



• C A N A D I A N • DIVERSITÉ C A N A D I E N N E

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LA MIGRATION INTERNATIONALE :
L'ÉMERGENCE DE L'ÉTUDIANT MOBILE
INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION:
THE EMERGENCE OF THE
MOBILE STUDENT

MULTICULTURALISM TURNS 40: REFLECTIONS ON THE CANADIAN POLICY

THE ASSOCIATION FOR CANADIAN STUDIES AND THE CANADIAN ETHNIC STUDIES ASSOCIATION 2ND ANNUAL CONFERENCE

SEPTEMBER 30 TO OCTOBER 1 2011, MARRIOTT HOTEL, OTTAWA, ONTARIO

The Association for Canadian Studies and the Canadian Ethnic Studies Association invite proposals for our joint conference "Multiculturalism Turns 40: Reflections on the Canadian Policy" to be held September 30 to October 1 2011, at the Ottawa Marriot Hotel, 100 Kent Street. This conference also marks the 21st conference of the Canadian Ethnic Studies Association and the second in a series of three conferences jointly organized with the Association for Canadian Studies. The Conference will offer a unique opportunity to exchange views and ideas in the Nation's Capital on the occasion of this important anniversary.

Conference organizers welcome proposals for papers, sessions, panels, roundtables and video presentations that address the topics of ethnicity, immigration, diversity, and multiculturalism in Canada, particularly in relation to the 40th anniversary of the introduction of multiculturalism as a government policy in 1971. Such issues as the evolution of policy on multiculturalism, current debates over multiculturalism, the impact of multiculturalism on Canadian

society, multiculturalism and ethnic identity, multiculturalism and immigrant integration, multiculturalism and official languages, multiculturalism and community formation, multiculturalism and social cohesion, the role of the media and multicultural policy, multiculturalism, equality and social justice, comparing the Canadian approach to other countries, etc. Organizers invite submissions from a variety of perspectives, academic disciplines, and areas of study, including the humanities and the social sciences. Travel assistance is available for some presenters, the amount to be determined based on number of participants. We will endeavor to make a decision shortly after the abstract is received in order to facilitate those who need verification of their acceptance for travel funding purposes at their own institutions.

Please visit our websites: cesa.uwinnipeg.ca and www.acs-aec.ca for more information. Presentation and poster submissions should be directed electronically to James Ondrick, Director of Programs, Association for Canadian Studies at: james.ondrick@acs-aec.ca

LES 40 ANS DU MULTICULTURALISME CANADIEN: RÉFLEXIONS SUR LA POLITIQUE CANADIENNE

2^E CONGRÈS ANNUEL DE L'ASSOCIATION D'ÉTUDES CANADIENNES ET DE LA SOCIÉTÉ CANADIENNE D'ÉTUDES ETHNIQUES

HÔTEL MARRIOTT OTTAWA, ONTARIO DU 30 SEPTEMBRE AU 1^{ER} OCTOBRE 2011

L'Association d'études canadiennes (AEC) et la Société canadienne d'Études Ethniques (SCÉE) invitent des propositions pour un congrès conjoint intitulé : *Les 40 ans du multiculturalisme canadien : réflexions sur la politique canadienne* qui aura lieu du 30 septembre au 1^{er} octobre 2011, à l'hôtel Marriott situé à Ottawa, au 100 rue Kent. Ce congrès marque aussi le 21^e congrès de la Société canadienne d'Études Ethniques et le deuxième d'une série de trois congrès organisés en collaboration avec l'Association d'études canadiennes. Le congrès offrira une opportunité unique d'échanger points de vues et idées dans la Capitale nationale, à l'occasion de cet sujet important.

Les organisateurs de la conférence sollicitent des propositions de présentations, de panels de discussion, de tables rondes, et de vidéos qui aborderont le sujet de l'ethnicité, de l'immigration et du multiculturalisme au Canada, tout particulièrement dans le contexte du 40^e anniversaire de l'introduction de la politique gouvernementale sur le multiculturalisme en 1971. Des questions telles l'évolution des politiques sur le multiculturalisme, les débats actuels sur le multiculturalisme, l'impact du multiculturalisme sur la société canadienne, le multiculturalisme et l'identité ethnique, le

multiculturalisme et l'intégration des immigrants, le multiculturalisme et les langues officielles, le multiculturalisme et la formation des communautés, le multiculturalisme et la cohésion sociale, le rôle des médias et de la politique multiculturelle, le multiculturalisme, l'égalité et la justice sociale, les comparaisons de l'approche canadienne avec celle des autres pays, etc. Les organisateurs sollicitent des soumissions de différentes perspectives et disciplines académiques en sciences sociales. De l'aide financière pour les frais de déplacement sera disponible pour certains conférenciers, le montant de laquelle sera déterminé selon le nombre de participants. Nous tenterons de prendre une décision rapidement suivant la réception du résumé, question de faciliter la tâche à ceux qui auront besoin d'une confirmation de l'acceptation de leur proposition afin de pouvoir faire une demande de financement auprès de leur propre institution.

Veuillez visiter nos sites web cesa.uwinnipeg.ca et www.acs-aec.ca pour plus d'information. Veuillez faire parvenir vos propositions électroniquement à James Ondrick, directeur des programmes de l'Association d'études canadiennes au james.ondrick@acs-aec.ca.

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COURRIER

Des commentaires sur ce numéro?

Écrivez-nous à Diversité canadienne

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Ou par courriel à <sarah.kooi@acs-aec.ca> Vos lettres peuvent être modifiées pour des raisons éditoriales.

LETTERS

Comments on this edition of Canadian Diversity?

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Your letters may be edited for length and clarity.

INTRODUCTION

Chedly Belkhodja est professeur de science politique à l'Université de Moncton. Ses travaux s'intéressent aux politiques et méthodes de régionalisation de l'immigration et sur le discours et les représentations de changements culturels dans les régions à faible immigration. Depuis 2003, il est impliqué dans le centre Métropolis atlantique en tant que chercheur et depuis 2006 en tant que directeur.

Ce numéro de la revue *Diversité canadienne* vous propose une série d'articles autour de la problématique des étudiants internationaux et des politiques d'immigration au Canada et dans d'autres pays.

Depuis une dizaine d'années, les politiques nationales ont évolué vers un rapprochement de plus en plus évident entre les étudiants internationaux, l'internationalisation de l'éducation et l'immigration. Pendant longtemps, le fait d'étudier à l'étranger signifiait plutôt un projet de nature académique et personnel sans véritable intention de rester dans le pays d'accueil, un peu à l'image d'une mobilité touristique permettant à des jeunes de construire leur identité et d'en faire profiter ensuite leur pays d'origine. Une sorte de distance existait dans les politiques entre le statut de l'étudiant et le processus d'immigration, obligeant ce dernier à rentrer dans son pays d'origine pour déposer une demande de visa. La situation a considérablement changé en raison d'un ajustement des politiques, du rôle des universités comme des agents de recrutement et du climat de compétition qui existe entre les pays dans le but d'attirer des immigrants hautement qualifiés. Les étudiants internationaux deviennent une denrée précieuse pour les économies des pays industrialisés avancés.

Dans les pays de tradition d'immigration comme le Canada, l'Australie, la Nouvelle-Zélande, la Grande-Bretagne, les politiques visant à sélectionner des immigrants hautement qualifiés favorisent maintenant la catégorie des étudiants internationaux (Hawthorne, 2010, OIM, 2008). Or, même s'ils mettent en place des mesures de sélection d'immigrants plus sévères, ces pays sont également en compétition les uns avec les autres pour attirer des travailleurs qualifiés et des étudiants aux cycles supérieurs. Des politiques très sélectives sont donc accompagnées de politiques visant à faciliter le processus d'immigration pour ceux et celles détenant des qualifications en demande. C'est dans ce contexte que les étudiants internationaux deviennent des candidats idéaux à l'immigration économique. En effet, dans la mesure où les pays de l'OCDE cherchent des professionnels qualifiés, les étudiants internationaux détenant des diplômes de leurs universités représentent une solution presque idéale au manque de main-d'œuvre qui les afflige. C'est ainsi que plusieurs gouvernements ont mis en place des mesures visant à faciliter la transition des étudiants internationaux au marché du travail et les encourager à

s'établir à long terme. Plusieurs recherches présentent les avantages de cibler les étudiants.

Premièrement, en tant qu'immigrants potentiels, les étudiants sont considérés comme une solution aux problèmes de dénatalité et au vieillissement de la population, notamment dans les régions non métropolitaines confrontées à un exode de la population active vers les grands centres (Suter et Jandl, 2008). Deuxièmement, les étudiants qui obtiennent un diplôme dans le pays d'accueil ont la capacité d'intégrer plus facilement le marché du travail. Au critère du diplôme national vient s'ajouter l'importance d'acquérir une expérience de travail durant les études, faisant ainsi des étudiants internationaux des individus mieux adaptés à la culture professionnelle et linguistique de leur milieu. Cet argument joue beaucoup dans un contexte où l'intégration économique des immigrants qualifiés se heurte à une certaine fermeture du monde économique à l'idée d'embaucher une main d'œuvre formée à l'étranger. Le fait de favoriser plus ouvertement la catégorie des étudiants a également un lien direct à la question complexe de la reconnaissance des diplômes et des acquis des immigrants qualifiés. Pour certains observateurs, pour les raisons évoquées plus haut, la catégorie des étudiants serait moins menacée par le déclassement professionnel des immigrants qualifiés, phénomène surtout observé au Canada et en Australie. Troisièmement, les étudiants sont présentés comme des acteurs pouvant augmenter la compétitivité économique et la créativité de leur communauté d'accueil. Ils peuvent devenir des agents de développement au service d'une économie qui cherche à s'inscrire dans un marché global plus compétitif, notamment vers des secteurs économiques de pointe comme les nouvelles technologies, les Centres d'appel, les services (Perrons, 2004). Certaines recherches démontrent en effet la nouvelle relation que l'université cherche à établir entre l'apport de nouvelles connaissances et le développement économique régional (Walton-Roberts, 2008). Quatrièmement, la présence de ces étudiants est souvent présentée comme un élément dynamique pouvant faire évoluer des petits milieux homogènes vers la compréhension interculturelle et l'internationalisation. D'une part, ce type d'argument est produit au niveau des institutions post-secondaires qui, par la présence des étudiants se dévoile comme le lieu de cette diversité nouvelle pouvant profiter à

une population étudiante locale peu sensibilisée à la différence. D'autre part, l'université devient en quelque sorte le laboratoire idéal et le tremplin permettant l'intégration et l'acculturation d'une population étrangère à la communauté d'accueil, les universités sortant de leur territoire (le campus) pour véritablement s'inviter à l'espace économique et culturel de certaines villes. Enfin, à cette volonté d'offrir une formation internationale s'ajoute l'indéniable argument économique derrière l'attraction des étudiants internationaux, qui payent des frais de scolarité nettement supérieurs aux étudiants locaux dans plusieurs pays (Altbach et Knight 2007). La rentabilité de l'internationalisation pousse les universités à tenter leur chance sur ce marché lucratif qui permet d'accéder à une source de financement externe et d'augmenter la capacité des effectifs.

Les études réunies dans ce numéro ont le mérite d'aborder ce thème à partir d'approches empiriques et qualitatives. La première section de ce numéro présente la réalité canadienne. Le constat général qui se dégage, c'est que le recrutement et la rétention d'étudiants internationaux dépendent de plusieurs facteurs dépassant le seul rôle des gouvernements et des universités. Dans le contexte de l'immigration économique, il ne suffit pas de recruter une clientèle désirée mais de développer les mécanismes de collaboration entre les divers acteurs impliqués dans le dossier de l'immigration, notamment les provinces, les municipalités canadiennes, les structures d'établissement et les intervenants économiques.

Melissa Fama fait état d'un dossier devenu prioritaire pour le Canada qui souhaite faire d'avantage pour devenir une destination de premier choix des étudiants de l'étranger. Par ses politiques et ses initiatives spécifiques en matière de recrutement, le Canada dispose de plusieurs atouts mais doit faire face à une concurrence internationale plus forte de plusieurs pays dont l'Australie et la Grande-Bretagne. L'article de Naomi Alboim souligne bien à quel point la situation a évolué depuis une dizaine d'années au Canada par rapport au désir de faciliter l'intégration des étudiants internationaux dans le schéma des politiques d'immigration, notamment par la participation des provinces canadiennes. Alboim remarque cependant que dans ce contexte de la dévolution des pouvoirs au sein de la fédération et de l'implication de nouveaux joueurs, il faut être en mesure de mieux évaluer les effets de ces nouvelles politiques et initiatives. Sophia Lowe constate que depuis quelques années, le Canada innove en matière de stratégies de recrutement des étudiants internationaux mais éprouve de la difficulté à les retenir une fois les études terminées. En développant un modèle migratoire de transition temporaire à permanente, le Canada répond en partie au défi. Selon

Lowe, il demeure cependant que le véritable enjeu est celui de la transition des études vers l'emploi, processus qui nécessite une collaboration constante entre les principaux intervenants en immigration.

Plusieurs articles s'intéressent à mieux cerner la problématique de l'intégration des étudiants internationaux dans le cadre des études universitaires et de l'ouverture de la communauté d'accueil. Abu Kamara et Lies L. Gambold présentent les résultats d'une enquête auprès d'étudiants de l'Université Dalhousie à Halifax. Les étudiants interrogés indiquent vivre des difficultés d'adaptation académique et un manque d'appui des services étudiants de l'institution. Ils soulignent également des enjeux de discriminations par la communauté d'accueil. Sinziana Chira souligne l'importance que prend le dossier des étudiants internationaux dans les provinces de l'Atlantique en terme de croissance du nombre d'étudiants dans les établissements et des retombées économiques régionales. Une observation intéressante est la signification différente de l'internationalisation du point de vue des universités et des acteurs de l'immigration. Son étude porte sur les deux principaux campus de la ville d'Halifax. William Dunn et Claude Olivier prennent en compte la relation entre les étudiants internationaux et les étudiants nationaux en évaluant le degré d'ouverture culturelle et d'inclusion au sein des universités canadiennes. Leur recherche précise bien l'importance des réseaux informels dans le rapprochement interculturel et le principe de la responsabilité partagée des acteurs. Mathieu Wade et Chedly Belkhodja observent le même type de situation à partir du contexte de la régionalisation de l'immigration dans un milieu francophone. Il n'est pas facile de concurrencer les grandes universités des métropoles mais le petit milieu développe ses atouts autour de certains «avantages» : un environnement de sécurité pour les parents de jeunes qui quittent leur famille et leur pays, un éloignement des grandes villes et de la tentation plus élevée des divertissements, une qualité de vie moins dispendieuse, une plus grande facilité à développer des relations sociales. Leur recherche souligne que l'université ne se limite plus au recrutement et à l'intégration des étudiants dans le milieu universitaire, mais s'étend désormais à la problématique de la rétention des diplômés dans des milieux en manque de main d'œuvre qualifiée. Enfin Sonja Knutson présente le cas d'une bonne pratique de collaboration entre l'Université Memorial et la province de Terre-Neuve et Labrador, notamment par rapport à un intérêt à développer des objectifs communs en ce qui concerne la capacité de rétention des étudiants internationaux dans cette province.

Au Canada, l'intégration économique des immigrants demeure un enjeu préoccupant, notamment avec le dossier de la non-reconnaissance des diplômes étrangers. Pour

certain, la solution au problème consiste à prioriser la catégorie des étudiants internationaux. Maude Boulet et Brahim Boudarbat notent cependant que les étudiants diplômés au Canada vivent également des difficultés liées à l'obtention d'un emploi dans leur domaine d'études, qu'ils sont sous-payés et vivent de l'insatisfaction face à leur travail une fois les études terminées. Leur enquête auprès d'immigrants ayant obtenu un diplôme dans un établissement canadien public indique que la variable de l'âge est déterminante au succès des immigrants sur le marché du travail et que la qualité de l'emploi des immigrants ne dépend pas seulement du fait d'avoir obtenu un diplôme postsecondaire canadien.

La deuxième section de ce numéro illustre la problématique des étudiants internationaux à partir de recherches et d'études de cas menées en Australie, à Singapour et en Europe de l'Ouest. En termes des effectifs étudiants et des politiques favorisant la rétention des diplômés étrangers, l'Australie constitue une référence internationale. Lesleyanne Hawthorne rappelle l'évolution de ce dossier depuis les années du gouvernement conservateur de John Howard. D'une part, elle remarque que les étudiants internationaux ont profité d'un système migratoire avantageux leur permettant de poursuivre des études et de s'intégrer au niveau économique. D'autre part, elle souligne les ajustements du système de sélection des étudiants vers un mécanisme plus rigoureux, transparent et sélectif, le modèle du «two-step migration» qui privilégie une clientèle pouvant effectuer une transition rapide vers le statut de la résidence. Même si l'Australie a connu un certain ralentissement, il demeure que les étudiants internationaux diplômés profitent des initiatives visant à les retenir sur ce territoire. L'article de Golebiowska cerne la migration des étudiants à partir de la dynamique des universités régionales et des initiatives en politiques de régionalisation de l'immigration. Selina Lim présente le contexte d'un pays voisin émergent : le Singapour. Plaque tournante de l'économie de l'Asie du sud-est, le Singapour se positionne en tant que nouvelle destination pour les étudiants des pays avoisinants et souhaite les intégrer au marché économique. Depuis 2002, la mise en place d'une stratégie globale par l'État, a permis de cibler les étudiants étrangers et d'internationaliser l'offre universitaire.

Depuis quelques années, même si le débat public reste préoccupé par des questions identitaires et sécuritaires, la situation en Europe évolue rapidement vers la prise en considération de l'immigration économique. Hans de Wit présente un survol éclairant de cette nouvelle dynamique continentale de la mobilité des étudiantes et du climat de compétition en ce qui concerne l'attraction des étudiants internationaux. Selon l'auteur, un écart persiste entre les

politiques d'immigration des pays européens et des pays comme le Canada et l'Australie, mais le continent européen s'ajuste à la réalité de l'immigration économique. C'est dans ce cadre que les Pays-Bas souhaitent devenir une destination privilégiée pour les étudiants de l'étranger. Neil Kemp poursuit avec le cas de la Grande-Bretagne. Par sa tradition de l'internationalisation de l'enseignement supérieur, par le nombre des étudiants et la diversité des pays et des programmes offerts, ce pays s'est démarqué depuis longtemps dans le domaine de la mobilité étudiante. Plus récemment, le gouvernement travailliste a développé des politiques visant à rapprocher l'étudiant du migrant qualifié. Neil Kemp note cependant avec inquiétude les politiques plus restrictives du gouvernement Cameron visant à réduire le nombre des étudiants. Dans cette logique, Kemp évoque que la mobilité va tout simplement se déplacer ailleurs. C'est un peu la réalité de l'Allemagne où Neils Klabunde et Basak Bilecen-Süoglu présentent des initiatives récentes qui visent à faire de ce pays le leader en Europe en termes d'effectifs étudiants et de politiques plus orientés vers les questions de rétention et d'accès à l'emploi.

Trois contributions mettent en valeur le cas de la Suisse. Claudio Bolzman présente les grandes orientations de la politique suisse à l'égard des étudiants internationaux, précisant surtout la situation paradoxale lorsque vient le temps d'encourager certains pays limitrophes comme l'Allemagne et l'Autriche et beaucoup moins les étudiants des pays du sud. L'auteur souligne cependant des nouvelles initiatives visant à rendre la Suisse plus accueillante pour les étudiants gradués. Alessandra Gerber et Aline Gohard Radenkovic proposent un autre regard qui permet de saisir quelques trajectoires d'intégration d'étudiants internationaux dans une ville de taille moyenne comme Fribourg. À partir d'une démarche qualitative, les auteurs soulignent deux aspects, soit la manière pour des jeunes migrants de se refaire un espace de vie par toutes sortes de procédés et la capacité de devenir eux-mêmes des relais entre les nouveaux étudiants et la société d'accueil. La recherche d'Ibrahima Guissé illustre bien le paradoxe suisse. En suivant les parcours d'étudiants africains, Guissé constate que devant la rigidité du modèle suisse en ce qui concerne l'accès à la citoyenneté et au marché de l'emploi, des jeunes diplômés choisissent de poursuivre leur projet professionnel au Canada, terre considérée comme plus accueillante.

Enfin, le cas du Portugal permet de saisir une autre dynamique migratoire des étudiants étrangers en Europe. Maria Lucinda-Fonseca et Maria Joao Hortas soulignent que ce pays d'émigration est devenu depuis les années quatre-vingt-dix une société d'immigration accueillant des migrants des anciennes colonies et une nouvelle immigration

venue des pays de l'Europe de l'Est. Les universités portugaises reçoivent principalement des étudiants du Brésil, de l'Angola et du Cap Vert.

À un autre niveau plus européen, Christof Van Mol analyse les conséquences de la mobilité des étudiants européens dans le cadre du programme ERASMUS. Son travail cherche à savoir si cette première mobilité encourage par la suite un projet migratoire au sein de l'Europe.

Enfin, les contributions de Stéphanie Garneau et Sylvie Mazzella abordent les enjeux de l'internationalisation des mobilités étudiantes et la libéralisation de l'enseignement supérieur en Europe, au Canada et au Maghreb. Selon Stéphanie Garneau, l'émergence des discours de l'internationalisation et de la mobilité des étudiants s'inscrit dans le nouveau climat de compétition entre les pays d'accueil. Sa recherche analyse les mobilités variées et inégales entre des espaces privilégiés comme celui des étudiants français au Québec et des espaces de mobilité réduite pour les étudiants du Maghreb. La contribution de Sylvie Mazzella s'intéresse surtout au cas de la Tunisie. (Dans ce pays, un blocage existe parce que l'enseignement supérieur public a perdu du terrain face à l'offre nouvelle proposée par l'enseignement privé et à cause d'un cursus plus concurrentiel avec la réalité mondiale.) De nombreux diplômés des universités publiques éprouvent des difficultés à accéder au marché de l'emploi. C'est d'ailleurs ce qui explique la révolte de la jeunesse tunisienne du 17 décembre ayant mené à la chute du régime de Zine Abidine Ben Ali. Dans cette logique de globalisation libérale, la Tunisie devient une plaque tournante sur le continent africain, proposant des formations spécialisées à des jeunes ayant les moyens de payer et réussissant même à attirer des étudiants internationaux des pays du sud.

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INTRODUCTION

Chedly Belkhodja is professor of political science at the Université de Moncton. His research focuses on policies and practices of regionalization of immigration and on the discourse and representations of cultural change in places of less immigration. From 2003 to 2006, he served as a Domain Leader at the Atlantic Metropolis Centre and has been one of the Centre's directors since 2006.

This issue of *Canadian Diversity* offers a series of articles focusing on issues related to international students and immigration policies in Canada and other countries.

Over the past decade, national policies have shifted towards an increasingly obvious reconciliation between international students, the internationalization of education and immigration. For years, the experience of studying abroad was more of a personal academic project with no real intention on the part of students to remain in the host country; a sort of tourist mobility for young people to build their identity and to then benefit their country of origin. There was a distance in the policies between the student's status and the immigration process, forcing him/her to return to his home country to apply for a visa. The situation has considerably changed thanks to adjustments to policies, the role of universities as agents of recruitment and the competition between countries to attract highly skilled immigrants. International students have become a precious commodity for the economies of advanced industrialized countries.

In countries with a tradition of immigration like Canada, Australia, New Zealand and Great Britain, policies for selecting highly skilled immigrants are now favouring the category of international students (Hawthorne, 2010; IOM, 2008). But even if stricter measures are put into place for the selection of immigrants, these countries are also competing with each other to attract skilled workers and graduate students. Immigration policies can be very selective, but they are often accompanied by policies and directives aimed at facilitating the immigration process for those who have the qualifications countries are looking for. It is within this context that international students become ideal candidates for economic immigration. Indeed, insofar as the OECD countries are seeking skilled professionals, international students with degrees from their universities represent an almost ideal solution to the labour shortages experienced by these countries. Thus, several governments have implemented measures to ease the transition of international students into the labour market and to encourage them to settle in the host country on a long term basis. Several studies show the benefits of targeting students.

First, as immigrants, potential students are seen as a solution to falling birth rates and an aging population,

particularly in non-metropolitan areas facing an exodus of the working population to urban centers (Suter and Jandl, 2008). Second, students who graduate in the host country have the ability to integrate into the labour market more easily. The criterion of a national diploma, in conjunction with the importance of acquiring work experience while studying, make international students better adapted to the professional and linguistic culture of their milieu. This argument is particularly relevant in a time where skilled immigrants are faced with considerable barriers from parts of the business world reluctant to hire a workforce that has been trained abroad. The open favouring of the student category also has a direct link to the complex issue of the recognition of qualifications and achievements of skilled immigrants. For some observers, for the reasons discussed above, the student category would be less threatened by the deskilling of highly skilled immigrants, a phenomenon observed mainly in Canada and Australia. Third, students are presented as actors that can increase the economic competitiveness and creativity of their host community. They can become agents of development for an economy seeking greater participation in a more competitive global market, particularly in economic sectors such as new technologies, call centers, and services (Perron, 2004). Indeed, some research shows the new relationship universities seek to establish between new knowledge and regional economic development (Walton-Roberts, 2008). Fourth, the presence of these students is often presented as a dynamic element that can allow small homogeneous areas to move towards intercultural understanding and internationalization. On the one hand, such an argument is produced at the post-secondary institution level which, by the very presence of students, becomes the place where this new diversity may benefit a local student population that is less aware of differences. On the other hand, the university becomes a sort of ideal laboratory and springboard for the integration and acculturation of a foreign population in the host community. Universities move beyond their territory (the campus) to truly invite themselves into the economic and cultural spaces of diverse cities. Finally, added to the interest in providing an international education is the undeniable economic incentive of attracting international

students, who pay much higher tuition fees than local students in several countries (Altbach and Knight 2007). The profitability of the growing internationalization of universities entices them to try their luck in this lucrative market that provides access to a source of external funding and increases the capacity of the workforce.

The studies included in this issue of *Canadian Diversity* address this topic on the basis of both empirical and qualitative research. The first section presents the Canadian experience. The overall picture which emerges is that the recruitment and retention of international students depend on several factors going beyond the role of governments and universities. In the context of economic migration, it is not enough to attract the desired clientele; there is also the need to develop mechanisms for greater collaboration between the various actors involved in immigration issues, including provinces, Canadian municipalities, the educational institutions and economic stakeholders.

Melissa Fama reports on Canada's priority of becoming a prime destination for students from abroad. Through its recruitment policies and special initiatives, Canada has several advantages but faces stronger international competition from several countries, including Australia and Great Britain. Naomi Alboim's article underscores the changes in Canadian policy over the last decade designed to facilitate the integration of international students, including important changes to provincial policies. Alboim notes, however, that in this context of devolution of powers within the federation and the involvement of new players, we must improve our ability to measure the effects of these new policies and initiatives. Sophia Lowe notes that in recent years, Canada has innovated in its recruitment strategies for international students but has had difficulty retaining them once their studies are completed. By developing a migration model for the transition between temporary to permanent, Canada is, in part, responding to the challenge. According to Lowe, the real issue remains that of the transition from school to employment, a process that requires constant collaboration between key stakeholders in immigration.

Several articles strive to define the issue of the integration of international students in the context of university studies and the openness of the host community. Abu Kamara and Liesl L. Gambold present the results of a student survey conducted at Dalhousie University in Halifax. The students surveyed reported experiencing adjustment difficulties and a lack of academic support services from the institution. They also highlight issues of discrimination by the host community. Sinziana Chira underlines the importance of the international students

dossier in the Atlantic provinces, both in terms of the growth in the number of students and the economic benefits to these regions. An interesting observation is that of the differing significance of internationalization, from the point of view of universities and immigration actors. Her study focuses on the two main campuses situated in the city of Halifax. William Dunn and Claude Olivier take into account the relationship between international students and local students, assessing the degree of cultural openness and inclusion in Canadian universities. Their research makes clear the importance of informal networks for intercultural exchange and the importance of shared responsibility from all parties for successful integration. Matthew Wade and Chedly Belkhodja observe the same type of situation within the context of the regionalization of immigration in a francophone environment. It is not easy to compete with large universities in the cities, but the small community makes its mark around certain "advantages": a safe environment for students who leave their families and their country, the distance from major cities and thus distance from potential distractions, a lower cost of living, an easier way to develop social relationships. Their research highlights that the university no longer limits itself to the recruitment and integration of students in the university milieu, but also takes on the issue of graduate students' retention in sectors where there is a lack of skilled labour. Finally, Sonja Knutson presents a good example of collaboration between Memorial University and the province of Newfoundland and Labrador, particularly in relation to a shared interest in developing common goals with respect to the ability to retain international students in that province.

In Canada, the economic integration of immigrants remains a major concern, particularly with respect to non-recognition of foreign credentials. For some, the solution is to prioritize the category of international students. Maude Boulet and Brahim Boudarbat note, however, that graduate students living in Canada also experience difficulties in obtaining employment in their field of study, are underpaid and experience dissatisfaction with their employment after the completion of their studies. Their survey of immigrants who graduated from a Canadian public establishment shows that age is crucial to the success of immigrants in the labour market, and that the kind of job offered to immigrants, is not dependent only on the fact that they have graduated from a Canadian post-secondary institution.

The second section of this volume looks at international students in Australia, Singapore and Western Europe. In terms of student enrolment and retention policies favouring foreign graduates, Australia has become

an international benchmark. Lesleyanne Hawthorne traces this evolution, beginning with the Conservative government of John Howard. On the one hand, she notes that international students have benefited from an advantageous migration system allowing them to pursue their studies and integrate themselves economically. On the other hand, she highlights the adjustments to the student selection system towards a more rigorous, transparent and selective mechanism, the “two-step migration” model, which favours a clientele that can make a rapid transition to the status of residency. Although Australia has somewhat slowed down, the fact remains that international graduate students benefit from the initiatives seeking to keep them in the country. The article by Kate Golebiowska touches upon student migration from the dynamics of regional universities and policy initiatives on the regionalization of immigration. Selina Lim discusses the background of an emerging neighbouring country, Singapore. The economic hub of Southeast Asia, Singapore is positioning itself as a new destination for students from neighbouring countries and hopes to integrate them to the labour market. Since 2002, the establishment of a global strategy by the state has allowed for the targeting of foreign students and the internationalization of education in Singapore.

In recent years, although public debate continues to focus on questions of identity and security, the situation in Europe is moving rapidly towards the consideration of economic immigration. Hans de Wit presents an insightful overview of this new continental dynamic of student mobility and the climate of competition in terms of attracting international students. According to the author, a gap remains between the immigration policies of European countries, Canada and Australia, but the European continent is adjusting to the reality of economic migration. It is within this framework that the Netherlands wants to become a preferred destination for students from abroad. Neil Kemp continues with the case of Great Britain. With its tradition of internationalizing graduate studies, the large number of students and the diversity of countries and programmes offered, the UK has long stood out in the area of student mobility. More recently, the Labour government developed policies seeking to bring students a bit closer to qualified migrants. Neil Kemp notes however, with some concerns, the more restrictive policies adopted by the Cameron government, which seek to reduce the intake of students. With this logic, Kemp argues that student mobility will simply move elsewhere. This is somewhat the reality in Germany where Niels Klabunde and Basak Bilecen-Süoglu present recent initiatives aiming to make the country the European leader in terms of international student numbers as well as policies oriented towards issues of retention and access to employment.

Three articles highlight the case of Switzerland. Claudio Bolzman presents the main features of the Swiss policy for international students, noting especially the paradoxical situation of encouraging students from certain neighbouring countries, such as Germany and Austria, but not those from the south. The author stresses, however, new initiatives which promise to make Switzerland more welcoming to graduate students. Alessandra Gerber and Aline Gohard Radenkovic offer another perspective that captures a few integration trajectories of international students in the medium-sized city of Freiburg. Adopting a qualitative approach, the authors emphasize two specific aspects: the way for young migrants to reconstruct a space through various processes, and the ability to themselves become the link between new students and the host society. The research of Ibrahima Guissé illustrates another paradox found in Switzerland. By following the journey of African students, Guissé notes that given the rigidity of the Swiss model in terms of access to citizenship and the job market, graduates choose to continue their professional career in Canada, a country considered to be more welcoming.

Finally, the case of Portugal shows a different migration dynamic of foreign students in Europe. Maria Lucinda Fonseca and Maria-Joao Horta stress that this country of emigration has become, since the early 1990s, an immigrant society welcoming migrants from former colonies and new immigration from countries of Eastern Europe. Portuguese universities mainly welcome students from Brazil, Angola and Cape Verde.

In another European example, Christof Van Mol examines the consequences of European students' mobility within the ERASMUS program. His work focuses on the question of whether the initial mobility afforded by the program produces subsequent migration trends elsewhere in Europe.

Finally, the contributions of Stéphanie Garneau and Sylvie Mazzella address issues of internationalization of student mobility and the liberalization of higher education in Europe, Canada and North Africa. According to Stéphanie Garneau, the emergence of discourses of internationalization and mobility of students fit well in the new climate of competition among host countries. Her research examines the varied and unequal mobilities between privileged areas such as French students in Quebec and limited mobility spaces for disabled students in the Maghreb. Sylvie Mazzella's contribution focuses on the case of Tunisia. Here, public higher education has lost ground against new offers of private education and a more competitive curriculum in tune with the global reality. Many graduates of public universities have difficulty entering the job market. This also explains the revolt of

the Tunisian youth on December 17, 2010, which led to the downfall of Zine Abidine Ben Ali's regime. Within this framework of liberal globalization, Tunisia has become a hub on the African continent offering specialized training to young people who can afford to pay, meanwhile managing to attract international students from southern countries.

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A NEW ERA FOR CANADA'S INTERNATIONAL STUDENT PROGRAM

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ABSTRACT

Attracting international students to Canada is a priority for the Government of Canada. In recent years, Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) has worked closely with provinces and territories, educational associations, and educational institutions to introduce initiatives that make Canada a more attractive destination for international students and facilitate students' ability to transition to permanent residence. Most recently, CIC and provincial/territorial ministries of immigration and education have begun discussions on important changes to the International Student Program, with a view to enhancing program integrity and improving Canada's standing as a destination of choice for international students seeking a quality education.

INTRODUCTION

The growing demand for international education, worldwide competition for talent, and the increasing ease of global migration are intensifying global competition for international students. National governments are, in response, developing strategies and nationally coordinated marketing campaigns to attract international students.

From a Government of Canada perspective, attracting international students is a priority. It's easy to see why. International students bring a number of academic, financial and strategic benefits to Canada. They enrich the academic environment by bringing new perspectives, conducting research, and offering domestic students opportunities to enhance their intercultural competencies. After returning to their home countries, many of these students serve as unofficial ambassadors.

From an economic perspective, international students bring a number of direct benefits to Canada, including to provinces, municipalities and educational institutions. A recent report commissioned by the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT) found that international students contribute approximately \$6.5B to the Canadian economy through tuition fees and other expenses related to living in Canada.¹ Perhaps even more important is that students who choose to stay in Canada after graduation represent a pool of skilled workers who can potentially contribute to the Canadian labour market. Research shows that former international students with Canadian work experience earn approximately \$10,000 more than those immigrants with no Canadian education or work experience, and surpass the Canadian earnings average within one year of immigration.²

In many ways, international students are ideal: they possess a Canadian credential, are proficient in at least one official language, and many have obtained Canadian professional or technical work experience before seeking permanent residence in Canada. In recent years, these factors have affected a shift from thinking about international students as temporary residents to a pool of highly qualified candidates for permanent residency.

THE CANADIAN LANDSCAPE AND RECENT GOVERNMENT INITIATIVES

Canada has been welcoming international students for decades. Between 1989 and 2009 the number of international students in Canada has more than doubled, putting Canada on the map as a major player in the international education sector.³ According to the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), in 2005 Canada ranked seventh in the world as the top choice for study destinations with three percent of the world share of international students.⁴ Canada's share of the international student movement continues to grow. Numbers of international students in Canada are driven by demand for education in Canada, a demand which fuels an average growth rate of approximately eight percent per year. The number of total international students residing in Canada in 2009 has grown to over 196,000, representing a 10 percent increase over 2008. In terms of international student entries, from 2008 to 2009 the number of international students who entered Canada grew by seven percent to over 85,000, resulting in the highest number of international students ever admitted to Canada.⁵

In recent years, the Government of Canada has made various efforts to increase Canada's international student population. Industry Canada introduced the Vanier Scholarship in September 2008 to attract and retain world-class Canadian and international doctoral students in Canada. Also in 2008, DFAIT, in partnership with the Council of Ministers of Education, Canada, launched the "Imagine Education in/au Canada" brand in an effort to develop an international education marketing campaign to promote Canada as a destination of choice for post-secondary students. With this new international brand in place, the education sector in Canada is better placed to communicate a more consistent message internationally with respect to education in Canada, in contrast to what has traditionally been a scattered and fragmented approach to promoting Canadian education abroad.

Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) has also been working, with the support of provinces and territories, to improve both the policy and operational aspects related to study and work programs for international students. Most recently, CIC has introduced a number of new and more flexible work permit programs that allow international students to work both during their terms of study and after graduation. Key features include the ability for students to work for any employer in any occupation and without the need to secure a job offer before applying for a work permit. In 2006 CIC introduced the Off-Campus Work Permit Program, which allows international students to apply for an open work permit to work part-time during their regular academic sessions and full-time during scheduled breaks. Further, CIC also introduced changes to the Post-Graduation Work Permit Program in 2008 to allow full-time students who have graduated with a diploma, degree or certificate from an eligible Canadian post-secondary institution, to apply for an open work permit, for up to a maximum of three years. In 2009 CIC issued over 43,000 work permits to international students through these programs.

Additionally, CIC introduced the Canadian Experience Class (CEC) in September 2008, which allows graduates of provincially recognized universities, community colleges and CEGEPs, and degree holders from provincially recognized private institutions, to apply for permanent residence if they have obtained one year of professional or technical work experience in Canada after graduation.

Taking advantage of work opportunities at an early stage is important for international students, particularly if they are considering immigrating to Canada permanently. Immigration streams to Canada like the CEC and some Provincial Nominee Programs require international students to have obtained Canadian work experience in order to meet eligibility requirements. The combination of changes to work permit programs and new channels for permanent

immigration are resulting in increases in the number of students who are choosing to immigrate permanently to Canada. In 2009, the number of former students who immigrated permanently to Canada grew to almost 13,000 compared to just over 8,000 five years ago, and a growing number of those students immigrated after having obtained post-graduation work. The majority of international students who transitioned to permanent residence entered through the Skilled Worker Category, Provincial Nominee Programs, the CEC, and the Family Class.

Finally, CIC has recently introduced a range of online services, including online applications for students to apply for study permit extensions and work permits in Canada. In early 2011, CIC will also be introducing a pilot project for students in select visa-exempt countries to apply for their initial study permits online.

INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT

Canada has often been criticised for lacking a national or strategic policy on international education, in contrast to competitor countries like Australia, the UK and the U.S. One key difference between Canada and leading countries is that the latter spend a considerable amount on international education promotion. Australia, for example, spends approximately \$34 million per year on marketing post-secondary education, while Canada, in comparison, has a \$1 million national budget for promotion activities abroad. Additionally, these countries (with the exception of the U.S.) use a coordinated approach to promote international education abroad and recruit international students.

Another noteworthy difference is that unlike Canada, leading countries have implemented comprehensive program integrity frameworks around their international student programs. These frameworks include fairly rigorous requirements that educational institutions must meet in order to host international students, as well as requirements for schools to report on student attendance and academic standing. For these countries, the combination of strong program integrity frameworks and substantial funding for promotion and student recruitment activities have led to positive growth in international student intake.

Canada also faces unique challenges in the international education arena. It is a complex landscape given the plethora of players at both the national and provincial/territorial levels and their various mandates and jurisdictional areas of responsibility. At the federal level, DFAIT is responsible for the coordination of education promotion abroad. CIC, in cooperation with Canada Border Services Agency (CBSA) is responsible for the policies governing study and work programs for international students, as well as managing the entry of foreign nationals into Canada for study and work

purposes (also known as Canada's International Student Program). There are also a number of interested national-level organizations outside government. At the provincial/territorial government level, provinces and territories share jurisdiction for immigration with the federal government but have full jurisdiction over education, including the regulation and oversight of educational institutions and their promotion abroad.

Despite having complete jurisdiction for education, provinces and territories do not currently have a comprehensive formal role in the management and delivery of Canada's International Student Program, including in the selection or monitoring of educational institutions that recruit and accept international students. Under the current framework, study permits are issued to students destined to any institution offering educational or training courses, whether or not it is regulated by a provincial/territorial Ministry of Education. While most educational institutions in Canada are reputable and offer high quality programs, the current framework has allowed international students to attend unregulated schools, some of which engage in questionable activities. These activities can range from recruiting international students for programs or work opportunities that they are not equipped or authorized to deliver, to providing fraudulent documentation for the purposes of facilitating the acquisition of study permits. These types of activities can have a negative impact on Canada's reputation abroad. In 2006, for example, the Chinese Education Ministry issued a public warning about substandard programs, lax regulation and lack of support for victimized students at some of Canada's private colleges. More recently, there has been a smattering of school closures across the country for very similar reasons.

LOOKING AHEAD

There is increasing recognition of the importance of coordination both across federal government departments, and between federal and provincial/territorial governments. In August 2010, the Council of the Federation (a body consisting of Canada's Premiers) issued a communiqué stating that: "Promoting Canada as an education destination of choice is vital for building global connections and attracting the best and brightest talent from around the world." Premiers directed provincial/territorial Ministers of Education to work with provincial and territorial Ministers of Immigration to develop an international education marketing action plan by March 2011. Just two months earlier, federal and provincial/territorial Ministers of Immigration committed to "work together to ensure that Canada continues to improve its standing as a destination of choice for international students seeking a quality education."

In support of this latter mandate, CIC and provincial/territorial ministries of immigration and education are currently in the early stages of discussing important changes to Canada's International Student Program, with the objectives of improving program integrity, clarifying federal and provincial/territorial roles in the management and delivery of the program, and strengthening the provincial/territorial role in areas that fall within their jurisdiction. The idea is that, moving forward, provinces and territories will be responsible for identifying the educational institutions that are eligible—or not—to host international students. Additionally, in line with other countries, CIC is proposing program changes that will require students to study after arrival in Canada. Under the current Canadian framework, international students must only show intent to study at the time of a study permit application; there is currently no requirement for them to be registered at an institution or to attend classes during their authorized stay in Canada.

The changes being discussed by federal and provincial/territorial governments build on changes that were recently put in place by the Canadian Mission in India to overhaul their approach to study permit processing. For the past two years, the Canadian Mission in New Delhi has partnered with a group of Canadian colleges, identified by the Association of Canadian Community Colleges (ACCC), to create the Student Partners Program (SPP). The main goal of the SPP is to increase the approval rate for those students destined to participating colleges, while ensuring program integrity and minimizing immigration violations. To enhance program integrity, the SPP requires applicants to submit mandatory, verifiable documents on language skills and financial support. An information feedback agreement with member colleges is also in place to monitor whether students actually show up to study at their college.

Since the introduction of the SPP and the implementation of program integrity measures, overall outcomes for Indian students destined to participating community colleges have improved significantly. In 2009, over 3,000 study permits were issued to SPP applicants. The approval rate increased to 79% compared to an approval rate of just 35% for 2008 applicants destined to SPP colleges, and Study Permits issued to SPP member colleges more than triple 2008 totals.

CONCLUSION

Experience in Canada through initiatives like the SPP, as well as internationally, suggest that changes to Canada's International Student Program to improve program integrity would yield correspondingly positive outcomes, including: reducing fraud in the international student movement, strengthening the overall management of the International Student Program, and improving Canada's image as a study

destination. It is also expected to improve the overall level of service provided to applicants, through faster processing times and higher approval rates for students destined to authorized institutions.

Ultimately, the objective is that these changes will increase Canada's competitiveness in the international education sector and support federal and provincial/territorial Ministers of Immigration in their quest to improve Canada's standing as a destination of choice for international students seeking a quality education. Moving forward, ongoing collaboration and coordination will be integral to ensuring that both federal and provincial/territorial policies and initiatives are consistent with these broader objectives.

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- ¹ Roslyn Kunin & Associates, Inc., "Economic Impact of International Education in Canada" (July 2009), 24-25.
- ² Citizenship and Immigration Canada, *Immigration Database*.
- ³ Citizenship and Immigration Canada, *Facts and Figures*.
- ⁴ Canada ranks after the U.S. (26%), UK (12%), Germany (10%), France (9%), Australia (6%) and Japan (5%).
- ⁵ Citizenship and Immigration Canada, *Facts and Figures*.

Canadian Issues Temporary Foreign Workers Issue

This edition of Canadian Issues/Thèmes Canadiens focuses on temporary foreign workers (TFWs) in Canada. It examines research and statistics related to TFWs across Canada to provide an analytical profile of this group of immigrants. Additionally, it looks at the federal and provincial policy tools in place to promote and regulate temporary migration to Canada. Finally, it explores the social, economic, health, safety and legal issues arising from TFW programs in Canada and provides future directions for research and policy development.

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METROPOLIS

FROM INTERNATIONAL STUDENT TO PERMANENT RESIDENT: POLICY CONSIDERATIONS

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ABSTRACT

Canada is intensifying efforts to attract international students as a potential source of skilled immigrants. While there are significant advantages to this strategy and real benefits to be achieved, there are some cautionary notes that must be kept in mind to prevent unintended negative consequences. It is time to take stock and evaluate new and emerging policies, programs and strategies to ensure that they achieve the desired results.

Until recently, Canada did not view international students as future citizens. On the contrary, in order to obtain a visa to study in Canada, applicants had to demonstrate that they had no intention of remaining in the country. International students were not allowed to work off-campus and had to leave the country if they wanted to apply for permanent residence. Today governments and post-secondary institutions actively encourage international students to come to Canada to study, work and apply for permanent residence from within the country.

The main reason for this change in approach is the view that international students comprise a pool of skilled, educated and young “potential immigrants” who could successfully integrate and contribute to Canada's economy. While there appear to be many benefits to this new direction, there are some cautionary notes that need to be considered carefully in order to ensure that the desired objectives are met and that new problems are not created.

POLICY SHIFTS

The initial impetus for change came from provinces seeking to attract and retain immigrants to regions other than Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver which tend to receive the bulk of immigration to Canada. Provincial nominee programs, which began to emerge in the early nineties, have been used in part as a vehicle to expedite immigration for international students to meet regional needs. Because people attending post-secondary institutions gain exposure and connections to the community, the expectation was

that some students would want to remain in the location where they studied and would have a head start in their settlement and integration.

Subsequent changes occurred at the federal level. The first federal change was to reduce work restrictions for international students. Previously, they could work on campus but were not entitled to obtain work permits for off-campus work, nor could they work in Canada after their educational program was completed. Changes to these policies allowed international students to work off-campus part time during the term or as part of a coop program, full time during breaks, and for up to three years after graduation. This helped them to gain Canadian work experience that would be of great assistance if they ultimately applied to immigrate to Canada, either under the Federal Skilled Worker Program or a provincial nominee program.

The second federal change was to create the Canadian Experience Class in 2008. This new class of economic immigrants allows qualifying international students and highly skilled temporary workers to apply for permanent residence from within Canada.

BENEFITS AND ISSUES

The three shifts – provincial nominee programs, expansion of work opportunities, and the Canadian Experience Class – represent an exciting opportunity to attract young people to immigrate to Canada. Because international students have been educated here, they can

more easily have their academic credentials recognized by Canadian employers. The fact that they have studied in English or French should also help them to develop language skills acceptable to employers. Their employment in Canadian workplaces and campuses enables them to build networks and social capital and to gain Canadian work experience and references, all of which can help them to integrate well on a long-term basis.

The new policy directions also help Canada to compete with other immigrant destination countries - such as Australia, the United Kingdom and the United States - that permit some international students to make the transition to permanent residence. Canadian universities, colleges and private vocational schools benefit by increasing their profile on the world stage and their ability to generate revenue from higher tuition fees charged to international students.

International students enhance the diversity of the post-secondary population, thereby enriching the educational experience for all students. At the graduate level, they also contribute to research and innovation on-campus.

Increasing the number of international students and allowing them to work off campus during and after their programs provide economic benefits and needed labour to local communities. In 2009, the Canadian Bureau for International Education found that international students contribute approximately 6.5 billion dollars to the Canadian economy (Tapley 2010).

In order to gain the desired benefits from the new directions and to prevent unintended negative consequences, several issues of potential concern need to be considered carefully by policy makers:

1. Educational market distortions
2. Immigrant success
3. Impact on domestic students
4. Consistency and transparency
5. Data to support good policy outcomes

EDUCATIONAL MARKET DISTORTIONS

The new policies may lead some people who are interested in immigrating to Canada to apply for student visas as a quick way to get into the country. The questions may change from: "Which education program do I want to pursue and which institution offers the best program for me?" to "Which program in which province will give me the best chance of obtaining quick permanent residence in Canada?" This would be an unintended consequence, since the International Student Program was never intended as a way to circumvent the Federal Skilled Workers Program.

