Case studies of the most popular European destinations for mobile students from Russia, Eastern Europe, Caucasus, and Central Asia

Research report

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Abbreviations

BUWIWM - Biuro uznawalności wykształcenia i wymiany międzynarodowej (Bureau for Academic Recognition and International Exchange)

CIMO - Centret för internationell mobilitet och internationellt samarbete (Centre for International Mobility)

DAAD - Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst (German Academic Exchange Service)

DAHE - Danish Agency for Higher Education

DZHW - Deutsches Zentrum für Hochschul- und Wissenschaftsforschung (German Centre for Research on Higher Education and Science Studies)

EMI - English as a medium of instruction

EU - European Union

HE - higher education

HEI - higher education institution

IAU - International Association of Universities

ICEF - International Consultants for Education and Fairs

IOM - The International Organization for Migration

JCMM - Jihomoravské centrum pro mezinárodní mobilitu (South Moravian Centre for International Mobility)

NUFFIC - Netherlands Universities Foundation for International Cooperation

OBHE - The Observatory of Borderless Higher Education

THE - Times Higher Education

UAS - university of applied sciences

UCAS - The Universities and Colleges Admissions Service

UK - The United Kingdom

UKCISA - The UK Council for International Student Affairs

Introduction

Studying in Europe has become increasingly popular among students in Russia, Eastern Europe, Caucasus, and Central Asia since the second half of the 1990s. Student flows from former Soviet countries to Europe have never been as abundant as they are today. This trend is due to the surge in university enrolments in general, a growth in opportunities to study abroad as a consequence of the economic development of former Soviet countries, and the rapid internationalisation of higher education systems in Europe.

Repressive measures that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) had in place during the Cold War did not allow its citizens to travel internationally and kept international migration well below the levels that may have occurred otherwise. While the USSR sent very few students abroad, its dissolution disrupted the period of isolation from world markets, with the citizens of former Soviet countries facing fewer constrains on travel and migration (Chankseliani, 2015). The heterogeneous pathways of development of these countries led to dissimilar educational and labour market opportunities for young people, as well as distinct patterns of student mobility.

Russia, Eastern Europe (Belarus, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldova, Ukraine), Caucasus (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia), and Central Asia (Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan) differ considerably in the size of their student populations, the numbers of mobile students and, hence, their outbound mobility ratio. The outbound mobility ratio (OMR) is a country-level measure of the proportion of students who pursue tertiary education overseas as a share of the total tertiary enrolments in their home country (UNESCO, 2014a). According to the data for the latest available academic year 2013-14, the highest OMRs pertain to Moldova where 14.2% of students study abroad, Azerbaijan (11.3%), and Georgia (8.2%). In contrast, the lowest outbound student mobility ratio or relative degree immobility pertains to the student populations in Russia (0.7%), Ukraine (1.8%), and Kyrgyzstan (2.2%), indicating that far more students choose to pursue their degree studies in the home country rather than abroad.

Figure 1. Outbound mobility ratio (%), by country of origin
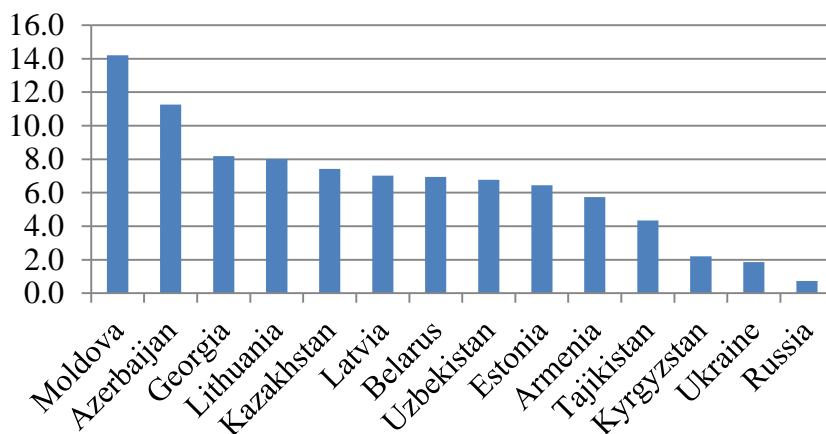
Note: the outbound mobility ratio for Turkmenistan is not provided by UNESCO (2015a). Based on our own calculations, however, it may be as high as 80%.
Source: own calculations based on UNESCO (2014b).

Russia and Ukraine have the largest student populations and are also the largest senders of students to Europe, with more than 26,000 EU-bound degree mobile students every year (Figure 2), while Moldova, Lithuania, and Belarus send between 12,500 and 8,800 each. These are followed by Kazakhstan and Latvia with about 5,000 students respectively. Georgia, Estonia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, and Uzbekistan send between 3,700 and 1,800 students every year. Three Central Asian countries (Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan) are at the bottom of this list (Figure 2).

Figure 2. Total number of EU-bound degree-mobile students, by county of origin
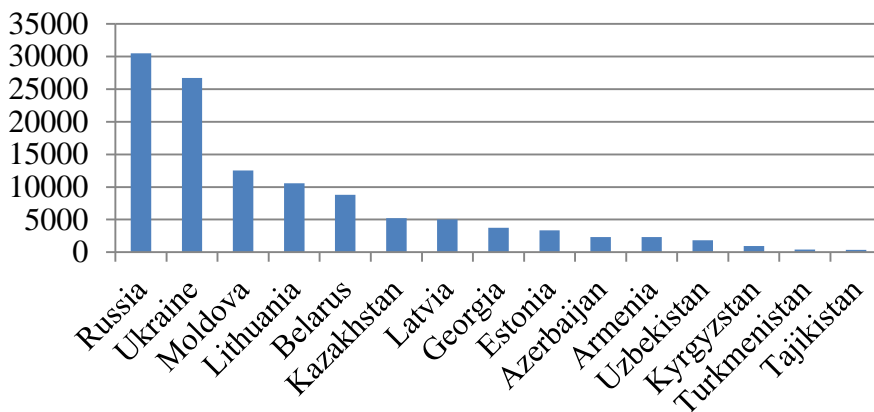
Source: own calculations based on UNESCO (2014b).

