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NATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR REGIONAL AND SPATIAL ANALYSIS
AN INSTITIÚD NÁISIÚNTA UM ANAILÍS RÉIGIÚNACH AGUS SPÁSÚIL

Maynooth University
National University of Ireland Maynooth

International Student Migration to Ireland

Mary Gilmartin (Maynooth University Dept. Geography)
Pablo Rojas Coppari (Maynooth University Dept. Sociology and Migrant Rights Centre Ireland)
Dean Phelan (Maynooth University Dept. Geography and NIRSA)

**Iontas Building, Maynooth University,
Maynooth, Co Kildare, Ireland.
Áras Iontas, Ollscoil na hÉireann, Má Nuad,
Má Nuad, Co Chill Dara, Éire.
Tel: + 353 (0) 1 7083350 Fax: + 353 (0) 1 7086456
Email: nirsa@nuim.ie
Web: http://www.maynoothuniversity.ie/nirsa**

Ireland's EU Structural Funds Programmes 2007 - 2013
Co-funded by the Irish Government and the European Union

EUROPEAN REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT FUND

An Roinn Post, Fiontar agus Nuálaíochta
Department of Jobs, Enterprise and Innovation

HEA
Higher Education Authority
An tÚdarás um Ard-Oideachas

Introduction: The Internationalisation of Education

Education is becoming international, across all levels of educational systems. This is most visible in higher education, where internationalisation has come to have a variety of meanings. These include the internationalisation of curricula; institutional strategies of internationalisation; the convergence of education systems (e.g. the influence of the Bologna reform process in European higher education); and internationalisation policies at regional, national and supranational scales (Kehm and Teichler 2007: 265). The internationalisation of education is not only happening in universities. Internationalisation is also taking place through language teaching, specifically what Park has called the 'English frenzy' (Park 2011: 446). The global growth in the private English language teaching industry takes a number of forms: the recruitment of native English (or, often, white) teachers in countries such as South Korea, Japan and China, to teach both children and adults; and the growth in the number of private language schools in English-speaking countries, like the UK, Australia and Ireland, which provide tuition in English as well as an initial route to legal migration. There is also some evidence of internationalisation at primary and second level. Examples include the so-called 'wild geese' families from South Korea, where children - accompanied usually by their mother - are sent abroad to study. Similar patterns are evident in the astronaut families and parachute or satellite children from Hong Kong, Taiwan or China. In these cases, entire families move to the US, Canada, Australia and New Zealand and eventually a parent, usually the father, returns to the original country to work. Sometimes both parents return, leaving the children alone to study (Waters 2015). The internationalisation of education is a widespread, and growing, phenomenon.

International Student Migration: the international dimension

International student migration, sometimes called ISM, is a crucial component of the process of internationalisation in education. The OECD defines international students as "those who have crossed borders for the purposes of study" (2013: 1), but this apparently straightforward definition masks the very broad range of international students and international student migration. International students can be short-term or long-term, full-time or part-time. International students study at all stages of the educational cycle, and have a range of different motivations for, and experiences of, study abroad. Definitions of international student migration are perhaps most nuanced at tertiary level. King and Raghuram (2013: 129), for example, distinguish between degree/programme and credit mobility. Degree/programme mobility refers to a student completing a full course of study in another country, while credit mobility refers to a student spending some time in another country as part of an organised programme of study. Van Mol and Timmerman use slightly different terminology to distinguish between 'free movers' and organised student mobility. 'Free movers' are those who organise their study abroad independently, while organised student mobility requires participation in a student mobility scheme, whether at institution level (in the case of Junior Year Abroad studies in the United States) or at regional level (the Erasmus programme in Europe) (Van Mol and Timmerman 2014; Brooks and Waters 2013). However, there are other categories of international student migrants. King and Raghuram describe this as "a third type of mobility, less formalised" (2013: 129). While they mention summer schools and field trips, they could also have included language education, as there is also short- and longer-term migration - both formal and informal - linked to language proficiency.