Most international students can still be expected to be motivated by educational aspirations, particularly at

publicly funded post-secondary educational institutions. Even people wanting a quick route to immigration are entitled to quality education for the fees they pay, especially since the quality of the education will be a factor in determining their success in the workforce should they remain in Canada. There is a danger, however, that policies designed to attract more international students may lead some education providers to tailor their programs to offer the minimum required to qualify for the Canadian Experience Class or provincial nominee programs.

Early experiences in Australia and Canada indicate that some private vocational schools may target international students to increase profits while providing little educational benefit. Adequate monitoring systems and enforcement mechanisms need to be in place to prevent the market from moving in directions that would exploit international students.

Data indicate that most international students enrol in university programs (Tapley 2010). However there is continuing growth in other post-secondary programs, including private vocational schools. Substantial growth in enrolment of international students outside publicly funded community colleges and universities should be closely monitored.

IMMIGRANT SUCCESS

One of the main reasons for the recent policy shifts is that international students are seen as potential immigrants who may be able to succeed better than other immigrant cohorts. Early indications are that this is not necessarily true. Education in Canada may not be as important as work experience as a predictor of success, especially if the area of study is not of high quality or geared toward developing skills in demand. In Australia, for example, permanent residents who were former international students generally had lower annual salaries, weekly wages and job satisfaction than immigrants selected offshore (Hawthorne 2008).

The recent evaluation of the Federal Skilled Worker Program indicates that having studied in Canada for at least two years prior to migration, without also having Canadian work experience, is associated with lower earnings of approximately six percent (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, Evaluation 2010, 46). On the other hand, skilled workers with both Canadian education and work experience earn approximately \$10,000 more per year than other skilled workers (Tapley 2010).

If Canada continues to attract international students and to facilitate their transition to permanent residence, supports for successful integration must be available from the start. International students who intend to stay in Canada have different settlement and integration needs than those who plan to return to their home countries.

However, they are not entitled to federally funded language or settlement services while students. Nor is it clear whether educational institutions have the capacity to provide the needed support services, including language training. Universities and colleges in some provinces are not funded by governments on the same per capita basis for international students as they are for domestic students, and there is no requirement for them to use the differential tuition fees paid by international students to provide special supports to them. Without common standards, a clarification of roles and responsibilities for supporting this group, and adequate funding, Canada may end up with a patchwork of settlement services for international students across the country, depending on the institution at which they are studying.

IMPACT ON DOMESTIC STUDENTS

In recent years, domestic students (including immigrants and their children) have been pursuing post-secondary education at increasing rates. In a knowledge-based economy and in times of economic uncertainty, domestic students tend to pursue post-secondary education even more and to stay in school longer. At the same time, governments and educational institutions are working hard to attract more international students. This could create competition for spaces between domestic and international students, particularly in large urban centres or in institutions that lack resources to expand. If the public perceives international students as taking spaces away, or increasing class size, this could lead to negative attitudes towards them. It is therefore important to look at the post-secondary population as a whole by examining the impact of policies on both international and domestic students, rather than looking at each group in isolation.

CONSISTENCY AND TRANSPARENCY

The Canadian Experience Class and the various provincial nominee programs differ significantly in their criteria for selecting immigrants from the international student population. As the examples below indicate, the result is a system that can be difficult for international students to understand and to navigate as prospective immigrants.

Graduation status. Applicants under CEC must have graduated from their Canadian educational program. Some provincial nominee programs allow applications in the final stages of the student's program.

Minimum length of education program. CEC requires a full time two-year program or a one-year masters program with an additional prior year of education in Canada. Provincial nominee requirements range from one to two years.

Eligible program or institution. CEC recognizes any program in a publicly funded or private educational institution recognized by a province. Some provincial nominee programs accept only graduates from institutions in their provinces. Others accept only Master's or PhD level degrees or only graduates in certain fields of study.

Canadian work experience. CEC requires one year of full time Canadian work experience post-graduation at specified levels within two years prior to application. In provincial nominee programs, the required work experience varies in terms of duration (from none to six months), location (in the province of application or anywhere in Canada), remuneration (paid or unpaid), timing (during or after the course of study; within two to five years preceding the application), nature (full time or part time, with a continuing employer or not), and National Occupation Category (NOC) level (specified or unspecified).

Job offer. CEC does not require applicants to have a job offer from a Canadian employer. Provincial nominee programs range from requiring no job offer to requiring a full time, permanent job offer. They may also specify whether the job must be related to the field of study, whether the job must be at a specific NOC level, and whether it must be in a designated occupation.

Language skills. CEC requires language test results to demonstrate that a specified level has been reached. Provincial nominee programs range from requiring no language test to requiring specific test results.

Residence. CEC applicants must intend to live anywhere in Canada except Quebec. Provincial nominee programs may require applicants to state their intention to live in the recruiting province, even though this is unenforceable after permanent residence is granted given the mobility provisions in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. In some cases applicants must show their connection to the province through family and friends.

This wide range of criteria makes it difficult for people to sort through their options. It would therefore be beneficial to have more consistent criteria across the country, while respecting regional differences. This would provide an opportunity for provincial nominee programs to build on evidence about which factors are the best predictors of success, such as Canadian work experience and higher level degrees.

DATA TO SUPPORT GOOD POLICY OUTCOMES

It is clear that the number of international students coming to Canada is on the rise. In fact, the number is up in every province. Entries to Canada increased by 23% between 2000 (69,092) and 2009 (85,140). These entries

have contributed to a 72% increase in Canada's stock of international students, from 114,046 in December 2000 to 196,138 in December 2009 (Citizenship and Immigration, Facts and Figures 2009).

There is very little information, however, about why the numbers are rising and what factors constitute the biggest draw for international students. One factor could be the policy changes allowing work off-campus and after graduation. When international students are able to work, it is easier to pay the higher tuition, save money, and send funds back home. It could also be that enhanced government or institutional recruitment activities are having the desired effect, or that individuals are turning more to Canada due to the tightening of US security provisions. Policies allowing application for permanent residence to take place from within the country may also be a motivating factor.

It is not clear which of these or other factors contribute to the increasing numbers of international students coming to Canada. Such information is necessary to assess and refine policies designed to attract international students, especially since there is a desire by governments to increase the numbers even more. Canada currently ranks eighth among destination countries for international students in post-secondary education, and governments want to improve that standing (Kennedy 2010). At the provincial level, Ontario has indicated its plans to increase post-secondary international students by 50% over the next five years, from 57,535 in 2009 to approximately 86,000. Quebec's goal is to increase the number of international students in universities and colleges by 10% for the years 2008-2011. Alberta has set a goal of 2% growth and achieved an increase of 15% since 2008 (World Education Services 2010).

In addition to attracting more international students, Canada has seen an increase in the number who become permanent residents, through all immigration channels (PNP, CEC, Family Class and Federal Skilled Worker), from 5,486 in 2003 to 12,929 in 2009. The most dramatic growth is the number of international students admitted as provincial nominees: from 540 in 2005 to 1,232 in 2008. Between 2005 and 2008, the number of international students, spouses and dependents admitted through the PNPs grew by 128% nationally (Citizenship and Immigration, Facts and Figures 2009).

While the increase has not been as dramatic in the Canadian Experience Class, most people taking advantage of that program are international students and not the high end temporary foreign workers. Since implementation in 2008, over 5,000 have applied through the student stream of the CEC, and over 3,000 have been admitted as of June 30, 2010. The approval rate for 2010 has gone up to 86% for the student stream (Tapley 2010).

Although many international students are becoming permanent residents, very little information exists about what motivates them to make the transition and how they fare over the medium to long term. For example, how successful is Canada, or the province that recruited them, in retaining them? Do they find suitable employment? Do the differences in criteria among the Canadian Experience Class and the provincial nominee programs result in different retention or employment outcomes? Answers to these questions are of vital importance to form the foundation of policies, programs and strategies that will promote immigrant success.

CONCLUSION

There appear to be many positive impacts of attracting international students to Canada and helping to facilitate their transition to permanent residence. However, care should be taken to ensure that educational market distortions do not develop in response to the demand for a "quicker route to immigration"; that settlement services are designed and delivered to meet the needs of students who intend to remain in Canada; that programs are managed and communicated in a way that does not create negative attitudes toward international students; and that the CEC and provincial nominee programs become more transparent and consistent, while respecting differing provincial needs.

Strong partnerships among post-secondary institutions, governments, employers and settlement organizations will help to ensure sound policy and program development and successful education and integration outcomes. However, the benefits will accrue only if there is good data to support current and future efforts. As Canada attempts to attract more international students, and as increasing numbers of international students make the transition to permanent residence, it is time to take stock and evaluate new and emerging policies, programs and strategies to ensure that they achieve the desired results.

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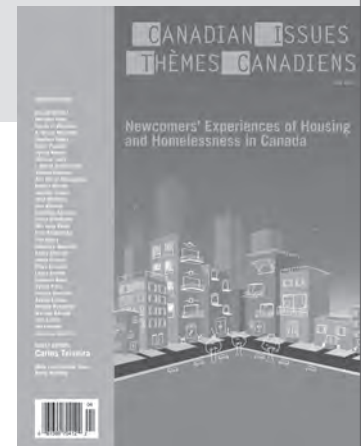
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Newcomers' Experiences of Housing and Homelessness in Canada

Metropolis has collaborated with the Canadian Studies Association to produce the Fall 2010 volume of *Canadian Issues/Thèmes canadiens* on Newcomers' Experiences of Housing and Homelessness in Canada (Guest Editor, Carlos Teixeira, with a contribution from Barry Halliday).

The result is a vital compilation of findings by over 35 authors who examine the housing and homelessness experiences of Canadian immigrants and refugees. The authors look at the availability of affordable housing, factors that increase the risk of homelessness, strategies that immigrants and refugees employ to lower this risk, as well as the health effects of precarious housing including the benefits for mental health of building a "home" in the broadest sense.

Detailed data on these and other aspects of newcomers' housing and homelessness is drawn from research conducted across the country, including cities, towns, and suburban areas. The volume is a rich source of policy relevant analysis with important recommendations for new planning and policy directions.



Metropolis a collaboré avec l'Association d'études canadiennes en vue de produire l'édition de l'automne 2010 de *Canadian Issues/Thèmes canadiens* intitulée « Les expériences des nouveaux arrivants en matière de logement et d'itinérance au Canada » (avec la participation de Barry Halliday et de Carlos Teixeira, rédacteur invité).

Il s'agit d'une compilation indispensable de résultats de 35 auteurs qui se sont penchés sur les expériences des immigrants et des réfugiés canadiens en matière de logement et d'itinérance. Les auteurs examinent la possibilité de trouver un logement à prix abordable, les facteurs qui font accroître les risques d'itinérance, les stratégies que les immigrants et les réfugiés emploient en vue d'atténuer ces risques, de même que les effets des logements précaires sur la santé, dont les bienfaits de l'établissement d'un « foyer », au sens large, sur la santé mentale.

Des données détaillées à ce sujet et sur d'autres aspects du logement et l'itinérance pour les nouveaux arrivants découlent de recherches effectuées partout dans le pays, notamment dans les cités, les villes et les banlieues. L'édition est une riche source d'analyse sur le plan des politiques, qui contient des recommandations importantes sur la planification et les orientations stratégiques.

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WELCOME TO CANADA?: IMMIGRATION INCENTIVES MAY NOT BE ENOUGH FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS TO STAY

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ABSTRACT

This article explores Canada's current immigration policies to attract and retain international students as desired permanent immigrants. Juxtaposing them with the settlement and integration needs and services provided, it argues that immigration and settlement policy and practice are inextricably linked. Without adequately investing in the successful integration of all immigrants, these well-intentioned immigration policies will fail to deliver the desired results and skilled migrants may choose to settle elsewhere.

Canada has intensified its competition to recruit and retain international students through direct marketing and immigration policy changes. Making it easier for international students to work and stay in Canada as skilled immigrants is indeed a sound policy objective. However, without investing in the settlement and integration supports to create welcoming communities for international students and their families, Canada may not be able to successfully retain international students as permanent residents. Equipped with relatively recognizable Canadian credentials and experience, international student migrants who are not adequately supported may choose to immigrate elsewhere. This is not only a lost investment for Canada's post-secondary institutions, but could result in a direct loss for Canada, where desirable skilled immigrants are increasingly needed to meet national labour market demands.

PREFERRED IMMIGRANTS: INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS

There have been significant changes in Canada's immigration policies vis-a-vis international students to better attract and retain them as skilled immigrants and eventual citizens.¹ It appears that these policies, in addition to an increase in global student mobility and a more unified Canadian marketing scheme, are increasing Canada's competitive edge in attracting students. In 2008-09, Canada ranked 8th place as a destination country for international students in tertiary education, and at a post-secondary level, the number of international students increased by 97% from

72,798 in 1999 to 143,826 in 2008 (CIC, 2009). In 2008, international students contributed approximately \$6.5B to the Canadian economy, creating over 83,000 jobs and generating more than \$291-million in government revenues (RKA Inc., July 2009).

At the same time, intense competition for international students and skilled immigrants internationally means that attracting students and creating avenues for their permanent immigration may not be enough to make them stay. Permanent stay rates in Canada stand at about 18%, compared to over 29% in Germany and 27% in France (OECD, 2010). In countries where immigration policies have catered increasingly to retaining international students as skilled immigrants, large numbers of economic migrants are now sourced within these countries, rather than offshore. For Australia, where the most rapid and aggressive immigration policies have been tailored to international students and changing labour market demands, 62% of primary economic immigrant applicants were former international students in 2006-07 and by 2009, 66% of all students from India transferred to permanent resident status (Hawthorne, 2010). For Canada, where stay rates are relatively low, there is a need to develop more incentives to encourage and support students to remain permanently.

POLICY CHANGES FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS

In order to increase its edge in attracting international students both as migrants and as immigrants, Canada has introduced significant reforms to allow international

students easier access to Canadian work experience and to clear immigration pathways. In 2006, international students were given the right to work off-campus during their studies and in 2008, post-graduation work permits for international students allowed student graduates to work in a field unrelated to their education, anywhere in Canada for up to three years.

For international students in Canada, immigration policy has also brought forth two major immigration pathways from within the country – the federal Canadian Experience Class (CEC) and the Provincial Nomination Programs (PNPs). Within each of these programs, international students generally transition through two distinct phases – first, as a student and second, as a temporary worker² – before attaining permanent residency. These immigration changes have shifted Canada towards a “two-step” migration process (Hawthorne, 2010), changing the starting point for migrants from settling in their newly adopted country as permanent residents to proving themselves as worthy immigrants (through a period with temporary status) in order to gain permanent residency. These immigration streams may attract non-traditional international students whose primary intention is not to study temporarily but to immigrate and evidence from other jurisdictions where similar migration policy changes took place indicates that demand for education and permanent residence increased drastically.

The number of former international students immigrating to Canada through all channels has almost doubled in the last five years, from 5,486 in 2003 to more than 10,000 in 2008 (CIC, 2009). Based on the preliminary CEC data available for 2009, 869 of 1,176 individuals were admitted through the international student stream of the program. The implication is that international students and their families are likely to make up the majority of applicants through the CEC, and this could amount to 18,500 new permanent residents a year. In turn, the volume admitted through the Federal Skilled Worker Program (FSWP) who are selected overseas by the federal government – Canada’s main immigration program for skilled immigrants – will be decreased in proportion to migrants applying through the CEC if current immigration levels remain unchanged.

International students – deemed ‘designer immigrants’ by some – are the most sought after immigrants, as they are able to avoid some of the hurdles faced by skilled immigrants such as the non-recognition of international credentials and foreign work experience and skills, and concerns over language and communication abilities (Simmons, 1999). For Canada, there is no conclusive evidence, but preliminary research does suggest that former international students have better economic outcomes, at least in the short-run (Sweetman & Warman, 2009).

However, in Australia, which has a longer history of experimentation with shifting immigration policy to retain international students, it was revealed that former international students had annual salaries of \$33,000 (compared with \$52,500 for landed immigrants selected overseas³, while both groups were employed within 6 months almost equally (Hawthorne, 2007). In a study by Khoo et al. (2008), about half of international students who did not apply to become permanent residents in Australia, did not do so for “employment-related reasons”, implying there are better opportunities elsewhere. In fact, Australia has found that a significant number of international student graduates eventually leave Australia, despite policy efforts (Khoo et al., 2008).

In Canada, the recent Canadian Bureau of International Education’s (CBIE) 2009 Survey of International Students found that half of surveyed university students and three-quarters of college students choose to study in Canada because of post-graduate work opportunities (19). Another CBIE report explores the unique experiences of international students in attempting to enter the Canadian labour market, finding that due to real or perceived barriers, 68% of the international student respondents did not plan to stay in Canada to work. For 80% of the respondents, pessimism about career opportunities seemed to be the driving concern (2007: 18).⁴ From the students’ perspective, it is clear that employment opportunities and successful entry into the labour market play a large role in their decision to immigrate.

Connection to community is also critical to the success and retention of international students and permanent immigrants. Early intervention in settlement services and support has been shown to reduce the likelihood of poverty and underemployment (Statistics Canada, 2005; Picot & Hou, 2003). Ultimately, it has been found that “feeling more rooted in the new environment [in part achieved through settlement support services], newcomers are able to access their inherent skills to begin the climb back to independence and self-assurance – basic ingredients for integration into their new community” (Romberg, 1994). In Reitz’ (1998) comparative study, he indicates how support for settlement is vital to migrants’ economic success and inclusion in the community. Looking at early settlement support may have both short and long-term impacts on the success and integration of international students and their families into the labour market and society at large.

SUPPORT FOR SETTLEMENT: ESSENTIAL TO RETAINING INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS

Successful immigration and settlement is not based solely on simplified and accelerated work permit procedures and permanent residency pathways. With the

increased interest in recruiting and retaining international students, “the roles of universities are changing dramatically” to include “immigration related issues” (Suter & Jandl, 2008: 403). Martin (2004) notes that universities play a vital role in providing support to migrants’ settling permanently. However, many post-secondary institutions provide limited, if any, services to graduated students, and international students, while in school and on work-permits, are ineligible for the majority of settlement services and supports in the community.

International Student Offices (ISOs) are an invaluable resource for international students as they are generally their first and main point of institutional contact (CBIE, 2007). International students seek academic, community and employment support through the ISO. According to the 2007 CBIE report, “for the most part... it is the staff at the ISO who carry the responsibility for institutional support” (25) and much of the time, they are not provided with the operational funding to do so. Highlighted in Gates-Gasse’s 2010 literature review is how, for many post-secondary institutions, targeted international student services through the ISOs face funding and staffing challenges, despite the fact that international students pay more tuition than domestic students, but receive fewer investments to their education and supports. A 2010 study by Siddiq et al., which focused on all the Atlantic Provinces, found that international students spent \$2.68 for every dollar spent on them by the four provincial governments.

In order to fulfill its objectives to successfully integrate immigrants, the Canadian Federal government funds a complex array of settlement services and supports. Unfortunately, federal settlement funds have strict eligibility criteria and international students and their families do not qualify for federal settlement services until they are granted permanent residency, which can take from three to ten or more years as they transition from student to worker to immigrant. Even though international students applying through the CEC will have settlement needs – which will be unique to those of economic immigrants arriving from outside of Canada – the only settlement services accessible to international students (both as students and temporary workers) are provincially-funded and have broader eligibility criteria. When considering all the settlement services provided within a province, both federally and provincially funded, overall there are fewer provincially-funded settlement services. In Ontario, only about 20% of settlement services are funded by the province and 80% are funded by the federal government.

For international students and their families, having access to settlement services may assist in a more effective transition for those pursuing permanent residency in Canada – and may indeed influence the choice of whether

or not to remain in Canada. Other groups that do not have full access to settlement services have documented the difficulty they have integrating into the labour market. Since we know that labour market access and integration are critically important in international students’ choice to immigrate, expanding access to settlement services for these migrants seems a logical policy move for retaining international students as skilled immigrants. A 2009 report by Chira on the internationalization of Halifax found that settlement agencies expressed interest in partnering with universities to support international students, but that the stringent eligibility criteria for services and the lack of provincial funds for international student settlement was a recurring issue that prevented successful partnerships.

We know that early support for newcomers in the community has strong labour market integration outcomes, as evidenced by the extra service supports and social networks that refugees and family class migrants have over other economic migrants in Canada. Due to these supports, these migrants do better than other immigrants in the economic class,⁵ especially in their first years in Canada (Zietsma, 2007). In Australia, where only humanitarian migrants qualify for publicly funded settlement services, these services have been shown to increase early labour market entry and have a “strong and robust influence on employment 48 months later” (Liebig, 2007: 45). Looking at early settlement services and supports for international students may be the key to retaining them, and will certainly have both short- and long-term impacts on their success and integration into the labour market.

WELCOMING IMMIGRANTS: THE IMPORTANCE OF SETTLEMENT SERVICES

In a 2005 study of 160 Chinese undergraduate international students at the University of Saskatchewan, the authors conclude that “...social and emotional adaptations are [as] critical as economic adaptations in facilitating intentions to stay permanently...” (Lu et al., 2009: 307). In the U.S., a 2006 study revealed the same need for a welcoming and supportive environment for international students to choose to immigrate. Just over half of the respondents reported that “feelings of alienation from U.S. culture” had influenced their decision to return home after their studies (Alberts & Hazen, 2006: 212). In Canada, for all immigrants, data shows that 13% of skilled worker principal applicants leave Canada, but that early intervention in terms of services and supports makes a significant difference in helping retain and integrate permanent residents. For international students with families, the importance of settlement support and community ties are magnified. A 2009 Masters thesis by Mandal found that of University of Manitoba students with

high rates of family and friend social capital networks, 89% indicated an intention to settle in Canada.

There is some evidence to suggest that international students are not being adequately welcomed into Canadian communities. A 2006 survey of over 2,500 Montréal students found that 47% were unsatisfied with their welcome by other students and 49% were also unsatisfied with their success in establishing friendships with Canadian students (CROP, 2006). The 2009 CBIE Survey of International Students found that only about one in three respondents reported “lots of success” in making friends with Canadian students.

However, there is a disconnect between CIC’s policy objective of encouraging the immigration of international students as skilled immigrants to Canada and the lack of services to assist in their effective transition to the labour force. In addition to stringent eligibility criteria for accessing settlement services, the federal government has recently cut nearly \$53-million from settlement agencies, mainly in Toronto. Given that Toronto will likely continue to receive the lion’s share of new immigrants and already hosts the second largest share of international students in Canada – over 15,000 – providing services to Canada’s current migrants to help them get established will become increasingly difficult. For a country which is internationally applauded as welcoming to immigrants, recent cuts and disinvestment in Canada’s current migrant population’s settlement needs may be sending a message to potential skilled immigrants, propelling many of them to look for opportunities elsewhere.

In light of their current immigration objectives, the federal and provincial governments need to review the eligibility criteria for their settlement services, as well as the array of services available, which could be modeled on and adapted for international students’ unique settlement needs. In addition, settlement supports and services should continue to be funded and prioritized as a part of an integrated strategy to attract and retain skilled immigrants. By providing the necessary settlement and labour market supports, Canada will maintain its reputation as a welcoming and inclusive society, and will ensure that it maintains its competitive edge in attracting and retaining international students as skilled and successful permanent immigrants.

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FOOTNOTES

- ¹ This article is adapted from Erika Gates-Gasse's research findings compiled while working at WES for the report entitled "International Students as Immigrants: Literature Review and Good Practices" (in press, 2010).
- ² Some of the PNPs allow international students to apply for permanent residency without a post-graduate work period – and some without a job offer – thus avoiding a second period of transition as temporary workers.
- ³ Documented in Australia as "offshore arrivals".
- ⁴ This survey was conducted before revisions to the work-permit rules made it easier for international students to work, both on and off-campus and after graduation.
- ⁵ Except principal applicants under the points system.

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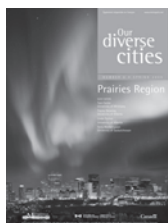
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IMMIGRATION AND DIVERSITY: EXPLORING THE CHALLENGES FACING INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS ON AND OFF CAMPUS

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ABSTRACT

This article presents findings of an ongoing pilot study investigating the on and off campus challenges faced by international students in Halifax, N.S. The overall purpose of the study is to encourage the development of initiatives that foster the sociocultural and economic integration of international students. The students that have been interviewed for this project reported struggling with various academic challenges, a lack of university support, and varying forms of social challenges that include discrimination in the community. Realizing that the current international student support service model is ill-equipped to fully address some of these challenges, mainly due to its largely reactive posture, this article recommends a holistic and preemptive approach for addressing international student challenges.

INTRODUCTION

Personal history matters in the classroom. When international students arrive to study in Canada, they do so as cultured people. They bring with them identities that are grounded in the social, political, economic and cultural structures of their country of origin. However, university classrooms can quickly become sites of struggle when learners from different sociocultural backgrounds converge in the same learning environment with varied expectations. In many ways, interactions between international students and members of the host nation highlight the fundamental provincial character of identity.

Bourdieu (1977) notes that “communication is possible in practice only when accompanied by a practical spotting of cues which, in enabling speakers to situate others in the hierarchies of age, wealth, power or culture, guides them unwittingly towards the type of exchange best suited in form and context to the objective situation between the interacting individuals” (pg. 26).

Bourdieu shows the importance of considering the inner machinery of communication by highlighting its dependency upon culture.

Without the benefit of shared language and culture, communication becomes a back and forth of misrecognition of cues and symbols. Cross-cultural communication, both verbal and symbolic, is a serious challenge for all those who are involved. Consequently, it would be impossible to discuss the challenges that international students are facing on and off campus without first noting the importance of individual history and its central role in the interpretation of reality. Put differently, the way international students interpret their new symbolic environment is a direct function of their background. The body of knowledge that informs students’ judgment has been termed “meaning perspective” by Mezirow (1991). When international students are disconnected from their sociocultural backgrounds, they sometimes struggle with transition-related challenges. A firm understanding of the

sociocultural genesis of international student identities positions us to better understand the potential challenges they are facing.

Most Canadian universities are aggressively recruiting international students. For example, Dalhousie University has increased its international student enrollment from 6.7% in 2008 to 10.6% in 2010 (Dalhousie Office of Registrar, 2010). Thus, there is an immediate need for studies that seek to understand the on and off campus challenges of international students.

Preliminary findings from this pilot study indicate that international students are frustrated with the level of support they are receiving. Given the amount of money international students pay in tuition fees, some students feel that there is an unequal exchange of value between students and their universities. For example, one student interviewed said the following:

"Exchange of value between students and international students must be more equal. For the value they get, I wouldn't say that things are equal now. In the written script, they are equal but I don't think they are. For the money they pay, and the value they receive, it should be investigated. Are they satisfied? This is just a market strategy. If you are looking to get more customers you should make sure they are being satisfied... it boils down to customer service. I don't think this inequality is done on purpose, it is just out of ignorance".¹

Migration sometimes causes a real loss of physical autonomy and ability to symbolically manipulate and control one's environment, especially in cases when there is a major difference between a student's country of origin and the destination country. These feelings of loss are sometimes compounded by feelings of disconnectedness and disappointment that stem from low levels of support services. Given what is at stake - success both in and outside of the classroom - students are often very eager to learn the necessary sociocultural rules and laws to expedite their integration. However, a lack of resources can not only derail students' enthusiasm but may harm their chances of finding a job in Canada after they graduate. As a result, some of the students interviewed for this pilot study expressed some deep-seated frustration with the lack of support services. One student said:

"During my time here, I have been a volunteer with the international student office for many years. I am still fascinated by how less attention is given to international

students by the administration. It is sad because how is it that other universities have a house that they call a center for international students...it is sad because they are earning a lot of money from international students. I have had focus group discussions and wrote a paper about this...where in the world is the money that is made from international students being allocated? That's something that I have not seen".²

As a result, a more structured yet flexible system with a built-in adult education mechanism is needed. This would ensure that the current model of support services is open to both recognizing that students bring unique challenges to universities and that a more efficient process of support must centralize considerations of the evolving nature of international students' needs. Because the current model of support services is mostly reactive, only a small number of students - those who actively seek out and locate the available resources - receive the help they need. Consequently, those who are unaware or unable to navigate the support services landscape are inadvertently locked out. This article presents a potential model for a support services program. This model is predicated on the principle of adult education and distributes the responsibility of providing support services amongst administrators, deans, department heads, faculties, university support services, international students and the community.

The program has three interrelated but separate phases. The first phase of the program is the transition phase. In addition to gathering information about students' needs and expectations during this phase, this program also recommends the implementation of a transition program. Such a program is meant to formally introduce students to university expectations, faculty expectations and the resources that are available to them. However, the most important learning tool given to students during this phase is introducing them to self-assessment. Through experiential learning, students will be given opportunities to refine their critical thinking and goal-setting skills. It is believed that empowering students to become self-directed learners gives them the best opportunity for success both inside and outside the classroom.

In order for self-assessment to be valuable to students, they must be provided with ideal competencies. Through a coordinated effort, all invested actors at the university level should develop competency models for specifically identified skills. These competency models should be provided to students in clear and concise language. A "zone of performance" document should accompany these competency models. This document recommends certain

or specific university resources based on the outcome of students' self-assessment. If a student is weak in the area of language comprehension, the performance zone may recommend a couple of hours of English tutoring a week. The main idea behind these competency models is to find a way to empower students and to support their development as self-directed learners. Because, logistically, universities don't have enough resources to help each and every student, the best available option is to help students help themselves.

SOCIOCULTURAL GRACE PERIOD

Because international students' academic, social, and economic integration varies, implementing a phase approach with a built-in 'sociocultural grace period' mechanism will offer universities the opportunity to monitor and help students over the course of their degree program. When international students migrate to a new culture, they need a 'sociocultural grace period' to acquire the social and cultural rules that are necessary for them to effectively function in the new environment. Support staff members need to consider implementing a "from first day to graduation and beyond program". The first phase of this program should include some kind of a transition program. In addition to learning the sociocultural rules needed for success in the classroom, students would also be introduced to self-assessment tools and the benefits of goal-setting. Formative analysis as a part of the self-assessment process empowers students to periodically assess their own learning progress. During this phase, students are also encouraged to provide university support staff with a list of their expectations and anticipated challenges.

THE SECOND PHASE

The information gathered from research data and from students' expectations and anticipated challenges should be used during this phase to develop university and department-level orientations for international students. This ensures that universities directly address students' needs and challenges. This phase should also include an introduction to student life in a North American setting. Faculty expectations should be shared, including acceptable communication styles (with considerations to gender and culture), rules concerning faculty-student relationships, classroom expectations, the protocol of asking for help, and where to go for help at the department and university levels.

THE THIRD PHASE

Because the program encourages a more coordinated approach to providing support services to international students, this third phase should include departmental professional development opportunities for faculty members. Support staff, established international students,

and faculty members with experience teaching or working with international students should facilitate these sessions. As a means of improving their cultural understanding, faculty members could also form partnerships with other faculty members from the countries most represented by international student enrollment. Over time, faculty could rely on these partnerships for information on how to create a more inclusive classroom. Information gathered from these partnerships, from support services personnel along with the self-reported challenges and expectations of international students, could be used to develop international student-friendly teaching competency models. Using these, faculty members can self-diagnose to determine how prepared they are for teaching a diverse classroom. For example, one student asked the following in regards to faculty involvement:

"How culturally competent are faculty members in understanding the struggles of international students. For example, the writing center, do they have a specialized module for international students? Meaning, is it the problem of the student? Why did the university accept the students knowing how limited the students are in the first place? If the students are here, the faculty should provide services for them... Faculty members have to understand how to teach diversity it is a process of putting into action the ideas of multiculturalism. It starts with the curriculum; it starts with conscious[ness] building".³

WHY A PHASE APPROACH?

The phase approach is important because it anticipates and seeks to address some of the challenges that international students are facing before they happen. So in this respect it is preemptive. It provides students with self-assessment models, critical thinking and goal-setting skills, while simultaneously empowering them to become self-directed learners. Moreover, the information provided by students could be used to modify support and teaching approaches. Implementing a phase approach program will allow universities to potentially avoid some of the following concerns expressed by a university faculty member:

"Some international students just don't understand how to take courses. They don't understand how to get a good mark. Some of them have real language difficulties.... they have difficulties writing papers. I guess I feel that I have enough on my plate

*as a professor that I don't think it's fair to change the class for Canadian students to accommodate the problems international students are having. I tell students that they should spend more time in the writing center, but they just don't seem to be getting a lot of support outside the classroom or they may not be able to find the support that is available outside the classroom."*⁴

LIFE OFF CAMPUS: ARE VISIBLE MINORITY INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS COMFORTABLE IN THEIR COMMUNITIES?

The challenges facing international students sometimes extend far beyond the classroom. Although the majority of students interviewed for this pilot study felt comfortable on campus, most expressed serious concerns about racism, discrimination and racial profiling outside their respective campuses. There appears to be a campus/community divide, with students generally feeling more welcomed on campus than outside of it. These concerns are well-founded, with two recent CBC reports citing some serious instances of racism in and around Halifax. In February 2010 there was the case of a cross-burning in Hants County, just north of Halifax. Later that year, in September, racist graffiti was found in two Halifax locations. Given that 57% of international students who come to Canada are visible minorities, these cases raise some serious questions concerning the effects of racism on international students. One important element to consider is the incidents of racism international students might experience off campus. Many students interviewed expressed some personal concerns about racism, with the exception of one non-visible minority student. It should be noted that none of these students has problems with English. One student said:

*"More needs to be done in the community to make sure that students are secure. Nova Scotia has a British heritage and you can see this when you deal with people. You think they are thinking we are not smart, actually the body language, it gives out negative connotation to different [skin] colors and accents"*⁵

Some of the students interviewed expressed disappointment at the lack of opportunities for integration into the community. Moreover, students' negative experiences aroused some serious concerns about their job prospects after graduation. The following comments from visible minority students were illuminating, as

they summarize the experiences of many of the students interviewed for this study:

*"When they see a black person, education is not the first thing that comes to their minds. I think they think of us as a second class citizen"*⁶

*"There seems to be some subtle racism here. It is not in the open but I know what is going on. I feel it below the surface with some people. It affects your interaction with them, your self-confidence. I don't like dealing with them because you feel that"*⁷

*"I was discriminated against two days ago. I am really not sure though. I wanted to see 'Avatar' so bad that I didn't even care. I tried to see it in my country but I kept missing the cinema schedule. I saw two girls sitting by themselves; I assumed they were friends. I asked them if I could sit by them. I sat beside them. A few minutes later they moved one seat from me"*⁸

LABOUR MARKET

Due to labour market shortages and anticipated demographic challenges, international students have been identified both locally and nationally as central to the amelioration of the labour market. As such, universities must do all they can to help address both the on and off campus challenges international students are facing. In line with the phase program suggested here, which encourages a more integrated on and off campus support services model, universities must take a more proactive stance against racism, especially in the off campus community. They owe it to their students, especially their minority international students, to collectively speak out against such social problems. Though sparse, these incidents are serious enough to arouse serious concerns amongst some international students.

Another concern that was expressed by some of the students interviewed is the hierarchy that exists in the labour market, which has Canadians at the top then landed immigrants and international students at the bottom. One student expressed the following about the labour market:

*"When international students apply for jobs, they are told that it's a fair process, but from my heart, I don't believe it is. There is the written, the ideal, and then reality"*⁹

International students face other difficult challenges in the labour market. Because a majority of students who graduate end up working in a field outside of the one they graduated in, international students may have to devote time to cultivating soft skills that are becoming increasingly valuable. These skills may include interpersonal communication skills, conflict resolution, personal initiative, and creative problem solving.

Beyond the challenge of skills, discriminatory practices in the labour market represent another hurdle. A recent study in the Greater Toronto Area found that “Canadian applicants that differed only by name had substantially different call back rates: those with English sounding names received interview requests 40% more than applicants with Chinese, Indian, or Pakistani names” (Oreopoulos, 2009 pg. 1). In addition to substantiating the concerns raised by some of the students interviewed for this project, the findings also highlight the seriousness of discriminatory practices in the labour market.

CONCLUSION

This article has explored some of the most immediate challenges international students are facing in Halifax, N.S. Given that it is pilot study, more work is needed to explore the issues raised here. Meanwhile, the phase model suggested offers a good step-by-step approach for helping international students throughout their transition both on and off campus. Given that universities lack the personnel to help each and every student with their unique challenges, implementing a program like the ‘from first day and beyond’ program that empowers students to become self-directed learners might offer the best opportunity for students’ on and off campus success.

The next phase of this project will investigate whether a proactive or preemptive support service model, like the one described in this article, is more effective than a reactive approach model.

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FOOTNOTES

- ¹ Qualitative interview with student four on October 15 2010
- ² Qualitative interview with student two on January 20, 2010
- ³ Qualitative interview with student two on January 20, 2010
- ⁴ Qualitative interview with faculty A on October 28, 2010
- ⁵ Qualitative interview with student four on October 15, 2010
- ⁶ Qualitative interview with student one on October 26, 2010
- ⁷ Qualitative interview with student five on October 25, 2009
- ⁸ Qualitative interview with student three on January 22, 2010
- ⁹ Qualitative interview with student four on October 15, 2010

INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS IN ATLANTIC CANADA: INVESTMENTS AND RETURNS

Sinziana Chira is currently a PhD Candidate in Sociology at Dalhousie University, supervised by Dr. Pauline Barber. Her thesis focuses on the economic and social transition of international youths entering Canada on student visas and builds on her Masters thesis work dealing with global trends in international education migration.

ABSTRACT

This article highlights some of the returns from investments in internationalizing Nova Scotian campuses. A review of the current facts regarding international students' presence at Atlantic Canadian universities is followed by a discussion of long-term goals concerning campus internationalization as highlighted by various provincial stakeholders and the issues that may stand in the way of their achievement, given the status quo. Consequently, this article aims to help bridge the policy and service gaps that may undermine identified long-term goals by highlighting potential avenues for cooperation and synchronization of the current internationalization efforts encountered on two of Halifax's university campuses and in their surrounding communities.

The presence of international students on Atlantic Canadian campuses has, in recent years, become a prominent topic on the agendas of various stakeholders in the region. Policy makers, business and NGO leaders, university staff and faculty all currently recognize the internationalization of Nova Scotia's campuses as a common goal. However, the reasons behind the need to internationalize are as diverse as the actors involved in the various internationalization efforts. University representatives underline the reality that Maritime campuses rely on a shrinking population of local students and thus bringing students from abroad will not only enrich classroom dynamics, but will make the maintenance of the current number and size of Atlantic universities possible. Economists point to the inflow of foreign funds directed to covering tuition and living costs, which infuse the local economy and lead to the creation of new jobs.

Meanwhile, local employers and policymakers link campus internationalization efforts with longer-term goals, hoping that international students will help fill the labour force gap that is widening in highly-skilled sectors of local labour markets in the Atlantic Provinces. The potential settlement of international students as Canadian citizens adds yet another layer of complexity to the issue of campus internationalization. Young, holding Canadian degrees and familiar with Canadian life and culture, international students are deemed ideal immigrants by policy makers across Canada. The stakes of their successful permanent settlement run higher in Atlantic Canada, due to this region's particularly low rates of population growth.

Drawing from the multitude of issues that converge within current regional conceptualizations of university internationalization efforts, this article highlights some of the investments in internationalizing Nova Scotian campuses and the gains for Nova Scotia as a result of the province's increasing prominence as a destination for international students. Following a review of the current facts is a discussion of long-term goals and the issues that may stand in the way of their achievement, given the status quo. This two-tier approach aims to help bridge the policy and service gaps that may stand in the way of identified long-term goals by highlighting potential avenues for cooperation and synchronization of the current internationalization efforts encountered on Halifax's university campuses and in their surrounding communities.

STUDY METHODOLOGY

Much of the data used for this analysis emerged from 14 semi-structured interviews conducted in Halifax in 2009. Amongst those interviewed were federal and provincial government officials, staff and administration from two of the city's largest and most international universities, as well as representatives of NGOs operating in the city's business and immigrant settlement sectors. The interviews were designed to parallel a study conducted in Moncton, New Brunswick by Wade and Belkhodja (in this issue) and to address the implications of international students' rising numbers for the region's demographic challenges. The Halifax study was commissioned by the Association of Atlantic Universities in collaboration with

the Atlantic Metropolis Centre. For the purposes of this article, the exiting interview data is complemented by the latest available figures concerning international students in Canada and Nova Scotia.

A NOTE ON THE DEMOGRAPHICS OF NOVA SCOTIA AND HALIFAX

In order to understand the importance of conducting a study focusing on international students in Nova Scotia, a note on the current economic and demographic situation of the city and province is warranted.

Atlantic Canada is a region traditionally associated with the out-migration of youths and low immigrant attraction and retention rates (Murphy and de Finney 2008, Akbari and Sun 2006). In 2010, Nova Scotia's population was estimated at 938,200 (StatsCan Population Estimates and Projections 2009). According to the Atlantic Institute for Market Studies' report tellingly entitled "An economic future with smaller numbers" (Denton, Feaver and Spencer 2009), while the province makes up about 2.9% of Canada's population, between 2001 and 2006, it was getting, on average, only 0.7% of Canada's immigrants, a steady decline from the previously recorded period of 1991 to 1996, when it was getting 1.2% (Denton et al. 2009, 11). Moreover, despite the national focus on attracting highly-skilled migrants, "the inflow of skilled immigrants [in Nova Scotia] has declined since the mid-1990s" although a slight increasing trend has been recorded since 2003 (Akbari, Lynch, McDonald and Rankaduwa 2007, vi). In consequence, Nova Scotia is facing an aging population and a diminishing labour force. In 2006, the average age of the province was 41, compared to 25 in 1971, while the labour force under 25 makes up only 17% of the population (Denton et al. 2009). The province is also lacking in diversity. 94.6% of Nova Scotians were born in Nova Scotia, out of which only 6.3% are first generation immigrants, compared to the national average of 23.8%. Only 7.5% of Nova Scotians self-identify as visible minorities, while white, British or American immigrants are still the largest incoming immigrant populations in the province (Akbari et al. 2007, 18).

NOTABLE INVESTMENTS AND SHORT-TERM GAINS

On this backdrop of low numbers of newcomers, low ethnic diversity and an aging population, the province stands out as highly successful in attracting young, ethnically diverse international students. Currently, Nova Scotia ranks as the fifth most popular destination province for international students Canada-wide, hosting a little under 5,000 young foreigners (Denton et al. 2009, v). Nova Scotia is outranked only by Ontario (35.5%), Quebec (22.8%), British Columbia (19.5%) and Alberta (7.2%) (statistics computed by the author based on Denton et al.'s report 2009, v). This is particularly impressive as Nova Scotia has some of the highest undergraduate tuition rates in the country (Siddiq, Holterman, Nethercote, Sinclair and White 2010, 11). The average tuition for international students in Canada is \$14,419, while in Nova Scotia the average is \$15,122 (Denton et al. 2009, 19). Nonetheless, according to university recruiters interviewed, Nova Scotian tuition requirements are very competitive when compared to those charged by American, Australian or British universities.

Consequently, Halifax and Nova Scotia are so successful at attracting international students that both the province and its capital host about twice as many international students as they host permanent residents, a situation that is not mirrored on the national scale. Table 1 and Figures 1 and 2 illustrate these notable trends.

The top source countries for students in the province are China, the United States, Korea, Japan, the Caribbean nations and the Middle East. The province hosts around 7000 students, and about 70% of those students study in Halifax, the provincial capital (CIC Facts and Figures 2009).

The province's success in attracting international students is also reflected in Nova Scotia's notable economic gains from the incoming youths. A 2009 study found the total economic impact of international students in the province to be \$231 million in the last year, the number doubling the return of money spent by government, universities and private actors for incoming students (Siddiq et al 2010, 11). Universities collected 19 million in differential fees (Siddiq et al 2010, 11), while an estimated

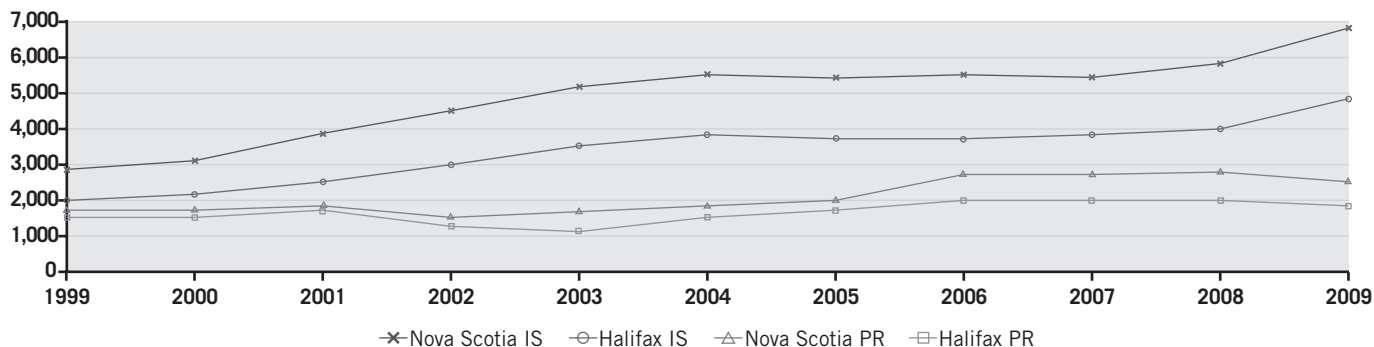
TABLE 1: International students (IS), permanent residents (PR) and the population of Halifax and Nova Scotia (2009)

TERRITORY	POPULATION (POP)	PERMANENTS RESIDENTS (PR)	PR/POP %	INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS (IS)	IS/POPULATION %
Halifax	398,000	1,792	0.45%	4,702	1.18%
NS	938,000	2,424	0.26%	6,614	0.71%
Canada	33,739,000	252,124	0.75%	196,227	0.58%

Source: Population numbers: StatsCan Population Estimates and Projections, 2009; Immigrant and International student numbers: CIC, Facts and Figures, 2009.

Note: Figure 1 situates the numbers presented in Table 1 in temporal perspective, illustrating a comparison between the numbers of permanent residents and international students from 1999 to 2009.

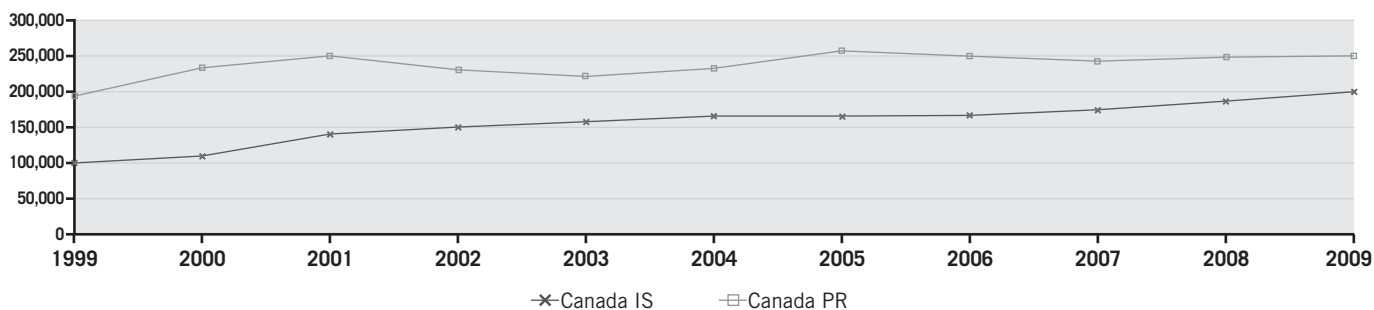
FIGURE 1: Numbers of international students (IS) and permanent residents (PR) in the province of Nova Scotia and the city of Halifax between 1999 and 2009



Source: CIC, Facts and Figures 2009.

Note: Figure 2 further illustrates those trends in comparison, this time on the national scale.

FIGURE 2: Numbers of international students (IS) and permanent residents (PR) in Canada between 1999 and 2009



Source: CIC, Facts and Figures 2009.

2,360 jobs were created in the province as a result of the international students' presence (Denton et al. 2009, iv). In light of these figures, it becomes evident that international education has become a significant revenue-generating sector for the province.

