Globalisation or Internationalisation of Higher Education: The Case of Foreign Students in Indian Universities

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This paper makes an attempt to challenge the idea that globalisation is an inevitable free market process that fundamentally changes the nature of economic competition, with respect to the higher education market in India. Looking at the intake of foreign students in Indian Universities (2000-2008) it presents an analysis of the sector where globalisation is reasonably expected. The thought that is carried in the paper is that this market (higher education) in India is characterised by a process of internationalisation. With available data argument is developed to show how this process is influenced by a range of economic, social and political factors that have distinctly national or Indian characteristics. More specifically, evidences are created on the fact that Indian universities may tend to draw heavily on those foreign sources that most resemble local origin. Accordingly, the paper concludes that radical notions of education market globalisation are fundamentally flawed in case of India since they fail to account for the ways in which education market behaviour is socially embedded in India.

Key words: Globalisation, Internationalisation, Higher Education Market, Foreign Students, Indian Universities.

Background

Substantial part of the research on globalisation has tended to focus on relatively immobile forms of labour getting employed by hyper-mobile forms of capital, notably in labour-intensive industries (for example, Hirst and Thompson, 1996; Jacoby, 1995). However, internationalmigration is also considered to be one of the defining features of globalisation, not least because it has supposedly entered a phase that some term 'the age of migration' and others 'the new migration' (Castles and Miller, 1993; Koser and Lutz, 1997; Staring, 2000). Student mobility across the national borders (which is seen by some as a part of international migration) is also claimed to be its salient characteristic. The higher education industry across the globe including developing countries can be seen as one of the labour-intensive industry.

Within the higher education industry, usually the providers are fixed to specific geographical locations while the students can move between cities, countries and continents. In India in recent years, the increase in such inward mobility has led to the popular view that the higher education industry is undergoing a process of globalisation, mostly because increasing numbers of Indian Universities have begun to intake more and more studentsfrom a wider range of countries (AIU, 2009).

Against this background, this paper follows Hirst and Thompson (1996) and Knight (2006) in challenging the idea that a disembedded and global free market has sup- planted national higher education market in India and consequently the international markets for foreign students in India. The argument is developed by examining changes in the intake of foreign students by Indian Universities for the period from 2000 till 2008. Though there is evidence that national boundaries are of diminishing importance, I argue that the market for foreign students has not, and is unlikely to, experience the kind of qualitative changes associated with the putative free markets of economic globalisation. One of the main reasons is that Universities prefer to engage in repeated transactions with known sources as a means of reducing the uncertainty that characterises students as a commodity. Consequently, market transactions are influenced by social and cultural ties, by history

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and by pre-existing differences in the economic powers. Another Important reason is hidden in the economic climate of the source and the host which pushes to adopt such strategies on one hand and influences the decisions of foreign students on the other. To put it briefly, this market, even increasingly international student's market, isnot free in the sense that it is governed solely by the laws of supply and demand: they are embedded in specific social, political and economic situations in ways that both shape and support the higher education market behaviour.

Globalisation and Internationalisation: What's the Difference?

Proponents of globalization typically argue that we live in an age in which a new kind of international economic system has emerged, one that is characterised by global competition for capital, labour and customers. They claim that decades of international marketisation, neo-liberal deregulation and global economic integration have virtually eliminated the traditional constraints that nation states placed on the free flow of capital and labour. Above all, the notion that firms have to cope with foreign competitors in domestic markets is presented as a qualitative change in the nature of economic competition, not least because it destroys traditional forms of economic power (see, for example, Beck, 2000; Giddens, 1999; Gray, 1998).

Critics of globalisation insist that recent changes in the major economies have neither created a completely globalised economy nor produced a world thatis defined by rampant free markets and passive nation states. In relation to the former, some accept that while globalisation may exist as a process, it has not been achieved as an end point. Dicken (1998), for instance, argues that it is important to distinguish between processes of internationalisation and globalisation. The argument with respect to higher education market is more specifically put forward by Hirst and Thompson (1996) and Knight (2006). Processes of internationalisation are defined as 'the simple extension of economic activities across national boundaries'. 'It is', Dicken claims, 'essentially a quantitative process which leads to a more extensive geographical pattern of economic activity'. Globalisation processes, on the other hand,

'are qualitatively different from internationalisation processes' in that they involve 'not merely the geographical extension of economic activity across national boundaries but also and more importantly the functional integration of such internationally dispersed activities'. If functional integration is to be one of the defining features of globalisation then it assumes that there is a global market for capital and labour and consumers.

Otherwise, market participants must operate within international systems of trade and exchange. Some neo-classical economists, such as Borjas (1990), claim that there is indeed a 'global migration market' governed by the laws of supply and demand. From Borjas's perspective, international migration is to be explained solely at the individual level where a 'transfer mechanism' redirects labour from home towards foreign markets depending on relative wage levels. For example, in countries where there is a large supply of labour and limited amounts of capital, wages tend to be relatively low compared to countries where labour is scarce and capital is readily available. Accordingly, migration occurs when individuals act on a cost-benefit calculation, which recognises that there are greater returns to human capital where labour is scarce (Borjas, 1990). This partially applies to student migration or mobility across the national borders also. In addition there are many social and political factors that influence students' migration decisions which are embedded in context of a particular economy.

Higher Education Market in India: Case of Foreign Students

The higher education market in India, particularly foreign students studying in Indian Universities,is characterised by a number of properties that make it a critical case for testing claims of globalisation of the free market kind.Firstly, India is becoming increasingly important country of origin of globally mobile students. While traditional host countries have intensified their international students' recruitment drive in India, there now are other countries with aspirations to gain from global education market that are now focusing on India. India itself hosts international students from many countries in Asia and Africa. Many foreign institutions offer their

programs in India and a few Indian higher education institutions have started their operations abroad. Thus, India is an important and an active player in the international higher education arena. Secondly, there are hundreds of foreign institutions that operate in India. Initially, they were merely recruiting students for their home campuses abroad, but gradually they started offering programmes in India itself. The programmes were mostly offered with Indian partners, operating outside the national regulatory system. Since there is no system even to register such operations, information on the size and scope of foreign providers is patchy, with many discrepancies and information gaps. For example a study conducted by AIU in 2005 identified 131 foreign education providers enrolling several thousand students in India. The study did not record any branch campuses and only two franchise operations of foreign providers; the remainders were collaborative programmes or twinning arrangements. Most of these partnerships were with US universities (66 partnerships) and UK universities (59 partnerships). Thirdly, Indian higher education has three natural advantages: relative comfort with the English language, a historically strong and well-regarded system (though this is fast eroding), and low cost of living. Considering these advantages, India has the potential to become one of the world's major higher education destinations. However, India needs to get its policies and institutions right if it aspires to become a major global player. Fourthly, the total number of universities and colleges in India is very large (about 22,500-almost the same number as the rest of world combined); but with an average of just 600 students in each, many of them are unviable (Agarwal, 2009). The system is highly fragmented and riddled with contradictions. Lastly, a majority of country's students (88.9 percent) are enrolled in undergraduate programs, with merely 9.4 percent enrolled in postgraduate and just 0.7 percent in doctoral programs. Enrolment by major field of study is skewed in favour of the arts and humanities (45 percent), followed by science (20.5 percent) and commerce (18 percent). Only 17 percent of students pursue professional studies, which are dominated by engineering and medicine (Agarwal, 2009). Given this distribution of fields of study, a large part of higher education lacks vocational focus and churns out graduates who have difficulty securing employment.

