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CARIM INDIA – DEVELOPING A KNOWLEDGE BASE FOR POLICYMAKING ON INDIA-EU MIGRATION

Co-financed by the European Union

India-EU Migration: A Relationship with Untapped Potential

**Philippe Fargues
Kathryn Lum**

CARIM-India Research Report 2014/01



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CARIM-India
Developing a knowledge base for policymaking on India-EU migration

Research Report
Final Scientific Report
CARIM-India RR2014/01

India-EU Migration:
A Relationship with Untapped Potential

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Aknowledgements to the contribution of the project team of the Indian Centre for Migration, Delhi:
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CARIM-India – Developing a knowledge base for policymaking on India-EU migration

This project is co-financed by the European Union and carried out by the EUI in partnership with the Indian Council of Overseas Employment, (ICOE), the Indian Institute of Management Bangalore Association, (IIMB), and Maastricht University (Faculty of Law).

The proposed action is aimed at consolidating a constructive dialogue between the EU and India on migration covering all migration-related aspects. The objectives of the proposed action are aimed at:

- Assembling high-level Indian-EU expertise in major disciplines that deal with migration (demography, economics, law, sociology and politics) with a view to building up migration studies in India. This is an inherently international exercise in which experts will use standardised concepts and instruments that allow for aggregation and comparison. These experts will belong to all major disciplines that deal with migration, ranging from demography to law and from economics to sociology and political science.
- Providing the Government of India as well as the European Union, its Member States, the academia and civil society, with:
 1. Reliable, updated and comparative information on migration
 2. In-depth analyses on India-EU highly-skilled and circular migration, but also on low-skilled and irregular migration.
- Making research serve action by connecting experts with both policy-makers and the wider public through respectively policy-oriented research, training courses, and outreach programmes.

These three objectives will be pursued with a view to developing a knowledge base addressed to policy-makers and migration stakeholders in both the EU and India.

Results of the above activities are made available for public consultation through the website of the project: <http://www.india-eu-migration.eu/>

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Abstract

The rise of India as an increasingly important economic and strategic partner brings a range of potential benefits to the European Union. However, while the EU is currently negotiating a Free Trade Agreement with India that will potentially open up India's burgeoning market, many of its Member States are 'missing the boat' when it comes to exploiting the full potential of Indian migration to the EU. Indian migration to Europe has a long history: a number of EU member states have historical colonial links with India, including Portugal, France, the Netherlands and the UK. These early Indian migrants settled successfully into their respective countries, and many have played leading roles in contributing to EU national economies. The current migration situation is much more complex, in large part because India is still not viewed as an important migration source country. Yet, as this report highlights, India constitutes the fourth largest country of origin for migration to the EU. The Indian student market is the second largest in the world after China's, and represents great potential for European universities seeking to internationalise their student intake. Highly skilled workers from India, particularly from the IT industry, have made Indian nationals the largest recipient of highly skilled visas in Germany and the Netherlands. Among low-skilled workers, there are also success stories to be told. Contrary to the common migration myth that low-skilled workers are not needed, and even worse, steal jobs from native citizens, this report shows how low-skilled workers from India have successfully integrated into local economies without threatening local jobs. Finally, this report on Indian migration to the EU provides a roadmap for future strategic directions for the India-EU relationship. Given the growing importance of EU-India relations, it is vital that migration issues are also on the table. With political will, finding migration solutions that satisfy both India and the EU can hopefully be negotiated over the next five years.

Introduction

Migration policy and management in the European Union is becoming increasingly complex with progressive enlargement, a larger role played by the EU in formulating migration policies, and the increased number of European countries dealing with immigration flows from new origin countries. Indian migration to the EU is taking place within this new migration infrastructure. Historically, Indian migration to the EU was confined to those countries with a colonial relationship to India, such as the UK, Portugal and France, or those who colonised countries with large ethnic Indian populations, as is the case between the Netherlands and Suriname. However, over the last two decades, Indian migration has been reaching a number of European countries with no prior colonial relationship to India, Italy and Spain being leading examples. Indian migrants now constitute one of the most important immigrant flows to the EU.

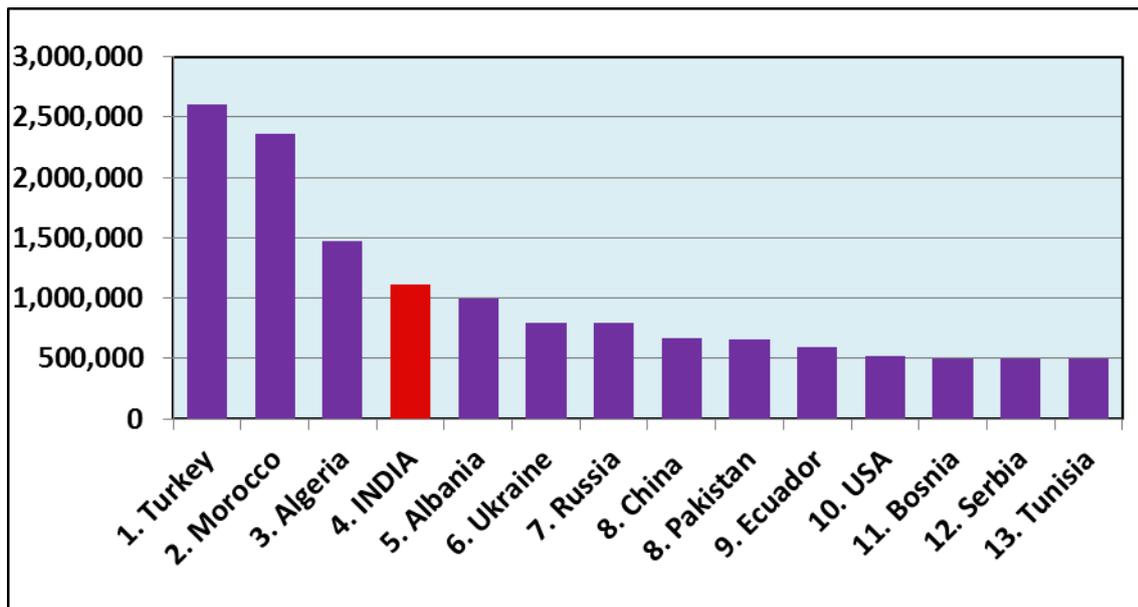
At the EU level, the highest number of permits for employment purposes was given to Indian nationals (65, 000), and the highest number of new authorisations to reside in EU Member States (combining all categories of residence permits) was also granted to Indian nationals, 191, 000 (Eurostat 2009). Indian nationals are important in other mobility categories as well: they account for the second largest group receiving a residence permit for educational purposes in the EU after the Chinese, and the second largest group receiving a residence permit for family reunification after the Moroccans. Although the UK continues to be the top recipient of Indian migrants, its dominant position is increasingly being challenged by continental European countries, notably Italy. This shows that Indian migration to the EU can no longer be characterised as being exclusively UK-focused: Indian migrants are found throughout the European Union contributing to local economies and communities. Although some of these migrants are temporary highly-skilled workers or students, many are increasingly settling for good: Indian nationals represented the third most important group acquiring national citizenship in one of the EU-27 countries in 2009. India is therefore not just an increasingly important strategic and economic partner of the EU, it is also an extremely important source country for highly skilled workers, low skilled workers, students, and family migrants. This final report summarises and reflects upon the key findings of the project “Developing a knowledge base for policymaking on India-EU migration” from its research papers and policy briefs, highlighting opportunities for future reform, as well as ways in which the EU and India can further improve their collaboration.

India to EU Migration: Levels, Trends and Profiles

Migration flows from India to the EU do not respect a set pattern, for Indian States greatly differ from each other in terms of the volume and profiles of their migrants to the EU, and equally so, different groups adopt different ways of migrating. Furthermore, there is deep geographic diversity at both the sending and the receiving end. Not all EU member states are destination countries for Indian migrants and the destination countries are not always the same for each sub-population in India.

The Indian population in the EU is highly diverse from the point of view of migration history, regional origin, language, religion, socioeconomic profile and the level of integration. Several waves of Indian migration to the EU can be noticed, particularly historical waves due to colonial links with the British Empire and other Empires, which are mainly directed to the UK, but also to France and Portugal. Recent migration flows, however, have been steadily diversifying in terms of the States of origin in India and the destination countries in Europe.

Taking into account the broader perspective, a description of India-EU migrant flows can be provided based on recent data collected on Indian migrants in the EU. As demonstrated in figure 1, from 1 January 2013 the number of Indian migrants defined as ‘born abroad’ was 1,113,108. This figure is not insignificant and in fact, India constitutes the fourth largest country of origin for migration to the EU.