This variety means that it is difficult to accurately capture the extent and range of international student migration. There are some sources that help to provide a snapshot. The

broad definition of international student is not limited to tertiary education. However, this is the focus of the OECD, UNESCO and EUROSTAT when gathering statistics. In 2011, the OECD estimated that there were around 4.3 million students enrolled in tertiary educaton outside their country of citizenship, with the United States (17%), the UK (13%), Australia (6%), Germany (6%) and France (6%) as the key destinations (OECD 2013: 1-2). In that year, the largest numbers of international third-level students came from China (723,000), India (223,000) and Korea (139,000) (OECD 2013: 2). In 2013, Eurostat calculated that around 1.45 million tertiary students in the EU were "from abroad" - that is, studying in a different country from where they completed their secondary education. This figure includes students who are participating in organised study abroad programmes such as Erasmus+, which facilitates short-term intra-EU student mobility. Table 1 shows the overall number of students, and the percentage from Europe, for selected European countries.

Table 1: International tertiary students in selected European countries, 2013

Country	Number of international tertiary students	% European
Austria	70,852	85.3
Denmark	29,480	81.2
France	228,639	N/A
Germany	196,619	34.8
Ireland	12,861	52.6
Portugal	14,541	20.0
Sweden	25,437	26.6
UK	416,693	26.8
TOTAL	1,449,626	

Source: Eurostat 2016 (online data code: educ_uoe_mobs02)

Around 40% of international students study in European countries, and the number of international students in Europe increased by over 110% in the period from 2000 to 2010 (European Migration Network 2012: 10-11). While there are national-scale variations in the countries of origin of international students, some key source countries outside Europe are

China, India and the United States (Eurostat 2016). In the United States, which is the country with the highest number of international students, the main countries of origin are China, India, South Korea, Saudi Arabia and Canada (Zong and Batalova 2016). Combined figures of international students for the US, UK, Australia, France and Germany increased by over 60% between 2000 and 2010 (calculated from King and Raghuram 2013: 128).

The growth in international student migration has led to a corresponding growth in academic research on this issue. Madge et al. (2009) have suggested that there are three broad strands to this literature. The first conceptualizes international student migration from the perspective of migration studies. The second highlights ISM as part of the globalization of higher education, while the third deals with questions of pedagogy (Madge et al 2009). This literature is broad, and expanding, though links between the different strands remain underdeveloped (Madge et al 2015: 682-3). Russell King and Parvati Raghuram suggest that research on ISM is a 'nascent field', and it is currently best described as 'simplistic and reductionist' (2013:134). In response, Madge et al advocate for a focus on "international study" rather than on "international students", in order to extend our theoretical, spatial and temporary understanding of this ever-increasing phenomenon (Madge et al 2015). In making this claim, however, they also acknowledge the ways in which "many places and people are marginal to, or completely absent from, dominant imaginations (and realities) of 'global' HE" (Madge et al. 2015: 695). We contend that international student migration to Ireland is one of these marginal sites.

International Student Migration to Ireland

Ireland's *International Education Strategy 2010-2015* was published in 2010. Its stated

objective was for Ireland to "become internationally recognised and ranked as a world leader

in the delivery of high-quality international education by providing a unique experience and

long-term value to students" (Department of Education and Skills 2010: 29). The strategy set

out ambitious targets. These included significant increases in international student numbers at

all levels of education, including higher education, advanced research, exchange and JYA

students, English-language students and offshore students. The strategy also asserted that

Ireland would increase the economic impact of the international education sector from €900

million in 2010 to €1.2 billion in 2015 (Department of Education and Skills 2010: 12). The

impact of this strategy can been seen in the growth of international student migration to

Ireland, particularly from outside the EEA.

International student migration to Ireland is measured in two broad ways. The first is

through statistics on migrant flow, and the second is through statistics on migrant stock.

