



# IMDS Working Paper Series

Working Paper Nos. 7–9  
May, 2009


**The Indian and Chinese Academic Diaspora in Australia: A Comparison**  
*Graeme Hugo*

**Migration and Diaspora Formation: Mobility of Indian Students to the  
Developed World**

*Perveen Kumar, Shantanu Sarkar  
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**Indian Overseas Migration, Marriage Markets and Citizenship Issues**  
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**International Migration and Diaspora Studies Project**  
Zakir Husain Centre for Educational Studies  
School of Social Sciences, Jawaharlal Nehru University  
New Delhi-110 067, India



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#### **International Migration and Diaspora Studies Project**

Zakir Husain Centre for Educational Studies  
School of Social Sciences  
Jawaharlal Nehru University  
New Delhi 110067, India  
Tel: +91 11 26704417  
E-mail: imds.jnu@gmail.com

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# The Indian and Chinese Academic Diaspora in Australia: A Comparison<sup>1</sup>

Graeme Hugo

*The University of Adelaide, Australia*

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## Abstract

*Australia's immigration has undergone remarkable changes in the last decade. India and China have become two significant sources of immigrants to Australia and are going to be even more important in near future because of a number of reasons such as Australia's requirements for skilled workers, family reunion induced migration, presence of a large number of full fee paying Indian and Chinese students, and several other linkages related to trade, business and tourism. Australia is also a country of significant emigration flows facing both settler loss and Australia-born's outflow. However, the substantial difference between the number of China- and India-born leaving Australia and the numbers going to China and India reflect a high incidence of third country migration. Significant number of university teachers and researchers are migrating from China and India to Australia and this phenomenon is likely to experience substantial increase in the flow to meet the projected requirements in Australian universities. The paper focuses on the relationship maintained by Chinese and Indian academics in Australia with their homeland. It also found that significant proportions of migrants from these countries intend to return home at some stage. Observing the significant role of the academicians and researchers in transmitting information and in facilitating technology transfer resulting in development of tertiary research and teaching organisation in the home country, policy intervention becomes necessary in this field.*

**Keywords:** Migration, diaspora, university teachers, researchers, policy, student migration.

## I. Introduction

One of the distinctive features of recent Australian immigration has been the increasing significance of China and India as origins of permanent settlers and in long term<sup>2</sup> and short term<sup>3</sup> movements to Australia. Together their share of settlers increased from 12.1 percent in 1996-97 to 18.2 percent in 2006-07<sup>4</sup>, of long term visitors from 5.8 to 26.1 percent and short term from 2.0 to 7.6 per cent. However, it has been demonstrated that migration between Australia on the one hand, and Asian countries on the other, is best conceptualised as a system in which there is a complex pattern of movement both into and out of Australia rather than a south-north flow (Hugo, 2008a and forthcoming). This paper focuses on one element

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<sup>1</sup> This paper was prepared for the 20<sup>th</sup> International Conference of the International Association of Historians of Asia (IAHA) held at Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi on November 14-17, 2008.

<sup>2</sup> Temporary visa holders arriving and residents departing temporarily with the intention to stay in Australia or abroad for twelve months or more, and the departure of temporary visa holders and the return of residents who had stayed in Australia or abroad for twelve months or more.

<sup>3</sup> Travellers whose intended or actual stay in Australia or abroad is less than twelve months.

<sup>4</sup> However in 2006-07 there were an additional 16,138 China- and India-born who transferred from temporary to permanent residence in Australia so that in total they added 41,643 to the Australian population by migration – 21.7 percent of the total.

of this complexity – the relationship maintained by the diasporas of Indians and Chinese in Australia with their origin countries. After a brief discussion of the contemporary role of diaspora, the data sources used in the paper are explained. The nature of contemporary population movement between China and India on the one hand and Australia on the other is then examined. A case study of Indian and Chinese academics is then used to show how their diaspora communities have developed and maintained networks with their origin countries. Finally there is some discussion of the policy implications.

## **II. Contemporary Diaspora**

There has been a major shift in social science research about international migration over the last two decades away from a focus on migration as definitive resettlement in a new country toward transnationalism which instead focuses on the linkages between origins and destinations (Piper [ed.] forthcoming; Dunn, 2005). This paradigm shift has seen greater attention being paid on the one hand to emigration and the process of leaving, and on the other to the relationships maintained with their homeland by migrants residing in destinations and also upon return migration and circular movement of the migrants from the destination country back to the origin. The latter has seen an increasing focus in international migration studies on the phenomenon of diaspora. Diaspora has its origins in the Greek word ‘to colonise’ and until relatively recently it has been used to refer largely to a group of people who are linked by common ethno-linguistic and/or religious bonds who have left their homeland, usually under some form of coercion, and who have developed a strong identity and mutual solidarity in exile. The Jewish diaspora has been the classic example (Cohen, 1997). In the contemporary context, with the acceleration in international mobility, the term has been used more broadly to encompass expatriate populations who are living outside their home countries and retain linkages with their origin countries (Safran, 1991; Vertovec, 1997). Reis (2004, 46) distinguishes between two groups of diaspora theorists: on the one hand are those who focus on ‘classical’ diaspora based on the Jewish archetype, while, on the other, are those who co-mingle contemporary diasporas with issues of transnationalism and globalisation. It is the latter, wider conceptualisation which is of particular relevance to contemporary discussion of the impacts of emigration on development in origin countries. A distinction also has been made in studies of diaspora ‘between a symbolic ethnic identity of ‘being’ and a more active ‘diaspora identity’ requiring involvement’ (Butler, 2001: 191-93) with the latter implying active participation in activity in the homeland.

Butler (2001) has built on the work of Safran (1991) to advance a number of criteria which he considers characterise contemporary diaspora. He argues that it is not necessary for communities of expatriates to fulfil all of the criteria but implies that they should meet most of them. They include:

- Expatriates should be spread over more than one destination.
- They should retain a relationship with their real or imagined homeland.
- There should be an awareness of group identity.
- The diaspora should exist beyond the first generation.

## **III. Migration from China and India to Australia**

In most countries international migration data systems have not made the transition from the permanent displacement migration to transnationalism model that has occurred in the



research community. Most systems are unable to provide insights into transnationalism because:

- a. They only detect, or at least keep data on, more or less permanent migrations and neglect non-permanent moves.
- b. They overwhelmingly are concerned with immigration and inflows and give little or no information on emigration and other outflows.

Australia and New Zealand, as two long-standing migration countries, have more comprehensive data collection systems than most. This paper predominantly employs Australian migration flow data which collects information on all persons who enter or leave the country legally.<sup>5</sup> These moves into or out of the country are allocated to one of the three categories shown in Table 1. A major limitation of the categorisation is that it relies upon persons moving into or out of the country indicating their intentions about the degree of permanency or temporariness of their move. Of course such intentions are relatively often negated by unanticipated future events (Osborne, 2004). Nevertheless the flow data provide a relatively comprehensive indication of the totality of movement into and out of the country.

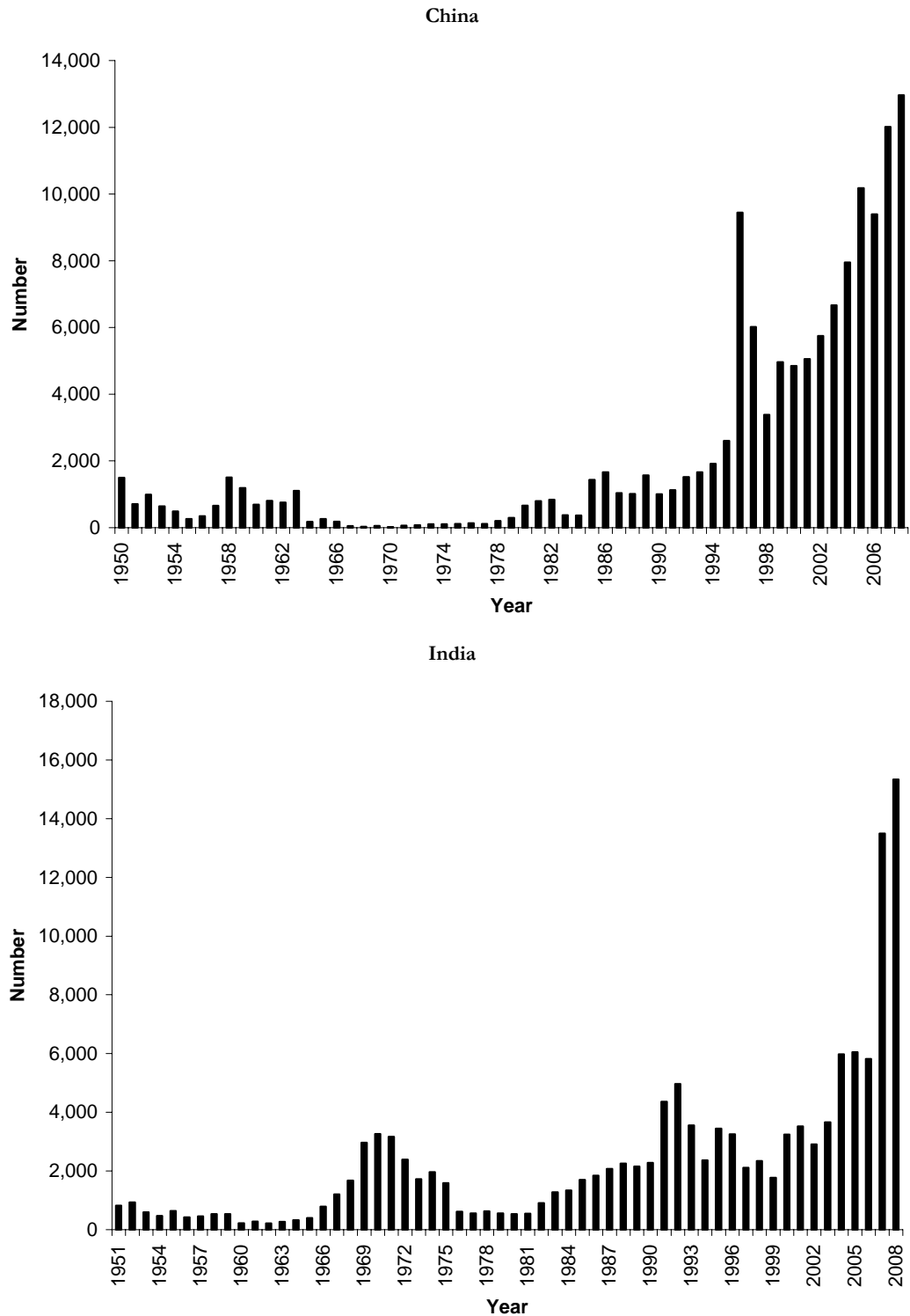
**Table 1: Australian International Migration Flow Data Collection**

Permanent movement	Persons migrating to settle in Australia and residents departing permanently
Long term movement	Temporary visa holders arriving and residents departing temporarily with the intention to stay in Australia or abroad for twelve months or more, and the departure of temporary visa holders and the return of residents who had stayed in Australia or abroad for twelve months or more
Short term movement	Travellers whose intended or actual stay in Australia or abroad is less than twelve months

At the 2006 census there were 206,589 China-born and 147,105 India-born persons enumerated. This represented a 44.7 percent and 54.1 percent increase respectively over the numbers counted at the 2001 census. The China-born and India-born are the third and sixth largest overseas-born groups in the country but large scale settlement immigration is a relatively recent phenomenon. The annual settler intake of China- and India-born over the last six decades is shown in Figure 1 and demonstrates the recency of settlement, especially for India.

The settler flows shown in Figure 1, however, only represent part of the contribution of Indian and Chinese migration to Australian population growth in recent years. It is shown later that there has also been a substantial increase in non-permanent migration to Australia over the last decade. One of the impacts of this has been an increasing number of persons who enter Australia initially as temporary residents but subsequently apply for, and gain, permanent residency. Indeed in 2006-07, 27.0 percent of the total net immigrant gain in the Australian population was due to 'onshore' migration. Table 2 shows that 'onshore' arrivals for China doubled between 2002-03 and 2006-07. In 2006-07 while China was the fourth largest origin nation for settler arrivals (after United Kingdom, New Zealand and India) it was the largest origin nation for onshore arrivals. Hence Chinese are taking advantage of new immigration regulations which facilitate temporary residents changing status to permanent residence more than any other single birthplace group. It is clear too that Indians are making increasing use of the facility to transition from temporary to permanent residence with the numbers doing so doubling in the last two years.

<sup>5</sup> Since Australia is an island nation policing the national boundaries is made easier than nations with land borders so that clandestine migration into or out of the country is miniscule.



**Figure 1: Settler Arrivals from China and India to Australia, 1950-2008**

*Note: Prior to 2007, data are for region of last residence. For 2007 and 2008, data are for country of birth.*

*SOURCE: CBCS DEMOGRAPHY BULLETINS; DIMIA AUSTRALIAN IMMIGRATION: CONSOLIDATED STATISTICS; DLAC 2008A; DLAC UNPUBLISHED DATA*

Table 2: Permanent Additions to Australian Population of China- and India-Born, 2001-08

Year	Onshore		Offshore Arrivals		Ratio of Offshore: Onshore	
	China	India	China	India	China	India
2001-02	3,180	2,696	6,708	5,091	2.11	0.76
2002-03	3,369	2,503	6,664	5,783	1.98	0.87
2003-04	4,532	3,224	8,784	8,135	1.94	0.93
2004-05	4,903	3,464	11,095	9,414	2.26	0.85
2005-06	7,403	4,012	10,581	11,286	1.41	1.07
2006-07	9,811	6,327	12,009	13,496	1.22	1.12
2007-08	na	na	12,959	15,338	na	na

Source: DIAC Immigration Update, various issues and DIAC 2008a

Australian settlement migration is made up of a number of policy components:

- Refugee and Humanitarian Movement – designed to resettle refugees and other forced migrants.
- Family Migration – enabling family members to join earlier generations of immigrants.
- Economic Migration – involving recruitment of people with skills in short supply in the economy.
- Migrants are assessed and given points according to age, education, work experience and English language speaking ability.
- Special Categories – involving mainly New Zealanders, people with special talents.

Table 3 shows that for both the China-born and the India-born the majority of settlers have come as skilled migrants. However there is a substantial difference between the Indian and Chinese with the proportion of family migrants having double for the latter compared with the former. To some extent this may be a function of the fact that the large scale Indian flow has been more recent so that there has been less chance for settlers to bring family to join them. However it also may be that chain migration is more significant among the Chinese than the Indians. However, the Indian influx is part of an increasing flow of Indian skilled persons to OECD nations (Khadria, 2004). Indians have a particular advantage when compared with several other Asian groups when applying to migrate to Australia through the skilled migration stream:

- The fact that many have the particular training and skills which attract points in the Australian Points Assessment.
- The fact that most have an excellent command of the English language which also attracts points in that Assessment.

Table 3: China- and India-Born Settler Arrivals to Australia by Eligibility Category, 2006-07

Settler Eligibility Category	China-Born		India-Born		All Settlers	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	Per cent
Family Migration	5,317	44.2	3,401	22.5	37,138	26.5
Skill Migration	6,422	53.5	10,161	75.3	60,755	43.4
Humanitarian	34	0.3	7	0.1	12,247	8.7
Non-Program Migration	236	2.0	287	2.1	29,899	21.4
Total	12,009	100.0	13,496	100.0	140,039	100.0

Source: DIAC 2008b

## IV. Non-Permanent Migration

However, south-north permanent migration is only part of a more complex pattern of repetitive, circular and reciprocal movement between the countries. Until the mid 1990s Australia eschewed non-permanent migration but in the last decade there has been a reversal of this policy. In response to restructuring of the Australian economy, internationalisation of labour markets and globalisation forces more generally, there was a major shift in policy which has allowed entry of large numbers of people who have the right to work in Australia on a non-permanent basis. This represented a parametric change in Australian immigration policy (Hugo 1999). Nevertheless, this type of visa entry has not been extended to unskilled and low skilled workers and has been strictly confined to people with skills in shortage in the Australian labour market and entrepreneurs. Of the main types of temporary movement there has been a significant involvement of the India- and China-born in all but the Working Holiday Maker Program<sup>6</sup>. One movement of particular significance is that of fee paying students who have entered Australia to study in Australian educational institutions. Australia has become one of the major global destinations of students from South nations (Abella 2005; Tremblay 2004) and Figure 2 shows that there has been a sharp increase in the numbers of overseas student arrivals from China and India since the turn of the century. In 1999 India and China were only the fifth and six largest origins of students coming to Australia accounting together for 13 percent of the total overseas student stock. By 2007 the total numbers had more than doubled and China and India were the largest contributors and together accounted for 34.4 percent of the total intake as Table 4 indicates. The recency of rapid growth in both groups and the doubling of numbers from India in the last two years duplicates the pattern observed earlier for permanent settlers. The synchronicity of the two patterns would indicate there are common forces underlying both.