However, looking at the EU-bound degree-mobile students as a proportion of all mobile students from each of the former Soviet countries yields a very different picture of the relative popularity of European HE in this large and diverse region (Figure 3). Currently, four out of five mobile students from the Baltic countries (Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia) choose to study in Europe. Students from Moldova, Ukraine, and Russia also find European destinations very appealing, with approximately three out of five mobile students choosing EU-based HEIs. Two Caucasus nations – Georgia and Armenia – also have high proportions of mobile students (about one in three) choosing European countries.

Figure 3. EU-bound degree-mobile students as a share of all mobile students (%), by country of origin
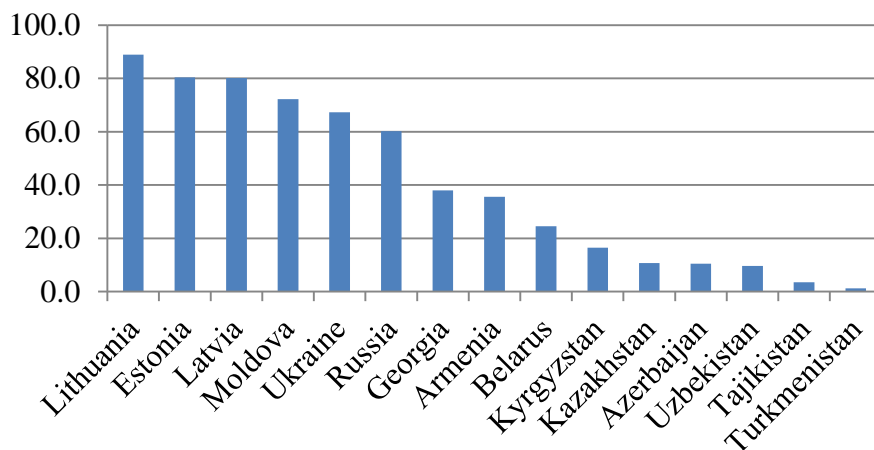
Source: own calculations based on UNESCO (2014b).

European HEIs are the least popular destinations for the five Central Asian countries and Azerbaijan when we look at the proportion of mobile students from these countries who study in Europe (Figure 3). Which study abroad destinations do mobile students from these six countries choose? The answer is Russia, which is the most favourite study abroad destination among students from Central Asia and a number of other former Soviet countries (Appendix 1). This is due to Russia's political and economic role in the Russian empire and the Soviet Union; Russia is large, wealthy, linguistically accessible, and has been a large diaspora of nationals from former Soviet countries. Russia also offers the best quality HE across the post-Soviet space, as measured by international rankings (Chankseliani, 2015).

In a context where former Soviet countries tend to remain overlooked and insufficiently differentiated by higher education researchers, policy makers and international recruitment officers

(Chankseliani, 2015; Chankseliani & Hessel, 2016), this report charts the flows of students from Russia, Eastern Europe (Belarus, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldova, Ukraine), Caucasus (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia), and Central Asia (Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan) to the EU countries since the late 1990s. The report uses secondary data to establish the most popular destinations in Europe and the largest senders among the post-Soviet countries. For each of the nine most popular European destination countries, we analyse the mobility patterns and composition of student inflow. The report also highlights potential pull and push factors that emerged from the review of literature on HE internationalisation and international student mobility and that may explain some of the observed patterns of student mobility from the region.

From the review it appears that the perceived quality and considerations of affordability of higher education in different European destinations constitute major pull factors for students from the region. Furthermore, specific characteristics of these destination countries and their higher education systems, such as the size of the HE system, availability of funding, tuition fee structure, linguistic access, visa regulations, and post-study work opportunities appear to play a role in students' mobility choices.

The relative popularity of major EU destination countries among degree-mobile students from the region was assessed both in terms of the total number of students each country attracts from the region *currently* (academic year 2013-14) and *cumulatively* since 1999 (Table 1). In terms of student volume from the region as a whole, Germany clearly emerges as currently the most popular EU destination followed by the UK, Poland, France, the Czech Republic, Italy, Denmark, Finland and the Netherlands.

Table 1. Numbers of students from former Soviet countries to the EU destination countries

Destination country	number of students received in 2013-14	rank #	cumulative number of students received 1999-2000 to 2013-14	rank #
Germany	23,700	1	354,867*	1
The United Kingdom	16,090	2	113,941	2
Poland	15,409	3	99,640	3
France	8,434	4	99,031	4
The Czech Republic	8,017	5	45,079	5
Italy	7,474	6	41,675	6
Denmark	3,413	7	15,254	8
Finland	3,307	8	30,643	7
The Netherlands	2,167**	9	8,891	9

*Note. *numbers of degree-mobile students in Germany from 2008-09 to 2012-13 exclude those studying at doctoral level and are therefore partial; **2012-13 is the latest available year.*
Source: own calculations based on UNESCO (2016a).

When taking a longitudinal perspective, the rank order differs only slightly with Denmark and Finland changing ranks (Table 1). This can be explained by the fact that Denmark has seen a relatively recent nearly ten-fold increase in incoming students from former Soviet countries (from 379 students in 2008-09 to 3,413 students in 2013-14), after previously low numbers from the region. This increase may be explained in part by the rapid growth in EMI programmes in Danish higher education. English taught programmes have been growing by a substantial 50% since 2008 (Wächter & Maiworm, 2014), with 730 of the approximately 1,300 degree programmes at Danish HEIs fully taught in English (Danish Ministry of HE and Science 2016).

Three of the main EU destinations – the UK, Germany and France – are also top destinations for international students from around the world. This may be explained by their perceived cultural and intellectual heritage, their colonial and historical ties with a large number of countries worldwide, as well as the perceived quality and differentiation of their HE systems.

However, in assessing the relative popularity of the nine EU destination countries, one needs to go beyond the total number of students that each country attracts and consider the ways in which the incoming students are spread across the different source countries. In order to examine the degree of dispersion (i.e., whether the students come from one or multiple source countries) and the specific

composition (i.e., which countries they come from) of the student inflow from the region, we also examined how often each destination country featured among the top eight study destinations of outwardly mobile students of all source countries. Germany currently ranks among the top eight study destinations for internationally mobile students in 13 out of 15 former Soviet countries, followed by France (in 8 countries), the UK (in 7 countries), the Czech Republic, Poland and Italy (in 4 countries), Denmark, Finland and the Netherlands (in 3 countries) (Appendix 1). Thus, while Germany attracts both large numbers and a wide variety of students from the region, other host countries exhibit a higher concentration of students from a smaller number of source countries. As the most extreme case perhaps, Poland attracts the third largest volume of students from the region, yet this inflow is driven largely by only two source countries (Ukraine and Belarus).

