internet as a source of information.

Therefore, in the context of this study at least, when attracting foreign degree students, fostering the use of positive peer evaluation and investing more in outward web-marketing might be more important for smaller countries whose higher education institutions are not yet broadly renown and whose national agencies do not have the clout or resources available to the likes of DAAD. However, marketing investments in countries where institutions’ funding relies more on fee-paying students can easily dwarf those made in countries like Finland and Germany where higher education costs are still mostly covered by tax revenue. Additionally, where funding relies on fee-paying students, demands for higher fees from foreign students are habitual.

There’s nothing new about people making decisions based on recommendations from their peers, or that they tend to immigrate into countries where there are already networks of their countrymen. Thus, for universities whose educational marketing resources are scarcer, student migrant networks, or more official clubs, could be of greater use in promoting and informing other students from same origins about possibilities at their institutions. The question is, then, whether higher education institutions in smaller countries like Finland could do more to foster existing foreign student networks and encourage other foreign students to set up new ones that actively operate in the Internet and make use of social networks? Possibilities for networking on the Internet multiply the impact and reach of student migrant networks therefore enabling smaller regional networks and clubs to influence potential newcomers on a grander scale. As I previously mentioned, when “hitting the wall” with university bureaucracy, I relied on help from different Indian associations based in Finland and Germany to reach potential respondents. By being active on various online forums, I also started receiving a lot of personal requests from Indians
interested in studying in the EU. The demand for information is obviously there, but even more obvious is the fact that universities do not have the resources to satisfy that demand.

8.2.2. Causes of mobility

In terms of causes of student mobility, the results of this study are much in line with previous studies and publications on the subject. In the *IOM World Migration Report 2008*, Vincent-Lancrin recites the following factors\(^{19}\) as being among the most important, often determining the choice of a foreign study destination:

i. The destination country’s immigration (or visa) policy for foreign students;

ii. Employment possibilities in the host country and the country of origin;

iii. Recognition of skills and foreign qualifications in the country of origin and the host country;

iv. The cost of studies abroad (tuition fees, living expenses, taking financial assistance into account) compared with the country of origin;

v. The reputation and supposed quality of the institutions of learning and educational system in the host country compared to the country of origin;

vi. The choice of post-secondary education offered in the country of origin and the possibilities of access;

vii. The existence of networks of students or former students from the country of origin;

viii. The language of the destination country and the language of instruction;

ix. The perceived quality of life in the host country;

x. The geographical and cultural proximity of the host country and the country of origin, as well as historical ties;

xi. The infrastructure and social benefits available to foreign students in the host country (Vincent-Lancrin 2008)

The majority of the above-mentioned reasons were also echoed in answers given by the respondents of this study. However, the lack of geographical and cultural proximity and the fact that India shares no mentionable historical ties with neither of the countries of destination makes the situation more interesting. The results of this study attest to the fact that these often-emphasised ties might not automatically bear as much importance in modern day student migration. Or, at least, other factors can offset the lack of historical ties. In theory, even though the numbers of Indian students in Finland and Germany are not yet proportionally significant, I find no reason why

---

\(^{19}\) Note: for this study's purposes the list has been abridged
Indian students’ degree programme enrolments couldn’t eventually come close to those of Russian and Chinese students. If we accept the core idea of network theory, the amount of Indian students only needs to cross a certain “critical mass” and their numbers will naturally continue to increase - given that there are no structural hindrances, e.g. nationality-based visa quotas in place. Reaching the “critical mass” might actually be easier during the current period of active social networking. The fact that, in terms of student migration, the US and most other English-speaking countries have already reached the point where “a network assumes its own logic” a long time ago, naturally poses its own challenges to any upcoming contenders. However, the sheer size of India’s population and the rate at which its middle class continues to grow will eventually also afford opportunities to other potential host countries interested in globally oriented Indian students.

As this study, as well as the amount of Chinese students in Finland and Germany, demonstrates, reasons to choose a country of study go beyond the traditional ideas of historical and cultural linkages. Recommendations from peers as well as assumed quality/cost ratio of education seem to be strong enough factors to tip the scales towards more unlikely study destinations. The multiplicity of information available for modern day Internet-users should not be underestimated either and thus instances able to offer guileless educational information will stand out. Still, even if it might be possible for non-English speaking countries to allure foreign students by introducing English-language degree programmes and maintaining competitive costs of study, retaining them is quite another story.