Table 4: Stock of Chinese and Indian Students Present in Australia (as on 31 March)

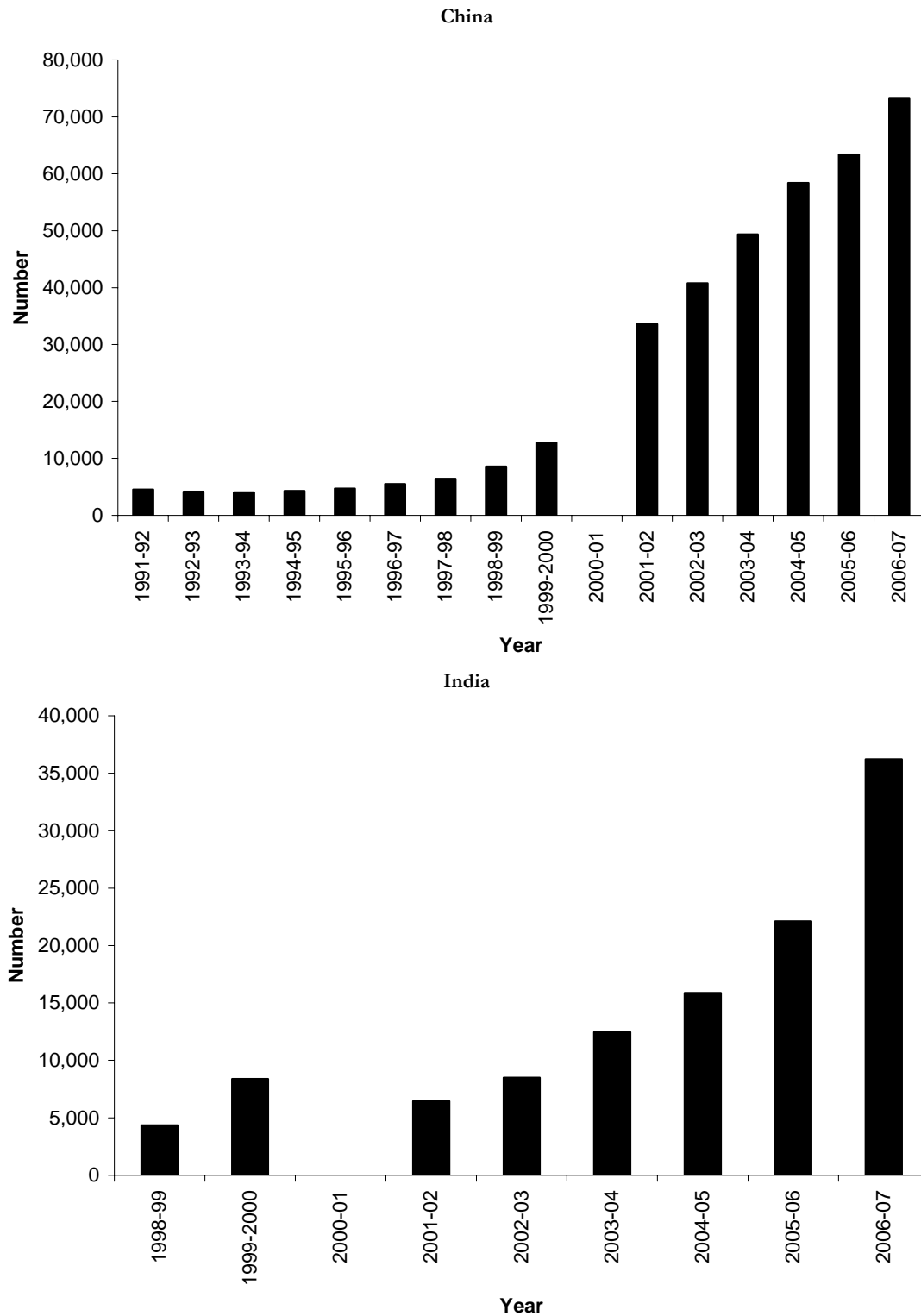
Date	India	China	Total	Per cent from China	Per cent from India
1999	8,608	7,411	120,555	6.1	6.9
2000	5,481	7,415	130,801	5.7	4.2
2001	2,744	7,420	102,331	8.4	2.7
2002	2,903	13,565	110,572	12.3	2.6
2003	6,529	23,991	186,102	12.9	3.5
2004	11,523	35,576	204,794	17.8	5.6
2005	17,256	43,367	213,892	20.3	8.1
2006	22,869	49,831	234,844	21.2	9.7
2007	35,804	55,550	265,999	20.9	13.5

Source: DIAC Immigration Update, various issues

Turning to other Australian temporary migration visa categories, the Temporary Business Visa category was introduced in 1996 and as DIMA (2000, p. 48) points out:

The employer sponsored temporary business visas allow employers to fill skill shortages from overseas and assess new ideas, skills and technology. The visa holders tend to be highly skilled and have relatively high income levels and therefore able to contribute to economic growth through improved productivity and increased demand for goods and services. The entry of managers and skilled specialists under these categories can also enhance Australia's ability to compete in international markets.

<sup>6</sup> This is a programme open only to nationals of countries with which Australia has a special bilateral agreement. India and China are not currently among those countries.



**Figure 2: China-Born and India-Born Student Arrivals to Australia, 1991-92 to 2006-07**

*Note: Refers to the number of actual movements rather than the number of people who travelled.*

*Data not available for 2000-01.*

*Source: DLAC unpublished data and Immigration Update, various issues*

The 457 visa is similar to the H-IB visa in the United States although there is no upper limit and it is totally driven by the labour market. The total numbers more than trebled from 31,550 in 1998 to 110,570 in 2008. However it is apparent from Table that the numbers of 457s from China and India have increased even faster. India is now the second largest source country and China the fifth. The greater participation of Indians in recent years is partly associated with the introduction of a requirement for 457 visa holders to have a basic level of English capability. The similarity of patterns among 457s to those for permanent settlers and tourists points to a similarity in the forces producing the movements. A recent paper (Khoo, Hugo and McDonald, forthcoming) has shown that many of these 457 holders were previously students in Australia or had visited Australia as tourists indicating again the strong interrelationships between the different types of movement linking Australia with Asia. The paper also indicates that many intend to apply for permanent residence in Australia on expiration of their 457 visa.

**Table 5: Temporary Skilled Migrants (457 Visa Holders)  
from China and India Present in Australia, 1998-2007**

<b>Year (June)</b>	<b>China</b>	<b>India</b>
1998	1,621	943
1999	2,428	1,618
2000	2,887	2,607
2005	2,559	4,007
2006	4,219	5,889
2007	6,418	9,943
Change 1998-2007	296%	954%
Change 2006-2007	52%	69%

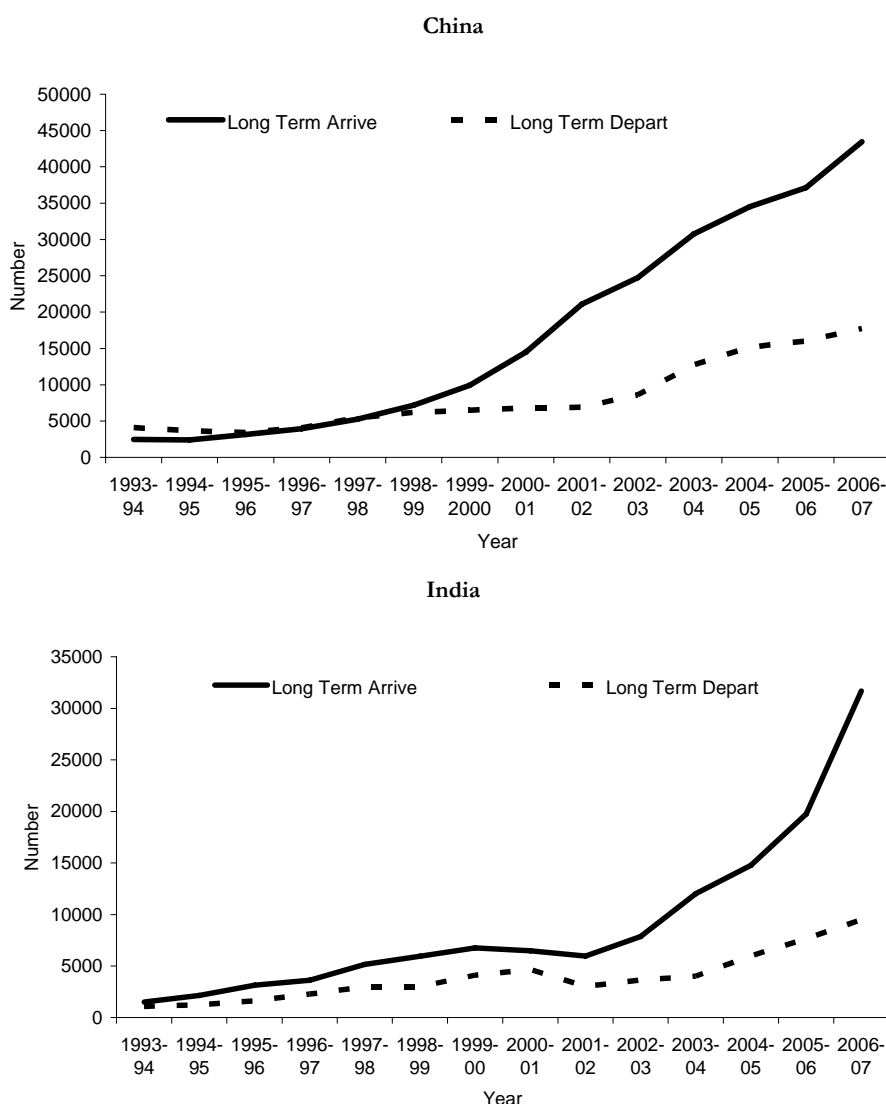
*Source: DIAC Immigration Update, various issues*

While there are a significant number of Chinese and Indians who arrive in Australia as 'long term'<sup>7</sup> temporary residents but make the transition to permanent residence, for many this type of movement is fundamentally circular involving a return to their origin country. This is evident when we examine Figure 3 which shows the long term movers between Australia and China over the last 15 years. The 'visitor' movement refers to the arrivals and departures of Indians and Chinese who have temporary resident visas in Australia. The 'residents' are Australian residents who move to, or return from China after, an absence of a year or more. This indicates that the number of long term visitors coming from the two countries to Australia has tripled since 2000. It will be noticed that the number of long term visitor arrivals is significantly larger than the number of long term visitor departures. This is due to a number of things:

- The large increase that has occurred in recent years means that many long term visitors are still in Australia since by definition they planned to stay longer than a year.
- There is significant 'category jumping'. As indicated earlier a significant number of long term visitors change status to permanent residency while in Australia. In addition there are others who may have left after spending less than 12 months in Australia.
- Some long term visitors leaving the country may wrongly be classified as short term visitors.

Nevertheless it is apparent that there has been an especially large uptake of temporary migration visas since 2000 as has been the case with permanent settlement visas.

<sup>7</sup> i.e. temporary but intending to stay longer than one year.



**Figure 3: Long Term Resident and Visitors In- and Out-Migration from India and China to Australia, 1993-94 to 2006-07**

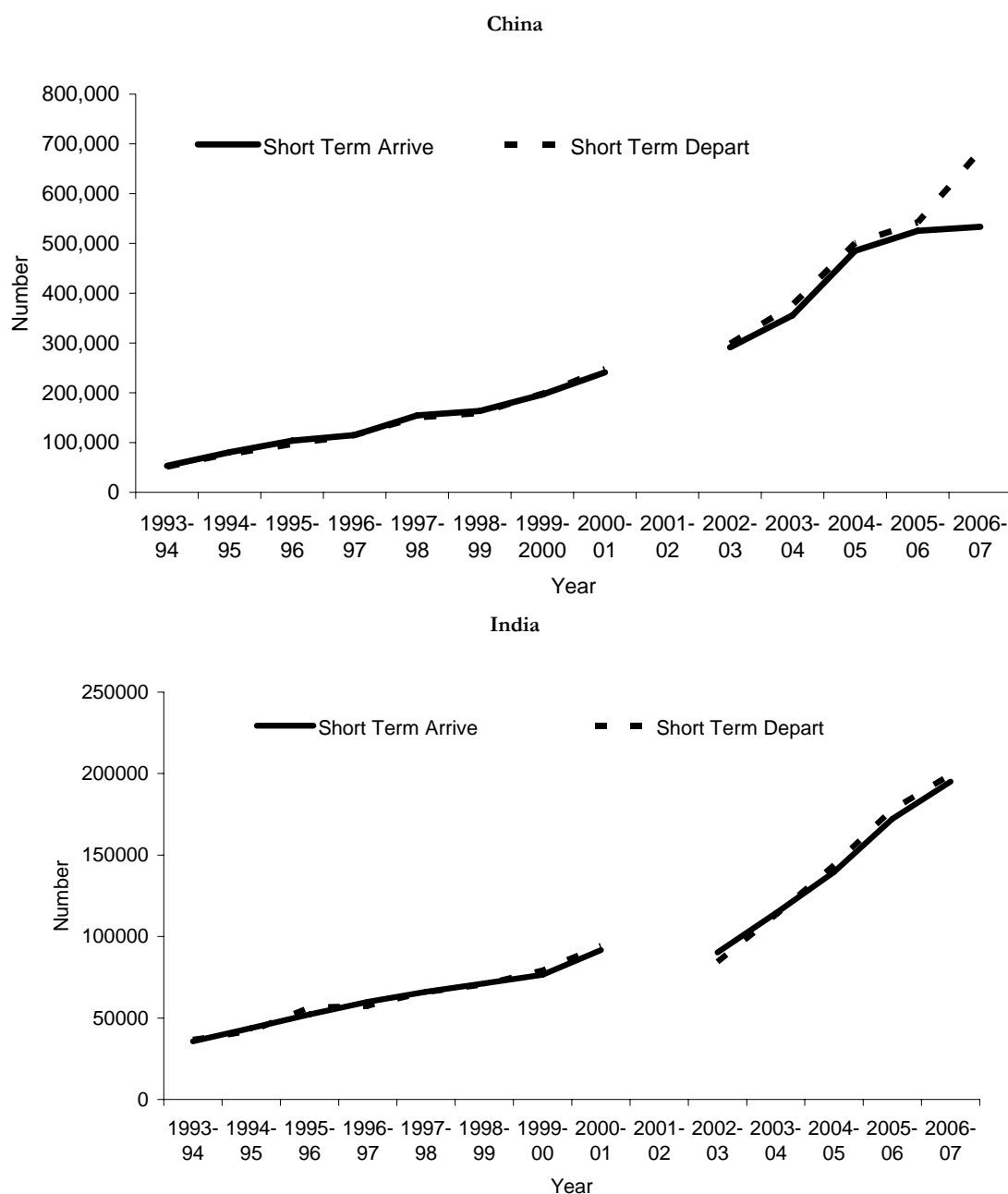
*Source: DIAC unpublished data*

The numbers of Australian residents travelling on a long term basis to China and India has also increased although the numbers are only around 10 percent of those for long term visitors coming from China and even less for India. They include Australians working in China and India but also China- and India-born Australian residents who maintain strong relationships with both China and Australia and return to their homeland for periods of over a year. The picture with respect to long term temporary migration then is one of circularity and complexity although there is an overall gradient toward movement to Australia.

It is also interesting to examine trends of short term<sup>8</sup> movement between Australia and China and India. Figure 4 shows that there has been a rapid increase both in the numbers of Chinese, and, to a lesser extent, Indian residents making short term (duration less than one year) visits to Australia as well as in Australians moving in the other direction. Clearly business and tourism travel between China and Australia has increased although the inflow of

<sup>8</sup> i.e. temporary movers who intend to stay less than one year at the destination.

Chinese to Australia is somewhat greater than the outflow of Australians visiting China. The numbers of Chinese visitors to Australia has increased almost five times in the last decade. In 2006-07 the Chinese had the fifth largest number of visitors to Australia (after NZ, the UK, Japan and USA). The increase for India has begun from a smaller base and also has increased more slowly although it has doubled since the turn of the century. There is also a difference to the China pattern in that Australian resident short term movement to and from India is significantly larger than the flow of Indians to and from Australia.



**Figure 4: Short Term Resident and Visitors In- and Out-Migration from India and China to Australia, 1993-94 to 2006-07**

*Note: Data not available for 2001-02*

*Source: DIAC unpublished data*



The increases in short term flows not only reflect a substantial growth in tourism in Australia, India and China but also a substantial increase in intensity of economic linkages. Hence among the visitors from China and India in 2005-06, 77,350 from China and 24,917 from India were Short Stay Business Visitors Visa Holders which are (DIMA, 2007, p. 62) 'for people who wish to enter Australia for business purposes—i.e., transacting business, attending business meetings, events or conferences; pursuing business investment opportunities consistent with their overseas business operations; or undertaking short term highly skilled project work. China is the largest user of this short term visa category and India the fourth largest.

The rapid increase in the number of *resident* departures evident in Figure 4 not only reflects the increased numbers of Australians travelling to China and India for tourism and business but it also includes the increasing number of China-born and India-born residents in Australia who travel to their homeland frequently. This again reflects an overlapping between the types of mobility which make up the Asia-Australia migration system. People from China and India who settle in Australia set up substantial linkages back to their home nation, an important part of which is regular visiting. The significance of this connection is evident in Table 6 which shows the proportion of Australian *resident* short term departures to China and India who were actually born in the country they were moving to. Over the last decade China-born residents of Australia have accounted for more than a third of all short term (less than one year) visits of Australians to China. This is a clear demonstration of the way in which a diaspora can produce increased interaction between origin and destination country. Indeed this interaction is a major factor in the diaspora developing and retaining strong linkages with their homeland. The movers not only include people visiting family and friends in their homeland but also many who maintain strong business and professional interests in China. The increase in short term movement thus reflects the increasing scale of business and other economic activity which is associated with migration and with the development of diaspora. The linkage between permanent migration and subsequent short term travel out of Australia is reflected in Table 7. This shows that there is a strong correlation between the size of an immigrant community in Australia and the amount of short term movement into and out of Australia to the homeland of that community.