Figure 1. Population born outside the EU– Top 13 countries of origin (2012)

Source: EUROSTAT

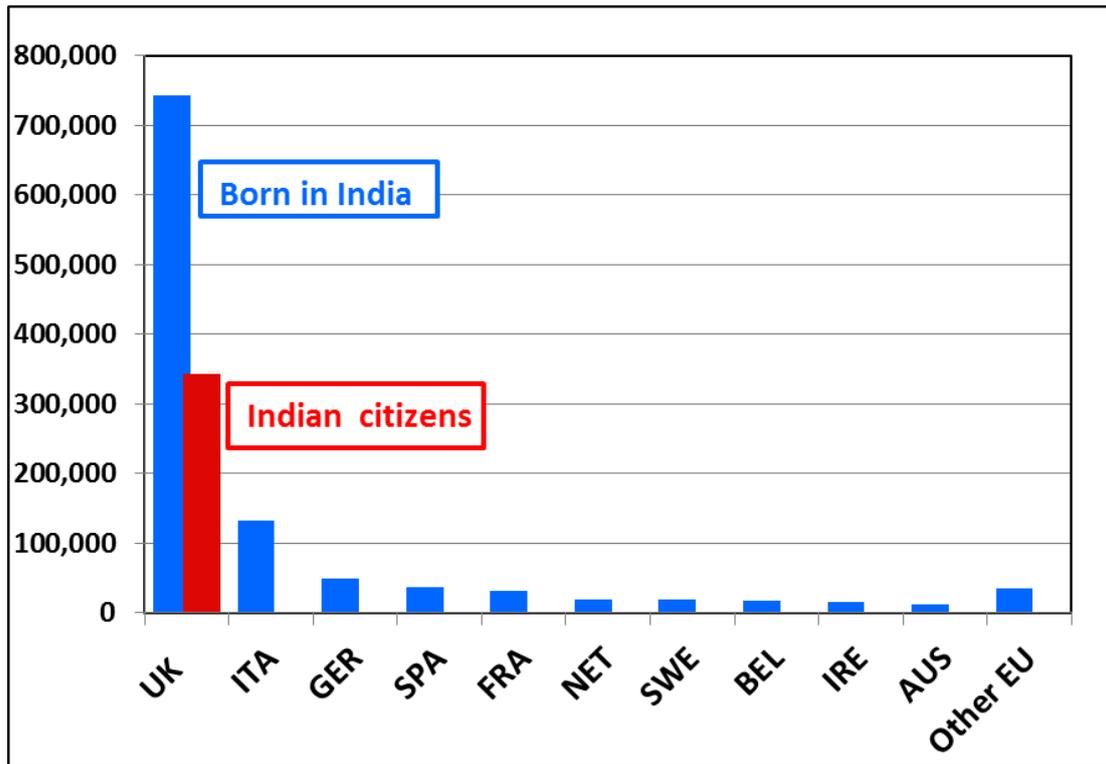
However, if we take into consideration that India is becoming the first demography in the world together with the fact that the EU is the first economy in the world as well as the second destination for global migrants, the figure remains surprisingly low. Why are there fewer Indian migrants in the EU than expected? It can be explained by saying that we are in a global world, but international migration has not fully globalised and proximity is important in terms of geography, language, history and the labour market.

In geographical terms, India is the only country in the top seven countries of origin of migrants in the EU that is deprived of land or sea borders with Europe, which makes migrating to the EU from India more arduous, creating weaker migrant flows. Historical proximity can also explain the fewer migrants, particularly in terms of language. Indian migrants in the UK represent 67% of Indian migrants in the EU as a whole, making the UK the first destination country for Indian migrants. This is largely due to the fact that the language barrier is erased; Indian migrants move to destinations such as the UK where communication will not hinder their opportunities, while they are less likely to establish themselves in other member states that are not English-speaking.

To a lesser extent the proximity to the labour market also impacts migrant numbers. Italy, for example, hosts 36% of Indian migrants in the remaining EU member states; a figure that does not include those hosted in the UK. Italy has informal, small- or mid-sized industries, which are comparable to those of India thus making Italy an attractive destination from a labour market point of view and explains why Italy has become the second largest destination country for Indian migrants.

Figure 2 shows Indian migrant stock according to EU countries of residence. We can identify the UK as home to 740,000 Indians defined as ‘born abroad’, which is to say Indians born in India or elsewhere outside the UK. 54% of these are naturalised British citizens, while the remaining 46% - representing 344,000 - are Indian citizens. Italy is the second largest destination country with approximately 133,000 Indian migrants and Germany is third with approximately 50,000, followed by Spain and France as fourth and fifth respectively with around 30,000-40,000 Indian migrants. The other minor destinations together constitute less than 20,000 migrants.

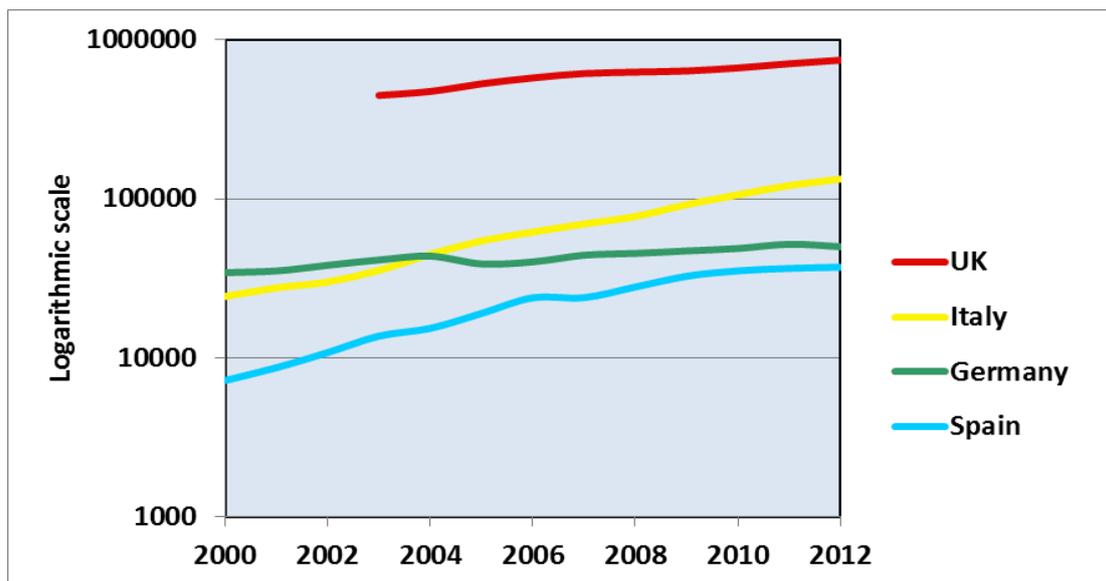
Figure 2. Indian migrant stock by EU country of residence (2012)



Source: EUROSTAT

Figure 3 shows the Indian migrant stock growth between 2000 and 2012 according to the five top EU countries of residence. We can notice that in all five countries, there has been a steady increase, indicating that in general India-EU migration has been expanding over the last decade. Indian migrant stocks in these top five destinations has increased by almost 100%. The number of Indian migrants in the UK increased by 67%, in Italy it increased by 275%, by 227% in Spain and by 21% to Germany. The number of Indian migrants in France remained unchanged.