Nova Scotia's success in attracting international students is, according to those interviewed for this study, largely the result of sustained investments from the province's top universities, which have built lucrative networks and strategies of advertisement and recruitment around the world. Private sector actors such as the Association of Atlantic Universities and EduNova have also been very active, working to develop Nova Scotia as a brand on the international education market. In the interviews conducted, it became clear that private sector involvement was meant to substitute support from government, which, until recently, has been reluctant to invest in adequately promoting Canada as a destination on the international education market. Thus, while governments in countries like Australia and the UK have been building strong national brands for their higher education systems for decades, Canada's national brand only came out in 2008, in a manner described by university strategists and

recruiters, as well as by NGO leaders as "timid at best". Nonetheless, all interviewed agreed that the government's recent involvement has consolidated Nova Scotia's efforts to become a notable brand on the international education market, particularly as recent visa changes allow recruiters to advertise potential job opportunities during and after degree-programs in Canada. Thus, since 2008, international students are able to work off-campus during their degrees in Canada, as well as apply for work-permits after graduation, even without securing work offers. University recruiters underlined that the visa changes made a notable impact on the ground, as international students and their families see work opportunities as highly valuable experiences while abroad, as well as a lucrative opportunity to cover at least some of the expenses of international study.

LONG-TERM GOALS AND CHALLENGES

As the statistics provided thus far illustrate, attracting international students to universities in Nova Scotia is no longer a challenge, as the short-term goals of boosting university enrolment and accruing the financial benefits of international students' presence are clearly successfully met.

However, the presence of international students in notable numbers in Canada in general and in Nova Scotia, in particular, has sparked the interest of various other stakeholders outside universities. As Canada's national government has shifted its citizenship policies to fast-track applications from international graduates of Canadian universities under the Canadian Experience Class stream, the Nova Scotia Office of Immigration launched its Provincial Nominee International Graduate Stream Program, which specifically targets international graduates, offering them fast-streamed permanent residence with the condition that they secure permanent job contracts in the province.

Such post-graduation work permits are supposed to give local businesses in Nova Scotia a competitive advantage in retaining bright, young minds, while minimizing the costs of integrating the workers to Canadian work environments. In this context, international students theoretically fit the bill of 'ideal immigrant' arguably better than other immigration streams. They are young, trained in Canada and mostly studying in high-tech or science sectors. Currently, based on the data I obtained from local universities, the majority of international students are working towards their science, engineering and business administration degrees. Through their education in Canada, not only should they be able to by-pass lengthy and costly processes of language skills and education recognition (Reitz 2007), but they are also supposedly more familiar with Canadian life and culture, and more anchored in local Canadian communities than any other category of migrants. Such characteristics, matched with recent results of the Canada First survey conducted Canada-wide by the Canadian Bureau for International Education, which notes that about 1 in 2 international students said that they intend to settle in Canada after graduation (Humphries and Knight-Grofe 2009, 16), should, in theory, position Nova Scotia at an advantage with regard to attracting highly-skilled new migrants. However this is not the case, as the province continues to lag behind in attracting new migrants, and especially those deemed 'highly skilled' (Akbari et al 2007).

International students' adaptation to Canada has not been going as smoothly as predicted. Often very young, and part of visible and audible minorities, students stand out in the homogeneous academic and social environment of Halifax. Anecdotes of racism in the classroom and on the streets of the city marked some of the interviews with students' support staff at universities. In light of these factors, drop-out and transfer rates remain a concern for Atlantic universities.

Moreover, NGOs and university career services underline that international graduates often struggle to find adequate jobs, despite their high-tech skills and

Canadian degree, most leaving the province or taking up employment that does not match their skill sets. The most notable reason cited by interviewees is the graduates' lack of ties to local communities. Career services staff on university campuses noted that in many fields, jobs are not advertised in the city and province, as positions are filled through socially established ties. This observation is in line with survey results released by one prominent university in the province, namely Dalhousie, where 67.5% of recent graduates stated that they made use of their social networks (family, friends) in their job search, while 33.8% noted that they actually got their job through their social network (2009, 6). Moreover, NGO representatives who work with the city's business community note that employers are often reluctant to hire graduates because of foreign accents as well as confusion regarding the legal status of the foreign youths in Canada. Such issues are not surprising given Halifax's lack of ethnic diversity as well as the fact that CIC's policies regarding international graduates are very recent.

Those interviewed for this study noted that a large part of solving this problem lies with university staff, particularly pointing to international students' service centers. For students to have a smoother transition to Canadian life and become integrated into local communities, such offices need to be expanded from dealing mostly with pragmatic day-to-day issues (visa renewal, health insurance, rent arrangements etc.) to helping interested students make Canada their home, especially after graduation. However, currently, many service centers geared towards international students only have sufficient capacity to deal with the pressing day-to-day issues, and activities such as community volunteering or employer outreach remain in the background.

Meanwhile, on their end, NGO leaders interviewed noted they are lobbying the government for funding to start programs to both educate employers and help match graduates with existing jobs. Their efforts are currently undermined by the status of international students and graduates as temporary residents in Canada, which deems them ineligible to access government settlement programs.

Such impediments have the potential to seriously undermine the province's long-term returns on ongoing investments in university internationalization. Thus, international students are arguably some of the most cost-effective migrants when weighing their potential settlement costs against their promised returns to local economies. Mostly working towards science and business degrees from Canadian institutions, settled international graduates can help reverse the provincial trend of youths' out migration and aging workforce and contribute to Nova Scotia's economic development. However, as this study underlines, a more dedicated approach to this population's successful

settlements needs to be taken by leading stakeholders, so as not to undermine the initial provincial investments in attracting the students to Atlantic Canada.

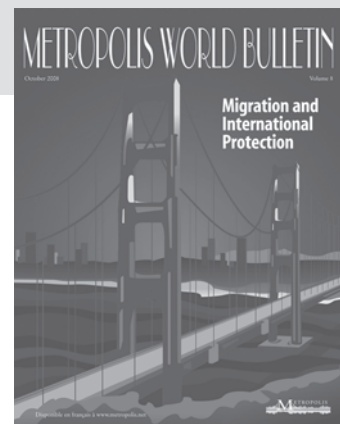
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Metropolis World Bulletin

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CREATING WELCOMING AND INCLUSIVE UNIVERSITY COMMUNITIES

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ABSTRACT

Evidence suggests that the mere presence of international students on Canadian campuses is not sufficient for meaningful cross-cultural interaction to occur. For the full benefits of internationalization to be realized, a shared sense of responsibility for creating a welcoming and inclusive community needs to be combined with action on the part of individuals and institutions. The entire range of university policies and practices should reflect awareness of the importance of promoting interaction between international and domestic students. Institutions play an important role in creating an environment that fosters inclusiveness and promotes cross-cultural interaction.

As Canadian universities continue to actively pursue internationalization, it is important to consider the responsibility that institutions have and the roles that university communities can play in creating welcoming and inclusive environments. University documents frequently refer to the advantages of internationalization and acknowledge the mutual benefits to be gained through interaction between international and domestic students. Such interaction carries the potential to broaden students' outlook, resulting in greater intercultural understanding. But questions remain regarding how well international students are being integrated into campus life at Canadian universities and the degree to which the benefits of internationalization are being fully realized.

A key component of internationalization strategies has been to actively recruit and admit large numbers of international students. Based on figures from Statistics Canada, the number of international students has grown over the past decade. Furthermore, this group is increasingly recognized as an important source of new immigrants to Canada, which means that international students can no longer be considered entirely as temporary sojourners.

But even as the number of international students has been increasing, research from several countries has documented the lack of integration of international students and indicated that these students frequently

experience loneliness (e.g., Sawir et al. 2007), a decline in well-being (e.g., Cemalcilar and Falbo 2008), and a greater sense of alienation than domestic students (e.g., Schram and Lauver 1988). Factors that may partially account for this situation include leaving behind family and friends, limited English language proficiency, and the need for cultural adjustment. While it is important to consider the role that these and other factors play in the experiences of international students, it is essential not to overlook factors external to the international student. For example, as cultural and linguistic insiders, domestic students can either facilitate or hinder international students' attempts at participation. Furthermore, the inherently joint nature of social interaction means that it cannot be fully understood if only the perspective of the international student is taken into account. It is also important to consider other perspectives and the role of the university in encouraging and supporting cross-cultural interaction.

In an effort to better understand the social inclusion and exclusion of international students, we carried out a study to investigate interaction between domestic and international students, taking into account the structural context in which this interaction occurs. The research objective was to gain an in-depth understanding of the dynamics of informal social interactions between international undergraduate university students who are

non-native speakers of English and domestic undergraduates who are native speakers of English. We considered the perspectives of both international and domestic students and how their perspectives interrelate. Importantly, we also took into account the role of social structures and other contextual factors that shape cross-cultural interactions on university campuses.

The research was conducted at two Canadian universities, one in Ontario and one in Alberta. We interviewed 60 international and domestic students, as well as 20 university faculty and staff members. The interview approach allowed us to gather in-depth information about participants' experiences and perspectives and to gain insight into how the level of interpersonal interaction is affected by institutional structures.

SEPARATE CIRCLES

Overall, our findings suggest that the mere presence of international students at Canadian universities is often not enough, in and of itself, to lead to cross-cultural interaction that could result in the kinds of benefits espoused in university discourse on internationalization. We found evidence that some international students experience loneliness even well beyond their initial months on campus. We also found that even when international and domestic students live in close proximity, they often exist in "separate circles".

It is commonly pointed out that international students form groups with other international students from the same cultural background. For example, the controversial "Too Asian" article in the November 10, 2010 issue of *Maclean's* magazine referred to cultural and linguistic separation on Canadian campuses. This form of separation is often attributed to choice, without giving adequate attention to the degree to which these separate groups might be the result of gate-keeping practices. Our research suggests that in some instances, the formation of separate circles may have as much to do with Canadian students as with international students. For example, one international student that we interviewed stated, "They say that international students have a circle and don't interact with others, but I say that Canadian students have circles too." Comments from domestic students offered evidence of the role that Canadian students play in the formation of separate circles on university campuses. For example, one domestic student stated, "Because I am Canadian and most of my friends are Canadian too, their friends are Canadian as well. So in that case I don't really get the chance to meet international students. So that's really why the opportunity never really presents itself because you know we're sort of in these closed circles."

Thus, both domestic and international students expressed awareness of these separate circles, and in some cases they also indicated a desire to transcend them. They shared strategies for attaining cross-cultural interaction that began with self reflection, empathy and assuming responsibility to initiate interaction. They pointed out that their efforts at interaction were facilitated by friendly gestures, patience, and suspending judgement. While these steps seem to emphasize action at the individual level, the findings also suggest that awareness and action are influenced by the broader structural and institutional context. For example, universities can play an important role in shaping attitudes toward cross-cultural understanding and inclusiveness. In our study, participants noted that universities can model cross-cultural understanding and respect through policy direction promoting the integration of international students and practices such as observing cultural and religious celebrations and traditions. Universities also play a key role in creating an environment that brings international and domestic students together in a way that fosters engagement and cross-cultural interaction.

ACCESSING THE INFORMAL THROUGH THE FORMAL

Formal institutional structures including programs, events, and practices can provide opportunities for students to access informal interaction and create possibilities for relationships to develop. Both international and domestic students described the difficulty of meeting the other and initiating interaction in the absence of formal opportunities created by the university. Some of the formal avenues to informal interaction that were identified included international student support programs (e.g., peer mentoring, discussion groups, excursions to Canadian landmarks), student housing that promotes integration, policy direction regarding the integration of international students in courses (e.g., through course assignments and class activities), physical spaces (e.g., residence, cafeteria, library, student centre), and overall student programming (e.g., orientation events, clubs and organizations, volunteer opportunities). For example, international student support programs offer important opportunities for international and domestic student social interaction, particularly in instances where domestic students play a central role in program delivery, as with peer mentors and orientation activities. We found that both international and domestic students described the value of these opportunities for bringing students together. The activities served as an initial step, offering possibilities for ongoing contact and, in some cases, the development of friendships. Furthermore, once such interactions between international and domestic students occur, they serve as opportunities to meet other

students through social networks. This points to the important role that students play as gateways for each other.

Despite the benefits of student support programs, some challenges remain to be addressed. Language and cultural differences, such as attitudes related to the use of alcohol, can perpetuate the situation of separate circles even in contexts that aim to bring international and domestic students together. Furthermore, we heard from several students that there are not enough domestic students who are willing to serve as peer mentors and program volunteers.

University classrooms are another formal venue that can play a role in fostering interaction between international and domestic students. Shared classes can provide an important source of commonality for the development of relationships. For example, one domestic student stated, “If you know that the person is taking the same class as you, then you have something to discuss.” Interaction initiated in classes has the potential to develop further outside of class, although we found evidence that this potential might not be fully realized without effort on the part of the institution. For example, an international student described how in-class interaction does not always extend beyond the classroom by stating that her interaction with domestic students was “just a little bit just within class, because after that everyone just go home or be with friends.” To maximize interaction both in and out of class, specific actions are required such as organizing classroom activities and course assignments in ways that bring students together. Group work, group assignments, and small class sizes were all mentioned as means of helping to facilitate interaction. Furthermore, one faculty member recommended that there should be policy direction from university administration regarding internationalization within classrooms and developing intercultural awareness and training for members of university communities.

Implications of these findings are that universities should continue to offer programs, activities and events that specifically aim to create opportunities for international and domestic students to come together and engage with one another. Moreover, a greater number of domestic students should be encouraged to become involved in international student programming. However, attention also needs to be devoted to ensuring that all aspects of campus life are welcoming and inclusive. This could be accomplished in part through education and awareness-raising related to transcending cultural and linguistic differences. Including these elements across the entire range of campus programs, activities and events might help to encourage more cross-cultural interaction and create more movement between the separate circles that continue to exist in universities.

SHARED RESPONSIBILITY IN WORKING TOWARD INCLUSIVE UNIVERSITY COMMUNITIES

Educational settings such as universities are important contexts in which relationships and friendships are formed; and yet, students do not always benefit from the full range of possibilities for social interaction, given that social contact between international and domestic students can be limited. Consequently, the potential benefits of internationalization remain partially unrealized. In seeking to address barriers to more inclusive university communities, it is important to understand that the responsibility for creating welcoming environments must be shared among community members as well as institutions. Simple explanations that serve to absolve oneself of any responsibility, such as “international students prefer to associate with other international students who share their language and culture,” may be partially based on observable campus realities, but they do not address the root causes or reasons for the situation. Nor do such explanations acknowledge the part that Canadians, as the host community, play in creating institutions and structures that do not always foster or facilitate greater cross-cultural interaction and inclusiveness. While groups of co-nationals certainly do develop and often play an important role of providing familiarity, comfort and support, notions that limited interaction can be explained simply as a choice do not adequately explain why many of the international students that we interviewed reported a desire for greater interaction with Canadians.

Related to these rationalizations based on choice is an overemphasis on an individual's ability to exercise full control over his or her level of social inclusion. Such an emphasis risks blaming people for their own marginalization. As Sin and Yan point out: “... the notion of inclusion becomes problematic, particularly if the transformative agenda only focuses on enhancing the individual's own capacity instead of tackling the structural barriers that confine individuals” (2003, 30). Similarly, using the concept of social inclusion without a critical lens can “lead us to a focus on socially excluded groups rather than socially excluding structures and practices” (Labonte 2004, 253). Instead, it is essential to use the concept of inclusive and welcoming communities in a way that brings attention to the structural root causes of the social exclusion of international students, while respecting their diversity and choices regarding levels of participation. A structural approach is essential given that interpersonal interactions occur within, and are influenced by, the broader institutional context. Such an approach can bring into focus the important role that institutions play in establishing a standpoint of inclusiveness and creating opportunities for cross-cultural interaction to take place.

Universities, as well as individual members of university communities, express inclusive ideals but experience challenges in living up to the ideals. Creating welcoming communities “requires investments and action to bring about the conditions of inclusion. We know that inclusion does not “just happen” (Freiler 2001, 2). The experiences of many of the international and domestic students who contributed to our study reveal that proximity is not enough to bring about inclusion. Rather, welcoming communities are formed when a collective sense of responsibility is combined with action that is shared among individuals and institutions.

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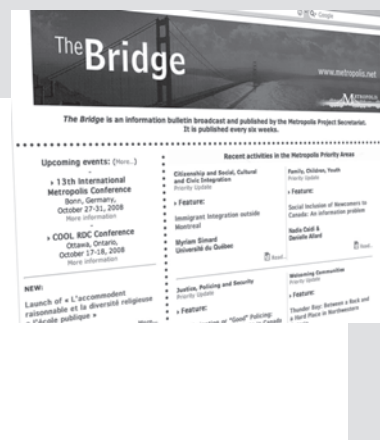
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MANAGING A NEW DIVERSITY ON SMALL CAMPUSES

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ABSTRACT

In this paper, we propose to explain the changing role of the university in the context of growing international mobility and demand for regional Francophone immigration through case studies of l'Université de Moncton (U de M), in New Brunswick, and the Collège universitaire Saint-Boniface (CUSB), in Winnipeg, Manitoba. These results are a part of a broader research project on the recent internationalization of Francophone universities, and their new role in attracting, integrating and retaining international students, which also includes l'Université de Sherbrooke and l'Université Laurentienne in Sudbury¹. Through an analysis of federal, provincial and municipal policies concerning international students, interviews with city officials and university administrators, and focus groups with international students, we are interested in this topic in light the recent policy changes in Canada aiming for a greater attraction and retention of international graduates outside major urban centers.

Canada is one of the world's main post-secondary education destinations. In 2004-2005, it ranked sixth in the world in terms of the number of foreign students enrolled in its universities, behind the USA, the UK, France, Australia and Germany. Canada also ranked third during that same period for the highest percentage of international students per capita, and per total student enrolment (Suter and Jandl, 2006). These numbers have dramatically increased in the past decade or so. In 1996, the country counted a little over 200 000 international students. Ten years later, in 2006, that number had almost tripled, reaching over 700 000 (AUCC, 2007, p. 16). While nearly 25% of all international students come from either China or India, many also come from Francophone countries. French students represent 8% of all visa students in the country, and many also come from Morocco, Senegal, etc. (CBIE, 2007). International students are also starting to move to smaller provinces and enrol in smaller universities. Atlantic Canada is a good illustration with 17 universities and 4 colleges where almost 8 000 international students were enrolled in 2008-2009.

Indeed, universities now constitute an important attraction pole for potential immigrants, and as such, must redefine their role and their mission. Stressing the importance

of offering an international education, universities must find ways to manage the diversity they are attracting (Suter and Jandl, 2008; Altbach and Knight, 2007). The economic and demographic factors behind the current internationalization of education have led to a global competition for international students, in both large and small universities. If "not all universities are (particularly) international, [...] all are subject to the same processes of globalization – partly as objects, victims even, of these processes, but partly as subjects, or key agents, of globalization" (Scott, 1998, p. 122). Moreover, the presence of smaller universities in the global recruitment market is seen as a solution to the problem of regional immigration (Walton-Roberts, 2008).

FRANCOPHONE IMMIGRATION: RECENT POLICY SHIFTS

For the last ten years or so, Francophone minority communities have considered immigration to be critical to their economic, social and cultural development. The issue of immigration has had a large impact on the francophone community and in 2007, the *Sommet des communautés francophones du Canada* made immigration and diversity one of its guiding themes. The organizers clearly stated the need for a more proactive approach to Francophone

immigration (Belkhodja, 2008). In 2006, The *Strategic Framework to Foster Immigration to Francophone Minority Communities*, published by CIC, identified international students as potential key immigrants in communities outside of Quebec. Manitoba has been particularly proactive with international students, notably with their Provincial Nominee Program, which includes an international student category. New Brunswick has been less proactive, but the province has set a target of 5,000 new immigrants per year by 2015, and a report published in 2009 in collaboration with the Acadian Society of New Brunswick, the Post-Secondary Education, Training and Labor Department of New Brunswick and the Department of Canadian Heritage clearly states the importance of recruiting international students to help stop the Francophone demographic erosion.

ATTRACTING INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS

Universities compete against each other to attract international students, though not all use the same strategies, nor cater to the same clientele. Much depends on their size, their reputation and their location. Their market is primarily undergraduate students. In this regard, even though l'U de M and the CUSB are in two very different cities, they attract a similar clientele and are facing a somewhat similar situation. Moncton has a population of 126,424. It was the first officially bilingual city, in the only bilingual province in the country, with approximately a third of its population speaking French. Immigrants are somewhat scarce and make up 3.42% of the city's population, a far cry from the national average of 19%.

Founded in 1963, l'Université de Moncton is the largest Francophone university outside of Quebec. It has a mainly undergraduate population of 4,118, 12.6% of which are international students. Since 2006, the proportion of international students enrolled at l'Université de Moncton has increased by 60%, making it the university with the most international students per capita in the province.

Winnipeg has a population of 686,040. Approximately 18% of its residents are immigrants, and approximately 4% of its population is Francophone. The CUSB, which combines university and college programs, has a total population of 1,337 students, 16% of which are international students. The proportion of international students has doubled between 2006 and 2010.²

As we see in Table 1, in spite of their small size, these two Francophone universities are considerably more international than the average Canadian campus. Whereas in Moncton the campus is almost three times more international than the city, this isn't the case in Winnipeg, though if we only consider the Francophone population in the city, the campus does become a beacon of diversity.

TABLE 1: Immigrants and International Students Per Capita

	IMMIGRANTS PER CAPITA (%)	INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS (%)
Moncton (U de M)	3.4%	10.2%
Winnipeg (CUSB)	17.7%	16.0%
Canada	19.8%	5.9%

Source: Université de Moncton; Association of Atlantic Universities; CUSB; Statistics Canada

Small universities don't naturally attract international students. Yet, with many Francophone communities facing a demographic decline, which in turn affects student enrolment, turning abroad is the only way to guarantee their growth, or merely their stability. In 2002, l'Université de Moncton therefore hired a full-time employee in charge of international promotion and recruitment. That same year, the CUSB identified international recruitment as a priority for the first time.

More or less the same strategy was put in place in both universities: recruitment. Recruiters were hired to visit high schools, meet with families and attend various events to scout for new students, mostly in West Africa and the Maghreb. These employees work for commission.

l'U de M has seventeen official representatives, mostly former students, in as many countries. The international student body profile therefore greatly depends on the recruiters' work. For instance, the number of students from Guinea grew from 12 to 70 between 2006 and 2010, whereas the number of students from Senegal only grew from 15 to 25 during that same period. This innovative, yet controversial method was put in place to recruit a greater number of international students. Recruiters, or "Ambassadors" as they are now officially called are usually international graduates from Moncton who recruit future students in their home country. This in itself is not new: most universities practice recruitment at home and abroad, but l'Université de Moncton's recruiters are paid a certain amount for each student enrolled with a possible bonus if a quota is reached. This is part of a proximity approach, where the university guarantees a personalized service to its international students, even abroad.

Recruitment at the CUSB is more centralized. Three recruiters cover eight countries in Africa and have permanent offices in Morocco, Senegal and Mali. Even though there are less recruiters at the CUSB, their work is comparable. For instance, between 2005 and 2010, the number of students from Morocco grew from 8 to 65, Mali from 22 to 43, Senegal from 23 to 61, whereas the number of French students decreased from 26 to 10 (the CUSB doesn't have a permanent presence in France).

Both universities have been proactive in their recruitment strategies, more or less for the same reasons. The situation is nevertheless more drastic at the CUSB. For instance, 75% of the students enrolled in the business administration program at the college level are visa students. Some programs could not be offered were it not for international students. Further research is still needed to have a better overview of the role of recruiters, and a better understanding of the new consequences brought on by this privatization of recruitment. Nevertheless, l'Université de Moncton and the CUSB approaches are a good example of how universities now play a decisive role in immigration issues, namely through active or passive attraction of foreigners.

INTEGRATING INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS

In so far as post-secondary education is an element of the tertiary sector of the economy, universities have a certain obligation towards their 'customers' and must provide adequate services, beyond education and a diploma.

Both U de M and the CUSB offer a personalized student integration, approach beginning with their presence in foreign countries, and extending for the length of the students' studies.

Upon their arrival in Moncton, students are picked up at the airport and are put in contact with the Association of International Students of the University of Moncton, and with their home country's association – there are nine national associations in total. These associations constitute vital social networks for international students in a city with a relatively small immigrant population, and they offer international students a political representation on campus. They also help new students with their housing needs, with their groceries, with orientation, etc. They also organize activities on campus, the most famous being the International Evening (*Soirée internationale*), where international students showcase their countries' traditional dances, fashion and food, and which has become a very popular activity in the area over the past thirty-three years, attracting more than a thousand people each year.

The CUSB also has an international student association, as well as national and religious associations. These associations play a smaller role than in Moncton, essentially because of the fact that the CUSB is considerably smaller and is concentrated in a single building. Residences have been built essentially to accommodate an international clientele. The campus now has 150 rooms (there were none in 1997), mostly for first-year international students, and that number is constantly growing. In 2008, the CUSB opened its International Bureau, which hires two full-time employees and offers services ranging from

orientation, to accommodations, to help with work permits and permanent residence.

LIFE BEYOND CAMPUS? RETAINING INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS

Policy shifts concerning international students in the past decade have generally aimed to enable them to obtain Canadian work experience both during and after their studies. Since the Off-Campus Work Permit Program was launched in 2004, the number of international students who have applied for the permit and who have found employment in Moncton has risen drastically. Almost half of all international students enrolled at l'Université de Moncton applied for the permit in 2008, and 96% percent of those found a job, mostly in call centers.

Since the U de M and the CUSB recruit in French-speaking countries, English can be a professional barrier. The CUSB has a mandatory English test for all international students, and has developed English and computer classes specifically for this clientele. Moncton has yet to do so, but it is in the plans. Moncton also has a job counsellor for international students, and in 2009, they organized a reverse job fair, inviting local businesses to meet with international graduates.

A recent study suggests that approximately a third of all international students who graduate from a Canadian university plan to stay in the country (CBIE, 2007). To what extent are universities important actors in regional immigration and, moreover, to what extent do Francophone universities contribute to Francophone immigration outside of Quebec?

Both universities are without a doubt important centers of diversity in their respective Francophone communities, and offer a diverse environment for local students who aren't necessarily familiar with immigration. Yet, as we look at the numbers in Table 2, we see that none of the six most represented countries in Moncton's immigrant population correspond to those of l'Université de Moncton's international students.

TABLE 2: Countries of origin of international students and immigrants in Moncton in 2008

IS' COUNTRIES OF ORIGIN (2008)	IMMIGRANTS' COUNTRIES OF ORIGIN (2008)
Haïti 16.0%	South Korea 19.1%
Morocco 11.5%	China 7.3%
Tunisia 11.5%	USA 5.7%
Guinea 10.3%	UK 5.7%
Mali 8.4%	Senegal 4.6%
France 7.4%	Congo 2.7%

Source: Université de Moncton; Association of Atlantic Universities; CUSB; Statistics Canada

L'Université de Moncton is more successful in attracting international students than the city of Moncton is in retaining international graduates; it appears that student migration is a phenomenon distinct from labour migration. Indeed, not only do the numbers in Table 2 show a misrepresentation of Francophone immigrants, they indicate that the immigrant community is not contributing to attract international students, and vice versa, that the student population isn't having a lasting impact on the city's population.

Given the linguistic profile of Winnipeg (only 4% of the population is Francophone), the same comparison between international students' and immigrants' countries of origin would not be as telling. As of yet, we unfortunately do not have data on Winnipeg's retention rate of Francophone graduates.

CONCLUSION

Not only is there a global market for international students, there is provincial and local competition for graduates. But not all provinces and cities are playing on even grounds. Some regions offer obvious economic advantages, and Quebec manages to gather a considerable percentage of Francophone immigration in the country thanks to its demographics and its distinct immigration policies.

L'Université de Moncton and the College Universitaire Saint-Boniface do play a role in their respective regions' ethnic and cultural diversity by actively attracting approximately 200 and 80 new international students each year, respectively, but there isn't necessarily a direct correlation between student recruitment and graduate retention. Universities undoubtedly play a role in what could be called a transitory diversity in their communities, but their influence on actual immigration depends on a variety of factors which are largely out of their control, and exceed their mission. Whether Francophone communities will benefit from universities' efforts to attract Francophones will depend on their capacity to capitalize on this important human capital. Without concerted community efforts, campuses are bound to remain isolated grounds of diversity.

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FOOTNOTES

¹ Chedly Belkhodja et Michèle Vatz-Laaroussi, *L'Université, l'intégration des étudiants internationaux et les politiques de l'immigration: études de cas dans quatre universités dans des milieux francophones*, SSHRC Standard Grant (2008-2011)

² http://www.ustboniface.mb.ca/cusbf/servicesetudiants/bureau_recrutement.shtml

POST-SECONDARY PROGRAMS, POLICIES AND PARTNERSHIPS: THE CASE OF INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS AT MEMORIAL UNIVERSITY OF NEWFOUNDLAND

Sonja Knutson has been employed at Memorial University of Newfoundland (MUN) since 1999. She holds a B.Ed. in Teaching English as a Second Language (TESL) from Concordia University (1999) and an M.Ed. in Post-Secondary Education from Memorial University (2001). She is currently the manager of the International Student Advising Office and Acting Director of the International Center. She has overseen the growth and development of services and programs for the international student population over the past decade.

ABSTRACT

The increase in international student enrolment at Memorial University of Newfoundland, accompanied by overall demographic decline in the province of Newfoundland and Labrador, has allowed for the creation of collaborative and innovative programs aimed at improving international student retention post-graduation. This article will highlight the cooperative efforts of the province and the university as well as current future research directions for the stakeholders.

In recent years, the internationalization of universities and colleges in Canada has gained increasing commitment from the leadership of post-secondary institutions, along with provincial and federal government. There are many factors that have contributed to this trend; most commonly referenced in public policy goals is the competition for talent and for skilled labour (Guhr, 2010). While university international strategies most frequently cite educational goals as the rationale for internationalization (Association of Universities and Colleges Canada, 2008), national and provincial concerns are more focused on demographic decline and a growing knowledge-based economy (Human Resources, Labour and Employment, 2007). It is interesting to note that while the motivations may differ, Canada has seen an unprecedented (as compared to most other western nations) convergence of strategic objectives between post-secondary institutions and government policy (McBride, 2010). At the federal level, policy changes on work permits and immigration streams are allowing for greater numbers of international students to remain in Canada post-graduation (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2010). In Newfoundland and Labrador, the provincial government has adapted both the Provincial Nominee Program (PNP) and the publicly funded Medical Care Program (MCP) eligibility requirements to improve retention rates of new

international graduates from the provinces' post-secondary institutions. Furthermore, through the existing campus student services for international students, the provincial government is supporting inclusion and integration programs and services. Programs designed specifically for international students are engaging stakeholders inside and outside of the campus.

The International Student Advising Office of Memorial University of Newfoundland has collaborated on a number of initiatives with the Office of Immigration and Multiculturalism of the Newfoundland and Labrador Department of Human Resources, Labour and Employment. These initiatives are aimed at facilitating increased rates of international student retention post-graduation. In 2007, the provincial immigration strategy identified international students as a pool of potential immigrants, given their high level of language skills, Canadian academic credentials, familiarity with the local community and local work experience (Human Resources, Labour and Employment, 2007). Memorial University is also increasing its capacity to attract foreign students, showing steady growth through the past several years (Memorial University of Newfoundland, 2009) to the current 2010-11 enrolments of more than 1400 international students (International Student Advising Office, 2010).

TARGETED UNIVERSITY SUPPORT PROGRAMS FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS

Increasing numbers of international students have benefited from programs at Memorial University of Newfoundland and the PNP to stay in the province post-graduation. While in the first year of the PNP International Graduate Category, only six new graduates applied for permanent residency, the number has increased to over 100, when taking spouses and children of new graduates into account (Islam, 2010; Sullivan, 2009). The province has funded programs for international students at both Memorial University and the College of the North Atlantic that facilitate the settlement and integration of students and their families, acknowledging that students accompanied by their spouse and children will be better able to focus on their studies and research knowing that the well-being of their families is important to the community. The Family Integration Support Program at Memorial serves over 80 families of international students, many of whom have young children (International Student Advising Office, 2010). The recognition that the province can play a significant liaison role between employers and highly skilled international students at Memorial has allowed for the successful launch of several programs that target specific needs of international students and potential employers to ease the transition from student to worker. Programs facilitating the job search and placement of international students are increasing the awareness of employers of this pool of well-educated young people. In 2008, the province launched a Multiculturalism policy and made grants available to the International Student Advising Office for events and activities related to the policy mandate to “support multicultural initiatives in their community, to share cross-cultural experiences and to foster partnerships that increase understanding and knowledge of one another” (Human Resources, Labour and Employment, 2008). This collaborative approach to meeting the needs of newcomers is a model that has undoubtedly contributed to the province of Newfoundland and Labrador, leading the country in the match between immigrant training and career placement (Zietsma, 2010).

ADDRESSING INTERCULTURAL SKILLS DEVELOPMENT AT THE UNIVERSITY

Besides the initiatives and support of the province, Memorial University itself has taken the challenges faced by newcomers in terms of integration and settlement seriously. There is recognition that newly arriving international students face many challenges as they attempt to navigate the cultural transition to our campus,

community and province. Thus, in addition to the wide variety of international student support programs and services addressing the pragmatic issues of arrival – housing, immigration, health insurance and health care, income tax filing, part-time jobs and cross-cultural understanding – Memorial has invested in developing the intercultural skills of their staff and student leaders through both in-house sessions and support of off-site professional development. A significant number of staff and domestic students have taken part in sessions designed to increase awareness of cross-cultural issues and improve their communication skills across cultures. The province has been a willing and supportive partner in the delivery of sessions aimed at improving awareness of intercultural issues, especially when activities can be promoted within the local community. The university also partners as a host to provincial information sessions on-campus for students that are interested in permanent residency. The programs at Memorial for international student settlement and integration, as well as the sessions designed to improve cross-cultural skills of staff and students consistently receive positive evaluation by participants (Whelan, 2010).

FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Student Affairs and Services at Memorial University remains committed to moving beyond the evaluation of our programs and services on a simple satisfaction scale. Several research questions which the International Student Advising Office intends to address in the future revolve around two main questions. The first question addresses whether our investment in international student services and programs has led to the improvement of social capital outcomes for our students. The second question looks at the broader issue of the campus community by examining whether our domestic and international students have actually improved their intercultural competencies through their interactions, and are thus better positioned to have the necessary skills to contribute to the provincial prosperity agenda. The results of research into the first question should help inform our current relationship to the provincial government immigration strategy objectives, since the link between social capital and social inclusion within a community is well-substantiated (Caidi & Allard, 2005; Duncan, 2003). The second question is directly tied to the objectives of student outcomes. If post-secondary institutions are tasked with preparing students for success in an increasingly mobile and globalized context, then presumably, the place for students to gain the necessary intercultural skills for future career demands will be through both the curricular and extra-curricular activities available to them through the years they spend acquiring the academic credentials that will launch their careers.

The International Student Advising office is currently working on the selection of measurement scales by which we can move forward in evaluating the areas we have targeted. Clark (2009) argues for using the social inclusion indicators outlined by the Laidlaw Foundation (Omidvar & Richmond, 2003), and is currently developing a set of evaluation items based on the indicators which can be used to inform our understanding of the process of new international student integration to the campus. Even though it would be expected that a campus would yield great opportunity for social capital acquisition, initial literature reviews of research on international student experiences reveal ongoing issues around language barriers, classroom barriers (cultural assumptions), organizational bias, forming social networks and job readiness (Canadian Bureau for International Education, 2009).

Recent research into the intercultural competence of students prior to and following the exposure to other cultures shows that in the absence of meaningful engagement, little if any improvement in intercultural competence is possible (Vande Berg, 2010). The Intercultural Development Inventory has been selected as a measurement tool, and a pilot project is underway to evaluate the pre-program and post-program intercultural development of students involved in a new mentorship program on the Memorial University campus. The expectation is that students involved in meaningful opportunities for cross-cultural dialogue will be able to simply move from a framework of ethno-centrism to one of ethno-relativism, and therefore have a greater capacity for effective intercultural interactions.

The ongoing review of the literature and research available on both social capital acquisition and intercultural development will inform our own contextualized evaluation of our programs and services to both international and domestic populations on our campus. Our purpose is to better inform our goals and objectives within the wider context of the institution and the province and ensure a match between the programs we undertake and in which we engage our stakeholders.

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LA QUALITÉ D'EMPLOI DES IMMIGRANTS AYANT UN DIPLÔME POSTSECONDAIRE CANADIEN

Maude Boulet est doctorante et chargée de cours à l'École de relations industrielles de l'Université de Montréal. Ses recherches portent principalement sur l'intégration des immigrants au marché du travail au Québec par rapport aux immigrants des deux autres grandes provinces canadiennes d'immigration, soit l'Ontario et la Colombie-Britannique.

Brahim Boudarbat est professeur agrégé à l'École des relations industrielles de l'Université de Montréal, et chercheur affilié au CIRANO et au Centre Métropolis du Québec. Il détient un doctorat en sciences économiques de l'Université de Montréal depuis 2004. Ses recherches portent sur l'intégration économique des immigrants, l'éducation postsecondaire, la formation professionnelle et le chômage des diplômés.

RÉSUMÉ

La non-reconnaissance des diplômes étrangers ressort comme un frein important à l'intégration économique des immigrants. Dans ce contexte, l'obtention d'un diplôme canadien devrait faciliter cette intégration. Cette étude examine l'accès à l'emploi et la qualité d'emploi des immigrants ayant obtenu un diplôme canadien par rapport à leurs homologues nés au Canada. Les données utilisées proviennent de l'Enquête nationale auprès des diplômés de 2005 (promotion 2000). Nos résultats indiquent que l'âge au moment de l'immigration est un déterminant important du succès des immigrants sur le marché du travail. Ceux qui arrivent à l'âge adulte demeurent relativement défavorisés même après l'obtention d'un diplôme canadien.

INTRODUCTION

Le Canada accueille un nombre important d'immigrants, soit environ 250 000 résidents permanents par an (CIC 2009a). Toutefois, si accueillir un nombre élevé d'immigrants chaque année est une stratégie pour répondre aux besoins du pays en main-d'œuvre qualifiée, les politiques qui visent à sélectionner des immigrants hautement scolarisés ne garantissent pas leur succès sur le marché du travail. En effet, plusieurs études ont démontré que la situation des nouveaux immigrants en matière d'emploi s'est grandement détériorée au cours des dernières années, malgré la hausse de leur niveau de qualifications (Aydemir et Skuterud 2005; Boudarbat et Boulet 2007). Le problème de non-reconnaissance des acquis professionnels étrangers (scolarité et expérience de travail) explique une part importante de ce phénomène (Aydemir et Skuterud 2005; Ferrer et Riddell 2008). Suite à ce problème, des immigrants très qualifiés se trouvent dans des emplois exigeant peu de qualifications (Galarneau et Morissette 2008; Kukushkin et Watt 2009), ce qui représente une perte sèche de capital humain pour le Canada à un moment où l'on prévoit des

pénuries de main-d'œuvre qualifiée dans plusieurs domaines (Lapointe et coll. 2006).

Plusieurs facteurs peuvent expliquer ce problème de non-reconnaissance des acquis étrangers tels que le manque d'information des employeurs sur la valeur de ces acquis (Ferrer et Riddell 2008) ou encore leur valeur inférieure à celles acquises au Canada (Ferrer, Green et Riddell 2006; Sweetman 2004). Nonobstant ces explications, le problème mérite une attention particulière de la part des décideurs des politiques publiques et des employeurs puisque la scolarité et l'expérience de travail sont la pierre angulaire du système de sélection actuel au Canada. De plus, vu le grand nombre d'immigrants admis chaque année et qui sont diplômés à l'étranger, une intégration non réussie pourrait avoir des conséquences pour la société d'accueil ainsi que pour les immigrants eux-mêmes. En partie pour contourner le problème, le gouvernement fédéral a créé la catégorie Expérience canadienne en 2008 visant à retenir au pays les travailleurs et les étudiants étrangers admis temporairement au Canada. Ces derniers ont acquis une partie de leur capital humain au Canada et devraient logiquement être moins touchés par le problème de reconnaissance.

C'est dans ce cadre que notre recherche s'inscrit. Plus précisément, notre objectif est de vérifier si l'obtention d'un diplôme canadien par les immigrants élimine les écarts par rapport aux natifs sur les plans de l'accès à l'emploi et de la qualité des emplois occupés. Si ce n'est pas le cas, les problèmes d'intégration économique des immigrants ne seraient pas liés uniquement à la non-reconnaissance de leurs qualifications étrangères.

DONNÉES

Les données que nous avons utilisées proviennent de l'Enquête nationale auprès des diplômés (END) réalisée en 2005 auprès des diplômés de la promotion 2000. Ces derniers ont obtenu un diplôme postsecondaire d'un établissement canadien public d'éducation (universités ou collèges). En utilisant les données de l'END, nous avons l'avantage de comparer des diplômés, immigrants et natifs, appartenant à une même cohorte et formés dans le même système. Par conséquent la valeur du diplôme et la durée depuis l'obtention de ce diplôme sont les mêmes pour les deux groupes. L'échantillon retenu comprend environ 22 400 diplômés de niveau postsecondaire âgés de moins de 65 ans en 2005. Parmi ce nombre, environ 2 500 sont des immigrants, et 40 % d'entre eux sont arrivés au Canada avant l'âge de 18 ans.

Dans nos analyses, nous tiendrons compte de l'âge au moment de l'immigration, puisque des études ont montré que ce facteur fait partie des déterminants de la réussite de l'intégration sur le marché du travail (Schaafsma et Sweetman 2001; Boudarbat et Boulet 2010). Nous avons choisi de distinguer les immigrants arrivés avant l'âge adulte (avant l'âge de 18 ans) de ceux arrivés au Canada à l'âge adulte (à 18 ans ou plus). Ainsi, les premiers ont fait l'essentiel de leurs études ici, alors que les derniers n'en ont fait qu'une partie.

En plus de l'accès à l'emploi, nous examinerons quatre indicateurs de la qualité d'emploi : salaire horaire, correspondance emploi-études, stabilité de l'emploi et durée de travail. Les comparaisons se feront par niveau d'études. Le lecteur peut consulter l'étude de base de Boulet et Boudarbat (2010) pour plus de détails et des comparaisons par province.

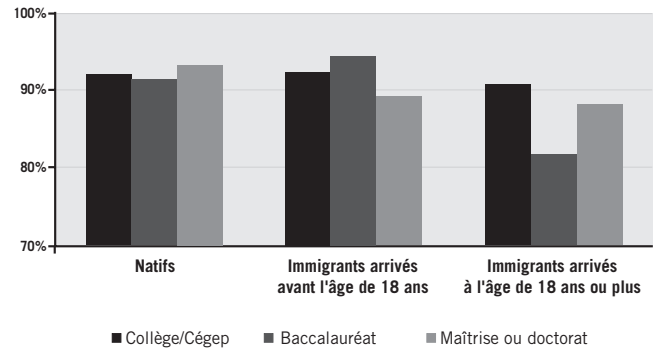
RÉSULTATS EMPIRIQUES

L'ACCÈS À L'EMPLOI

Le graphique 1 indique que les immigrants arrivés à l'âge adulte ont un taux d'emploi inférieur à celui des immigrants arrivés avant l'âge adulte et à celui des natifs, peu importe le niveau de scolarité, et ces écarts sont tous statistiquement significatifs. Toutefois, c'est parmi les individus ayant un baccalauréat que les immigrants arrivés à l'âge adulte sont les plus désavantagés, avec un taux d'emploi

de 81,6 %, contre 91,5 % chez les natifs. Par contre, parmi les individus qui ont un diplôme collégial ou un baccalauréat, les immigrants qui sont arrivés avant l'âge adulte ont des taux d'emploi supérieurs aux natifs, bien que l'écart entre les deux groupes n'est pas statistiquement significatif au niveau collégial. Enfin, soulignons que les taux d'emploi de tous les groupes sont élevés : ils oscillent entre 81,6 % et 94,2 %.

GRAPHIQUE 1 : Taux d'emploi des diplômés en 2005 selon le niveau d'études et le statut d'immigrant



Note : L'échantillon comprend uniquement les diplômés qui n'ont pas décroché de nouveau diplôme entre 2000 et 2005.

LE SALAIRE HORAIRE

Le salaire horaire est l'une des dimensions importantes de la qualité d'emploi. C'est également l'indicateur le plus souvent utilisé pour évaluer la situation d'emploi des immigrants sur le marché du travail canadien.

Le tableau 1 montre que chez les individus ayant un diplôme collégial, ce sont les immigrants arrivés à l'âge adulte qui ont le salaire horaire moyen le plus élevé avec 23,26 \$, contre 20,98 \$ pour les natifs et 19,81 \$ pour les immigrants arrivés avant l'âge adulte. Toutefois, l'écart par rapport aux natifs n'est pas statistiquement significatif.

De plus, le groupe d'immigrants arrivés à l'âge adulte présente de grandes inégalités salariales puisqu'il affiche un écart-type très élevé (82,6, contre seulement 7,0 pour les immigrants arrivés avant l'âge adulte et 11,1 pour les natifs).

Chez les individus qui ont obtenu un diplôme universitaire (baccalauréat, maîtrise ou doctorat), les immigrants arrivés avant l'âge adulte gagnent en moyenne plus que les natifs; cet avantage est statistiquement significatif. Quant aux immigrants arrivés à l'âge adulte, ils sont plutôt défavorisés par rapport aux natifs. Lorsqu'on fait des comparaisons sur la base de la médiane, on note que parmi les individus qui ont un baccalauréat, les immigrants arrivés à l'âge adulte ont un salaire horaire médian de 3,18 \$ inférieur à celui des natifs, et, parmi ceux qui ont une maîtrise, cet écart est de 2,01 \$.

Pour ce qui est du doctorat, les écarts de salaire horaire moyen entre les natifs et les immigrants des

TABLE 1 : Salaire horaire des diplômés en 2005 selon le niveau d'études et le statut d'immigrant (\$)

		NATIFS	IMMIGRANTS ARRIVÉS AVANT L'ÂGE DE 18 ANS	ÉCART PAR RAPPORT AUX NATIFS	IMMIGRANTS ARRIVÉS À L'ÂGE DE 18 ANS OU PLUS	ÉCART PAR RAPPORT AUX NATIFS
COLLÈGE	Moyenne	20,98	19,81		23,26	
	(Écart-type)	-11,11	-7,02	-1,17***	-82,26	2,28
	Médiane	19,14	18,58	-0,56	17,69	-1,45
BACCALAURÉAT	Moyenne	27,59	28,77		27,28	
	(Écart-type)	-20,06	-25,09	1,18***	-27,69	-0,31
	Médiane	26,86	27,92	1,06	23,68	-3,18
MAÎTRISE	Moyenne	37,11	40,26		34,18	
	(Écart-type)	-60,73	-13,92	3,15***	-14,61	-2,93
	Médiane	34,9	39,29	4,39	32,89	-2,01
DOCTORAT	Moyenne	38,32	36,37		37,56	
	(Écart-type)	-27,07	-14,17	-1,95	-15,34	-0,76
	Médiane	36,46	33,33	-3,13	36,46	0

*** écart de moyennes statistiquement significatif au niveau 1 %.

Note : L'échantillon comprend uniquement les diplômés qui n'ont pas décroché de nouveau diplôme entre 2000 et 2005.

deux groupes ne sont pas statistiquement significatifs. L'on pourrait supposer que les immigrants arrivés à l'âge adulte ont un meilleur salaire, comparativement à celui des natifs, s'ils ont un doctorat canadien plutôt qu'un diplôme de niveau postsecondaire canadien inférieur. En effet, la moyenne et la médiane des salaires des immigrants arrivés à l'âge adulte et ayant un doctorat canadien sont comparables à celles des natifs, et la dispersion de leurs salaires est faible, ce qui révèle un faible niveau d'inégalités salariales dans ce groupe.

Pour déterminer les écarts de salaire ajustés entre les trois groupes à l'étude, nous avons jugé utile d'effectuer des

analyses multivariées dans lesquelles nous contrôlons le niveau d'études, le domaine d'études, le nombre d'années d'expérience professionnelle et le sexe. Les résultats par province sont présentés au tableau 2. Comme nous utilisons le logarithme du salaire horaire comme variable dépendante dans les régressions, il est possible de traduire (de façon approximative) les écarts estimés en pourcentage.

Deux constats importants ressortent du tableau 2. Premièrement, l'écart salarial entre les immigrants arrivés avant l'âge adulte et les natifs est très faible et non significatif sur le plan statistique, et ce, dans toutes les provinces. Cela signifie que, toutes choses étant égales par ailleurs,

TABLE 2 : Estimations de l'équation de salaire par province (variable dépendante = log du salaire horaire en 2005)

	QUÉBEC	ONTARIO	PRAIRIES	COLOMBIE-BRITANNIQUE
IMMIGRANTS ARRIVÉS AVANT L'ÂGE DE 18 ANS	0,005 (0,04)	0,019 (0,027)	-0,003 (0,034)	0,013 (0,035)
IMMIGRANTS ARRIVÉS À L'ÂGE DE 18 ANS OU PLUS	-0,076** (0,03)	-0,120*** (0,028)	-0,037 (0,036)	-0,198*** (0,034)
CONTRÔLE: NIVEAU DE SCOLARITÉ, DOMAINE D'ÉTUDES, EXPÉRIENCE PROFESSIONNELLE ET SEXE				
OBSERVATIONS	3,561	2,199	3,684	1,472
R-CARRÉ	0,33	0,32	0,2	0,26

*** significatif au niveau 1 % ; ** significatif au niveau 5 % ; * significatif au niveau 10 %. Les erreurs-types sont indiquées entre parenthèses

Note : L'échantillon comprend uniquement les diplômés qui n'ont pas décroché de nouveau diplôme entre 2000 et 2005.