Despite the upward trend, the growth of international students in India is strikingly low compared to that in China. China, which hosted only a few hundred students in the early 1990s, now hosts about 200,000 students. There are several reasons for this as Agarwal, 2009 notes. Academic structure, academic calendars, grading procedures, and methods of instruction in Indian higher education need to change and align with global norms to ensure that more international students enrol. Point that must be noted here is that these basic structures are still un-touched by the process of expanding higher education market through foreign student intakes for more than a decade. For example, international students from certain countries are used to being able to select their courses, while Indian students generally take sequenced courses, mostly within their discipline of study. Additionally, facilities on Indian campuses are often not suitable for foreign students, with dorms and cafeterias offering standards of living below those to which some international students are accustomed. This again reflects that basic infrastructure is also not being positively impacted by the process of international student intake.

India also has not been proactive in attracting international students and its coordination, communication and recruitment strategies are weak. Most institutions recruit foreign students themselves, though some universities coordinate recruitment for affiliated colleges. The coordination mechanism for promotion of Indian higher education abroad put in place by the University Grants Commission in 2004/05 has failed to take off. EdCIL (formerly Educational Consultants India Limited) is the coordinating agency for the admission of foreign nationals and overseas Indians, but it recruits less than a thousand students each year. Another thousand come through the Indian Council for Cultural Relations, the public diplomacy arm of the government. As compared to the recruitment strategies of major destination countries this seems again a way behind from the claims of qualitative changes as associated with forces of education market globalisation.

Data and Methodology

Data

International students have traditionally come from neighbouring countries in South Asia and countries that have large Indian diaspora communities. The Association of Indian Universities (AIU), the agency that collects mobility statistics, faces many difficulties in collecting and collating data, particularly for students from neighbouring countries- Nepal, Bhutan, and Bangladesh-whose borders with India are porous. Thus, there are many gaps in data on international students in India, though data are available from 1988/89 onward. Long-term trends based on AIU data show that the numbers stood at 11,844 in 1988/89, steadily increasing during the first half of the 1990s to a peak of over 13,707 students in 1993/94, and declining steadily thereafter. A marked drop occurred in 1996/97, and by the end of the millennium the number of international students in India had halved. While many developed countries, especially the UK and Australia, were aggressively marketing their education abroad, India stood inactive (AIU, 2009).

However, the numbers began to grow from 2001/02 onwards, after India adopted a more positive approach, streamlining the visa regime, and allowing universities and colleges to admit 15 percent more international students than allowed by their sanctioned intake. Currently, India hosts 18,594 international students (AIU, 2009).International students in India come from about 195 countries; 28 of them send more than 100 students (See Appendix I). Iran sends the highest number, followed by United Arab Emirates, Nepal, Ethiopia, Saudi Arabia, and Kenya. Over 90 percent of students come from the developing countries of Asia and Africa, with two-thirds coming from Asia and one-fourth from Africa. Nearly half of the students come from what might be considered low-income countries and one- fourth from the upper-middle income countries (AIU, 2007).

Most students coming to India from advanced nations pursue short-term study abroad programs. Though the overall number of foreign students is still small, it has been growing in recent years. For instance, according to Open Doors data, the number of U.S. students in India increased from 382 in 1993/94 to 3,146 in 2007/08. While this increase is encouraging, the absolute numbers are small especially when compared with the number of Indian students who study in the U.S. (103,260 in 2008/09). The small number is particularly striking in comparison to the number of U.S. students who studied in other "non-traditional" study abroad destinations such as China. (11,064) or even Costa Rica (5,383) (Bhandari & Chow, 2008).

Methodology

If the higher education system has not witnessed the qualitative changes associated with globalisation (which is evident partially from above data and arguments made) then what else has provoked foreign students to study in Indian universities? The answer to the question is the central theme of this paper. I argue that it is the process of internationalisation that has influenced students to choose India as destination to study. To develop the argument further following econometric model is constructed looking at the inward flow of students form countries which send 100 or above students in recent years and economic, social and political factors that are common (as I argue) among India and sending countries. The synthesis of the model is that the domestic factors (of sending countries) that influence the inward flow of students towards India as not substantially different form that persisting in India. Therefore, India is able to attract students from these countries on the bases of these commonalities, which in-turn is the core gist of the process of internationalisation. The model is based on simple pooled regression where student flow into India is a dependent variable and three different sets of independent variables are associated.

$$SF^{ij}_{2000-2008} = \alpha + \beta0 \ (Economic) + \beta1 \ (Social) + \beta3 \ (Political)$$

Where,

SF is student flow from various countries i to destination j (India) for the period 2000-01 to 2007-08

Economic is the vector of economic factors in sending countries i and destination country j

Social is the vector of social factors in sending countries i and destination country j, and

Political is the vector of economic factors in sending countries i and destination country j

Following table summarises the variables in each vector, hypothesis associated with them and data sources.

Table 1: Summery of variables, hypothesis, and data sources

Variable (s)		Vector	Hypothesis	Data source
Dependant	**Independent**			
Student Flow	Per Capita GDP	Economic	Positive/Negative	UIS and AIU
	Adult unemployment		Positive	World Bank development indicators
	GER at tertiary level of education	Social	Positive	UIS
	Dummy language of Instruction*		Positive	Various (see References)
	Dummy social structure**		Positive	Various (see References)
	Public expenditure on HE as % of GDP	Political	Positive	UIS
	Dummy border***		Positive	http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_countries_and_territories_by_land_borders

*takes a value 1 if there are more than one language of instruction in source country or host country, 0 otherwise
**takes a value 1 if there are social hierarchy present in source or host country such as of SC/ST/OBC, 0 otherwise
***takes a value 1 if source and host country share a common border, 0 otherwise

Expected Hypothesis

Since in a source/origin/sending country the rise of GDP per capita will improve the financial state of the potential students in order to get education abroad, it stimulates the students' outflow. On the other hand, if in a country there is the high level of GDP per capita it means that country has financial opportunity to develop national higher education system that will satisfy the requirements of home students in new knowledge and skills. Similarly, a lower level of GDP per capita limits students' financial opportunities to study abroad, but at the same time a lower level of GDP per capita limits national recourses allocated to higher education and diversity of educational provision, and thus encourages students to look for possibility to study abroad for gaining more competitive education. Thus, we see that GDP per capita of the source country may have both (positive and negative) influence on inward student mobility/flow from other countries. As for host country is concerned (India in this case): it is assumed that there is the positive dependence between GDP per capita and level of higher education system development. Taking into account that major exporters of educational services are highly developed countries with a high level of GDP per capita it is suggested that arising of GDP per capita in host country will stimulate the inflow of foreign students. Therefore, overall a positive influence is expected in the model (when observations are pooled).