The specific rank number that a destination country occupies among mobile students of a particular source country is of limited value in describing the volume of students it attracts from that country as its ranking is also contingent on the degree to which the source country's outwardly mobile students are dispersed across a variety of destinations (Appendix 1). For example, Poland features as the top 2 destination of internationally mobile students from Belarus, yet the inflow of Belarusian students into Poland is perhaps smaller than expected as the number 1 destination country Russia attracts a substantial 74% of all outwardly mobile students. Thus, in each country case study we provide a differentiated view of the absolute numbers of degree-mobile students that the EU destination country attracts from each former Soviet country, as well as the proportion of outwardly mobile students it attracts from all major sending countries in order to control for the variation in size of their mobile student population.

Country case studies that analyse the student flows into each of these European destinations form the core of this report. They will be of interest to a variety of actors involved in international student mobility: individual students and their families, HEIs, third party providers, local communities in post-Soviet Eurasia, global community of scholars, policy-makers in sending and receiving countries, and employers nationally and internationally.

Notes on methodology

Quantitative analysis

In order to determine the inflow of internationally mobile students from the region into each of the host countries the study employed the data on international student mobility that is gathered through the UOE survey by UNESCO, OECD and EUROSTAT (UOE). The data are collected annually by these three institutions from the statistical authorities in high- and middle-income countries, including the 27 EU member states, EEA countries, candidate countries, OECD member states, and other selected countries, and are made publicly available by the UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS) (UNESCO, 2016a). The most recent available mobility data pertains to the academic year 2013-14.

The UOE survey targets the 'internationally mobile students', defined as 'students who have crossed a national border and moved to another country with the objective of studying' within each of the reporting countries (UNESCO, 2016b). Internationally mobile students form a sub-group of foreign students. While the latter are not citizens, they may be usual residents of the hosting country. The survey covers only 'degree-mobile' students, that is, 'students who pursue a HE degree outside their country of usual residence'(UNESCO, 2016b). This includes internationally mobile students enrolled in all tertiary-level programmes, equivalent to levels 5 – 8 of the International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED), at both public and private HEIs. Students on temporary student exchange programmes who are credited by their home institution (also: 'credit mobility') and those studying on distance learning programmes in another country are excluded from the survey (UNESCO, 2015b).

Qualitative analysis

In analysing the composition of student inflow from the region and the mobility trends for each EU destination country the report also highlights potential pull and push factors that emerged from the review of literature and documents on internationalisation of HE and international student mobility into the different EU target countries and that may explain some of the observed patterns of student mobility from the region.

The major pull and push factors that underlie students' mobility choices have been described as perceived quality of programmes, language of instruction, tuition fee structure, perceived cost and scholarship opportunities, immigration policy, historical and cultural ties, cultural affinity and aspirations, geographical, trade or migration links, recognition of the foreign degree (pull) and the perceived quality and admission policies of tertiary education in the home country (push) (OECD, 2015a). Moreover, a recent study by Chankseliani (2015) suggests that the capacity of the higher education system and labour market opportunities for young people in their home countries may also have a significant influence on the outbound student mobility ratio.

Country case studies

Germany

Germany is among the five most popular host countries in the world for degree-seeking international students, attracting a share of 5% of all students worldwide. During the most recently reported academic year 2013-14, 196,619[1] internationally degree-mobile students studied at German HEIs. The largest groups of degree-mobile students were from China (19,441), Russia (9,480), Austria (8,277), Bulgaria (6,186), and Poland (5,772) (UNESCO, 2014b, 2016a).

Germany currently ranks among the top eight study destinations for degree-mobile students in 13 out of 15 former Soviet countries. With over 350,000 students studying for degrees at German HEIs since 1999, it is by far the most popular EU destination country for degree-mobile students from the region. The top 5 sending countries within the region have been Russia, Ukraine, Georgia, Belarus, and Lithuania.

During the most recently reported year 2013-14, Germany hosted a total of 23,700 degree-seeking students from former Soviet countries, which corresponds to a proportion of 12% of all international degree-mobile students hosted (UNESCO, 2016a).[2] This statistic is higher than the statistic for France, the UK, or the Netherlands, but considerably lower than the one for Poland (55%).

In 2013-14, 9,480 or 40% of all degree-mobile students from the region were from Russia (Figure 4) and Russian students formed the second largest group of international degree-mobile students in Germany (UNESCO, 2014b). Ukrainian students formed the second largest group of degree-mobile students from former Soviet countries. The next largest student groups from former Soviet countries included Georgians (1,852 or 8% of students from the region), Belarusians (1,173 or 5% of students from the region), and Lithuanians (865 or 4% of students from the region). Moreover, well over 500 students from Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Latvia, Moldova, and Azerbaijan were enrolled at German HEIs, while students from Turkmenistan and Tajikistan were by far the fewest in number (Figure 4).

Figure 4. Composition of degree-mobile students from post-Soviet countries to Germany, 2013-14
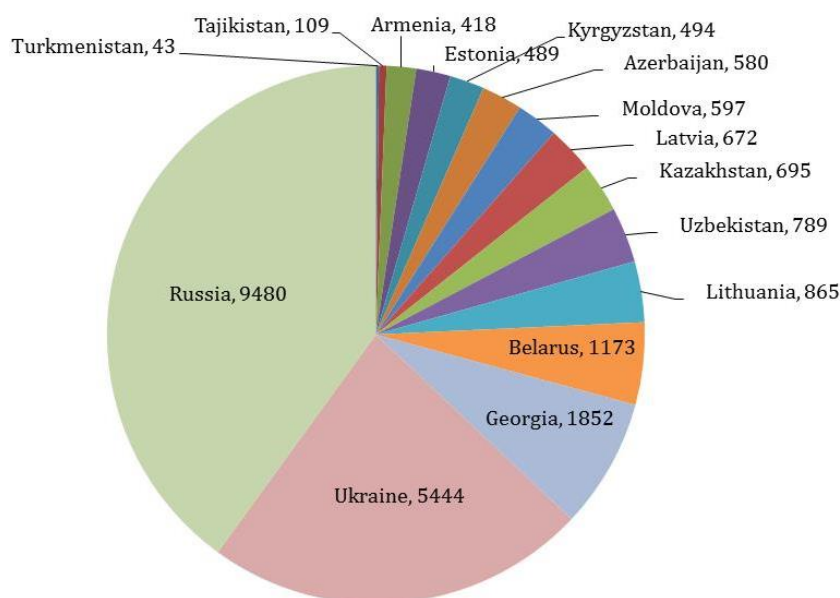
Source: own calculations based on UNESCO (2016a) data.