Table 6: Short Term Departures to China and India of Australian Residents, 1994-2007

	To China			To India		
	Total	China-Born	Per cent	Total	India-Born	Per cent
1994-95	47,979	19,455	40.5	28,101	11,179	39.8
1995-96	54,376	21,588	39.7	38,296	14,933	39.0
1996-97	58,837	22,772	38.7	35,404	13,993	39.5
1997-98	81,557	29,974	36.8	38,806	16,050	41.4
1998-99	81,818	33,948	41.5	40,281	14,866	36.9
1999-2000	86,344	33,558	38.9	41,242	16,037	38.9
2000-01	100,569	42,181	41.9	48,517	18,953	39.1
2001-02	na	na	na	Na	na	na
2002-03	117,911	46,266	39.2	46,653	22,814	48.9
2003-04	150,162	59,854	39.9	60,555	28,587	47.2
2004-05	214,165	75,237	35.1	84,040	36,081	42.9
2005-06	239,915	81,313	33.9	99,186	42,402	42.7
2006-07	268,524	90,266	33.1	113,643	50,512	44.4

**Table 7: Correlation Co-efficient Between Short Term Travel in and Out of Australia and the Size of Immigrant Communities, 2006**

Variables	Correlation Co-efficient(r)
Number of Short Term Arrivals	.555**
Number of Short Term Departures	.556**

\*\* Significant at .01 level

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics

The role of India-born in the outflow of Australian residents to India is not as marked as is the case for their Chinese counterparts. The reasons for this are not entirely clear. They may in part be associated with the greater recency of flows from India which may mean return visitation patterns have not had as much chance to develop. Another reason may well be the difference in the occupational profile of Indians and Chinese permanent settlers shown in Table. It will be noted that the Chinese are more likely to be in business/trade related occupations so that they may be more inclined than the Indian IT workers, professionals etc. to maintain economic linkages with their origin.

**Table 8: Occupation of China-Born and India-Born Permanent and Long Term Arrivals in Australia, 1997-98 to 2006-07**

Major Occupation Group	China-Born		India-Born	
	Settler %	Long Term %	Settler %	Long Term %
Managers/Administrators	17.0	20.0	6.2	8.9
Professionals	53.3	43.3	61.7	64.4
Associate Professionals	9.6	13.6	9.2	11.5
Tradespersons and Related Workers	3.5	7.3	11.3	4.9
Advanced Clerical and Service Workers	1.9	1.7	2.0	0.6
Intermediate Clerical, Sales and Service Workers	8.6	7.6	5.8	4.9
Intermediate Production and Transport Workers	0.9	0.5	0.5	0.6
Elementary Clerical, Sales and Service Workers	4.6	5.4	3.1	3.8
Labourers and Related Workers	0.7	0.4	0.4	0.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	46,072	52,774	19,131	27,073

Source: DIMA unpublished data

The important point that the data that have been presented in this section demonstrate is that while there has been a rapid increase in the size of the Indian and Chinese communities in Australia in recent years there has been an equally rapid increase in the amount of temporary movement linking these communities with their homelands. This is obviously related to the cheapening of international travel which has meant that contemporary diasporas can visit their homeland (and be visited by residents of the homeland) to a much greater degree than was the case for earlier generations of migrants to Australia. European immigrants of the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s were able to visit their homeland only once or twice during their working lives. Regular visiting facilitates the maintenance of all kinds of linkages – social, cultural and economic. Moreover the visits refresh, strengthen and expand networks between the diaspora and the homeland and they become effective conduits for the two-way transfer of information, goods and money.

The argument here is that it is important to conceptualise the migration between China-India and Australia as a system because this draws attention to the frequent coming and going between the diaspora and the homeland. However the circulation of students, temporary business migrants, business people, tourists and visitors is only part of the two-way migration relationship.

## V. Movement from Australia to India and China

There is a tendency for Australia to be categorised as a purely immigration country but, in fact, it also is a country of significant emigration. However Australia also has a high level of emigration comprising two components:

- ‘Settler Loss’—i.e. former immigrants who have decided to leave Australia permanently.
- Australia-born—in fact this includes the Australia-born children who are more appropriately considered part of settler loss.

For much of the post-war period the settler loss component of emigration has been greater than the Australia-born outflow but in recent years the Australia-born outflow has begun to outnumber settler loss. In 2007-08 it accounted for 50.1 percent of the record 76,923 outflow. It has been shown elsewhere (Hugo, Rudd and Harris 2001, 2003; Hugo 2006) that the emigration outflow is slightly more skilled than the immigration intake although the gap has closed in recent years with the increasing emphasis on skill in the Immigration Program.

Settler loss has been an important feature of the post-war Australian migration scene with around a fifth of all post-war settlers subsequently emigrating from Australia. An indication of the extent of return migration can be seen in Table 9 which shows a striking pattern of greater emigration from Australia to China (permanent departures are around a third of permanent arrivals). It is also interesting to note that there is a substantial difference between the number of China- and India-born leaving Australia and the numbers going to China and India. This reflects a high incidence of third country migration.

Table 9: Permanent Migration from Australia to China and India and of the China-Born and India-Born, 2000-08

Year	Total Permanent Departures to China		China-Born Departures	Total Permanent Departures to India		India-Born Departures
	Australia-Born	Overseas-Born		Australia-Born	Overseas-Born	
2000-01	432	1,445	2,430	50	65	265
2001-02	527	1,506	2,424	43	81	247
2002-03	602	1,448	2,129	60	53	268
2003-04	723	1,166	3,126	71	94	339
2004-05	798	2,699	3,736	75	122	426
2005-06	1,031	2,921	3,893	121	144	446
2006-07	1,092	3,012	3,962	147	209	527
2007-08	Na	na	4,480	Na	na	670

Source: DIMLA 2004; DIMA 2006; DIAC 2008c

## VI. Migration of Academics and Researchers from China-India to Australia

The focus will now turn to a discussion of the migration of one occupational sub-group from India and China to Australia – that of university teachers and researchers. Although there is some difficulty in identifying this group in the data base, some indicative information can be obtained. Figure 5 and Figure 6 show the long term and permanent migration of academic teachers and researchers to and from China and India between 1997-98 and 2005-06.<sup>9</sup> All told

<sup>9</sup> The occupation coding system in the DIAC data was changed in 2003-04.

over this period there were 384 and 6,264 permanent arrivals of teaching university lecturers and tutors and researchers respectively from China while the numbers of long term arrivals were 784 and 2,589. For India there were 278 and 4,651 permanent arrivals of teaching university lecturers and tutors and researchers respectively, and 207 and 508 long term arrivals. There are contrasting patterns. With respect to university teachers it is clear that Universities have switched from using permanent settlement to temporary business visas to bring in staff. This is partly a function of the increased number of contract positions in Australian universities but also is partly a function of the speed and relative simplicity of the 457 Temporary Business Visa (Khoo *et al.*,s 2003). It would seem certain that many of the long term arrivals will seek permanent residence at some stage. Researchers on the other hand are predominantly coming to Australia as permanent settlers.

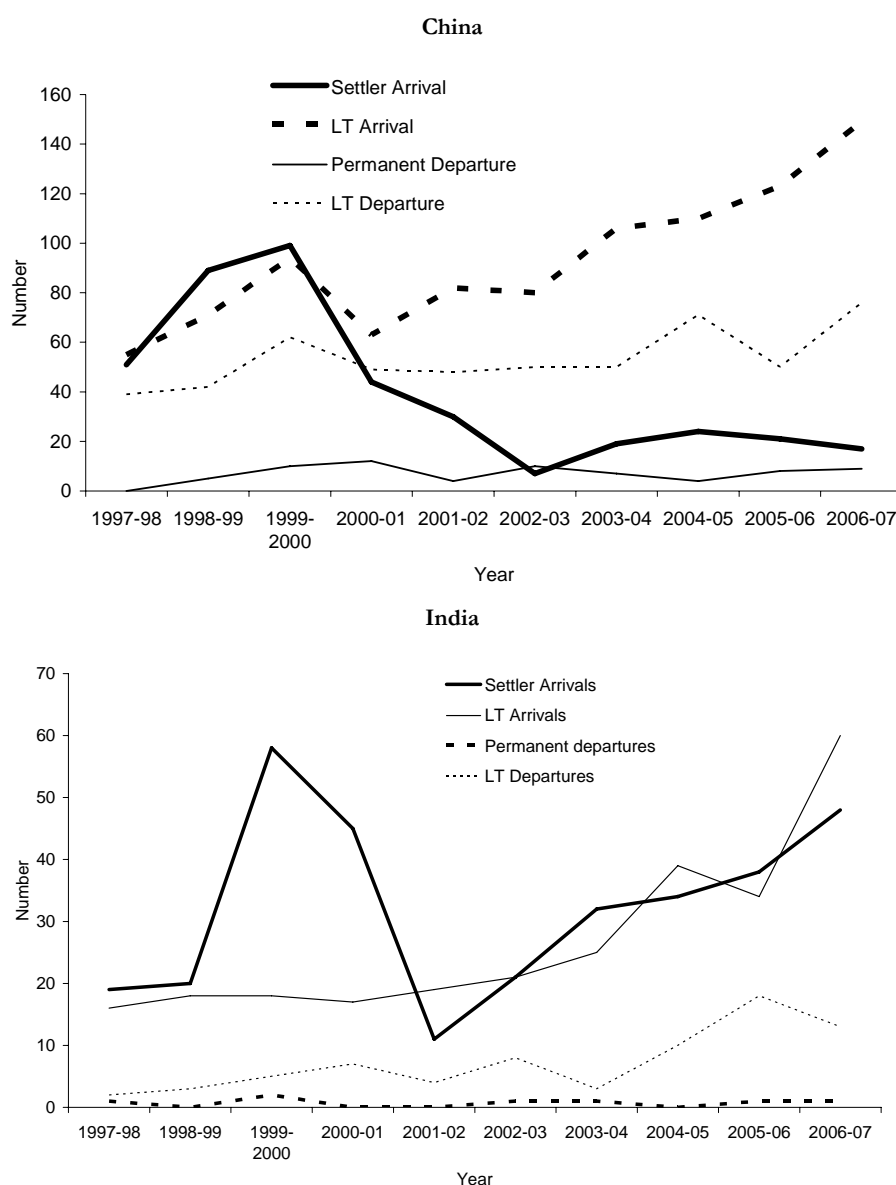
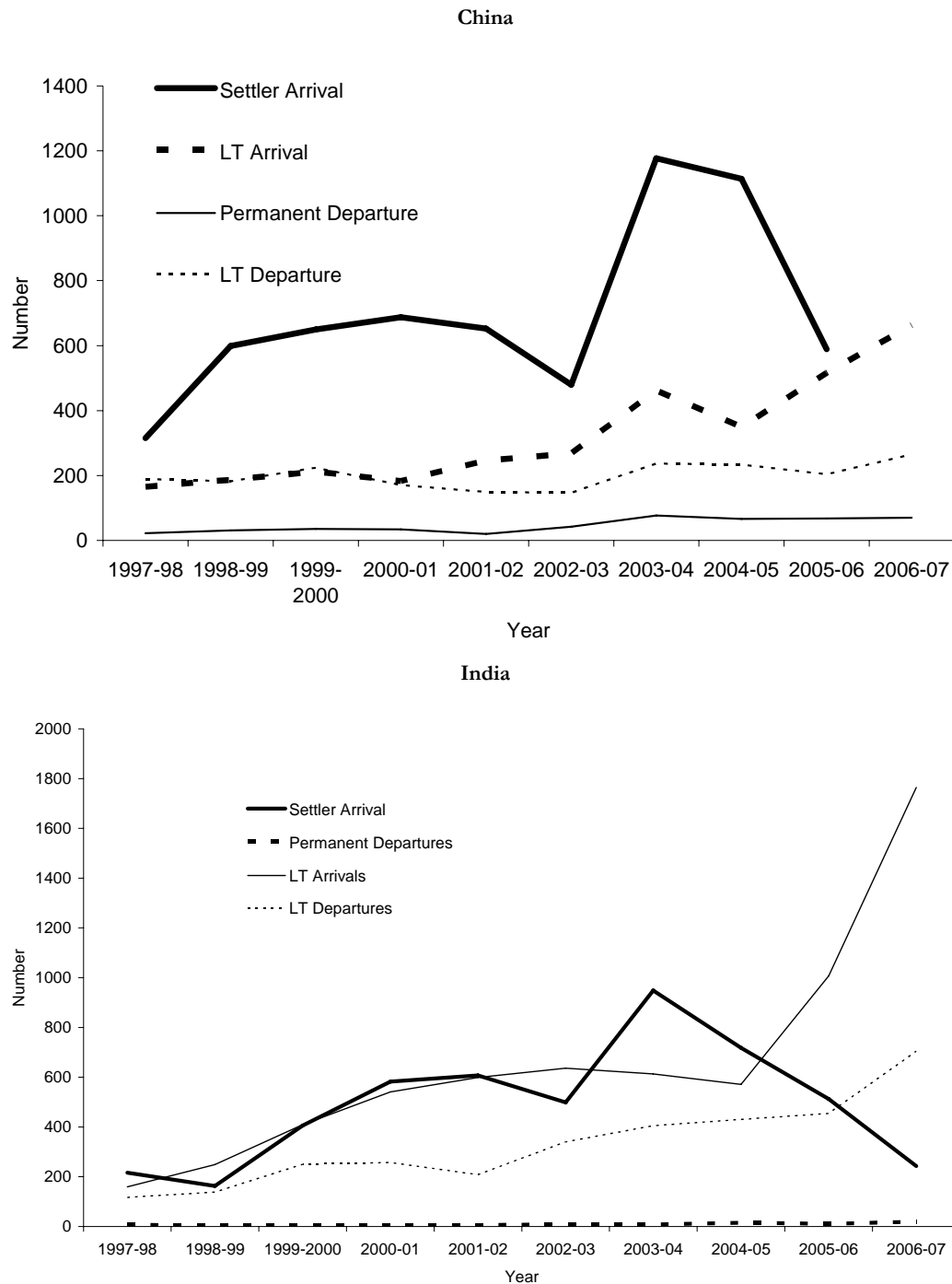


Figure 5: Australia: Permanent and Long Term Movement of Academics to and from China and India, 1997-98 to 2006-07

Source: DLAC unpublished data

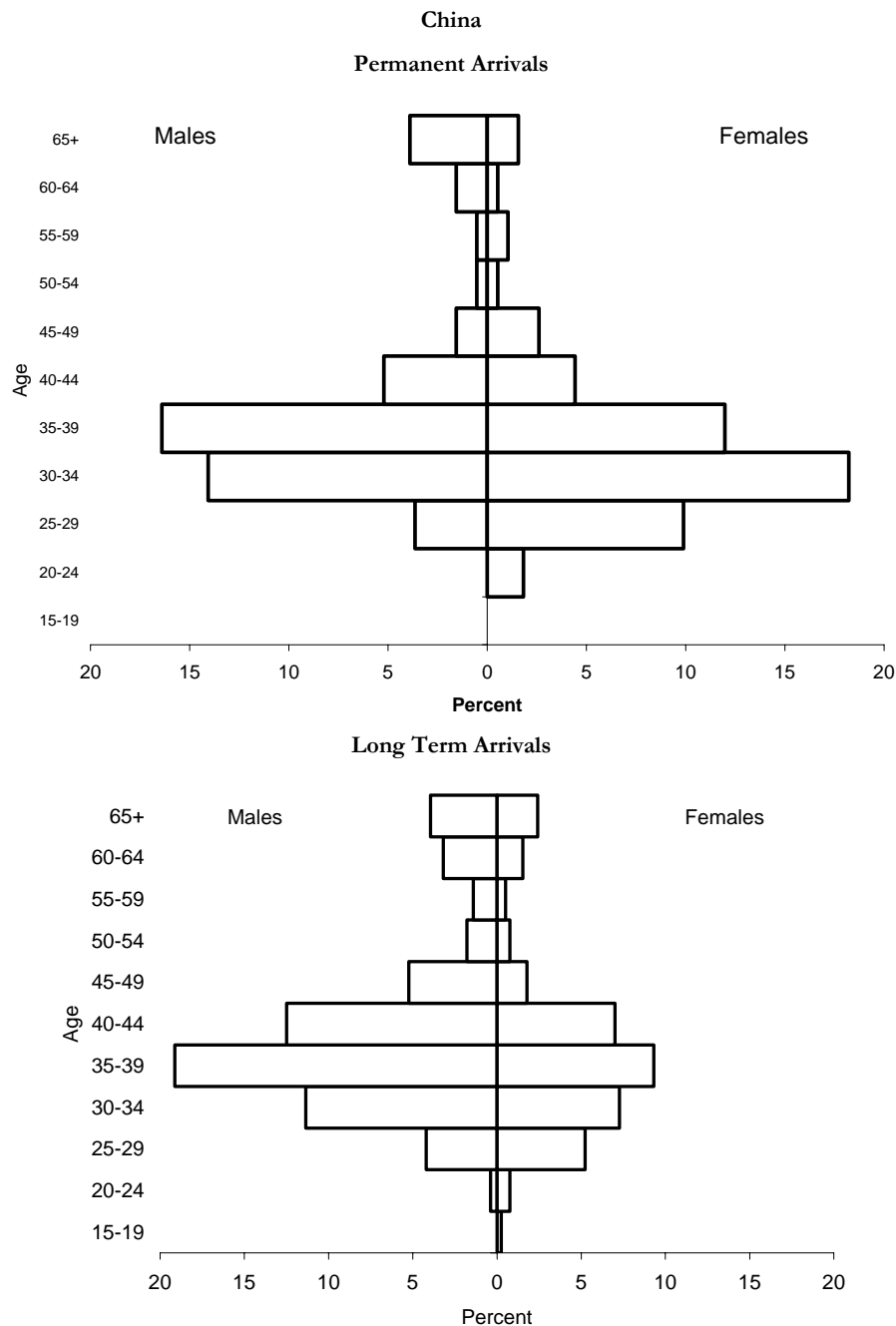


**Figure 6: Australia: Permanent and Long Term Movement of Researchers to and From China and India, 1997-98 to 2006-07**

*Source: DLAC unpublished data*

Clearly there are significant numbers involved in this movement but a key issue is the fact that there is likely to be a substantial increase in the flow over the next decade. This is not only due to the increasing internationalisation of academic and researcher labour markets associated with globalisation. It is shown elsewhere (Hugo, 2005) that academics are one of the oldest occupational sub-groups in the Australian workforce. At the 2006 census, some

24.7 percent of the university academic workforce were aged 55 years and over and 54.2 percent 45 years and over. This was due to a large influx of young academics in the 1960s and 1970s associated with a massive increase in student numbers due to the entry of post-war baby boomers into university going ages and increases in university participation rates. This was followed by a period of slow growth in academic staff numbers due to reduced student growth together with increasing student-staff ratios. Hence, there will be a high level of recruitment in Australian universities over the next two decades and it is unlikely that this demand will be met by the Australian labour market. Accordingly the opportunities for Chinese academics and researchers in Australia will increase.