Migrant flow measures the movement of people: the numbers of people moving to and from

Ireland over a particular time period. Student migrant flow, then, provides statistics on the

numbers of people moving to Ireland for the purpose of study. Migrant stock counts the

number of migrants present in Ireland at a particular point in time. Student migrant stock thus

gives an indicator of the number of people registered as students in Ireland. While these are

apparently straightforward measures, they are in practice difficult to capture. It is not easy to

accurately measure student migrant flow, because many people who move to Ireland to study

- for example, from EEA countries - do not require permission from the Irish state to do so,

and there is no formal record of their move to Ireland as students. Nationals of some

countries are required to apply for a visa prior to entering Ireland (see Appendix 1), while

others are granted a visa waiver (this includes citizens of the United States, Malaysia, Canada and Brazil) and can proceed directly to registration. However, all non-EEA nationals who wish to study in Ireland for more than three months are required to register with the Garda National Immigration Bureau. According to the Department of Justice, students represented 33% of the overall non-EEA immigration to Ireland in 2013, and almost 49,500 persons were given permission to be in the State as students in the period from January to the end of November 2014. In 2015 10,300 Student Visas were granted (for those who come from a Visa Required country) of which 4,100 were for short stay (less than 3 months). The grant rate was 91%. Up to June 2016 the number of visa applications is up by 15.9% compared to the same time in 2015.[1] Publicly available INIS (Irish Naturalisation and Immigration Service) statistics on non-EEA student visas are provided in Table 2: this information ends in Quarter 3, 2013. The figures in Table 2 do not include international students who apply for a student visa on arrival in Ireland. However, all students from outside the EEA must register with the GNIB within 90 days of their arrival in Ireland.

Table 2: Non-EEA student visa applications and acceptances, 2010-2013

Year	No of applications	No of student visas issued	Acceptance rate	Key source countries
2010	n/a	n/a	87%	n/a
2011	5,412	4,741	87.6%	Saudi Arabia, China, India, Kuwait, UAE
2012	7,790	6,939	89.1%	Saudi Arabia, China, Russia, India, Kuwait
*2013	8,752	7,584	87%	Saudi Arabia, China, Russia. India, Turkey

*1 January to 30 September 2013 only

Source: INIS (2013)

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[1] This information was made available at the Quarterly Immigration Information Network Meeting attended by Department of Justice officials and one of the authors, among others, on 3 June 2016.

The second set of statistics on international student migration to Ireland relates to migrant stock. Figures for international students in Ireland are haphazard for a variety of reasons. First, the definition of 'international' is inconsistent: it can be measured using domicile or nationality, but these are not the same. As a consequence, not all international students are necessarily counted as 'international'. Second, international students in Ireland study in three broad sectors: higher education, further education, and language education (primarily English language). Most higher education institutions are public, most language education takes place in private institutions, while a mix of public and private providers offer further education. While statistics for higher education institutions, specifically those funded by the Higher Education Authority (HEA), are easily accessible, private institutions make very limited information on enrolments publicly available.

An audit of international students in Ireland, carried out in 2009, suggested that there were 34,557 international students registered in Ireland in March of that year. Of these, 38.82% were enrolled in higher education, 26.01% in further education, and 30.02% in the English language sector. Key details are shown in Table 3.

Table 3: Non-EEA students in Ireland by sector and nationality, March 2009

Higher Education		Further Education		Language Education	
Nationality	**Number/%**	**Nationality**	**Number/%**	**Nationality**	**Number/%**
China	4,259 (31.8)	Mauritius	2,507 (27.9)	Brazil	4,152 (40.0)
US	2,166 (16.1)	China	1,650 (18.4)	China	2,770 (26.7)
India	1,578 (11.8)	Pakistan	1,557 (17.3)	Mauritius	1,026 (9.9)
Malaysia	1,177 (8.8)	India	1,062 (11.8)	Korea	751 (7.2)
Canada	521 (3.9)	Brazil	482 (5.4)	Mongolia	456 (4.4)
Other	3,714 (27.6)	Other	1,731 (19.3)	Other	1,224 (11.8)
Total	13,415 (100)	Total	8,989 (100)	Total	10,379 (100)

Source: Department of Justice and Equality (2009)

Finn and O'Connell, using figures supplied by INIS, suggest that the total number of students registered with the GNIB in March for the following three years was 31,902 (2010), 31,923

(2011) and 30,324 (2012) (Finn and O'Connell 2012: 33). An answer to a parliamentary question in 2014 suggested that there were around 36,000 non-EEA students in Ireland: 38% of whom were language students, and 40% of whom were degree students. However, these figures were described as 'a snapshot' and 'not reliable' by the Minister, Frances Fitzgerald (Fitzgerald 2014).