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[1] Note that the 2013-14 figure includes the estimated rather than the actual numbers of degree-seeking international students at doctoral level (figure estimated by the German government).

[2] The statistics for 2013-14 are estimates rather than the actual numbers of degree-seeking international students at *doctoral* level (ISCED level 8). Since doctoral researchers are not required to register as students, the numbers were estimated by the German government.

These enrolment figures are a function of the variation in the size of the mobile student population in each source country. The latter can be controlled for by calculating the proportion of degree-mobile students in each source country choosing Germany over other study destinations. These calculations show that in 2013-14 Germany attracted the largest proportions of degree mobile students from Russia and Georgia (19% from each), followed by students from Ukraine (14%), Estonia (12%), and Latvia (11%). Germany seems to be a popular destination for very small proportions of mobile students from Kyrgyzstan (8%), Lithuania (7%), Armenia (6%), Uzbekistan (4%), Moldova (3%), Belarus (3%), Azerbaijan (2%), and Kazakhstan (1%) (UNESCO, 2014b).

The enrolment numbers of students from the region show a common developmental pattern, according to which the student enrolment numbers exhibit considerable average annual growth of 21%[3] up until 2005-06 (Table 2). This period of growth is then followed by a gradual year-on-year decline of 5% on average. Most of the individual sending countries except Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and Turkmenistan seem to follow this generalised developmental pattern. In 2008-09, the data suggest a more pronounced decrease of 18% in degree-mobile students from the region. However, in interpreting the pattern of decline, one needs to bear in mind that the statistics for years 2008-09 to 2012-13 represent are partial and exclude students studying at the doctoral level, while the 2013-14 figure then includes an estimation of the latter. In interpreting the peaking of international student numbers in 2005-06 and the subsequent gradual decline, one may consider that most federal states introduced tuition fees of €500 per semester for both home and international students starting in 2006-07. By 2014-15, however, tuition fees were discontinued in all federal states.

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[3] The average annual growth was calculated using the formula MEAN((year 2 – year 1)/ year 1) * 100 + ((year 3 – year 2)/ year 2)*100 + (…) + (…).

Table 2. Numbers of degree-mobile students from post-Soviet countries to Germany, 1999-2000 to 2013-14

Country of origin	1999-2000	2000-01	2001-02	2002-03	2003-04	2004-05	2005-06	2006-07	2007-08	2008-09	2009-10	2010-11	2011-12	2012-13	2013-14	cumulative
Armenia	199	219	239	287	353	371	391	324	321	291*	284*	311*	299*	347*	418°	4654
Azerbaijan	90	129	154	202	257	311	357	293	302	312*	346*	384*	394*	511*	580°	4622
Belarus	441	588	778	1042	1397	1737	2001	1823	1896	1745*	1650*	1554*	1302*	1270*	1173°	20397
Estonia	279	357	448	590	625	728	776	655	617	579*	540*	536*	506*	523*	489°	8248
Georgia	800	1098	1477	2033	2551	3000	3269	3135	2895	2503*	2423*	2327*	1978*	1918*	1852°	33259
Kazakhstan	341	431	466	581	759	876	975	1703	1625	668*	723*	701*	684*	693*	695°	11921
Kyrgyzstan	74	112	163	212	289	386	446	471	494	425*	498*	523*	521*	533*	494°	5641
Latvia	389	526	614	773	862	916	919	739	710	657*	597*	634*	615*	..	672°	9623
Lithuania	561	724	972	1224	1465	1701	1729	1451	1405	1234*	1116*	1032*	919*	878*	865°	17276
Moldova	176	242	317	411	489	597	704	538	585	540*	591*	591*	515*	566*	597°	7459
Russia	5360	6501	7475	8913	10185	11462	12158	11974	12047	9135*	9346*	9416*	8793*	9046*	9480°	141291
Tajikistan	40	33	30	92	40	41	49	55	62	67*	73*	83*	93*	103*	109°	970
Turkmenistan	24	32	45	62	62	81	85	79	74	60*	55*	68*	47*	47*	43°	864
Ukraine	2260	3023	3942	5206	2172	7618	8455	6889	6870	6055*	5978*	5945*	5362*	5340*	5444°	80559
Uzbekistan	119	152	234	311	402	520	621	649	679	678*	682*	736*	732*	779*	789°	8083
Total	11153	14167	17354	21939	21908	30345	32935	30778	30582	24949	24902	24841	22760	22554	23700	354867

Note: *the figure excludes international degree-mobile students at doctoral level; °figure includes a government estimate of all international degree-mobile students at doctoral level.

Source: own calculations based on UNESCO (2016a) and OECD (2016b) data.

The top 5 senders of degree-mobile students from the region to Germany, both currently and historically, are Russia, Ukraine, Georgia, Belarus, and Lithuania. A substantial share of 40% of all students from the region has come from Russia, which reflects precisely the proportion of the degree-mobile students from Russia studying in Germany in 2013-14. Besides historic ties and diaspora linkages, as manifest in the extensive Russian diaspora in Germany – there were 946,000 Russian-born residents in Germany in 2013 (OECD, 2016c) - some of the main reasons for the popularity of German HE with Russian students and their families relate to perceptions of quality, financial and linguistic accessibility, and the availability of funding opportunities (Poleschuk, 2015).

Indeed, the German HE system is regarded one of the best in the world. In 2015-16, 37 German HEIs featured in the Times Higher Education (THE) World University Ranking. This ranking is widely drawn upon in the government scholarship schemes which many Russian students wishing to study abroad depend upon.