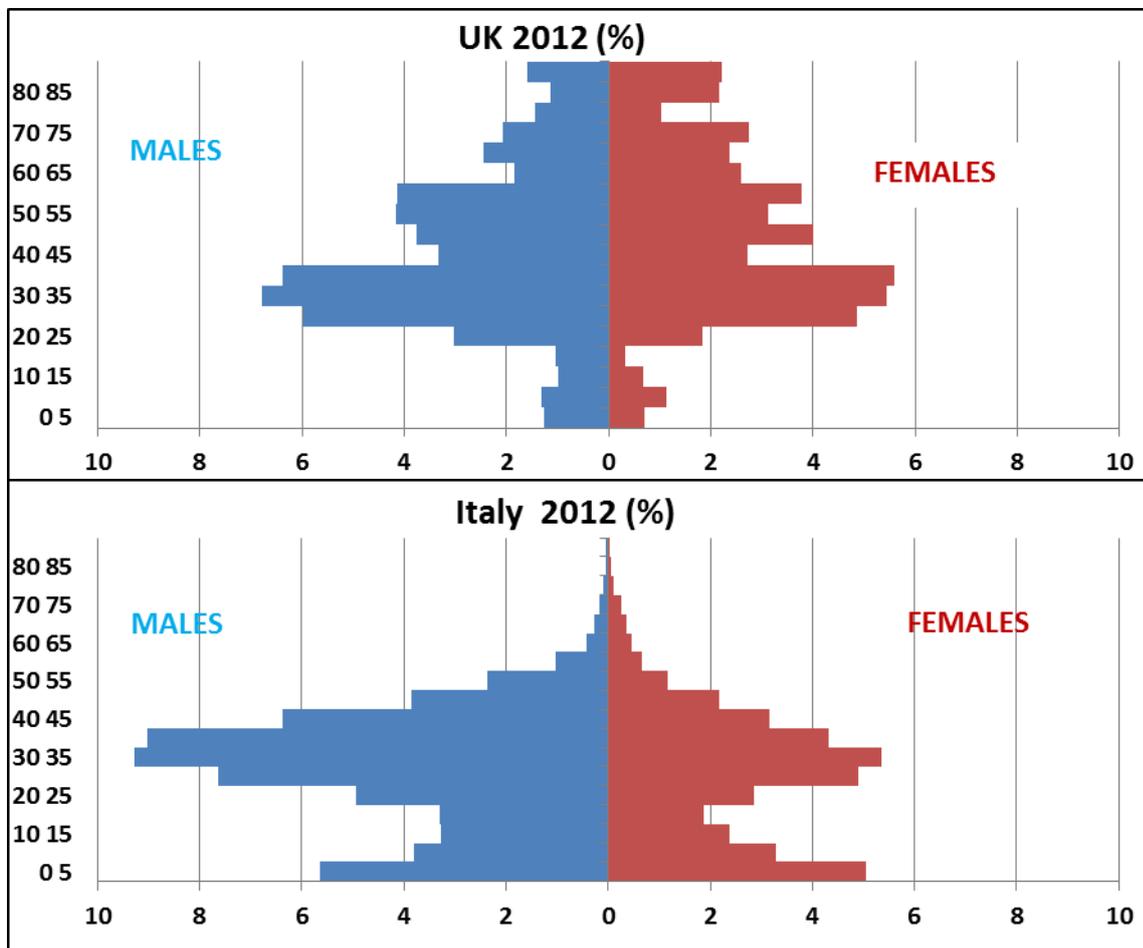
Figure 3. Indian migrant stock growth 2000-2012 - Five top EU countries of residence



Source: EUROSTAT

At this point, the description can be narrowed to focus specifically on the UK and Italy, which host the greatest proportions of Indian migrants in the EU. Age pyramids of Indian migrant stocks on figure 4 suggest contrasting demographic patterns between the two countries. In the UK, the Indian population is mostly comprised of ageing adults with very few children. This does not mean that Indian families would have a particularly low fertility but that in many cases children and parents do not belong to the same category: this happens to all Indian migrants whose children born in the UK are neither migrants nor Indian nationals, but British nationals. By contrast, in Italy young adults accompanied with young children are predominant in the Indian migrant population. Indeed, Indian migration to Italy is more recent than to the UK and sons and daughters of migrants have little access to the Italian nationality as will be seen below. It is noticeable that in both the UK and Italy, there is a balanced sex ratio, which provides a stark contrast to the Gulf States – the first destination for Indian migrants - where males are overwhelmingly predominant as a result of migrants not being allowed to family reunification unless they belong to the very-highly-skilled.

Figure 4. Age pyramid of Indian migrant stock in the UK and Italy (2012)

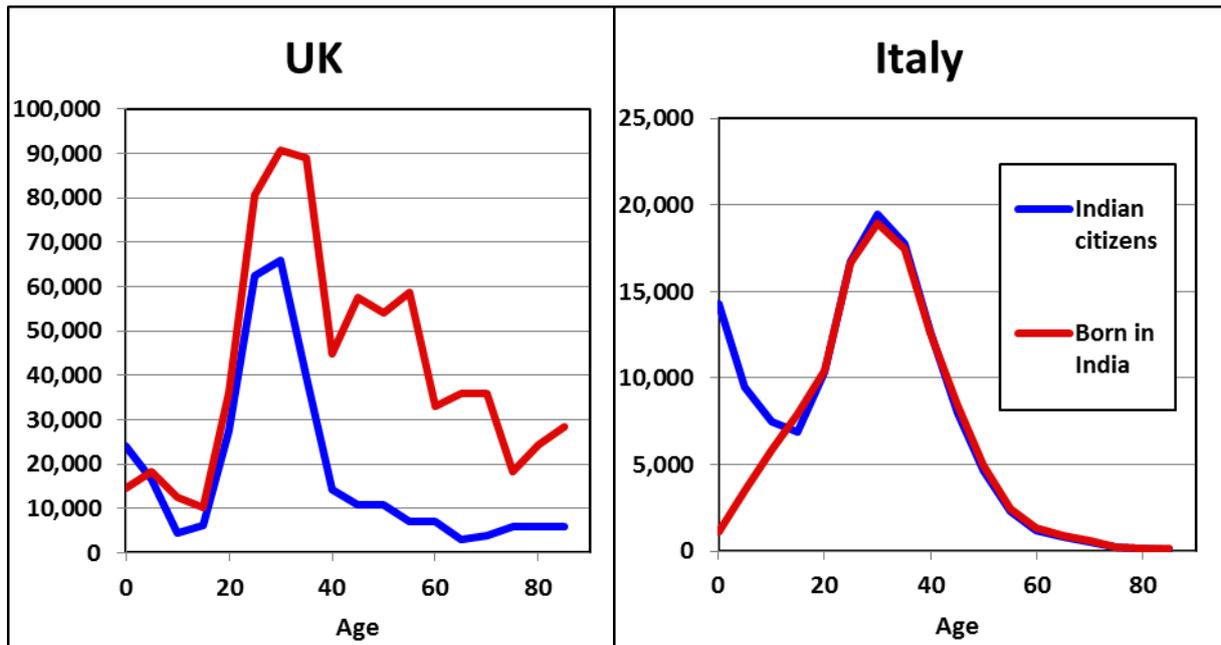


Source: EUROSTAT

As figure 5 demonstrates, there are contrasting patterns between the UK and Italy in terms of migrants' citizenship. In the UK, the number of migrants born in India is greater than the number of UK-based citizens of India. The difference between these two numbers relates to the number of naturalised migrants, which is increasing with age. Contrarily, in Italy Indian citizens outnumber migrants born in India. The difference emerges because children born in Italy from Indian parents remain Indian citizens. Nationality laws explain why the UK and Italy are so different. In the UK, by virtue of the *jus soli* ("right of soil") those born in the UK from one parent legally settled in the UK

are eligible to the British citizenship. In addition, naturalisation is common in the UK and it is possible for Indian migrants born outside the UK to be granted UK citizenship. By contrast in Italy *jus sanguinis* (“right of blood”) is strict, implying that only those of Italian descent can obtain Italian citizenship; Indian migrants of Indian descent, whether born in Italy or not, have limited right to apply for naturalisation. These contrasting patterns may lead to an impact on the process of integration, especially if we consider that naturalisation is a migrant’s integration ultimate step.