One of the most apparent demand factor leading students to look overseas for higher education is the lack of access to domestic higher education. Many countries, especially the developing ones, are unable to accommodate their growing domestic demand for higher education for both political and economic reasons. Larsen and Vincent-Lancrin (2002) for instance, reported that in most developing countries, higher education institutions can only accommodate less than 5% of those who demand post-secondary education. In China for example, some five million high school students passed the university entrance exams in 2001 and yet Chinese universities could accommodate less than half of that number (Kaufman and Goodman, 2002). Faced with a limited access and prospects for domestic higher education opportunities, students tend to look at overseas institutions as an alternative (Altbach, Kelly and Lulat, 1985). Hence, it is hypothesised that there is an inverse relationship between access to domestic education in source country and international student mobility.

The higher education systems of source and host counties and consist of following variables: "Public Spending on Education (as % a share of GDP)", "Enrolment in Higher Education (as % gross)" and "access (measured as the tertiary enrolment in country i as a proportion of the total student population)". These variables are policy-dependent: They characterise the level of state financial support of the education and related spheres. These variables are controlled by the governments and thus their coefficients reflect the efficiency of the state education policy. These are considered separately for source and host countries in the model, thus different directions of their influence on the foreign students' flows are expected.

As for host country we expect positive sign of the coefficients - the more country invest into its education and research spheres the more competitive at the world education market national higher educational institutions will be and thus the more foreign students will come. As for source country one can expect both positive and negative influence. If country invests enough in its education and research spheres then national higher education system has potential for development and is attractive for national students: they prefer to gain education at home country and thus the students' outflows decreases. On the other hand if country develops its education and R&D spheres it stimulates the demand for high-educated labour force, in a case when national education system is not developed enough, it may encourage students' outflow. Here it is assumed for source that national education system is not developed enough, therefore a positive relationship is expected for source countries.

The variable "Enrolment in Higher Education" characterises the level of the development of the national higher education system. A large number of people with higher education in a country indicate that national education system is highly developed and attractive both for national and foreign students and as well national students tend to be more mobile than in a country with low enrolment in tertiary education. Thus, for host country we expect to obtain positive sign of the coefficient; for source country we expect a negative signs.

Case of Social Embeddedness (Dummy Variable)

Caste is a form of social stratification characterized by endogamy, hereditary transmission of a style of life which often includes an occupation, ritual status in a hierarchy, and customary social interaction and exclusion based on cultural notions of purity and pollution. Its paradigmatic ethnographic example is the division of India's Hindu society into rigid social groups, with roots in India's ancient history and persisting until today. However, the economic significance of the caste system in India has been declining as a result of urbanization and affirmative action programs. A subject of much scholarship by sociologists and anthropologists, the Hindu caste system is sometimes used as an analogical basis for the study of caste-like social divisions existing outside Hinduism and India.

India

Historically, the caste system in India consisted of four well known categories (the Varnas):

- Brahmin (priests)
- Kshatriyas (warriors)
- Vaishyas (traders)
- Shudras (workmen)

Some people were left out from these four caste classifications, and were called panchama (literally, the fifth). Regarded as outcastes or untouchables, these were shunned and ostracized. The varnas themselves have been further subdivided into thousands of jatis.

Ancient Indian text on laws, such as Manusmrti suggest a caste system was part of Indian society. These laws in ancient India discriminated between castes. For example, the laws of Manusmrti declare sexual relationships between men and women of different castes as illegal.

Upon independence from the British rule, the Indian Constitution listed 1,108 castes across the country as Scheduled Castes in 1950, for affirmative action. The Scheduled Castes are sometimes called as Dalit in contemporary literature. In 2001, the proportion of Dalit population was 16.2 percent of India's total population.

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Nepal

The Nepalese caste system resembles that of the Indian Jāti system with numerous Jāti divisions with a Varna system superimposed for a rough equivalence. But since the culture and the society is different some of the things are different. Inscriptions attest the beginnings of a caste system during the Lichchhavi period. Jayasthiti Malla (138295) categorized Newars into 64 castes (Gellner 2001). A similar exercise was made during the reign of Mahindra Malla (150675). The Hindu social code was later set up in Gorkha by Ram Shah (160336).

Sri Lanka

The Caste system in Sri Lanka is a division of society into strata,influenced by the classic Aryan Varnas of North India and the Dravida Jāti system found in South India. Ancient Sri Lankan texts such as the Pujavaliya, Sadharmaratnavaliya and Yogaratnakaraya and inscriptional evidence show that the above hierarchy prevailed throughout the feudal period. The repetition of the same caste hierarchy even as recently as the 18th century, in the British / Kandyan period Kadayimpoth - Boundary books as well, indicates the continuation of the tradition right up to the end of Sri Lanka's monarchy.

Pakistan

Religious, historical and socio-cultural factors have helped define the bounds of endogamy for Muslims in some parts of Pakistan. There is a preference for endogamous marriages based on the clan-oriented nature of the society, which values and actively seeks similarities in social group identity based on several factors, including religious, sectarian, ethnic, and tribal/clan affiliation. Religious affiliation is itself multi-layered and includes religious considerations other than being Muslim, such as sectarian identity (e.g. Shia or Sunni, etc.) and religious orientation within the sect (Isnashari, Ismaili, Ahmedi, etc.). Both ethnic affiliation (e.g. Sindhi, Baloch, Punjabi, etc.) and membership of specific biraderis or zaat/quoms are additional integral components of social identity.Within the bounds of endogamy defined by the above parameters, close consanguineous unions are preferred due to a congruence of key features of group- and individual-level background factors as well as affinities. McKim Marriott claims a social stratification that is hierarchical, closed, endogamous and hereditary is widely prevalent, particularly in western parts of Pakistan. Frederik Barth in his review of this system of social stratification in Pakistan suggested that these are castes.