Both, the *2013 Strategy for the Internationalisation of Higher Education Institutions in Germany* and the *2020 Strategy for the Internationalisation of the German Higher Education System* set the ambitious goal of raising the number of foreign students by more than one third to 350,000 per year by 2020 in order to 'sustain the German HE system in its current form, guarantee its innovative ability and ensure a sufficient pool of international talent' (DAAD, 2013, pp. 26–27). Similarly, the 2013 *Strategy for the Internationalisation of Higher Education Institutions in Germany* highlights the importance of attracting highly qualified students and researchers from abroad for research, as well as the German economy. In the strategy document, the increasing competition for 'excellent international students' is recognised and the need for improved marketing efforts at the national level and by individual institutions is emphasised, including a stronger presence at international fairs is highlighted (Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung, 2013, pp. 8–9).

Besides perceptions of quality, the fact that in contrast to other highly reputable HE systems, HE in Germany is largely free of charge and living expenses are moderate, has also shown to play a role in the decision-making of Russian students (Danilenko, 2013; Karbasova, 2010; Poleschuk, 2015). This factor also emerged from a survey of over 10,000 foreign students from a variety of countries (DAAD, 2014a), together with perceptions of quality and post-study work rights which have been further enhanced by the EU Blue Card scheme for highly qualified non-EU citizens.

Yet, however moderate living expenses may be in Germany, these may still pose an obstacle to students from Russia (Karbasova, 2010). Therefore the availability of funding opportunities in Germany remains a major factor in attracting students from Russia. According to the DAAD, Russian students have been the most successful international student group in the highly competitive DAAD scholarship programmes (DAAD, 2014b).

The DAAD scholarship database currently lists 57 scholarship opportunities for international undergraduate, 132 for master's and 111 for doctoral students. These include DAAD scholarships, funding programmes by other organisations, such as party-affiliated foundations, religious organisations, research institutes and commercial enterprises, as well as summer courses and short-term visits. Degree-seeking international students may also apply for the purely merit-based Germany scholarship/ Deutschlandstipendium, which makes a contribution of €300 to students' living expenses and is mostly awarded to well-performing postgraduate students of any nationality (TopUniversities, 2015). In 2015-16, a total of 24,300 students were funded under this scheme (Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung, 2016).

In order to support their studies, home and EU students may also work for up to 20 hours per week, while non-EU students may work for up to 120 days per calendar year (DAAD, 2016d). Non-EU graduates may remain in Germany for a further 18 months for the purpose of finding employment, during which the number of work hours is unrestricted (DAAD, 2016c).

As another crucial factor, international students from Russia and a number of other former Soviet countries tend to develop sufficiently high proficiency in German as part of their schooling which enables them to undertake their degree studies in German, as reflected by the fact that student numbers from, e.g., Russia, Ukraine, and Georgia were already rather high in the late 1990s when degree

programmes taught in English in Germany were almost non-existent. According to the Goethe-Institute, 8-9% of all Russian children learn German at school (Goethe-Institute, 2016).

At present, the German HE system offers the second largest number of EMI degree programmes in Europe, following the Netherlands (Wächter & Maiworm, 2014). A sizable number of 1,174 of the approximately 18,500 degree programmes are currently taught entirely through English (DAAD, 2016b). The majority of these programmes (979) are available at master's level. The PhDGermany database shows a further 91 PhD positions for which the working language is English (DAAD, 2016e). Thus, the German HE system offers a wide variety of study options that are increasingly linguistically accessible while, as opposed to the Netherlands, no tuition fees are currently charged to either EU or non-EU students. Students only need to make a modest contribution of up to €100 per semester towards social services and public transportation (DAAD, 2016a).

Finally, the attraction of Russian students to Germany may also be explained in part by targeted recruitment efforts of German universities. While German universities can be expected to engage far less actively in student recruitment than, for example, UK universities, Russia has been repeatedly identified as a market of interest in terms of student recruitment and research collaborations. In a 2008 review of potential recruitment countries for German universities, Russia was identified as one of the top-tier source countries for the recruitment of international students (Brandenburg, Carr-Boulay, Donauer, & Berthold, 2008). The review concluded: 'given Russia's strong ratios for upper-secondary graduation and entry to tertiary education, there should be no lack of qualified students. Russia will remain an important source country for German HEIs' (Brandenburg et. al., 2008, p. 97). The *2020 strategy* (DAAD, 2013) also identified Russia together with Brazil, China, and India as an emerging key player and strategic partner for international research cooperation.

The enrolment numbers of Russian students have more than doubled from 1999-2000 (5,360 students) to 2005-06 (12,158 students), followed by a pattern that is marked by a decline. One needs to be cautious when interpreting the rather significant drop by 24% in the enrolment numbers of Russian in 2008-09 as the nature of the data changes. While the most recent figures (9,480 students in 2013-14) suggest that the numbers of degree-seeking students from Russia have indeed declined overall since 2005-06, one needs to bear in mind that the figures from 2008-09 to 2012-13 are partial and exclude Russian students studying at the doctoral level.

Ukraine has been the second largest sender with 80,559 Ukrainian students since 1999 and 5,444 students currently studying for a degree in Germany. Similar to the enrolment numbers of Russian students, student numbers have been fluctuating, with the most recent figure being approximately as high as that in 2002-03, when 5,206 Ukrainian students were undertaking degree studies in Germany.

Georgia has been the third largest former Soviet sender of students to Germany, sending a total of 33,259 students. With 1,852 students in 2013-14, Georgian students remain the third largest group of degree-seeking students from the region. Up until 2005-06, the numbers of degree-mobile students from Georgia were growing strongly and consistently at 27% per year on average. However, since 2006-07, there has been a consistent decline in the enrolment numbers, including the most recently recorded academic year (-3%).

A total of 20,397 students from Belarus have undertaken degree studies in Germany since 1999 which makes it the fourth largest group of degree-mobile students. The numbers of degree-seeking students from Belarus were growing substantially from 441 students in 1999-2000 to 2,001 students in 2005-06, at 29% per year on average. This period was then followed by a decline to 1,173 students in 2013-14.

Similar to the other major senders, the pattern of degree-mobility from the fifth largest sender Lithuania (17,276 degree-mobile students since 1999) also reflects the more general pattern of growth (21% on average) up until 2005-06, and the subsequent gradual decline (-8% on average) that applies to degree-mobile students from the region as a whole. This pattern is mirrored by the other Baltic states, Latvia, and Estonia. Armenia, Azerbaijan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, and Uzbekistan are notable exceptions from the general developmental pattern. Although most of them also exhibit a drop in student numbers in 2006-07, the subsequent period is characterised by plateauing (Moldova, Kyrgyzstan) or growth patterns (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan).