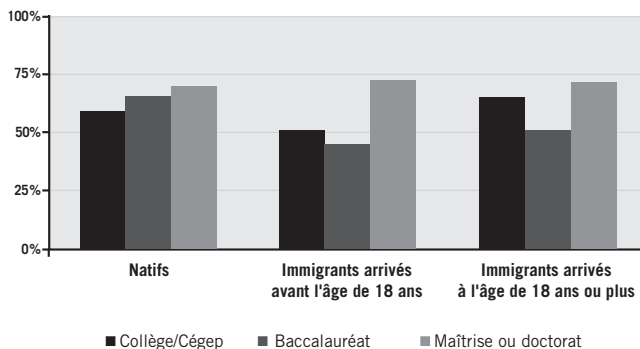
un immigrant qui arrive au Canada avant l'âge adulte peut espérer avoir le même traitement salarial qu'un natif, peu importe la province où il s'installe.

Deuxièmement, les immigrants arrivés à l'âge adulte sont défavorisés par rapport aux natifs sur le plan du salaire. Cependant, le Québec se distingue des deux autres grandes provinces d'immigration par l'écart salarial ajusté le moins élevé. Ainsi, au Québec, les immigrants arrivés à l'âge adulte ont un salaire horaire moyen ajusté inférieur de 7,6 % à celui des natifs, alors que cet écart atteint 12 % en Ontario et 19,8 % en Colombie-Britannique. Donc, au Québec, le plus grand défi pour ces immigrants est de trouver un emploi, puisqu'une fois ce défi relevé, ils ont un salaire plus équitable que dans les deux autres grandes provinces d'immigration.

LE LIEN ENTRE L'EMPLOI OCCUPÉ ET LE PROGRAMME D'ÉTUDES

La surqualification dans l'emploi est un phénomène très présent chez les immigrants ayant des diplômes étrangers. Or, un emploi où un travailleur ne peut pas utiliser ses compétences est considéré comme de moindre qualité (Cloutier 2008). Dans l'END, les diplômés sont questionnés sur la perception qu'ils ont du lien entre leur emploi et leurs études. Le graphique 2 rapporte les proportions de diplômés qui jugent que ce lien est étroit.

GRAPHIQUE 2 : Proportions de diplômés dont l'emploi est étroitement lié au programme d'études en 2005 selon le niveau d'études et le statut d'immigrant

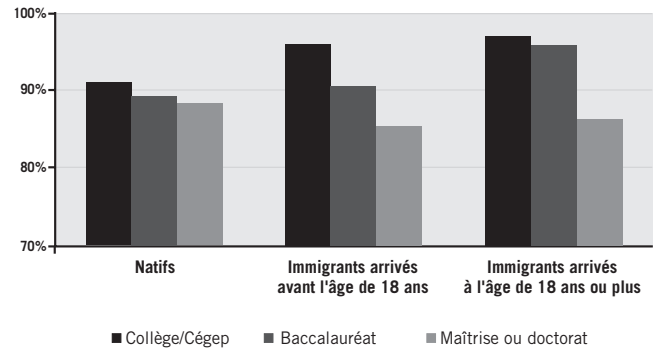


Note : L'échantillon comprend uniquement les diplômés qui n'ont pas décroché de nouveau diplôme entre 2000 et 2005.

On relève que ce sont les immigrants arrivés avant l'âge adulte qui sont généralement les moins susceptibles d'occuper un emploi qui est étroitement lié à leurs études. Ainsi, chez ceux qui ont un baccalauréat, 43,4 % de ces immigrants se trouvent dans ce genre d'emploi contre 65,5 % des natifs et 50,8 % des immigrants admis à l'âge adulte. Pourtant, les immigrants arrivés avant l'âge adulte et ayant un baccalauréat affichent le taux d'emploi le plus élevé comparativement aux deux autres groupes, ce qui pourrait signifier que ces immigrants adoptent des stratégies

différentes face à l'emploi, entre autres, en acceptant facilement un emploi qui n'est pas en lien avec leurs études. À l'opposé, il semblerait que les immigrants arrivés à l'âge adulte accordent une importance à ce lien — c'est peut-être l'objectif même de leur retour aux études — ce qui n'est pas sans retarder leur accès à l'emploi.

GRAPHIQUE 3 : Proportions de diplômés occupant un emploi permanent en 2005 selon le niveau d'études et le statut d'immigrant



Note : L'échantillon comprend uniquement les diplômés qui n'ont pas décroché de nouveau diplôme entre 2000 et 2005.

LA STABILITÉ D'EMPLOI

La stabilité d'emploi est une autre dimension de la qualité d'emploi (Cloutier 2008; Lowe 2007). Le fait de détenir un emploi permanent garantit une meilleure sécurité financière et réduit le risque de se retrouver au chômage. Le graphique 3 rapporte les proportions de natifs et d'immigrants qui occupent un emploi permanent selon le niveau de diplôme.

Parmi les diplômés qui occupent un emploi, la proportion de ceux qui ont un emploi permanent est très élevée (plus de 85 % pour les trois types de diplôme). Un autre constat positif tient au fait que les immigrants arrivés à l'âge adulte sont plus enclins que les natifs à occuper un emploi permanent lorsqu'ils détiennent un diplôme collégial (97,4 % contre 91,0 %) ou un baccalauréat (96,3 % contre 89,9 %). Parmi ceux ayant un diplôme d'études supérieures, ce sont plutôt les natifs qui sont avantagés.

Pour leur part, les immigrants arrivés avant l'âge adulte ont moins accès à un emploi permanent que les immigrants arrivés à l'âge adulte peu importe le niveau d'études. C'est parmi ceux qui ont un baccalauréat que l'écart est le plus marqué : 90,9 % pour les immigrants arrivés avant l'âge adulte et 96,3 % pour les autres immigrants. Ainsi, les immigrants arrivés à l'âge adulte qui ont un diplôme collégial ou un baccalauréat canadiens ont plus de difficulté à trouver un emploi, mais, une fois qu'ils ont un emploi, celui-ci s'avère plus souvent permanent que celui des immigrants arrivés

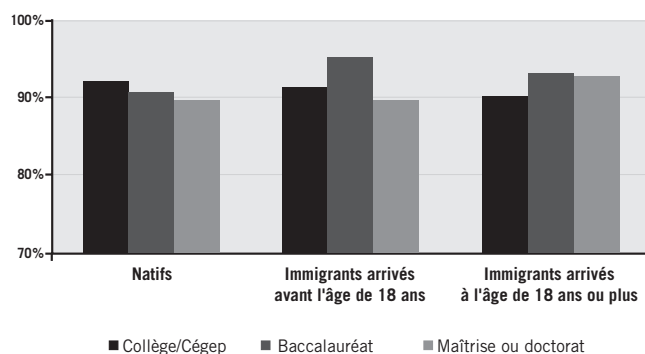
avant l'âge adulte et des natifs. Encore une fois, ceci pourrait avoir un lien avec les stratégies qu'adopte chaque groupe face à l'emploi.

LE NOMBRE D'HEURES TRAVAILLÉES PAR SEMAINE

Le fait de travailler à temps plein (30 heures ou plus par semaine) fait partie des indices d'une bonne qualité d'emploi (Cloutier 2008). Toutefois, au-delà d'un certain nombre d'heures, un emploi à temps plein peut aussi devenir synonyme de moindre qualité d'emploi.

Le graphique 4 montre que, parmi les diplômés de niveau collégial, les immigrants arrivés à l'âge adulte occupent un peu moins souvent un emploi à temps plein (90,1 %) que les natifs (92,1 %); ces écarts sont statistiquement significatifs. Parmi les diplômés de niveau universitaire, les immigrants arrivés à l'âge adulte occupent plus souvent un emploi à temps plein — 93,6 % (baccalauréat) et 93,4 % (études supérieures) — que les natifs — 90,9 % (baccalauréat) et 89,6 % (études supérieures).

GRAPHIQUE 4 : Proportions de diplômés travaillant à temps plein en 2005 selon le niveau d'études et le statut d'immigrant



Note : L'échantillon comprend uniquement les diplômés qui n'ont pas décroché de nouveau diplôme entre 2000 et 2005.

CONCLUSION

Le principal constat de cette étude concerne l'effet déterminant de l'âge au moment de l'immigration pour prédire le succès des immigrants sur les plans de l'accès à l'emploi et de l'accès à un emploi de qualité. En complément aux études antérieures, nos résultats montrent que l'âge au moment de l'immigration continue d'influer sur l'intégration au marché du travail même après l'obtention d'un diplôme canadien. Les immigrants arrivés avant l'âge adulte ont beaucoup plus de facilité à trouver un emploi que ceux qui sont arrivés à l'âge adulte. Sur le plan de la qualité d'emploi, l'âge au moment de l'immigration influe également sur le type d'emploi qu'occupent les immigrants : de façon générale, ceux qui sont arrivés avant l'âge adulte occupent des emplois

mieux rémunérés et plus souvent à temps plein que ceux qui sont arrivés à l'âge adulte. Toutefois, leur emploi n'est pas nécessairement en lien avec leurs études ni plus stable que ces derniers.

Pour ce qui est des retombées en termes de politiques publiques, étant donné que l'âge au moment de l'immigration continue à influencer sur la situation d'emploi des immigrants même quand ils ont obtenu un diplôme canadien, il est pertinent de continuer à tenir compte de ce critère dans la grille de sélection des travailleurs qualifiés. Par ailleurs, le fait que les immigrants arrivés à l'âge adulte qui possèdent un diplôme canadien ont moins accès à l'emploi et sont désavantagés sur le plan du salaire horaire par rapport aux natifs indique que les initiatives récentes visant à favoriser l'immigration d'étudiants étrangers n'auront peut-être pas pour effet d'éliminer complètement les désavantages que subissent les immigrants sur le marché du travail. Par contre, comme ces immigrants sont étudiants, donc généralement jeunes, leur désavantage par rapport aux natifs ne devrait pas être très important. Même si, dans nos analyses, nous n'avons pas inclus les immigrants ayant uniquement des diplômes étrangers, des études ont indiqué que les diplômes acquis dans le pays d'accueil rapportent davantage que les diplômes acquis à l'étranger. Ce que nos résultats apportent d'original, c'est qu'ils révèlent qu'un diplôme postsecondaire canadien ne procure pas les mêmes avantages aux immigrants arrivés à l'âge adulte et aux natifs. Bref, les problèmes d'intégration des immigrants dans le marché du travail ne se résument pas à la seule question de reconnaissance des diplômes étrangers.

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Boulet, Maude, et Brahim Boudarbat, 2010. Un diplôme postsecondaire canadien : un tremplin vers des emplois de qualité pour les immigrants?, Étude IRPP, n° 8, Montréal, Institut de recherche en politiques publiques (lien internet : http://www.irpp.org/fr/pubs/IRPPStudy/IRPP_study_n°8.pdf).

Questions concernant les travailleurs étrangers temporaires Thèmes canadiens

La présente édition de *Thèmes canadiens/ Canadian Issues* porte sur les travailleurs étrangers temporaires (TET) au Canada. Les auteurs traitent de recherches et de statistiques liées aux TET dans l'ensemble du Canada, afin de fournir un profil analytique de ce groupe d'immigrants. En outre, ils étudient les mécanismes d'intervention fédéraux et provinciaux en place, qui visent à promouvoir et à régulariser la migration temporaire vers le Canada. Enfin, ils analysent les questions qui touchent la société, l'économie, la santé, la sécurité ainsi que les questions d'ordre juridique liés aux programmes des TET au Canada, et fournissent des orientations futures pour la recherche et l'élaboration de politiques.

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AUSTRALIA'S EXPERIMENT WITH TWO-STEP STUDENT MIGRATION

Professor **Lesleyanne Hawthorne** (PhD, MA, BA Hons, Dip Ed, Grad Dip Mig Stud) has 25 years experience researching high skilled migration, foreign credential recognition, and international student flows. Most recently, she has undertaken commissioned projects for UNESCO, the Australian, Canadian and New Zealand governments, the Global Forum of Federations, the Migration Policy Institute (US), and the Pacific Economic Cooperation Council. In 2005-06, Lesleyanne was appointed to an Expert Panel of Three by Australia's Federal Cabinet to conduct the most extensive evaluation of Australia's economic migration program since 1988, with significant policy impacts. Major projects in 2009-11 include analysis of global strategies to enhance foreign credential recognition, the value of the study-migration pathway, health workforce migration, and assessment of economic migration policy and outcomes in New Zealand compared to Australia.

ABSTRACT

The past decade has coincided with extraordinary growth in international student migration to Australia. By mid 2010, over 610,000 students were enrolled, large numbers of whom planned to convert to permanent resident status through "two-step migration". While international students were initially presumed to face minimal employment barriers (having self-funded to meet employer requirements), the reality has proven more complex. While impressive employment and labour market mobility rates are achieved through the study-migration pathway at 6 and 18 months, perverse study-migration incentives have also evolved. Addressing these, the Australian Labor government has introduced radical policy change in the past 3 years, which has markedly reduced students' economic category share (from 62% to 35%). From July 2011, additional changes to selection will favour older native English speakers qualified with bachelor or higher degrees. International student demand for Canada seems certain to grow in consequence, in a context where students have become highly discerning consumers – researching global options to secure the optimal study, migration and employment outcomes.

Australia is a global exemplar of nation-building through government planned and administered skilled, family and humanitarian migration programs. By 2006, it included the world's highest percentage of foreign-born residents (24 percent of the population), followed by New Zealand (23 percent), Canada (20 percent), and the US (11 percent). As in Canada, unprecedented numbers of migrants in the recent decade have been skilled – a process intensified by sustained economic boom. By 2006, 57% of all degree-qualified information technology professionals in Australia were overseas-born, compared to 52% of engineers, 45% of doctors, 41% of accountants and 25% of nurses. Disproportionate numbers had been selected in the previous 5 years (across all categories), at a time when economic migration constituted 60% of total intakes. Women's participation has increased as principal applicants, and the fields of accounting and computing have dominated. Most strikingly however, a growing proportion of recent economic migrants have been sourced in Australia rather than offshore.

Since 1999, the great majority of those selected have been former international students, following the removal of a three year eligibility bar. From 2002, these applicants were permitted to apply onshore - ideally placed to secure the required 115-120 points if they possessed a recognised vocation-related degree (60 points¹), were aged between 18 and 29 years (30 points), had advanced English language ability (20 points, with testing exempted), and an Australian qualification of 2 years in a field on the Migration Occupation in Demand List. By the time of Australia's 2006 skilled migration review, students applying to migrate had a 99% chance of being selected, unless they failed health or character checks². Scope for skilled migration had fuelled the development of new international student markets, while transforming the sector and discipline of student demand. Within this process, the migration and export education programs had become inextricably linked, representing a potential 'win-win' for Australia.

By 2008, international students were generating \$A26.7 billion per year, in a context where the industry had emerged as Australia's third largest, and the first for the state of Victoria³. In August that year, 474,389 international students were enrolled in Australian tertiary, vocational education and training (VET), English language or school courses, including substantial numbers located offshore. (See Table 1.) There were 432,678 resident international students in Australia, with China (119,786) and India (72,314) the dominant groups, followed by the Republic of South Korea, Malaysia and Vietnam. By June 2010, international student enrolments stood at 630,000, profoundly influencing Australia's net population growth⁴. As noted by Vertovec, 'The movement of students should be seen as an integral part of transnational migration systems, not least because the networks they forge often lay the tracks of future skilled labour circulation'⁵.

TABLE 1: Total International Student Enrolments in Australia (August 2008)

NATIONALITY	ENROLMENTS	PERCENT OF TOTAL	GROWTH SINCE AUGUST 2007
China	112,172	23.6%	18.8%
India	80,291	16.9%	47.4%
Republic of Korea	31,667	6.7%	3.6%
Malaysia	20,449	4.3%	6.3%
Thailand	18,564	3.9%	9.8%
Hong Kong	16,827	3.5%	-5.0%
Nepal	14,605	3.1%	101.8%
Indonesia	14,071	3.0%	4.1%
Vietnam	13,367	2.8%	62.7%
Brazil	12,493	2.6%	26.4%
Other nationalities	139,883	29.5%	9.2%
Total enrolments	474,389	100.0%	18.5%

Source: Australian Education International data accessed December 2008

This phenomenon of 'two-step' student migration is one proliferating world-wide. The majority of OECD countries are in the process of:

1. Developing migration categories designed to attract and retain skilled workers;
2. Monitoring and replicating successful competitor models, including mechanisms for selection and control;
3. Expanding temporary entry options, targeting international students and employer-sponsored workers;

4. Facilitating student and worker transition from temporary to extended or permanent resident status, supported by priority processing and uncapped migration categories;
5. Combining government-driven with employer-driven strategies;
6. Creating regional settlement incentives designed to attract skilled migrants, supported by lower entry requirements and policy input from local governments and/or employers; and
7. Supporting the above strategies through sustained and increasingly innovative global promotion strategies⁶.

Between 2005 and 2007, Australia secured impressive outcomes from its economic migration program in global terms. At 6 months post-migration, 83% of principal applicants (PAs) were employed or self-employed (around half new graduates seeking their first job, and of Asian rather than English-speaking background origin). Work satisfaction at this time was fairly high, with the fields of computing, accounting, engineering, nursing, and business & management predominating. PAs from English speaking background countries fared particularly well, securing early employment rates of 92-97%, followed by strong integration rates for migrants derived from Europe and India.

Within the early settlement period, birthplace groups at risk of employment disadvantage were found to be highly protected by the study-migration pathway. For example, 74% of onshore PAs from China were working at 6 months compared to 53% of comparable offshore migrants. Very positive effects were also found for North African/ Middle East and Commonwealth-Asian migrants (See Table 2) By 18 months post-migration, 85% of PAs in Australia were employed, with a further 4% conducting businesses. Seventy per cent stated they were working in their preferred occupation (rising from 53% at 6 months). Job mobility was impressive and salary levels had improved markedly (34% of PAs changing positions, typically to seek more highly skilled work and/or better remuneration). Just 18% had been out of work in the previous year (typically for a few months), with welfare dependence negligible.

Challenges as well as benefits, however, were found to be associated with student migration. In 2008-09, former students constituted just 35% of economic intakes compared to 62% a few years before. What caused this change in selection patterns?

As established by Australia's 2006 skilled migration review, former international students achieved inferior early labour market outcomes to offshore PAs. Despite near identical proportions being employed at 6 months (83% compared to 82%), they were characterised by annual

salaries of \$A20,000 less and lower job satisfaction. They were also far less likely to use their qualifications in work (46% compared to 63% of offshore principal applicants). A number of contributory factors were identified in relation to this, most notably: students' modest English ability, inadequate quality control of Australia's rapidly emerging private vocational training sector (providing migration-aligned courses), compromised academic entry and progression standards, and the extraordinary level of

cultural and linguistic enclosure of international students enrolled in such programs. (By definition early employment outcomes also reflected former students' youth, and recent qualification status.)

Responding to such concerns since 2006, successive Australian governments have taken steps to refine the economic migration program to enhance former students' employment readiness, while removing perverse study-migration incentives. Collectively, the impact of

TABLE 2: Skilled Migrants' Employment Outcomes 6 Months Post-Migration, LSIA 3 Wave 1 by Birthplace and Visa Category (2006)

BIRTHPLACE	INDEPENDENT VISA CATEGORY	EMPLOYED	UNEMPLOYED	NILF*	TOTAL NUMBER	STATISTICS (A)
ESB	Onshore	86.7	7.2	6.0	83	14.86**
	Offshore	92.9	1.8	5.3	169	
	Other (c)	83.4	4.4	12.2	1731	
Commonwealth-Asia (exc. India)	Onshore	84.5	8.2	7.3	452	93.54***
	Offshore	77.6	14.1	8.2	85	
	Other	56.8	20.8	22.5	525	
China (d)	Onshore	74.8	10.9	14.3	357	81.71***
	Offshore	54.7	27.4	17.9	95	
	Other	47.6	20.7	31.7	801	
India	Onshore	92.2	7.3	0.6	179	70.3***
	Offshore	91.1	5.9	3.0	101	
	Other	64.4	20.1	15.4	402	
Other Asia (e)	Onshore	87.6	6.9	5.6	540	247.8***
	Offshore	80.0	12.2	7.8	90	
	Other	51.4	18.4	30.1	1829	
Europe (f)	Onshore	91.2	5.3	3.5	57	26.9***
	Offshore	91.7	5.6	2.8	36	
	Other	65.3	13.2	21.5	939	
North Africa/ Middle East	Onshore	89.5	10.5		19	22.4*** (g)
	Offshore	71.4		28.6	7	
	Other	40.0	25.5	34.5	592	
Other	Onshore	89.8	3.4	6.8	86	38.39***
	Offshore	90.0	6.7	3.3	60	
	Other	63.7	15.5	20.9	575	
Total	Onshore	84.9	7.9	7.2	1776	449.91***
	Offshore	82.6	10.0	7.5	643	
	Other	61.4	15.3	23.3	7395	

Source: Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Australia 3 Wave 1, Department of Immigration and Citizenship data (provided to the author 2008)

(a) Chi-square unless otherwise stated df=6, * <0.05 ** <0.01 *** <0.001;

(b) ESB = Australia/ New Zealand/ Eire/ UK/ Canada/ USA/ South Africa

(c) Other = Other skill migration categories, including employer sponsored, state/ territory sponsored and business categories (with lower qualifications required)

(d) Excludes Hong Kong/ Macau

(e) Indonesia/ Philippines/ Japan/ South Korea/ South-Central Asia

(f) Excludes Eire/ UK

(g) Fisher's exact test * <0.05 ** <0.01 *** <0.001

*Not in labour force

these measures is now profound. From September 2007, exemptions from English testing were no longer automatically allowed, given the impossibility of policing education provider standards⁷. International English Language Testing (IELTS) 6 became the threshold economic category 'competence' score across all 4 skills (increased from IELTS 5). Significant bonus points were introduced for 'proficient' English (25 points for candidates rated at IELTS 7 or above), with English rather than a Migration Occupation in Demand (MODL) becoming the key determinant of points-based selection. Higher points were awarded to graduates with advanced qualifications: most notably those possessing doctoral degrees (25 points) or 3 year qualifications (15 points). Liberalised access to post-course visas was introduced, allowing students an additional 18 months to upgrade their skills for economic selection ('gain skilled work experience; improve their English language skills; or undertake a Professional Year' related to field of study⁸).

Following 11 years of conservative rule, the Rudd Labor government was elected in November 2007. Refinement of the study-migration pathway became an early priority. International student enrolments in Australia's vocational education and training sector had grown 51% that year, while tertiary sector growth had slowed to 8%. (See Table 3.) The problem of institutional quality control was intensifying – an unanticipated consequence of Australia allocating up to 20 bonus points to skilled applicants with qualifications on the MODL, in the context of sustained economic boom. Diploma and certificate level trades had been added to this list in unprecedented numbers: 47 by 2007, compared to just 3 in 2002. Private training colleges had responded rapidly to this opportunity, including registered training organizations described in the course of the skilled migration review as 'wily entrepreneurial players who exist solely to funnel international students into skilled migration'. Indian students had proven the most immediately responsive – 36,045 enrolled in vocational courses by June 2008, compared to just 1,827 six years earlier⁹. Lack of quality assurance could risk such students being 'treated as commodities in a marketplace that charges top dollar for low-grade education and training', in what appeared to some critics as a 'government-sanctioned racket'.¹⁰

From 2008 the Rudd government took sustained steps to address these issues, its aim being to restore integrity to the study-migration pathway. A review was commissioned of the work outcomes achieved by former international students across eight professions and trades, including assessment of the attributes employers sought. Released late 2009, this study affirmed English to be the critical determinant of early employment, supported by a high degree of acculturation – native English speakers or PAs

speaking English very well being 4 times more likely to be employed at 18 months than those with poor English¹¹.

A review of quality assurance in Australia's export education industry was undertaken, in a context where the industry was defined as 'at a crossroad', with global damage perceived to have been done to both 'reputation and brand'. The report's recommendations (released February 2010) affirmed the need for enhanced quality, accountability, and governance across all education sectors. Perverse study-migration incentives were to be removed, including 'cheap courses delivered to allow students to work more', supported by 'vertical integration of agents, providers, employers and landlords exploiting international students'¹².

TABLE 3: New International Student Commencements by Australian Education Sector (August 2006 and 2007)

EDUCATION SECTOR	AUGUST 2006	AUGUST 2007	CHANGE %
Higher education	64,230	69,238	7.8%
Vocation and Technical Education (VET)	38,023	57,328	50.8%
ELICOS	38,190	53,446	39.9%
Schools	9,790	12,241	25.0%
Non-award and other	20,608	21,224	3.0%
Total	170,841	213,477	25.0%

Source: 'Monthly Summary of International Student Enrolment Data—Australia', Australian Education International, Department of Education Science and Training, September 2007 (Media Release)

Substantial change to Australia's economic migration policy direction was foreshadowed as early as December 2008. First, a two-stage review of the Migration Occupations in Demand List was undertaken (2009), commenced with the release of two issues papers. The first proposed the MODL should 'target skills of high economic value' designed to 'complement domestic skills supply'. The second placed as its centerpiece 'a proposal to develop a Future Skills List (which) would advantage applicants with high value skills in areas of future need for the Australian economy', through the acquisition of additional points under the economic category points test or by according processing priority. This latter measure heralded a seismic policy shift¹³.

By May 2009, just three trade occupations featured on Australia's interim Critical Skills List – one now dominated by university-qualified health, engineering and IT professions. The study-migration pipeline was utterly transformed, at a time when tens of thousands of international students were enrolled in low grade vocational courses they had assumed (frequently on the basis of private agent advice) to guarantee

permanent resident status. (For example 66% of recent Indian students had migrated, compared to 38% of those from China.) From January 2010, skilled onshore applicants were required to sit a 'jobs ready' test to check that they had the skills being claimed¹⁴. The economic program was downsized from a 2009-2010 target of 133,500 to 108,100, in response to the global financial crisis¹⁵. International student distress became pronounced, intensified by a spate of physical attacks, and the sudden collapse of a range of low-grade financially marginal private colleges.

In May 2010, a new Skilled Occupation List (SOL) was announced. Virtually all health professions were featured, along with the engineering, IT and accounting fields (despite the problem of accountancy over-supply in recent years). Multiple trades were reinstated to the list – the majority, it is important to note, favouring offshore migrants qualified through classic apprenticeship training. Rank order for processing became the new economic category paradigm, a process bypassing points-based assessment. Employer and State/Territory nomination offered the best and fastest options (ranked 1 to 3 in priority)¹⁶. Places for Independent migrants shrank – processed fourth if they had an occupation on the Skilled Occupation List. Un-sponsored applicants, or those not qualified in priority fields, were advised they could expect processing delays of 3 or more years, many now having no future prospect of selection.

A points test review was initiated in 2010, following the MODL review, the goal being to assess selection factors likely to deliver high level outcomes. According to the discussion paper, future points-based selection '... should contribute to the selection of applicants who offer the most human capital and will therefore make the optimal contribution to Australia's demographic and economic outcomes¹⁷'. The government was confident in meeting these objectives early in 2010. Economic category applications had far exceeded available places for years, by then standing at 'record high levels'. Demand had grown, 'despite increasingly tighter targeting of the program and changes to policy settings such as higher English language requirements and more stringent requirements for study in Australia¹⁸'. While trade migration would be maintained, the aim of points-based selection was to secure 'well qualified and experienced' tradespeople qualified overseas 'with good English'. The paper signalled the potential consequences of this for students:

The current weighting of the Points Test factors leads to perverse outcomes such as the situation where a Harvard qualified environmental scientist with three years relevant work experience would fail the Points Test, while an overseas student who completes a 92 week course in a

60 point occupation would, with one year's experience, pass¹⁹.

Australia's study-migration pathway was thus being transformed, at a time when few international students had factored policy shifts into planning. Moreover, Rudd's replacement as Prime Minister in June 2010 was followed by an election campaign in which the interim Prime Minister (Julia Gillard) and the Leader of the Opposition (Tony Abbott) signalled their interest in a 'smaller' rather than a rapidly growing Australia. Fraud scrutiny of students was tightened at this time (as in the UK). New financial compliance requirements were introduced for select countries, including for the major Australian student sources - India and China²⁰. Combined, such measures exacerbated student distress at a time when the affordability of Australian courses was jeopardised by the growing strength of the dollar. (In October 2010, it reached parity with US currency when the US and the UK were intensifying their competition for Asian markets.)

In August 2010, offshore visas for international students were reported to have fallen by a third, while demand for vocational sector courses had plummeted (-59%). New Indian student enrolments were in rapid decline (-77%)²¹. According to one prominent academic, 'International student numbers could halve over the next four years unless the incoming government changes the immigration settings', in a context where the toughening of student visa processing was viewed as 'the greatest single operating cause... Applications face longer delays, and the conditions under which you get a visa are harder to meet'²². The latest available Australian Bureau of Statistics data confirm the significance of these policy impacts. According to a 30 September 2010 analysis, following years of exceptionally high growth:

Australia's population growth is in free fall, with net immigration slumping 37 per cent year on year in the March quarter to its lowest level in years ... Most of that fall was in the last six months, after the Rudd government closed the back door allowing foreign students in low-level courses to stay on as permanent migrants²³.

Despite these trends, it is clear international students were responding immediately to Australia's new skilled migration requirements (as had been the case from 1999). Application trends for the year to July 2010 showed 10% growth in demand for university courses, compared to just 1% for vocational sector fields - a sharp reversal of patterns a few years earlier²⁴.

In November 2010, Australia released the outcomes of its skilled migration points test review²⁵. Major policy changes will be implemented from July 2011. In the future 65 points (rather than 120) will be required. Key measures are as follows:

- *Occupation*: In marked contrast to recent practice, no points will be allocated to applicants with an occupation in demand (a qualification on the Skilled Occupation List introduced in July 2010 representing a hurdle rather than a points-rewarded requirement).
- *English*: No points will be allocated for either meeting the threshold English language requirement of IELTS 6 or equivalent. By contrast, 20 points will be allocated to applicants with IELTS 8 (near native speaker level) and 10 points to PAs with IELTS 7 – English becoming the key determinant of selection.
- *Place and level of qualification*: Minimal advantage will flow from possession of Australian qualifications (just 5 bonus points). Instead, level of qualification will be rewarded - 20 points for a PhD, 15 for a Bachelor or Masters degree, and 10 for a vocational qualification (regardless of study location).
- *Age*: Eligibility for economic migration will be extended to PAs up to 49 years, with the greatest points allocated to young experienced workers (25-32 years) rather than new graduates (as had previously been the case) or older applicants.
- *Experience*: Bonus points will be provided for both Australian and overseas experience, with only a slight premium for recent Australian employment.

These points test changes have profound significance for international students as well as for offshore applicants. They seem certain to disadvantage current and recent international students in economic selection – in particular those who tailored course choice to the redundant Migration Occupations in Demand List (completing low-grade qualifications through the private vocational sector). Australia's General Skilled Migration program will, in future, markedly favour the selection of older native English speakers, qualified with Bachelor or higher degrees. The government's aims in such changes are clear – to 'deliver the best and brightest skilled migrants by emphasising high level qualifications, better English language levels and extensive skilled work experience'²⁶. Demand for the Canadian Experience Class is likely to grow, in a context where international students have become highly discerning education and migration consumers – researching global options to maximize their study-migration choices.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This paper draws on the following publications, in addition to a wide range of Australian Department of Immigration and Citizenship policy documents: Hawthorne, L (2010), 'How Valuable is "Two-Step Migration"? Labour Market Outcomes for International Student Migrants to Australia', Special Edition, *Asia-Pacific Migration Journal*, Vol 19 No 1: 5-36; Hawthorne, L (2010), 'Demography, Migration and Demand for International Students', Chapter Five in *Globalization and Tertiary Education in the Asia-Pacific – The Changing Nature of a Dynamic Market*, ed C Findlay and W Tierney, World Scientific Press, Singapore, pp 91-120; and Hawthorne, L (forthcoming 2011), *Competitors and Collaborators – Skilled Migration to New Zealand and Australia: Policy Trends and Outcomes 2004-2010*, Department of Labour, Wellington.

FOOTNOTES

- ¹ In the context of Australia's economic and mining boom, these points were later extended to include diploma and certificate level qualifications, including a wide range of trades.
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- ⁴ Healy, G (2010), 'Racist Proposal Slammed', *The Australian Higher Education Supplement*, 21 July 2010, p 24.
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- ⁷ See eg Birrell, B (2006), 'Implications of Low English Standards Among Overseas Students at Australian Universities', *People and Place*, Vol 14 n° 4; Watty, K (2007), 'Quality in Accounting Education and Low English Language Standards Among Overseas Students: Is There A Link?', *People & Place*, Vol 15 n° 1; Hawthorne, L (2007), *Language, Employment and Further Study*, Commissioned Discussion Paper for Australian Education International, Department of Education, Science and Training, www.aei.dest.gov.au, Commonwealth of Australia; Arkoudis, S, Hawthorne, L, Baik, C, Hawthorne, G, O'Loughlin, K, Bexley, E & Leach, D (2009),

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- ⁸ Department of Immigration and Citizenship (2007), 'Changes to General Skilled Migration (GSM) – Frequently asked Questions', DIAC website, Australian Government, Canberra.
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- ¹⁰ Das, S, (2009), 'Millions Trump Truth About Dodgy Schools', *The Age*, 29 July 2009, p. 15.
- ¹¹ Arkoudis, S, Hawthorne, L, Baik, C, Hawthorne, G, O'Loughlin, K, Bexley, E & Leach, D (2009), *The Impact of English Language Proficiency and Workplace Readiness on the Employment Outcomes of Tertiary International Students*, Department of Employment, Education and Workplace Relations, Canberra, http://aei.gov.au/AEI/PublicationsAndResearch/Publications/ELP_Full_Report_pdf.pdf.
- ¹² Baird Review (2010), *Review of the Education Services for Overseas Students (ESOS) Act 2000: Stronger, Simpler, Smarter ESOS: Supporting International Students*, Department of Education Employment and Workplace Relations, Canberra, pp 1-2, 7-9.
- ¹³ Department of Immigration and Citizenship (2009), *Future Skills: Targeting High Value Skills Through the General Skilled Migration Program – Review of the Migration Occupations in Demand List*, Issues Paper N° 2, September, Department of Education, Employment and Workplace Relations and Department of Immigration and Citizenship, Canberra, p. 4.
- ¹⁴ Department of Immigration and Citizenship (2010), 'Review of the General Skilled Migration Points Test – Discussion Paper', 15 February, Canberra.
- ¹⁵ Evans, C (2009), *Government Announces Changes to 457 Visa Program*, Media Release - Department of Immigration and Citizenship Website, Australian Government, Canberra; Khoo, S-E, McDonald, P, Voigt-Graf, C. & Hugo, G (2007), 'A Global Labour Market: Factors Motivating the Sponsorship and Temporary Migration of Skilled Workers to Australia', *International Migration Review*, Vol 41(2):480-510.
- ¹⁶ According to the Department of Immigration and Citizenship (February 2010), first priority in processing would be given to employer sponsored GSM applicants (including under the Regional Sponsored Migration Scheme). Second priority would be given to applicants 'nominated by a state/territory government agency under a state migration plan agreed to by the minister', while third priority would be for 'applications from people who are nominated by a state/territory government agency and whose nominated occupation is on the Critical Skills List' – since July 2010 the Skilled Occupations List. See Department of Immigration and Citizenship (2010), 'Changes to Priority Processing', 8 February, <http://www.immi.gov.au/skilled/general-skilled-migration/pdf/faq-gsmchanges.pdf>.
- ¹⁷ Department of Immigration and Citizenship (2010), 'Review of the General Skilled Migration Points Test – Discussion Paper', 15 February, Canberra, p. 3.
- ¹⁸ Department of Immigration and Citizenship (2010), 'Review of the General Skilled Migration Points Test – Discussion Paper', 15 February, Canberra, p. 6-7.
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OVERSEAS STUDENTS AT REGIONAL UNIVERSITIES AND MIGRATION TO REGIONAL AUSTRALIA

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ABSTRACT

Studies at a regional university may help overseas students to obtain a permanent skilled visa. If they subsequently settle and find employment in regions, this may support the goals of the Australian regional migration policy. This policy directs skilled and business migrants to regional areas to support their demographic and economic growth. This article examines overseas student enrolments at selected regional universities and uses immigration statistics to discuss former overseas students' support for the goals of this policy. Strategies to continue attracting overseas students to regional institutions in a climate of a recent overall downturn in overseas enrolments are suggested.

SETTING THE SCENE

Regional universities play an important role in the economic development and social and cultural life of their respective regions. The presence of overseas students may not only bolster the university but also the region in which it is located.

Since the late 1990s, through staged policy modifications and official statements, the Federal Government has been encouraging overseas graduates from Australian tertiary institutions to become permanent skilled migrants (Koleth, 2010). Additional points on the general skilled migration points test have been introduced for this purpose. Since 1996–97, Australia has also been pursuing a regional migration policy for skilled and business migrants (formally the State-Specific and Regional Migration (SSRM) initiatives). This policy, and the extension of an invitation for overseas students to become permanent skilled migrants, became aligned in 2003–04, when students who have studied and lived in regional or low population growth metropolitan areas (in this article they are jointly referred to as 'regional areas') became eligible for bonus points on the general skilled migration points test (DIMIA 2004, 37,41). Former students could use these points to apply for any points-tested skilled visa, including, but not restricted to regional visas.

Regional migration policy has sought to disperse skilled and business migrants away from the largest cities

and into regional areas, in the hope that their settlement would support demographic and economic growth there (DIMIA 2004, 37,38). Encouraging overseas students to choose regional universities and then remain in the regions to put their skills to use has been an auxiliary government strategy. Regional visas offer certain concessional selection criteria in comparison to independent visas, but they carry a fixed-term residency and employment requirement (usually two years) to encourage a longer-term retention.

This article focuses on South Australia, Tasmania and the Northern Territory (NT). These three jurisdictions have been considered entirely regional (including their capital cities) for the purposes of the Australian regional migration policy. Hence, they can readily serve as examples of regional areas and their public universities as examples of regional universities. These are: University of Adelaide, University of South Australia and Flinders University in South Australia, University of Tasmania in Tasmania and Charles Darwin University in the NT. This article looks particularly at the higher education and vocational education and training (VET) sectors because they have recently dominated the student visa grants.² Initially, recent trends in education and skilled migration of former overseas students in Australia are reviewed. Then, overseas students in the three jurisdictions under review here are characterised. Statistical evidence allows for a discussion on the economic and demographic contribution to regions

by former overseas students who formally held selected regional skilled visas.³ The article concludes by identifying potential obstacles to attracting overseas students to regional universities in the future and suggests strategies that may assist in overcoming them.

THE RISE AND FALL OF OVERSEAS STUDENT MIGRATION

In Australia, since 2001–02, former overseas students could submit their permanent skilled visa applications onshore and obtain a waiver of skilled work experience, which was a requirement for any offshore skilled visa applicant. These criteria, in combination with a suite of bonus points, triggered an increase in visa grants to overseas students, which have grown from 119,103 (1999–2000) to 320,368 (2008–09) (DIMIA 2002,18,44,46; DIAC 2010a,60).⁴ The majority of overseas students in Australia originate from Asia. International education has become a major industry estimated to have contributed \$13.7bn to Australia's exports in 2007–08 and \$15.8bn in 2008–09 (DFAT, 2008,23; DIAC 2010c,60). But these figures have recently become a source of debate (see account for example in Trounson, 2010).

Permanent skilled visa grants to former students and their dependants have come to drive the growth in the number of permanent skilled independent visas offered. By 2006–07, there were 22,858 such visa grants, which represented 42.2% of all skilled independent visa grants (DIAC 2008,25,41). The majority of these migrants had accounting and information technology (IT) qualifications (Birrell et al., 2007).

In response to concerns around English language skills and employability of these skilled migrants (Birrell and Rapson, 2005; Birrell 2006), commencing in September 2007, a series of enhancements have been made to these and other skilled migration criteria. Minimum English language skills have been increased and a work experience criterion introduced for former overseas students, likely contributing to a decline in the number of permanent skilled visa grants made to them to 21,421 in 2007–08 (DIAC 2009b,32,57). Reforms continued in 2009 and 2010 to disconnect education in Australia from a nearly guaranteed permanent skilled visa outcome, which until recently could be easily obtained by completing VET qualifications as they attracted bonus points (Birrell et al., 2009; 2007; Koleth 2010). Bonus points for studies and residence in regional areas have been retained. Reforms in 2009 and 2010 were part of the Government's response to the global economic downturn. Employer-linked and State/Territory-Government nominated visas have become the priority categories and the annual intakes of independent skilled migrants were reduced twice (Koleth 2010; DIAC

2009a). Though aimed at former students, all these reforms have affected the ability of all potential applicants to apply for skilled visas.

Once the incentive of permanent residency was removed, student visa grants decreased from 320,368 (2008–09) to 269,828 (2009–10). Other contributing factors have included enhanced integrity measures in the student visa program, increased minimum funds for living expenses in Australia, strong Australian currency, concerns around student safety (triggered by attacks on Indian students in large cities) and increased international competition for students (DIAC 2010a,60; Koleth 2010,12,13,15). Questionable practices of some private colleges have also played a role. These developments have led to instituting a review of international education in Australia (the Baird Review 2010), release of international students strategy in October 2010 (COAG 2010) and tightening of the regulatory environment for education providers.

CHARACTERISTICS OF OVERSEAS STUDENTS AT REGIONAL UNIVERSITIES

On an Australia scale, universities located in South Australia, Tasmania and the NT have increased their joint annual share of overseas student enrolments in higher education from 5.5% or 6,404 students (2002) to 8.2% or 16,666 students (2009). Contrastingly, the proportionate shares held by each remaining State/Territory were either lower in 2009 than they were in 2002 or they remained stagnant. In these three jurisdictions, the growth has been driven by South Australia, where annual enrolments have more than doubled between 2002 (5,018) and 2009 (13,511). The overseas student enrolments in the VET sector in these three jurisdictions have jointly grown slower from 3.2% or 1,718 enrolments (2002) to 4.1%, or 9,555 enrolments (2009). Their growth has also been driven by South Australia, where annual enrolments have grown more than six-fold from 1,381 (2002) to 8,919 (2009) (DEEWR 2007; 2009b).

The growth in South Australia has been driven by work undertaken by StudyAdelaide – a State Government initiative to promote and coordinate international education in the state (von Wald 2010). Adelaide is also a much larger city than the capital cities of Tasmania and the NT (1.2m in 2009, ABS 2010), which may add to its appeal as a place to study.

In 2009, the top three nationalities of students enrolled in higher education and VET courses (considered jointly) in South Australia, Tasmania and the NT were similar to other jurisdictions in Australia and all were from Asia (DEEWR 2009a). Broad fields of study of the overseas students in these three jurisdictions were also similar to broad fields of study of overseas students in all other jurisdictions. For example, without exception, in 2002

and 2008, management and commerce was the top broad field of study in all Australian States/Territories. In 2002, IT was among the top three fields of study across Australia but in 2008 it moved down the list in all States/Territories except Tasmania, where it ranked third. Immigration-linked growth in VET courses, particularly Food, Hospitality and Personal Services was evident in 2008 in Victoria, New South Wales and Queensland, where it ranked second. In the three jurisdictions discussed, it became the second top choice in the NT (the absolute number of students was merely a fraction of numbers in larger jurisdictions). In South Australia and Tasmania it did not make it to the top three broad fields of study (AEI 2009).

BENEFITS FROM REGIONAL LOCATION OF OVERSEAS STUDENTS DURING AND AFTER STUDIES

Overseas students may benefit regional universities and regions in which they are located in several ways. First, some of them may be working on topics relevant to the economic or social development of the region. Second, universities collect overseas student fees. Snapshot data from 2007 suggests that until the global economic downturn, universities located in the three jurisdictions under review in this article have been deriving moderate to average proportions of their total revenues from these fees: they ranged from 3% (Charles Darwin University) to 17% (University of South Australia). These were well below universities heavily dependent on overseas student fee revenues: Central Queensland University (44%) and University of Ballarat (31%). The average proportion for all Australian universities was 15% (Bradley et al., 2008,92).

A third benefit is that overseas students create demand for jobs both at their universities and beyond. For example, in 2007–08, they were estimated to have created a demand for employing 196 full-time workers in the NT; 1,086 in Tasmania and 6,594 in South Australia (Access Economics 2009,8).⁵ They also spend money locally on goods and services, while visitors from home produce spin-off effects for the local economies. Finally, regional universities may be helping to alleviate skill shortages in the region if their overseas-born graduates decide to remain there.

MIGRATION OF OVERSEAS STUDENTS TO REGIONS

To illustrate migration of former overseas students to regions, we use aggregate statistics of three types of regional visas, which they have obtained to live and work in South Australia, Tasmania and the NT. Specifically, we use two categories of State/Territory Government-nominated skilled visas (none mandates a job offer) and a Regional Sponsored Migration Scheme (RSMS) visa, which requires a job offer. In September 2007, the State/Territory Government-nominated skilled visas and

regional family-linked visas (not discussed in this article) were collapsed into a new temporary Skilled-Regional Sponsored visa. This visa is points-tested and retains State/Territory Government and family nomination options. The statistics from the post-September 2007 period used below reflects only visas nominated by the Governments of South Australia, Tasmania and the NT.

Relatively few former overseas students might have chosen to settle in regions. For example, in 2006–07, the aggregate number of State/Territory-Government nominated and RSMS visa grants to former students and their dependants in South Australia, Tasmania and the NT here was 350 (DIAC unpublished data). By contrast, in the same year, in the whole of Australia, 22,858 permanent independent skilled visas were granted to former overseas students and their dependants (DIAC 2008,41). The 350 regional visa grants would correspond to 1.5% of the permanent skilled independent visas.

The aggregate annual number of these regional visa grants to former overseas students and their dependants in South Australia, Tasmania and the NT has ranged from 141 (2004–05) to 792 (2009–10) and has been driven by the South Australian applicants (DIAC unpublished data). But only the principal RSMS visa holders could be expected to immediately move into skilled jobs. In these three jurisdictions jointly there were 30 such individuals in 2004–05 and 179 in 2009–10. Such numbers would translate into negligible contribution to the size of their respective workforces, but without a doubt, individual employers would benefit by having found a suitably skilled employee.

The contribution of these former students and their families to population growth would also be minimal. For example, in 2006–07, the absolute population growth in South Australia was 17,906 (ABS 2010,12) and this state welcomed 312 former overseas students and their families under State/Territory nominated and RSMS visa categories (DIAC unpublished data). This translates to 1.7% contribution to South Australia's population growth this year. In the two remaining jurisdictions, these migrants would contribute less than 1% to their respective population growth figures in 2006–07.

CHALLENGES AHEAD

The recently tightened skilled migration criteria have been largely aimed at disconnecting VET education from migration (Universities Australia 2010) but concerns have been raised that universities might have been caught in 'collateral damage' and some genuine overseas students discouraged from applying to Australian universities (Lane and Akerman 2010; Trounson and Healy 2010). In the context of the recent decrease in numbers of overseas

students and the external and domestic causes holding true, regional universities could find it more difficult to attract them in the near future.

Even if overseas student numbers increase, their economic contribution may be lower. For example, at the University of Tasmania the number of overseas students has grown from 2,894 (2008) to 2,941 (2009), but they have generated less income for the university in 2009 than in 2008 (UTAS 2009; 2010).⁶ Revenues from overseas student fees are believed to be used by many universities to cross-subsidise services to domestic students and support research infrastructure (Bradley et al. 2008). A prolonged stagnation in the overseas student enrolments might come to affect the budgets of universities and the viability of some regional universities to continue contributing to the economic and social development of their regions.

A new skilled migration test expected to commence in July 2011 could assist in channelling more overseas students into regional universities. It assigns most points for doctoral rather than VET qualifications and for superior English language proficiency (DIAC 2010b). The proposed distribution of points may encourage overseas students with lower command of the English language to consider education at regional universities. Completing studies at a regional university continues to attract bonus points and in combination with other points, for example for State/Territory Government nomination, points for partner skills, and for fluency in a community language, a student could obtain the same amount of points they would be eligible for if they had superior English language skills. Alternatively, students may seek permanent residency under RSMS, which has been points-free. If this test directs more overseas students to regional areas, their universities and some regional employers could benefit. But to avoid delivering regional skilled migrants with lower English language skills, some regional universities may need to dedicate more resources to academic literacy support services. They could assist such students in fully benefiting from their education and in turn better prepare them for the labour market.