South-east Asia

Myanmar

Karen are people from the Burma-Thailand border region. They were claimed by Christian missionaries and British colonialists as people who were treated by the ethnic majority as low-caste people or dirty-feeders.

Bali

Balinese caste structure has been described in early 20th century European literature to be based on three categories triwangsa (thrice born) or the nobility, dwijati (twice born) in contrast to ekajati (once born) the low folks. Four statuses were identified in these sociological studies, spelled a bit differently than the caste categories for India:

- Brahmanas - priest
- Satrias - knighthood
- Wesias - commerce
- Sudras - servitude

The Brahmana caste was further subdivided by these Dutch ethnographers into two: Siwa and Buda. The Siwa caste was subdivided into five Kemenuh, Keniten, Mas, Manuba and Petapan. This classification was to accommodate the observed marriage between higher caste Brahmana men with lower caste women. The other castes were similarly further sub-classified by these 19th-century and early-20th-century ethnographers based on numerous criteria ranging from profession, endogamy or exogamy or polygamy, and a host of other factors in a manner similar to castas in Spanish colonies such as Mexico, and caste system studies in British colonies such as India.

Africa

Various sociologists have reported caste systems in Africa. The specifics of the caste systems have varied in ethnically and culturally diverse Africa, however the following features are common - it has been a closed system of social stratification, the social status is inherited, the castes are hierarchical, certain castes are shunned while others are merely endogamous and exclusionary.In some

cases, concepts of purity and impurity by birth have been prevalent in Africa. In other cases, such as the Nupe of Nigeria, the Beni Amer of East Africa, and the Tira of Sudan, the exclusionary principle has been driven by evolving social factors.

West Africa

A Madhiban, also known as Midgan or Medigan or Boon or Gaboye, specialize in leather occupation. They have been listed as one of three occupational castes discriminated in East Africa. Austrian Red Cross reports that they, along with Tumal and Yibir people are locally known collectively as sab, meaning low caste people.

Among the Igbo of Nigeria - especially Enugu, Anambra, Imo, Abia, Ebonyi, Edo and Delta states of the country - Obinna finds Osu caste system has been and continues to be a major social issue. The Osu caste is determined by one's birth into a particular family irrespective of the religion practised by the individual. Once born into Osu caste, this Nigerian person is an outcast, shunned and ostracized, with limited opportunities or acceptance, regardless of his or her ability or merit. Obinna discusses how this caste system-related identity and power is deployed within government, Church and indigenous communities.

The osu class systems of eastern Nigeria and southern Cameroon are derived from indigenous religious beliefs and discriminate against the "Osus" people as "owned by deities" and outcasts. The Songhai economy was based on a caste system. The most common were metalworkers, fishermen, and carpenters. Lower caste participants consisted of mostly non-farm working immigrants, who at times were provided special privileges and held high positions in society. At the top were noblemen and direct descendants of the original Songhai people, followed by freemen and traders.

In a review of social stratification systems in Africa, Richter reports that the term caste has been used by French and American scholars to many groups of West African artisans. These groups have been described as inferior, deprived of all political power, have a specific occupation, are hereditary and sometimes despised by others. Richter illustrates caste system in Cote d'Ivoire, with six sub-caste categories. Unlike other parts of the world, mobility is sometimes possible within sub-castes, but not across caste lines. Farmers and artisans have been, claims Richter, distinct castes. Certain sub-castes are shunned more than others. For example, exogamy is rare for women born into families of woodcarvers.

Similarly, the Mandé societies in Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Senegal and Sierra Leone have social stratification systems that divide society by ethnic ties. The Mande class system regards the jonow slaves as inferior. Similarly, the Wolof in Senegal is divided into three main groups, the geer (freeborn/nobles), jaam (slaves and slave descendants) and the underclass neeno. In various parts of West Africa, Fulani societies also have class divisions. Other castes include Griots, Forgerons, and Cordonniers.

Tamari has described endogamous castes of over fifteen West African peoples, including the Tukulor, Songhay, Dogon, Senufo, Minianka, Moors, Manding, Soninke, Wolof, Serer, Fulani, and Tuareg. Castes appeared among the Malinke people no later than 14th century, and was present among the Wolof and Soninke, as well as some Songhay and Fulani populations, no later than 16th century. Tamari claims that wars, such as the Sosso-Malinke war described in the Sunjata epic, led to the formation of blacksmith and bard castes among the people that ultimately became the Mali empire. As West Africa evolved over time, sub-castes emerged that acquired secondary specializations or changed occupations. Endogamy was prevalent within a caste or among a limited number of castes, yet castes did not form demographic isolates according to Tamari. Social status according to caste was inherited by off-springs automatically; but this inheritance was paternal. That is, children of higher caste men and lower caste or slave concubines would have the caste status of the father.

Central Africa

Albert in 1960 claimed that the societies in Central Africa were caste-like social stratification systems.Similarly, in 1961, Maquet notes that the society in Rwanda and Burundi can be best described as castes.The Tutsi, noted Maquet, considered themselves as superior, with the more numerous Hutu and the least numerous Twa regarded, by birth, as respectively, second and third in the hierarchy of Rwandese society. These groups were largely endogamous, exclusionary and with limited mobility. Maquet's theories have been controversial.

East Africa

In a review published in 1977, Todd reports that numerous scholars report a system of social stratification in different parts of Africa that resembles some or all aspects of caste system. Examples of such caste systems, he claims, are to be found in Rwanda and Ethiopia in communities such as the Gurage and Konso. He then presents the Dime of South-West Ethiopia, amongst whom there operates a system which Todd claims can be unequivocally labelled as caste system. The Dimehave seven castes whose size varies considerably. Each broad caste level is a hierarchical order that is based on notions of purity, non-purity and impurity. It uses the concepts of defilement to limit contacts between caste categories and to preserve the purity of the upper castes. These caste categories have been exclusionary, endogamous and the social identity inherited.

Here we expect a strong positive influence on student flow among the similarities in social structure of sending countries and India.

Common Borders (Dummy Variable)

It is assumed that the common border represent commonalities in many aspects such as language, culture religion etc. therefore the sending countries which share a common border with India must have a positive influence in sending students to India.

Language of Instruction (Dummy variable)

As the social structure of most of the sending countries from Africa, Asia and Middle-East is contains similarities with that of India, there are more than one language of instruction (other than English) in most of these countries. We expect a positive influence of this similarity as well of student flow to India from these countries.

Model Results

Following are the results of the pooled regression run through SPSS version 20 0n the data (see Appendix II for data sheet).