(continued)

(continued)

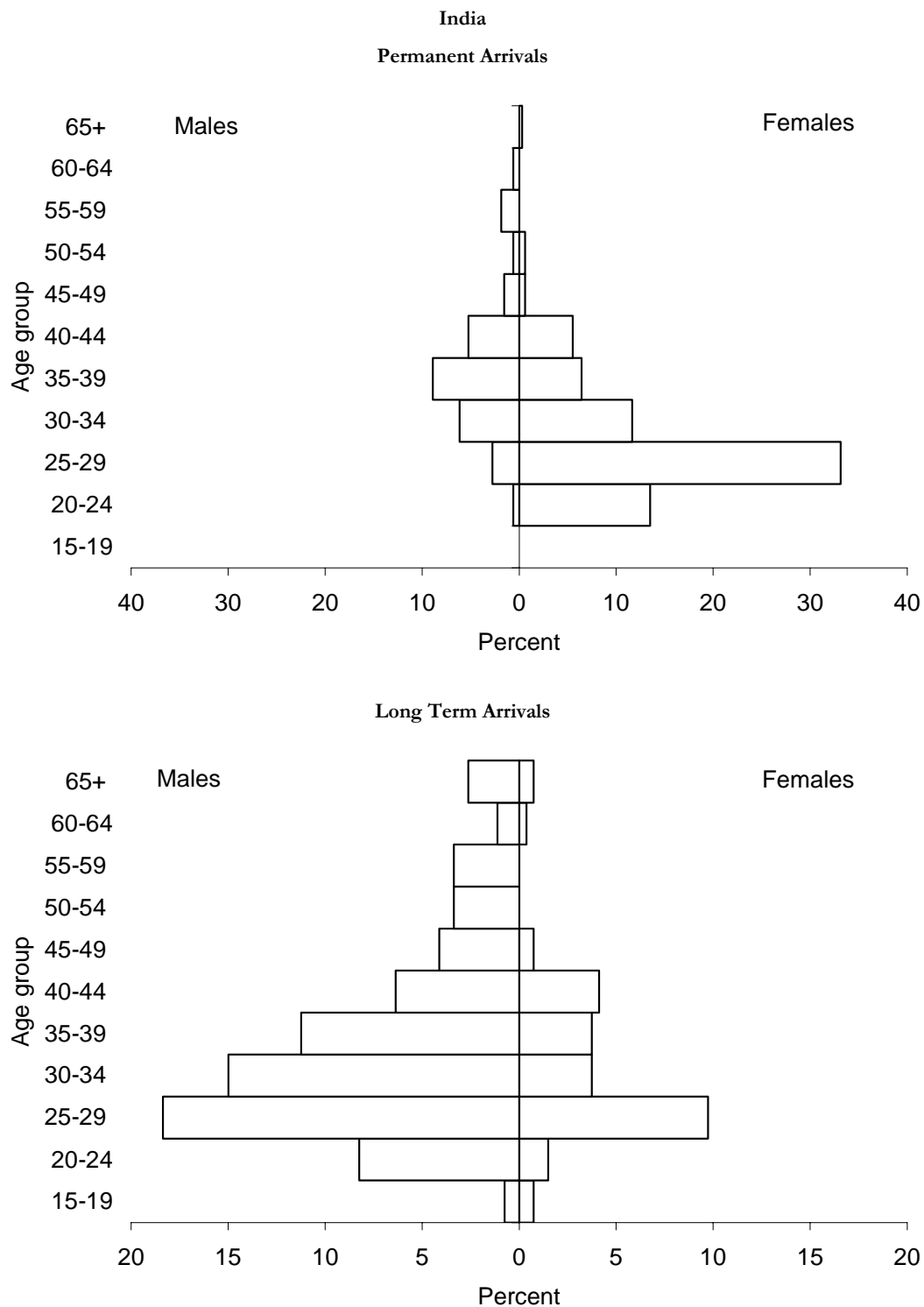


Figure 7: University Lecturers and Tutors, Permanent and Long Term Arrivals from China (1997-98 to 2005-06) and India (1997-98 to 2006-07) to Australia: Age Sex Structure

Source: DIMLA unpublished data

In order to investigate the migration process and the contacts maintained by Chinese and Indian university-based academics and researchers we draw upon web-based surveys of 239 China-born and 111 India-born academics based in Australia's universities. The survey was conducted in 2007 and was not based on a random sample. In virtually every study of migrants in Australia it is not possible to obtain a comprehensive sampling frame listing the entire population under study – in this case China- and India-born teachers and researchers in Australian universities. The sampling frame used here was derived by a search of the staff lists of Australian universities and identifying all persons considered to have an Indian or mainland China surname. Each of these was then emailed a letter explaining the survey and its purpose and asking them to go on-line and complete a short questionnaire regarding their migration to Australia, their current work, links with China and India and future intentions. As expected a number of those identified were of Chinese or Indian descent but had come to Australia from other countries. Nevertheless it was successful in identifying a substantial number in the target population. The survey was based on a similar study undertaken of Chinese academics in universities in the United States (Zweig and Changgui, 1995). The survey was conducted on-line and it is apparent that some problems were experienced because the questionnaire was identified by some university systems as spam so that some potential respondents did not get to see the letter asking for co-operation. The questionnaires that were returned were comprehensively completed and many respondents showed a high level of interest in the study. The questions asked included enquiries into reasons for coming to Australia, academic background, experience in China and Australia, linkages maintained with China and future intentions.

## VII. The Migration Process

The decision to migrate is a complex and multi dimensional social and economic process. An in-depth study of ten Chinese in the United States (Pang and Appleton 2004) differentiated this decision between:

- a. the factors influencing the origin decision to come to the United States.
- b. the factors influencing the decision to *stay* permanently.

He crystallised the elements of the former into four clusters of considerations:

- the desire for more education;
  - educational preparation;
  - availability of financial support;
  - the push of wishing to escape an unpleasant situation in China.
- } pull factors

The factors involved in the decision to stay in the United States were:

- a. the desire to pursue a better life;
- b. the recognition of educational achievements;
- c. overcoming academic difficulties.

In the contemporary Australian context it is becoming evident that the decisions to immigrate and the decisions to stay are not separate decisions and that increasingly the decision to come to Australia as a student is influenced by the possibility that this would open up for permanent settlement in Australia. Nevertheless the factors identified by Pang and Appleton (2004) have resonance in the Australian context.



In the survey the nexus between student migration and settling in Australia is quite marked with 60 of the 111 Indian respondents having their highest degree from an Australian university (54.1 per cent). For the China-born 64.4 percent gained their degree from Australia. This is a pattern which is prevalent not only in the university sector but in other skilled areas as well. Having an Australian qualification gains points in the Points Assessment Test for permanent settlement. Nevertheless in the case of over a quarter of the Indian sample (25.2 per cent) and 17.2 percent of the Chinese sample the respondents had taken their highest degree from an Indian or Chinese university respectively. A small number reported that their degree was from a USA university, the UK or Canada.

**Table 10: Survey of Indian and Chinese Academics in Australia: Disciplines (n=111 and 239)**

Discipline Area	India		China	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
1. Science/Mathematics	24	21.8	49	21.5
2. Engineering/Architecture	18	16.4	50	21.9
3. Economics/Business	23	20.9	19	8.3
4. Social Sciences/Humanities	20	18.2	48	21.1
5. Medicine/Health	11	10.0	19	8.3
6. Information Technology	12	10.9	41	18.0
7. Law	2	1.8	2	0.9
Total (incl. Not Stated)	111	100.0	239	100.0

*Source: Survey 2007*

There are some differences between the two sample groups. Table shows the disciplinary orientation with economics and business being stronger among the Indians and Information Technology among the Chinese. The China sample is somewhat more established with 24.4 percent being in their current position less than 3 years compared with 42.3 percent of the Indians. Some 94 percent of the Chinese had become Australian citizens compared with 65.5 percent of the Indians. The study may be somewhat biased toward more established members of university staff since the sampling frame was the staff listings of universities which may not have included recent or short-term contract staff. Accordingly 66.7 percent of the India survey respondents had a continuing position in the universities compared with 60 percent of the China respondents.

Respondents were asked what they thought the reasons were why Indian and Chinese academics were coming to Australia and these are presented in Table and there are clear differences in the responses. For Indians the highest response related to Australia's standard of living although more than a half agreed that each of the factors was influential except for freedom of speech which only a quarter felt was a significant factor. It was interesting though that two thirds of respondents indicated that education of children was an important element in the decisions of Indians to come to Australia. Recent research on migration to Australia has indicated that the interests of children are a potent factor in immigrants deciding to come to Australia. Indeed some skilled migrants indicate that they would have been better off economically if they had remained in their home country or migrated to a destination other than Australia. However they had decided to move to Australia because they considered that their children would have a better future in Australia than in alternative countries. Undoubtedly an important element in this is education. For many skilled migrants a critical element in them deciding to migrate to a particular destination is that their children can get access to high quality educational resources at affordable cost. It was concluded (Hugo, Khoo

and McDonald, 2006; Hugo forthcoming) that while obtaining a satisfying and well remunerated job was a *necessary* condition for skilled persons to migrate to a particular destination it was not a *sufficient* condition. The latter includes factors like the education of children, lifestyle, standard of living etc. and they are crucial factors in the migration process. Hence in Table there is equally strong agreement with lifestyle and standard of living reasons for moving as for job related factors.

**Table 11: Survey of Indian and Chinese Academics in Australia: Reasons Why Indian and Chinese Academics are Migrating to Australia, 2007 (n=111 and 239)**

<b>India</b>		
<b>Reason</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Per cent</b>
Job Opportunities	69	62.2
Salary	60	54.1
Standard of Living	85	76.6
Education of Children	75	67.6
Freedom of Speech	25	22.5
Research Opportunities and Funding	65	58.6
Lifestyle	64	57.7
<b>China</b>		
<b>Reason</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Per cent</b>
Career Advancement/Opportunities	65	32.7
Academic Training	61	30.7
Lifestyle/Environment	36	18.1
Family/Children	19	9.5
Adventure/Experience	10	5.0
Situation in China	6	3.0
Transfer	2	1.0

Source: Survey 2007

For Chinese the patterns are somewhat different. Few respondents gave family reasons coming to Australia and most of these indicated that one of their motivations was to give their children a greater opportunity in life than they felt would be possible if they remained in China. In-depth interviews with Chinese staff in Australian universities however do indicate that networks are an important influence on the decision to migrate and the decision of where to migrate to. Some 46.2 percent of respondents said all of their family lived in Australia and another 25.4 percent had more than half of their family in Australia. These include both family who lived in Australia before they arrived and those who they assisted to follow them. It was shown earlier that family migration has been more important among the Chinese than among other birthplace groups. Discussions with respondents indicated that networks with colleagues already in Australia are also an important influence. Only 36 of the respondents indicated that they did not have another colleague in their academic unit who was from China. The network factor is also strongly evident in the interactions which respondents have in Australia. All but one respondent socialise with other Mainland Chinese families although three quarters indicated that they socialise with other families as well.

It is apparent that a similar pattern is developing in the China-Australia academic migration situation to that which has applied in North America for a longer period (Zweig and Changgui, 1995). There are distinctive patterns in evidence with a nexus between initial temporary migration as a student and obtaining eventual permanent residency. In addition, networks of family and friends play an important role.

## VIII. Linkages with China and India

In the recent renaissance of the debate on the impact of migration on development (GCIM, 2005; United Nations, 2006; World Bank, 2006) considerable emphasis has been placed on the positive influence which diaspora can have on development in origin countries. Accordingly the extent to which expatriates develop, maintain and expand their linkages with their home country is crucial. There is a growing appreciation in the development literature that 'a highly skilled diaspora may play several important roles in promoting development at home' (Lucas, 2001). In terms of academics and researchers in the diaspora it is their role in transmitting information and in facilitating technology transfer which is most significant. Lucas (2001, 22) has shown how professionals in origin and destination countries have maintained strong linkages so that ideas flow freely in both directions. In the scientific world, flows of information are of utmost significance and it may be that diaspora can play a role in technology transfers. The potential for such interaction to accelerate diffusion of new ideas, products, processes, etc. is considerable. For example, the ethnic linkages between Taiwan with Silicon Valley have had a major impact on the development of the information technology in the home countries (Saxenian, 1999). There has been an increasing recognition that there is considerable potential for linking expatriate researchers and scientists with colleagues in their home countries to facilitate knowledge transfer and the development of tertiary research and teaching organisation in the home nation (Meyer and Brown, 1999).

Governments in both China and India have begun to appreciate the positive role that the diaspora can play in development at home. India has been encouraging these linkages through such initiatives as providing taxation privileges to expatriates using Indian banks for their savings, organise an annual conference of expatriates and the setting up of a separate ministry to formalise its dealings with the diaspora. In China there has long been a policy at national and regional level to encourage the return of highly skilled emigrants and to encourage expatriates to retain strong linkages with home (Biao, 2006; Wattanavitukul, 2002; Wescott, 2005).

Diaspora is a very old concept and migrants have maintained linkages with their homeland over thousands of years. However in a globalising world immigrants can develop and maintain these linkages with a new intensity and immediacy for the following reasons:

- a. The revolution in Information Communication Technology has meant that whereas migrants previously kept in contact with their homeland through letters they now regularly (daily, weekly) telephone or email family in the homeland. Moreover the internet means the migrant can keep up with events in the homeland through reading newspapers and other media at the same time as their homeland based counterparts.
- b. The reduction of the real cost and travel times of international travel means that regular visiting by the diaspora and their families is feasible and at times of family emergency the family can be readily assembled.
- c. It is increasingly possible to be bi-national in that one can lead active economic and social lives in both origin and destination.

One of the strongest findings of a survey of Australian Indian and Chinese academics was that they maintained strong linkages with India (Table). Over half the sample has contact with India and China more than twice a week and visit India and China at least once a year. Moreover 89.7 percent visit their family in India and 84.4 percent in China regularly. Hence the extent of interaction with India and China is intensive and frequent so the potential for the group to influence their homeland is substantial.

**Table 12: Survey of Indian and Chinese Academics in Australia:  
Frequency of Contact with India and China, 2007 (n=111)**

<b>Frequency of Contact</b>	<b>India Per cent</b>	<b>China Per cent</b>
Visit Family in India/China Regularly	89.7	84.4
Visit India/China at Least Once a Year	57.1	59.9
Contact India/China at Least Weekly	61.0	56.5

*Source: Survey 2007*

**Table 13: Survey of Indian and Chinese Academics in Australia:  
Professional Linkages Maintained with India, 2007**

<b>Type of Linkage</b>	<b>India Per cent (n=111)</b>	<b>China Per cent (n=239)</b>
Running Seminars/Courses in India	41.1	61.0
Training Indian/Chinese Students in Australia	27.0	51.5
Editing a Book with an Indian/Chinese Scholar	19.3	19.5
Collaborative Research with Indian/Chinese Scholars	50.0	65.6
Gave Academic Papers in India/China	71.4	59.5
Consulting in India/China	14.0	24.6
Have a Company that Works in India/China	7.2	3.9
Visit Colleagues in India/China Regularly	73.0	69.0

*Source: Survey 2007*

In this context it is also important to examine the professional linkages maintained by the sample with their colleagues in India. Table examines the interaction of the Indian and Chinese academics to those of the larger sample of Chinese academics in Australia with their homeland. It is interesting to note that the extent of interaction movement by both is quite high with 73 percent of Indians and 69 percent of Chinese regularly visiting colleagues in their homelands in person and 71.4 and 59.5 percent respectively regularly presenting academic papers in their home country. It is interesting however that when it comes to maintaining linkages while based in Australia the Chinese are more active than Indians. Almost two thirds of Chinese scholars in Australia have active research projects with their colleagues back in China compared with 50 percent of Indians. Similarly those running seminars in their homeland, training students from their homeland and editing a book with a colleague in the homeland are higher in China. The higher rates may be due to the fact that China has a specific policy for funding the interaction of Chinese scholars overseas with their counterparts at home (Biao, 2006; Wescott, 2005).

Other important linkages among the Indian and Chinese scholars relate to running courses/seminars in China and India, training Indian and Chinese students, giving academic papers in China and India and, to a lesser extent, editing-books with Indian and Chinese scholars and undertaking consulting work in China and India. Few however had commercial linkages with companies involved in China although the proportion is larger in India. Individual respondents have a range of special linkages with China and India with a few having adjunct positions in home universities; others have set up joint China/India-Australia programmes and some serve on advisory committees to home governments.

Just over half of the Chinese respondents (56.6 per cent) indicated that the Chinese Embassy in Canberra had facilitated these interactions and some 20.9 percent saw the Embassy's role as being important in the networks and activities they maintain with China.

The respondents put considerable importance on their linkages with China. Several also indicated that their reasons for placing such importance on the linkages is not only for the enhancement of their own careers. More than half (74.0) indicated that they were interested in facilitating technology transfer to China and almost all (85.3) said that they had an interest in promoting quality research in China.

Although some of the linkages maintained by Indian expatriate academics with their colleagues in India are less frequent than those of Chinese academics in Australia, they nevertheless are substantial. Moreover is likely that similar linkages are maintained by other skilled Indians with their homeland. Clearly the potential for them to return regularly to interact with colleagues in India – both through temporary visits and virtually through ICT is huge. There has been an increasing recognition in the literature that the existence of a diaspora of researchers, scientists and technologists can provide a ‘brain gain option’ without returning to their home nation since they can be avenues for technology transfers, information spread and training for people in their home country (Barre, Hernandez, Meyer and Vinck, 2003; Meyer *et al.* 1997; Meyer, 2001a and b, Meyer *et al.* 2001). China has used administrative means in order to encourage such networking (Biao, 2006). The potential of ‘virtual return’ through the use of modern information and communication technology has led to a significant change in China’s official policy toward the high skill people in its diaspora. Wescott (2005) has pointed out that the policy has changed from ‘*hui guo fu mu*’ (return and serve the motherland) to ‘*weiguo fu mu*’ (serve the motherland) in recognition of the increasing ability of the diaspora to deliver benefits to the homeland while abroad. Although the formal structure and financial support for encouraging ‘virtual return’ of scientists and academics is not as present in India as it is in China there is considerable potential for knowledge transfer between Indian academics based in Australia with those based in India.