Turkmenistan and Tajikistan have been the smallest senders of degree-mobile students to Germany. However, their development as senders differs significantly. Student mobility from Turkmenistan also exhibits the common pattern of post-2005-06 decline, whereas the number of degree-seeking students from Tajikistan has been growing consistently.

Table 3. Pull of Germany's HE system: degree-mobility from post-Soviet countries

Size of HE system	107 full universities, 246 universities of applied sciences, 6 education colleges, 52 colleges of art, film and music, 16 colleges of theology; approx. 18,500 degree programmes, 6,960 of which are offered at universities of applied sciences and colleges (DAAD, 2016g)
Volume of international degree-seeking students hosted in 2013-14	196,619 (UNESCO, 2016a)
Volume of degree-seeking students from post-Soviet countries in 2013-14	23,700 (UNESCO, 2016a)
Main senders among post-Soviet countries	Russia (9,480), Ukraine (5,444), Georgia (1,852), Belarus (1,173)
Current smaller senders (100-500 students per year)	Uzbekistan (789), Kazakhstan (695), Latvia (672), Moldova (597), Azerbaijan (580), Kyrgyzstan (494), Estonia (489), Armenia (418)
Tuition fee structure	No tuition fees are currently charged to either EU or non-EU students. Students need to make a modest contribution of up to €100 per semester towards social services and public transportation (DAAD, 2016a). A number of federal states charged tuition fees of €500 per semester to all students between 2006-07 and 2013-14
Funding opportunities for degree-seeking students	The DAAD scholarship database currently lists between 21 and 27 scholarship opportunities across subjects for undergraduate students from different former Soviet countries (EU and non-EU), 40 – 44 opportunities for master's students, and 38 – 43 for doctoral students from the region. The clear majority are full scholarships covering living expenses, while a few are intended for short-term study visits only (DAAD, 2016f)
Linguistic access and spread of EMI	1,174 of the approx. 18,500 degree programmes (6.3%) are currently taught entirely in English (DAAD, 2016b). The vast majority of these programmes (979) are offered at master's level. The PhD.Germany database shows a further 91 PhD positions for which the working language is English (DAAD, 2016e)
Visa regulations for international students	Students from most non-EU countries need to apply for a student applicant visa (prior to admission) or a student visa. Upon arrival, all students need to obtain an extendable two-year residence permit which is granted automatically to EU students (DAAD, 2016h). Home and EU students may work up to 20 hours per week, while non-EU students may work for up to 120 days per calendar year. Restriction does not apply to students holding research assistant posts (DAAD, 2016d). Non-EU graduates may remain in Germany for a further 18months for the purpose of finding employment, during which the number of work hours is unrestricted (DAAD, 2016c)
Information channel for international students	Study in Germany: https://www.study-in.de

The United Kingdom

The UK is the second most popular study destination in the world, attracting 10% of all internationally mobile students worldwide (OECD, 2015b). The proportion of students who choose to study in the UK has been rising consistently since 2000 and its share of the global international student market has expanded more than the share of any other OECD country (OECD, 2015b). During the most recently reported academic year 2013-14, the country hosted a total of 435,495 international students (HESA, 2015, p. 15). The largest international student groups were from China (86,204), India (19,604), Nigeria (17,973), Malaysia (15,583), and the United States (14,950) (UNESCO, 2014b).

The UK is the second most popular EU destination for students from former Soviet countries. A total of 113,941 students from the region have been studying for a UK undergraduate or postgraduate degree since 1999 (UNESCO, 2016a). In particular, the UK higher education sector has attracted students from Lithuania (24,721), Latvia (12,885) and Estonia (7,513), as well as from Russia (34,383), Kazakhstan (13,503), Ukraine (7,773), and Azerbaijan (3,103) (Table 4).

During the most recently reported academic year 2013-14, about 4% of all degree mobile students in the UK came from post-Soviet countries (HESA, 2014, 2015). The largest number of students were from Lithuania, Russia, Latvia, Kazakhstan, Estonia, Ukraine, and Azerbaijan (Figure 5).

Figure 5. Composition of degree-mobile students from post-Soviet countries to the UK, 2013-14
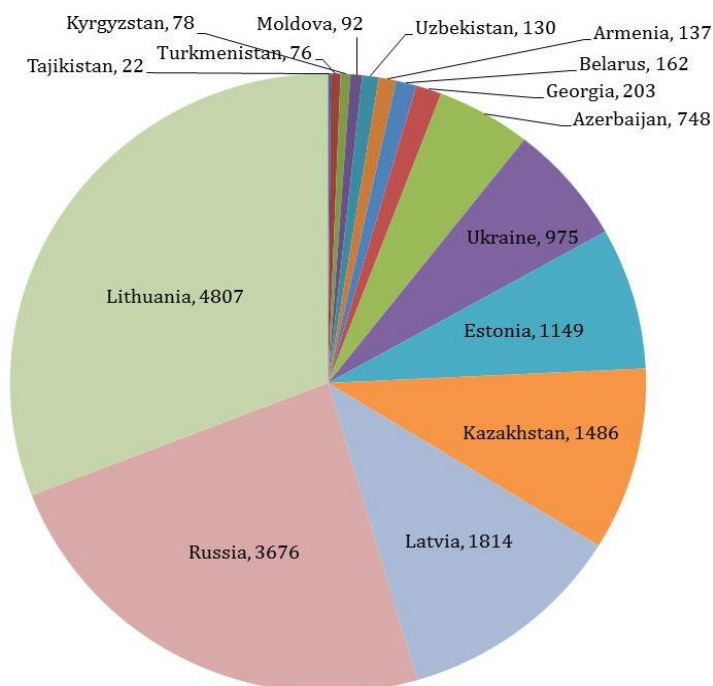
Source: own calculations based on UNESCO (2016a) data.