Model results are not of-curse robust, but at the same time they indicate the hypotheses to be valid to

Model Summary[b]

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	Durbin-Watson
1	.405[a]	.164	.128	1.27493	.735

a. Predictors: (Constant), LogPEHE, LogAU, Dummy Social, Dummy laguage, Dummy Border, LOGGER, LogGDPPC
b. Dependent Variable: LogSF

Coefficients[a]

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.	95.0% Confidence Interval for B		Collinearity Statistics	
		B	Std. Error	Beta			Lower Bound	Upper Bound	Tolerance	VIF
1	(Constant)	-1.078	1.875		-.575	.566	-4.779	2.624		
	Dummy laguage	.415	.493	.071	.842	.401	-.558	1.388	.711	1.406
	Dummy Social	1.244	.294	.455	4.223	.000	.662	1.825	.438	2.283
	Dummy Border	.535	.297	.171	1.801	.074	-.051	1.121	.564	1.774
	LogGDPPC	.268	.131	.279	2.050	.042	.010	.526	.275	3.636
	LogAU	.641	.181	.292	3.550	.001	.284	.997	.753	1.328
	LOGGER	.135	.123	.106	1.093	.276	-.109	.379	.544	1.837
	LogPEHE	.503	.320	.125	1.570	.118	-.130	1.135	.806	1.241

a. Dependent Variable: LogSF

large extent. Looking at the beta coefficient of dummy social structure, dummy language and dummy border, it becomes evident that commonalities in social embeddedness among sending countries and India influence student flow in a positive manner (note that social structure has the largest influence, beta value highly significant). Though the beta value for dummy language is not statistically significant but has a positive influence of student flow. Similarly the border has a strong positive significant impact on student flow into India (this again shows similarities in terms of culture, religion, etc. which are social aspects by en large).

The value of constant is also of great interest. It shows that if all other factors are constant or 0 than the flow of students in India will be negative. This verifies the argument made in this paper that higher education market is not linked with globalisation; rather it is associated with forces of regionalisation or internationalisation and that to be with countries having same characteristics. Hypothesis associated with other economic, social and political factors are also true (though all are not significant).

Conclusion

Much of the debate about whether or not globalisation represents a new and qualitatively different set of economic circumstances has been dominated by disputes about the existence of a globally integrated market for capital (Dicken, 1998; Hirst and Thompson, 1996). This study contributes to this debate by examining the same question in relation to international students as potential commodity. In this case, the market for higher education market for foreign students was selected because it represents a critical case for testing claims of economic globalisation. Specifically, higher education now is a global market, the performance of individual universities is easy to monitor and foreign students represent a highly commoditified form of labour.

While the market for foreign students in India is clearly becoming more international in nature,

this trend is developing along regional rather than global lines. Additionally, there is no evidence that the hiring of overseas students has been functionally integrated into the activities of the leading universities and institutions. With the notable exception of African students, the acquisition of students simply reflects the extension of international trade rather than the kind of radical shift that is associated with globalisation. Though the hiring of these students clearly has economic origins, I argue that it is socially situated. The Indian end of the market, for instance, is embedded in a history of colonialism, in wide ranging social contact between countries, by recruitment networks and social ties. Furthermore, the difficulty of reliably predicting how any student will behave, especially a foreign student, means that it is entirely rational for universities to adhere to the local conception of what makes a good professional labour.

Consequently, Institutions intake those who most resemble themselves since they believe they can be trusted to act in the expected manner. Such homo-social reproduction, Kanter (1977: 63) argues, provides 'an important form of reassurance in the face of uncertainty about performance management in high-reward, high-prestige positions'.

This emphasis on the non-economic elements of economic action does not contradict the earlier point that students are attracted by the prospect of a full-time career with high wages, while the universities may be more than willing to acquire 'low-priced' foreign students. Rather, it illustrates the argument that economic action is socially situated in the sense that it is embedded in 'ongoing networks of personal relationships rather than being carried out by atomised actors' (Swedberg and Granovetter, 1992: 9) To that extent, the notion of a dis-embedded global market for labour is grossly over-exaggerated since market behaviour is inevitably shaped by political regulation, historical evolution and social relationships.

APPENDIX I: International Students in Indian Universities (100 and above) from 2000-01 to 2007-08

Countries	2000-01*	2001-02*	2002-03*	2003-04*	2004-05**	2005-06**	2006-07**	2007-08**
Iran	151	217	245	336	1120	1264	2180	2669
Nepal	772	821	873	801	1352	1411	1728	1821
United Arab Emirate	94	68	58	68	1500	2034	1878	1560
Ethiopia	369	301	281	225	226	302	1033	1289
Sri Lanka	485	383	504	391	582	530	466	997
Afghanistan	46	35	33	24	35	65	422	976
Saudi Arabia	18	44	31	36	419	551	771	835
Bahrain	17	109	108	59	382	481	446	600
Kenya	868	968	548	521	418	523	621	592
Oman	111	216	216	94	646	505	608	548
Yemen	125	154	349	242	345	319	598	504
Kuwait	42	34	30	23	302	280	332	493
Bhutan	520	175	254	227	286	378	531	487
Thailand	179	259	307	293	293	334	361	440
Korea	65	113	132	108	242	314	452	410
USA	223	246	331	244	398	483	615	396
Qatar	2	7	9	13	256	281	310	389
Mauritius	309	546	550	366	527	510	394	377
Bangladesh	478	576	545	372	940	331	361	368
Tanzania	65	71	78	68	123	222	303	366
Malaysia	168	148	92	788	108	204	268	310
Sudan	299	381	301	186	150	173	242	268
Maldives	18	10	14	34	60	40	200	264
Tibet	23	32	45	76	178	198	273	249
Iraq	41	41	24	15	16	41	116	241
Vietnam	86	82	88	142	210	254	313	229
China	20	20	16	19	34	51	87	219
Canada	47	71	80	81	163	128	144	188
Nigeria	25	26	23	16	114	186	153	179
Singapore	7	4	5	10	76	98	75	122
Mongolia	20	18	29	25	38	63	80	107
Miscellaneous	518	410	747	868	587	629	592	957
Total	6211	6586	6946	6771	12126	13183	16953	19450

*Data from UNESCO Institute of Statistics, 2010
** Data from Association of Indian Universities, 2009