## IX. Future Migration Intentions

Another element in the new international discourse on the impact of emigration on development in origin communities relates to return migration. It is argued that to some extent the loss of human capital through ‘brain drain’ emigration of skilled persons can be offset by their return migration. Returnees are not only bringing back the human capital they took with them when they left the country but also the new skills, experience and contacts they have acquired while being overseas. Accordingly examining the extent of return migration is important. It has been demonstrated elsewhere (Hugo, 2008b) that there are distinct differences between East Asia and South Asia in the propensity for return migration. Table shows that permanent departures to China over the 1994-2007 period were 30.5 per cent, as big as settler arrivals while for India the proportion is only 3.7 per cent. There are a number of possible explanations:

- a. The Indian migration to Australia is not as mature as that from China with much of the immigration being in the last few years.
- b. There is more significant migration of Indians to third countries like the United Kingdom and the United States (Hugo, forthcoming).
- c. Although India has recorded spectacular economic growth in recent years, work opportunities at home may not be as great as in China.
- d. There may be cultural factors at work.

**Table 14: Australia: India and China Permanent Arrivals and Departures (Overseas- and Australia-Born), 1994-95 to 2006-07**

	<b>China</b>	<b>India</b>
Settler Arrivals	83,253	47,724
Permanent Departures Overseas-Born	19,156	1,065
Permanent Departures Australia-Born	6,222	718
Total percent Departures	23,378	1,783
Permanent Departures as a percent of Settler Arrivals	30.5	3.7

*Source: DLAC Overseas Arrivals and Departures*

These patterns were also reflected in the results of the survey. The survey indicated that there was considerable potential for the Chinese academic diaspora in that country to return. Only 47.7 percent of the sample indicated that they intend to remain permanently in Australia although another 21.3 percent responded that they were undecided about where they will settle in the future. However a substantial number have definite plans of moving out of Australia at some stage. Moreover some 44.2 percent of respondents indicated that they would go back to China if they were offered a good position. Hence, the potential for Chinese academics to be lured back to China is significant.

Among the Indians interviewed, 54.9 percent indicated that they had plans to remain permanently in Australia and 17.6 percent were undecided. However a substantial number have definite plans of leaving Australia at some stage (27.9 per cent). Moreover some 14.2 percent of the sample had already tried to get a satisfactory job back in India. Moreover some 44.1 percent of the sample indicated that they would go back to India if they were offered a good job and a considerable majority (82.4 per cent) said they would prefer to have a joint position between India and Australia.

Family connections are an important influence on return migration. Only just over a quarter of cases (31.0 per cent), less than half of the families of the Indian academics interviewed, lived in Australia while for three quarters 50 percent or more of their families were in India. However it should be noted nearly half of the respondents (45.0 per cent) had family members in third countries although in only 8 percent of cases was this the majority of their family.

Hence, there is some potential for return migration among both Chinese and Indians. Having said this, however, it is apparent that a desire to leave Australia among Chinese and Indian academics does not necessarily mean they would like to return to India. For some, Australia is being seen as a stepping stone toward migration to North America, and to a lesser extent, Europe. It is interesting that this also has been observed in Canada. DeVoretz (2005) has identified a pattern of 'triangular' movement among the Chinese diaspora which sees that movement as a complex transnationalism model involving Canada, China and the Rest of the World. This model would certainly seem to have relevance to the Australian academic context. In the Australia context (Biao 2004) found a pattern of IT workers from India migrating to Australia, gaining permanent residency but then seeking to move to the United States. However, Australia was seen as more than a means of getting to the United States. It was seen also as a form of insurance whereby workers who were not successful in the US or who were victims of the collapse of the IT industry could return to Australia rather than go back to India. In this context the fact that nearly half of the academic sample had relatives in third countries is of some significance.

One of the findings of the survey was that Indian academics in Australia generally maintain social interaction with both the Indian community in Australia and the broader Australian community. In over three quarters of cases they were not the only Indian origin academic in their university department. More than 90 percent socialise with other Indian families in Australia and a similar proportion report they socialise with Australian families. There remains for many, however, a strong identity with their homeland and two thirds indicate that they associated with the expatriate Indian community.

## **X. Conclusion**

Australia's immigration has undergone parametric change in the last decade (Hugo, 1999). The first sweeping shift was the transformation of the national Immigration Program from being one dominated by permanent settlement to one where each year several hundred thousand people are granted a visa to live and work on a temporary basis in Australia. The second was the increasing workforce/economic orientation of the program so that skill, education, Australian qualifications, ability to speak English and work experience became the dominant criteria in selecting both settlers and temporary migrants. A third and related element has been the increasing share of Australian settlement which has involved 'onshore' migration whereby temporary residents are granted permanent residency. While these changes have occurred, India has become Australia's second largest origin country of immigrants where the main language is not English (only the United Kingdom and New Zealand are more significant). Moreover there are a number of reasons why India and China are to become an even more significant source of migrants in the near future:

- Firstly, Australia is currently expanding its immigration intake in response to a perceived shortage of skilled workers.
- The Chinese and Indians use the family reunion component of the immigration programme more than most other birthplace groups so that increases in skilled migration will have a significant multiplier effect in family migration.
- The China- and India-born are now the largest Asian origin group in Australia and the most rapidly expanding so that the professional, family and other social networks linking Australia and India/China are increasing as will movement along those linkages.
- The fact that India and China are now the largest origins for full fee paying foreign students in Australia in a context where the Australian Government has increased the number of programmes whereby foreigners with Australian experience get preference in the immigration programme. For example, extra points in the Points Assessment Scheme are given if people have Australian qualifications. Overseas students who study at regional Australian universities have been given additional preference.
- Other linkages between India/China and Australia are expanding such as trade, business and tourism so that information flows are also increasing as well as population exchanges.

There are some additional factors which are likely to see an even greater movement of Chinese academics and researchers to Australia. Firstly there has been an increasing focus in Australian universities on recruiting Chinese and Indian students. This together with increasing prosperity in China is likely to lead to a continuation of the upward trajectory in Indian and Chinese student numbers over the next few years. Moreover, over the last few

years the Australian government has introduced a number of changes to its immigration regulations to facilitate overseas students obtaining permanent residence in Australia. A second factor is the ageing of the staff of Australian universities (Hugo, 2005). This will result in an increased demand for academics and researchers in Australian universities. This will be occurring at a time when the Australian labour market in this area has tightened. Australian higher degree graduates have shown a greater propensity than in the past to seek careers outside of the university sector and have increasingly sought positions outside Australia, especially the United States and the United Kingdom (Hugo, Rudd and Harris, 2003). Hence, there will be more opportunities for academics and scientists from countries like China and India.

Another particularly important finding from the present study is the strength of linkages maintained by Chinese and Indian academics in Australia with their homeland and the significant proportions who intend to return home at some stage. This suggests that there is considerable scope from the Chinese perspective of enhancing the flow of information and encouraging technology transfer. It means that there is considerable scope for policy intervention to enhance, strengthen and develop those linkages to increase their impact.

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# Migration and Diaspora Formation: Mobility of Indian Students to Developed Countries<sup>1</sup>

Perveen Kumar, Shantanu Sarkar and Rashmi Sharma

*Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India*

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## Abstract

*There has been a continuous increase in the number of Indian students pursuing higher education abroad. The mobility of Indian students is not limited to the UK or the US, as it used to be a few decades back, rather several countries such as Canada, Australia, Germany, France, New Zealand and Singapore have also emerged as their favoured destinations. Huge expenditures incurred by the people of developing countries like India for a foreign degree can broadly be perceived as a form of investment for it is widely believed that a foreign degree helps in securing better employment and consequently higher remuneration. Many students pursue a foreign degree with an aim to access the employment market of the destination countries through the 'academic gate'. Although international students are perceived to be temporary migrants and are supposed to go back to their respective countries after completing their education but some host countries allow them to work as a strategy to attract more foreign students. A significant proportion of these students eventually add volume to the diaspora by turning into permanent migrants. This proportion is increasing year after year and therefore, the contribution of student migration in diaspora formation has become an important area of contemporary migration research.*

**Keywords:** Migration, diaspora formation, international students, higher education, global cities.

## I. Introduction

People have been leaving their places of origin for long in search of better opportunities. Depending upon various factors such as the kind of treatment and experiences received in the destination country, opportunities to come back to their homeland, their capacity to acclimatize in the new environment, etc., migrants decide whether to stay on or return back to their origin country. Although quite a few migrants return but a significant proportion tend to settle in the destination country, obtain its citizenship, and thereupon forming the diaspora. The term diaspora, originally confined to describe the Jewish communities living outside their 'promised land', i.e., Palestine (Baumann, 2007), has gained wider acceptance to refer to all kinds of displaced people/communities who feel or maintain their connection with the origin country.

Historically there have been various phases of emigration from India, characterized by the dominance of particular set of people and the specific channels used by them, which have

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resulted in permanent inter-country migration. The paper begins by identifying dominant features of various phases of Indian emigration and presents a detailed discussion on student migration from India with the aim of delineating its role in diaspora formation. Including introduction the paper is divided into seven sections. Section II contains a brief analysis of the distinguishable features of each phase of mass emigration from India to overseas destinations and its contribution in diaspora formation. Section III provides an overview of the mobility of students to the developed Countries. Section IV contains a discussion on the mobility of Indian students to developed countries. It also discusses student mobility to three most favoured destination countries, viz, the US, UK and Australia. Section V discusses the dynamics of student mobility and its implications for India. Section VI tries to establish how student migration ultimately culminates into diaspora formation. Lastly, Section VII concludes by reiterating the growing volume of student migration and the importance of student mobility in diaspora formation.

## **II. Migration from India and Diaspora Formation**

In terms of numerical strength Indian Diaspora is the third largest, after the British and the Chinese, comprising 25 million people spreading over 130 countries (MOIA, 2007). The Indian diaspora has reached this distinction as a result of a long history of migration of its people over centuries driven by a variety of reasons such as colonialism, transnational trade, education, and globalization. People from Indian subcontinent have moved into different directions possessing differential amount of physical and human capital. But there are certain discernible phases of migration from India. This section provides a brief account of major migratory flows of Indian emigration and their contribution in diaspora formation.

### **1. Migration of Seers and Scholars**

The first imprints of Indian migration, which is thousands of years old, consisting of saints and seers having a deep understanding of philosophy and Indian culture, could be traced to countries like Cambodia, Vietnam, China, Sri Lanka and Indonesia (Agrawal, 2001). For example, during his reign Emperor Ashoka sent his son Mahendra to Cylon and his daughter Sanghmitra to China for spreading the message of peace and non-violence. The spread of Buddhism in many countries of Asia is a testimony of such migration.

### **2. Migration of Indians under Indenture System**

The first mass emigration of Indians, led by the 'British colonialism' (Jain, 1993), took place in the third decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and spanned over a century. During this phase Indian labour was imported, mainly under the indentured system, to fill the supply gap created by the emancipation of slaves in the plantations in British and other colonies (Appleyard, 1988). "About 3 million Indians migrated to different parts of the world between around 1800 and 1945. Of these, 2.2 million went to Ceylon, Burma and Malaysia; 420,000 to East Africa and Mauritius; 400,000 to the West Indies and Fiji; and 50,000 to the United States, United Kingdom, Canada and other countries. Nearly four-fifths of the Indian emigrants were agricultural labourers, who had little or no education, had endured uncertain and difficult economic conditions at home, and hoped that emigration would help them and their families escape the curse of poverty. Some of these persons returned to India when they experienced worse conditions in their adopted countries than they had at home, but most of them settled

permanently in their adopted country” (Madhavan, 1985). When their indenture agreements were completed, some immigrants continued to stay on plantations, while others moved out into the rural communities. It is the result of majority Indian emigrants staying permanently in their adopted countries that has brought significant changes in their demographic profiles and later on helped them to make considerable presence in social, economic and political spheres in many erstwhile colonies.

### **3. Migration of Merchants and Traders**

During the 19<sup>th</sup> century, emigration of traders and skilled artisans from India to the East African countries presented a different pattern than the prevalent indentured labour system. However, when the local Africans showed reluctance, indentured labourers were brought to East Africa for building a railway from Kenya to Uganda. Later on, these indentured labourers were joined by voluntary migrants mainly traders and small shopkeepers who arrived to cater to the need of railway workers and the growing community of service providers. Many of these traders moved to remote areas and established little shops there (Jain, 1993; MOIA, 2007).

### **4. Migration of Skilled Workforce and Professionals**

After World War II, especially after the end of British rule in India, large number of people emigrated to the industrial nations of Europe and North America. The United Kingdom, the United States and Canada have emerged as the main destination/ recipient countries for Indian emigrants. Due to the colonial ties between the two countries and English being the medium of instruction, particularly at the higher professional and technical education, the UK has been the main receiving country of Indian immigrants until the 1960s (Khadria, 2001). It was first overtaken by Canada and then by the US, which still retains the position of most favoured destination for Indian emigrants (Khadria, 1999:62; 2001). Because of being dominated by people having diverse professional specializations, such as, doctors, engineers and chartered accountant; emigration during this period was popularly termed as brain drain. These people did not experience the difficulties, which the indentured labour had to face in the destination countries. Also, in contrast to the emigrants of the earlier phase, majority of Indians who migrated during this phase were from the affluent society and possessed better productive and remunerative skills. They were the products of India’s premier institutions of higher and technical education like the Indian Institutes of Technology (IITs), Regional Colleges of Engineering, All India Institute of Medical Sciences (AIIMS), etc. These people have contributed immensely, at various stages, in the development of their destination countries. As per the law extending citizenship to migrants, many of them became citizens of the countries to which they migrated. As a result, Indian community in the UK stands at 1,200,000; in the US at 1,678,765; in Canada at 851,000 and in Australia at 190,000 (ICWA, 2001). Significant proportion of this diaspora belongs to the category of skilled professionals migrated in the post World War II period.

### **5. Migration of Indian Workforce to the Gulf**

Though, Indian association with the Gulf region was established much earlier with the migration of traders and financiers from the Indian sub-continent, the massive extraction of petroleum products and the subsequent construction boom of the 1970s offered enormous opportunities for Indians to migrate to the Gulf countries. There arose an unprecedented demand for human resources in the region which could not be met by the local workforce and hence made the importation of workers in these countries inevitable. In response to this

demand large number of Indians migrated to the Gulf. The inflow of Indian workers in the Gulf changed the very profile of erstwhile settled Indian community of traders and financiers of Indian origin in the region as majority of them were low-skilled or semi-skilled. Pant (2001) estimated that out of the 3.3 million Indians engaged in different categories of economic activities 'about 70 percent are semi-skilled and unskilled, white collar employees including families are 20 percent, professionals including families are 10 percent. He further estimated that the largest number of Indian expatriates are in Saudi Arabia (about 1.3 million), followed by United Arab Emirates (1.2 million), Oman (336,000), Kuwait (260,000), Bahrain (140,000) and Qatar (120,000). Around two-thirds of the Indian expatriates to the Gulf hail from Kerala. Indian community in the Gulf not only contributes to the development of their destination country but also contributes significantly to their motherland by sending huge amounts of remittances (MOIA, 2007).

## **6. Migration under the Aegis of Globalization**

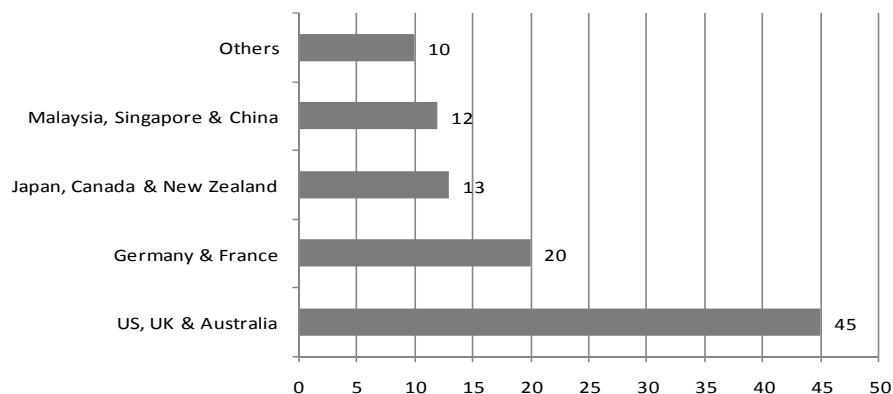
The contemporary wave of globalization has been linking labour markets across borders and creating labour flows spanning global cities that are rooted in hierarchies of labour demand (Lowell and Findlay, 2001). Towards the last decade of the twentieth century, as most nation-states in the world moved ahead with the globalization agenda, new areas of labour demand have emerged in the developed countries. Many nation-states, which were earlier averse to immigration, are now looking for labour from developing countries. Besides, the aging of population in large parts of the developed world, and the consequent labour shortages forced these countries to import people for household jobs, driving, nursing, teaching, and other specialized services. Owing to the advantage of its demographic profile and knowledge of English language, India has emerged as the one of the most prominent country to fill the supply gaps in the labour-deficient economies of the developed world. Besides having emigrated to the traditional immigrant countries like the UK, the US, Canada and Australia, Indian professionals are now also welcomed in Germany, France, Japan, New Zealand, Denmark, Ireland, Korea and Singapore. The emphasis shifted from the specifics to the generics, i.e., skill composition for the labour in demand tilted in favour of the migrant professionals such as IT-professionals who were capable of applying their knowledge in more than one field of professional expertise (Khadria, 2001).