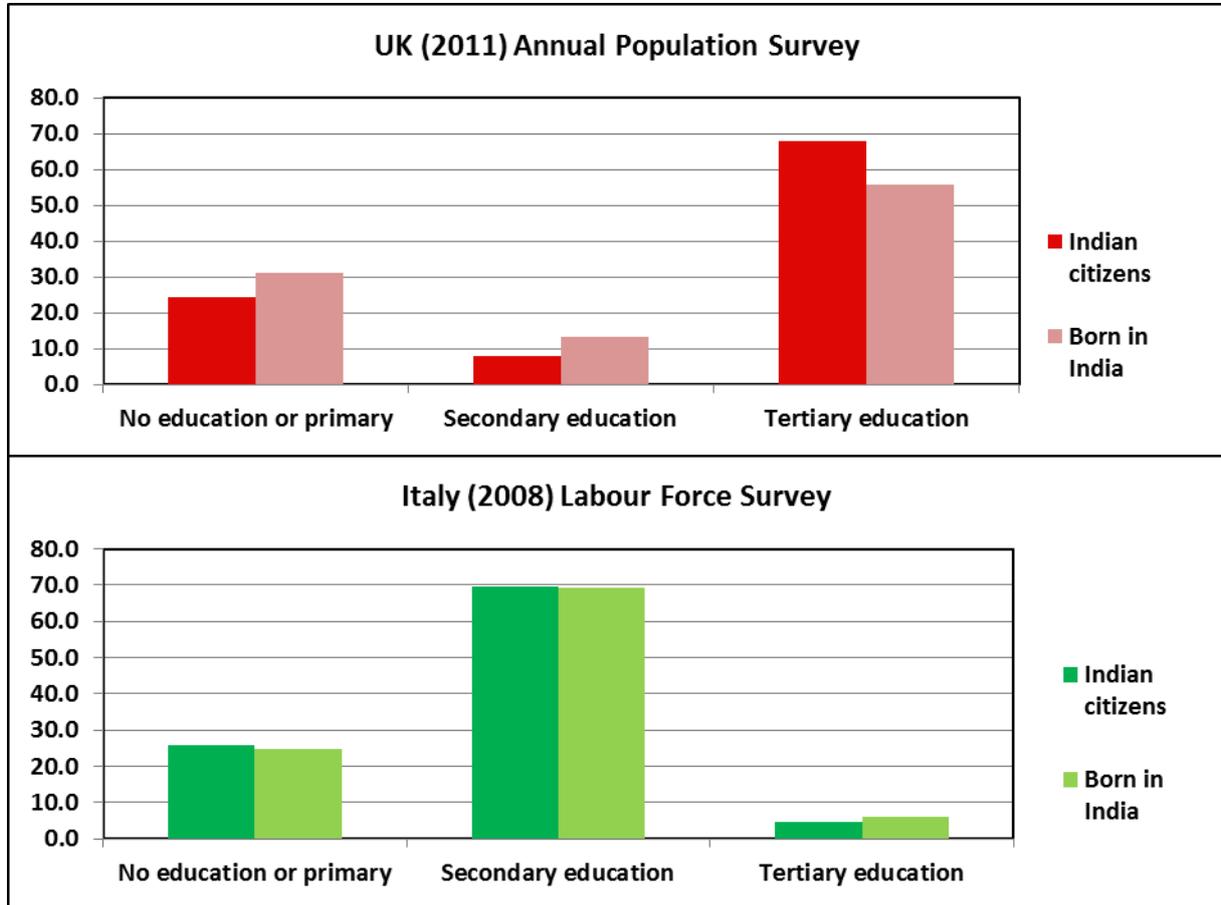
Figure 5. Age distribution of Indian citizens and residents born in India in the UK and Italy -2012 -



Source: EUROSTAT

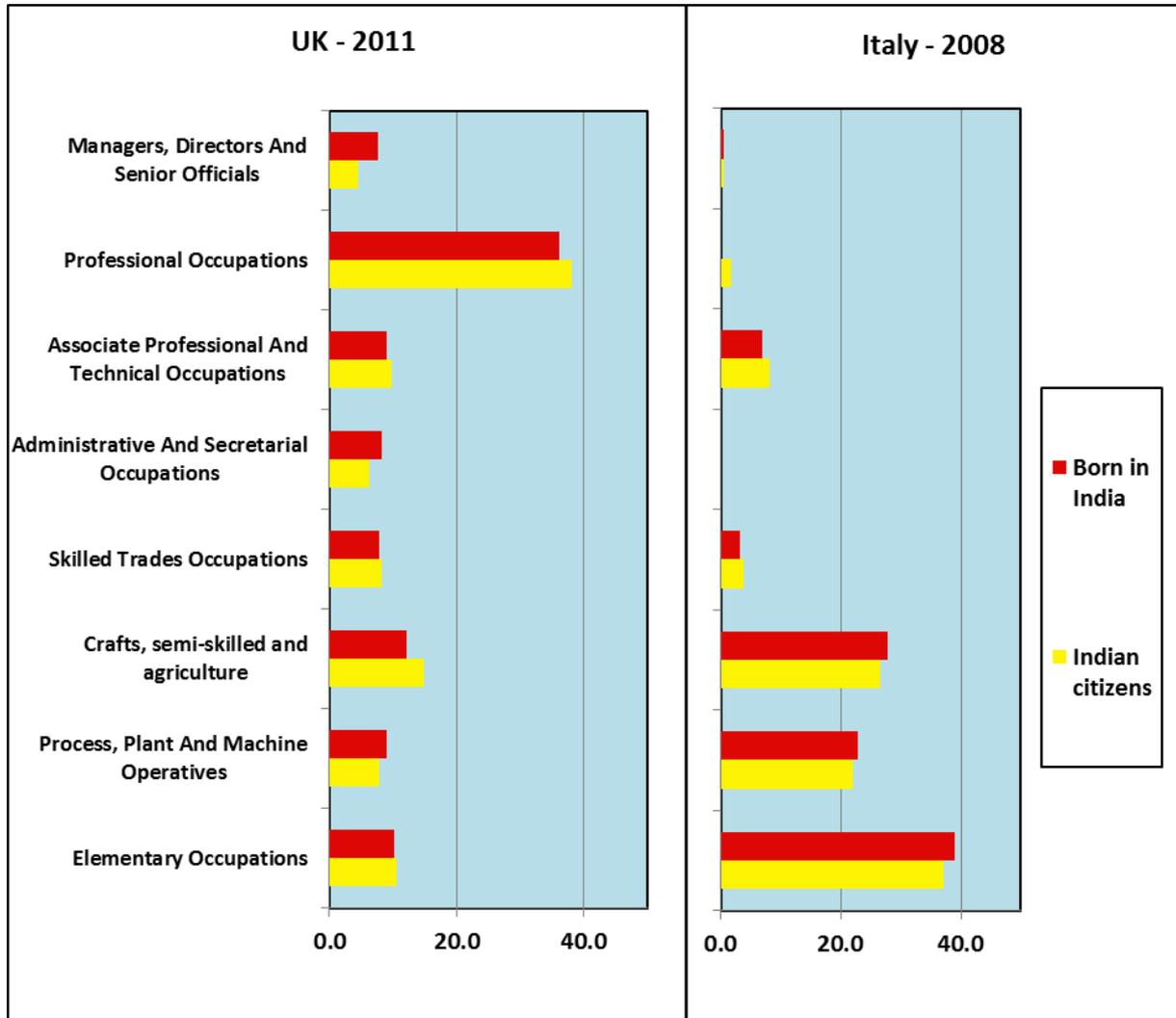
When considering Indian migrants’ education, figure 6 suggests there are contrasting patterns between the UK and Italy. Overwhelmingly, Indian migrants in the UK are more likely to have tertiary level education, while in Italy Indian migrants tend to have secondary education or below and sometimes no school education at all. In the UK, citizenship status is affected, particularly Indian citizens, since highly-skilled migrants are more likely to be naturalised due to a new admissions policy, which is a points system that includes an assessment of competence in the English language, good conduct, knowledge and skills as well as the ability to integrate. In Italy, however, the admission policy is employment-based, meaning that in order for a migrant to be resident in Italy, the main requirement is the possession of an employment contract.

Figure 6. Indian migrant stocks by level of education



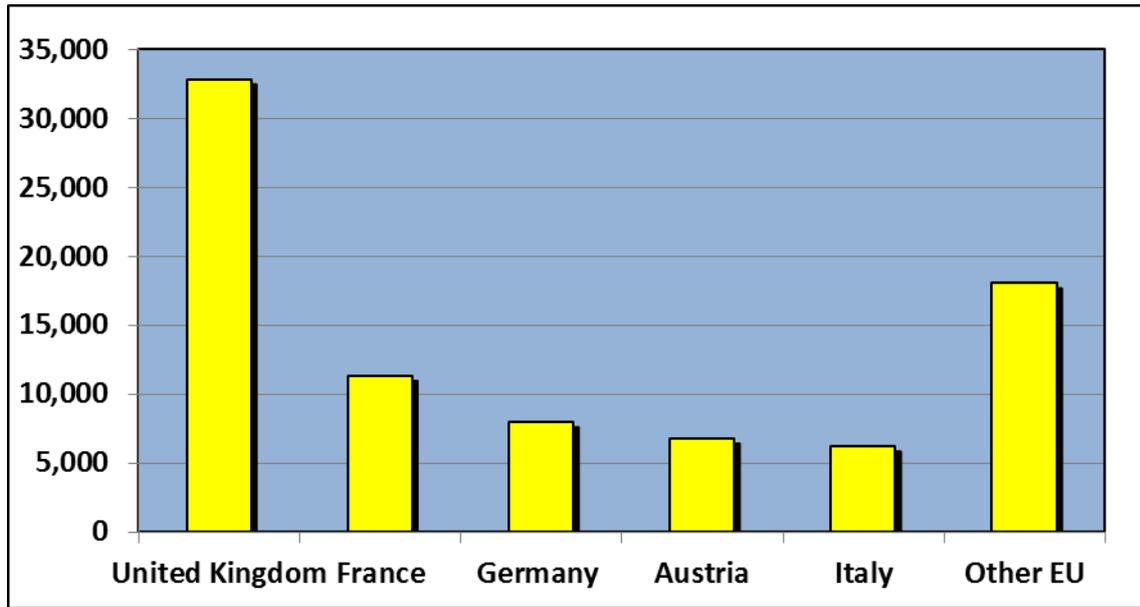
In terms of occupation, figure 7 highlights a significant difference between the Indian migrants in the UK and those in Italy. In the UK, migrants are found to be carrying out a broad range of occupations with many at the upper end of the occupational ladder. By contrast, in Italy Indian migrants tend to be found at the lower end of the occupational ladder.