The relative attractiveness of the UK compared to other study destinations was highest among students in the Baltic states, where the UK ranks as the top destination for degree-mobile students (UNESCO, 2014b). A notable 42% of all degree-mobile students from Lithuania chose to study in the UK in 2013-14. This proportion was somewhat lower, yet still rather substantial for Latvia and Estonia with 33% and 28% respectively. In the following non-EU sending countries, significantly smaller proportions of mobile students choose to study in the UK: Russia (7%), Kazakhstan (4%), Azerbaijan (3%), and Ukraine (2%).

There has been a considerable increase in the number of degree-mobile students from the region since 1999 (Table 4). While during the academic year 1999-2000 only 1,993 students from post-Soviet countries studied in the UK for an undergraduate or postgraduate degree, this number has grown 16,090. The largest increase in the number of students from the region occurred in 2007-08 (34%), which seems driven by the strong growth in the numbers of students from Latvia (64%), Lithuania (53%), Estonia (47%), and Russia (18%), and by the doubling in the numbers of students from

Kazakhstan (198%) (Table 4). These figures are considerably larger than the 6% increase in the number of all degree-mobile students studying in the UK that was recorded by UNESCO for 2007-08. Following the increase in the tuition fees for UK/ EU students in England and Wales in 2012-13, student enrolment numbers from the region dropped slightly to 16,090, which is in line with the general decline by 3% in the numbers of degree-mobile students to the UK. With regard to degree-mobility from the post-Soviet countries, this recent drop involves declining numbers of students from Kazakhstan (-14%), Latvia (-7%), Estonia (-6%), and Georgia (-13%) (Table 4).

Table 4. Numbers of degree-mobile students from 15 post-Soviet countries to the UK, 1999-2000 to 2013-14

Country of origin	1999-2000	2000-01	2001-02	2002-03	2003-04	2004-05	2005-06	2006-07	2007-08	2008-09	2009-10	2010-11	2011-12	2012-13	2013-14	cumulative
Armenia	33	37	37	26	37	36	47	56	74	54	69	74	101	96	145	922
Azerbaijan	38	49	56	58	68	87	92	136	160	178	222	302	445	574	638	3103
Belarus	53	50	65	65	72	92	124	128	148	156	150	146	157	170	182	1758
Estonia	74	72	83	108	106	103	187	362	533	658	839	952	1061	1223	1152	7513
Georgia	54	51	64	64	61	80	86	118	146	173	177	261	267	252	221	2075
Kazakhstan	124	148	146	176	232	324	361	441	875	1178	1550	2054	2155	2014	1725	13503
Kyrgyzstan	17	19	27	24	36	70	67	69	77	70	82	70	72	61	78	839
Latvia	78	86	106	126	142	186	271	537	882	1145	1368	1623	2019	2232	2084	12885
Lithuania	80	77	94	122	131	210	421	969	1487	1968	2411	2913	3881	4916	5041	24721
Moldova	22	25	25	46	58	67	65	80	84	76	88	108	111	111	94	1060
Russia	982	1058	1370	1461	1601	1878	2027	2187	2580	2646	2953	3159	3303	3574	3604	34383
Tajikistan	11	13	12	15	25	35	40	44	65	53	59	54	40	36	31	533
Turkmenistan	7	9	16	15	13	26	26	27	39	46	46	58	63	63	73	527
Ukraine	284	315	356	367	432	511	524	490	495	495	535	591	663	822	893	7773
Uzbekistan	136	195	213	136	145	165	163	147	134	131	156	186	171	139	129	2346
Total	1993	2204	2670	2809	3159	3870	4501	5791	7779	9027	10705	12551	14509	16283	16090	113941

Source: own calculations based on UNESCO (2016a) data.

The most consistent growth over the entire 15-year period is observed for students from Russia. The increase in the number of Russian students was most prominent in 2001 (30%). Further marked increases occurred in 2004 (17%), 2007 (18%), and 2009 (12%). As the country has by far the largest mobile student population within the set, the development of student numbers from Russia is bound to have a strong influence on the overall dynamic.

The steepest increase pertains to the number of students from Lithuania, for whom dramatic growth occurred from 2004-05 with an average annual growth rate of 49%. This growth is particularly pronounced in 2005-06 (+101%) and 2006-07 (+130%), following Lithuania's accession to the EU in 2004. One may conceptualise the change in the student fee status from international to home/ EU as a major driving force in this development as it substantially reduced the cost of what is widely perceived as a world class education.

The development in the student enrolment numbers for the other Baltic states follows a similar pattern, yet the average annual growth rates are lower for Estonia (+31%) and Latvia (+34%). The higher student enrolment numbers from Lithuania may be explained to some degree by international qualification requirements for admission to UK universities. Lithuanian state school qualifications were recognised for direct entry into undergraduate programmes while those from Latvia and Estonia did not used to be up until 2015 (UCAS, 2015). Applicants from Latvia and Estonia used to be required to study for a one-year foundation degree. As governments in the Baltic states do not operate such large-scale government funding schemes for degree programmes as in some of the former Soviet countries outside the EU, the additional investment of finances and time required could have been a significant factor in deterring self-funded students from Estonia and Latvia from pursuing their undergraduate degrees in the UK.

Additional factors in accounting for the higher attraction of Lithuanian students may be a critical mass of returning Lithuanian alumni that contribute to recruitment indirectly through personal referral, as well as the growing Lithuanian diaspora in the UK. OECD records show 153,000 foreign-born Lithuanians living in the UK in 2013 (OECD, 2016).

Lithuania as the major supplier of students within the set is outperforming even Russia by 39%. However, numbers of Lithuanian students increased only very slightly in 2013-14 compared to the very substantial growth in previous years, while both Estonia and Latvia see a drop in the numbers of outwardly mobile students to the UK. This trend is in line with the more generalised drop in the numbers of degree-seeking students to the UK, following the increase in tuition fees for undergraduate students from the UK/ EU to £9,000 per year at most English HEIs (Times Higher Education, 2015).

Considering the non-EU senders within the set other than Russia, a rise in the number of students from Kazakhstan is observed between 2002-03 and 2011-12. Since then, however, the number of Kazakh students has contracted by 20%. Most likely, this decline in student numbers is a reflection of the elimination of undergraduate scholarships in the large-scale Bolashak government scholarship programme in 2011 (Nurbek et al., 2014).