## **III. International Student Mobility: An Overview**

There has been an unprecedented increase in the number of international students studying outside their home country in the last decade. The number of international students rose from 1.68 million in 1999 to 2.7 million in 2005, registering 61 percent increase during this period (UNESCO, 2006; University World News, 2007; OECD, 2007). This growth can be attributed *inter alia* to the factors like rapid economic globalization, internationalization of higher education, emergence of a tacit understanding in favour of exporting education to get foreign exchange (particularly in the developed countries) commercialization of higher education, increasing demand of professionals for filling the gaps in the industrial and service sectors having multinational presence. However, the most important factor leading to international migration of students to the developed countries is the desire for a better quality degree, having more market value and credibility which provides them a better standing in the labour market. The destination countries are now increasingly attracting international students not only for funds but also for long-term socio-economic benefits accruing from these highly-skilled migrants; a sizeable proportion of whom aim for long-term migration and happen to become permanent residents in the destination country. Hence, major flows of international

students are towards the developed countries for getting good education and better opportunities.

The destinations of international students are becoming increasingly diverse and they are now choosing both the developed and the developing countries. However, a majority of the students are moving towards the western developed countries for higher education. In 2005, out of the total number of students enrolled in tertiary institutions as foreign (non-resident) students, more than 2 million students comprising 52.4 percent of these were from Asian countries, just slightly below the population share of Asia in the world, i.e., 56.5 percent. Five countries, viz., the United States, the United Kingdom, Australia, Japan and Germany, account for almost 80 percent of the stock of foreign students. Members of this group of five also dominate as the countries of destination for students from Asia, accounting for 76.3 percent of total Asian students. Figure 1 provides a glimpse of the distribution of international students in most favoured educational destinations in the world. It is clear from the figure that nearly half of the international students (45 percent) go to the UK, the US and Australia, which clearly emerge as the most preferred destinations for international students while Germany and France account for 20 percent i.e. one-fifth population of international students (OBHE, 2007).



**Figure 1: Distribution of International Students in Destination Countries (%)**

*Source: International Mobility: Patterns and Trends, The Observatory on Borderless Higher Education, 2007.*

#### **IV. Student Migration from India**

Today, a larger number of people from India cross the national borders for foreign education than ever before. It is also called the other stream of skilled migration, apart from the one taking place through the “employment gate”, that has been taking place through the “academic gate” as growing pools of revolving students formed a distinct set of actor amongst the Indian migrants – the “semi-finished human capital” of Indian professionals abroad (Majumdar, 1994; Abella, 2006). The mobility of Indian students is not only limited to the countries that either have traditional ties with India like the UK or to the US that attracts the largest numbers of foreign students every year, rather in the past few decades, the movement of Indian students has been in more diverse directions like the European Union (e.g., Germany, France) and Oceania (e.g., Australia, New Zealand). These countries are competing with one another to attract students from developing countries by tailor-making their immigration policies that are suitable for international students. The growing competition among countries like the U.S., the UK, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Ireland, and Singapore as well as non-English speaking countries like France, Germany, and the Netherlands, has brought even the Ivy League institutions to India, and to other South Asian

countries, to identify and select the best minds (The Economic Times, 2004). Figure 2 shows the distribution of Indian students among the various developed destination countries. Almost four-fifth of the Indian students migrating abroad for higher education went to the US in 2001 making it the top-most destination of Indian students. Australia occupies the second spot with 10 percent followed by the UK receiving 7 percent Indian students.

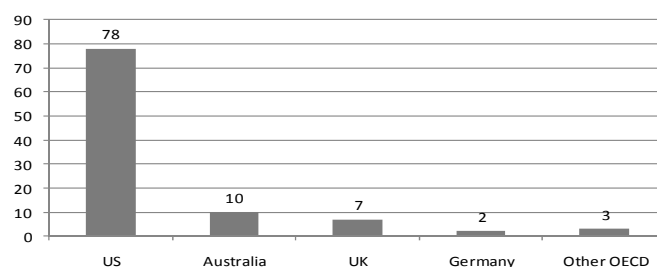


Figure 2: Distribution of Indian Tertiary Students in receiving OECD Countries, 2001(%)

Source: OECD Database.

Various reasons can be attributed to such a massive increase in the number of Indian students going abroad to pursue higher education. Firstly, Indian universities do not have the capacity to absorb all the applicants, especially in the professional courses. For a country of more than 1.1 billion people, there are only 400 universities. Approximately more than 90 percent of students who aspire for the Indian Institute of Technology (IITs) and the Indian Institute of Management (IIMs) admissions do not succeed due to capacity constraints, hence the top 40 percent among them go abroad for higher education (The Financial Express, 2008). Secondly, India's policy of positive discrimination in higher education reserving 50 percent of seats or as high as 69 percent in the southern state of Tamil Nadu for students from underprivileged and backward castes. So a large number of bright students belonging to the upper castes are not able to get admission in courses and institutions of their choice. Thirdly, a foreign degree is considered superior than a degree provided by most Indian institutions, and is valued highly in the job market. Fourthly, now the middle-class parents are willing to support their children's education in universities abroad and banks provide educational loans at low interest rates.

## 1. Migration of Indian Students to the US

The US has been the top most destination country of Indian students for higher education for about eight years in a row. Figure 3 shows that Indian students occupied 10 percent share amongst all foreign students enrolled in the US in 2001.

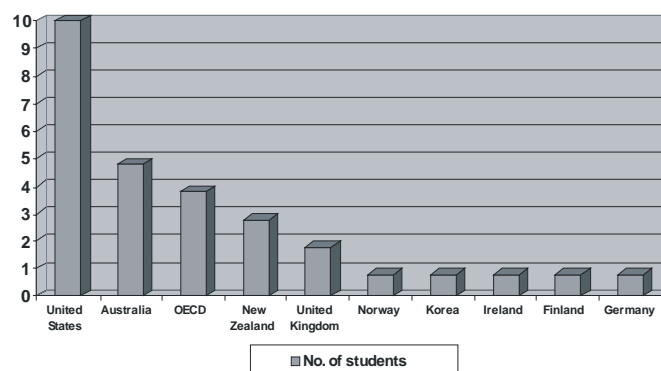


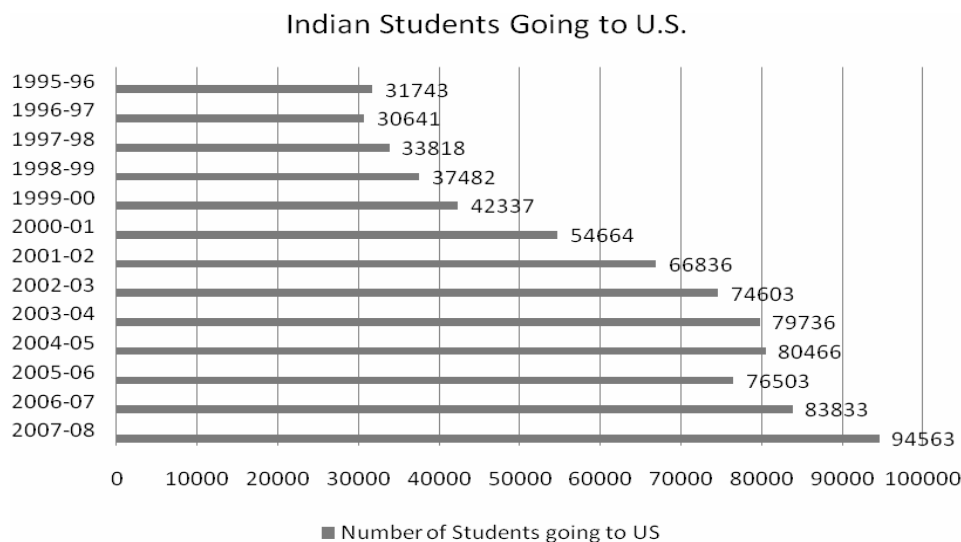
Figure 3: Share of Indian Students among all Foreign Students in Receiving OECD Countries, 2001 (%)

Source: OECD Education database.

Note: Excluding data for Canada, Greece, Luxembourg, and Portugal.



In 2004, however the share of Indian students amongst all foreign students in the US went up to 14 percent from 10 percent in 2001. Data collected by the US Institute of International Education's Open Doors 2005 survey revealed that in 2004–05 India retained its No. 1 position in the US university enrolments (followed by China, Korea, Japan, Canada, and Taiwan) for the fourth year in a row. In 2005–06, the numbers of applications from Indian students have been reported to have registered a 23 percent increase over the previous year, the highest amongst all countries (Hindustan Times, 2006). The US still continues to grow in stature as the most favoured destination for Indian students. According to the data released in November 2007, international student population in the US rose from 564,000 in 2005-06 to 583,000 in 2006-07 and for the sixth year in a row Indian students accounted for the largest number of international students in the US. According to a recent survey that monitors student flow, the population of Indian students in the US went up by 10 percent from 76,503 in 2005-06 to 83,833 in 2006-'07; the number has doubled in the last decade (Times of India, 2008). Moreover, Chennai seems to be one of the largest exporters in the country. 38,274 student visas were issued from across the country in fiscal year 2006-07 (October 2006 to September 2007), of which the Chennai consulate gave out 19,973. Correspondingly, between October 2007 and April 2008, 50,316 student visas were issued from across the country, of which the Chennai consulate alone accounted for 24,975.



**Figure 4: Number of Indian Students Going to the US**

*Source: Open Doors: Report on International Education Exchange (2004), An annual publication by the Institute of International Education.*

Figure 4 shows that the number of Indian students going to the US has been increasing over years. Internationalization of higher education has been a major driving force for this. Also, with a rising middle class in India being able to afford foreign university programmes (either through family funding or through education loans) and universities actively recruiting them, Indians have become the largest group of international students in the US. One plausible explanation for this increase in the flow of Indian students to the US could be the acceptance of the three-year bachelor degree programme for entry to their graduate schools. Earlier, the US accepted students in its graduate schools only after they completed 16 years of formal education (12+4). Indian students were required to study one year of post-graduation

before they could take any entrance test to American universities. The change in rule was targeted towards opening the doors of higher studies in American universities to a massive Indian pool of B.A., B.Com., B.Sc. degree holders.

## **2. Student Migration from India to the UK**

The United Kingdom is the second most preferred destination of the Indian students for two simple reasons, that is, its traditional relations with India on the one hand and the quality of higher education associated with the UK universities on the other. UK has a long history of hosting international students including India. In 1998 there were 3,300 Indian students in the UK (ranked at the 18<sup>th</sup> position) which rose to 10,900 students in 2003 upgrading its rank to the 7<sup>th</sup> position (British Council, 2004). At present, Indian students rank second, next to Chinese, among the number of international students going to the UK. According to data from the Higher Education Statistics Agency (HESA), the number of Indian international students in UK rose from 19,205 in 2005-06 (5.8 percent of total international students in the UK) to 23,835 in 2006-07. Britain attracts more foreign international students than any other country except the USA and is increasingly becoming the Athens of the global education economy (Indian Overseas, 2007).

In 2006, 19,737 student visas were issued by UK embassies in India. 26,551 student visa applications were received in 2005 in which there has been a 27 percent increase in 2006 with the numbers rising to 33,600. But Indian students in the UK have faced a lot of problems amidst uncertainties and volatility of its immigration laws. In 2006, large number of Indian students studying in British universities converted their student visa into Highly Skilled Migrants Programme (HSMP) category and they later on regretted their decision with a change in the immigration law. Many Indian students after completing post-graduation and other courses switched to Highly Skilled Migrant Programme as in-country applicants but the changes introduced by the UK government dismantled all their plans. Still due to its established reputation of quality education and the opportunity for better prospects, the UK attracts a large number of Indian students (Express India, 2007). In 2007-08, 25,905 Indian students were studying in the UK being the second largest group. One of the major reason for attracting international students is that British universities are virtually all now dependent - to a greater or lesser extent - on overseas students to balance their books, and foreign students are worth an estimated £4billion (Guardian, 2007).

## **3. Student Migration from India to Australia: A Case Study of Two Global Cities**

Internationalization of higher education has become a trend as countries are utilizing their higher education sector as an export industry. Australia's internationalization of the higher education sector has been a success story and a growing number of countries are trying to emulate the Australian system. Australia has emerged as one of the most favoured destinations for international students during the last few decades. International education industry is Australia's third largest export industry contributing \$12.5 billion in 2007. Over a million international students have studied in Australia in the last ten years. The AEI enrolment data (2007) show that 455,185 full-fee overseas students, hailing from 217 countries, were undertaking Australian qualification (on a student visa) in Australia. Asia is the

main supplier of international students. The shrinking of government funding was an important factor in the internationalization of Australian universities as it exerted pressure on the universities to explore alternative sources of financing. Universities found the perfect solution for their financial woes in recruitment of overseas students.

India has become the second top donor country for Australia's international education industry with 63.9 percent (between 2006 and 2007), and has recorded the highest growth in enrolments among the top 10 source countries followed by China (18.9 percent), Thailand (11.9 percent) and the Republic of Korea (11.3 percent). The data for international student commencements show a 25.9 percent increase between 2006 and 2007. India again showed the highest growth among the top ten countries with an increase of 87.8 percent from 2006. Figure 5 shows how enrolment of Indian students has increased rapidly down the years.

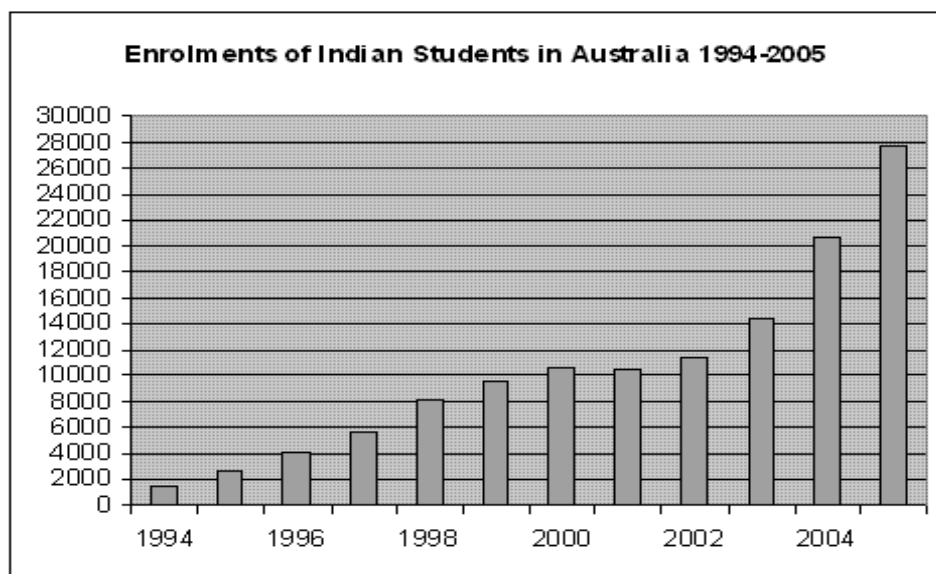


Figure 5: Enrolments of Indian Students in Australia 1994 - 2005

Source: *The Australian High Commission* (2007-08)

The figure shows that in 2005 enrolment of Indian students was around 28,000 and the percentage increase from 1994 to 2005 was unprecedented. The statistics for the year 2007 show that enrolments of Indian students have been over 59,000. Considering the period in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the percentage increase in enrolments of Indian students from 2000 to 2007 is a mammoth 446 percent. Between 1989 and 1996, enrolment of Indian students increased by 863 percent; and the reason behind such a huge increase was that it grew from a low base. However, it was then predicted that India had the potential to become one of the highest suppliers of students to Australia and the present data confirm it.

Globalization has increasingly been transforming the world into a large global village. Global cities in different parts of the world have emerged as business and financial centers of the global market. They act as cultural hubs of the world by hosting international events associated to academics, world politics, sports, and culture. They also serve as gateways (by having international airports) to other parts of the world. They are home to renowned universities or have close proximity to intellectual hubs. These cities provide an interface between industry and education sector and are therefore, not only business hotspots but have

also become academic centers. The motive of international students who are migrating to foreign countries is not only limited to earn a foreign degree but also to gain foreign work experience in the course of time. Therefore, the cities that provide them a blend of world class universities as well as job opportunities in reputed organizations, top the list of the destination points.

Australia's two most populous cities - Sydney and Melbourne, are beta world city and gamma world city respectively. They are home to Australia's top universities and host the maximum number of university students. Immigration has always been an important factor in the growth of Sydney and Melbourne. Sydney is located in New South Wales and Melbourne is located in Victoria. The universities in Sydney are University of Western Sydney [UWS], Macquarie University [Macquarie], University of New South Wales [UNSW], University of Sydney [Sydney], University of Technology Sydney [UTS]. Deakin University [Deakin], La Trobe University [La Trobe], Monash University [Monash], RMIT University [RMIT], Swinburne University of Technology [Swinburne], University of Ballarat [Ballarat], University of Melbourne [Melbourne], Victoria University [VU] and Australian Catholic University [ACU] are in Melbourne. Twelve Australian universities feature in the list of 2007 THES-QS Top World 200 Ranking Times Higher Education Supplement University Rankings. Out of the twelve universities, six are in these two global cities, i.e., Sydney and Melbourne, each hosting three universities.