CONCLUSIONS

Australian immigration and education policies have recently been in a state of flux and time needs to pass before the effects of changes to these policies can be rigorously evaluated. This article has illustrated that regional public universities, exemplified by institutions in South Australia, Tasmania and the NT (2002–09), can successfully attract a share of overseas students in the higher education sector away from universities located elsewhere in the country. But these regional universities have only minimally contributed to the growth in their enrolments in the VET sector. Such a track record suggests that the greatest opportunities for

these regional universities to attract overseas students lie in the higher education courses on offer. The recent decline in overall enrolments, dominated thus far by Asian students, points to diversification of the countries of origin and fields of study as potential strategies to mitigate the likely soft demand in the near future and its impact on university revenue.

Universities in South Australia, Tasmania and the NT have each some unique areas of research expertise and their locations represent some convenient gateways for field research. Smaller centres with fewer big players may also offer opportunities for direct or more frequent interactions with industries – the end users of such research. Promoting these areas of expertise in combination with opportunities for research and interactions with the industry could form part of the diversification measures to attract motivated postgraduate overseas research students. If the new points test increases the numbers of overseas students at these and other regional universities, better resourcing of infrastructure for academic literacy support services will need to be considered.

Thus far, few overseas students and their dependants seem to have settled in South Australia, Tasmania and the NT on regional visas. This has translated into a negligible contribution to the workforce size and population growth in these jurisdictions. A holistic approach to dispersal and retention, with the inclusion of the key groups such as other skilled and business migrants, would enable a more accurate evaluation of the outcomes of the regional migration policy. If periodical statistics of retention and mobility of skilled and business migrants dispersed to regions were available (broken down by visa categories and showing immediate past visas such as student visas), this could indicate whether any cumulative demographic benefits have been reaped and how different groups of migrants have behaved. Merging certain immigration and Census data files has been already trialled in Australia (Golebiowska et al., forthcoming). If these datasets were further enriched with selected occupational information, they could elucidate also the nature and dynamics over time of the economic contribution of various visa holder groups in regions, including former overseas students.

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FOOTNOTES

- ¹ Low population growth metropolitan areas – those that in the last intercensal period posted population growth less than 50% of national average population growth. Regions – Statistical Divisions with fewer than 0.2m inhabitants. DIMIA 2004,41. For a list of areas eligible for settlement of regional migrants see for example Hugo 2008, 556.
- ² VET courses are chiefly delivered by Technical and Further Education (TAFE) institutions and private colleges but some universities, for example Charles Darwin University, are dual providers offering higher education and VET courses.
- ³ Anecdotally, former overseas students rarely seek business visas, hence this article focuses on skilled visas.
- ⁴ These figures reflect contribution made jointly by all education sectors not only higher education and VET.
- ⁵ These outcomes reflect the demand created by all overseas students, rather than overseas students at universities only.
- ⁶ These figures represent all overseas students and include for example those, undertaking intensive English language program in preparation for entry into degree courses.

Canadian Issues Immigrant Mental Health

The Metropolis Project, in collaboration with the Association for Canadian Studies, has recently published our most recent volume of Canadian Issues /Thèmes canadiens focusing on refugee and immigrant mental health.

This collection of articles brings together perspectives from academe and community based research that focus on improving the mental health capacities and competencies of the Canadian health systems, settlement provision organizations and government policy related to the settlement and integration of immigrant and refugees in Canada.

The articles address a wide range of policy and community health issues including conceptual, methodological and measurement issues as well as key data and research gaps. By addressing the complexities of defining and operationalizing key concepts in mental health and service delivery such as access to care, cultural diversity, and cultural competence the research put forth in this collection of articles engages the reader in an important and required discussion of how best to serve and treat the mental health of immigrants and refugees in Canada.

Many of the articles focus specifically on subpopulations of immigrant groups, such as those identified by gender, age/life stage (children and youth for example), immigration category, country of origin, ethnic minority groups, and survivors of war, torture and organized violence. Examinations of these populations provide a better understanding of the mental health needs of these groups while also explaining their capacities for improving their mental health and well being. The reader is reminded of the need to acknowledge the resilience and strength of our immigrant and refugee communities and their own goals of social well being and the betterment of their health and livelihoods.

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EDUCATING THE WORLD: THE SINGAPORE MODEL

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ABSTRACT

Global competition for international students is heating up, with countries around the world eager to capture a slice of the lucrative education market estimated at US\$2.2 trillion. Singapore, in particular, has leveraged on its cosmopolitan image and reputation as a quality education destination to draw international students from around the region. This paper provides a brief overview of Singapore's foray into the world education market. It discusses some of the city-state's unique qualities that have made it one of the choice destinations for education among international students and their parents. Findings from a recent survey of international students are also discussed.

INTRODUCTION

Singapore's education sector is abuzz with activity. Thousands of international students flock to Singapore each year, attracted by the city-state's reputation for quality education, cosmopolitan living, and potential employment with the 7,000 multinational corporations that have set up offices across the island. According to the Singapore Economic Board, these students originate mostly from countries such as China, India, Indonesia, Malaysia, South Korea, and Vietnam.

Although official figures are not readily available, the international student population in Singapore has seen a substantial increase over the past 10 years, from 50,000 in 2002 to 97,000 in 2008 (please see Table 1).

TABLE 1

YEAR	INTERNATIONAL STUDENT NUMBERS
2002	50,000
2006	80,000
2007	86,000
2008	97,000
2015 (target)	150,000

Source: Singapore Economic Development Board; Ministry of Trade & Industry; various media reports

When announcing the Global Schoolhouse initiative a decade ago, the Singapore government stated its intention to attract 150,000 international students by 2015. And,

going by the above trend, it seems the city-state is right on track to achieving that goal.

The Global Schoolhouse initiative was introduced in 2002, while the island was grappling with an economic recession. The initiative outlined several targets for the education industry. In addition to tripling the foreign student population, the Singapore government aimed to woo world-class universities to set up campuses across the island, raise the education sector's contribution to the city's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) from 1.9% to 5%, create 22,000 jobs in the education sector, and ultimately position Singapore as a "premier education hub" (Ministry of Trade and Industry, Singapore; see https://app.mti.gov.sg/data/pages/507/doc/DSE_recommend.pdf). A year later in 2003, the Singapore government announced the launch of Singapore Education, a multi-government agency initiative led by the Singapore Economic Development Board, and supported by the Singapore Tourism Board, International Enterprise (IE) Singapore, SPRING Singapore, and the Ministry of Education. The Singapore Tourism Board, in particular, was tasked to market the Singapore brand of education internationally and draw international students to the city-state through education fairs.

The Global Schoolhouse and Singapore Education initiatives may be viewed as calculated, strategic moves on the part of the Singapore government to carve out a slice of the lucrative world education market pie. With the world education market estimated at US\$2.2 trillion (Ministry of Trade and Industry, Singapore), and 3 million students purportedly enrolled outside the country of their citizenship

(OECD 2009), it is no wonder that Singapore and other Asian countries such as Malaysia, South Korea, and Taiwan would view the global education market as the next frontier.

SINGAPORE'S REPORT CARD SO FAR

Even though competition has been heating up within the Asia-Pacific region as countries scramble to grab a piece of the diminishing pie, Singapore seems to have established a strong foothold.

Three cases in point: firstly, in 2007, there were 86,000 foreign students from 120 nationalities studying in the city-state (Ministry of Trade and Industry, Singapore). A year later in 2008, newspaper reports claimed that the foreign student population had hit 97,000 (*The New Paper*, May 20, 2009).

By all news accounts, Singapore's foreign student population has been increasing, save for a small dip in 2009 when the slight economic downturn saw multinational corporations recalling their expatriate hires who, in turn, pulled their children out of the international schools in Singapore. That same year, news reports of errant private school operators closing down and leaving foreign students in the lurch without their degrees and school fees also put a dent on Singapore's image as a quality education destination (*The Sunday Times*, March 1, 2009). The Singapore parliament moved quickly to pass the Private Education Act and, with the establishment of the Council of Private Education in 2010 to regulate the private education industry, industry observers and education operators expect the international student enrollment numbers to climb once again.

Anticipating growing enrollments over the next few years, private education providers are already stepping up their investments in new buildings and facilities. In particular, INSEAD has announced plans to expand its campus by adding a new building (*The Business Times*, October 25, 2010), while Management Development Institute of Singapore (MDIS) is investing S\$100 million in a new administrative wing and a 15-storey hostel at its main campus (*The Straits Times*, October 29, 2010). The hostel, which cost MDIS S\$80 million, has the capacity to house 1,600 students. It opens its doors in January 2011.

Secondly, after Singapore announced its intention in 1997 to attract ten world-class universities to set up campuses across the island by 2007, it was said to have surpassed the target two years ahead of time. Today, 16 well-known universities from around the world such as James Cook University (Australia), INSEAD (Europe), University of Chicago's School of Business (U.S.A.), Massachusetts Institute of Technology (U.S.A.), and New York University's Tisch School of the Arts (U.S.A.) have either set up a campus in Singapore, or are offering their degrees through

partnerships with local institutes of higher learning such as public universities National University of Singapore (NUS), Nanyang Technological University (NTU) and Singapore Management University (SMU), or private education providers like Singapore Institute of Management-Global Education (SIM-GE), Management Development Institute of Singapore (MDIS), and PSB Academy. And that number continues to climb, with Yale University currently in talks with NUS to jointly develop a liberal arts college. These foreign universities are typically courted by the Economic Development Board with offers of attractive monetary and in-kind support through packages that included reduced land values, research funding, soft loans, and fast-tracked employment visas (Olds 2009).

Thirdly, the contribution of the education sector to Singapore's GDP has doubled over the span of just five years: from 1.9% (or S\$3 billion) in 2002, to 3.8% (or S\$8 billion) in 2007 (*The Straits Times*, May 12, 2010).

So, what are some of the key factors for Singapore's success?

It all seems to come down to: (1) articulating a clear goal; (2) having a holistic picture of the education industry and how the different segments fit together; (3) putting in place a masterplan that identifies and coordinates the necessary initiatives and activities involving secondary stakeholders¹; (4) creating the necessary pull factors through a concerted effort and partnerships that involve primary stakeholders such as institutes of higher learning (both private and public education providers) and individuals (students and educators), and secondary stakeholders such as government agencies (e.g., Singapore Economic Development Board and Singapore Tourism Board), as well as public government support (through media reports, funding, tax incentives to foreign universities, etc.); and (5) putting in place mechanisms that not only enhance Singapore's image as a destination country for international students, highly skilled professionals, and multinational corporations, but also measures that ensure and assure the maintenance of the requisite standards for quality education².

To understand why this single-minded move to attract international students was spearheaded by government entities and has received strong government support, we need to take into account the historical and social factors that led to Singapore's phenomenal economic growth and development since it became an independent state in 1965.

'UNIQUELY SINGAPORE' CHARACTERISTICS

Singapore is an island nation with little-to-no natural resources. In fact, its leaders have always emphasized that human resource is the country's only widely available resource and one of the main pillars of the economy (Sanderson 2002). In addition, foreign direct investment

and multinational corporations have also been principal driving forces. As a result, the city-state has always practiced a liberal open-door policy with regard to immigration, which also stems from its migrant history. The government also takes a pragmatic view towards immigration, noting that foreign professionals, foreign labour, and foreign direct investments have contributed much towards the island's economic development – and will continue to do so.

To further raise Singapore's attractiveness to foreign direct investors and competitiveness in the global economy, the English language was adopted as one of the four official languages in the 1960s – the other three being Malay, Chinese, and Tamil. English is also the main language of instruction in the local schools and institutions of higher learning. Earlier politicians, notably Minister Mentor Lee Kuan Yew and the late Dr Goh Keng Swee, strongly believed that an English-educated workforce was imperative to creating a conducive and attractive environment not only for multinational corporations to set up their operations on the island, but also for expatriates and highly skilled individuals to move to Singapore for work commitments and, hopefully, stay on and build their families and homes.

Moreover, the leaders also believed that skills upgrading, vocational training, and higher education are essential in ensuring Singapore's competitive edge in the global economy. And as Singapore's experience has shown, the city-state's early leaders' foresight and singular vision have indeed paid dividends.

In recent years, the government has also consciously implemented policies to enhance Singapore's attractiveness to geographically mobile professionals. In particular, Singapore has chalked up a reputation as a global city, and one of the top choices for the young, geographically mobile professionals.

In the Worldwide Quality of Living survey conducted by Mercer last year, Singapore topped the list as the most livable city in Asia (*The Straits Times*, April 29, 2009). Among the main draws? Its world quality infrastructure, high quality housing, and good local and international schools and universities.

The government has also managed to turn its unattractive image as a stickler for rules and regulations around to its advantage. In particular, many parents as well as international students cite the city-state's squeaky-clean image, general safety in public places, and strong emphasis on Asian values as some of the major considerations that tipped the balance in Singapore's favor.

This unique blend and fusion of modern, vibrant city living intertwined with a wholesome image and conservative values is what makes Singapore particularly attractive to students around the region. Singapore is seen as having the best of both worlds: a Western outlook, yet steeped in Asian culture.

Additionally, the city-state's success in ensuring racial and religious harmony among its different ethnicities makes it all the more attractive to foreign immigrants who come from various parts of the world, bringing with them their own religions, cultural practices, and languages. Although intergroup conflict may inevitably occur, the Singapore government takes a hard line against individuals and activities that are deemed to incite racial and religious hatred and conflict. This stems from historical incidents of racial and religious riots that resulted in fatal casualties in the 1950s and 1960s – incidents that the Singapore government is adamant must never occur again. In view of this, the city-state's leaders have time and again reiterated the founding vision of Singapore as a multicultural society.

Local media reports often carry speeches, messages, and interviews with Singapore's leaders that reinforce this message of multiculturalism, and encourage acceptance and incorporation of the different groups of people into the larger Singapore society. With Singapore actively recruiting international professionals, such frequent public exhortation to uphold the vision of social harmony, cohesion, and integration is extremely important. These public messages not only orientate members of the host society towards adopting a pluralistic outlook, but also smooth the way for new immigrants eager to acculturate to the new host country.

As psychologist John W. Berry pointed out, "acculturation is a process of cultural and psychological changes that involve various forms of mutual accommodation, leading to some longer-term psychological and sociocultural adaptations between both groups" (Berry 2005, 699). These dynamic mutual adaptations are set in motion at the very first contact between the two cultural groups – the host society and its members, and the immigrant cultural groups and their individual members – which inevitably lead to changes to institutional and cultural practices, as well as individual behaviors that take place long after the initial contact (Berry 2005).

IMMIGRANTS' PROPENSITY TO ACCULTURATE

The host society's general response and orientation towards immigration and pluralism – that is, whether it encourages or seeks to eliminate diversity – is reflected in its members' attitude and behavior towards newcomers (Murphy 1965). As Murphy (1965) noted, societies that encourage diversity tend to be more open to immigration and immigrants, making the environment more conducive for individuals who wish to settle down there. Such societies are likely to be more multicultural in outlook, rather than eschew an assimilationist approach that requires immigrants to conform to their way of life.

Scholars of intergroup relations also observe that host societies typically adopt one of the following four orientations toward immigration and pluralism:

- (1) multiculturalism;³
- (2) melting pot;⁴
- (3) segregation;⁵ and
- (4) exclusion.⁶

Host members' attitude and behavior toward newcomers inevitably impact the acculturation strategy adopted by immigrant groups and their individual members, and whether these immigrants choose to be reactive or proactive in their relationships with host members.

In his 2005 article, Berry noted that there are generally four types of acculturation strategies adopted by newcomers that stem from two considerations that immigrants make when deciding on the extent to which they should acculturate. The two considerations are: (1) the extent to which the newcomers seek to maintain their heritage culture and identity; and (2) the extent to which the newcomers seek to participate in the host society and prefer contact with host members, compared to their own cultural groups.

The four acculturation strategies generally adopted by newcomers are:

- (1) integration;⁷
- (2) assimilation;⁸
- (3) separation;⁹ and
- (4) marginalization.¹⁰

Each of the four strategies corresponds closely with one of the four types of host society responses outlined above. In particular, Berry and his colleagues found that immigrant groups and their members tend to integrate when they settle down in a host society that upholds multiculturalism. Similarly, immigrants tend to assimilate when they move to a host society that strongly believes in the melting pot ideal. However, in societies where immigrants face discrimination and exclusion, they tend to adopt the acculturation strategies of separation and marginalization respectively.

PRELIMINARY SURVEY FINDINGS: SURVEY OF INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS IN SINGAPORE

In April 2010, I surveyed 178 international students at a private education provider in Singapore, to determine their perception of Singaporeans and Singapore students. The survey instrument also incorporated Berry's 16-question scale.

Initial findings indicate that international students in Singapore generally do not feel discriminated against by Singaporeans and Singaporean students. However, the respondents also agree that Singaporeans:

- (i) expect them to learn and adopt the Singaporean way of life;

- (ii) expect them to learn English and be competent in the use of English as a mode of communication; and
- (iii) are generally not receptive of immigrants.

The above results suggest that international students feel that Singaporeans prefer immigrants to assimilate into Singapore society. This perception may stem from media reports and blogs at the time that highlighted Singaporean parents' and students' displeasure and uneasiness over the presence of foreign students, especially in the public universities. Because Singaporeans largely view university education as an essential foundation to a bright future, local parents worry that their children are being edged out of publicly funded local universities, where tuition fees are relatively affordable, as they are heavily subsidized by the Singapore government¹¹ (Davie, *The Straits Times*, June 1, 2008). And this displeasure may be displayed at the individual level, where local and international students interact.

In his online article, NUS undergraduate Irvin Tan quoted a second year sophomore at the university as saying:

"All these foreigners do not have to take on extra responsibilities while living on campus. All they need to do is study, study and study, while we as local students have to spend time juggling extracurricular activities and school in order to chalk up the vital points for on-campus accommodation. With the amount of time they have, it's not such a surprise that they do well! We need more than 24 hours in a day if we really want to compete with them."
(www.funkygrad.com)

Moreover, Tan also noted that "most students feel that the foreigners tend to 'mingle among themselves' during lessons, at school functions and events. Therefore how well foreign students can assimilate into our society is a big doubt (*sic*)" (www.funkygrad.com).

Factor analysis of Berry's 16-question scale incorporated in the survey showed that the factors associated to the indicators of acculturation strategies of assimilation, integration, separation and marginalization were significant; the Cronbach test also showed the scale to have sufficient reliability (Cronbach's alpha > 0.7).

In addition, the survey found that international students in Singapore generally favor the acculturation strategy of integration. This finding lends support to Berry's assertion that immigrant ethnocultural groups tend to adopt the acculturation strategy of integration – that is, maintaining the immigrant group's heritage culture and identity, while seeking to build relationships with other groups in society – when the larger (host) society (in this

case, Singapore) embraces multiculturalism in intergroup relationships. Given the Singapore government's emphasis on multiculturalism and the city-state's open door policy with regard to immigration, we could posit that the population generally accepts multiculturalism as the way of life in Singapore.

Interestingly, international students somewhat disagree that immigrants such as themselves should assimilate – that is, that they should forgo their own heritage culture and identity while seeking to build relationships with other groups in society. This may be due to the international students' perception that the Singapore society strongly adheres to the principle of multiculturalism in general, due to the frequent public exhortations by the city-state's leaders. Interestingly, these very same students also perceive Singaporeans to prefer immigrants to assimilate into the Singaporean culture.¹² This could possibly stem from local media reports over the past year, where Singaporeans have expressed their unhappiness over the use of Chinese as a language of communication by immigrant service staff. In particular, Singaporeans feel that immigrants should endeavor to learn and use English in their daily communication as it is the common language of communication among the various ethnic groups in Singapore. Such public expressions may have led the international students' to conclude that Singaporeans are generally not receptive of immigrants.

CONCLUSION

Singapore's success in drawing international students to its shores appears to have been a case of "build it and they will come." However, as discussed above, Singapore's seemingly effortless achievement really stems from meticulous planning, and close collaboration and coordination of efforts between the primary and secondary stakeholders. In this aspect, the Singapore government has played a key role in ensuring that necessary conditions for the conducive environment is created through land grants, tax breaks, and matching funds, so that world-class universities would be attracted to setting up campuses in Singapore and contribute to Singapore's image as a quality education destination.

Singapore's reputation for quality education is one of the main pull factors that has drawn international students to the city-state. The other is the presence of 7,000 multinational corporations that form a large pool of potential employers after these students graduate. Singapore's liberal immigration policy, openness to immigrants, and multicultural society also make it relatively easier for international students to acculturate, as it takes away much of the anxiety that these international students may feel about moving to a new community. Additionally,

parents of international students are also drawn by Singapore's good public safety record and reputation as Asia's most livable city.

What makes Singapore's experience unique is, perhaps, the relative success its education sector has enjoyed, despite the looming presence of the government. Contrary to conventional wisdom that a large government presence tends to crowd out participation by private interests, Singapore's experience has showcased the benefits of government presence and support in the education industry. And the city-state has also shown by example that it is possible to find the right blend and balance between private and public interests, and to foster close collaboration between primary and secondary stakeholders. Ultimately, these concerted efforts are vital to Singapore's ability to move decisively towards its goal of becoming a quality education destination for international students.

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FOOTNOTES

¹ Secondary stakeholders would be entities that have an indirect impact on the education industry. These could include, for example, the Ministry of Home Affairs (MHA) and the Immigration and Customs Authority (ICA) that are responsible for immigration policy, screening of immigrants (in this case, international students) and the process for issuing of student visas. Such an endeavor would require the Ministry of Education and the various private and public education institutes to work closely with these two stakeholders.

² Following a spate of complaints and media reports about errant private school operators, the Singapore parliament passed the Private Education Act that requires private education providers to meet several criteria before they can be registered with the Ministry of Education, and receive the EduTrust certification that serves as an endorsement of the quality of education services provided by the institute. This EduTrust certification allows the institute to recruit international students (*The Straits Times*, September 15, 2009). The Act also made provisions for a Council of Private Education to act as a watchdog and regulator of private education operators.

³ A multicultural society respects the newcomers' cultural practices and do not require them to change culturally in order to be accepted by the host members.

⁴ A host society that adheres to the melting pot ideal respects the newcomers' cultural practices and does not require them to change culturally in order to be accepted by the host members.

⁵ A host society that segregates is one where newcomers are not treated on par with host members and are made to live and work in designated areas, which inevitably lead to the formation of ethnic enclaves.

⁶ A host society that adopts an exclusionist approach towards newcomers is generally unwelcoming of immigrants and usually sidelines and ignores them.

⁷ Immigrants who prefer to integrate tend to maintain their group's culture, while also participating in activities in the host society and interacting with host members;

⁸ Immigrants who assimilate would replace their group's heritage culture and identity with the host culture and identity, and participate in host society activities and interacting with members of the host society.

⁹ Immigrants who adopt the acculturation strategy of separation would maintain their heritage culture and identity and keep themselves apart from the host society and its members.

¹⁰ Immigrants who react by marginalizing themselves have no interest in maintaining their heritage culture and identity, and show little interest in interacting with host members or participating in host society activities.

¹¹ Singaporean students enjoy more than 70% government subsidies on their tuition fees – which means that local students only pay 30% of the full university tuition fees (Davie, *The Straits Times*, June 1, 2008). Prior to August 2008, foreign students only paid a 10% premium over local tuition fees – which works out to a pithy 33% of the full university tuition fees.

¹² Berry found that the acculturation strategy of assimilation tends to be present in societies that embrace the principle of melting pot – that is, where the immigrant groups are expected to adopt the host culture in order to be accepted by members of the larger (host) society.

INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS AND IMMIGRATION: THE NETHERLANDS CASE IN A EUROPEAN CONTEXT

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ABSTRACT

In a context of economic crisis and increased anti-immigration politics, international students and skilled immigration are high on the political and educational agenda in the Netherlands as well as other European countries. There is an increasing tension between short term anti-immigrant tendencies and budget cuts for research and development on the one hand, and the long term need for skilled immigration to stay competitive in the global knowledge economy on the other. In the past, rationales for attracting international students were either trade, aid or cooperation. Global competition for highly skilled manpower has become a strong new pull factor in international student circulation, and policies have been developed by the Netherlands and other European countries to stay competitive.

INTRODUCTION

The topic of international students and skilled immigration is a key issue in European and Dutch politics. Debates on issues such as multiculturalism, immigration and financial crises have a direct link to the needs of international students and skilled migrants. In Ireland, the 2010-2015 international education strategy to make Ireland “internationally recognised and ranked as a world leader in the delivery of high quality international education” by increasing the present number of international students in the coming 5 years by 50%, is under pressure as a result of the budgetary crisis.¹ In the UK, the current government’s plans to introduce restrictions on immigration and raise national student fees will have an impact on the number of international students from both outside and inside the EU/EFTA countries as well as the potential emigration of UK students resulting in higher fees for outsiders and lower fees in neighbouring countries. In Germany, when prime minister Andrea Merkel declared the collapse of the multicultural society and a push for stricter immigration laws arose, the minister of Economic Affairs, the business sector and the higher education sector were quick to warn the rest of Germany that there was a danger of losing skilled labour. In Switzerland, there is much concern that recent anti-immigration referendum results will have a negative impact on skilled immigration and make the country less attractive to international students. And in the

Netherlands, Sweden and Italy, similar fears exist due to the rise of anti-immigrant nationalist politics. There is an increasing tension in Europe, including the Netherlands, between short term anti-immigrant tendencies and budget cuts for research and development, and the long term need for skilled immigration to stay competitive in the global knowledge economy. Forecasts for the EU indicate that where the percentage of low skilled workers will decline in 2020 from 28% to 19%, medium skilled workers will increase from 48% to 50%, and high skilled labour will increase from 26% to 31%.² At the same time in Europe, the age group between 16 and 29 will drop from 90 to 81 million in the next 12 years. Restrictions on immigration and greater barriers for access to higher education for national and foreign students will make Europe less attractive for international students.

THE EUROPEAN CONTEXT

Higher education in Europe in the first decade after the Second World War was not very international. Following the Great Depression and the Second World War, Europe’s primary focus was on rebuilding its countries. Internationally, there was a pattern of circulation that saw elite degree seeking students from the developing countries seeking higher education in the colonial and imperialist powers such as the UK, France, Germany and to a lesser extent countries like Belgium and the Netherlands.

In the sixties another international dimension in higher education emerged; technical assistance, or development aid. The changing relationships between the former colonial powers and the developing world required a different approach. In addition to the traditional circulation of the elites, scholarship schemes provided wider opportunities for students from developing countries to study in Europe, primarily in the countries they have had traditional cultural and linguistic ties with (Germany, France and the United Kingdom which over all these years up until now have continued to be the main receivers of international students after the United States of America) and/or political links (Soviet Union). At the same time, capacity and institution-building programs offered academic expertise and material support to the higher education sector in the developing countries. This trend was quite widespread, the Netherlands being a prominent example of this focus on aid.

In the 1980s, one can observe in Western Europe two different shifts. The “benevolent laissez-faire” policy³, and the “humanitarianism and internationalism”⁴ that characterised the previous decades, did not completely disappear but were bypassed by new policies. In continental Europe, a shift took place towards more controlled reception of degree seeking international students and to cooperation and exchange (student and staff mobility), and in the United Kingdom, a shift to active recruitment of fee-paying international students.

The decision in 1979 by the British government to introduce full cost fees for foreign students (a move from aid to trade) resulted in a more competitive higher education sector in that country. In continental Europe, the introduction of full-cost fees and higher education as an export commodity at that time remained an anathema. On the continent, a different move took place, from aid to cooperation and exchange. Under the impetus of the European Commission, programs were designed to stimulate cooperation in Research & Development and in education. From the early 1970s in Sweden, Germany and later elsewhere, programs were developed to stimulate cooperation and exchange and most countries had international academic agreements and were involved in the Fulbright Program with the US.

During the 1970s, the European Commission started to stimulate R&D cooperation, and also introduced a pilot program, the ‘Joint Study Programmes Scheme’ (1976), to stimulate academic mobility, but the impact of these programs was marginal. In the 1980s, these initiatives at the national and European level contributed to the creation of the so-called Framework Programs for R&D (1984) and the ‘European Action Scheme for the Mobility of University Students’ (1987), better known as ERASMUS.

Driving rationales behind these initiatives were: Europeanization and strengthening of Europe’s position in the global economy.

Although the UK, as a member of the European Union was involved in these developments, its participation in the educational programmes has been marginal. There was and remains a tension between the more competitive approach to recruitment of fee-paying students (a focus on degree seeking student circulation) and the subsidised programmes of the European Commission, based on the principle of exchange (a focus on mobility as part of the home degree). The reputation of British higher education, its extended network of Commonwealth countries, the dominance of English as first or second language, and the financial necessity to recruit full-cost students from abroad, placed British higher education in a position to be a competitive player in the international student market, as well as in the cross-border delivery of education, just behind the United States of America.

By the end of the 1990’s, first in the Netherlands and Scandinavia and later in Germany and France, a shift to higher education as an export commodity began to emerge. Although several countries – Ireland, Slovakia, Denmark, the Netherlands and Sweden– have introduced full-cost fees for non-EU international students in recent years, the main drive has not been income generation, as was the case in the United Kingdom.

Most countries of Europe, in particular the larger economies of Germany, France, Italy and Spain as well as Scandinavia, have zero or low tuition fees for domestic students and, with the exception of the countries mentioned above, do not differentiate between EU-students and other international students. At the national and European levels, increasing competitiveness of higher education in the global knowledge economy and establishing a national/European brand and status of higher education, society and economy in the world, have been the driving rationales.

More recently, global competition for highly skilled manpower has become a strong pull factor in international student circulation. The greying societies of Europe compete globally for top talents who need to fill the gaps in their knowledge economies. Skilled migration, circulation of the highly skilled, the global competition for talent, are terms that are at present becoming more dominant as rationales for international competition in higher education. At the institutional level, rationales such as international class rooms, intercultural and global competences, recruitment of top talent students and scholars, and institutional profile and status, are setting the scene.

In 2002-2003, there were 1.1 million foreign students enrolled in higher education in the so-called EURODATA region (comprising the 27 EU nations, the four European

Free Trade Agreement members Switzerland, Iceland, Lichtenstein and Norway, as well Turkey. Of these 46% are nationals from within this group of 32 countries, compared to 54% from outside. More than 60% of them study in the three main countries: United Kingdom, Germany and France. France is a different destination country than the others, as only 28% are European and 51% are African students. As far as outward mobility is concerned, only 575,000 students, or 3% were studying abroad in 2002-2003, of which 81% in another EURODATA country, and 13% in the United States.⁵

More recent data indicate that in 2006-2007, there were 1.5 million international students in these 32 countries, a growth of 36.6% and compared to 1998-1999 of 49.9%. The percentage of international students compared to national students has increased from 4.5% in 1998-1999 via 5.8% in 2002-2003 to 6.9% in 2006-2007. At the same time, the percentage of the students from within the 32 European countries increased to 50.9%, plus 3.6% from other European countries.

The Bologna Declaration of 1999 and the Lisbon Agenda of 2001 are the manifestations of the need to reform higher education in Europe into the direction of a more competitive player in the global knowledge economy. Although there is an increasing emphasis on economic rationales and competition, it would be too simple to state that the changing landscape of internationalization is developing in similar ways everywhere in higher education in Europe. There are different accents and approaches. Internationalization strategies are filtered and contextualized by the specific internal context of the university and their national embeddedness. But it is also a fact that the recent emphasis on competition for talents, as well as the reforms undertaken by the Bologna Process have brought continental Europe and the United Kingdom closer in their approaches than before. The Netherlands is a clear example of a mixed policy of cooperation and competition with regard to international students and immigration.

THE NETHERLANDS

As mentioned above, the Netherlands has moved from a focus on aid via a cooperation and exchange priority to a more competitive approach with respect to international students and immigration. This mixed policy with shifting emphasis is the result of external factors in combination with local changes in higher education and immigration policies.

The number of international students in Dutch higher education has increased over the past years in absolute numbers, although in percentage of overall students, has stabilised at 7.4%. The increase over the past five years has

been particularly in research universities, 6.3% to 9.3% (an increase of 9,000 international students) and less in the universities of applied sciences, 5.8% to 6.4% (an increase of 5,000 international students). The main country of origin in 2009-10 was Germany (42.5% of all international students) at a substantial distance, followed by China (10%), Belgium (5%), Spain (3.9%) and France (3.6%). In that year, 64.4% of the international students came from other EU and EFTA countries, compared to 35.6% from the rest of the world. The Netherlands is the host country with most German students, before the United Kingdom with 17% of outbound German student mobility.⁶

Three quarters of the international students are enrolled in bachelor's degree programmes, although in research universities the focus is increasingly on master and PhD programmes. As far as fields of study are concerned, economics is for the research universities the most popular study, with agriculture having the strongest presence of international students compared to Dutch students. For applied sciences universities, economics also has the strongest presence of international students while art and culture maintain a strong ratio of international versus Dutch students. Maastricht University, one of the 13 research universities in the Netherlands and on the border with Germany and Belgium, is the leading university in number of international students, followed by four universities of applied sciences (also all four close to Germany) and then Delft University of Technology. The market share of the Netherlands is 1.3% of the global market in 2007, an increase of 0.6% compared to 2000. As far as outbound mobility is concerned, 2.5% (15,000) of the Dutch students were studying abroad in 2006-07 and the trend is a gradual increase each year.⁷

It is still unclear what the impact of the introduction of full cost fees for non-EU/EFTA students will mean for the inflow of international students to the Netherlands. Given that two thirds of the international students in the Netherlands come from EU/EFTA countries, the impact will not be as negative as it was in Denmark. A member of Dutch Parliament recently even suggested to make recruitment of international students a means to increase income for universities, a rather naive suggestion in the current global competition for international students and the high tuition fees.

There are no concrete data on international PhD students and researchers in the Netherlands. A recent guess is that one third of the PhD students in the Netherlands is foreign, a rapid growth over the past 15 years, primarily from Western Europe and Asia. OECD data indicate that half of the foreign knowledge workers in the Netherlands come from Europe, and the other half primarily from South and East Asia, followed by North America.

Since 2007, it has been possible for international students to stay in the country for a year after completion of their studies in order to find a job, and since 2009, highly qualified foreigners can apply for a residence permit for a maximum of one year to find a job or to start a business. There are also tax incentives for knowledge immigrants and returning expats in areas where there is lack of Dutch candidates. And migration policies are adapted to make immigration for lower skilled immigrants more difficult and for highly skilled immigrants easier. However, some studies indicate that the Netherlands is not attractive enough for international and returning Dutch researchers. Other studies conclude, though, that the Netherlands is still more attractive than other European countries, such as the United Kingdom, Germany, France, Denmark and Belgium, because of the relatively good salaries, career prospects and knowledge infrastructure. It is still too early to tell what the implications will be of migration and higher education plans of the new conservative government that came into power in 2010. In combination with the economic crisis, one cannot be optimistic that these plans will result in a more consistent and attractive climate for international students and skilled immigration.

FOOTNOTES

- ¹ Investing in Global Relations. Ireland's International Education Strategy 2010-15. Report of the High-level Group on International Education to the Tánaiste and Minister of Education, September 2010, Dublin, p. 12.
- ² Sean McDonagh. Aspects of Future Sills. Director, Skills Initiative Unit, Department of Education and Science, Dublin, Ireland. Note for the 2009 Hague Conference of the Universities of Applied Sciences.
- ³ Barron, Britta. 1993. "The Politics of Academic Mobility in Western Europe." *Higher Education Policy* 6 (3): 50-54. p. 50
- ⁴ Chandler, Alice. 1989. *Obligation or Opportunity: Foreign Student Policy in Six Major Receiving Countries*. IIE Research Report N° 18, Institute for International Education, New York. p.viii
- ⁵ De Wit, 2008. International Student Circulation in the Context of the Bologna Process and the Lisbon Strategy." In *The Dynamics of International Student Circulation in a Global Context*, ed. P. Agarwal, M. E. Said, M. Sehoole, M. Sirozi, and H. de Wit. Rotterdam, The Netherlands: Sense Publishers. p. 184-193
- ⁶ Nuffic. 2010. *Mapping Mobility 2010: International Mobility in Dutch Higher Education*. Nuffic. The Hague.
- ⁷ Nuffic, 2010.

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UNITED KINGDOM: INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS AND SKILLED MIGRATION

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ABSTRACT

The United Kingdom has a long history encouraging student mobility and developing and sustaining international partnerships within their academic institutions. For the UK, the internationalization of education is big business, with estimated total export earnings accounting for over £12.5 billion per annum (£27 billion per annum if indirect earnings are included). While this industry is largely institution led, there have been several UK government strategic initiatives to grow international education and research cooperation and to attract international students. However, several key government supported programmes are due to finish this year with no significant follow-up planned, and the Conservative-led government's introduction of immigration quotas for international students will likely both reduce the absolute numbers of student visas issued as well as negatively impact on perceptions of the UK as a welcoming destination for students.

BACKGROUND: WHY INTERNATIONALISE EDUCATION?

UK education providers, and higher education institutions (HEIs) in particular, have a long history of developing and sustaining international partnerships and encouraging student mobility and, over the last ten years or so, the UK's international outreach has both increased and diversified. Many national and institutional benefits have accrued and accordingly investment from institutions, the UK government and other national organisations to support activities have grown considerably.

The motivations for expansion are varied and will differ for institutions according to their mission, for example, for HEIs whether they are 'research-led' or 'teaching-led'. There is also considerable variation according to which international activities that they prioritise, as 'international education' is a very broad definition. Additionally activities are inter-related and might be summarised to include:

- Student exchanges, including to promote UK domestic student mobility
- Staff exchanges and recruitment
- Internationalisation of the institution and its programmes
- International student recruitment, for teaching and research

- International collaboration in research
- International comparative education
- Curriculum and programme related; to cover country, area or regional policy studies, foreign language and other specific topics
- Delivering and supporting global education as an 'international good'; education and the international development agenda, including to support capacity building in developing countries
- Transnational education (TNE), to include distance learning, overseas campuses, collaborative delivery, franchising and licensing arrangements

Internationalisation policies and practicalities have been reviewed by a number of authors including and particularly for the UK by John Fielden¹. A further major consideration within a UK institution is the need to cover costs and this requires prioritising activities that might also generate revenue.

At the national level a recent study² suggests that total export earnings from international education in the UK could be over £12.5 billion per annum and if indirect earnings are included this might total £27 billion per annum. In summary the direct value of education exports to the UK economy was estimated to be:

- Education and training exports direct: over £12.5 billion
- International students in the HE sector (excluding transnational education): £5.6 billion (includes both fees and other spending by international students)
- Transnational higher education: £200 million
- International students in the college sector (excluding English Language teaching): over £1.2 billion
- International students in English Language colleges: over £1 billion
- International students in the independent schools sector: about £315 million

In addition to student related income, UK universities generate significant revenue from their research activities including from private business, US agencies (eg NSF and NIH) and research support from the EU budget particularly for research cooperation. However, while all international activities are individually important, it is the recruitment of international students that has attracted the greatest attention over the last few years both in the UK and globally. The total revenues associated with international students were estimated to be £8.5 billion and within this fee revenue for UK public HEIs was over £2.5 billion pa. For individual institutions international student revenue can be very significant as is illustrated by the data in Table 1. More recently, for 2009, University of Manchester was reported to have received £70 million from international student fees. Note that the high proportion, relative to total turnover, reported for LSE in Table 1 is due to the LSE being predominantly social sciences and without high cost medical, science and engineering and technology faculties.

TABLE 1: International student fees for a selection of UK universities

UNIVERSITY	TOTAL INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS	TOTAL INTERNATIONAL STUDENT REVENUE (£MILLION)	INTERNATIONAL STUDENT REVENUE AS PROPORTION OF TOTAL UNIVERSITY REVENUE
Manchester	7,300	£56.80	8.9%
London School of Economics	5,700	£54.40	32.3%
Nottingham	6,500	£50.40	13.2%
Cambridge	5,400	£22.40	3.2%
Westminster	5,600	£20.90	14.3%
Hertfordshire		£18.20	10.1%
Northumbria		£18.30	11.4%
Robert Gordon		£10.30	12.9%

Source: Times Higher (2008) reporting 2007 data for UK universities

Fee revenues from international student fees are also desirable as they are less 'tied', for example as compared with UK government support for domestic students, and thus can be employed flexibly to support new initiatives and supplement budgets. The potential to grow additional revenue from student recruitment has meant that institutions are more willing to invest to ensure their market position and all indications are that investments will only increase, given the recent cuts in the UK government's funding of higher education and the pressures from more intense international competition.

While the fees are important, UK institutions also benefit greatly from international students for many other reasons and these include: enhanced research output, greater internationalisation of the institution (its curricular, its staff and student bodies), promotion of qualitative change, improved efficiency particularly for student support, as well as for the growth of long term international relationships.

UK INSTITUTIONS AND INTERNATIONAL STUDENT MOBILITY

A very varied mix of UK education and training institutions are engaged in international student recruitment and very approximate numbers of international students recruited according to type of institution in each broad group is provided in Table 2.^{3,4}

TABLE 2: APPROXIMATE NUMBERS OF INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS IN UK EDUCATION BY INSTITUTION TYPE (2008)

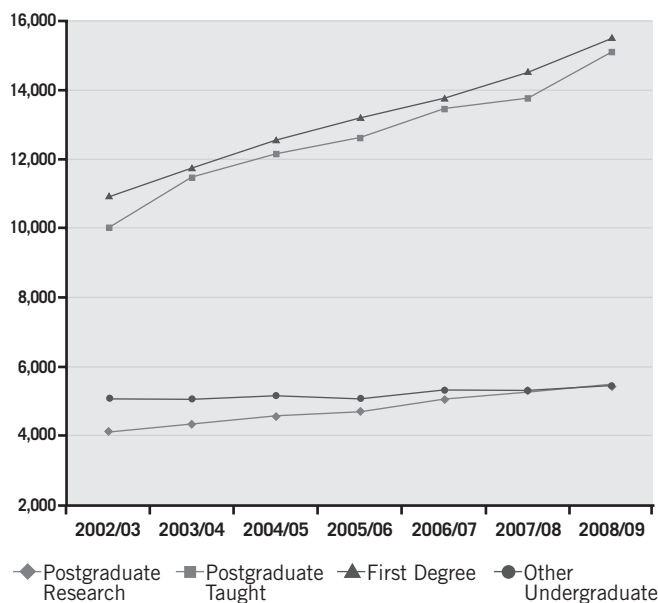
INSTITUTION TYPE	APPROXIMATE NOS OF INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS
Universities/Institutes of Higher Education (State)	415,000*
Further/technical colleges (State)	120,000**
English Language Schools (Private)	400,000**
HE and Related Colleges (Private)	100,000**
Private Schools (Secondary)	20,000**

* UK Higher Education Statistics Agency (2008-09)

** These are all estimates made by the author, based on a mix of sources, as there are no reliable data that comprehensively covers the categories

In addition there are probably 300,000 students enrolled on UK higher education programmes delivered in their own countries through various means of TNE; these include distance learning, e-learning, franchised, licensed and twinning programmes and the such like.^{3,4}

This paper considers in the main public higher education, given the dominance of the sector, its multiplicity of interests, its total value and impact, and because it has the most reliable data set. The total number of students in

FIGURE 1: Enrolment trends for international students in UK HEIs according to levels of study (EU and non-EU)

Source: HESA (UK)

UK public HE by main source country and levels of study is detailed in Table 3 below. This provides a good indication of the main countries from which UK institutions and organisations invest in and prioritise to recruit students. From these data it is clear that the majority of students on degree programmes are at the postgraduate level (on research doctorates or taught Masters' programmes) –

overall 57 percent. The 'Other Undergraduate' classification refers to students on non-degree programmes such as study abroad and exchange programmes, English language preparation and various foundation studies, in preparation for transferring to degree programmes. Figure 1 indicates the trends in enrolment according to levels of study over the last six years and from this the continuing popularity of UK Master's degree programmes is apparent. This is due to the demand for the UK's one-year taught Master's programmes that are concentrated in 'vocational' areas, such as business, management, computing, law and electronics. It is interesting to note that there has been a rapid growth in the number of Master's degree programmes offered in English from non-UK and non-Irish European universities specifically to attract international students. The Academic Cooperation Association in Brussels has reviewed⁵ this provision across Europe and their study in 2007 reported a growth from 700 to 2,400 such courses over five years (nb omitting programmes in UK and Ireland).

What is also apparent from Table 3 is that three student source countries dominate recruitment to UK institutions: China (excluding Hong Kong SAR), India and the US. While enrolments from China have been static for the last three years, those from India have continued to grow fast and possibly now total over 40,000. Enrolments from the US have also grown at a steady rate (about three percent per annum) but Table 3 does not include those US students on shorter periods of study in the UK under study abroad and similar arrangements; if these are included the total number of US students in the UK is probably 45,000. Malaysia remains an important source as does Ireland

TABLE 3: Numbers of International Students in UK Higher Education Institutions: main source countries according to level of study (2008-09)

COUNTRY	FIRST DEGREE	OTHER UNDERGRADUATE	POSTGRADUATE RESEARCH	POSTGRADUATE TAUGHT	TOTAL
China	19,990	4,445	5,210	20,810	50,460
India	4,865	1,550	2,140	27,555	36,105
United States	3,560	8,800	3,610	5,840	21,815
Germany	6,740	4,345	2,965	3,930	17,980
France	7,035	5,615	1,350	3,715	17,715
Ireland	6,760	2,075	1,305	5,705	15,850
Nigeria	4,190	825	975	9,115	15,105
Greece	4,745	610	2,700	5,320	13,380
Malaysia	8,460	390	2,400	2,110	13,355
Cyprus (EU)	7,165	395	765	2,325	10,645
Pakistan	2,990	395	1,410	5,400	10,190
Hong Kong (SAR)	7,035	870	625	1,550	10,080
Total	155,610	54,275	54,730	150,975	415,585

Source: HESA UK (2008-09)

and the larger European countries. There has been recent strong growth in student numbers from Nigeria, Pakistan, Poland and Saudi Arabia. Countries for which declines have been seen over the last few years include Japan, Singapore and Greece.

EU students and fees: Enrolments from EU countries account for approximately thirty percent of the international student population in the UK and totalled about 138,000 in 2008/09. There has been considerable rapid growth in enrolments from the 'new member states'⁶ since 2005 although there is evidence of a recent decline in growth from these countries.

There is a differential fees policy in England⁷ in relation to EU and non-EU students. As part of EU policy, UK public sector institutions can only charge students from other EU countries at the same fee rate as for UK domestic students. Non-EU students have to pay 'full cost' fees and this will differ according to course and HE institution, varying from about £6,000 to over £20,000 per annum (more for medicine and some MBA programmes). However while many state sector HEIs prioritise non-EU recruitment there is also interest in recruiting EU students particularly to attract doctoral researchers, to recruit high quality scholars and to ensure a wider mix of countries are represented on campus. Some programmes (particularly in management related topics) are priced at the full economic costs of delivery and for all students. This is particularly so for MBA programmes where often there is thus no difference between fees for EU and non-EU enrolments and these programmes are priced from about £10,000 to over £25,000.

The UK government has recently announced a new domestic fees policy for higher education and this is likely to see fees for UK (and other EU) students increasing to between £6,000 and £9,000. While this continues to be backed by an income-contingent loans programme and EU students have equal access to this, it seems inevitable that this new policy will result in a decline in the enrolment of students from other EU member states.

Other UK education providers: About two thirds of international enrolments in the UK's college sector is for pre-university programmes that provide foundation or bridging courses that lead to enrolment to undergraduate degrees. The other third of students are enrolled on technical or vocational courses and training.

Private sector colleges⁸ offer degree and other professional programmes mainly in management, business, finance, accounting, law and information technology. Degrees are normally awarded through validation arrangements involving UK's state sector universities; some offer degree programmes from non-UK universities.

SUBJECTS OF STUDY IN DEMAND

International students in the UK tend to be concentrated in a limited number of subject areas, as is indicated in Table 4. Overall about 55 percent of international students are enrolled in business and related areas, computing, information technology and electronics. Business and management related subjects are by far the most popular as over a quarter of all international students in the UK are enrolled in these disciplines; additionally their rate of enrolment growth has been very high over the last six years (8.8 percent per annum). Economics is the most popular topic within social studies and electronics is the subject in demand within engineering and technology.

TABLE 4: International students (EU and non-EU) in UK HEIs according to main subject areas of study (HESA for all levels of study)

SUBJECT AREA	2002/03	2008/09	PROPORTION OF TOTAL (%)	ANNUAL GROWTH (%)
Medicine, biosciences and related	36,925	53,900	13.0	6.5
Physical, computing and mathematical sciences	34,785	44,040	10.6	4.0
Engineering & technology	44,885	61,185	14.7	5.3
Social studies & law	41,935	55,180	13.3	4.7
Business & management related	65,905	109,275	26.3	8.8
Arts and humanities	33,265	37,375	9.0	2.0
Creative arts & design	15,135	20,850	5.0	5.5
Education	12,360	14,555	3.5	2.8

Source: HESA (UK)

The enrolment proportions, according to broad subject areas, for both undergraduate and postgraduate taught degree programmes are similar, however disciplines in demand for postgraduate researchers are very different. At this level engineering and technology accounts for some 17 percent of the nearly 55,000 international students, followed by social studies (11.5 percent) and physical (9.5 percent) and biological (9.1 percent) sciences. There are also distinct differences in source countries for research students: Asian students favour engineering and technology disciplines, North American students are more concentrated in arts and humanities and European students are spread across most of the areas. Again for a more detailed analysis refer to the HESA database.