Within these overall figures, the number of full time third level international students has increased considerably since 2000. Samers indicated that there were *ca* 7,400 third level international students in Ireland in 2000, and 12,700 in 2004 (Samers 2010: 30). UNESCO counted 13,489 third level international students in 2010 (UNESCO 2012: 132). HEA statistics from 2014-15 show 14,305 full-time third level students from outside the EU (included on the basis of domicile) in Irish universities, colleges and institutes of technology: 8.3% of the total number of students. There are considerable variations in these numbers: just over 60% of the student body at RCSI is from outside the EU (Malaysia, Canada, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia), compared to 0.8% of students at NCAD. The main domiciles of origin, for full-time students in HEA-funded institutions, are shown in Table 4.

Table 4: Main domiciles of origin for full time students in HEA-funded institutions, 2014-15

Country	Male	Female	Total
Ireland (inc. Northern Ireland)	77,073	77,908	154,981
United States	957	2,462	3,419
China	889	856	1,745
Malaysia	642	852	1,494
Great Britain	702	748	1,450
Canada	482	609	1,091
Saudi Arabia	579	478	1,057
Brazil	494	528	1,022
India	513	265	778
Germany	231	315	546
Total	**85,439**	**87,785**	**173,224**

Source: HEA (2015)

While it appears that the number of language students in Ireland has also increased considerably in recent years, there are limited reliable statistics on this sector. Again, the response to a parliamentary question provides the best indicator of the number of international language students in Ireland (see Table 5).

Table 5: Language students in Ireland, 2009-2014

Year*	Number
2009	10,379
2010	8,057
2011	9,272
2012	8,802
2013	9,454
2014	14,081

Source: Fitzgerald (2014)
*The figures provided represent a snapshot of registrations on the GNIB system in March of each year

For a number of years, *Education in Ireland* produced a report on international students in Irish higher education that also provided details of "offshore" students. The report defined offshore students as including students attending offshore or international branch campuses, enrolled in double or joint degrees, or enrolled in distance education courses. The 2012 report recorded 6,166 offshore students during 2011-12, 19% of the total number of international students (2012: 13).

Though the statistics on both international student migrant flow and international student migrant stock are incomplete and inconsistent, there has been a clear and concentrated effort to increase international student numbers in Ireland: for economic, social and cultural reasons. The economic benefits of international students are clear: these include significantly higher fee income to higher education institutions, fees to other education providers, and economic contributions through rent, other spending, and family visits.

Education in Ireland estimated, in 2012, that international education was a €1 billion annual industry in Ireland, with €700 million coming from higher education fees and spending, and €300 million from language students (Education in Ireland 2012: 9-10). Since Zhang et al estimate that the Irish government, in 2010, spent €1.7 billion on higher and further education (Zhang et al 2014), this shows how international students make a very important financial contribution to Irish higher education institutes. International student migration to Ireland helps to improve the rankings and reputation of Irish higher education institutions, since the proportion of international students is one of the key indicators of internationalisation, which in turn is an important quantitative measure in assessing global higher education rankings. It also provides an opportunity for Ireland to "strengthen its networks of influence" (Department of Education and Skills 2010: 17) with alumni based in other countries, and with the broader Irish diaspora. There are also regional initiatives that recognise the benefits of international students. For example, Dublin City has tried to develop a strategy for attracting international students, cognisant of the fact that international students are concentred (almost 60% of the national total) in the capital, and make a significant economic and cultural contribution to the city (Gebhardt 2011: 3).

The International Student Migration Regime in Ireland

A range of government departments and state agencies - including the Department of Education and Skills and Enterprise Ireland - have a stated interest in increasing international student migration to Ireland. Given this, it is important to consider how the international student migration regime in Ireland actually works. First, in order to register as a non-EEA student in Ireland, the potential student has to supply a letter of acceptance from a recognised education provider (for a course of at least 15 hours a week), proof of payment of the entire course fee, evidence of monetary support of €7,000 for the initial stay, and evidence of

private medical insurance (Finn and O'Connell 2012: 30). Required registration with GNIB costs an additional €300, and this fee is paid on first registration and on any subsequent renewal. The education provider must be included on the Interim List of Eligible Providers (ILEP.