Countries	Years	Student Inflow	GDP Per Capita US$ PPP	Adult Unemployment	GER at Tertiary level of education	Dummy Language of Instruction	Dummy Social Structure	Public Expenditure on HE as % of GDP	Dummy Border
Afghanistan	2000	46	415.45	25.26	9.37	1	1	2.98	1
	2001	35	489.78	27.00	9.62	1	1	3.71	1
	2002	33	524.20	24.00	10.18	1	1	3.15	1
	2003	24	594.76	27.00	10.70	1	1	3.11	1
	2004	35	650.49	24.78	11.06	1	1	3.17	1
	2005	65	748.11	24.80	10.82	1	1	3.36	1
	2006	422	835.00	23.00	11.62	1	1	3.61	1
	2007	976	928.56	24.00	13.26	1	1	3.52	1
	2008	1035	954.34	23.00	15.15	1	1	3.81	1
Bahrain	2000	17	21047.91	19.50	9.37	1	0	2.98	0
	2001	109	22363.96	17.00	9.62	1	0	3.71	0
	2002	108	23938.96	16.30	10.18	1	0	3.15	0
	2003	59	25996.89	15.60	10.70	1	0	3.11	0
	2004	382	27191.11	19.90	11.06	1	0	3.17	0
	2005	481	28068.47	26.50	10.82	1	0	3.36	0
	2006	446	27615.58	35.40	11.62	1	0	3.61	0
	2007	600	26984.18	31.70	13.26	1	0	3.52	0
	2008	756	25790.72	30.00	15.15	1	0	3.81	0
Bangladesh	2000	478	860.34	8.40	5.53	1	1	2.38	1
	2001	576	909.73	9.45	6.51	1	1	2.46	1
	2002	545	948.63	10.65	6.19	1	1	2.32	1
	2003	372	1002.73	11.20	6.21	1	1	2.38	1
	2004	940	1078.82	13.60	5.71	1	1	2.25	1
	2005	331	1164.60	15.90	6.24	1	1		1
	2006	361	1265.96	16.60	7.12	1	1	2.46	1
	2007	368	1370.96	17.80	7.70	1	1	2.56	1
	2008	487	1472.46	18.60	8.66	1	1	2.39	1
Bhutan	2000	520	2398.05	4.20	3.03	1	1	5.82	1
	2001	175	2548.86	3.50	2.93	1	1	5.87	1
	2002	254	2737.53	5.60		1	1		1
	2003	227	2945.52	4.90		1	1		1
	2004	286	3178.12	5.20		1	1		1
	2005	378	3480.18	5.90	4.75	1	1	7.20	1
	2006	531	3750.96	6.90	5.02	1	1		1

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Countries	Years	Student Inflow	GDP Per Capita US$ PPP	Adult Unemployment	GER at Tertiary level of education	Dummy Language of Instruction	Dummy Social Structure	Public Expenditure on HE as % of GDP	Dummy Border
	2007	487	4459.70	7.20	5.44	1	1		1
	2008	567	4684.21	8.50	6.52	1	1	4.80	1
Canada	2000	47	28407.36	24.60	59.29	0	0	5.56	0
	2001	71	29272.60	27.90		0	0	5.09	0
	2002	80	29903.36	28.60	59.99	0	0	5.16	0
	2003	81	31231.05	30.10		0	0		0
	2004	163	32780.76	29.90		0	0		0
	2005	128	35033.42	31.50		0	0	4.93	0
	2006	144	36862.95	31.10		0	0		0
	2007	188	38349.81	31.20		0	0	4.92	0
	2008	213	38985.32	32.70		0	0	4.77	0
China	2000	20	2366.42	11.20	7.95	1	0	2.98	1
	2001	20	2601.97	12.60	10.10	1	0	3.71	1
	2002	16	2865.58	14.10	12.76	1	0	3.15	1
	2003	19	3198.55	14.90	15.45	1	0	3.11	1
	2004	34	3599.17	15.00	17.74	1	0	3.17	1
	2005	51	4114.57	15.50	19.41	1	0	3.36	1
	2006	87	4760.06	14.70	21.05	1	0	3.61	1
	2007	219	5564.45	14.00	21.91	1	0	3.52	1
	2008	345	6201.64	14.30	22.42	1	0	3.81	1
Ethiopia	2000	369	467.79	25.26	1.22	1	1	3.92	0
	2001	301	504.83	27.00	1.53	1	1	3.73	0
	2002	281	507.69	24.00	1.73	1	1	3.66	0
	2003	225	494.69	27.00	2.43	1	1		0
	2004	226	563.75	24.78	2.73	1	1		0
	2005	302	636.07	24.80	2.92	1	1		0
	2006	1033	711.16	23.00	2.65	1	1	5.53	0
	2007	1289	797.51	24.00	3.61	1	1	5.49	0
	2008	1345	883.45	23.00	3.60	1	1	5.45	0
Iran	2000	151	6655.96	17.20	19.37	1	0	4.38	0
	2001	217	6953.29	17.60	20.50	1	0	4.41	0
	2002	245	7495.63	18.20	19.39	1	0	4.93	0
	2003	336	8095.80	17.90	20.20	1	0	4.82	0
	2004	1120	8640.99	18.30	22.09	1	0	4.87	0

Countries	Years	Student Inflow	GDP Per Capita US$ PPP	Adult Unemployment	GER at Tertiary level of education	Dummy Language of Instruction	Dummy Social Structure	Public Expenditure on HE as % of GDP	Dummy Border
	2005	1264	9228.24	19.70	23.22	1	0	4.72	0
	2006	2180	9965.90	20.90	25.55	1	0	5.06	0
	2007	2669	10925.14	23.40	30.05	1	0	5.49	0
	2008	3675	11288.65	25.50	36.33	1	0	4.79	0
Iraq	2000	41	4094.00	24.60	12.00	1	0	2.98	0
	2001	41	3812.62	27.90		1	0	3.71	0
	2002	24	3482.92	28.60	12.83	1	0	3.15	0
	2003	15	2035.30	30.10		1	0	3.11	0
	2004	16	2988.82	29.90	16.19	1	0	3.17	0
	2005	41	2989.67	31.50	16.36	1	0	3.36	0
	2006	116	3181.27	31.10		1	0	3.61	0
	2007	241	3225.09	31.20		1	0	3.52	0
	2008	376	3503.63	32.70		1	0	3.81	0
Kenya	2000	868	1138.45	24.60	2.75	1	1	5.19	0
	2001	968	1177.29	27.90	2.82	1	1	5.21	0
	2002	548	1171.83	28.60	2.82	1	1	6.17	0
	2003	521	1199.64	30.10		1	1	6.49	0
	2004	418	1262.82	29.90	2.92	1	1	6.80	0
	2005	523	1346.40	31.50	2.96	1	1	7.34	0
	2006	621	1440.35	31.10		1	1	7.05	0
	2007	592	1545.81	31.20		1	1		0
	2008	689	1563.67	32.70		1	1		0
Korea	2000	65	17197.15	12.60	78.84	1	0		0
	2001	113	18151.08	14.30	82.73	1	0	4.12	0
	2002	132	19655.67	16.80	85.72	1	0	4.01	0
	2003	108	20180.01	18.00	87.71	1	0	4.37	0
	2004	242	21624.35	17.10	90.21	1	0	4.36	0
	2005	314	22783.27	16.20	93.49	1	0	4.15	0
	2006	452	24246.50	19.80	97.78	1	0	4.22	0
	2007	410	26101.37	19.50	101.80	1	0	4.23	0
	2008	567	26688.74	21.10	103.56	1	0	4.80	0
Kuwait	2000	42	34029.73	2.50		1	0		0
	2001	34	33854.75	2.70	23.52	1	0	6.59	0
	2002	30	34405.51	6.10	23.56	1	0	6.55	0