8.2.3. Foreign students and local networks

When it comes to foreign students’ integration into the destination countries’ societies, the chances of success seem to largely depend on an individual’s access to various capitals. Gaining “membership” to local networks seems to determine much of one’s future in the destination country. Carol Upadhya’s study on Indian IT workers in Germany and Holland confirms this view:

One of the major determinants of the extent to which Indian techies experience exclusion from, or inclusion in, European society appears to be the level of cultural and social capital they possess and the extent to which they have a cosmopolitan outlook. These differences are manifested in the tendency to socialise primarily with other Indians, or especially with those
Feelings of inclusion and exclusion also varied to a great degree among the respondents of this study. Inability to join local social networks, at the study place, at work, or in the host society in general was an often-cited cause of frustration. If connections to locals prove too hard to forge, fellow students from the same origins often provide a psychological safety net, especially to those who do not have a cosmopolitan enough outlook to readily fit in the host country’s cultural milieu. When it comes to capitalising on social capital, though, there is a stark difference between a person being able to rely on support from locals and a person having only the capital of other “outsiders” to call upon.

Getting or not getting a job in Finland or Germany, quite understandably, was the most important factor determining whether students would stay or move to another country after finishing their degrees. Excluding perhaps the most international and dynamic sectors like the ICT industry, getting a job often requires mustering up some locally relevant social capital, while being able to throw some “right kind of cultural capital” into the bargain definitely helps. Sometimes getting into the right circles and, thus, being able to reap social capital benefits might be easier said than done. First of all, access can be denied for those unable to show the right kind of cultural capital. Secondly, even though English is widely spoken in both Finland and Germany, not knowing the local language well enough will leave a lot of doors unopened - whether or not one is otherwise equipped with a cosmopolitan enough outlook.

As long as Finland and Germany are unable to offer certainty in terms of employment, not to mention career growth, to foreign students, they will also not be able to capitalise on their most significant competitive advantages in retaining foreign students and postgraduates; safety, societal stability, good working atmosphere, freedom in research and so on. In light of this, it is not too surprising that the US has remained the ultimate destination for Indians. Where there are no mentionable language barriers and where knowing other Indians might actually bear some real social capital benefits seems like a logical choice20. Then, when it comes to the question of whether most European countries are merely springboards for foreign

\[20\text{ Cf. Saxenian, Motoyama and Quan (2002) for a study on immigrant networks in Silicon Valley}\]
students on their way to North America, I find this irrelevant as long as there are no viable options on offer. The same applies to the question of foreigners’ tuition fees. As long as the competition for good and solvent students remains as stiff as it is, more obscure European universities should be able to offer exceptionally good quality in tuition as well as a variety of ways to fund studies. And yet it seems that North America is not the last stop either, on the contrary, as large proportion of the students in this study felt quite strongly about eventually returning to India.

8.2.4. Methods of teaching and student satisfaction

The last topic chosen for discussion here is linked to the difference in numbers of students that were fully or partly satisfied with their studies in Finland and Germany. As far as it can be inferred from the answers Indian students in Finland submitted, it seems that, in some cases especially, the quality of educational methods have left some room for improvement. There are at least two possible explanations: first of all, it seems that the individualism characteristic to studying at Finnish universities has a flip side to it as well. What some interpret as freedom and trust, translates as indifference to others. Another reason could simply be the fact that, on average, teachers and professors in Germany have a lot more experience from working with more international and heterogeneous student bodies than their Finnish counterparts. Differences like this might “even out” in due process of time, but taking steps like staff training in multicultural teaching might speed up the process to a great extent.

In ending, as a comparison to this study’s results, the following reports provide insight on how similar questions about sources of information and reasons to study in Finland and Germany were answered by much larger groups of foreign university students: “Internationalization of Higher Education. Foreign Students in Germany” by Isserstedt & Kandulla (2011) for Germany, and “Kansainväliset tutkinto-opiskelijat Suomen yliopistoissa” by Niemelä (2008) for Finland.
9. REFERENCES


Khadria, B. (2002). Skilled Labour Migration from Developing Countries: Study on India. ILO - International Labour Organization, Geneva.


10. APPENDICES

Appendix A: The web-questionnaire distributed to Indian students. Apart from different country names, the questionnaire was the same in Finland and Germany.
Appendix B: The introductory email.