Sydney is one of the most thriving commercial centers in Australia accounting for more than 25 percent of Australia's economic activity. It has become a centre for large-scale business and financial transactions as well as IT&T and retail hub. In 1999, 70 percent of Australia's top 100 IT companies and two-thirds of the 50 largest computer software producers had their headquarters in Sydney (Sydney Media Fact sheet, 2007). Majority of Australia's Internet traffic is carried by NSW based Internet service providers. Another striking feature of Sydney is its Call Centre Industry. It is growing at a rapid pace and is being facilitated by Sydney's technological capacity and skilled multicultural workforce. Thus Sydney is the heart of Australian IT sector. In this era of globalization, business and financial services are not limited within the national boundary and the importance of global financial services is increasing. Sydney has become such an imperative financial center that it is considered to be among the top 10 world cities in providing finance, accounting, legal and marketing services to global clients. Two-thirds of Australia's banking and finance industry and almost three-fourths of financial services are based in Sydney. The headquarters of Australia's main financial institutions, e.g., the Reserve Bank of Australia, the Australian Stock Exchange and the Sydney Futures Exchange are located in Sydney. An overview of Sydney's commercial topography is that nearly half of Australia and New Zealand's top 500 companies are based in Sydney. Global corporations like American Express, Unilever, H. J. Heinz, IBM, Microsoft, Oracle, Compaq, Philips, etc., have made Sydney as their regional headquarters in the Asia Pacific region. Increasing number of companies are relocating their regional headquarters of the Asia Pacific region in Sydney. On the whole Sydney has become an economic and commercial behemoth and gateway to the Asia Pacific region.

According to Sydney Media fact sheet (2007), Sydney's economic growth rate for the period 1994 - 2001 was above 5 percent (about 1 percent above the national growth rate). The growth is commendable as it is the period of the Asian financial crisis. Sydney's unemployment rate in 2002 was 4.9 percent as compared to the national average of 6 percent. The city's financial sector is growing rapidly. Around 47.1 percent of Sydney's workforce is

employed in the financial and business services. In 2001, the Sydney Futures Exchange (SFE) was the second largest financial futures and options exchange in the Asia Pacific region. Further, the Australian Securities Exchange (ASX) in 2002 was ranked 12<sup>th</sup> in terms of size and 19<sup>th</sup> in terms of turnover, internationally. This illustrates the importance of Sydney as a major financial center in the international market.

Besides hosting Australia's three of the top ten universities, Melbourne is a major hub of commerce, industry and other cultural and sports activities. It has hosted a lot of international seminars and sporting events like the 'G20 Summit 2006' and the 1956 Summer Olympic Games, 2006 Commonwealth games, etc. Melbourne is referred to as the spiritual home of Australia's cricket and Australian Rules football. Before the federal parliament was shifted to Australia's capital Canberra, Melbourne served as the headquarters of the government since 1901 and is home to a diverse community, which consists of different groups of people living, working and studying in its suburbs. The composition and economic activity of the suburbs varies from each other. Melbourne has Australia's largest port and therefore is a major business and financial centre. It has headquarters of some of Australia's large companies like National Australia Bank (NAB), ANZ, BHP Billiton, Rio Tinto, etc. Melbourne is also home to a major part of Australia's automobile industry. Automobile giants Ford and Toyota have their manufacturing units and Holden has its engine manufacturing facilities in Melbourne. It employs one third of Australia's IT workforce. Australia's largest state of the art convention centre in Hilton Hotel has made Melbourne an attractive centre for domestic as well as international conferences.

Melbourne is also turning out to be a major educational hub in Australia. Melbourne has a student population that is 48 percent of the city's resident population. According to the data provided by the Department of Education, Science and Training (DEST) in 2002 around 17,713 students were living in Melbourne city, out of which 9,664 were international students. However, around 71,773 people were studying in the various institutions in Melbourne and it comprised 16,926 international students. From the point of view of the location of educational institutions and student housing, the City of Melbourne is well organized. Melbourne has 22 locations with dormitory style student accommodation with a total capacity of 2,653 beds and 18 residential buildings with a total of 1,991 student apartments (CLUE, 2002). According to the census of 2001 the City of Melbourne has 11,453 tertiary students with the highest number of students living in the suburbs of Carlton (2956) and Central Business District or CBD (2477). The reason being that both these suburbs have the highest number of tertiary educational institutions (Carlton has 6 while CBD has 15). On the whole the city of Melbourne has the capacity of 84,452 students in tertiary educational institutions (CLUE, 2002). According to the data provided by DEST, nearly 60 percent of overseas students living in Melbourne are in the age group of 20-24 years. This shows Melbourne's importance as a financial as well as education hotspot.

## **V. Dynamics of Student Mobility: Some Implications for India**

### **1. Strategic Implications: Increasing Role of Education Fairs**

The increasing reliance on the revenue generated by exporting higher education to international students has sprouted competition among the universities and many other higher education institutions across the developed countries. There is an extensive use of

various marketing techniques to attract more and more international students paying extremely high fees. One such technique is of conducting educational fairs in the source countries. In October 2000, four countries had held education fairs in Delhi and other Indian cities, and since then education fairs have become a regular feature in India. Now-a-days it is a frequent exercise by the overseas universities and educational institutions to organize education fairs for attracting Indian students. These universities conduct such fairs with the help of Indian institutions which act as middlemen and help in interfacing between students and universities. One such example is Edwise International which operates as Overseas Education Consultant and is involved in conducting education fairs, and providing other related services, where universities from various countries like Australia, the UK, the U.S., Singapore, New Zealand and others come together at a single platform. Educational fairs make the application, selection and other related procedures quick and easy for the aspirant students.

## **2. Economic Implications**

In order to analyze the transformation of student migration to permanent migration one needs to look at the whole journey that an international student goes through. Although down the years technological advancements have brought places close to one another, the cost of studying abroad has remained a big hurdle for many of the aspiring students. Apart from academic or tuition cost, a student also has to incur the expenses on food and lodging in the destination country. Australia has an advantage in this respect as living costs and student fees are affordable and comparatively less than that in the UK and the US. In Indian case, a large part of the funding of a student's foreign education comes from their family source. In other words, the overseas students are mostly full-fee paying students. For India the emigration of students costs an annual outflow of \$4 billion (Jayanthi, 2007). The fees paid by the student migrants (who are mostly from developing countries) are a kind of 'silent backlash' of foreign exchange received through the much debated remittances, which are considered to be one-way flow of money from the destination country to the source country and the fees paid by the students is not properly enunciated (Khadria, 2006a). The heavy amount of expenditure by the people of India for getting foreign education can broadly be perceived as a form of investment in education, for people think that a foreign degree would help them not only secure better employment opportunities but also to enter into the employment market of the destination country through the 'academic gate' (Khadria, 2005). Also, there is a common perception that a foreign degree leads to better employment and consequently better remuneration package. In many instances, students make this investment with loans by mortgaging their ancestral property. They know that repaying the loan in India would be very burdensome on their families. Therefore, they desire to work in the destination country for at least a couple of years after the completion of their courses, so that they can repay their loan easily and make some savings.

## **VI. Role of Student Migration in Diaspora Formation**

### **1. Student Migration Turning into Permanent Migration**

It can be argued that international migration of students comes under the ambit of temporary migration. However, a closer look shows that this temporary migration transforms into permanent migration in the course of time. Down the years it has been observed that the

number of international students is increasing by leaps and bounds and they form part of the existing diaspora in the respective host countries at least in the short run. However, in the long run, some proportion of these students joins the workforce in the host country and thus become permanent component of the diaspora. This fraction has been increasing year after year and therefore, the contribution of student migration in diaspora formation has become an important area of research. Many of the international students generally try to remain in the destination country even after the completion of their courses *via* applying for jobs to get work visa, enrolment into another course, marrying a foreign citizen, etc. It is generally observed that the international students start looking for a job, in order to get a work permit to prolong their stay in the destination country. A job offer not only solves their monetary problems but also provides them an opportunity to earn foreign work experience, which adds value to their resume. The immigrant countries have been allowing international students to stay on and work after completing their courses, as against returning to their country. This serves two purposes for them: one of financing their expensive higher education and the second of fulfilling short-term labour shortages (Khadria, 2006b). So this not only attracts the students from developing countries primarily for education purpose but eventually results in their settlement in the destination country.

In Australia, there is a common perception about Indian students that they are more interested in acquiring the permanent residence (PR) status than the content of the course they are enrolled in. Baas (2006), while providing a detailed insight into various motives behind the enrolment by Indian students in Australian universities, argues that Indian students primarily come to Australia because of the possibility of obtaining a PR after completing their courses, i.e., studying in Australia is a way of settling there. He states that 73 percent of international students from India who completed their course in 2003 obtained a PR visa under the overseas student visa subclasses during 2003-04. The fact is that if the overseas student is under the age of thirty, has two years of education in Australia, graduating in a field that Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs (DIMA) defines as a sixty point occupation, or if the course is designated as a 'Migrant Occupation in Demand' (MODL), then the student has a good chance to obtain a PR.

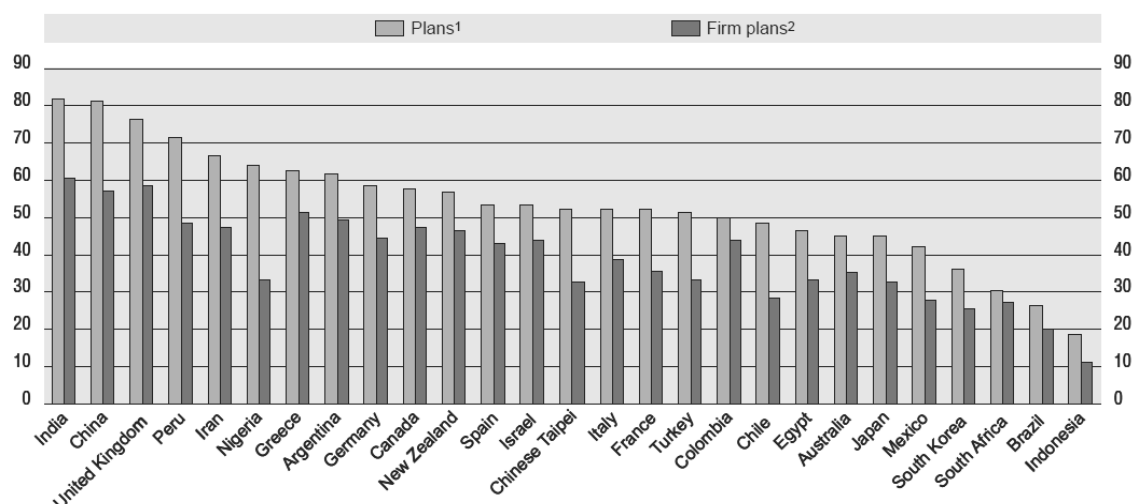
## 2. Universities Acting as Immigration Routes

Today, many universities in the developed countries are formulating different strategies to attract students from developing countries like China, India, etc. In order to lure more student immigrants, governments in most of the receiving countries are also playing a facilitating role by making work and visa permits easier. Many education exporting countries are now allowing the students to stay for a few years and participate in their labour markets even after completing higher studies because recruitment of international students has several benefits for the receiving countries such as financing their expensive higher education and fulfilling short-term labour shortages. The receiving countries find international students not only as a major source of skilled human resources but also as means of gaining political mileage as foreign students become their long-term ambassadors in the international political arena. As the British Prime Minister, Tony Blair observed:

*Wherever I travel I meet international leaders who have studied in Britain. Dynamic, intelligent people who chose Britain because we offer high-quality education and training. This is good news for the UK. People who are educated here have a lasting tie to our country.*

*'They promote Britain in the world, helping our trade and democracy.'* (Quoted in British Council, 2004)

In the case of US, for example, one of the most important routes to become a member of the high-skill workforce is as a graduate student or as a post-doctoral scholar. Most foreign students and scholars enter the country with either an F1 visa, issued to full-time students, or a J1 visa issued to students and scholars in a field of specialized knowledge that enables them to participate in specialized training programs. During 2000-2004, between 600,000 to 700,000 persons annually entered the country on students' visa. Figure 3 shows that the proportion of doctoral students in the US who plan not to return to their home country is very large for the two largest origin Asian countries (GCIM, 2005).



**Figure 6: Potential and Effective Loss for the Country of Origin of Students who Finished Their PhD in the United States Percentage of Total Students (all fields of study), by Country of Origin**

Source: Science and Engineering Indicators, 2000 (cited in OECD, 2001).

Note: 1. Proportion of foreign doctoral students who intend to stay in the United States on completion of their studies.

2. Proportion of foreign doctoral students who received an offer of work from an American employer on completion of their study.

The figure shows that over 80 percent of Indian students who finished their Ph.D. in the US intend to stay there and more than 60 percent of Indian students have received job offer from an American employer after completing their Ph.D. Also, international students are welcomed by the developed countries and their contribution to the host countries' is being recognized resulting in policies to attract increasing numbers of international students, eventually turning into permanent migration and diaspora formation.

Baas (2006) classifies Indian students in Australia into three groups. The first group consists of students who did not consider obtaining a permanent residency when they got enrolled. These students come to Australia because they had to get admission in their first or second choice countries like US and UK owing to stringent visa regulations, high competition or high education cost. Australia provided them the opportunity to get higher education abroad at a comparatively low cost. However, during their stay in Australia they were influenced to obtain permanent residency from migrants around them. Some of these students who dreamt of studying in US or UK were unsatisfied with the quality of education in Australia and for them obtaining permanent residence was a kind of compensation for the huge investment they had made in their Australian education. A small section was also there



who liked the lifestyle in Australia and wanted to settle permanently there. The second group consists of students who always wanted to acquire permanent residence or certain work permit after completing their courses as they had planned to work in Australia for at least a couple of years. These students had taken heavy loans to finance their Australian education and for them earning money to repay their debts would be easier and less burdensome in Australia as compared to India. Apart from money they would also gain experience of working in an international work environment. The third group consists of people whose foremost endeavour was to acquire permanent residency and they migrated as students as it was an easy way to obtain resident status. This group of students contribute prominently to the expansion of the Indian diaspora in Australia. They basically take courses that provide maximum points according to DIMA and are enrolled in universities which are also called PR factories. Therefore sometimes, they even have to enrol for courses they are least interested in. Baas suggests that majority of Indian students come under the third group and that's why the notion in the Australian education sector is that Indian students are more interested in MODL and less in the course outline. Thus it can be observed that majority of students transform their temporary migrant status to permanent residents and become a part of the diaspora in the long run.

## VII. Concluding Remarks

Owing to the importance of quality higher education in shaping their future, increasing number of students from developing countries are migrating to the developed countries. The growing economies of the south and south-east Asia are among the major sending countries and the universities of the developed countries like the US, the UK, Canada, Australia, etc. are competing with each other to capture a larger share of international education market. Since, education has become a highly profitable export good, governments in these countries are framing immigration and work policies to help their universities attracting international students and are supporting this sector to flourish. On the supply side, the universities have found a perfect alternative of dwindling government funds in the recruitment of international students (who are generally full fee paying students) to meet their expenditure. Thus a lot of emphasis is being put on the recruitment of international students. Global rankings have now become an annual affair which provide students an index to compare universities worldwide. Strategies are being designed by the universities depending on the characteristics of the market. On the demand side, students have a growing desire to acquire a foreign degree to achieve an edge in the labour market.

It is a worldwide trend that originally, the international students form a temporary component of the diaspora. However, the transition from temporary to permanent migrants is evident in large number of cases and this number is increasing over time. A student's educational voyage to a foreign country is not only an educational one only but way beyond it. One of the major factors that students consider before choosing their education destination is the kind of economic opportunities that are provided by it. As a result, the countries providing a combination of good universities and job opportunities top the preference list of international students. International students can be broadly clubbed into/under three categories. The first group consists of students who want to extend their stay in the host country and join the workforce in order to compensate for their dissatisfaction about the quality of education. The second group comprises those who want to stay and work at least for a couple of years in order to repay their heavy education loans. The third group includes

those who use the student visa to migrate and later on settle in the destination country as it is an easy way to acquire permanent residence. The members of this group are more like migrants who are interested in immigration rules rather than students interested in the curriculum. However, it can be clearly observed that student migration acts as a first step towards gaining permanent residence, ultimately leading to diaspora formation in the long run. In the context, student migration from India has emerged as a contemporary channel of diaspora formation, with Indian students being a major component of international students. Indian students migrate to a wide range of countries including the US, the UK, Canada, Australia, Singapore, Malaysia, other European and Asian countries, etc. Importantly, they not only represent India in the foreign countries but are also an important source for creation of social and human capital for India as well as the destination countries.

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# Indian Overseas Migration, Marriage Markets and Citizenship Issues<sup>1</sup>

Gavin W. Jones

*Asia Research Institute, National University of Singapore, Singapore*

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## Abstract

*This paper deals with marriage markets involving Indians living overseas, particularly in Europe. It focuses on trends in international marriages involving Indian nationals; effects on marriage markets in India; the wellbeing of married Indians overseas, whether the marriage involves two Indian nationals or one Indian national married to the national of another country; and issues that arise when marriages of Indians overseas break up. Of the 20 to 25 million persons of Indian origin living overseas, those in Europe are a rather small proportion of the total, and are heavily concentrated in the UK, which has possibly as many as 1.6 million people of Indian origin. The newer wave of Indian mobility to Europe is basically a movement of skilled workers. The paper discusses the extent to which Indian communities in Europe practice ethnic endogamy, and the extent to which they seek marriage partners from India itself. Other issues touched on in the paper include the claim that the bride-seeking practices of Indian IT workers in Europe have effects on the way marriage markets operate in India; the risk a permanent migrant from India may face in bringing a spouse from India that the spouse may view this transnational marriage as no more than a means to immigration and citizenship; the particular adjustment problems facing dependent wives brought from India by Indian husbands who have visas to work as software engineers and programmers; and the problems for children of marriages which break up in Europe, which will be influenced by whether the children inherit both parents' citizenship at birth. There is a need for further studies on the issues raised by marriage patterns characterizing the "new wave" of mobile Indians, in the context of European migration policies, visa regulations and citizenship laws.*

**Keywords:** Indian Migration, Marriage Market, International marriages, IT workers, Europe.

## I. Introduction

The increasing volume of international mobility of Indians – whether as contract labourers, skilled IT workers, health professionals, students, regular permanent migrants, or in other guises – carries with it implications for Indian marriage markets and for the wellbeing of married Indians living in other countries, whether they are married to another Indian or to a national of that country. This paper will be a modest attempt to explore some of these implications and some of the policy issues that may arise as a result. Lack of time and lack of data mean that I must underline the word “modest”.