Figure 7. Indian migrant stocks by occupation in the UK and Italy



Sources: UK, Annual Population Survey 2011; Italy, Labour Force Survey 2008

Finally, are Indian migrants more, or less, inclined than others to enter or stay illegally in the EU? Figure 8 shows the numbers of Indian nationals found to be illegally present in the top five EU member state destinations for such migrants. These numbers represent only the tip of the iceberg because, by definition, they do not include the unauthorized migrants who were not found, i.e. those who successfully escaped police controls. It is noticeable that Italy, which ranks second regarding Indian migrant stock, comes only fifth regarding irregular migration from India. Italy’s exceptionally large regularisation campaigns probably explain this particularity.

Figure 8. Indian nationals found to be illegally present - Top 5 EU MS, 2008-2012

Source: EUROSTAT

Indeed, as shown in Table 1, Indian migrants represent a fast growing proportion of all irregular migrants amnestied in Italy, from just above 1% in 1990 (India was then ranking 14th among origin countries of unauthorised migrants in Italy) to almost 10% in 2012 (and now 3rd rank). Irregular migration from India is clearly an emerging phenomenon in Italy in conjunction with the low-skilled profile of its migrants.

Table 1. Italy: Numbers of amnestied irregular migrants in various regularisation campaigns

Year	Indians	All Third Country Nationals	Indians in %
1990	2,819	217,626	1.30
1995	5,623	244,492	2.30
1998	4,697	217,124	2.16
2002	13,399	646,829	2.07
2009	17,572	294,744	5.96
2012	13,286	134,576	9.87

Which route do Indian migrants found in irregular situation take to enter the EU? Most of them certainly enter regularly by air, but once entered they overstay their visa and become unauthorized migrants. Others enter irregularly, with no proper visa or documents. We can identify Turkey as a country that is often used by irregular migrants on a journey to the EU. Migrants stay sufficient time in Turkey to gain the necessary income and to establish an effective passage to Europe. On this basis, there is no mass smuggling through Turkey, but the country is used as a stepping stone to reach more permanent installation in the EU.

Student Migration

One of the most significant changes in recent years has been an evolution in the role of education in the global arena. As education has increasingly assumed the role of a tradable service, countries from all parts of the world have become active participants in the ongoing internationalisation of higher education. One of the key outcomes of this process has been the phenomenal growth in international student mobility since 1998. Student mobility is a burgeoning industry which generates revenues of up to 90 billion US worldwide. Along with other Western countries, a number of EU member states have recognised that facilitating student migration is a key component of their strategy to boost economic growth and competitiveness.

Asia is undoubtedly the core market for international students and was the sending region for 48.2% of all internationally mobile students in 2009. China, India and Korea remain the main source countries for international students and cumulatively sourced over 20% of all international students in 2009. China is the most important sending country of international students as its share has risen significantly over time and constituted over 15% of all international students in 2009. India has also grown into a leading player in the international students market and is the second most important sending country after China. Indian student flows to the world have grown considerably as their share doubled from 3% in 2000 to over 6% in 2009.

Indian student flows to the world grew by an incredible 256% between 2000 and 2009, increasing in absolute terms from 53,266 to 189,629 during this period. The annual growth in Indian students going abroad has consistently remained over 7%, which implies that there has been a steady demand for foreign higher education in India. This has consequently made India one of the key markets targeted by Western academic institutions. Indian student flows are intensely concentrated in English-speaking countries which attracted over 80% of all internationally mobile Indian students. The US has thus far been the prime destination for the majority of Indian students. However, despite consistently attracting over half of all Indian students, it has lost a sizeable portion of its market share since 2000, which has declined from 73.4% to 53.6% in 2009. Meanwhile, countries such as Australia, the UK and Canada have succeeded in attracting more Indian students over time and have expanded their presence in the Indian student market.

The UK is a very active player in the international market for higher education. International students contributed a remarkable £2.9 billion, or more than 10% of income, to the British higher education sector, which earned £25.4 billion from academic fees in 2010, with an additional £2.3 billion spent on living expenses. International students therefore provide an important injection into the UK economy every year, a significant amount of which comes from Indian students. India is the second most important source country for the UK.

While the UK has a strong advantage when competing for Indian students due to the English language, colonial links with India, and the 'brand name' recognition of a number of British universities in India, continental Europe is increasingly making inroads into the Indian student market. Within the EU, Indian students continue to remain concentrated in the UK, which received 76.9% (2009) of all Indian students in Europe. Germany and France are the main players in continental Europe.

Germany has historically received a small number of Indian students, but in the last two decades, the number of Indian students has risen dramatically, although numbers have been declining somewhat since 2005. The German education system has been restructured since 1998 to accommodate more international students, one of the major changes introduced being postgraduate programmes taught in English. Over a 1000 Masters courses offered in English in German universities in the academic year 2010/11 DAAD (Deutscher Akademischer Austausch Dienst) or German Academic Exchange Programme, has allotted €6 million to develop academic exchanges with India, Germany views India as an important partner in enhancing its research capacity and has consequently invested heavily in science and engineering research collaboration and exchange programmes with India.

France has also witnessed a steady increase in Indian students, who in their vast majority opt for postgraduate studies, as they do in Germany. France has taken a number of steps to increase the inflow of Indian students. It has introduced a variety of scholarships for studying in private French universities (which most Indian students attend in France), signed a number of Memorandums of Understanding with Indian academic institutions and federations. Campus France (the academic body responsible for processing international student applications), has also been very active in promoting French institutions in India, via a combination of educational fairs, social media, and commercial advertising.

These numbers reveal that the EU as a whole, and continental Europe in particular, can be doing much more to attract international students. The linguistic barrier alone does not account for the relatively poor numbers: both Sweden and the Netherlands for example, offer an ample range of degree courses in English aimed specifically at international students, yet have had limited success in drawing Indian students in large numbers. A number of obstacles have been identified that discourage Indian students from choosing an EU member state as their study destination.

First and foremost is the issue of financing. Although the education system of the US is prohibitively expensive, a number of full or partial scholarships are available for international students, as well as, at the postgraduate level, jobs provided by the university to help students meet the cost of living. To encourage more Indian students to consider studying in the EU, providing more scholarships (at both the national and university level), as France has done, is important. The introduction of tuition fees for non-EU students in the Nordic countries has negatively affected Indian student enrolment, especially since these measures have not been accompanied by a significant increase in financial assistance to international students.

Secondly, visa policy can impact upon a country's attractiveness. A survey carried out by the project on 'Developing a knowledge base for policymaking on India-EU migration' has revealed that the UK's crackdown on 'bogus students' has also had an effect on genuine students, who now find it more difficult to apply for a student visa. This crackdown includes measures such as requiring higher English-language scores, banning the bank statements of 1, 900 Indian banks for the purposes of securing a student visa, face-to-face interviews to determine English-language ability, and requiring proof of funds in one's bank account for a longer period of time. The ever stringent measures adopted by the UK, while designed to prevent the student migration route from being abused by irregular migrants, can also have the side-effect of deterring bona fide students, who feel that they are no longer welcome. Recently announced policy changes, such as the decision to charge international students for health care in the NHS (National Health Service), can compound this feeling.

Thirdly, post-study work opportunities are critical in the decision-making process of Indian students. Many Indian students seek to study abroad not only to improve their cultural capital, but also to gain overseas work experience which can then be translated into a prized asset when applying for jobs in India, or used as a path to long-term settlement in the EU host country. Currently, post-study work policy varies considerably among member states, ranging from a generous one year in Germany, to six months in France, and greatly reduced possibilities in the UK since the British government discontinued the Tier 1 Post Study Work Visa (international students can now only work after

graduation if they are able to find a graduate-level job before their studies end). In other words, Indian students, like all international students, take into consideration the possibilities of integrating into the local labour market after the considerable financial investment in their degree.

Finally, the visibility of European universities is extremely important. Many excellent universities are overlooked simply because they are unknown in India. They do enjoy the same 'brand name' recognition of leading British universities such as LSE or Oxbridge. Information campaigns, educational fairs and cooperation agreements with Indian universities can go some way to bridging the information gap among India's youth.

To conclude, student migration from India is an area that can be more fully promoted on the part of European Member States. The EU as a whole is a dynamic and vibrant research and teaching area that could and should be drawing far greater numbers of international students. These students will both enrich individual institutions, as well as potentially serve as cultural bridges and 'reputational intermediaries' further down the line. The demand for a foreign education will only continue to grow in India as the middle class expands and Indian institutions struggle to cope with rising student numbers. The stiff competition to enter into India's elite universities will also drive many Indian students to study abroad. The EU must be ready to seize this opportunity.