Countries	Years	Student Inflow	GDP Per Capita US$ PPP	Adult Unemployment	GER at Tertiary level of education	Dummy Language of Instruction	Dummy Social Structure	Public Expenditure on HE as % of GDP	Dummy Border
	2003	23	40110.79	14.50	22.71	1	0	6.54	0
	2004	302	44143.43	13.30	21.86	1	0	5.54	0
	2005	280	48782.65	13.00		1	0	4.74	0
	2006	332	51005.28	9.60		1	0	3.76	0
	2007	493	52622.31	10.40		1	0		0
	2008	654	54231.81	13.40		1	0		0
Malaysia	2000	168	9056.53	15.20	25.74	1	1	5.97	0
	2001	148	9096.25	14.70	25.45	1	1	7.48	0
	2002	92	9523.45	18.30	28.16	1	1	7.66	0
	2003	788	10063.28	18.90	31.61	1	1	7.50	0
	2004	108	10819.10	20.90	31.24	1	1	5.92	0
	2005	204	11544.28	23.60	29.31	1	1		0
	2006	268	12383.08	24.50	30.60	1	1	4.66	0
	2007	310	13334.64	25.10	33.04	1	1	4.53	0
	2008	456	14050.57	24.90	37.46	1	1	4.11	0
Maldievs	2000	18	3874.67	2.50		1	1		0
	2001	10	4032.18	2.70		1	1		0
	2002	14	4276.31	6.10		1	1	6.38	0
	2003	34	4993.15	14.50	0.22	1	1	6.01	0
	2004	60	5576.16	13.30	0.21	1	1	5.40	0
	2005	40	5290.12	13.00		1	1	5.96	0
	2006	200	6439.15	9.60		1	1	5.71	0
	2007	264	7225.87	10.40		1	1	5.46	0
	2008	367	8176.32	13.40	12.55	1	1	5.67	0
Mongolia	2000	20	1959.05	24.60	30.24	1	1	5.55	0
	2001	18	2043.01	27.90	34.32	1	1		0
	2002	29	2152.93	28.60	35.99	1	1	7.21	0
	2003	25	2327.34	30.10	38.19	1	1		0
	2004	38	2616.19	29.90	40.93	1	1	4.33	0
	2005	63	2861.68	31.50	44.67	1	1		0
	2006	80	3161.08	31.10	47.37	1	1		0
	2007	107	3530.90	31.20	46.54	1	1	4.69	0
	2008	256	3866.89	32.70	47.92	1	1		0
Mauritius	2000	309	8120.78	4.40	10.78	1	1	3.82	0

Countries	Years	Student Inflow	GDP Per Capita US$ PPP	Adult Unemployment	GER at Tertiary level of education	Dummy Language of Instruction	Dummy Social Structure	Public Expenditure on HE as % of GDP	Dummy Border
	2001	546	8426.27	4.80	17.25	1	1	3.17	0
	2002	550	8669.54	5.00	16.35	1	1	3.11	0
	2003	366	9081.21	4.90	17.27	1	1	4.48	0
	2004	527	9788.32	5.10	18.44	1	1	4.47	0
	2005	510	10157.51	5.40	21.58	1	1	4.20	0
	2006	394	10816.93	4.20	22.98	1	1	3.82	0
	2007	377	11712.43	6.40	23.05	1	1	3.44	0
	2008	523	12550.59	5.20	24.86	1	1	3.20	0
Nepal	2000	772	800.78	24.60	4.10	1	1	2.98	1
	2001	821	838.33	27.90	4.36	1	1	3.71	1
	2002	873	833.54	28.60	4.92	1	1	3.15	1
	2003	801	865.01	30.10	4.84	1	1	3.11	1
	2004	1352	910.96	29.90	5.56	1	1	3.17	1
	2005	1411	953.81	31.50		1	1	3.36	1
	2006	1728	997.53	31.10		1	1	3.61	1
	2007	1821	1041.26	31.20		1	1	3.52	1
	2008	1989	1108.50	32.70		1	1	3.81	1
Nigeria	2000	25	1303.43	24.60		1	1	2.98	0
	2001	26	1341.59	27.90		1	1	3.71	0
	2002	23	1351.14	28.60		1	1	3.15	0
	2003	16	1484.71	30.10	9.53	1	1	3.11	0
	2004	114	1647.01	29.90	9.73	1	1	3.17	0
	2005	186	1749.65	31.50	10.26	1	1	3.36	0
	2006	153	1871.03	31.10		1	1	3.61	0
	2007	179	1999.07	31.20		1	1	3.52	0
	2008	267	2112.48	32.70		1	1	3.81	0
Oman	2000	111	16851.01	24.60		1	0	3.14	0
	2001	216	18400.38	27.90		1	0	3.92	0
	2002	216	18982.02	28.60	14.59	1	0	4.35	0
	2003	94	19164.62	30.10	14.80	1	0	3.91	0
	2004	646	20010.40	29.90	16.46	1	0	4.04	0
	2005	505	21047.46	31.50	18.72	1	0	3.54	0
	2006	608	22359.00	31.10	20.90	1	0	3.90	0
	2007	548	23894.70	31.20	20.88	1	0		0