Ideally, we would like to understand the following kinds of effects that international mobility may have on marriage markets:

- Trends in international marriages involving Indian nationals.

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- Effect of the growth of a wealthy group of Indians with overseas degrees, overseas jobs in technology-intensive industries, or frequent travel overseas, on aspects of Indian marriage markets. Elements of this include dowry payments, the scope of weddings expected, and the spin-offs on expectations and reality of weddings of ordinary Indians.
- Effect on well-being of married Indians overseas – whether the marriage involves two Indian nationals, or one Indian national married to the national of another country. Issues include the adjustment problems experienced by Indian brides marrying ethnic Indians in Europe, and also those experienced by the smaller group of Indian grooms marrying ethnic Indians in Europe. What evidence is there on issues such as spousal abuse?
- Issues that arise when marriages of Indians overseas break up, particularly the effect on children.

Consistent with the nature of this conference, the key emphasis will be on Indians living in Europe, but since the Indian population in Europe (apart from the UK) is relatively small, similar issues faced by the large number of Indian nationals living in North America, Australia and the Gulf states, will also be touched on. Apart from this, some attention needs to be paid to the marriage practices of the large ethnic Indian populations in countries such as Malaysia, South Africa, Fiji, and Mauritius, representing the Indian diaspora resulting from British policies in colonial times, insofar as these practices may reflect ingrained values that may still be operative to some extent among more recently mobile Indians.

Issues related to the marriages of Indians in Europe that will be investigated in this paper include the extent to which Indians are practising ethnic endogamy – i.e. marrying within their ethnic group, and in the cases where they marry an Indian, whether this is a spouse from the local Indian community or one recruited from India. To what extent do marriage practices of such Indian communities gradually gravitate toward those of the host population, as has been observed of the fertility of overseas Indian populations (Muthiah and Jones, 1983)? In the case of spouses (normally brides) recruited from India, what are the visa regulations relating to the work of spouses of various categories of workers, and what effect do these have on the adjustment issues facing these spouses, and what are their implications should the marriage break down? Is the Indian bride able to remain in the European country of residence? What is the status of her children? And what is the status of children to marriages between Indians and nationals of the countries if the marriage breaks down?

The nature of the mobile populations being considered is also important – whether they are permanent migrants, contract IT workers, health professionals, labour migrants or students.

## **II. Who are the Indians Overseas?**

This paper will focus on Indian nationals, so will not be concerned very much with the Indian diaspora dating from colonial times, when Indians were moved as indentured labourers, guards, watchmen, etc. or moved independently as business people to countries all around the globe, including Burma, Malaya and Singapore, Fiji, Mauritius, South Africa, countries of East Africa, and British Guiana. In some of these countries (Fiji, Guyana, Mauritius, Trinidad and Surinam), Indians approach or even exceed 50 percent of the population (Muthiah and Jones, 1983: Table 1); in others (Burma, Sri Lanka, Malaysia, South Africa, U.K., U.S.A.) they

number more than one million. These days, the vast majority of Indians in most of these countries are local born. Approximately half of the Indian population of the UK are local born,<sup>2</sup> but the relative recency of the migration flows to the USA, Canada and Australia, and the continuation of these flows, means that the local born are a smaller proportion of Indians in these countries, certainly less than half. In many of the countries of settlement, the Indian population is large enough for Indians to find Indian spouses locally without recourse to seeking them in India – though brides from India may sometimes be sought because they are seen to have the traditional characteristics that local-born Indian girls are seen to have lost.

It is estimated that some 20 to 25 million persons of Indian origin and emigrants with Indian citizenship are now living abroad, of whom about 10 million are emigrants with Indian citizenship (Castles, 2008). It is this latter group that will mainly concern us, especially those living in Europe. Those living in Europe constitute a rather small proportion of the total, and are heavily concentrated in the U.K., which has possibly as many as 1.6 million people of Indian origin. No other European country appears to have more than about 140,000 (Netherlands). Around 2006, the India-born numbered one and a half million in the USA, half a million in Canada and over 140,000 in Australia.<sup>3</sup>

The nature of the movement of Indians to Europe differs by country.

- In the case of the U.K., the small long-standing Indian population swelled in the 1950s and 1960s, following the partition of the Indian sub-continent. Many of these migrants were of relatively low socio-economic status. It grew further as the result of the expulsion of East Asians from Kenya, Uganda and Zanzibar. It has swelled again from the 1990s, with the mobility of highly skilled personnel. The current Indian population in the U.K., then, is very diverse.<sup>4</sup>
- The Netherlands has the largest number of Indians of any European population outside the UK. In 2002, it had about 110,000-140,000 first and second generation Indians, the great majority descended from indentured labourers who had been shipped to the Dutch colony of Surinam, and who moved to the Netherlands in large numbers in the 1960s and especially the 1970s (Gowricharn and Choenni, 2006).
- In the case of France, people from the former French colonies in India were given the option of French nationality when the subcontinent became independent. The largest of the French territories in India was Pondicherry, and it was the source of the majority of France's Indo-French population (Niklas, 2006).
- In Germany, the movement of Indians has built up in recent years, especially IT workers, most of them males. This is very much a temporary movement, with restrictions on length of stay, and the disallowance to bring family members.

<sup>2</sup> In 2001, 49 percent of the South Asian population in the UK were local born (Peach, 2006: 134). This includes Pakistanis and Bangladeshis, along with Indians, but the Indian proportion local born would not be much different from that for South Asians as a whole.

<sup>3</sup> Adding second and third generation Indians would bring the figure for USA to well over 2 million, for Canada to about one million and for Australia to in excess of 200,000. New Zealand had 104,000 ethnic Indians, constituting 2.6 percent of its population, much higher than the proportion in the USA, Canada and Australia.

<sup>4</sup> The Indian population of the UK, though, has a considerably higher proportion in professional and managerial occupations than is the case for Pakistanis and Bangladeshis (Peach, 2006: 138-9).

Indian migration to Europe is building up. However, the newer wave of Indian mobility to Europe is very different from earlier movement, as it is basically a movement of skilled workers, dominated by IT and health workers (Khadria, 2007). The EU is interested in attracting IT experts from India, and through the “Blue card”, highly qualified labour force from third countries will be able to get access to the European labour market. The Blue card will give a two-year residence and work permit, after which it is renewable and movement to another EU country is also possible. It would then be easier to bring family to the country of residence (Knerr, this conference).

### **III. Indian Marriage Markets**

Indian marriage markets are idiosyncratic, one feature being the high proportion of marriages that are arranged by parents, others being the continuing importance of caste, and the changing role of dowry. While Bollywood plays on a romanticized idealization of love matches, such matches are not very common, though the proportion differs according to locality and social class, and changes in the system are taking place.

If we go back a couple of decades, at least in rural areas, marriages that were not arranged were extremely rare. Writing of fieldwork in rural Karnataka, in South India, Caldwell, Reddy and Caldwell (1982: 706) noted that although great changes had been transforming marriage over the past third of a century, there was no claim of any decline in the significance of arranged marriage, which remained universal. But marriage practices are gradually changing, with average age at marriage of girls increasing and the proportion of marriages in which the individuals concerned have a major say also increasing. Nevertheless, it must be stressed that most young women are still teenagers when they marry, and that the choice of groom is rarely theirs alone.

*As noted by Kumari (2004: 91-2):*

*The traditional pattern was marked by the prominence of arranged marriages which were primarily oriented towards creating alliances between two families through “classical matchmakers” such as family priests and relatives. In such a marriage there was only a minor role for the bride and bridegroom in the context of decision-making regarding the marriage. Contemporary marriage, however, is based more on an understanding between the about-to-be-married man and woman along with attention to the views of family elders. New “mediators” such as the media (matrimonial columns) and marriage bureaus have also emerged, contributing to the rise of a nationwide, and sometimes transnational, system of information and choice-making in the context of marriage.*

Class and educational level undoubtedly affect the extent of self-choice of marriage partners. The study by the Raos (1985) showed that 25 percent of women executives were finding their own partners in marriage, some of them inter-caste and inter-religious. The proportion doing so is likely to have increased in the 20 years since then.

### **IV. Marriage Patterns of Indian Communities in Europe: how much Endogamy?**

There are two important questions about marriage patterns of Indian communities in Europe. First, to what extent do they practice ethnic endogamy? Second, to what extent do they seek marriage partners from India itself?



Seeking of marriage partners in India itself appears to remain an ideal in some communities, but the issue is the extent to which the ideal is changing, and even where it remains strong, the extent to which it is actually followed in practice. Castles (this conference) notes that “Marriage migration continues, with ‘second generation’ and even ‘third generation’ descendants of Indian immigrants seeking their marriage partners in the home region”. But I have not seen the numbers underlying this statement.

Concerning one group of Indians in Europe, the Pondicherians in France, Niklas (2007) writes:

Even today, the preferred manner of marriage is still to look for a bride or groom in India. Young Pondicherians in France—boys more than girls—appear willing to accept arranged marriages, and they often leave the choice of partner to their parents or other relatives back home in India. Although the traditional Tamil marriage between cousins is no longer appreciated by Pondicherians, they still look for partners whose families match theirs in social status, an important element of which is the caste the family originates from.

French nationality is still a great asset for a marriage partner, and it can be of great value, especially in the case of a girl: when a France-based female French national marries an India-based male Indian national, he is given the opportunity of gaining French nationality and migrating to France. In such situations, the girl’s family does not have to pay any dowry. In recent times, inter-cultural marriages (between Pondicherians and French partners) have increased, which implies major changes in the life patterns of the community.

There is a strong tradition of endogamy in many overseas Indian communities. The extent to which this tradition is met by males or females in overseas Indian communities seeking a spouse in India depends heavily on need and ability: need referring largely to the size of the Indian community in the particular overseas locality, and ability referring largely to capacity to afford the expenses needed to find a bride in India, which normally requires travel to India. It also relates to whether the Indian community is a long-standing one; out-marriage rates tend to be much higher among the third generation in such communities, but in countries such as Australia there are few third-generation Indians. In any event, there seems to be much more stress on the overseas Indian male seeking a bride in India than on the overseas Indian female seeking a husband in India.

On the extent to which diasporic Indian communities maintain conventions of ethnic endogamy, and the extent to which this breaks down over time, evidence from countries such as the UK, USA, Canada and Australia, with a growing community of India-born and India-descended residents, needs to be assessed. The experience of countries with a much longer-standing Indian community dating from colonial times also needs to be examined to throw more light on the issue. The general trend appears to be for endogamy and arranged marriage to remain strong among first generation Indians in these countries, but for a shift towards love marriages and inter-ethnic marriages in the second and third generations among the Indian community in countries such as Canada, Australia and the USA (Qian et al., 2001; Naidoo and Leslie, 2006: 332; Khoo, 2004; Lakha, 2006: 387).

The careful study on inter-marriage of ethnic groups in Australia by Khoo (2004) shows that while more than 80 percent of first generation Indians are married to other Indians, this falls to half among the second generation, more than the proportion practicing ethnic endogamy among most European migrant groups in Australia, but lower than English,

Greeks, Lebanese, Turks and Chinese. Of the second generation Indians who married an Indian spouse, the proportion marrying first generation Indians (presumably recruited from India, following a traditional pattern for Indians overseas) was only 18 per cent. These two statistics indicate that Indians in Australia are not particularly prone to restrict themselves to marrying other Indians, and when they do, it is more likely to be another member of Australia's Indian community.<sup>5</sup>

In the UK, analysis of marriage and unions by ethnicity in the 1991 census showed that 91 percent of Indian men were married to Indian women, while 95 percent of Indian women were married to Indian men. Data for 1991 and 2002 shows only a slight reduction in these rates (Peach, 2006: 143). Ethnic endogamy among Indians is clearly more pronounced in the UK than in Australia. This may be partly due to the more selective nature of Indian migration to Australia, with the highly educated representing a large proportion of the Indian population. They are presumably more likely to challenge traditional norms than would Indians from more lowly backgrounds. Certainly, tradition appears to be more strongly observed among Indians in the UK. "Marriage is central to the values ... and still broadly arranged rather than individually contracted (although 'negotiated' rather than 'arranged' would be a truer representation of current practice" (Peach, 2006: 142).

## **V. Effect of Mobility of IT Workers on Indian Marriage Markets**

The presumption that more highly educated Indians are more likely to challenge traditional marriage norms must be subjected to scrutiny. It has been argued that mobility across nations may not diminish the patriarchal norms intrinsic to marriage practices, but may result only in their relocation and reconfiguration (Sheel, 2005: 340). Biao (2005: 369) notes that many are surprised that IT professionals demand high dowries because they expect that highly educated professionals with a Western exposure would break with this kind of 'tradition'. He argues persuasively that migration enlarges the scope of search for a match (through newspapers, the Internet and marriage bureaus) and makes economic calculations more central to marriage negotiations. "Once the marriage market is disembedded from other social relationships, decisions regarding a match come to rest almost exclusively on economic calculation (though caste and horoscope are still the bottom line criteria)" (Biao, 2005: 370). Moreover, in the local society high dowry is seen as a direct reward to the groom's parents for their investment in his education. Indeed, a 'futures market' pattern of dowry payment has grown, whereby a girl's father may offer to pay the college fees or the costs of going abroad for a boy on the condition that the boy later marry his daughter (Biao, 2005: 372).

The entrenchment of high dowry payment for young men in the IT industry would not be so serious if it were confined to this social group. However, the emulation of higher castes by lower castes has been identified as the main mechanism by which dowry became a common practice in an earlier period (Srinivas, 1983). And this is reinforced by within-caste competition in dowry payments. Thus anything that increases dowry payments among the

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<sup>5</sup> The summary by Lakha (2006: 387) therefore appears to be correct: "It is quite common for first-generation unmarried Indian migrants in Australia to find a partner from India or from among diasporic Indian communities across the world. .... (But) statistics indicate that second- and third-generation people of Indian descent have married outside their ancestral group to a very substantial extent compared to those of the first generation. In the case of third-generation Indians, a very large majority of both males and females have intermarried with non-Indians". (Lakha, 2006: 387).

higher castes and the wealthier will have ripple effects throughout the society, contributing to the growth of 'instalment payment' of dowry among the poor, and the excesses and the dowry killings that result.

Another example of the persistence and indeed strengthening of the tradition of dowry in the face of modernizing influences is provided by Gallo's (2005) study of female Malayali migrants in Italy. As she notes, among this group, marriage payments can be seen as a 'traditional' vehicle for families to express 'modern' achievements in educational, social and geographical mobility, and access to consumer goods (see also Osella and Osella, 2000). "Arranging a good marriage, widening the field of spouse selection possibilities and giving a 'good' dowry are understood in Kerala more as a way of showing off newly-acquired status and modernity than as a 'traditional' practice" (Gallo, 2005: 229).

## VI. Some Issues Relating to Marriages of Indians in Europe

It is likely that the issues relating to marriage of different groups of Indians in Europe differ greatly according to the nature of the group. For example,

- Students will mostly be unmarried, but those who do marry while in Europe may tend to marry non-Indians to a greater extent than, say, longer-standing groups of Indian permanent immigrants who, as we saw earlier, practice ethnic endogamy to a marked extent, at least in the U.K.
- One of the risks a permanent migrant from India may face in bringing a bride or bridegroom from India may be that for some, this transnational marriage may be no more than a means to immigration and citizenship.
- The bride-seeking practices of Indian IT workers in Europe and their families may have effects on Indian marriage markets similar to those discussed above in the section on IT workers.
- Particular adjustment problems may face dependant wives brought from India by Indian husbands who have visas to work as software engineers and programmers. There are important power relationships involved in cases where the bride is brought from India as a dependant spouse. Is her visa automatically withdrawn if the marriage breaks up (as would be the case in, for example, the United States or Singapore)? If so, this would provide a strong incentive for the woman to remain (prisoner?) in an unsatisfactory marriage. (Green, 2005; Devi, 2002).

Another important issue is the stability of marriages of Indians in Europe who marry non-Indians. They subject their marriages to the stresses common to inter-ethnic marriages anywhere, but these issues may be compounded in the case of Indians in Europe by widely differing perceptions of the marital relationship held by the Indian and the non-Indian partner. Of course, it is hoped that such issues would be discussed and to a large extent resolved before the marriage, but this may not always be the case.

In cases where marriages break up, what is the effect on children of the circumstances in which the marriage took place? If the citizenship of the Indian father and the mother are different, will the children inherit both parents' citizenship at birth? If so, this makes it easier to resolve the issue of where the children will go on divorce, although custody battles could certainly complicate the situation. If not, real problems could arise. What about cases where the bride was brought from India as a dependant spouse, and her visa was withdrawn on

divorce? If the Indian father is a citizen or permanent resident of the European country, presumably his children would inherit this citizenship, and would be able to stay in the European country with him, provided he stayed there. But what if the agreement on breakdown of the marriage is that the mother will keep the children? Will they be able to return to India with her and take up Indian permanent residence or citizenship? A key factor here will be whether the children of such a marriage are entitled to dual citizenship.

As in many other countries, children of mixed-nationality parents (for instance a German father and an Italian mother) normally both inherit both parents' citizenship at birth. Arising out of the prevalence of *ius sanguinis* in the citizenship laws of most countries, this source of dual nationality has evolved considerably over time and was limited to a German father until the Federal Constitutional Court extended this privilege to German women, effective from 1975. Between 1975 and 1997, almost 780,000 German children were born to bi-national (married) parents (Green, 2005, p. 925).

## VII. Conclusion

International marriages in Europe that involve Indians are increasing in number, and this increase is likely to continue. Both the trends and their implications need to be studied. There is clearly a need for better data on this topic, as well as for more detailed analysis of the data already available. In particular, there is a need for studies focused on the issues raised by marriage patterns characterizing the "new wave" of mobile Indians, in the context of European migration policies, visa regulations and citizenship laws. This is a topic on which opinions are easy to give, but on which careful research is rare.

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