UK GOVERNMENT POLICIES IN SUPPORT OF INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

While the larger proportion of investment to attract international students derives directly from the institutions involved, there have been several UK government strategic initiatives to grow international education and research cooperation and attract international students. The UK government has prioritised attracting international students in several of its programmes for, in addition to additional national revenue, there are considered to be wider ‘public diplomacy’ benefits: returning students have the potential to be long term ambassadors, enhancing the UK’s trade, political, social and cultural interests.

Towards the end of the 1990s the UK government realised that through some form of central and targeted investment in international education the benefits to the country might be enhanced. The first major programme launched was the ‘Prime Minister’s Initiative for international education’ (the so-called PMI)⁹; it had at its core the establishment of the Education UK brand and was backed by an international marketing and communications strategy. The initiative was extended in 2006 (as PMI2) and this provided for new activities¹⁰ to enhance the UK’s international education position, particularly to stimulate international partnerships involving UK institutions; new programmes developed include:

- UK-India Education and Research Initiative (UKIERI)
- BRIDGE (British degrees in Russia programme)
- UK-China Fellowships programme (specifically to support the mobility of young researchers)
- International Strategic Partnerships in Research and Education (INSPIRE) for countries in Central South Asia
- England-Africa Partnerships (EAP) for sub-Saharan Africa
- Development Partnerships in Higher Education (DelpHE) with lower income countries in Africa and Asia

Additionally the individual country administrations of Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland, invest their own resources to enhance their own international education strategies¹¹.

While direct investment by the UK government to promote the UK as a study destination is a relatively recent phenomenon, the British Council¹² has consistently employed its grant from government to assist UK education providers in their international activities. Its offices in some 110 countries as well as its English Language schools in many of these, has contributed to promoting the UK as a study destination. The British Council is also a member of the Education UK Partnership¹³ (EUKP), an organisation that was jointly established by UK institutions and the British

Council to assist UK education providers in their efforts to attract international students. The EUKP and the British Council have supported the international positioning of UK education through a wide mix of activities including: developing the Education UK Brand and its promotion; managing the Education UK website¹⁴ (a searchable database detailing all programmes available in UK institutions, including in a number of languages); delivering country focused marketing and communications initiatives; running education exhibitions and other promotional events; training of staff involved in international education; and providing conferences and workshops for practitioners.

INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS AND SKILLED MIGRATION

There have never been explicit policies in the UK to enhance skilled migration through recruiting international students, apart from a few limited circumstances. The current position is that non-EU international graduates can apply to remain in the UK for two years for employment purposes after graduation and this has proved to be popular. However the new Conservative-led government that came to power in May 2010 announced a major initiative to reduce net migration and international students, being the largest single category of migrants, are of particular interest in this context. At the time of writing this article, the UK government is undertaking a detailed consultation across the education sector to assess how it might best reduce international student numbers¹⁵. The need will be to agree achievable reduction targets without depriving UK education institutions of both revenue and the quality students and researchers essential to maintaining their international competitiveness. For its part the government has said it believes much of this reduction can be achieved through eliminating abuse of the system; it reports that a significant number of graduates had stayed beyond the two year maximum and without formal ‘leave to remain’ in the UK¹⁶. However UK education providers remain very concerned about the likely impact of these reductions.

It should be noted that all students from EU member states have the same rights as UK nationals in terms of obtaining employment and residing in the UK. There is no doubt that the UK has benefitted from their presence as professionals in business and for their involvement in UK scientific research and innovation. For example there were over 14,000 postgraduate research students in UK universities in 2008-09¹⁷ from EU member countries and these were particularly concentrated in science and technology¹⁸.

Scotland introduced a ‘Fresh Talent’ programme in 2005 that allowed international graduate students to remain for employment purposes for two years after graduating. It was well promoted internationally and enhanced Scotland’s

position as a welcoming education destination. Feedback from students and staff from Scottish institutions was very positive and this was ultimately extended to cover all the UK. The extension to allow all international students to apply to remain in the UK for two years after graduation was welcomed, as it provided opportunities for them to gain work experience to consolidate their studies. It was also suggested that through this approach international graduates might develop contacts with UK business and these would be mutually beneficial when the individual returned to work in their own country.

INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS IN THE UK: FUTURE DIRECTIONS

As this short article has demonstrated the UK has been extremely successful at attracting international students to its education institutions, however there is great uncertainty as to whether the momentum can be maintained. At the same time as many of the UK's competitor countries are investing in expansion of international student recruitment, there is likely to be reduction in UK government support for international education. For example many of the programmes mentioned previously are due to finish this year and there is no significant follow-up planned other than a proposal to extend UKIERI in a yet to be decided new approach.

The Conservative-led government's introduction of immigration quotas for international students will effect all education providers, although the private sector are likely to be effected significantly more than state colleges and universities. However any changes will both reduce the absolute numbers of student visas issued as well as negatively impact on perceptions of the UK as a welcoming destination for students.

The new and greatly increased fee levels for domestic students (between £6,000 and £9,000 per annum) will effect enrolments from EU member states, particularly as fees for programmes on offer in alternative European destinations are much lower. As yet no guidance has been provided as to expected fee levels for Masters' programmes.

In conclusion, UK institutions have been very successful at growing international activities due to both their own efforts together with support from government. However the changes now in train will almost certainly result in some reduction of activities, including reduced numbers of international students.

FOOTNOTES

- * International Education Consultant and Visiting Fellow, Institute of Education, University of London
- ¹ 'Global Horizons for UK Universities'; John Fielden; UK Council for Industry and Higher Education (2007)
- ² 'The value of UK education and training exports: an update'; Pamela Lenton, University of Sheffield, September 2007 (published by the British Council)
- ³ Refer to the HESA (UK) 2008-09 data set
- ⁴ 'Trans-national Education and Higher Education Institutions: Exploring Patterns of HE Institutional Activity'; Drew et al; DIUS Research Report 08 07 (2008)
- ⁵ 'English-taught programmes in European higher education: the picture in 2007'; Bernd Wächter and Friedhelm Maiworm;
- ⁶ Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia. Bulgaria and Romania joined in 2008.
- ⁷ Note that Scottish HEIs do not charge fees for Scottish and non-UK EU students enrolled in Scottish HEIs
- ⁸ 'The growth of private and for-profit higher education providers in the UK' Fielden et al for Universities UK (2009)
- ⁹⁻¹⁰ <http://www.britishcouncil.org/eumd-news-pmi-ie-launch-takes-up.htm>
- ¹¹ For examples see 'Universities Scotland: <http://www.universities-scotland.ac.uk/>
- ¹² <http://www.britishcouncil.org/new/learning/>
- ¹³ <http://www.britishcouncil.org/eumd>
- ¹⁴ <http://www.educationuk.org/UK/Home>
- ¹⁵ 'The Student Immigration System: A Consultation'; UK Border Agency, December 2010
- ¹⁶ 'Overseas Students in the Immigration System: types of institution and levels of study'; UK Border Agency, December 2010.
- ¹⁷ Higher Education Statistic's Agency (HESA), UK
- ¹⁸ 'UK's Competitive Advantage: The Market for International Research Students'; Kemp et al; UK Higher Education International Unit, July 2008

INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS IN GERMANY: POLICIES AND INITIATIVES TO ATTRACT THE BEST AND BRIGHTEST

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ABSTRACT

Germany being now the most attractive country after all English-speaking countries for international students, has put considerable effort into attracting and retaining international students by various policy initiatives. The first section of this paper gives a brief overview of international students including their scope and most popular subjects of studies, regions in Germany, and countries of origin. This is followed by an examination of particular policies and initiatives taken by governmental and non-governmental actors.

INTRODUCTION

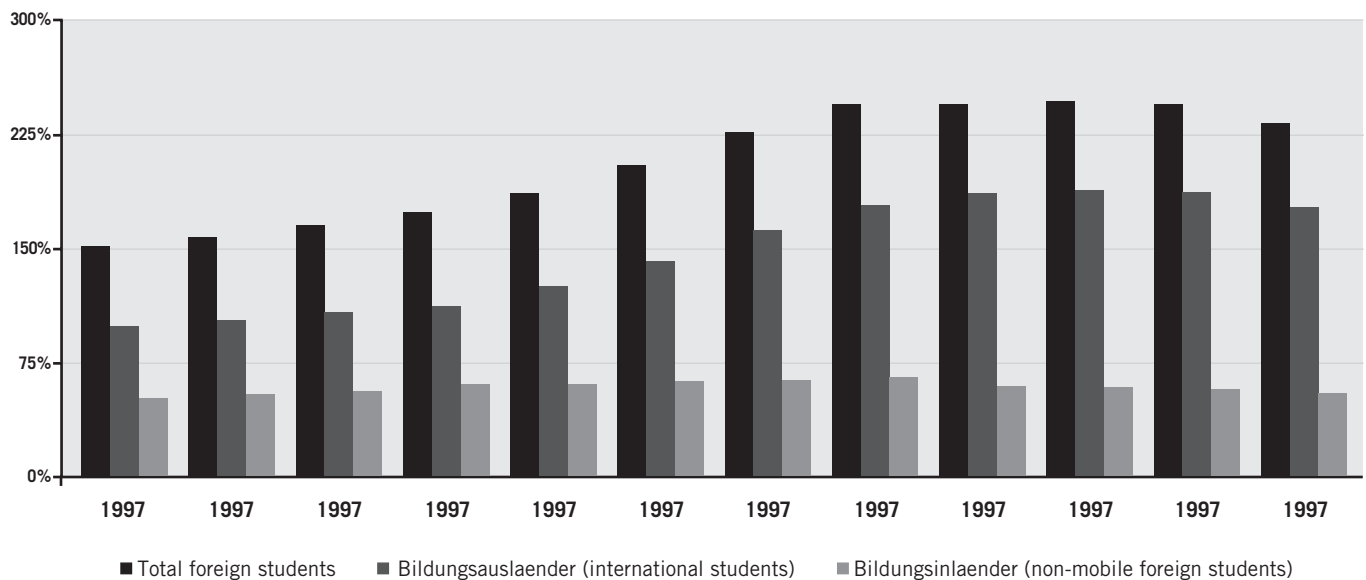
The increased significance of knowledge as the backbone of contemporary economies, combined with the demographic challenge faced by industrialized countries in attracting, integrating and retaining international students (who are a subset of highly skilled workers) have an utmost importance in the globalizing world. Today Germany faces an aging work force and as strong a competition as ever before in the international education market. Against this background, the president of the German Rectors' Conference (HRK), Wintermantel, calls to do more to retain talented young people with global and intercultural knowledge and skills. Those international students are valuable as semi-finished human capital (Khadria, 2001), who are tomorrow's high skilled workers, combining excellent foreign language skills, knowledge of international markets, valuable resources for innovation and intercultural competence. For a long time the USA, Canada and Australia have provided attractive academic programs and the opportunity to start a professional career in their countries relatively smoothly. Nowadays, they are facing increased competition particularly from Europe but also from other parts of the world where former closed-door policies on immigration are opened up to fill the demographic gap and seek highly skilled talents worldwide. Germany being now the most attractive country after all English-speaking countries for international students has indeed put a considerable effort into attracting and retaining

international students by introducing international joint degrees, programs in English and policies that make it easier for international students and graduates to stay and work in Germany. No doubt, Germany has also been benefitting greatly from the European integration process that helped a large number of European students through the Erasmus program and a harmonized study and degree structure (Bologna process) to come to Germany.

In the wake of the fast changing policies worldwide to attract and retain international students as highly skilled workers, this article will give an overview of policy trends and developments in Germany as one of the prime non-English speaking players in the competition for the best and brightest. After giving an introduction on the scope of international students in Germany, some main policy actors and initiatives are discussed.

THE SCOPE OF INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS IN GERMANY

According to Wissenschaft Weltoffen 2010, the latest study on international students that annually reports current and long term trends on international education in Germany, the numbers of international students¹ have been steadily increasing in Germany and reached an all-time peak of 189,852 in 2006 (see Figure 1). The numbers of international students decreased considerably from 2007-2008 to 177,852 but have since been on the rise again.

FIGURE 1: Foreign students in Germany from 1997 to 2008

In Germany, almost two-thirds of all international students were enrolled at universities in 2009, according to the study. Over the past four years there has been an enrollment trend towards universities of applied sciences that make up one fourth of international student enrollment. A minority of 3.5% studied at universities of fine arts. The top three general fields of study (specific fields) chosen by international students at universities were humanities (German studies and other European language and cultural studies), social sciences (economics, law, political science) as well as math and natural sciences (computer science, biology and chemistry). At universities of applied sciences the most popular fields of study were engineering, followed by economics and computer science. There is a clear difference between the subject of study and country of origin. Eastern and Western European students tend to choose subjects related to economics, whereas North American students choose to study German linguistics and those students coming from the African continent choose engineering and computer sciences (DAAD, 2009).

The majority of international students at universities (65.1%) and universities of applied sciences (83.1%) were doing a first degree; graduate degrees were more popular at universities (16.5% graduate studies, 12.8% PhD studies) than at universities of applied sciences (14.1%).

The majority of international students in Germany came from European countries (20% from Western and 30% from Eastern Europe) led by Russia (9,740 students) and Poland (9,401), Bulgaria (9,162) and Ukraine (6,324). Following Europe, Asia was the most popular continent at 33%, led by China, which leads all countries of origin with 23,140 students, followed by South Korea (4,136) and India

(3,236). Africa accounted for one tenth of all students, led by Morocco (5,970), Cameroon (5,363) and Tunisia (2,702). Only 6% of mobile foreign students came from North and South America, led by the USA (3,080) and Brazil (2,089). The numbers of students from Australia and Oceania were 0.2% which is comparatively insignificant.

While the largest number of international students studied in the federal states of North Rhine-Westphalia, Baden-Württemberg, Bavaria, Berlin and Hessen, the highest percentage of international students was found in the states of Saarland (17.8%), the city states of Bremen (13.3%) and Berlin (12.7%). The average percentage of all federal states was 8.9% in 2009 after a peak of 9.5% in 2005 and 2006.

POLICY SHIFTS AND INITIATIVES

For most of the time after World War II Germany followed a policy of cultural exchange and development aid towards international students (Hosseinizadeh 2005). The start of the European ERASMUS program in 1987 as part of the European integration process that has since given 2.2 million international students² mobility grants to study in other European Union member states and the European Freedom of Residency Act, marks the first major policy shift that gives international students from the European Union that study in Germany the same rights of access to higher education and to the labour market as domestic students. The Bologna process³ that the European Union (EU) and other non-EU countries started in 1999 furthermore expanded the transferability of student credits and recognition of degrees to countries outside of the EU also aiming

to increase international student mobility. One of the intended outcomes of the ERASMUS program to foster high-skilled labour mobility so far has not been as successful as expected. With the rise of the New Economy at the end of the 1990s and the rising gap of qualified and high-skilled labour that neither domestic students nor European students could fill, a broad group of major national business, education, scientific, labour union and communal organizations published a manifesto in 2000 to call upon the political leaders, federal and state governments to strengthen Germany's position in the higher-education market to attract the best and brightest international students to Germany in order to help meet Germany's economic and demographic challenges in a more and more globalized world. The manifesto called for a liberalization of residency and working restrictions for international students and more student marketing and support services for international students (Bund-Länder-Kommission 2000).

The sudden break down of the New Economy hindered a fast development of ideas and their implementation in the first couple of years but they were quickly revived after the economy picked up again and additional public events concerning the question of migration and integration increased the political pressure to rethink Germany's national migration and integration policy. As part of the new policy, a national integration concept⁴ was developed in 2007 that also includes higher education and international students as primary domains and target groups. The concept could revive the demands of the earlier manifesto and, as a primary political document, could strengthen the political will to change policies and allocate resources to meet the goal of attracting and retaining the best and brightest.

Later in 2007 the government adopted a reform of the German residency act that gives all international students, despite their country of origin, the possibility to prolong their stay for up to one additional year after their graduation to search for a suitable job. Furthermore the government opened up labour market policies that abolish labour market opinions for international students and graduates, thus giving them more equal access to the labour market. As data from the national labour agency shows, post-graduate job search visas doubled between 2006 and 2009 and working visas increased from 13% to 22% of all graduates⁵. The new policies already have been proven successful, although a much larger increase could have been possible if the working visa would not be restricted to one employer or a suitable job, which is not the case, for instance, in the UK. Work outside the university is also restricted to 90 full or 180 half days for international students from outside the European Union during their

studies while international students from European Union member states and domestic students can work up to 20 hours a week⁶.

As part of the policy change, funding has also been allocated to provide more and better support services for international students and the quality of studies in general. The German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD), being one of the oldest and most experienced organizations on international education in Germany, has a strong membership base of higher education institutions and a long history of government relations. Along with the German Rectors Conference (HRK), the prominent organization for higher education leadership on structural reforms and quality assurance of institutions of higher education, DAAD has become one of the main actors to achieve these goals. Through a consulting process between the government and the organizations, DAAD was granted continuous support of their previous international student support programs and new programs that were especially intended to foster the long term retention and integration of international students. By 2012 DAAD will have given out 9 million Euros through its PROFIN grants to support institutions of higher education to develop, implement and administer service concepts and programs for international students.⁷ The HRK developed a national code of conduct for working with international students that, as a voluntary certificate, intends to be a motivational element of quality management and good service.⁸

In addition to the national integration concept that is an impetus to policy changes and support services and quality management programs that help to attract and retain international students, the German federal and state governments adopted the Initiative For Excellence⁹ in 2005 to bring at least a few German universities up to the top group of international rankings such as 'The Times Higher Education Supplement' (Stuchtey, 2008). In other words, the main purpose of this initiative was to turn Germany into a more attractive research site, while advancing its international competitiveness and highlighting the exceptional achievements of German universities and the overall German scientific community. Within the framework of Initiative for Excellence, a total of 1.9 billion Euros of funding have been made accessible to higher education institutions on a competitive basis. 75% of this amount is supplied by the federal government, the rest is supplied by the federal states. 'From 2006 until 2010, the federal government will contribute €250 million annually to the project and the German states €130 million (together about US\$453 million annually)' (Kehm, 2006). The Initiative of Excellence has three project-oriented avenues of competition among German universities. The first one is new graduate schools for young scientists to provide

modernized and structured doctoral programs within an exceptionally good environment and a broad area of science. The second avenue of competition is research and training institutions known as 'excellence clusters'. These excellence clusters are to be created at the universities and will collaborate with non-university research institutes, universities of applied sciences and industry as defined by DFG. The third area is the advancement of future concepts for top-class research at the universities, which is to enhance the shape of at most ten selected universities, referred as institutional strategies. In order to get this type of support a higher education institution is required to at least encompass one excellence cluster, one research school and an authentic and reasonable general plan of action for transforming into an internationally acknowledged 'beacon of science'. While this particular policy mainly aims to make German universities and its economy competitive by internationalizing the universities mainly through attracting international students, it also has effects on retaining them by granting funds to various interdisciplinary and interactive programs including German language courses, mentoring programs, career facilities and supporting the students to be active in their fieldworks and at various conferences.

CHANCES AND CHALLENGES

Despite some slowdown in international student growth, the German government and Germany's non-governmental organizations in the higher education sector are dedicated to further develop and reform their immigration and integration policies as well as their academic study programs, research and support services to attract the best and brightest international students as potential future high-skilled migrants. In the past few years Germany has seen strong policies and initiatives that have allocated a considerable amount of funding to reach that goal. With international education staying on the political agenda, continuous research and monitoring on international education will assist Germany to react to international trends and policy shifts in the higher education market. Nevertheless, challenges remain to further develop good practices and policies that are robust to economic turbulent times. Looking ahead, if support structures and funding opportunities are not sustainable or flexible enough to change, Germany will not be able to fully profit further than only attracting the students. Therefore, integration of those students into the wider society and labour market still pose a great challenge and must be the major concern for the future.

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FOOTNOTES

- ¹ The term *Bildungsinländer* (non-mobile foreign students) refers to those those foreign students who have grown up and educated in the country of study, while the term *Bildungsausländer* (mobile foreign students) means international students who hold another country's citizenship, have a visa for Germany in relation to their studies. The second category who is referred as international students is the target of this article.
- ² see: http://ec.europa.eu/education/lifelong-learning-programme/doc80_en.htm (accessed 3/1/11)
- ³ see: http://ec.europa.eu/education/higher-education/doc1290_en.htm (accessed 3/1/11)
- ⁴ see: <http://www.bundesregierung.de/Content/DE/Archiv16/Artikel/2007/07/Anlage/2007-07-12-nationaler-integrationsplan.property=publicationFile.pdf> (accessed 3/1/11)
- ⁵ see 2006: http://www.pub.arbeitsagentur.de/hst/services/statistik/200612/iiiia6/ae/aezu_d.pdf
see 2009: http://www.pub.arbeitsagentur.de/hst/services/statistik/200912/iiiia6/ae/aezu_d.pdf (accessed 3/1/11)
- ⁶ see court decision 12 RK 34/79 of the German High Court for Social Welfare (Bundessozialgericht) and paragraph 16.3.2./3./8 of the German immigration regulations (AufenthaltG-VV)
- ⁷ see: <http://www.daad-magazin.de/14181/index.html> (accessed 3/1/11)
- ⁸ see: http://www.hrk.de/de/download/dateien/Nationaler_Kodex.pdf (accessed 3/1/11)
- ⁹ <http://www.bmbf.de/en/1321.php>

LA POLITIQUE SUISSE À L'ÉGARD DES ÉTUDIANTS INTERNATIONAUX : SITUATION ET ENJEUX

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RÉSUMÉ

Cet article présente les grandes lignes de la politique suisse à l'égard des étudiants internationaux, ainsi que les principales transformations récentes de celles-ci. En effet, jusqu'à présent la Suisse se contente d'accueillir des étudiants internationaux dans le cadre de leur formation pré-grade ou post-grade, sans qu'ils puissent rester dans le pays pour y exercer leur profession apprise. Cependant, un nouveau contexte international de concurrence économique et interuniversitaire accrue amène à des changements dans le sens d'une plus grande ouverture vers les étudiants internationaux, même si les résistances à cette ouverture sont toujours vivaces.

INTRODUCTION

La problématique des étudiants internationaux peut être analysée à partir de plusieurs perspectives. Cet article se centre plus particulièrement sur la politique suisse à l'égard des étudiants internationaux, en particulier à l'égard de ceux qui ne sont pas ressortissants de l'Union européenne.

Notre thèse est qu'il y a une tension entre deux approches dans la politique suisse concernant ces étudiants étrangers : d'une part une approche en termes de recherche d'un meilleur positionnement dans la concurrence internationale pour attirer du personnel qualifié ou en voie de qualification, d'autre part une approche protectionniste visant à privilégier la formation d'étudiants nationaux et, plus largement, la population nationale dans l'accès au marché du travail helvétique.

Après la présentation d'un panorama chiffré de la situation des étudiants internationaux en Suisse, nous présentons le cadre législatif actuel, ainsi que les tentatives de l'assouplir en faveur des diplômés venus d'ailleurs et nous fournissons quelques pistes explicatives de ce changement. Nous terminons en montrant l'existence des résistances significatives concernant la présence des étudiants internationaux et nous discutons les implications de celles-ci pour la mise en œuvre d'une nouvelle politique à leur égard.

LES ÉTUDIANTS INTERNATIONAUX EN CHIFFRES

Le système d'éducation supérieure suisse est composé d'une part des Hautes écoles universitaires (HEU) - à savoir des universités cantonales et des Ecoles polytechniques fédérales - et d'autre part, à partir de 1997, des Hautes écoles spécialisées (HES), appelées aussi universités professionnelles. En ce qui concerne les HEU, la Suisse est traditionnellement un pays plutôt ouvert à la formation des étudiants internationaux. Selon les chiffres de l'Office fédéral de la statistique (2010), ces étudiants représentaient en 1990, 13 % du total d'étudiants des HEU. Toutefois leur présence s'est accrue de manière significative à partir des années 2000 et ceci dans un contexte d'augmentation générale du nombre d'étudiants¹. Ainsi, en 2000, les étudiants internationaux représentent 14,5 % du total des étudiants, alors qu'en 2009 leur proportion passe à 21 %. L'évolution est aussi appréciable en chiffres absolus : si en 2000, ils étaient 13,987, leur nombre a presque doublé en 10 ans, passant à 26,867 en 2009.

On observe une évolution semblable pour les HES, alors que leur présence dans le paysage de l'éducation supérieure helvétique est plus récente : on est passé de 8,3 % d'étudiants internationaux en 2000 à 10,3 % en 2009. En chiffres absolus, de 2,094 à 7,180 étudiants. En ce qui concerne l'origine nationale des étudiants internationaux dans les HEU en 2009, trois quarts des étudiants sont

des ressortissants européens et la moitié de trois pays limitrophes : l'Allemagne, la France et l'Italie. Toutefois, on observe tout de même que 10,2% des étudiants internationaux sont des Asiatiques, 7,5% des Américains du Nord et du Sud, et 5,6% des Africains (OFS, 2010).

La plupart des étudiants internationaux se trouvent en doctorat (48%), avec des maîtrises à 30% et un modeste 18% au niveau baccalauréat. Quant aux matières étudiées, la croissance la plus forte est enregistrée dans les sciences techniques. Il est en outre intéressant de constater que 35% des étudiants internationaux en Suisse sont enregistrés dans des programmes de recherche avancés. La Suisse applique *de facto* une politique de migration qualifiée depuis au moins deux décennies. Avec un taux de seulement 26% d'éducation tertiaire, le pays est largement dépendant des étudiants internationaux en matière de recherche et de qualifications (D'Amato, 2010).

UNE LÉGISLATION RESTRICTIVE ET DES TENTATIVES D'OUVERTURE

Malgré la présence d'un nombre croissant d'étudiants internationaux, la législation suisse prévoit toujours une série de conditions pour que ces étudiants puissent accéder aux hautes écoles suisses. En effet, la nouvelle Loi sur les étrangers (LEtr), approuvée en 2006 et entrée en vigueur le 1^{er} janvier 2008, stipule dans l'article 27 qu'un étranger doit remplir les conditions suivantes pour poursuivre sa formation en Suisse :

- a. la direction de l'établissement confirme qu'il peut suivre la formation ou le perfectionnement envisagé;
- b. il dispose d'un logement approprié;
- c. il dispose des moyens financiers nécessaires;
- d. il paraît assuré qu'il quittera la Suisse.

Les conditions énumérées ci-dessus sont cumulatives, mais le fait de réunir la totalité des conditions posées à l'article mentionné ne justifie pas encore l'octroi d'une autorisation de séjour, qui est laissé à l'appréciation des autorités de police des étrangers. L'examen est particulièrement attentif pour les ressortissants des pays d'Afrique et d'Amérique latine, comme nous avons pu le constater dans une recherche récente (Bolzman et al., 2010). Par ailleurs, le cursus académique des étudiants issus de ces pays est suivi de près : le redoublement d'une année ou le changement d'orientation peuvent signifier le non renouvellement ou le blocage du permis de séjour (Bolzman et Guissé, 2010).

Dans la mesure où en Europe, plus de 90% des étudiants extra-européens financent eux-mêmes leurs études (Noukakis & Belogi, 2010), ces étudiants doivent travailler à côté pour assurer leur subsistance. En Suisse, un tiers des étudiants internationaux, toutes origines confondues, exercent une activité rémunérée au moins à

20% (OFS, 2010). En effet, dans les villes suisses le coût de la vie est élevé et la pénurie du logement ne rend pas facile la possibilité de trouver une chambre à des prix abordables pour l'ensemble des étudiants, y compris les nationaux. Les étudiants du Sud ne constituent pas une exception à cette situation. Le budget mensuel à disposition des étudiants interrogés dans notre recherche est en moyenne de 1500 francs suisses (Bolzman et al., 2010). Pas suffisant pour vivre, puisqu'une enquête menée à l'Université de Genève estime à environ 2000 francs suisses le montant nécessaire avec lesquels un étudiant devrait pouvoir couvrir ses frais mensuels de subsistance (Stassen et al. 2005). Le fait de travailler à côté peut avoir des effets négatifs sur le rendement académique et remettre ainsi en cause le maintien du permis de séjour.

Mais la problématique principale à laquelle sont confrontés les étudiants du Sud est, comme l'indique l'art.27d de la LEtr, l'impossibilité de rester en Suisse après l'obtention du diplôme d'une haute école, question qui ne se pose pas pour les ressortissants de l'Union européenne (UE), du fait de l'existence depuis 2002, des Accords de libre circulation de personnes (ALCP) entre la Suisse et l'UE. Un nombre croissant d'acteurs politiques et institutionnels souhaiteraient un changement législatif afin d'ouvrir plus de portes au niveau de l'emploi à l'ensemble de ces diplômés, qui ont le plus souvent achevé une maîtrise ou un doctorat.

Déjà en 2007, divers parlementaires cantonaux, comme ceux de Genève et Vaud, proposent des résolutions dans le but de permettre aux diplômés étrangers de travailler en Suisse. Ces élus visent à influencer les dispositions d'application de la nouvelle Loi sur les étrangers.

Actuellement une modification de la LEtr est discutée au parlement fédéral à l'initiative de Jacques Neirynck, un ancien professeur de l'Ecole polytechnique fédérale de Lausanne (EPFL), la haute école qui comporte la proportion la plus élevée d'étudiants internationaux en Suisse². Les buts de cette initiative se situent à trois niveaux :

- assouplir l'ordre de priorités en vue d'une activité lucrative, en modifiant l'article 21 de la LEtr :

« de manière à permettre également aux ressortissants d'États tiers diplômés d'une haute école suisse d'être admis sur le marché du travail si leur activité lucrative revêt un intérêt scientifique ou économique prépondérant »;

- modifier l'article 27 LEtr :

« de manière à ne plus lier l'octroi d'une autorisation de séjour à des fins de formation ou de perfectionnement au critère de 'sortie de Suisse assurée' ».

Un délai serait accordé aux étudiants étrangers pour qu'ils puissent chercher du travail en Suisse après l'obtention de leur diplôme;

- faciliter la transformation du permis d'étudiant en permis d'établissement en modifiant l'art 34 LEtr :

« de manière que les séjours effectués à des fins de formation ou de perfectionnement soient pris en compte, à certaines conditions, dans le calcul du nombre d'années nécessaires à l'obtention d'une autorisation d'établissement » (cité par Valdivia, 2010).

Cette initiative a reçu un accueil plutôt favorable, puisqu'elle a été acceptée par le Conseil national (chambre basse), mais doit encore être approuvée par le Conseil des États (chambre haute), ce qui est loin d'être assuré, comme nous le verrons plus bas.

FACTEURS DE CHANGEMENT

Lors de la dernière décennie, l'intérêt des États européens pour les « migrants qualifiés » s'est accru. Des pays comme l'Allemagne, la France et le Royaume-Uni ciblent une migration composée des personnes avec des formations de niveau tertiaire et spécialisées dans certains domaines, tels que la santé, l'ingénierie ou l'informatique (Bolzman, 2007). Il en va de même pour la mobilité des étudiants. Différents États cherchent à attirer les « cerveaux » étrangers en devenir dans leurs établissements d'enseignement supérieur. La Suisse s'inscrit aussi dans cette tendance plus large (Bolzman et Guissé, 2010).

L'encouragement à la mobilité des étudiants est également accentué par la valorisation de la doctrine du capital humain qui considère, d'un point de vue sociétal, que l'investissement dans l'enseignement et l'acquisition des compétences est un facteur aussi important pour la croissance économique que l'investissement dans des équipements matériels (Papatsiba, 2003).

Dans un contexte de globalisation, la Suisse cherche en effet à développer une économie à haute valeur ajoutée, basée sur la connaissance et l'innovation, et tente d'améliorer ses atouts pour attirer les talents face à la concurrence des autres États industrialisés. Comme le signale la « Proposition de résolution. Permettons aux diplômés étrangers de travailler en Suisse! » du 27 novembre 2007 et signée par une vingtaine des membres du parlement du canton de Genève, parmi les arguments qui plaident pour garder ces diplômés en Suisse on peut mentionner :

« la nécessité, pour le dynamisme de notre pays, de ne pas rester à l'écart des flux mondiaux de l'intelligence et des

compétences (...) la concurrence tenace que se livrent entre elles les nations occidentales pour retenir 'leurs talents' »³.

La politique migratoire de la Suisse est clairement orientée vers la recherche d'une immigration qualifiée, mais les étudiants internationaux étaient les oubliés de ce modèle jusqu'à présent. Il fallait y remédier, d'autant plus que les acteurs économiques, universitaires et politiques s'aperçoivent d'une part que la Suisse ne forme pas assez de jeunes socialisés au pays jusqu'au niveau tertiaire, d'autre part qu'une bonne partie des étudiants ne rentrent pas dans leur pays d'origine après la fin de leurs études, mais au contraire, vont chercher à exercer leurs compétences dans d'autres États industrialisés, donc chez les concurrents directs de l'économie suisse (Guissé, 2010). L'argument de la contribution au développement des pays du Sud à partir de la formation des élites de ces pays a en fait perdu de sa pertinence.

Du côté de l'enseignement supérieur on observe également des transformations qui amènent à une internationalisation de l'éducation et à une concurrence accrue entre les hautes écoles pour attirer des étudiants du monde entier (Carton et al., 2003). La Suisse n'échappe pas à cette tendance. En outre, les modifications des modes de subventionnement, des hautes écoles en fonction du nombre d'étudiants, poussent ces dernières à accroître le nombre d'inscrits, y compris de l'étranger. Par ailleurs, l'importance prise par les classements internationaux des universités, dans lesquels le degré d'internationalisation des enseignants et des étudiants constitue également une dimension qui compte, encourage les établissements supérieurs, pour des raisons de notoriété, à valoriser la présence des étudiants venus d'ailleurs (Bolzman et Guissé, 2010).

LES RÉSISTANCES À L'INTERNATIONALISATION DES HAUTES ÉCOLES

Le processus d'ouverture aux étudiants internationaux ne fait cependant pas l'unanimité dans le monde politique. L'Union Démocratique du Centre (UDC), parti conservateur populiste, a déposé début décembre 2010 une interpellation urgente demandant de lutter contre « l'invasion d'étrangers dans les universités » et l'introduction d'examens d'admission ou d'un contingentement pour les étudiants venus d'ailleurs. Et c'est dans ce climat que le Conseil des États a accepté un postulat du sénateur démocrate chrétien Ivo Bischofberger, qui charge le Conseil fédéral (gouvernement) d'examiner la question⁴.

Les tenants d'un certain protectionnisme estiment qu'il y a trop d'étudiants étrangers, qu'ils menacent la qualité de la formation dans les hautes écoles, car leur niveau serait

inférieur à celui des étudiants suisses et qu'ils coûtent cher aux contribuables, car ils payent les mêmes taxes d'inscription que les étudiants nationaux, plutôt modestes en comparaison internationale.

Les chiffres de l'Office fédéral de la statistique réfutent l'affirmation selon laquelle les étudiants internationaux tendent à diminuer le niveau des hautes écoles, puisque 78 % de ces étudiants sont inscrits dans des maîtrises et des doctorats. De plus, au moins la moitié des prix d'excellence de l'EPFL leur sont attribués. Pour ce qui est de la présumée invasion, Patrick Aebischer, président de l'EPFL, la réfute : « Nous sélectionnons nos candidats. Cette année près de 2000 personnes ont postulé pour suivre nos maîtrises, nous en avons admis 178 »⁵. Quant au coût de leur formation, ces critiques pourraient pousser à une augmentation de taxes d'immatriculation pour les étudiants étrangers, voire pour l'ensemble des étudiants.

REMARQUES FINALES

Les positions protectionnistes font partie de la logique traditionnelle de méfiance d'une partie des acteurs politiques suisses à l'égard de la population étrangère⁶ et les étudiants internationaux constituent une nouvelle cible pour eux. Paradoxalement les positions les plus critiques proviennent de la Suisse alémanique où le taux d'étudiants internationaux est plus bas que dans les HEU de Suisse romande⁷.

Aussi peu fondées que ces critiques puissent être, elles exercent néanmoins une pression sur les autorités politiques et universitaires et peuvent induire une limitation de l'ouverture des hautes écoles vis-à-vis des étudiants internationaux. En tout cas, il est possible qu'une politique différenciée voie le jour, avec le maintien de l'internationalisation du côté francophone et une tendance plus restrictive du côté germanophone.

Dans cette perspective, le nouveau contexte peut avoir une influence sur la mise en place de la politique visant à permettre aux diplômés internationaux des hautes écoles suisses de s'insérer sur le marché du travail en tant que migrants hautement qualifiés et de s'installer à long terme dans le pays.

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NOTES

¹ Le nombre total d'étudiants est passé de 85 940 en 1990 à 126 940 en 2009.

² Avec l'Université de la Suisse italienne. La proportion est de 60 % à cette université et de 43 % à l'EPFL.

³ Secrétariat du Grand Conseil, R550, 15 novembre 2007, p.2.

⁴ Cité par L'Hebdo, 9 décembre 2010, p. 44.

⁵ Cité par L'Hebdo, 9 décembre 2010, p.44.

⁶ L'UDC accuse aussi les jeunes issus de l'immigration de baisser le niveau des écoles primaires et secondaires et propose l'instauration des classes séparées pour ces jeunes.

⁷ Les Universités de Lucerne, Berne et Zurich ont un taux d'étudiants étrangers inférieur à 20 %, alors que l'Université de Genève accueille plus de 30 % et l'EPFL plus de 40 % (OFS, 2010).

UN ÉTUDIANT AFRICAIN À L'UNIVERSITÉ DE FRIBOURG : UN « ÉTRANGER D'UN CERTAIN TYPE ? » OU LE RÉCIT DE VIE, RÉVÉLATEUR DU RÔLE DE MÉDIATEUR

Après une licence en Histoire de l'Art à l'Université de Lausanne, **Alessandra Gerber** a obtenu une maîtrise en Didactique du Français Langue Étrangère au Département de Sciences du Plurilinguisme et des Langues Étrangères de l'Université de Fribourg. Aujourd'hui, elle poursuit ses recherches sur l'étudiant de mobilité internationale dans le cadre d'un doctorat. Elle enseigne au Centre de Langues de l'Université de Fribourg et à la Haute École de Gestion de Fribourg.

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RÉSUMÉ

Les auteurs analysent trois récits de vie d'étudiants africains diplômés de l'Université de Fribourg en Suisse souhaitant rester dans le pays, et tentent d'identifier leurs stratégies pour s'insérer dans le tissu social et économique. Ces récits, qui s'apparentent aux récits initiatiques, auront une double fonction : celle de faire naître une posture réflexive chez le narrateur qui conscientisera les ressources mobilisées, les capitaux acquis durant l'expérience de mobilité, et celle de lui révéler progressivement le rôle de « médiateur » qu'il a, à son insu, endossé.

Nous présentons ici les résultats d'une recherche menée auprès de trois étudiants africains dans le contexte de Fribourg en Suisse en analysant leurs récits de vie.¹ Le but de cette enquête était de cerner la manière dont ces étudiants étrangers se percevaient et percevaient leur expérience sur les plans social, académique et professionnel. Comment géraient-ils leur passage du statut d'étudiant à celui d'immigré désirant rester en Suisse ? Quelles ressources ont-ils mobilisées et quelles stratégies ont-ils élaborées ? Quelle place leur a été faite (se sont-ils faite) à l'université, sur le marché de l'emploi et dans l'espace social de la ville ? Trouve-t-on dans ces récits des traces des discours portés sur les étrangers ? Comment y répondent-ils ?

La ville de Fribourg héberge une université bilingue, majoritairement germanophone, où l'étudiant peut choisir de faire ses études dans une seule langue². L'université attire une proportion importante d'étudiants de mobilité internationale depuis sa fondation en 1889³. La Faculté de théologie, entre autres, a une longue tradition d'accueil d'étudiants étrangers, notamment noirs africains. L'université

suisse relève du système public et les frais d'inscription sont peu élevés car financés par l'État du canton et la Confédération. Jusqu'à aujourd'hui les tarifs sont les mêmes pour les étudiants suisses et internationaux.

Dans cette petite ville médiévale et catholique, par tradition les prêtres louent des chambres bon marché aux étudiants étrangers. Le Couvent des Augustins, d'ailleurs, a été un lieu important durant notre enquête car c'est là que Johannes, l'un de nos interlocuteurs, donnait le cours de danse latino-américaine au cours duquel nous avons rencontré nos trois informateurs. Johannes et Tariq y résidaient lorsque nous avons mené nos entretiens.

Après une longue période passée à la recherche d'un emploi (dans le pays d'origine ou en Suisse), les trois étudiants africains avaient tous, au moment de l'enquête, repris des études. L'Éthiopien Johannes, devenu juriste, s'était inscrit en doctorat en vue d'obtenir le brevet d'avocat. Après une licence en psychologie au Togo, Robert avait obtenu une licence en journalisme et en sociologie à Fribourg et s'engageait dans un doctorat en psychologie.

Après trois années de pharmacie, Tariq, un marocain, avait commencé un baccalauréat en informatique à l'Université de Fribourg.

LE RÉCIT : UNE STRUCTURE TYPE OU LA CONQUÊTE D'UN ESPACE SOCIAL

Dans la rencontre avec l'«autre natif» en situation de mobilité, le récit est devenu un «événement» quotidien car les occasions de se raconter se démultiplient (Kaufmann, 2004) et le fait de devoir justifier sa présence devient une habitude. C'est par le récit que l'on se constitue une image – pour les autres, mais aussi pour soi-même. Un travail de mémoire commence : on sélectionne les épisodes de son histoire qui paraissent les plus pertinents pour montrer que l'on est à sa place.

L'analyse des récits de ces trois étudiants nous a permis d'en dégager une structure type :

- *La description du milieu familial* ou l'exposition des capitaux de départ (Bourdieu, 1980). Des parents de classe moyenne dont on souligne les valeurs éducatives (celles du travail) ont constitué un «cocon» de tranquillité, propice aux études de leurs enfants (Tariq). Une trajectoire scolaire sans failles jusqu'aux études universitaires pour la fratrie, le manque de débouchés professionnels dans le pays d'origine et les départs successifs à l'étranger.
- *Le départ du narrateur et son «atterrissage» en Suisse grâce à la mobilisation de réseaux*. Tariq et Robert ont été accueillis par leurs frères, investis du rôle de tuteurs. Johannes a «atterri chez des amis d'amis». Robert avait entendu parler de Fribourg par «un ami d'un ami qui y étudiait la théologie en vue de devenir prêtre». Prolongement du cercle familial, les «amis d'amis» constituent un deuxième réseau de solidarité par amis interposés.
- *Devenir acteur de sa propre mobilité* :

Je portais carte blanche. Je suis catégorique, les entre-deux, ça me perturbe. Je portais pour découvrir à fond, pour étudier, pour savoir ce qui se passe de l'autre côté. L'exemple de mes frères a certainement joué un rôle dans mon détachement, mais je ne les ai pas imités. S'ils n'étaient pas partis, je serais parti (Robert).

Autant le narrateur avait soigné l'exposition du «cocon» protecteur, autant la prise en charge de sa trajectoire ne peut apparaître qu'en soulignant son détachement. Robert déclare refuser l'état «entre-deux». Il réfute l'excuse de la nostalgie, alibi fréquemment utilisé pour expliquer les difficultés qu'ont les migrants à s'intégrer dans la société d'accueil.

- *La constitution de nouveaux réseaux sociaux* par l'université et les associations (sport, études, religion). Les premiers «jobs» alimentaires grâce à ces réseaux. Des rencontres amoureuses précédant LA rencontre de la future épouse pour Tariq et Robert.
- *Le retour au pays pour les vacances* après l'obtention du diplôme suisse, l'annonce du mariage. Étape importante pour la reconnaissance par la famille ou le clan d'une première étape de réussite sociale.
- *La décision de rester en Suisse*, la quête d'un «vrai emploi», malheureusement non fructueuse et la reprise des études pour augmenter ses chances ou pour mieux repartir ailleurs : l'Amérique (Johannes) ou le Canada (Tariq).

Par une démarche similaire, les trois narrateurs visent, consciemment ou non, le même objectif : après avoir exposé les ressources mobilisées et les stratégies élaborées pour réussir leurs études, ils (dé)montrent comment ils ont su les faire fructifier.

STRATÉGIES DE DISTINCTION VERSUS DE CONFORMITÉ

Selon l'interlocuteur auquel ils ont affaire et les enjeux qui lui sont liés, l'image de soi que l'on donne peut osciller. Percevant dans le regard des Suisses des représentations de «l'étranger», le narrateur choisit soit de s'en distinguer, soit de s'y conformer.

Comme tous les Éthiopiens étudiant à l'étranger, je n'ai eu que très peu de contacts en dehors du campus. Même si je rencontrais des étrangers, il s'agissait de personnes éduquées, des étudiants qui savent parler et qui maîtrisent plusieurs langues. C'était des étrangers d'un certain type, le même type de gens (Johannes).

Les valeurs qui ont été privilégiées par nos parents sont la valorisation d'une bonne éducation, la concentration sur les études et l'apprentissage des langues étrangères, qui restent des critères fondamentaux dans le «choix» des réseaux sociaux. Johannes ne côtoie que «des étrangers d'un certain type, le même type de gens» que lui. Nous ne savons pas si ce souci de distinction correspond effectivement à la réalité, mais c'est ce qu'il désire nous montrer. L'usage du «même si je rencontrais des étrangers», semble anticiper les critiques à l'encontre des étrangers se repliant sur leur groupe d'appartenance nationale.

Cette remarque, Tariq la reprend à son compte pour critiquer à son tour «certains étrangers [...]» comme les Asiatiques, mais aussi les Musulmans, les Noirs :

Ce sont les médias qui manipulent l'info. Le Temps, La Liberté, c'est tout du déchet.⁴ Il faut faire attention avant de juger les autres. Ils n'ont pas la vie facile. Certains, ils travaillent tous les deux, mais n'ont pas assez d'argent pour la famille. C'est normal qu'ils ne soient pas là pour éduquer leurs enfants! Parfois, les discussions dans le bus me font quand même du mal, mais certains étrangers ont aussi leur responsabilité! Certains, comme les Asiatiques, n'apprennent pas la langue, restent entre eux avec une seule idée en tête : rentrer au pays. Cela ne va pas les aider à s'intégrer. Mais ce ne sont pas seulement les Asiatiques mais aussi les Musulmans, les Noirs.

Moi, je me sens concerné parce que j'ai une tête d'Arabe (Tariq).

Bien que l'histoire de l'enfant d'immigré délaissé par les parents ne soit pas la sienne – il a grandi lui-même dans un milieu intellectuellement stimulant, Tariq se sent « concerné parce qu' [il a] une tête d'Arabe ». Le jeune homme voudrait se distancier de ces étrangers « qui n'apprennent pas la langue », mais souffre des jugements généralisateurs sur « les Arabes » qui circulent dans la collectivité, amplifiés par les médias.

À force de ne pas vouloir correspondre aux stéréotypes des Suisses sur les Noirs Africains, Robert sent qu'il risque de perdre un savoir-faire musical auquel il tient :

J'essaie d'éviter les clichés; ne pas me présenter sous l'angle du cliché que l'on a de moi. Mais en évitant les clichés, j'étais en train de perdre une partie de moi-même. Le tam-tam par exemple : j'arrive à un endroit où il y a un tam-tam. J'ai envie de jouer, mais comme je veux éviter les clichés, je ne vais pas jouer; alors que dans ma famille, mon papa est joueur de tam-tam, moi je suis joueur de tam-tam, mon frère aussi. Je me fais du mal pour finir (Robert).

Johannes, en s'improvisant professeur de danse latino-américaine, a fini par jouer du « capital sympathie » que son talent et son physique suscitaient. Les clichés sur les Noirs Africains « qui ont la danse dans le sang » lui ont permis d'abandonner la vente par téléphone pour un « job » plus gratifiant – bien qu'enfermant puisqu'il l'éloigne du statut de juriste auquel il aspire.

Nos trois narrateurs ont identifié les habitudes des Suisses et tentent de s'y « formater » (Tariq). Les récits font état de comportements superfétatoires où ils se montrent

« encore plus Suisses que les Suisses » (Johannes). Ainsi Tariq est devenu intolérant à l'égard de ses amis quand ils sont en retard à un rendez-vous; il s'excuse en disant : « je suis suisse pour les horaires ».