The second component is the regulation of international student migrants once they arrive in Ireland. International student migrants are permitted to work. This is described as the 'Student Work Concession', and it was first introduced in 2001 (Finn and O'Connell 2012: 36) as part of a broader strategy to make Ireland attractive to international students. As the International Organization for Migration (IOM) argued, 'if international students are to be attracted while they are also being expected to pay market-driven tuition fees, authorization to work in the host country will go a long way to persuading them to come' (IOM 2008: 117). Currently, the work concession gives students permission to work a maximum of 40 hours a week in May, June, July, August and from 15 December to 15 January only. Outside these dates, students are permitted to work a maximum of 20 hours a week. They are also required to have a minimum attendance of 85% on language courses. However, while international students in Ireland are permitted to work, they do not have access to either contributory or non-contributory public funds (including social welfare and the public health system). They cannot access housing supports if they fall into destitution, and the lack of access to public funds prevents service providers and other agencies funded by the HSE (Health Service Executive) from working directly with international students experiencing destitution. In addition, international student migrants are not permitted to have dependants in the State (even if family formation happens while in Ireland). So, while international students may work, they have limited other rights in Ireland.

The third component is the options that are available to international students in Ireland when they have completed their studies. There are limits on the length of time international students can remain in Ireland as students. Language students can now register for a maximum of 3 8-month student visas, and must leave the country when their third visa expires, unless they register for a degree programme. International students who are registered on degree programmes can stay in Ireland for a maximum of 7 years (though there are some exceptions, for example in the case of medical students or PhD students). On graduation, students may apply to remain in Ireland under the Third Level Graduate Scheme, and then seek employment for periods of between 6 months and a year. However, in contrast to other countries such as Australia, Canada and France, Ireland does not offer privileged routes to citizenship for graduates (Robertson 2011; She and Wotherspoon 2013). In fact, time spent as a student in Ireland does not count towards eligibility for citizenship.

However, this straightforward description of the current international student regime in Ireland masks the extent to which this regime has been altered in recent years. Moves to change the international student regime began in 2010, when an Interdepartmental Committee made suggestions for a 'new immigration regime for full time non-EEA students' (Department of Justice and Equality 2010). "Immigration policy makers cannot afford to be naïve", the report stated (2010: 2). It continued:

> Economic migration is a global phenomenon and by far the easiest way of moving legally from a developing country to live and work in a much wealthier society is as a student. …. Indeed virtually all of the immigration abuse that is associated with student immigration is driven by this factor, whether through the operation of disreputable colleges or the behaviour of students who do not attend their classes. (Department of Justice and Equality 2010: 2)

The recommendations of the Interdepartmental Committee, underpinned by a belief that the international student regime at the time was leading to immigration abuse, have resulted in

significant changes in order to regulate the 'problem' of 'disreputable colleges' and badly-behaved students. Key changes are listed in Table 6.

Table 6: Selected changes to Student Immigration Regime in Ireland, 2011-2016

Date	Change
1 January 2011	New time limits
1 April 2011	New funding requirements on first registration
19 November 2012	Doubled fees for an immigration certificate of registration
January 2015	Change to Student Work Concession
1 October 2015	Changes to holiday entitlements of language students
January 2016	New list of eligible language programmes
	Reduction in permission for language students (from 1 year to 8 months)

For education providers, particularly language schools, the changes to the international student migration regime have been significant. The attention paid to language schools has intensified because of the closure – sometimes overnight – of 17 language schools since 2014 (Irish Council for International Students 2015). Most of these schools had no form of learner protection so, when they closed, students lost their up-front fee payments. Those advance fee payments were necessary for students to get student visas. Because of broader concerns about English Language teaching, and the effects of reputational damage on the education industry in Ireland more broadly, there has been a concerted effort to regulate English language teaching. Now, there is a two-stage process for recognition for English language courses. The first is QQI (Quality and Qualifications Ireland) certification of the educational standard of the course, and the second is certification by INIS. Once a course is approved at both stages, it is included in the ILEP (Interim List of Eligible Providers). By January 2016, 78 education providers had been certified for English language courses, most of them in the Dublin region (INIS 2016a). Student visas will only be issued to students registered for a language course in an institution included in ILEP.