Irregular Migration

The issue of irregular migration is of key concern to both the EU and India. Irregular migration is a multi-million Euro industry that favours the exploitation and mistreatment of irregular migrants in Europe, and enriches a well-established network of 'agents' in India. Despite expectations to the contrary, the European economic crisis has not made a dent in irregular migration flows. The push and pull factors remain strong. On the push side, limited job opportunities outside of agriculture in regional sending hot spots such as the Punjab, combined with a culture that glorifies all forms of migration and does not stigmatise irregular migration. On the pull side, a network of relatives, village contacts and fellow caste members settled or working in Europe whose mere success in reaching Europe safely is an advertisement and encouragement for further migration. These strong push and pull factors can explain why the information and awareness campaigns carried out to date, while very well organised and executed, appear to be having a limited impact in deterring irregular migrants, the vast majority of whom are young unmarried men with only primary and basic secondary school education. It is precisely because these young men are aware that legal channels of migration are closed to them, that they and their families are prepared to pay as much as 20,000 Euros to reach their favoured destination in Europe, with the UK commanding the highest price. Although there is a common perception that many of these men are 'duped' or 'tricked' into migrating irregularly, for many Indians, migration represents a family strategy and collective investment for upward mobility. While many are in fact cheated by agents, the desire to migrate is strongly ingrained culturally and as such is not created by agents. Indeed, despite the severe hardship and suffering that irregular migration entails, many irregular migrants who are found and are repatriated, attempt to migrate irregularly again.

Both the EU and India recognise that in order to tackle this systemic problem, greater cross-border cooperation is needed. The network of agents that operate at the village, state levels and in Delhi is highly sophisticated. Agents collaborate with their counterparts in the country of origin, transit and destination. The Government of India, in cooperation with the State Governments, has initiated a number of measures to curb irregular migration. These include:

- a) Use of magnifying glasses and ultra violet lamps at all airports with international flights for scrutinizing the features of the travel documents;
- b) Issuance of machine-readable passports with improved security features;
- c) Installation of Passport Reading Machines (PRMs) for verifying the genuineness of travel documents;

- d) Installation of Questionable Document Examiner (QDX) machines for detection of sophisticated forgeries in travel documents;
- e) Installation of Immigration Control System (ICS) software which verifies the passport details of passengers to prevent impersonation;
- f) Special training is also imparted to Immigration Officers at airports on a regular basis to detect forged travel documents

The State Government of Punjab (where a disproportionate number of irregular migrants come from), has also taken action to stem the problem. In 2010, it passed the 'The Punjab Prevention of Human Smuggling Act, 2010'. This act seeks to regulate the profession of travel agents in an attempt to weed out illegal travel agents operating freely all over the state. The Punjab government has also created a special cell to crack down on illegal migration and intensify the scrutiny of unscrupulous travel agents. It remains to be seen however whether this political will can translate into concrete change on the ground, given widespread corruption within the police.

Empirical research and surveys carried out by the project 'Developing a knowledge base for policymaking on India-EU migration' have revealed that the fees charged by agents have registered a three-fold increase over the last ten years, showing that demand remains high, despite the growing risks and technological tools at the disposal of European Member States to control their borders. The fees for European countries vary from €7, 200 to €17, 400, with an average of €13,000. Higher fees are charged when agents accompany the irregular migrant, and by agents that have succeeded in sending irregular migrants in the past to their destinations. Those agents with a successful track record are especially popular and sought out by aspiring irregular migrants. Standard business practice within the migration industry shows that an informal system of checks and balances has evolved in order to offer a measure a protection to irregular migrants and their families. In many cases, agents accept a partial payment which varies from 40% to 60%, with the remainder of the fee being paid on reaching destination. In a few cases, agents agree to accept payment from relatives of irregular migrants only upon their reaching their destination.

The modus operandi of agents include a long list of techniques that reveal a very sophisticated level of fraud, among them: jacket substitution, photo substitution in Indian passports and foreign passports, use of forged Indian and foreign passports, re stitching of passports; use of forged and stolen visas; use of forged residence permits; use of forged employment visas; and the use of forged stamps. Other techniques include the exchange of boarding cards in security areas at airports; tutoring to claim asylum, and encouraging the overstay of tourist visas.

The two preceding sections show that it will be a huge challenge to tackle such a well-developed industry, which evidently provides both direct and indirect employment to a number of people, between agents, their assistants, and the people involved in the preparation of forged documents. The current policy focus has been to carry out information and awareness campaigns at the village level in key sending states. While such efforts are laudable and are certainly needed, they can do little to overcome the root causes driving irregular migration: economic dreams and social *izzat* or prestige. Upon meeting a Punjabi parent for the first time, they frequently proudly proclaim that a son is living abroad, which serves as confirmation of the family's high social status, regardless of how he migrated and what job he is doing. Domestic high status alternatives to migration need to be created, such as prestigious vocational training programmes that can offer hope for the unsatisfied aspirations, both economic and social, of Indian youth. Working and lower-middle class families in India are unlikely to heed the messages of information campaigns warning them of the dangers of illegal migration, when they see India's political and economic elite sending their children abroad to study. These families also wish to give their children a better life and greater social capital that that available at home. The long-term challenge for both national and state governments in India then, is to create such opportunities at home, so that youth feel that their dreams are achievable, and not just in the West.

Highly-skilled Migration

In the 21st century, human capital has turned into a major driver of economic growth. Countries around the world compete in a global race for highly skilled specialised talent, with Western countries now competing with countries of origin such as China, who are investing tremendously in order to promote the return of their 'talent diasporas', particularly scientists and entrepreneurs with patents. Many industrialised countries have changed their policies in order to become more attractive to highly-skilled migrants. At the same time, highly skilled migrants working in in-demand occupations have become increasingly mobile and selective, looking for the best country to work and live in. This has led economists to speak of an 'immigration market', where states seeking to attract migrants constitute the demand side, whereas potential migrants are on the supply side. Whereas the historic immigration countries of Australia, Canada and the United States have long offered flexible admission criteria and simplified or fast-track residence rights to highly-skilled migrants, Europe has only recently emerged as an actor in the 'immigration market'. Only recently has awareness started to spread of the inevitable population decline facing Europe as in other industrialised countries. Between 2010 and 2050, the EU's working age population has been predicted to decline by 84 million in a no-migration scenario and by 37 million in a scenario where migration continues at pre-crisis levels. It is doubtful that replacement migration can be the sole option to deal with a shrinking labour force and an ageing population. In concert with increasing women's labour force participation, promoting family-friendly workplace policies, and investing in greater training of European youth, facilitating highly-skilled migration from Third Country countries can also boost the EU's competitiveness and economic growth. Indeed, in order for the EU to be able emerge as a serious player on the world stage in attracting the best of the world's talent, a special policy focus on highly-skilled migration is necessary.

Why is India important in the EU's highly skilled migration strategy? Highly skilled migrants from India have often emerged as the number one national group of successful applicants to highly skilled migration programmes in individual Member States, such as in Germany (Green Card) and the Netherlands (Knowledge Migrant Scheme). The growing importance of Indian highly skilled migration for the European Union has been illustrated by steadily increasing co-operation in this field. An India-EU Joint Working Group on Consular issues has been in place since the first EU-India Summit in 2000. The Working Group meets twice a year and deals with the question on how to facilitate the movement of persons between India and the EU. The importance of the subject of migration in the context of EU-India relations was reaffirmed in the Strategic Partnership Joint-Action Plan adopted at the EU-India summit in 2005 and revised in 2008.

India has also recognised the strategic importance of highly skilled migration. The Indian government has signed bilateral social security agreements with a number of countries, which provide exemption from social security contributions for migrant workers with a short-term contract and/or exportability of pensions in the event of relocation. The first bilateral social security agreement was concluded with Belgium in 2006, followed by agreements with France, Germany, Hungary, Denmark, Luxembourg and the Netherlands. Negotiations with other countries in Europe are underway. The agreements provide for social security coordination, and in some cases, an exemption from social security payments for foreign workers remaining for a period of up to 60 months. In addition, the Indian government has signed a labour mobility partnership agreement with Denmark and similar initiatives are currently being negotiated with France, the Netherlands, and Sweden.