Au niveau propreté, c'était bien. Je n'étais pas quelqu'un qui n'était pas intégré. Mais c'était plutôt mon côté Sud, tu vois, j'aimais bien que des amis viennent des fois prendre un verre à la maison et ça, c'était dur pour ... eux [...] Je me sens suisse, je te jure, c'est la merde. Quand j'étais au Maroc je voulais un environnement calme et c'est ce que j'ai trouvé en Suisse. Les poubelles comme ils font chez eux, la cuisine.... C'est plus simple de vivre ici...

Ici « propreté » rime avec « intégré »; il faut noter au passage l'insistance sur la double négation. Quand Tariq compare la Suisse et le Maroc, un basculement s'opère dans la désignation de « l'autre » par le pronom « eux » : « eux - les Suisses » sont remplacés par « eux - les Marocains », après avoir dit « je me sens Suisse, je te jure, c'est la merde ».

STRATÉGIES DE LÉGITIMATION

Dans les trois récits, la reconnaissance du statut d'étudiant diplômé apparaît comme une revendication centrale, permettant de légitimer sa présence car la durée « indéterminée » du séjour doit être justifiée.

Mais la plupart des gens te demandent : « Qu'est-ce que tu vas faire dans le futur? ». En fait, ils veulent savoir si tu veux rester. Comment on répond à cette question? Je ne sais pas. On tombe amoureux d'un pays – mais un pays, c'est pas comme une personne, on ne peut pas le prendre avec soi. C'est délicat. Je préfère aller au Canada. Là-bas, il y a une loi qui te permet d'y aller selon des points. On ne te pose pas de question d'où tu viens (Tariq).

Alors que Fribourg accueille volontiers des étudiants de mobilité pour des échanges de courte durée, de type *Erasmus*, il semble difficile à l'étudiant qui n'est pas de passage (ou ne désire plus l'être) de s'y insérer durablement.

Nos étudiants africains ont un statut ambigu entre la position valorisante d'étudiant international et celle de migrant socialement dénigrée. Cet amalgame les touche en particulier pour l'accès au monde professionnel. Pour prouver qu'ils ne « pèsent pas sur la Suisse », ils se distancient des traits péjoratifs attribués au « migrant » : bas niveau d'éducation, pas ou peu de qualifications, ignorance des langues du pays, réclamation d'aides financières, etc.

*J'ai tout payé et je ne dois rien à personne.
C'est ce que je peux répondre aux gens
qui pensent que les étudiants sont des
profiteurs (Robert).*

Robert, par exemple, récusé les accusations portées sur les étudiants perçus comme des « profiteurs » et « coûtant cher à la société » etc.

C'est leur inscription à l'université qui leur a ouvert les portes – Robert, d'ailleurs, se rappelle avoir dû se battre pour être accepté. Détenteur d'un diplôme de psychologie au Togo, on ne voyait pas pourquoi il bénéficierait d'une formation complémentaire en sociologie et journalisme. Le droit au statut d'étudiant est crucial car c'est le seul par lequel on lui reconnaît une existence sociale.

STRATÉGIES D'INSERTION OU STRATÉGIES DE TRANSITION SOCIALE ?

Comme le font tous les étudiants (locaux et de mobilité), nos interlocuteurs ont accepté à leur arrivée des emplois en dessous de leurs qualifications (vente de cosmétiques par téléphone, surveillance nocturne d'un hôtel, nettoyages de toilettes publiques). Ces « petits jobs », qui auraient dû être provisoires, ont fini par durer.

Les études de Tariq ont été bloquées car il n'a jamais trouvé de stage alors que tous ces collègues suisses ont été facilement placés. Il se résigne : « pour éviter les tensions, j'accepte des postes décalés ». Finalement, ce sont les communautés religieuses qui permettront à Robert de devenir servant de messe et éducateur « option rue », et à Johannes d'avoir un poste d'assistant à 20 % en Faculté de droit (grâce à un professeur en théologie).

Malgré le niveau de leurs diplômes, le juriste et le psychologue s'accrochent à ces postes alimentaires car la recherche d'un « vrai emploi » reste infructueuse. Aujourd'hui, Robert et Tariq disent attendre que leurs femmes terminent leurs études. Après un stage de six mois à l'Institut d'études éthiopiennes de Francfort, Johannes rêve de partir aux États-Unis et Tariq parle du Canada, pays où « les Africains [diplômés] trouvent du travail ».

L'ÉMERGENCE DU RÔLE DE MÉDIATEUR

À travers ces récits, nous constatons que nos interlocuteurs prennent un rôle de plus en plus actif d'intermédiaires. Tariq permet « l'atterrissage » à Fribourg de ses amis sans toit – africains ou autres – en leur prêtant son lit. Johannes met à profit son conseil juridique pour aider les étrangers à résoudre des difficultés administratives. Robert devient éducateur « option rue ».

Au départ, ils agissent de manière bénévole : ce sont des **médiateurs improvisés ou innommés** (de Briant et Palau, 1999). Puis leur entourage les sollicite de plus en plus pour qu'ils facilitent – à leur tour – l'insertion sociale des autres étudiants : ils accèdent alors au statut de **médiateur élu**. Ils se sont constitués peu à peu des « niches » professionnelles et deviennent des **médiateurs officiels, nommés**. Ainsi, Johannes et Robert ont obtenu une reconnaissance professionnelle partielle : l'un est assistant à l'université, l'autre éducateur. Aujourd'hui, tous deux théorisent leur expérience dans des études de doctorat.

Pour nos narrateurs, qui appartiennent à l'élite mais qui sont déclassés socialement, le récit est un lieu de remédiation identitaire : il leur a permis d'identifier les tensions potentielles avec les membres de la société d'accueil et d'élaborer des *stratégies de réhabilitation*, mais il leur a aussi permis de se percevoir en tant que *passeurs de cette expérience* à des tiers. Dans cette perspective, le récit leur a révélé leur rôle de médiateur.

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¹ Cette recherche a fait l'objet d'un travail de maîtrise sous la direction d'A. Gohard-Radenkovic, soutenu en 2008. Article publié en 2009 : « Le récit de vie, un récit initiatique révélateur d'un double processus de médiation. Le cas d'étudiants africains dans le contexte fribourgeois », in Aline Gohard-Radenkovic et Lilyane Rachédy, *Récits de vie, récits de langues et mobilités*. Paris : L'Harmattan. Mémoire publié en 2010 : *Du narrateur au médiateur, stratégies d'intégration d'étudiants africains à l'université de Fribourg*, Saarbrücken : Editions Universitaires Européennes.

² Une ville à majorité francophone dans un canton officiellement bilingue composé de deux tiers de francophones et un tiers de germanophones.

³ Une ville de 30 000 habitants (sans son agglomération) avec environ 10 000 étudiants dont 10 % d'étrangers.

⁴ *Le Temps*, quotidien de la Suisse romande et *La Liberté*, quotidien du Canton de Fribourg.

MIGRATIONS ÉTUDIANTES AFRICAINES EN SUISSE. DE LA QUÊTE DE CONNAISSANCE AUX ASPIRATIONS DE RECONNAISSANCE. LES MOBILITÉS¹ EMPRUNTÉES DES DIPLÔMÉS AFRICAINS SUISSES

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RÉSUMÉ

Un postulat implicite est au centre de la réflexion qui suit. La Suisse tend à devenir un pourvoyeur des migrants qualifiés à d'autres économies concurrentes, le Canada en l'occurrence. Se basant sur les résultats de recherche d'un travail de thèse qui a porté sur les étudiants africains en formation en Suisse, l'article restitue quelques aspects des conditions d'émergence du projet migratoire des étudiants africains et fournit une analyse dynamique des trajectoires migratoires des diplômés africains.

INTRODUCTION

La mobilité des étudiants² étrangers ressortissants des pays du Sud vers le Nord est souvent perçue par les pays d'accueil comme une immigration déguisée. Du point de vue de l'État d'accueil, cette migration étudiante est souvent assimilée à une manière de contourner les obstacles juridiques posés pour contenir l'émigration dite « classique » de la main-d'œuvre. Il s'ensuit que l'accueil des étudiants étrangers, notamment de ceux en provenance des pays africains, connaît un traitement à caractère migratoire. Le contexte européen reste ainsi de manière générale marqué par des rigidités structurelles avec des variations selon les pays, en ce qui concerne l'accès à la citoyenneté et à l'emploi des diplômés étrangers. Ce qui se traduit souvent soit par des formes de gaspillage de ressources humaines qualifiées, soit par des pratiques de mobilité créatives, rendues possibles par d'autres pays qui développent des politiques d'attraction des migrants qualifiés.

La réflexion sur la migration estudiantine ne peut donc faire l'économie du rôle de l'État-nation dans les processus d'assignation, de configuration et de reconfiguration du projet migratoire d'études de ces étudiants étrangers. Sous cette perspective, nous avons été amené dans le cadre de notre travail de thèse (Guissé, 2010), à mettre en évidence l'impact des contextes d'origine et de résidence sur des migrants en voie de qualification et à nous interroger sur la manière dont est utilisé le capital humain dont sont porteurs ces étudiants. Dans cette étude qualitative qui a porté sur les étudiants africains en formation en Suisse, il nous est apparu que les conditions de formation des étudiants africains en Suisse produisaient irrémédiablement des formes de mobilité par défaut des diplômés africains, qui vivent ainsi une situation de moratoire migratoire marquée par un retour au pays d'origine problématique et une installation dans le pays de formation incertaine.

Dans le cadre de l'espace réduit de cet article, sont proposées une description sommaire de quelques aspects

des conditions d'émergence du projet migratoire d'étude des étudiants africains en Suisse et une analyse synthétique des dynamiques de réinscription des parcours individués de formation dans des réseaux de transnationalité.

PROJET MIGRATOIRE ET MOTIVATIONS POUR ÉTUDES DES ÉTUDIANTS AFRICAINS EN SUISSE

Du point de vue des individus, l'investissement dans son propre capital humain devrait favoriser l'employabilité, à savoir «la capacité dont les personnes doivent être dotées pour que l'on fasse appel à elles sur des projets. Le passage d'un projet à l'autre est l'occasion de faire grandir son employabilité» (Boltanski et Chiapello, 1999, 144). Ainsi, l'individu devrait devenir en quelque sorte un entrepreneur de son employabilité, chargé d'accumuler du capital humain, sous forme de compétences qu'il doit entretenir constamment et faire fructifier. Les expériences transnationales de formation peuvent favoriser l'acquisition et la valorisation de ce capital humain ultérieurement sur un marché du travail devenu de plus en plus compétitif.

Pour la plupart des étudiants originaires des pays d'Afrique, l'acquisition d'une formation tertiaire qualifiante constitue un atout indispensable pour une meilleure insertion dans la vie professionnelle. La formation constitue ainsi la base du projet migratoire de ces étudiants. C'est d'ailleurs sur cette base qu'ils sont autorisés à entrer en Suisse, et leur sortie devient effective dès que sera atteinte cette base de départ. Ce projet ou cette volonté de formation est loin d'être une lubie ou un acte isolé que prendrait à lui seul l'étudiant candidat au départ. Au contraire, si cette décision n'est pas prise collectivement, elle est du moins suscitée ou soutenue par la famille de l'étudiant. Chaque étudiant semble donc avoir construit son projet migratoire d'études en fonction d'un certain nombre des facteurs de «répulsion» et d'«attraction» de part et d'autre de son pays d'origine et de destination. C'est ce qui ressort en effet d'une série d'entretiens qualitatifs réalisés auprès des étudiants africains choisis à dessein. On peut postuler pour explication que l'inexistence ou la faiblesse des structures de formation tertiaire, de même qu'une conjoncture économique difficile ne favorisant pas l'insertion des diplômés, constituent autant de facteurs structurels et conjoncturels qui expliquent la migration pour études des étudiants africains. On aura observé par ailleurs une interrelation entre facteurs objectifs et subjectifs qui interviennent dans le projet migratoire de ces étudiants.

PROJET MIGRATOIRE DES ÉTUDIANTS ET CONDITIONS ÉCONOMIQUES DU PAYS DE DÉPART

À l'heure actuelle, l'axe «Sud-Nord» est l'une des caractéristiques fondamentales des migrations internationales. Ces dernières engendrent des interdépendances,

sources d'échange inégal, notamment dans la reconnaissance et la validation des savoirs produits. Les difficultés de transférabilité ou d'exportation des diplômes acquis dans les pays du Sud sur le marché international font en effet partie des facteurs importants de la mobilité de ces étudiants. Il existe donc un lien complexe entre les facteurs internes au pays d'émigration et les facteurs externes propres à la dynamique de la mondialisation. Il reste toutefois, qu'une série d'éléments conjoncturo-structurels, désignant un contexte de départ marqué par le chômage des diplômés et l'absence de perspectives professionnelles constituent le marqueur social de la migration étudiante africaine.

Moi, j'ai fini mes études là-bas au Cameroun, je faisais physique électronique, plutôt option électronique. Puis, vous savez le problème de chômage (...), j'ai galéré pendant trois ans, puis voilà, j'ai décidé de partir ailleurs, de faire d'autres études quoi (...), c'est pas facile dans le domaine où j'étais, le domaine de physique on a vraiment du chômage quoi, c'était destiné à l'enseignement, pour l'enseignement, on a beaucoup de chômeurs, c'est pas moi qu'y ai choisi de faire vraiment physique au début, hein. C'est juste la façon dont on réussit le baccalauréat, on a des choix quoi, c'était pas mon premier choix la physique, je voulais faire autre chose, si je faisais l'économie ce sera mieux pour moi.

Les difficultés d'insertion professionnelle des jeunes en fin de formation constituent l'un des premiers motifs de migration de ces jeunes du Sud vers les pays du Nord. Mais au-delà du chômage des diplômés – ce qui n'est pas d'ailleurs une spécificité des pays africains – il existe des difficultés structurelles liées aux modalités d'accès à l'enseignement supérieur où souvent l'étudiant est contraint de faire des choix.

Le manque d'opportunités de formation, lié à la diversité de l'offre (mesurable par l'étendue des disciplines proposées), constitue un élément structurel majeur qui explique le projet migratoire des étudiants du Sud. Ce déséquilibre entre l'offre de formation et la demande de formation est fonction du niveau de développement des pays, comme le montre par ailleurs le rapport de l'Unesco (1999) sur l'éducation. Selon ce rapport, à l'échelle mondiale, c'est au niveau des études supérieures que l'on observe les écarts les plus importants entre les pays quant aux perspectives offertes. Il existerait ainsi un lien entre le mouvement des étudiants des pays en développement et la faiblesse d'opportunités de formation dans leur pays d'origine. L'initiative d'aller étudier à l'étranger ou l'«idée d'aller voir ailleurs», reste

une action éminemment individuelle. Malgré l'existence de soutiens pluriels de la famille ou d'un réseau plus large, il reste que la migration des jeunes étudiants africains est le fruit de décisions personnelles et privées s'inscrivant dans l'individualisation croissante des modes de vie des étudiants. Toutefois, des facteurs constitués par ce que nous appelons une chaîne de pressions, d'abord de la société symbolisée par le contexte socio-économique sur la famille, ensuite de la famille sur l'étudiant candidat au départ, et le tout sous-tendu par une fascination ou raisons subjectives liées au pays de destination, participent à la formation et à la mise en œuvre du projet migratoire.

LOGIQUES ÉTATIQUES ET STRATÉGIES INDIVIDUELLES

Dans l'analyse des politiques d'immigration, Thomas Hammar (1985) distingue l'*immigration policy* (politique d'immigration) qui comprend l'ensemble des règles d'accès au territoire des migrants et des étrangers et l'*immigrant policy* (politique de l'immigrant), qui désigne les questions et conditions qui s'appliquent aux personnes migrantes présentes sur le territoire. Si le premier aspect souligne notamment la régulation des flux et le contrôle des migrants, leurs conditions d'admission, les types de titre de séjour octroyés et les garanties attachées au statut du résident, le second touche les questions liées aux conditions de travail et l'accès à certains droits sociaux et aux opportunités éducatives.

Une analyse situationnelle laisse apparaître que l'*immigration policy* définit d'emblée ces limites rattachées au statut d'étudiant africain de sorte que les opportunités d'incorporation dans le pays de résidence sont faibles. En supposant que ces diplômés africains suisses sont détenteurs de compétences mesurables au moyen d'une docimologie comprenant la formation qualifiante, les connaissances linguistiques, l'expérience professionnelle, l'âge, bref autant de critères de «désirabilité économique» (Hainard F. et al. 2001), on est tenté d'en déduire que l'inaccessibilité au marché de l'emploi de ces étrangers formés en Suisse obéit plus à des critères ethnoculturels qu'à des logiques d'employabilité. Dès lors que ces étudiants, acteurs stratégiques de redéfinition de leur projet professionnel, se rendent compte que les difficultés à «trouver place» sur le marché local sont fonction de leur appartenance ethno-culturelle, de leur passeport et non de leur diplôme, l'instrumentation des appartenances apparaît ainsi comme l'une des réponses trouvées qui permettent de faire face aux rigidités structurelles.

Ce qui fait donc sens pour ces «exilés du savoir» qui veulent instaurer un rapport souple avec l'État-Nation, c'est ce territoire que ces étudiants construisent, qu'ils parcourent, traversent, et conquièrent parfois (Tarrius, 1997). C'est dans cette situation d'imprécision du projet professionnel et d'incertitude du projet

migratoire, qu'ils développent et acquièrent des conduites d'*empowerment* propres à un stratège dans un contexte social défini en termes de concurrence et de ressources. C'est donc toute la logique d'un «individu dialogique» déterminé à se délester de toutes les contraintes, qui s'exprime à travers les stratégies individuées de ces diplômés africains en Suisse, de leur cheminement du local au transnational. Pour que cette origine cesse d'être un fardeau à la mobilité et un obstacle à l'accès au marché du travail, les étudiants investissent d'autres espaces, en l'occurrence le Canada, où l'intégration symbolisée par l'accès à la citoyenneté est plus aisée en comparaison à la réalité suisse où une certaine conception culturelle de la nation ferme l'accès de l'espace national aux migrants et les exclut fortement de la communauté des citoyen-n-es (Guigni et Passy, 2006). Cette «conception culturelle de la nation», c'est aussi la communautarisation des politiques migratoires européennes qui sont globalement de plus en plus restrictives à l'entrée de nouveaux étudiants, mais aussi défavorables à l'installation et à la transformation du statut d'étudiant en statut de travailleur. C'est sans doute cette homogénéisation des politiques migratoires de la communauté européenne, à tendance restrictive, qui explique le choix de ces étudiants d'orienter leur projet professionnel vers l'Amérique du Nord, notamment le Canada. Ce pays développe une approche qui repose sur l'établissement de quotas annuels d'entrée (de 220 à 225 000 personnes) en fonction des conditions du marché du travail. Un système de points³ est en effet utilisé pour vérifier l'admissibilité des candidats au titre de travailleur qualifié donnant droit à un permis permanent (OCDE, 2008). De ce point de vue l'immigration canadienne constitue une réponse à une précarité juridique et à un enfermement catégoriel qui caractérisent la situation de ces étudiants. C'est ce qui transparaît dans les propos de cet étudiant algérien :

Moi, je sais que je ne vais pas faire de vieux os ici, j'ai déjà fait 7 ans, je finis mes études, puis, après, je quitte, mais je ne dis pas que je retourne chez moi tout de suite, mais en tout cas je vais quitter le pays puisque y' a plus d'autre choix. Ce pays est trop compliqué, si tu n'as pas ton permis de séjour, tu ne peux rien faire, ni prendre une assurance, ni travail, tu ne peux pas aussi bouger. En plus, on n'a pas envie d'être un clandestin, alors qu'on sait qu'on a quand même quelque chose dans la tête qu'on peut utiliser.

On observera en outre que les compétences ou qualifications acquises au courant des études, constituent une sorte d'assurance sécurité qui ne donnent pas «envie d'être un clandestin». Toutefois, on notera que l'on ne devient pas clandestin par «envie», mais par contrainte

ou défaut d'alternatives à l'obligation de devoir quitter. On peut ainsi se demander dans quelle mesure l'absence d'issues susceptibles de permettre une reconnaissance/valorisation des ressources, peut propulser l'étudiant dans une situation de séjour irrégulier. Tout au plus constatons-nous, que, pour éviter de tomber dans une situation de clandestinité, c'est-à-dire d'irrégularité de séjour, marquée par un cumul de précarités et une perte totale d'initiatives, l'étudiant saisit les opportunités qu'offre le marché mondial des compétences.

Le Canada nous offre la possibilité de venir, rester, travailler et acquérir la citoyenneté en moins de cinq ans, soit le temps de faire sa licence ici. Avec le passeport canadien, c'est fini ces histoires de visa là, ça devient du passé. En plus des diplômes qu'on a ici en Suisse, on aura gagné en plusieurs expériences de vie. C'est vrai que l'emploi n'est pas garanti là-bas aussi, mais au moins tu peux te faire un projet de vie, faire venir par exemple ta famille. (étudiant camerounais).

Si donc au départ de l'aventure migratoire de formation, la stratégie consistait à ratisser large, avec toutefois une préférence pour un pays (en l'occurrence la Suisse), dans l'espoir d'être admis dans un de ces pays européens ciblés, il reste qu'une fois la formation accomplie, il devient de plus en plus difficile de reproduire cette stratégie initiale pour rediriger sa carrière de formation vers d'autres pays. Ceci en raison principalement d'une politique d'immigration de la plupart des pays européens moins inclusive en termes d'accès à la citoyenneté et au marché de l'emploi des diplômés africains. Il en résulte ainsi que, pour ces étudiants africains en formation en Suisse, le Canada apparaît comme l'un des rares pays occidentaux disposé à les incorporer dans sa société, et à se réappropriier leurs compétences et ressources. Ce pays (le Canada) qui était le lieu le plus difficilement accessible depuis la zone de départ de ces étudiants, en l'occurrence l'Afrique, devient ainsi l'unique destination qui favorise l'accès à son territoire aux africains, qui, à la faveur d'un détour en Suisse ont acquis tous les critères d'éligibilité à l'immigration canadienne. La logique du marché et la capacité d'un individu dialogique ont rendu possible cette situation. En conséquence, il apparaît ainsi que le pays de formation en l'occurrence la Suisse, crée les conditions de mobilité et d'inclusion (du moins sur le marché mondial) de ces étudiants étrangers en quête de légitimité de reconnaissance. C'est dire donc que les projets migratoires de ces diplômés africains suisses, circonscrits

par des logiques structurelles, se précisent et se redéfinissent à l'intersection de deux niveaux principalement, local et global. L'accès à la citoyenneté canadienne constitue de la sorte un véritable instrument de promotion sociale et d'*empowerment*. S'il en est ainsi, c'est parce que ces étudiants africains sont issus d'aires géographiques les plus discriminées en termes de circulation dans l'espace-monde où l'absence de capacité de mobilité représente un *capital symbolique négatif* qui redouble les difficultés d'accès au marché mondial de l'emploi. En ce sens, l'acquisition de la citoyenneté, en tant que démarche de construction de nouvelles allégeances en vue d'une participation dans le marché du travail, constitue une pratique transnationale de par les effets escomptés d'une telle démarche.

En perspective, il reste à explorer comment le Canada, qui apparaît comme étant le pays d'aboutissement des diplômés africains suisses, intègre les migrants qualifiés admis sur son sol sur la base de critères de compétences. Il reste également à évaluer ou analyser les implications de ces tendances de mobilités empruntées des diplômés africains, en termes de développement et de durabilité du système éducatif des pays d'origine.

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NOTES

¹ J'appelle mobilités empruntées, cette construction d'allégeances ou d'appartenances formelles par des diplômés africains, en mal de reconnaissance dans leur pays de résidence et en mal d'insertion professionnelle dans leur pays d'origine, aux fins de se doter d'une capacité circulatoire, perçue comme une anti-chambre à une mobilité socioprofessionnelle.

² Pour ne pas alourdir le texte nous utilisons le substantif étudiant au masculin, mais il désigne les deux sexes.

³ Six critères sont pris en compte : éducation, aptitudes linguistiques, expérience, âge, emploi non opposable et adaptabilité.

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INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS IN PORTUGAL

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ABSTRACT

This paper aims to make an exploratory analysis of the admission and retention policies towards foreign students enrolled in tertiary education in Portugal. Despite the limitations of the available data, we may conclude that throughout the last decade there has been a remarkable growth in the number of international students, namely from Brazil, Angola and Cape Verde. Portuguese policy has been driven by three fundamental pillars: the directions issued from the European institutions, the move towards the internationalization of higher education institutions and the continued cooperation with the former African colonies and Brazil.

INTRODUCTION

The economic globalization and the rising demand for highly skilled professionals in the most developed countries has been followed by the growth of the international mobility of students and by the internationalisation of higher education. According to Hugonnier (2007) the effects of this mobility are visible in three dimensions: the growing number of students pursuing higher education that are studying abroad; the rapid increase in the number of universities with a campus located in a foreign country and the number of partnerships or cooperative relationships developed with a foreign country by numerous universities and higher-education institutions. Thus, some of the more advanced economies like Canada and Australia have been developing active recruitment policies of highly skilled immigrants or higher education foreign students for a long time.

In the European Union, this issue was largely debated in the context of the so-called Lisbon Strategy, set out by the European Council in March 2000, which aimed to make the EU “the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world capable of sustained economic growth with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion” by the year 2010. The European Commission has also long been showing its concern with the brain drain of EU citizens to the USA and in 2005 a communication presenting the Policy Plan on Legal Migration proposed the establishment of a “Green card” similar to that of the USA for highly skilled migrants (Commission of the

European Communities 2005). However, only in May 2009, did the European Council definitively agree to set out a “Blue Card”, designed to attract highly skilled people from outside Europe. Under this scheme, high-skilled non-EU citizens can obtain an EU-wide work permit allowing them to work and live in any country within the European Union, excluding Denmark, Ireland and the United Kingdom, which are not subject to the proposal (Council Directive 2009/50/EC).

The EU has developed active policies stimulating the international mobility of students, teachers and researchers. The most sought and known are the large scale mobility programmes in the EU (like *Erasmus*) in which the student takes all or a part of his/her education in a foreign country. More recently the *Erasmus Mundus* programme improved mobility between the European Union and other parts of the world. The EU Commission has also put in place the Alfa programme for higher education with the aim to expand co-operation programmes with specific parts of the world, in this case with Latin America.

Recognizing the growing political relevance of the international mobility of students and the internationalization of higher education in Europe, the Council of Europe tried to introduce a more humanist vision of this issue in the public debate to enhance the personal and social development paradigm against the economic paradigm which has dominated the policy orientations for higher education (Serrano-Velarde 2010). In order to achieve this, the project “The University Between Humanism and the Market – Redefining its Values and Functions for the

21st Century” was launched at the international conference “New challenges to European higher education”, (20-21 November 2007).

In Portugal, the political debate on the importance of attracting and promoting the settlement of highly skilled professionals, mainly Portuguese citizens living abroad, only acquired some relevance at the beginning of the 21st century, following the launch of the Lisbon Strategy during the Portuguese Presidency of the EU. Thus, the Support Office for the Integration in Portugal of PhDs Living Abroad was set up in the National Foundation for Science and Technology (FCT) in 2001. It not only provides information on the Portuguese research institutions and on the corresponding integration opportunities, it also mediates contacts with those institutions and shares travel and settlement expenses in Portugal. Moreover, complying with the Resolution of the Council of Ministers no. 24/2001, a specific Internet site was created (<http://www.eracareers.pt/>) to promote scientific and technological employment. This site advertised all research positions made available in public institutions, and in general, all remaining employment offers of this nature by public institutions which have to be published in the official journal of the Portuguese Republic (*Diário da República*). Additionally, this site is used to publicise offers of scientific and technological jobs in private institutions.

As argued by Suter and Jandl (2008, 403), the growing international competition for talented human capital was also visible in the development of policies to recruit higher education students as a potential source of qualified labour. Therefore, the international competition among universities to attract the most talented students has become more acute because its capacity to recruit foreign students positively influences its position in the international rankings. On the other hand, in the perspective of many students, attending a foreign university is a path to emigration.

This paper aims to make an exploratory analysis of the admission and retention policies towards foreign students and the evolution of international students in Portuguese universities.

ADMISSION AND INTEGRATION POLICIES TOWARDS INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS

Being traditionally an emigration country with a vast colonial empire that lasted until the mid-1970s, Portugal and its policies have facilitated access to higher education for Portuguese emigrants and their descendents residing abroad as well as students from Portuguese-speaking African countries holding cooperation agreements with Portugal, natives from East Timor and civil servants in official missions abroad. For these individuals and their families, there has always been a special

agreement defined in the law (Decree-Law no. 393-A/99, of 2nd October).

Unlike what occurs in other EU member states, in Portugal there are no active policies to attract foreign students. The existing initiatives are essentially the result of the transposition to the national laws of the directions given by the EU institutions from the so-called Bologna Process, as well as the participation of Portugal in programs to stimulate intra-European and trans-European mobility among European students in the scope of the ERASMUS and ERASMUS MUNDUS programmes (see: Commission of the European Communities 2009).

The principles of the Bologna Declaration, simultaneously promoting European cohesion through knowledge, mobility and the employability of its graduates, were incorporated into national law by the Decree-Law no. 42/2005, of 22nd February. In a similar fashion, in order to facilitate and stimulate the retention of foreign students, the rules for transferring a foreign degree to the standards of Portuguese higher education were changed in 2007 (Ministerial Order no. 401/2007, of 5th April). Moreover, the new Immigration Law (Act 23/2007, 4 July 2007) transposes into the Portuguese judicial framework the EU Council Directive (no. 2004/114/CE, of 13th December 2004) on the conditions of admission of third-country nationals for the purposes of studies, pupil exchange, unremunerated training and voluntary service. Under this directive (the “Students Directive”), EU Member States shall facilitate the admission procedure for students, including issuing the necessary visas in a timely manner. Provisions were also made to allow third-country national students to study in various EU Member States.

Portuguese higher education institutions, mainly the ones with more international prestige, have been stimulated to develop internationalization strategies to coincide with these policy orientations. These guidelines are linked to the growing relevance given by performance assessment panels to the ability of recruiting foreign students and to the participation of Portuguese universities in international cooperation projects (intra-EU and also with institutions from third-countries) in the domains of education and research. Therefore, in the last decade there has been a remarkable growth both in the number of Portuguese students taking part in the ERASMUS/SOCRATES international mobility programmes, as well as in the amount of students coming from foreign universities to Portugal under the same programmes.

In terms of the government measures adopted to stimulate the internationalization of higher education and research in Portugal, the assignment of scholarships, mainly PhD and post-doctoral fellowships, are particularly important. Moreover, there has been a significant growth

in the number and proportion of PhD and post-doc scholarships given to foreign students, with particular relevance to Brazilians. Thus, from 1994 to 2009, the proportion of scholarships given to PhD foreign students increased from 2% to 18% and from 14% to 31% to post-docs.

The intensification of immigration to Portugal observed in the transition from the 20th to the 21st century and the goals defined in the Lisbon Strategy led to the adoption of some specific measures to facilitate the access of foreign residents in Portugal into higher education.

The changes in access for foreign citizens to higher education introduced in 2007 were complemented by a new measure to simplify and streamline the validation process of documentation of third-country nationals who intend to establish a formal link with a higher education institution or who were attending classes there. This measure, designated “Simplified Certification of Foreign Citizens in the Access to Higher Education” is essentially an access, via web service, to SEF’s (Foreign and Borders Office) database by each university. Thus, the foreign students do not have to go to SEF facilities in order to collect the documentation allowing them to stay in Portugal and higher education institutions can validate the situation of foreign candidates (third-country nationals) by simply checking their respective passport at the moment of enrolment.

In the domain of social support in higher education, the Portuguese State promotes access to the benefits of social support to foreign students with a permanent residence permit and to long-term residents in an attempt to eliminate discrimination by nationality. This group includes nationals from the EU member states, stateless persons, political refugees and foreign students from countries that maintain cooperation agreements with Portugal (Decree-Law no. 204/2009, of 31st August).

The Plan for the Integration of Immigrants (2010-2013) includes a specific measure supporting the hosting and integration of foreign students and their families through the reinforcement of the cooperation between higher education institutions and the Ministry of Science, Technology and Higher Education. This includes information sessions for foreign students and other actors in order to eliminate obstacles that may arise through misinformation (Resolution of the Council of Ministers no. 74/2010).

All in all, one may conclude that the Portuguese policy for attracting and integrating foreign students has been guided by three fundamental pillars: the directions originating from the European institutions, the stimulus to the internationalization of higher education institutions and the development of the cooperation with the Community of Portuguese Speaking Countries -

CPLP (Angola, Mozambique, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, S. Tome and Prince, East Timor and Brazil).

INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS IN PORTUGAL

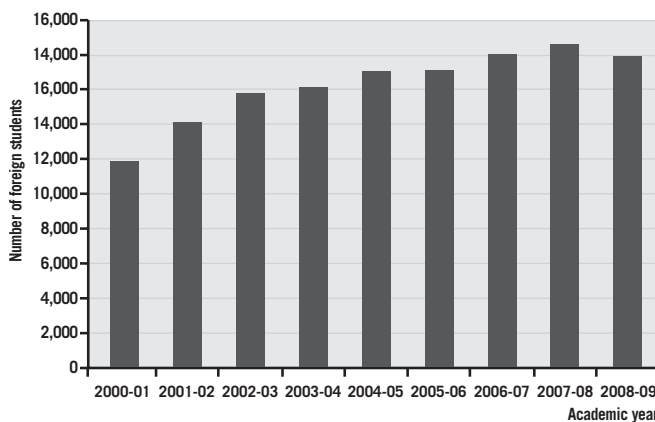
Portugal is not a very attractive destination for post-secondary education. In 2004 it ranked 21st in the world in terms of the number of foreign students enrolled in tertiary education (IOM 2008).

Unfortunately the statistics available in Portugal do not allow identifying the non-resident foreign students, who have entered the country for study purposes, from the resident foreign students. Thus, apparently, the number of “foreign” students is an overestimation of mobile international students. However, this information gap is partially compensated for by the special conditions of access that were created for the Portuguese students living abroad which are not different from those who live in national territory. Thus, the statistical data available on foreign students enrolled in Portuguese universities and polytechnic institutes should be interpreted as an approximation of the international students in Portugal.

In 2008-09 there were 17,900 foreign students registered Portuguese higher education institutions, 48% being male students and around 52% female students. Among these, 34.5% were enrolled in the 1st year for the first time.

Since the 2000-01 academic year there has been an increase in the number of foreign students registered in higher education institutions (11,911, in the 2000-01 school year and 17,900 in 2008-09), which corresponds to a growth rate of 50.3% (Fig. 1). In the same period, the number of Portuguese students experienced a decrease of -5.3%.

FIGURE 1: Numbers of foreign students enrolled in tertiary education in Portugal, 2000/01 – 2008/09



Source: GPEARI/MCTES, own calculations.

In a disaggregated analysis by continent and main origin countries (Fig. 2 and 3), the growing number of students coming from American (especially from Brazil) and European countries, particularly from the Ukraine, must be pointed out. Since 2006-07 there has been a decrease in the number of African students, particularly among Angolans and Cape Verdeans. The Asians, although still few in number (491 in 2008-09) have been growing very fast, namely the Chinese who have tripled their number in just eight years.

The decrease in the Cape-Verdean students, observed since 2006, is related to the establishment of a University in the archipelago and the development of agreements between Portuguese and Cape Verdean universities allowing Portuguese teachers to work there. In a similar fashion, the decrease of foreign students from Angola is also associated with the expansion of higher education institutions in that country, including the installation of some Portuguese private universities (*Universidade Lusófona*, *Instituto Piaget* and *Universidade Lusíada*).

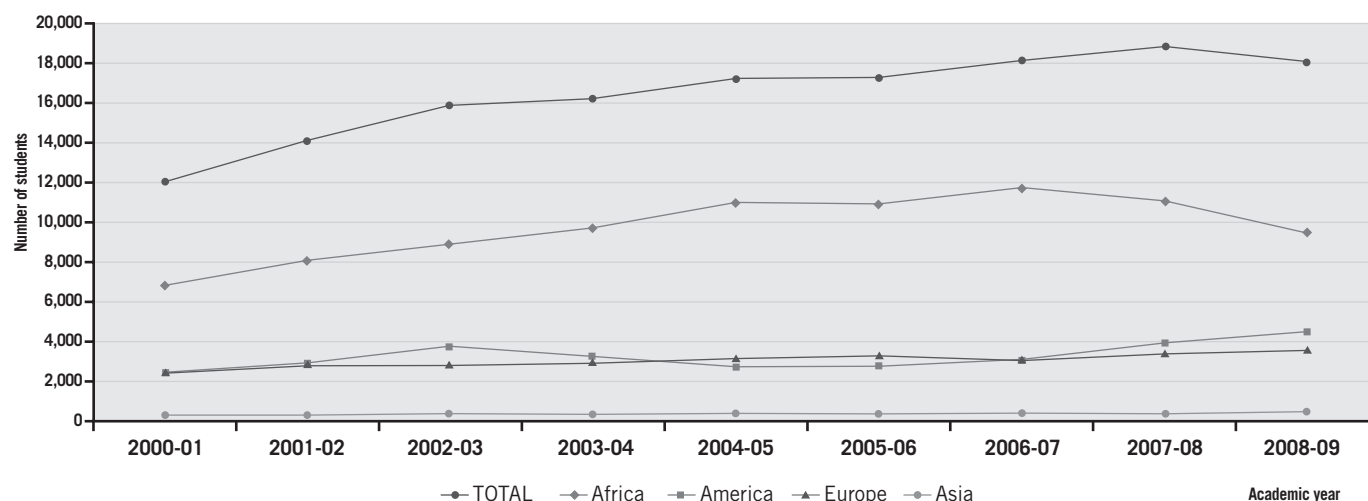
In the 2008-09 school year, foreign students enrolled in Portuguese higher education institutions came from forty different nationalities, although 61.1% were from only three different countries: Brazil (21.1%), Angola (20%) and Cape Verde (19.8%). Besides the Portuguese Speaking African Countries (PALOP) and Brazil, which represent 72% of the total number of students, among the top fifteen countries with the largest number of students registered in tertiary education in Portugal, there is also a group of EU countries (Spain, France, Italy, Germany, Poland and Romania), the Ukraine and USA (Fig. 3).

The reasons for this distribution are twofold: the colonial history of Portugal on the one hand, and the process of integration in the EU on the other. The reason for the presence of so many Brazilian and Ukrainian foreign students is possibly related to the major recent waves of immigrants from these countries. However, the comparison between the top fifteen countries of origin among foreign students and the fifteen largest groups of foreign nationalities living legally in Portugal corroborates the relevance of the cultural and linguistic similarity and also the historical relations between Portugal and the PALOP and Brazil, in the international mobility patterns of students that choose Portugal to pursue their post-secondary studies (Figs. 3 and 4).

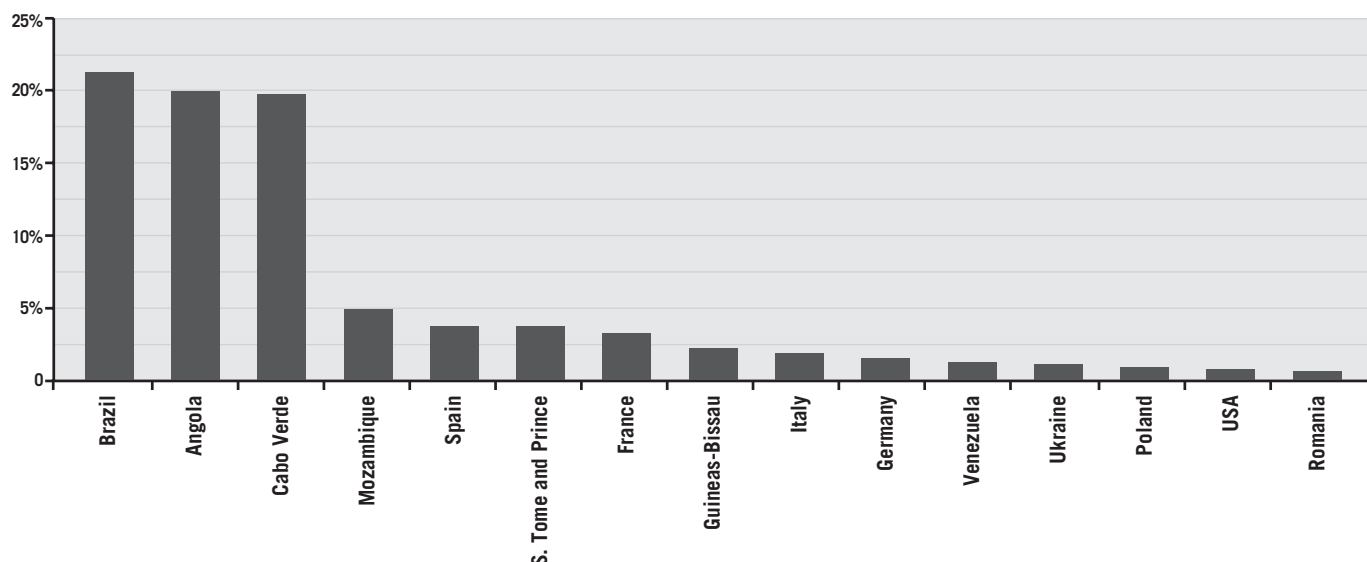
As previously mentioned, students from the Community of Portuguese Speaking Countries (CPLP) have some advantages accessing higher education institutions in Portugal other than their fluency in the language. These advantages are the result of the protocols signed between Portugal and the other CPLP members that allow for special conditions of access to fellow students from these countries, and of the access to internal scholarships and bursaries made available by the Portuguese government.

The diversity of students from European countries can be explained by the number of students involved in the Erasmus/Socrates programme, some of whom are descendents of Portuguese emigrants living in those countries. For them, the command of the Portuguese language, the presence of relatives or even the expectation of returning to Portugal are factors that can explain the option of studying in Portugal. The attraction of students

FIGURE 2: Foreign students enrolled in Portuguese higher education by continent of origin, 2000/01-2008/09.



Source: GPEARI/MCTES, own calculations.

FIGURE 3: Foreign students enrolled in tertiary education in Portugal, in 2008-09, by country of nationality (top 15)

Source: GPEARI/MCTES, own calculations.

coming from Italy and Spain can be justified by the language proximity which is reinforced, in the case of Spain, by the geographical closeness.

The growth observed in the group of foreign students from Eastern European countries (Ukraine, Romania, Poland, Bulgaria) can be explained by the recent migration trends of these countries towards Western and Southern Europe. Some of these students likely came to Portugal in mobility programmes like Erasmus/Socrates. Others are likely students who immigrated after finishing their secondary studies and chose to pursue their higher education in Portugal. Some of them might also be immigrant workers who find too many obstacles in seeing their qualifications recognized and try to obtain a new degree in Portugal.

A detailed analysis by gender and area of education and training shows that, with the exception of the PALOP countries, more foreign females are registered in higher education institutions in Portugal than foreign males. In terms of educational and training area, the number of female students is higher than that of men among graduates in Education, Social Sciences, Commerce, Law, Health and Social Protection (with the exception of Eastern European Students). The male students usually are more frequently found in engineering degrees. Most of the foreign students are registered in state universities and only 19.2% graduate from polytechnic institutions, with a more professional orientation.

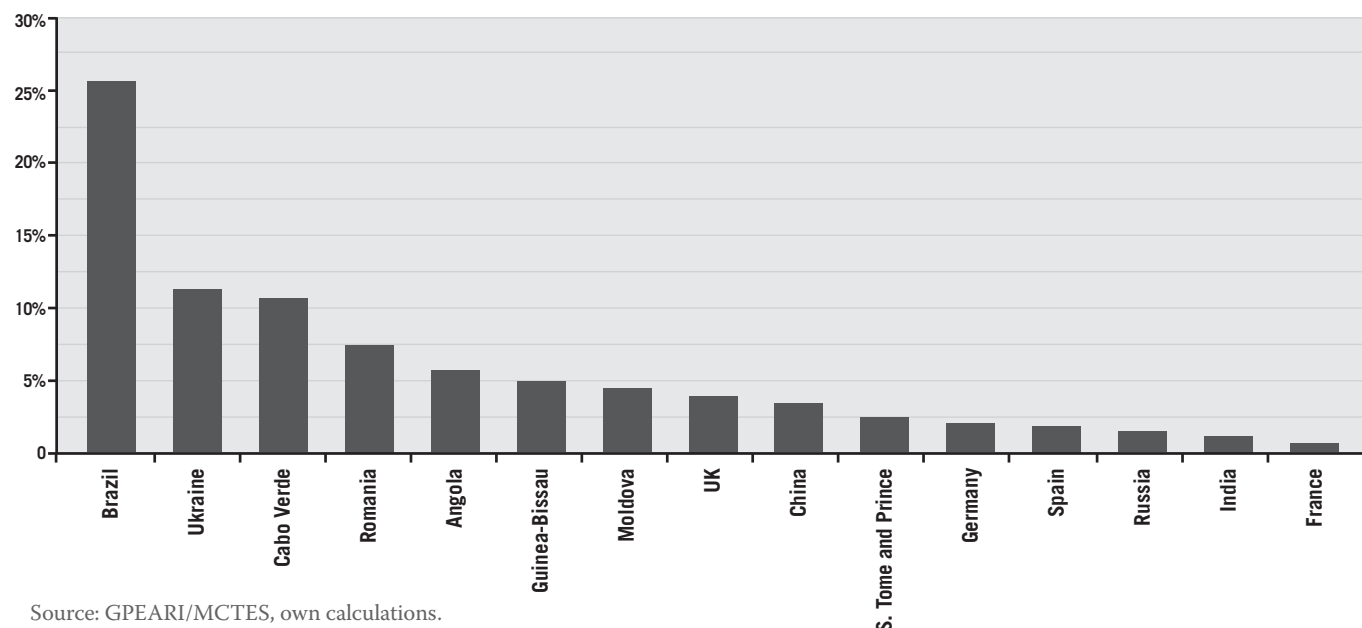
CONCLUDING REMARKS

In the context of the developed economies of the OECD, Portugal is an unattractive destination for students who seek tertiary education in a foreign country. However, the indicators analysed show that throughout the last decade there has been a remarkable growth in the number of higher education students coming from other countries and suggest that this trend, as well as the internationalization of Portuguese higher education and research, will continue.

Most foreign students who attend higher education institutions in Portugal come from the African Portuguese-speaking countries (PALOP) and Brazil, followed, at a great distance by the EU member states, other countries in Europe and in the American continent where important Portuguese emigrant communities can be found, as well as immigrants and their offspring living in Portugal. Therefore, the linguistic and cultural and geographic proximity, as well as the Erasmus and Socrates inter-university mobility programmes sponsored by the EU, are the main factors influencing international mobility of students to Portugal.

Considering the weak competitiveness of the national higher education system, Portugal has taken advantage of the cooperation between Portuguese-speaking countries to facilitate the access of students from these countries to the Portuguese universities (both among internal and external foreign students) and to provide scholarships to PhD students and post-doctoral fellows.

Following this trend, Portuguese universities have tried to benefit from the advantages resulting from the

FIGURE 4: Top 15 nationalities of documented foreign residents in Portugal, 2009

Source: GPEARI/MCTES, own calculations.

common heritage of the Portuguese language, promoting diverse forms of collaboration, namely in advanced training with similar institutions from the PALOP countries, Brazil, East Timor and Macao. However, in the scope of these cooperation programmes, the policy of scholarships for foreign students is neither coordinated with the needs of the student's countries of origin, nor with the needs of the Portuguese society in terms of highly skilled professionals.

There is no information about the number of international students staying in Portugal after obtaining their higher education academic degree. Thus, it is difficult to assess to what extent the increase in the number of foreign students enrolled in Portuguese universities is framed by a future migration project (an entry door to Europe) aimed at facilitating their incorporation into the national labour market or to re-emigrate to another European country, or if it is an international circulation of competencies.

Portugal is one of the European countries with the lowest number of graduates. The number of academic staff with a PhD in public universities has been steadily increasing over the last decade. However, it is still low by international standards (OECD 2006).

Since the mid-nineties, the Portuguese government has been promoting the internationalization of the national scientific and technological system, increasing the number of scholarships for PhDs and post-docs and financing research projects. However, the rising number of PhD holders has not been followed by the growth of scientific jobs in Portugal, leading to the risk of a brain drain in

Portugal and the increasing permanence of Portuguese scientists abroad.

These obstacles may also be negatively reflected in the attraction of international students, even among students from Portuguese-speaking countries who are the main international market for advanced training programmes within Portuguese universities and polytechnic institutes.

The combination of a possible brain drain of the more skilled Portuguese young people and the difficulties of attracting students and skilled professionals from abroad are a serious threat to the creation and diffusion of knowledge, technological modernization and to the economic and social development of Portugal.