For international students in Ireland, key changes include increased fees, new time limits and alterations to the Student Work Concession. The new time limits introduced in January 2011 meant that a large number of students became at risk of 'timing out', or not being allowed to renew their permission as they had completed their authorised period of stay. In response to the concern expressed by NGOs and international students alike, the Department of Justice and Equality introduced the Student Probationary Extension, a scheme which allowed those students who had completed their authorised period of stay, and who had kept their permission to remain up to date, to register for an additional two year probationary period. During that period students kept their current immigration permission while permitted to work for a maximum of 40 hours per week without being required to hold a work permit. After the two years probationary period, students could apply for a Stamp 4 permission to remain in the State; it is estimated that between 2,500 and 3,000 participants benefited from this scheme as well as their respective qualifying dependents. However, there were no such concessions in relation to changes to the Student Work Concession in January 2015. Until that date, international student visa holders could work up to 20 hours a week during term time, and up to 40 hours a week outside term time. In practice, this meant that for half the duration of each one year student visa, the student could work full time. The changes introduced in January 2015 restricted full time work to specific time periods. This, according to a Government policy statement, served to 'align the work concession with the traditional academic year' in order to strengthen the Student Work Concession (and prevent what was described as 'immigration abuse'). Of course, few international students in Ireland study under these traditional academic structures, and changes to the Student Work Concession have created difficulties for many students, who need to work in order to meet the costs of living and studying in Ireland.

International students at work in Ireland

While the work experiences of international students in Ireland have been marked as potentially problematic by policy makers, this is specifically in relation to the potential for "immigration abuse". However, there is limited attention to the role of international students as workers in Ireland, despite the realisation that 'most studies on student migration highlight the extent to which employment is an increasingly important part of the lives of student migrants' (Raghuram 2013: 140-1). Some small-scale qualitative research on migrants in Ireland touches, lightly, on international students at work. For example, Darcy Pan's ethnographic work shows how Chinese student migrants often work more than their legal entitlement, and use 'sophisticated arrangements' with other students to cover missed attendance at class (2011: 269). Aoife Smith, in her research with au pairs in Ireland, found that many had come to Ireland on student visas, and became au pairs "due to the lack of employment options and the need to finance their studies and stay" (2015: 173). In her research on workers in low-skilled service sectors in Dublin – specifically catering, cleaning and security – Siobhán McPhee found that many moved to Ireland using student visas (McPhee 2016). In all these cases, international students are employed in sectors with high levels of precarity and low levels of pay. This is similar to Australia, where Hugo found that 83.5% of student visa holders in 2004 were participating in the Australian Labour Force, concentrated in lower-skilled jobs such as accommodation, cafes and restaurants and retail trade, and in seasonal harvesting (Hugo 2006: 219-24). There are also similarities with the situation of Chinese students in Japan, who are concentrated in lower-skilled work such as restaurants, manufacturing, retail, and the entertainment industry (Liu-Farrer 2009: 189-90).

The work of the Migrant Rights Centre Ireland (MRCI), a Dublin-based NGO that provides support to migrants in Ireland, offers new insights into the experiences of

international students in Ireland.[2] MRCI has retained case file statistics for current and former student visa holders who contacted the organisation for assistance, and these statistics offer an insight into the extent and concentration of international student employment in Ireland. In total, just over 2,100 people with student status at the time contacted MRCI in order to look for assistance. The majority – 57.4% - were female. The main countries of origin for these students were the Philippines (17.1%), China (7.2%), Mauritius (5.2%) and India (4.5%). Of the 76.8% who were in employment, the main sectors of employment were Hotel, Restaurant and Catering (23.2%), Service and Retail (19%), Cleaning and Maintenance (7%), and Domestic and Carework (5.7%). These are the sectors which have experienced a sharp decrease in employment permits being issued, and also sectors in which vacancy shortages have been identified by the most recent by National Skills Bulletin (SOLAS 2015). From this, we can see that international students are now performing the jobs that were once filled by employment permit holders, without the associated rights. These are also the most unregulated sectors, prone to low pay and flexible hours, with the threat of exploitation. The precarious nature of this employment means that it is relatively easy for international students to fall into irregularity, particularly given the new requirements for the renewal of residency as well as the maximum years they can spend in the State. This is particularly the case for students who are not in third-level education. These students cannot avail of the Graduate Scheme, so their only option is to make an application for an employment permit. However, these requirements are too onerous for the sectors of employment in which non-degree students work, with the consequent risk of falling into irregularity. MRCI statistics provide evidence of this transition. A significant number of people who originally moved to Ireland as international students had become undocumented by the time they contacted MRCI. In total, MRCI dealt with almost 1,100 cases of students who had become undocumented, most