Yet, the EU is still falling short in attracting more highly skilled migrants to its shores, especially when compared with the US. The data is sobering. Fully 69 % of Indian-born immigrants in the US have completed tertiary education. The educational profile of the Indian population in Australia and Canada also favours highly-educated migrants, with respectively 53.3 % and 40.7% of Indian migrants having tertiary degrees. In comparison, the overall skills composition of Indian migrants in Europe is dominated by migrants with lower levels of education. In the United Kingdom and continental European OECD member states, half of Indian-born migrants have only completed primary education or lower. Highly-educated Indian migrants are highly concentrated in only a few countries-92.3% of

all Indian migrants with tertiary education reside in the United States, the United Kingdom and Canada. The United States alone hosts 66.4% of all tertiary educated Indian migrants.

Various reasons have been advanced for the relative advantage of the US in attracting highly skilled migrants from India. These include multiple entry doors; flexible transition paths between statuses, such as from student to worker; and English-speaking workplaces that often offer stock options and usually have lower tax rates on high income earners than EU countries. Other factors that have been highlighted include 1) a large number of settled Indians (the US had 1.8 million Indian-born residents in 2010), who have created a market for familiar foods, restaurants, and other services; 2) flexible housing markets and bureaucracies accustomed to dealing with internal and foreign migrants; and (3) a belief that the US offers many opportunities for highly skilled workers to achieve professional success despite not being native-born, and the ability to sponsor a wider range of relatives for permanent resident visas, including adult brothers and sisters.

In order to address the problem of the EU's relative lack of success in attracting highly skilled migrants, the EU launched the Blue Card Directive in 2009. The Blue Card initiative introduces the Union (in addition to the Member States) as an actor in the global competition for talent. The overall objective of the Directive is to increase the contribution of legal migration to enhancing the competitiveness of the European economy by improving the Union's attractiveness to highly-skilled third-country nationals. The Blue Card also aims to provide greater intra-EU mobility to highly skilled third country nationals. However, while a step in the right direction, the Blue Card directive co-exists alongside national talent schemes which often have provisions that are more flexible or generous than those contained in the Blue Card directive. Indian highly skilled migrants wishing to acquire a Blue Card are faced with more demanding admission criteria. In comparison with the Knowledge Migrant scheme in the Netherlands, the applicable salary threshold is higher and an additional requirement regarding qualifications applies. The initial plan of the European Commission to introduce special rules for young professionals was abandoned during the Council negotiations. The Netherlands and Germany, on the contrary, have adopted favourable rules for young migrants and former students. Finally, the Blue Card scheme is essentially a temporary system. The validity of the Blue Card ranges between one and four years and is not renewable. This differs from the approach in Germany, where a permanent residence permit is granted upon entry under the German Residence Act. The current policy focus on temporary residence and contracts runs counter to the findings of the OECD that indicate that many of Europe's current and future labour needs are likely to be long-term in nature

Recommendations:

About 60 percent of the world's 214 million international migrants, as defined by the UN, are concentrated in 30 industrial countries. Migrants constitute an average 10 percent of the national populations of industrial countries. Most industrial countries have migration policies that aim to welcome highly skilled foreigners (at least in certain sectors), and employ temporary low-skilled foreign workers who are usually not encouraged to settle permanently. These policies are hard to execute in practice due to actual labour market needs, which explains why most industrial countries have fewer foreign professionals than they would like and more settled low-skilled foreigners than they anticipated. The EU's 28 member states have the world's largest GDP. Given slow population growth and aging at a time of increased global economic competition, many EU leaders believe that EU member states must attract more professional foreigners to bolster competitiveness and maintain the labour force and pension systems of EU Member States. The EU Commission has prodded member states to open their doors wider to non-EU professionals with student, Blue-Card, and entrepreneur directives.

The US, which had about 20% of the world's international migrants in 2010, accepts about 1.1 million legal immigrants and several hundred thousand unauthorised foreigners each year. Unlike most EU Member States, the US defines itself as a nation of immigrants, and many Americans agree

that an inflow of legal immigrants that allows newcomers to achieve the economic mobility they aspire to while helping to strengthen the US economy is in the national interest. The major immigration issue over the past decade has been what to do about the estimated 11 million unauthorised foreigners, that is, whether to allow them to earn a legal immigrant status or attempt to reduce their number via various attrition-through-enforcement strategies.

This debate about unauthorised migration has taken precedence over the 65,000 a year cap on H-1B visas and the question of whether the US is graduating and retaining a sufficient number of advanced degree holders in science and engineering.

In contrast, in many EU member states, immigration as whole is a vexed political issue, and in several individual EU member states attracting third country nationals is not a national priority, especially in a context of financial restraint.

Three policy recommendations have been put forward in order to remove current obstacles and increase the number of highly skilled Indian migrants in the EU:

- 1) Work with employer associations, agencies and consultancies to identify the perceptions of highly skilled Indians in the EU of the benefits and costs of migration to different EU member states and the specific institutional and legal barriers in different occupational sectors. For example, medicine and law, which are nationally regulated and subject to particularly strong restrictions on the entry of third country nationals.
- 2) To attract more highly skilled Indian migrants, target females. In both the US and in the EU, highly skilled Indian migrants tend to be overwhelmingly male. Their share exceeds 90% in some sectors, such as IT. Female graduates may be more likely to emigrate temporarily or permanently if they perceive more opportunities abroad, especially those with advanced degrees. For example, half of Mexican-born women with PhDs are in the US, and the shares of those with doctorates in science and engineering who have emigrated is even higher, reflecting what many highly educated Mexican-born women report are better opportunities outside Mexico.
- 3) Make it easier for Indians who graduate from universities in EU countries to remain after their degree and look for professional work related to their studies. The US Optional Practical Training program allows all foreign graduates of US universities to remain at least a year and work for US employers in a job related to their field of study. In 2008, those with degrees in S&E (science and engineering)-related fields were allowed to remain for up to 29 months. Post-graduate jobs at entry level wages offer opportunities for foreign graduates of local universities to both acquire experience and contribute to their host country.

Low-Skilled Migration

The area of low skilled migration from India reveals perhaps the greatest gap between policy and reality on the ground. While the consensus in EU Member States is clear regarding the desirability of highly skilled third country labour, especially in those cases where domestic labour is not available, the opposite consensus prevails regarding low skilled or labour migration. The steady flow of low skilled workers, both from new EU Member States in Eastern Europe and outside the EU, has raised serious concerns among major labour receiving countries, particularly with respect to their long-term employability, their impact on the labour market through the displacement of native workers, and their sociocultural and linguistic integration. There are also concerns about the potential fiscal burden placed on social, educational and health services, concerns that are heightened and are particularly politically sensitive at a time of budget cut-backs. Given that immigration in general is increasingly suspect in the eyes of large parts of the European public, low-skilled migration, which is frequently associated with crime and ghettoisation, is even more stigmatised.

Recent efforts of the EU to build a consensus on labour migration can be traced to the Treaty of Amsterdam that came into force in 1999. However, the proposal by the EU in 2001 to formulate a general directive on the management of labour migration for its member countries failed to find an agreement in the European Council. In 2004, the EU re-launched the debate on the need to have a common rule on labour migration in the 'Green Paper on an EU Approach to Managing Economic Migration', presented in 2004. The paper highlighted the need for the EU to have a 'progressive development of a coherent community immigration policy' and to address the interests of all parties involved—migrants, the sending and receiving countries'. Nevertheless, during the consultation that followed, member states expressed their support of a policy favouring the migration of high skilled workers. The Commission's 'Policy Plan on Legal Migration' laid down a road map detailing legislative initiatives that need to be adopted by the end of 2009. The Plan was able to generate some accord on social and legal rights granted to economic migrants in the EU. However, the member states were free to set conditions of entry and limit the inflow of workers, currently driven by bilateral agreements between labour sending and receiving countries. An important criticism of the Plan regards its ambiguity with reference to how to address the mismatch between labour demand and supply, particularly of low skilled workers.

The vast majority of low-skilled migrants from India still flow towards the Gulf region. However, low-skilled migrants from India have been increasingly diversifying their destinations, and Europe has emerged as a key migration route. Over the last decade, new EU destinations are emerging for Indian labour migrants, particularly countries like Italy, Spain, France and Greece. The current labour migration from India to the EU is also marked by the emergence of new labour outmigration pockets within India, such as the Indian states of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar.

Ironically, recently there has been a shift in the skill composition of Indian migrants between the Gulf region and the EU. Migration from India to the Gulf countries started as a movement of low skilled workers following the oil boom of the 1970s, while migration to developed countries in the West was associated with that of health care professionals during the 1980's and those working in information technology (IT) during the 1990s. In a significant turnaround, trends towards the end of the first decade of the 21st century indicate an increase in the share of medium and high skilled workers migrating to the Gulf, while labour migration to Europe is marked by an increase in the share of low skilled workers.