For Indian University Degree Students in Germany (also post-graduates)

Dear Recipient,

I am a graduate student at the University of Tampere, Department of Education. I started studying student mobility between India and the EU last summer while working as a research assistant, conducting background research for a scientific working group on EU-India mobility cooperation. This process has now led me to study the flows of Indian students to the EU in my own master’s thesis.

I am conducting a survey on Indian degree students outside the English-speaking regions, in this case, Finland and Germany. As I have learned from personal experience, finding the right statistics is relatively easy, but finding out about someone’s personal ambitions, calls for a different set of methods. Therefore in order to gain a deeper understanding, it is vital for me to reach the people behind the statistics.

Indian students were picked for this study according to my previous research and experiences, and also for the well-known fact that Indian students represent an important part of the most desired pool of globally mobile talent. Unfortunately the activities of Indian degree students outside the English-speaking sphere are still relatively unknown.

Therefore your participation would be of great help. All answers will be treated as completely confidential. It will take you only 20-30 minutes to fill in the whole questionnaire. As an attachment you will find a presentation letter from my supervisor.

To start the web-based questionnaire, please click this link:


If you have anything to ask about the questionnaire or the study, do not hesitate to contact me: Jaakko.Hyytia@uta.fi or: +358400549925 (Finland), +4915150765616 (Germany)

PS. If you know someone who fits the profile of this study, I would be very happy if you could forward this message to him/her.

Sincerely,

Jaakko Hyytiä
University of Tampere, Department of Education
Appendix C: Presentation letter from the University of Tampere.

PRESENTATION LETTER

This is to introduce Jaakkko Hyttä (05.03.1984, Finland) who is a student enrolled in the Degree Programme of Lifelong Learning and Education at the University of Tampere. Mr. Hyttä is currently working on his master’s thesis concerning the reasons and expected benefits for Indian students in applying for admission into Finnish and German university degree programmes. Head of the Department of Education, professor Tuomas Takala, supervises his master’s thesis. Mr. Hyttä is collecting the empirical data essential for this research through a web-based questionnaire. Your opinions will be a basis for research findings, and all answers will remain confidential and used for research purposes only. Your contribution to this research will be highly appreciated.

Tuomas Takala
Director
Professor of Comparative Education
University of Tampere
FINLAND
Appendix D: Distribution of languages among respondents. In the chart below, I have compiled the distribution of native languages according to percentage. For reasons of clarity, only the languages with more than two speakers have their own categories. Languages or bilingual combinations with only one speaker are classified as ‘Other’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MOTHER TONGUE (GERMANY)</th>
<th>number</th>
<th>percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marathi</td>
<td>8,00</td>
<td>10,67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Konkani</td>
<td>1,00</td>
<td>1,33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamil</td>
<td>13,00</td>
<td>17,33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malayalam</td>
<td>5,00</td>
<td>6,67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telugu</td>
<td>12,00</td>
<td>16,00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindi</td>
<td>12,00</td>
<td>16,00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>2,00</td>
<td>2,67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujarati</td>
<td>5,00</td>
<td>6,67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengali</td>
<td>5,00</td>
<td>6,67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kannada</td>
<td>5,00</td>
<td>6,67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urdu</td>
<td>2,00</td>
<td>2,67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oriya</td>
<td>1,00</td>
<td>1,33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindi and Punjabi</td>
<td>1,00</td>
<td>1,33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tulu</td>
<td>1,00</td>
<td>1,33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marathi &amp; English</td>
<td>1,00</td>
<td>1,33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English &amp; Hindi</td>
<td>1,00</td>
<td>1,33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>6,00</td>
<td>8,00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindi</td>
<td>5,00</td>
<td>7,04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telugu</td>
<td>13,00</td>
<td>18,31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindi</td>
<td>15,00</td>
<td>21,13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>0,00</td>
<td>0,00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujarati</td>
<td>5,00</td>
<td>7,04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengali</td>
<td>5,00</td>
<td>7,04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kannada</td>
<td>2,00</td>
<td>2,82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>3,00</td>
<td>4,23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oriya</td>
<td>1,00</td>
<td>1,41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjabi &amp; English</td>
<td>1,00</td>
<td>1,41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nepali</td>
<td>1,00</td>
<td>1,41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindi &amp; English</td>
<td>1,00</td>
<td>1,41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telugu &amp; English</td>
<td>1,00</td>
<td>1,41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75,00</td>
<td>100,00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MOTHER TONGUE (FINLAND)</th>
<th>number</th>
<th>percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marathi</td>
<td>5,00</td>
<td>7,04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamil</td>
<td>1,00</td>
<td>1,41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamil</td>
<td>9,00</td>
<td>12,68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malayalam</td>
<td>8,00</td>
<td>11,27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telugu</td>
<td>13,00</td>
<td>18,31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindi</td>
<td>15,00</td>
<td>21,13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>0,00</td>
<td>0,00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujarati</td>
<td>5,00</td>
<td>7,04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengali</td>
<td>5,00</td>
<td>7,04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kannada</td>
<td>2,00</td>
<td>2,82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjabi</td>
<td>3,00</td>
<td>4,23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oriya</td>
<td>1,00</td>
<td>1,41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjabi &amp; English</td>
<td>1,00</td>
<td>1,41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nepali</td>
<td>1,00</td>
<td>1,41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindi &amp; English</td>
<td>1,00</td>
<td>1,41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telugu &amp; English</td>
<td>1,00</td>
<td>1,41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71,00</td>
<td>100,00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