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[2] We obtained this data through one of the authors, who works at MRCI and who received authorisation from MRCI to use the data for the purposes of this working paper.

of whom were female, and many of whom continued to work in similar sectors (Hotel, Restaurant and Catering; Service and Retail; Cleaning and Maintenance; Domestic and Carework).

Information from MRCI also highlights the extent to which international students are vulnerable to exploitation at work. The work concession means that the majority of students are part-time workers. Part-time work is more present in unregulated 3D sectors (dirty, dangerous, difficult). Limited financial resources, reduced social networks and lack of access to social protection act as traps for exploitative employment. The employment of students as *au pairs* is a clear example, with students performing child-care duties under terms of employment which do not meet legal standards (Smith 2015). Irregular hours of employment often have implications for students' attendance, which in turn has implications for residency renewal and the risk of becoming undocumented. The blurred lines between their identities as workers and students often push them into irregularity and to experiences of poverty and destitution. In turn, the lack of access to social protection also means that students think twice before reporting an exploitative employer or even leaving such employers.

Conclusion

As Ireland seeks to further develop its international education strategy, it is crucial that the broader effects of that strategy are investigated. In this paper, we have paid particular attention to international student migration as one of the visible outcomes of the internationalisation of education in Ireland. We have highlighted the growth in student numbers in the higher and language education sectors, and the wide-ranging and fluid attempts to regulate international student migration and international student migrants. These attempts have created hierarchies of international students, prioritising those who have

independent wealth and who are registered for undergraduate and postgraduate degrees. These hierarchies are underpinned by a belief that international students should be full-time students, and that students who work are potential threats to the integrity of the Irish immigration regime. Yet, as a range of data sources show, international students play an important role in the Irish labour market where, because of their student visa status, they are vulnerable to exploitation. As the internationalisation strategy for education in Ireland gathers momentum, the complexity of international student experiences and the crucial, though hidden, role of international student migrants in the Irish labour market requires our critical attention.

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Appendix 1: Countries whose citizens require a visa to enter Ireland (Source: INIS 2016b

Afghanistan
Albania
Algeria
Angola
Armenia
Azerbaijan
Bahrain
Bangladesh
Belarus
Benin
Bhutan
Bosnia and Herzegovina
Burkina Faso
Burma
Burundi
Cambodia
Cameroon
Cape Verde
Central African Republic
Chad
China
Colombia
Comoros
Congo
Cote d'Ivoire
Cuba
Djibouti
Dominican Republic
Ecuador
Egypt
Eritrea
Equatorial Guinea
Ethiopia
Faroe Islands
Gabon
Gambia
Georgia
Ghana
Greenland
Guinea
Guinea-Bissau
Haiti
India
Indonesia
Iran
Iraq
Jamaica

Jordan
Kazakhstan
Kenya
Korea (North)
Kosovo
Kuwait
Kyrgyzstan
Laos
Lebanon
Liberia
Libya
Macedonia
Madagascar
Malawi
Mali
Marshall Islands
Mauritania
Mauritius
Micronesia
Moldova
Mongolia
Montenegro
Morocco
Mozambique
Namibia
Nepal
Niger
Nigeria
Oman
Pakistan
Palau
Palestinian National
Authority
Papua New Guinea
Peru
Philippines
Qatar
Russian Federation
Rwanda
Sao Tome and Principe
Saudi Arabia
Senegal
Serbia
Sierra Leone
Somalia
Sri Lanka
Sudan

Suriname
Syria
Tajikistan
Tanzania
Thailand
Timor-Leste
Togo
Tunisia
Turkey
Turkmenistan
Uganda
Ukraine
United Arab Emirates
Uzbekistan
Venezuela
Vietnam
Yemen
Zambia
Zimbabwe