In general, European Member States pursue a dual standard policy on the entry of migrants, encouraging highly skilled migrants and giving them options for permanent settlement, while restricting low skilled migrants by allowing them only temporary/seasonal status. While some countries, such as the UK, have formally eliminated legal avenues for low-skilled migration under the points system, others, such as Germany and Italy, subject low skilled migration to labour market tests and annual quotas in different job categories (in Italy, there are also specific quotas for different nationalities and regions).

Evidence from case studies carried out under the project 'Developing a knowledge base for policymaking on India-EU migration' suggests that low skilled migration policies, as currently formulated, are not in fact responding to market demand for low-skilled workers. Quotas frequently are set too low, which indirectly encourages irregular migration. Structural shifts in many European economies have meant that native labour is not available or severely under-available in a number of sectors, such as geriatric care, child care and agricultural work. Yet, these are sectors where demand for labour is foreseen to grow. The vast majority of third country low skilled workers pose no threat to domestic employment, and there is no evidence to suggest that they integrate any less than high skilled workers.

The persistent demand for low skilled labour is an economic reality that needs to be recognised in EU Member States' migration policies. Managing low skilled migration well can critically help stem irregular migration, since a legal avenue for low skilled workers will be offered. Working in close

collaboration with sector employer associations can help to re-work migration policies so that they reflect actual labour demand and quotas can be made more flexible.

On the Indian side, new migration management policies are also needed. Labour migration to the EU has always remained outside the migration policy framework in India because until some years ago, high skilled workers accounted for the major share of labour flows in the India–EU migration stream. High skilled workers, it was assumed till recently, needed no special intervention on the part of the Indian Government. However, considering the increasing temporal nature of highly skilled migrants in EU countries and stringent restrictions on the entry and work of migrants in the Gulf, India needs to develop a focused migration policy to diversify and better manage its labour outflows. For example, India needs to develop labour market information systems to assess present and future labour demand requirements in the major receiving countries in the EU with respect to industries, regions and skills. Correspondingly, India could adopt initiatives to develop/upgrade existing skills to suit labour demands in destination countries and formulate a skill recognition framework for skills acquired through both formal and informal channels consonant with EU standards. Yet another crucial drawback that hinders policy formulation in India is the lack of reliable data to monitor the outflow of low skilled labour migration to EU, as is available in the case of labour migration from India to Gulf. Consequently, efforts should be made to develop a well-crafted pre-departure orientation programme for low skilled migrants from India to the EU, which would help make their migration better informed, promoting better long-term integration in the EU host country. EU-India ties can be strengthened if well-designed bilateral agreements with major labour receiving countries in the EU are devised, attentive to the needs of both labour migrants from India and the needs of EU receiving countries. These measures can contribute to reducing the dependence of low-skilled migrants on the informal and extremely expensive labour market institutions of agents and traffickers.

New Policy Directions to Strengthen the India-EU relationship: An Indian perspective

A major challenge facing both India and the EU lies in translating government agreements into a deeper partnership on a number of levels, such as trade, investment and migration. The EU, which is India's second biggest trade partner, is seeking to expand its volume of trade with India. India also offers a very attractive investment market for different sectors, given its secure legal structure and trained workforce. Synergies could be enhanced between India's large scientific base and manpower and EU supporting joint R&D projects. Cooperation in areas of mutual interest and potential, such as IT, healthcare, education, tourism and construction, can enhance mutual development.

In this context, the immigration regulations for student mobility need to be focused for shaping the future strategic and economic interests between India and the EU. Current Indo-US economic and political relations are shaped by the cohorts of the Indian students who started migrated to the US about a generation ago. Efforts must be made to provide new cohorts of students with incentives to shift base to the EU as opposed to other competing markets such as the USA, Canada and Australia. Flexible visa policies, more scholarships, mutual recognition of degrees and greater opportunities for extended stay and employment for students and professionals after education or first-term employment should increase the rates of retention. Jaffrelot (2006) argues that such policies should have three distinct advantages: firstly, they can project a positive and a more immigrant-friendly environment for EU; secondly, such policies can enable EU companies to hire well qualified Indian professionals; and thirdly, more specifically, they can help attract the best minds in various fields to the EU market. The current student mobility schemes under the Erasmus Mundus Programme, though a good starting point; suffer from a lack of coordination within the EU and problems of a lack of recognition of degrees between India and the EU. For example, in an informal discussion on "India-EU Student Mobility: Challenges, Opportunities and Perspectives from the Ground" organised by the India Centre for Migration on 14th April 2012 in New Delhi, the Erasmus Mundus Alumni Association-India Chapter highlighted aspects related to coordination and recognition of degrees under the Erasmus Mundus Programme and employment opportunities for its graduates as significant challenges under

this programme. These limitations need to be addressed if such schemes are to be effective in attracting larger numbers of Indian students to the EU.

Another area that offers great scope for mutual cooperation is the mobility of science and technology professionals. The EU has expressed its keenness to attract Indian scientific talent in the 2008-2013 EU-India Strategic Plan. However, the EU has thus far not been able to attract Indian scientific talent in significant numbers. On the other hand, the US, which takes a more flexible approach to allocating visas, has been able to attract a larger number of Indian science and hi-tech students and workers to its market. The Indian scientific diaspora in the US is another factor that has facilitated the mobility of scientific talent between India and the US. In comparison, the EU lacks a strong collective image to project itself abroad as an alternative destination for scientific talent. Fargues et al (2010) point out that the “directive 2005/71/EC concerning the admission of third-country nationals for the purposes of scientific research hardly provides an attractive entry route for highly qualified academics. It is characterised by an overtly bureaucratic admission procedure and places an excessive financial responsibility on hosting institutions (pp. 7)”. There is thus the need to increase mutual visibility in this domain and to build scientific networks through enhanced academic cooperation between India and the EU. The EU presence at the civil society level can be enhanced by greater participation and outreach among academia, think tanks and the media. The mobility of science and technology students should be increased so as to lead to a greater synergy of talent between India and the EU.

The field of healthcare cooperation is an important one that can also be further developed. Currently, the immigration of Indian healthcare professionals into the EU is largely limited to the UK. This is due to structural barriers such as restrictive immigration policies, and the non-recognition of non-EU medical degrees. For example, medical graduates of third countries are required to repeat their specialist training and become naturalised before they are granted a full license to practice in Germany. Doctors holding provisional licenses in Germany have to work in hospitals with an assistant physician (Engelmann, 2009). In Ireland, the limited registration granted to foreign doctors can last up to seven years seriously delaying their prospects for obtaining full registration. In Finland, a medical license is granted stepwise: first to work in hospitals under supervision, then in health centres and finally in private institutions (OECD, 2007). There are also cultural and language barriers. Therefore, there is a clear need to better manage the migration of healthcare workers from India to the EU, by easing immigration restrictions affecting Indian healthcare professionals through mutual recognition of medical degrees, medical student exchange programmes and scholarships for Indian medical students to study in the EU.

Finally, there is also potential to increase the flow of grey collar or semi-skilled workers who possess specific skill sets and training. They may include, for example, geriatric and childcare personnel, security personnel, chefs and waiters, and drivers. To leverage this potential, India must upgrade its training standards in areas such as hospitality, construction, and elderly care to match EU standards. This would require initiating specific customised programmes for skills training, certification and standardisation. The EU could play a role in these programmes by helping with skill standardisation mechanisms.

Conclusion

The India-EU relationship is evidently one that has been progressively expanding and deepening with time, reflecting India’s rise as an emerging economic and political power. This relationship is also marked by fundamentally different needs and priorities; while the EU seeks economic access to India’s increasingly lucrative middle-class market, the India wants access for its workers to the EU’s labour markets. Both these desires are politically sensitive and encounter domestic resistance from a number of quarters. These diverging policy priorities however, should not hold back the EU and India from strengthening their partnership. Governments in EU Member States recognise that at least some level of highly skilled non-EU migration is necessary, and indeed desirable. Similarly, in India, there

is also acceptance that the Indian economy would benefit from a further opening to foreign investment, at least in certain sectors and in a controlled fashion. Far-reaching agreements and significant policy changes are unlikely to come about without continuously developing trust and mutual respect in the India-EU relationship. The path that lies ahead therefore must reflect a mutual commitment to building trust and goodwill. The increasingly growing Indian community in EU Member States can be leveraged so that the EU and India can construct a mutually beneficial relationship, which must go beyond trade to include migration as a key plank. Both partners can play their part; the EU, by sending a positive message of being open to managed migration in key sectors of the economy and India, by adopting a more active role in educational reform, pre-departure training and orientation.

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- Awareness and Information Dissemination: Lessons from a Publicity Campaign in the Punjab**, *CARIM-India Research Report 2012/27* by Paramjit Sahai
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