120
## Appendix E: Detail’s of respondents’ educational background.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Discipline</th>
<th>Previous degree</th>
<th>From Where</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Culture</td>
<td>1 1,41 %</td>
<td>BACHELOR’S 39 54,93%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humanities and Education</td>
<td>1 1,41 %</td>
<td>INDIA 65 (91,55%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural Resources and the Environment</td>
<td>3 4,23 %</td>
<td>MASTER’S 30 42,25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural Sciences</td>
<td>15 21,13 %</td>
<td>OTHER 6 (8,45%) Finland, Sweden UK, Denmark, US</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Sciences, Business and Administration</td>
<td>6 8,45 %</td>
<td>OTHER 1 1,41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Services, Health and Sports</td>
<td>4 5,63 %</td>
<td>N/A 1 1,41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technology, Communications and Transport</td>
<td>40 56,34 %</td>
<td>N/A 1 1,41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>1 1,41 %</td>
<td>N/A 1 1,41%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ongoing degree</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Culture</td>
<td>1 1,41 %</td>
<td>BACHELOR’S 0 0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humanities and Education</td>
<td>2 2,82 %</td>
<td>MASTER’S 35 49,30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural Resources and the Environment</td>
<td>4 5,63 %</td>
<td>PHD 21 29,58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural Sciences</td>
<td>19 26,76 %</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Sciences, Business and Administration</td>
<td>6 8,45 %</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Services, Health and Sports</td>
<td>8 11,27 %</td>
<td>N/A 15 21,13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technology, Communications and Transport</td>
<td>28 39,44 %</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>3 4,23 %</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Previous and ongoing education of Indian students in Finland*
### Germany

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Discipline</th>
<th>Previous degree</th>
<th>From where?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Linguistics &amp; Cultural studies</td>
<td>2,67%</td>
<td>INDIA 69 (92,00%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law, Economics, Social Sciences</td>
<td>2,67%</td>
<td>OTHER 6 (8,00%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathematics, Natural Sciences</td>
<td>26,67%</td>
<td>Germany, UK, US</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural science, Forestry &amp; Nutritional Science</td>
<td>1,33%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineering</td>
<td>62,67%</td>
<td>OTHER 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>4,00%</td>
<td>12,00%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Ongoing degree

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Discipline</th>
<th>Previous degree</th>
<th>From where?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Linguistics &amp; Cultural studies</td>
<td>2,67%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law, Economics, Social Sciences</td>
<td>4,00%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathematics, Natural Sciences</td>
<td>33,33%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural science, Forestry &amp; Nutritional Science</td>
<td>0,00%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineering</td>
<td>57,33%</td>
<td>PHD 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>2,67%</td>
<td>OTHER 5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Previous and ongoing education of Indian students in Germany**

### Finland

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>When started?</th>
<th>Language of instruction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1999-2006</td>
<td>English 65 91,55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007-2008</td>
<td>English &amp; Finnish 4 5,63%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009-2010</td>
<td>N/A 2 2,82%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Finnish 0 0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When started?</td>
<td>Language of instruction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000-2006</td>
<td>10.67% English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009-2010</td>
<td>50.67% German</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>4.00% N/A</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Language of instruction & when started studies