Countries	Years	Student Inflow	GDP Per Capita US$ PPP	Adult Unemployment	GER at Tertiary level of education	Dummy Language of Instruction	Dummy Social Structure	Public Expenditure on HE as % of GDP	Dummy Border
	2008	689	26757.59	32.70	20.27	1	0		0
Qatar	2000	2	57512.07	24.60		1	0	4.41	0
	2001	7	59064.07	27.90	19.47	1	0		0
	2002	9	62644.59	28.60	16.35	1	0		0
	2003	13	63225.89	30.10	15.18	1	0	3.67	0
	2004	256	71780.97	29.90	17.64	1	0	3.40	0
	2005	281	69512.33	31.50	18.30	1	0	3.13	0
	2006	310	71413.99	31.10	19.25	1	0	3.09	0
	2007	389	72002.72	31.20	13.45	1	0		0
	2008	472	73103.21	32.70	11.45	1	0		0
Saudi Arabia	2000	18	18027.93	17.80	22.51	1	0	5.94	0
	2001	44	17967.24	18.50	23.86	1	0	7.77	0
	2002	31	17616.70	20.10	23.48	1	0	7.68	0
	2003	36	18610.01	24.50	26.79	1	0	7.15	0
	2004	419	19377.96	23.90	28.46	1	0	6.49	0
	2005	551	20405.81	28.90	29.21	1	0	5.65	0
	2006	771	21064.81	30.80	30.00	1	0	6.23	0
	2007	835	21501.71	28.70	29.92	1	0	6.39	0
	2008	985	22326.61	37.00	30.33	1	0	5.61	0
Singapore	2000	7	33767.28	4.40	7.95	1	0	3.38	0
	2001	4	33225.96	4.80	10.10	1	0	3.02	0
	2002	5	34864.16	5.00	12.76	1	0	4.41	0
	2003	10	37782.78	4.90	15.45	1	0		0
	2004	76	41874.70	5.10	17.74	1	0		0
	2005	98	45374.24	5.40	19.41	1	0	3.67	0
	2006	75	49373.25	4.20	21.05	1	0	3.40	0
	2007	122	53048.14	6.40	21.91	1	0	3.13	0
	2008	245	52285.76	5.20	22.42	1	0	3.09	0
Sri Lanka	2000	485	2666.20	24.60	9.37	1	1		1
	2001	383	2728.07	27.90	9.62	1	1		1
	2002	504	2863.40	28.60	10.18	1	1		1
	2003	391	3056.68	30.10	10.70	1	1	3.67	1
	2004	582	3269.06	29.90	11.06	1	1	3.40	1
	2005	530	3550.21	31.50	10.82	1	1	3.13	1

Countries	Years	Student Inflow	GDP Per Capita US$ PPP	Adult Unemployment	GER at Tertiary level of education	Dummy Language of Instruction	Dummy Social Structure	Public Expenditure on HE as % of GDP	Dummy Border
	2006	466	3903.21	26.90	11.62	1	1	3.09	1
	2007	997	4250.65	32.60	13.26	1	1		1
	2008	1098	4562.62	31.80	15.15	1	1		1
Thailand	2000	179	4876.48	24.60	34.88	1	0	5.41	0
	2001	259	5035.80	27.90	38.95	1	0	5.02	0
	2002	307	5327.67	28.60	39.77	1	0	4.09	0
	2003	293	5763.45	30.10	40.63	1	0	3.98	0
	2004	293	6235.58	29.90	41.63	1	0	4.24	0
	2005	334	6674.74	31.50	43.90	1	0	4.23	0
	2006	361	7178.77	31.10	43.80	1	0	4.34	0
	2007	440	7699.99	31.20	46.95	1	0	3.84	0
	2008	567	8010.07	32.70	45.75	1	0	3.75	0
United Arab Emirates	2000	94	61281.93	24.60	17.96	1	0	1.34	0
	2001	68	61208.50	27.90	24.58	1	0	1.36	0
	2002	58	61655.66	28.60	22.85	1	0	1.35	0
	2003	68	65548.93	30.10	22.46	1	0	1.27	0
	2004	1500	68649.49	29.90		1	0	1.10	0
	2005	2034	66854.72	21.60		1	0	0.97	0
	2006	1878	66195.45	31.10		1	0	0.84	0
	2007	1560	60642.36	31.20		1	0	0.73	0
	2008	1657	55761.80	33.20		1	0	0.82	0
United Republic of Tanzania	2000	65	770.08	24.60		1	1	4.41	0
	2001	71	813.82	27.90	0.69	1	1		0
	2002	78	863.70	28.60	0.81	1	1		0
	2003	68	918.25	30.10	0.93	1	1	3.67	0
	2004	123	991.19	29.90	1.25	1	1	3.40	0
	2005	222	1070.13	31.50	1.46	1	1	3.13	0
	2006	303	1146.96	31.10		1	1	3.09	0
	2007	366	1229.48	31.20		1	1		0
	2008	466	1311.98	32.70		1	1		0
United States of America	2000	223	35081.92	41.90	68.71	0	0		0
	2001	246	35912.33	44.40	69.49	0	0	5.67	0
	2002	331	36819.45	46.40	79.48	0	0	5.61	0
	2003	244	38224.74	47.30	81.21	0	0	5.77	0

Countries	Years	Student Inflow	GDP Per Capita US$ PPP	Adult Unemployment	GER at Tertiary level of education	Dummy Language of Instruction	Dummy Social Structure	Public Expenditure on HE as % of GDP	Dummy Border
	2004	398	40292.30	46.50	81.33	0	0	5.51	0
	2005	483	42516.39	45.40	82.18	0	0	5.27	0
	2006	615	44622.64	45.80	82.64	0	0	5.61	0
	2007	396	46349.12	45.70	83.40	0	0	5.45	0
	2008	467	46759.56	46.50	85.40	0	0	5.49	0
Viet Nam	2000	86	1416.95	24.60	9.73	1	1	4.41	0
	2001	82	1529.48	27.90	9.66	1	1		0
	2002	88	1645.16	28.60	9.76	1	1		0
	2003	142	1782.30	30.10	10.02	1	1	3.67	0
	2004	210	1951.64	29.90		1	1	3.40	0
	2005	254	2161.27	31.50	15.69	1	1	3.13	0
	2006	313	2387.93	26.90	16.28	1	1	3.09	0
	2007	229	2636.21	32.60	17.98	1	1		0
	2008	345	2834.22	31.80	18.59	1	1		0
Yemen	2000	125	1880.74	24.60	10.30	1	0	9.66	0
	2001	154	1937.20	27.90		1	0	9.24	0
	2002	349	1984.65	28.60		1	0		0
	2003	242	2038.75	30.10		1	0		0
	2004	345	2113.35	29.90	9.20	1	0		0
	2005	319	2236.08	31.50	9.24	1	0		0
	2006	598	2309.87	26.90	8.90	1	0		0
	2007	504	2382.44	32.60	10.19	1	0		0
	2008	654	2448.14	31.80		1	0	5.15	0
India	2000	1211	2398.05	30.10	9.37	1	1	4.41	1
	2001	1249	2548.86	31.00	9.62	1	1		1
	2002	1754	2737.53	30.90	10.18	1	1		1
	2003	2013	2945.52	31.90	10.70	1	1	3.67	1
	2004	2134	3178.12	31.60	11.06	1	1	3.40	1
	2005	2605	3480.18	33.30	10.82	1	1	3.13	1
	2006	2433	3750.96	35.00	11.62	1	1	3.09	1
	2007	2657	4459.70	34.00	13.26	1	1		1
	2008	2715	4684.21	36.00	15.15	1	1		1

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