Therefore, as stated by the OECD (2006) the international qualification of Portuguese tertiary education is essential for the development of the country and the employability of its graduates. This challenge involves the consolidation of the transition initiated with the implementation of the Bologna process, from an education system based on the transmission of knowledge to a system based on competence building. It also implies the reinforcement of the participation of Portuguese universities in international research and education networks through the enlargement of partnerships with foreign universities, namely of the European area and from the Community of Portuguese Speaking Countries. Moreover, it is important to keep in mind that to attract international students and to increase the competitiveness of Portuguese universities and polytechnic institutes we must consider the skills

needed to modernize the national productive fabric as well as the training needs of professionals from Portuguese-speaking countries. Therefore, policies guiding the Portuguese higher education system should be in tune with national economic and social development policies and the strengthening cooperation between Portugal and the Portuguese-speaking countries.

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FOOTNOTES

¹ When enrolling in a Portuguese higher education institution at the beginning of the school year (moment when all students fill in the form to collect statistical data), and staying in Portugal for at least two semesters, the Erasmus students are counted in the official statistics as foreign students.

² It should be noted that the growth in the number of PhDs was largely based on "in-house" training.

THE INFLUENCE OF STUDENT MOBILITY ON FUTURE MIGRATION ASPIRATIONS. EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE FROM EUROPE AND RECOMMENDATIONS TO STUDY THE IMPACT OF INTERNATIONAL EXCHANGE PROGRAMMES.

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ABSTRACT

Student mobility within the European space increased over the last decades, due to the internationalisation and harmonisation of university degrees. One of the underlining rationales of European exchange programmes is economic in nature. This rationale aims to promote the European labour market, with the assumption that former exchange students would move more easily to another Member State during their future career. In this article, I will centre on the link between student mobility within the European space and future migration aspirations, with a focus on my own research project, and formulate some methodological recommendations for the study of the impact of exchange programmes on students' lives.

Today, at most European institutions for Higher Education, it is impossible to imagine student life without the presence of international exchange students, with the ERASMUS-programme as the best-known example. This programme was founded in 1987, as the successor of the European Joint-Study Programmes. Since then, with the internationalisation and harmonisation of study programmes during the last decades – and in the framework of the Bologna Process since the end of the nineties – temporary student mobility within Europe increased. However, until now mobile students only represent a minority of the total student population. The aim of the European Commission was to send out ten percent of all graduate students by 2010 – and since 2009 the ambitious new goal of twenty percent by 2020 –, but this objective has never been met. This rather low participation rate reflects a general pattern that can be found in the European population; less than two percent of all Europeans live outside their country of origin (Favell 2009). However, participation rates are slowly increasing, and student mobility can be considered as an integral part of the “new map of European migration” today (King 2002). The phenomenon can be seen as a particular

form of international migration (Van Mol 2008), which differs from more traditional migration flows that are commonly characterised as driven by economic goals. Student mobility, in contrast, is mainly motivated by experience/travel/leisure goals (King 2002). Nevertheless, student mobility has long been neglected as a research topic in Europe, and publications on the subject started only from 2000 onwards – even though there are some exceptions (see for example the work of Ulrich Teichler, who has been doing research on student mobility within Europe since the beginning of the nineties, with a specific focus on the ERASMUS-programme). However, many studies remain limited to descriptive statistics, focus on debates such as the relation between mobility and brain drain, and remain mostly nationally framed, despite the international character of the phenomenon. Notwithstanding the efforts of some authors to frame European student mobility theoretically over the last years (e.g. Byram and Dervin 2008; Murphy-Lejeune 2002; Papatsiba 2003), much remains to be done. In this article, I will focus on the link between student mobility within the European space and future migration aspirations, and formulate some

methodological recommendations for the study of the impact of international exchange programmes.

STUDENT MOBILITY AS A LEVER FOR THE EUROPEAN LABOUR MARKET

As indicated earlier, student mobility has become more visible in Europe due to the institutionalisation of exchange programmes between institutions of Higher Education. Two underlying rationales can be found; a civic and an economic one. The civic rationale aims to create European citizens, with the assumption that students who spent a study period in another European country would foster a European identity. The economic rationale – the focus of this article – aims to promote the European labour market; former exchange students would move more easily to another Member State during their future career. Therefore, European exchange programmes are considered an instrument to increase the competitiveness of Europe in the global knowledge economies.

In the academic literature it has often been assumed that there exists a causal relationship between a study period abroad and subsequent migration behaviour, even though empirical evidence on this issue remains limited (Parey and Waldinger 2007), especially in Europe. Over the last years, several studies have been published on international labour and skill exchange, but most research on the portability of human capital across countries focuses on immigrant groups and international student migrants from outside Europe. In contrast, very few studies have been conducted on labour market outcomes and future migratory behaviour of domestic students who spent a study period abroad in another European country. The studies conducted until now (e.g. Findlay, King, Stam and Ruiz-Gelices 2006; Parey and Waldinger 2007; Teichler and Janson 2007; Wiers-Jenssen 2008) all conclude that a stay abroad enhances subsequent migration behaviour and international job aspirations. However, these studies are not without methodological problems, and could overestimate the impact of international exchange programmes on peoples' lives.

The methodological comments that can be made are twofold. First, the studies conducted by the research group of Ulrich Teichler discuss the job opportunities of former ERASMUS students, and collected perceptions of former mobile students, without comparing these with a control group of non-mobile studies. Second, an improvement on the previous studies are those who include a control group, such as the work of Matthias Parey and Fabian Waldinger (2007), and Janneke Wiers-Jenssen (2008). However, these studies draw on a sample of last-year students, who were assigned to the group of former mobile students or a control group of non-mobile students. Since previous

research confirms that students who moved abroad prior to their enrolment in university are more likely to participate in mobility programmes during their degree (Findlay et al. 2006), these studies might be biased. For that reason, it is important to include a pre-mobility phase in studies that try to grasp the impact of international exchange programmes on individuals. Research projects with a pre-mobility phase have so far only been conducted in the context of the United States; in Europe, evidence on pre-mobility aspirations of students is still lacking. My research project departs from the same premise as the previous mentioned studies, namely that student mobility influences subsequent migration aspirations and international job aspirations, but it includes a pre-mobility context in the research design.

METHODOLOGY

The results presented in this article are based on an online quantitative data collection held at the end of the 2008-2009 Academic Year at 13 European universities in 9 countries (Austria, Belgium, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal and Slovenia, for a detailed list of all participating universities, see www.ua.ac.be/cemis/esm). The questionnaire was distributed to students of Social and Political Sciences; Business Studies & Economics; Language Studies; and Engineering. After completing the data collection, the final database was restricted to domestic students (excluding international students and second generation immigrants). Students aged older than 26 years were also filtered out, in order to obtain a comparable dataset. As a result, our final sample consisted of 2058 respondents, 68 percent female versus 32 percent male.

The questionnaire was developed by adapting existing questionnaires, and was refined after transcription and analysis of twenty-three explorative interviews with students (both mobile and non-mobile) in February-March 2009 at the Universiteit Antwerpen (Belgium) and the Universitat de València (Spain). This resulted in a pilot version of the questionnaire, which was distributed to students of nineteen European countries on students' internet panels and in groups at social network sites such as Facebook. All scales proved to be consistent.

After obtaining the final data set, students were divided into four different groups in order to compare their mean ranks. The first group consisted of non-mobile students ($n = 189$), namely those students who did not want to spend a study period abroad during their university degree. The second group, of potential mobile students ($n = 589$), was formed by students who were still doubting whether or not to participate in an international exchange. The third group consisted of future mobile students

($n = 590$), namely those students who definitely wanted to go abroad during the remainder of their university career – although we are aware of the discrepancy that might exist between aspirations to study abroad and the fact of studying abroad. The last group consisted of the mobile students ($n = 685$), namely those students who indicated that they spent a study period abroad. To compare the four groups, non-parametric analysis was applied.

RESULTS

In the analysis, we compared the four groups of students on several items. In this article, I will focus on three of them, namely living abroad after graduation as a valuable option for students' future life, aspirations to work abroad, and aspirations for a job with an international component after graduation. These items were measured on a 5-point Likert scale, ranging from "not at all" to "very much". As table 1 shows, the mean increases linearly from a low agreement for the group of non-mobile students towards a high level of agreement for mobile students.

TABLE 1: Mean scores for the four groups on three items

	GROUP	N	MEAN
I CAN IMAGINE TO LIVE ABROAD FOR A YEAR OR MORE AFTER GRADUATION	Non-mobile	189	3.02
	Potential mobile	589	3.93
	Future mobile	590	4.55
	Mobile	685	4.64
	Total	2,053	4.26
I WOULD LIKE TO WORK IN A FOREIGN COUNTRY AFTER GRADUATION	Non-mobile	189	2.65
	Potential mobile	589	3.56
	Future mobile	590	4.33
	Mobile	685	4.35
	Total	2,053	3.96
I WOULD LIKE TO HAVE A JOB WITH AN INTERNATIONAL COMPONENT AFTER GRADUATION	Non-mobile	189	2.91
	Potential mobile	589	3.91
	Future mobile	590	4.56
	Mobile	685	4.60
	Total	2,053	4.24

However, a single glance at the mean values does not explain to us whether statistical differences exist between the groups. Therefore, we applied an analysis which allows us to detect statistically significant differences between the groups (see table 2).

As can be observed, significant differences can be found on all items (the p -value is below .001). However, table 2 only points out that there are differences somewhere, but does not explain which groups did statistically differ from

the others. For that reason, we applied additional tests. As table 3 shows, significant differences can be found between all groups on the first item ("I can imagine to live abroad for a year or more after graduation"), but considering the aspirations to work abroad after graduation or obtain a job with an international component, no significant differences could be found between the groups of mobile and future mobile students. Moreover, in all analyses – except the one between the mobile and future mobile students – a medium to large effect size could be found (.3 is the criterion for a medium, and .5 for a large effect size).

TABLE 2: Kruskal-Wallis test (Monte Carlo version) for detecting differences

	H(3)	P
I CAN IMAGINE TO LIVE ABROAD FOR A YEAR OR MORE AFTER GRADUATION	453.12	.000*
I WOULD LIKE TO WORK IN A FOREIGN COUNTRY AFTER GRADUATION	412.34	.000*
I WOULD LIKE TO HAVE A JOB WITH AN INTERNATIONAL COMPONENT AFTER GRADUATION	472.31	.000*

* Significant at the $< .001$ level

Considering the item "I can imagine to live abroad for a year or more after graduation", the statistical difference between mobile and future mobile students may point at a difference in first-hand experience between these groups, since mobile students can imagine more vividly to live abroad, which might be due to their study period abroad. However, since no differences in professional aspirations could be found between those two groups, there are some implications for the study of the impact of mobility programmes on students' lives, which will be discussed in the last section.

CONCLUSION – METHODOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS FOR THE STUDY OF IMPACT OF AN INTERNATIONAL EXCHANGE PROGRAMME

Student mobility in Europe increased steadily over the last decades due to the internationalisation and harmonisation of university degrees in Europe. One of the rationales of the European Commission to stimulate student mobility has been the assumed link between participation in an international exchange programme and future migratory behaviour, which would help Europe to strengthen their position in the global knowledge economies. Several academic studies confirmed this link between student mobility and migratory behaviour. However, in this article, I have shown that mobile students (those students with an international mobility experience during their university career) do differ with the students who stay at home considering their imagination to live abroad after graduation, their international job aspirations and their

TABLE 3: Mann-Whitney tests between all groups

ITEM		NON-MOBILE VS. POTENTIAL MOBILE	NON-MOBILE VS. FUTURE MOBILE	NON-MOBILE VS. MOBILE	POTENTIAL MOBILE VS. FUTURE MOBILE	POTENTIAL MOBILE VS. MOBILE	FUTURE MOBILE VS. MOBILE
I CAN IMAGINE TO LIVE ABROAD FOR A YEAR OR MORE AFTER GRADUATION	<i>U</i>	35071.5	20302.5	21040	106891	111416	187804.5
	<i>r</i>	-0.29	-0.52	-0.55	-0.36	-0.43	-0.08
	<i>p</i>	.000*	.000*	.000*	.000*	.000*	.004**
I WOULD LIKE TO WORK IN A FOREIGN COUNTRY AFTER GRADUATION	<i>U</i>	33530.5	17049.5	19332.5	105952	120692.5	198305.5
	<i>r</i>	-0.30	-0.55	-0.53	-0.36	-0.37	-0.02
	<i>p</i>	.000*	.000*	.000*	.000*	.000*	.262
I WOULD LIKE TO HAVE A JOB WITH AN INTERNATIONAL COMPONENT AFTER GRADUATION	<i>U</i>	31207	15679.5	17255	108358	120052.5	194484
	<i>r</i>	-0.34	-0.59	-0.59	-0.35	-0.39	-0.04
	<i>p</i>	.000*	.000*	.000*	.000*	.000*	.073

* Significant at the <.001 level. ** Significant at the <.0083 level.

aspirations to work abroad. Interestingly, no statistically significant differences could be found between the mobile students and future mobile students (those students who are definitely sure to participate in an exchange programme during their university degree). This finding is important, since it has some methodological implications for the study of the effects of a study programme abroad.

We can conclude that research projects based on a survey with last-year graduate students do not take into account the fact that some students do already have international orientations and aspirations before leaving abroad in the mark of an exchange programme, and these studies may hence overestimate the impact of such a programme. Indeed, as Scott Myers (1999) argues; regardless of circumstances, some people are more likely to move than others. For that reason, if we want to measure the impact of a study abroad programme, we should know the attitudes, opinions and aspirations of the students before going abroad, and include a pre-mobility phase in the research design. Moreover, a control group of non-mobile students should always be included to contrast the changes that can be detected over time in the group of mobile students with those who stay abroad. This way, the real impact of international programmes can be measured, and not merely a biased approximation.

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LA MIGRATION POUR ÉTUDES AU QUÉBEC, EN FRANCE ET AU MAGHREB : DIVERSITÉ DE CONDITIONS, DIVERSITÉ DE PARCOURS PROFESSIONNELS?

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RÉSUMÉ

Cet article montre les mécanismes par lesquels l'institutionnalisation des mobilités étudiantes internationales concourt à la production d'inégalités d'accès à l'enseignement supérieur. Il débute par une présentation des discours idéologiques auxquels les acteurs politiques et universitaires français et québécois font appel pour légitimer leur engagement dans le vaste processus d'internationalisation de l'enseignement supérieur. Il aborde ensuite les manières dont les étudiants s'approprient ces discours aux fins de leurs propres projets de mobilité. Enfin, il fait état des logiques de distinction sociale à l'œuvre et de leurs effets potentiels sur les mobilités des étudiants en provenance des pays du Maghreb.

Les analyses exposées dans le présent article sont issues d'un projet de recherche portant sur les mobilités internationales d'étudiants français et québécois dont les lecteurs pourront trouver une démonstration plus appuyée dans la publication suivante : GARNEAU, S. (2008). « Inégalités d'accès à l'espace international de l'enseignement supérieur et aux marchés du travail », Alfa, Maghreb et sciences sociales 2007. L'enseignement supérieur dans la mondialisation libérale, Paris, IRMC, Maisonneuve & Larose, p. 133-150. Si cette recherche n'autorise pas de comparaisons directes avec les mobilités internationales d'étudiants marocains que nous avons observées dans une autre recherche (Garneau, 2009) et que nous continuons d'étudier dans le cadre d'un projet en cours (Garneau, 2008-2010), des hypothèses et pistes d'explorations sont suggérées en conclusion d'article.

À partir d'une recherche réalisée auprès d'étudiants français et québécois, nous montrons dans cet article

les mécanismes par lesquels l'internationalisation de l'enseignement supérieur et l'institutionnalisation grandissante des mobilités étudiantes internationales concourent à la production d'inégalités d'accès à l'espace international de l'enseignement supérieur et aux marchés du travail selon les origines socio-économiques et nationales des étudiants.

Les analyses reposent sur quatre matériaux de recherche : des entretiens récoltés en 2003-2004 auprès d'acteurs institutionnels de la mobilité étudiante internationale en France et au Québec; des récits biographiques recueillis les mêmes années auprès de 40 Français et de 40 Québécois ayant réalisé une partie de leur formation universitaire à l'étranger (peu importe la destination) et étant en emploi ou en recherche d'emploi dans leur pays d'origine au moment de l'enquête; des observations lors de rencontres officielles d'acteurs de la coopération académique internationale; et des rapports, allocutions et autres documents publics. La méthode de comparaison que nous avons privilégiée ne renvoyait pas *a priori* les deux sociétés dos à dos, cela afin de ne pas culturaliser outrageusement les réalités observées. Cette démarche nous a donc autorisée à identifier des tendances communes, lesquelles sont à l'origine de cet article.

Nous présentons d'abord les discours idéologiques auxquels les acteurs politiques et universitaires français et québécois font appel pour légitimer leur engagement dans le vaste processus d'internationalisation de l'enseignement supérieur. Nous observons ensuite la manière dont les étudiants s'approprient les actions publiques et leurs discours justificateurs aux fins de leurs propres projets de mobilité académique, de formation universitaire et d'insertion professionnelle. Cette mise en dialogue du vécu microsociologique des étudiants avec le niveau macrosociologique des institutions permettra ensuite de mieux comprendre les logiques de distinction sociale à l'œuvre et, enfin, d'apprécier leurs effets potentiels sur les mobilités des étudiants en provenance des pays du Maghreb.

LES DISCOURS OFFICIELS SUR L'INTERNATIONALISATION DES UNIVERSITÉS

Dans les discours qui accompagnent le mouvement d'internationalisation des activités universitaires, les gouvernements et les gestionnaires des universités françaises et québécoises recourent à une triple rhétorique. Premièrement, il faut **occuper la scène internationale**. On prend acte de l'existence d'une concurrence féroce entre les établissements et les systèmes nationaux d'enseignement supérieur, et il s'avère dès lors nécessaire d'entrer dans la compétition afin d'assurer son rayonnement culturel et scientifique à l'échelle mondiale.

Deuxièmement, les acteurs politiques et administrateurs universitaires signalent l'urgence de se lancer dans l'institutionnalisation des mobilités étudiantes en raison de leurs **retombées économiques sur le plan national**. D'une part, on fait allusion à la source de revenus directs que procure l'accueil d'étudiants internationaux; d'autre part, on prend acte du fait que, dans «l'économie du savoir», la recherche est primordiale pour l'innovation et la vitalité économique de la société. Il faut, par conséquent, accroître l'accueil des meilleurs chercheurs et étudiants des cycles supérieurs. Aussi, les politiques éducatives et économiques sont-elles de plus en plus imbriquées. Les discours institutionnels opèrent d'ailleurs une dichotomie entre les alliances stratégiques établies entre des universités de pays au niveau économique similaire, et la coopération «d'aide» avec les pays du Sud, lesquels sont disqualifiés dans ce mouvement de compétition mondiale.

Enfin, les décideurs des gouvernements et des universités disent avoir le devoir d'offrir à la jeunesse de leur pays une formation de pointe qui assurera leur **employabilité**. Le séjour d'études à l'étranger est considéré comme l'un des moyens les plus efficaces pour le développement de la flexibilité, de la capacité d'adaptation et des compétences interculturelles désormais exigées sur les marchés du travail. En promouvant le séjour d'études à l'étranger comme mode

d'accès aux nouvelles exigences des marchés du travail, les décideurs sacralisent le label «international» et se font les vecteurs d'une idéologie de la mobilité.

Cela étant dit, comment les principaux concernés reçoivent-ils cette idéologie de la mobilité? Quelle place le séjour d'études à l'étranger occupe-t-il dans leur projet de formation et d'insertion professionnelle?

L'APPROPRIATION DES DISPOSITIFS INSTITUTIONNELS DE MOBILITÉ INTERNATIONALE PAR LES ÉTUDIANTS

Les étudiants français et québécois auxquels s'adressent les dispositifs de mobilité académique internationale se trouvent dans des conditions d'institutionnalisation de la mobilité différenciées selon leur société, leur établissement d'enseignement, voire l'unité académique où ils se trouvent. En outre, ils sont entrés à l'Université avec d'inégales ressources matérielles et symboliques, bien qu'ils aient en commun d'être plutôt de «bons élèves». Ces variations donnent lieu à une diversité de représentations et de stratégies étudiantes au cours de leur carrière¹ scolaire et professionnelle.

L'entrée dans la mobilité académique internationale se fait par trois principales voies, lesquelles mettent en évidence différentes configurations de sens, de stratégies organisationnelles et d'usages de l'international. Les **séjours spontanés** forment une première de ces voies d'entrée dans la mobilité académique internationale. Ces séjours réunissent des étudiants qui sont issus des classes moyennes inférieures et qui n'avaient jamais pensé réaliser une partie de leur formation universitaire à l'étranger. C'est la promotion intensive des séjours à l'étranger qui est faite au sein de leur Faculté, ainsi que les bourses de mobilité disponibles, qui les incitent à se lancer dans l'aventure. Leurs motivations ne rencontrent que très accessoirement les objectifs officiels de la mobilité étudiante présentés précédemment.

Une deuxième voie par laquelle les étudiants se lancent dans l'expérience d'un séjour à l'étranger, et qui se trouve à l'opposé de la précédente, est celle des **séjours planifiés**. Ici, la valeur que les étudiants attribuent à l'expérience rejoint certaines des justifications mises de l'avant par les responsables politiques et académiques : ils aspirent à acquérir des compétences qui les distingueront sur le marché du travail. D'une part, la promotion institutionnelle des possibilités de séjour à l'étranger a été faite suffisamment tôt dans leur cursus pour qu'ils puissent opérer des choix en fonction de leur projet éventuel de partir. D'autre part, la précocité avec laquelle ils ont pris conscience de l'international, dans leur parcours antérieur, leur a permis d'accumuler des connaissances, des qualifications et des compétences utiles pour la préparation d'une mobilité académique en interconnexion étroite avec leur insertion

professionnelle. Ces savoirs et cette longue préparation préalable facilitent également la prévention des obstacles administratifs et financiers qui surviennent souvent avant, pendant et après le séjour.

Enfin, entre ces deux logiques d'entrée dans la mobilité étudiante internationale s'en trouve une troisième qui donne cours à des **séjours modulés**. Les étudiants qui y correspondent ont déjà des affinités avec la mobilité et l'international en raison de leur histoire personnelle et familiale mais, faute d'avoir préparé suffisamment tôt leur projet de départ, ils se trouvent contraints d'ajuster leurs objectifs personnels en fonction de l'offre de leur université d'attache.

CONSTRUCTION DES CARRIÈRES DE MOBILITÉ ET STRATÉGIES DE DISTINCTION SOCIALE

Si un premier séjour d'études à l'étranger peut avoir été vécu sur un mode plutôt ludique, les discours des étudiants qui ont vécu plus d'une mobilité internationale montrent que les représentations du séjour évoluent avec le parcours de formation : plus les étudiants ont des expériences antérieures de l'international et que leur entrée sur le marché du travail approche, plus leur séjour académique à l'étranger répond à des ambitions professionnelles et est échafaudé en ce sens. Et ce sont ces parcours, ceux qui montrent une cohérence d'ensemble entre les lieux investis à l'étranger, le programme de formation et les aspirations professionnelles, qui obtiennent la plus grande reconnaissance sur les marchés du travail.

La construction d'une carrière de formation et d'insertion professionnelle en lien avec la mobilité internationale est observable chez des étudiants aux origines modestes, grâce notamment à la disponibilité de différents supports institutionnels qu'ils ont su mobiliser en amont et en aval de leur séjour universitaire. Toutefois, ce sont les étudiants provenant des milieux sociaux aisés, ceux qui ont pu bénéficier précocement d'une « socialisation à l'international » dans leur milieu familial, qui disposent des ressources et des compétences leur permettant d'articuler le plus aisément et le plus adroitement leur(s) projet(s) de mobilité académique internationale à leurs visées de formation et d'insertion professionnelle.

Les comportements de ces étudiants « héritiers de l'international » sont également mus par une représentation hiérarchisée des formes de mobilité étudiante internationale. Chez eux, on assiste en effet, avec la généralisation et la standardisation des échanges interuniversitaires, à une banalisation des séjours institutionnalisés et à une survalorisation des séjours « en individuel ». Ainsi, pendant que des étudiants, comme nous l'avons vu avec les séjours modulés, sont contraints d'organiser leur séjour à l'étranger en fonction des accords de réciprocité détenus par leur

université d'attache, renonçant parfois à la cohérence d'ensemble qu'aurait pu présenter leur parcours si d'autres choix et d'autres ressources personnelles avaient été disponibles, ces étudiants détenteurs d'une socialisation à l'international avaient, quant à eux, les ressources et les compétences leur permettant de déjouer les contraintes relatives aux ententes interuniversitaires.

Non seulement assiste-t-on à une valorisation des cursus scolaires à dimension internationale par rapport aux cursus strictement locaux, mais il semble aussi qu'une distinction s'opère au sein même des parcours académiques internationaux : il y aurait ceux, hautement reconnus sur les marchés du travail, qui ont été effectués dans les plus grandes universités par les étudiants les plus privilégiés en termes d'expériences internationales et de ressources socio-économiques ; et les autres, moins valorisés parce que moins bien articulés au projet de formation et d'insertion professionnelle de l'étudiant, qui auraient été limités aux accords de réciprocité conclus par l'établissement d'attache.

CONCLUSION

Ce sont là des observations que nous avons faites dans les contextes sociétaux français et québécois. Mais qu'en est-il pour des étudiants originaires d'espaces nationaux d'enseignement supérieur « disqualifiés » ?

Rien ne nous interdit de penser que la capacité de lier de manière cohérente son parcours de formation et d'insertion professionnelle avec son projet académique de migration ne soit pas également un vecteur d'inégalités dans d'autres contextes sociétaux, comme ceux du Maghreb. Dans son rapport publié en 2004, le Conseil national de développement de la mobilité internationale des étudiants proposait que :

l'inscription soit précédée d'une démarche méthodique et ouverte d'évaluation académique permettant d'apprécier la qualité du cursus déjà réalisé par les candidats à la mobilité et l'appréciation de leurs chances d'intégration réussie dans nos cursus (CNDMIE, 2004, p. 23, souligné par nous).

En 2005, l'Agence Campus-France ouvrait les *Centres pour les études en France* (CEF) dans certains pays, dont le Maroc, l'Algérie et la Tunisie. Les étudiants originaires de pays « à procédure CEF » qui souhaitent migrer pour études en France doivent désormais constituer un important dossier de candidature – incluant le projet académique – dans leur pays d'origine, passer un entretien auprès d'un agent de Campus-France si le dossier est jugé recevable, puis attendre que le Consulat de France accepte ou non, en dernière instance, la délivrance du visa étudiant.

Selon un/le responsable des relations internationales que nous avons interrogé dans une université parisienne, cette procédure CEF, très lourde, constitue un obstacle majeur à l'accès aux établissements d'enseignement supérieur français :

... on demande des preuves officielles qui sont parfois difficiles à obtenir pour eux. Alors je ne parle pas du relevé de notes, je ne parle pas de ce genre de choses. Mais on leur demande, par exemple, [...] un certificat de naissance. Alors pour ceux d'entre eux qui viennent de très, très loin, c'est pas évident de le trouver. Du coup, finalement c'est une sélection à l'argent, c'est certainement la première chose. Et puis une sélection à la débrouille. Une sélection aux gens qui ont la plus grande facilité, finalement. Ceux pour lesquels c'est facile, ce sera facile (Garneau, 2008-2010).

La qualité du cursus antérieur et la capacité à l'articuler à un projet académique à l'étranger, que nous avons observées plus généralement chez les étudiants français et québécois qui avaient un bagage préalable de ressources économiques et de compétences à l'international, semblent aussi devenir un facteur discriminant dans l'accès des étudiants marocains, algériens et tunisiens à des études à l'étranger.

D'ailleurs, certains des immigrants marocains que nous avons rencontrés à Montréal se sont dirigés vers une université québécoise en raison de la lourdeur des démarches exigées pour étudier en France (Garneau, 2009). Or, l'accès aux établissements d'enseignement supérieur québécois rencontre là aussi un obstacle majeur, celui des droits d'inscription : ces derniers sont près de 12 000\$ par année, soit quatre fois plus que les frais payés par les étudiants nationaux. Les mécanismes français et québécois de sélection des candidats étrangers privilégient clairement les étudiants des classes sociales les plus aisées, ceux dont le parcours de formation s'est jusqu'alors produit sans heurts majeurs et qui ont les ressources nécessaires afin de restituer toutes les pièces du dossier exigées à leur candidature.

La question que nous devons alors nous poser, au regard spécialement de l'accueil des étudiants du Maghreb au Québec, est la suivante : ces étudiants les plus privilégiés

socialement dans leur pays d'origine ont-ils l'intention de s'insérer professionnellement au Québec au terme de leurs études, comme le souhaite le Ministère de l'immigration et des communautés culturelles du Québec (MICC, 2008, p. 18)? Les deux récits biographiques des étudiants marocains que nous avons rencontrés laissent entendre que ce serait loin d'être systématique, l'obtention d'un diplôme québécois et d'une expérience sur des marchés du travail nord-américains étant considérés stratégiquement comme le gage d'une insertion professionnelle réussie au Maroc (Garneau, 2009). La question du projet de formation au Québec des étudiants en provenance des pays du Maghreb nécessite d'être observée plus avant, cela en articulation étroite avec leurs origines socio-économiques.

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NOTES

¹ La notion de carrière nous inscrit dans une approche interactionniste qui tient compte simultanément et successivement de l'action des acteurs sociaux et des effets des structures (Goffman, 1968; Hannerz, 1983; Becker, 1985).

UNE LIBÉRALISATION DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT SUPÉRIEUR AU MAGHREB

Sylvie Mazzella est sociologue, chargée de recherche au Centre national de la recherche scientifique (CNRS) en France, au laboratoire Méditerranéen de Sociologie. Ses travaux depuis 2005 portent sur la mobilité étudiante et les processus d'internationalisation de l'enseignement supérieur au Maghreb. Elle a coordonné depuis l'Institut de Recherche sur le Maghreb contemporain à Tunis, où elle a été rattachée durant deux ans, un dossier de la revue *Alfa. Maghreb et Sciences Sociales* 2007 sur « L'enseignement supérieur dans la mondialisation libérale. Une comparaison internationale (Maghreb, Afrique, Canada et France) », et dirigé un ouvrage collectif en 2009 *La mondialisation étudiante. Le Maghreb entre Nord et Sud*, aux éditions Karthala-IRMC qui est l'aboutissement de quatre années de recherche avec des chercheurs maghrébins et français.

RÉSUMÉ

Depuis le début des années 2000, on assiste au Maghreb (Algérie, Tunisie, Maroc) au développement d'établissements privés d'enseignement supérieur. Sur fond d'un constat de crise de l'enseignement supérieur public au Maghreb, l'auteur souligne les spécificités d'un secteur universitaire privé maghrébin en cours de consolidation et de légitimation, et son enjeu politique dans la reconfiguration d'un espace universitaire euro-africain francophone.

UNE LIBÉRALISATION DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT SUPÉRIEUR AU MAGHREB

L'enseignement supérieur au Maghreb est depuis la fin des années 1990 devant de redoutables défis : s'ouvrir à toutes les couches de la société et absorber le choc démographique des classes d'âge les plus nombreuses ; se concentrer sur une nécessaire rénovation pédagogique, mais aussi contribuer à l'effort national de la recherche scientifique en phase avec les acteurs économiques ; produire des « élites nationales » dans un environnement international d'offre de formation universitaire de plus en plus concurrentiel. Tout comme les États de l'Union européenne, les États du Maghreb sont aujourd'hui confrontés à deux processus connexes portés par des réformes européennes et mondiales : la qualification harmonieuse des titres dans l'espace universitaire euro-méditerranéen et la concurrence mondiale des formations universitaires.

La création au Maghreb, depuis le début des années 2000, d'établissements supérieurs privés nationaux et étrangers, francophones et anglophones, s'inscrit dans ce contexte de réformes. Aujourd'hui, le ministère de l'Enseignement supérieur de ces pays (Algérie, Maroc, Tunisie) encourage les formations supérieures privées dont il attend qu'elles résorbent le flux grandissant des

étudiants et les dotent d'outils dont ils auront besoin sur un marché de l'emploi en mutation. Ce phénomène constitue un revirement de la pensée d'État très fortement opposée, depuis l'indépendance de ces pays, à l'existence de tels établissements. Après avoir brièvement situé l'émergence de ce secteur privé dans un contexte de crise de l'enseignement supérieur au Maghreb, l'article précise le développement d'une forme d'internationalisation sur place et ses enjeux dans sa contribution active à un espace universitaire Sud-Sud – en direction des pays de l'Afrique francophone – et Sud-Nord, en direction de la France en particulier, avec qui les pays du Maghreb renégocient sa présence et son statut d'ancien pays colonisateur devenu partenaire économique. L'article se concentre sur la situation tunisienne à partir d'enquêtes de terrain conduites entre 2005 et 2010, et s'appuie sur des analyses comparatives avec les situations, marocaine et algérienne tirées de recherches collectives (Mazzella (Ed.), *Alfa. Maghreb et Sciences Sociales* « L'enseignement supérieur dans la mondialisation libérale. Une comparaison internationale (Maghreb, Afrique, Canada et France) » numéro annuel 2007 ; Mazzella (dir.), 2009, *La mondialisation étudiante. Le Maghreb entre Nord et Sud*, Karthala-IRMC, p. 401).

UN CONSTAT DE CRISE DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT SUPÉRIEUR PUBLIC AU MAGHREB

Le contexte de réformes et de mobilités mondialisées est perçu par ceux en charge d'appliquer les politiques éducatives au Maghreb comme une opportunité face à la crise de l'université publique perceptible dès la fin des années 1970. L'analyse de la crise de l'enseignement supérieur dans les trois pays du Maghreb (Algérie, Maroc, Tunisie) est généralement décrite à travers trois périodes : une période faste qui se situe dans les premières années des indépendances où chaque diplômé, supérieur ou non, était quasiment assuré de trouver un emploi à sa mesure. Le départ massif du personnel colonial d'encadrement administratif et technique ; l'évolution interne des administrations nationales et des activités techniques ayant contribué à ce dynamisme. Dans un second temps, l'exigence en diplômes est devenue de plus en plus grande dans un contexte d'expansion scolaire et universitaire constante depuis les années 1970, ayant fait passer le nombre d'étudiants de l'enseignement supérieur de quelques milliers à près de deux millions en une trentaine d'années au Maghreb¹. Cela a conduit les universités publiques à modifier, dès la fin des années 1970, leurs stratégies de recrutement des étudiants. Actuellement les diplômés maghrébins vivent une période de crise par suite d'une saturation du secteur public que les États et les entreprises privées n'ont pu ou su relayer.

Pour sortir d'une situation de crise, une solution pour les pays du Maghreb a été, dès les années 1970, d'encourager leurs étudiants à partir étudier à l'étranger, avec l'aide de bourses ou de prêts accordés par les banques. Ces vingt dernières années, ces états ont développé des filières courtes professionnalisantes pour les bacheliers, d'abord dans le public, puis plus récemment dans le secteur privé avec la création de nouvelles filières.

Ce constat de crise unanimement partagé, au point de ne plus être analysé, doit beaucoup à la force persuasive de la rhétorique des organismes internationaux. L'université publique pour le plus grand nombre est désormais présentée au Maghreb comme un obstacle à une nécessaire adéquation du système éducatif avec le marché du travail et à son insertion dans l'économie du savoir (processus de Lisbonne). Mais ce n'est pas la seule explication. Il est aussi d'autant plus entretenu dans les discours des responsables politiques des différents pays qu'il permet de renverser les orientations prises depuis les années 1970 sans les déjuger. Un des points délicats des politiques publiques actuelles au Maghreb est de convaincre en douceur l'opinion nationale qu'il n'est plus économiquement rentable, dans le marché de l'emploi mondial, de pousser trop loin la logique de « massification » de l'enseignement supérieur dans des filières déjà saturées, comme la médecine, ou peu pourvoyeuses d'emploi pour le secteur privé. Ce n'est pas là le moindre des défis dans

une région comme le Maghreb où le système d'éducation a été considéré depuis les années 1960 comme un instrument fort de la construction de l'État nation et d'ascenseur social pour tous, selon une vision égalitariste, et où l'université publique a été considérée depuis l'Indépendance comme la voie par excellence de la formation des élites académiques et économiques. L'Algérie, en particulier, n'échappe pas à la règle, quelles qu'aient été ses velléités initiales de convergence entre un système économique dirigiste et un idéal égalitariste, qui met l'enseignement supérieur au cœur du projet nationaliste et développementaliste : accès illimité des bacheliers à l'université, gratuité des études, obtention de bourses et accès à des services subventionnés.

UNE INTERNATIONALISATION DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT SUPÉRIEUR *IN SITU*

Après avoir longtemps misé sur le départ à l'étranger de leurs étudiants, vers la France en particulier², les gouvernements de la Tunisie et du Maroc miseraient actuellement sur l'ouverture d'une internationalisation sur place.

Ce phénomène prend aujourd'hui diverses formes : il peut aller du simple échange d'étudiants pour la validation de stages ou pour une co-diplômation avec des universités françaises, canadiennes ou américaines par exemple, vers une forme plus virtuelle d'échanges pédagogiques entre universités avec la mise en place, depuis les années 2000, du *E-learning*. L'étudiant bachelier maghrébin peut poursuivre depuis son domicile des études reconnues et validées par le ministère de l'Enseignement supérieur de son pays sous forme de modules d'enseignement numérisés et payants en ligne, dans une des universités virtuelle de son pays, dont une des missions est l'échange d'expériences en matière de pédagogie universitaire entre les universités maghrébines et étrangères.

Depuis le début des années 2000, on assiste en Tunisie et au Maroc à une diversification d'un secteur privé d'enseignement supérieur qui vise à compléter un secteur public en surcharge et partiellement inadapté. À partir des années 1980, les établissements supérieurs privés au Maghreb se multiplient, tolérés en Tunisie sur le créneau des écoles supérieures « de la seconde chance » après avoir été marginalisés dans la formation professionnelle et technique de courte durée dans les années 1970, encouragés au Maroc où leur expansion fut rapide. Ils se diversifient aujourd'hui en direction des bacheliers, et dans un cadre légal de plus en plus affirmé, sous le statut juridique de sociétés anonymes. Le Maroc (loi 01-00) et la Tunisie (loi 2000-73) réforment leurs lois respectives portant sur l'organisation de l'Enseignement supérieur, en accordant aux établissements supérieurs privés une reconnaissance de leurs diplômes par leurs ministères de l'Enseignement supérieur sous condition d'un cahier des charges précis. L'Algérie plus réticente attend l'arrêté du

24 août 2008 pour élargir sa loi d'orientation sur l'enseignement supérieur de 1999 à la création d'établissements privés de formation supérieurs.

Ces nouveaux établissements parient sur une professionnalisation de l'enseignement supérieur privé et une meilleure insertion professionnelle locale en fin d'études. Tous veulent répondre au mot d'ordre étatique de redéploiement de l'enseignement selon des objectifs stratégiques d'employabilité (*qâbiliya attashghil*), adaptés aux contraintes d'un marché de l'emploi de plus en plus privatisé, localement et globalement.

Ils n'hésitent pas à proposer des programmes de formation labellisés «LMD», entièrement en français ou en anglais pour des diplômes universitaires de premier cycle jusqu'à des maîtrises spécialisés (sciences de gestion, études commerciales, finance, informatique appliquée à la gestion, droit, langues, science comptable).

Ils recherchent des partenariats avec des universités publiques françaises afin de valider des doubles diplômes, et cherchent à séduire par la diffusion d'une image de commerce européenne, au moyen d'internet et des médias, dont le message publicitaire subliminal se résume par : «Le Maghreb, c'est déjà l'Europe».

Depuis 2008, le cadre juridique de ces pays s'assouplit encore pour s'ouvrir à la délocalisation d'universités étrangères (sans pouvoir toutefois détenir plus de 35 % du capital). Les projets les plus avancés et négociés entre les hautes instances des pays concernés sont avec la France. Ils participent aujourd'hui d'une volonté politique affichée des États de constituer un nouveau partenariat dans «un espace universitaire solidaire euro-méditerranéen» comme le souligne le Collège académique des universités francophones euro-maghrébines (CAUFEM).

Un autre trait caractéristique de ces établissements supérieurs privés est de viser de manière offensive le marché africain.

VISER LE MARCHÉ DE L'AFRIQUE

Face à l'augmentation de la demande de pays africains tels que le Gabon et la Côte d'Ivoire, des directeurs d'universités privées ont multiplié les formes d'accord avec des lycées privés et publics des pays de l'Afrique francophone, depuis le début des années 2000. Ces directeurs se déplacent régulièrement avec leur délégation en mission dans les pays africains (Cameroun, Sénégal, Congo, Mali, Guinée, Tchad, Côte d'Ivoire mais aussi Algérie et Mauritanie). Leur démarche s'inscrit déjà dans une logique marchande. Ils y présentent leurs établissements lors de journées «portes ouvertes» organisées dans des hôtels de luxe ou dans des universités publiques et des établissements supérieurs privés de ces différents pays, en présence du ministre de l'Enseignement supérieur et de la recherche scientifique de

ces pays, et de son homologue de l'Emploi et de la Formation professionnelle. Aujourd'hui, un bachelier africain du Gabon ou du Cameroun peut commencer deux années de formation dans un établissement privé ou public de son pays et valider sa licence dans un établissement privé de Tunisie. Ces étudiants étrangers d'Afrique garantissent un «taux de remplissage» d'effectifs dans ces établissements qui n'est actuellement pas du tout assuré par les seules inscriptions d'étudiants maghrébins.

Les établissements d'enseignement supérieur, en Tunisie et au Maroc, détournent déjà à leur profit le marché que représente l'augmentation de la demande sociale des familles des étudiants subsahariens, créant de véritables «couloirs d'étudiants» depuis les lycées publics ou privés des pays d'origine. Des familles de cadres supérieurs des pays africains, et même une frange de la classe moyenne supérieure de ces pays, choisissent de plus en plus la voie de la formation privée payante au Maghreb. Cette voie permet à leurs enfants l'accès à une formation supérieure diversifiée qui était difficile d'accès jusqu'alors, en dehors du quota de bourses délivré par les ministères maghrébins de l'Enseignement supérieur public. Un des enjeux des pays du Maghreb, en ce domaine d'éducation comme en d'autres, est le rôle qu'ils peuvent jouer vis-à-vis des pays d'Afrique subsaharienne, avec à terme la création de campus africains au Maghreb, eux-mêmes inclus dans un ensemble plus vaste.

En conclusion, on peut dire que le mouvement de libéralisation de l'enseignement supérieur au Maghreb suppose un engagement clair de l'État : si la création d'un secteur privé est la stratégie employée par l'État pour sortir d'un état de crise et adapter l'enseignement supérieur aux nouvelles exigences du marché, intérieur et extérieur, cela ne peut se faire paradoxalement qu'avec l'aide financière, légale et, disons, symbolique, de l'État. Certes, dans le cas de l'Algérie, c'est la dépréciation de l'université publique qui libère la voie aux entreprises privées et leur permet d'asseoir en creux leur légitimité; mais au Maroc comme en Tunisie, la libéralisation relativement rapide de l'enseignement supérieur suscite une demande en retour de crédibilité qui ne peut venir que d'une régulation étatique. Au Maroc, certains directeurs d'établissements supérieurs privés réclament un cahier des charges plus strict pour rehausser leur image; en Tunisie, c'est la création de Fondations qui est revendiquée par eux, pour mettre en cohérence leur fonctionnement économique mixte et leur mission d'utilité publique.

D'un autre côté, l'État cherche à renforcer *via* le privé le nouveau dessein que le pays se donne : celui d'être une ressource pour le reste de l'Afrique, et un partenaire économique pour le Nord, lieu d'échanges obligé entre l'Afrique et l'espace euro-méditerranéen.

Le Maghreb, entre Europe et Afrique, occupe sans doute une place stratégique dans la création d'un large

espace universitaire euro-africain francophone et il a tout à gagner à en maîtriser la mise en place. Mais cette maîtrise doit actuellement se frayer un chemin étroit entre politiques libérales et régime autoritaire, volonté de démocratisation et nécessité de la diversification, contrôle étatique de l'université et « marchandisation » de l'enseignement supérieur.

NOTES

¹ On compte en 2009 (ce chiffre ne comptabilisant pas les étudiants tunisiens à l'étranger ni ceux de la formation professionnelle ou continue) environ 300 000 étudiants de l'enseignement supérieur et 14 universités au Maroc (pour une population de 31 478 000 habitants), pour 320 000 étudiants de l'enseignement supérieur et 13 universités en Tunisie (pour une population de 10 102 000 habitants), et 1 100 000 étudiants de l'enseignement supérieur en Algérie et 27 universités (pour une population de 32 854 000 habitants).

² Le Maghreb se singularise par l'émigration de ses étudiants (près de 5 % des étudiants maghrébins étudient hors de leurs frontières contre 2 % pour l'ensemble du monde)². La France avec ses quelques 260 000 étudiants étrangers, soit plus de 11 % de sa population étudiante se dispute avec le Royaume-Uni le rang de deuxième pays d'accueil d'étudiants étrangers après les États-Unis. La moitié des effectifs des étudiants étrangers en France vient de l'Afrique (dont près de 30 % du Maghreb, en particulier du Maroc et de l'Algérie).

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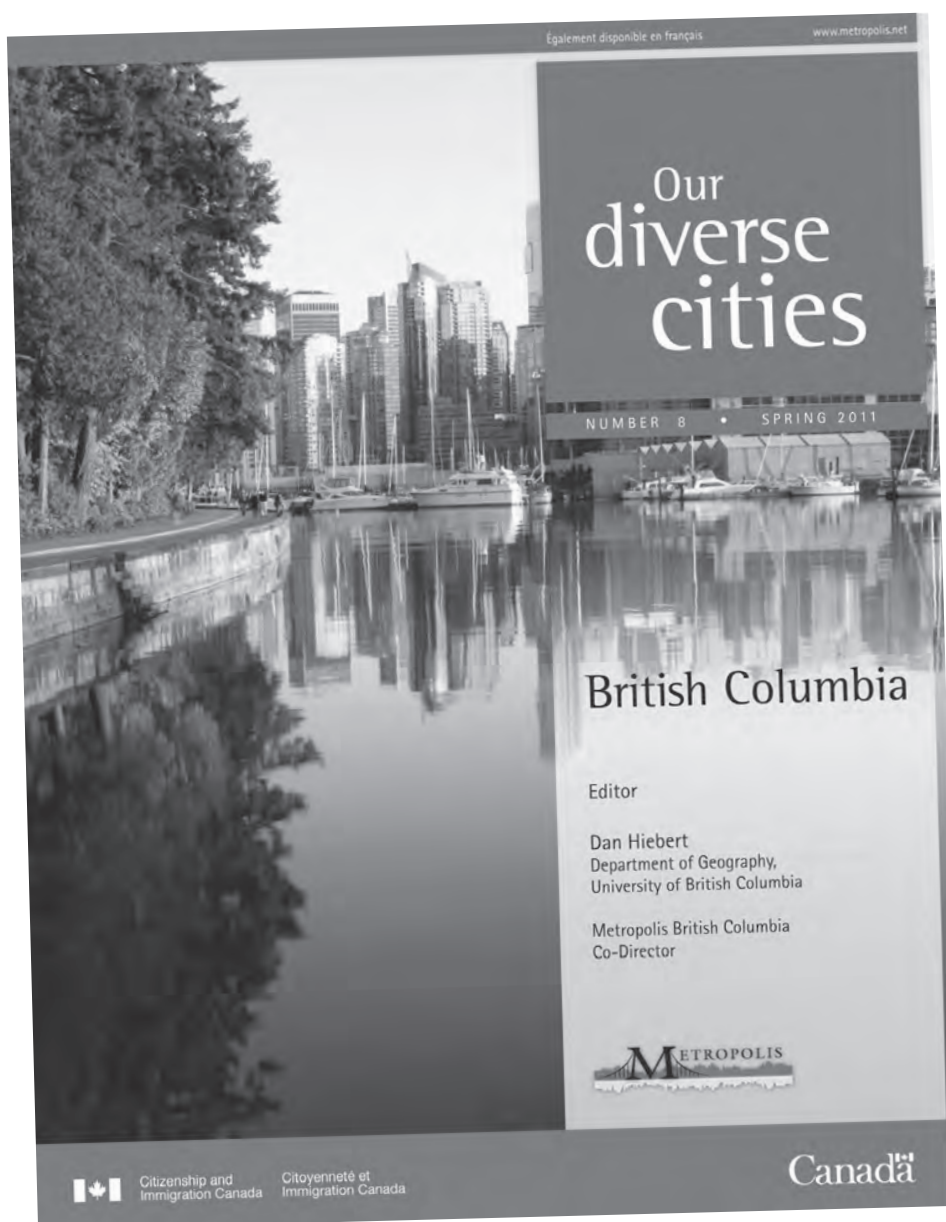
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