Since 2009, the previously low numbers of students from Azerbaijan have been growing substantially at 30% per year on average. This growth may be traceable to more student recruitment by UK universities in response to market intelligence provided by the British Council, as well as the inception of a scholarship scheme for high-achieving Azerbaijani students who wish to pursue their degree studies abroad by the Azerbaijani government. Almost one-third of the recipients of SOCAR's 2642 Study Abroad Scholarships choose to study in the UK (State Oil Fund of the Republic of Azerbaijan, 2014).

Our recent study on the main rationales of HE internationalisation in the UK established that the key rationale is an economic one, while socio-cultural, political, and academic rationales also feature strongly (Chankseliani & Hessel, 2016). The UK government claims to support universities in attracting high quality students and the soft power they wield on behalf of the UK when they return home (Chankseliani & Hessel, 2016; Mellors-Bourne, Humfrey, Kemp, & Woodfield, 2013). Yet immigration policy and caps on post-study work visas instituted by the Home Office have presented an image of the UK as being unwelcoming to international students. It remains to be seen whether this will have a long-term impact on the numbers of mobile students from this region in particular.

Tuition fees in the UK are substantially higher than for most of the other EU destination countries. The annual tuition fee survey (Times Higher Education, 2015) shows that in 2015-16 the average annual tuition fees for full-time undergraduate students from outside the EU were £12,719 per year on average for classroom-based courses, £14,655 for laboratory-based degrees and £24,190 for clinical subjects (not capped). For home/ EU students fees are currently capped at £9,000 per year in England, at £3,805 in Northern Ireland and at £9,000 in Wales. Undergraduate studies in Scotland are currently tuition free for UK/EU students under 25 who have not been outside full-time education for more than 3 years. Tuition fees on postgraduate taught courses for UK/ EU students were £5,901 per year on average (£15,879 for MBA degrees). For non-EU students they were £12,892 per year on average for classroom-based courses, £15,213 for laboratory-based degrees, £18,905 for clinical subjects and £17,580 for MBA degrees.

Similar to most other target countries, more scholarship opportunities are available for master's and doctoral programmes than for undergraduate degree programmes. A scholarship search on Education UK lists 48 scholarship opportunities for students from former Soviet countries at the undergraduate level and 106 scholarship opportunities for postgraduate studies (master's/ doctoral degrees), most of which are partial and offered by individual HEIs (British Council, 2016). The UK government's Chevening scholarship programme also awards approximately 700 scholarships per year to postgraduate students from a range of countries, including the former Soviet countries (Foreign & Commonwealth Office, 2016). Moreover, UK Research Councils currently fund doctoral students from EU countries (tuition fees only) in the natural sciences (EPSRC), the social sciences (ESRC) and the humanities (AHRC).

Table 5. Pull of the UK's higher education system: degree-mobility from post-Soviet countries

Size of higher education system	There are 167 higher education providers in the UK. These include all publicly funded universities and other HE institutions in the UK, as well as the privately funded University of Buckingham (HESA, 2016a). There exists a growing body of alternative HE providers. There are 732 such organisations that offer HE courses but do not receive annual public funding (and are not further education colleges). The majority (88%) of undergraduate students enrolled at alternative providers are UK domiciled (HESA, 2016b)
Volume of international degree-seeking students hosted in 2013-14	436,545 (UNESCO, 2016a)
Volume of degree-seeking students from post-Soviet countries in 2013-14	16,090 (3.86% of all degree-mobile students hosted) (UNESCO, 2014b)
Main senders among post-Soviet countries	Lithuania (5,041), Russia (3,604), Latvia (2,084), Kazakhstan (1,725), Estonia (1,152) Ukraine (893), Azerbaijan (638)
Current smaller senders (100-500 students per year)	Georgia (221), Belarus (182), Armenia (145)
Tuition fee structure	In 2015-16 the average annual tuition fees for full-time undergraduate students from outside the EU were £12,719 per year on average for classroom-based courses, £14,655 for laboratory-based degrees and £24,190 for clinical subjects (not capped). For home/ EU students fees are currently capped at £9,000 per year in England, at £3,805 in Northern Ireland and at £9,000 in Wales. Undergraduate studies in Scotland are currently tuition free for UK/EU students under 25. Tuition fees for postgraduate taught courses for UK/ EU students were £5,901 per year on average (£15,879 for MBA degrees). For non-EU students they were £12,892 per year on average for classroom-based courses, £15,213 for laboratory-based degrees, £18,905 for clinical subjects and £17,580 for MBA degrees (Times Higher Education, 2015)
Funding opportunities for degree-seeking students	A scholarship search on Education UK lists 48 scholarship opportunities for students from former Soviet countries at the undergraduate level and 106 scholarship opportunities for postgraduate studies (master's/ doctoral degrees), most of which are partial and offered by individual higher education institutions (British Council, 2016). The UK government Chevening scholarship programme also awards approx. 700 scholarships per year to postgraduate students from a range of countries, including the former Soviet countries (Foreign & Commonwealth Office, 2016)
Visa regulations for international students	Degree-seeking students from outside the EU need to apply for a tier 4 study visa (cost of visa £328, plus the health surcharge £150 per year), providing evidence of their acceptance for studies by their sponsoring HEI, of their English language proficiency and of cash funds for the course fees (first year) and living costs for up to 9 months, and attend a personal interview (Government Digital Service, 2016). The visa permits part-time work for up to 20 hours per week during term time (full-time outside of term) in most professions, but not self-employment. Graduates of a recognised HEI may apply for a visa as graduate entrepreneur and undertake self-employment, or as exceptional talent recognised by an official body, as an employee (waged £33,900 or higher) or for the doctoral extension scheme, which grants doctoral graduates 12 months to seek employment in the UK (UKCISA, 2016)
Information channel for international students	Education UK: http://www.educationuk.org/global/

Poland

During the most recently reported year 2013-14, Poland attracted a total of 27,770 degree-mobile international students (UNESCO, 2016a). 34% (9,485 students) of the international degree-seeking students were from Ukraine. The next largest international student groups are from Belarus (3,413) and Norway (1,369). In 2013-14, Poland hosted 15,409 degree-seeking students from former Soviet countries. This is a substantial share of 55% of all degree-mobile international students studying in Poland (UNESCO, 2016a).

Since 1999, Ukraine, Belarus, Lithuania, Russia, and Kazakhstan have consistently been the main senders of students to Poland (Table 6). The smallest senders of students to Poland are Estonia, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan (Figure 6).

Figure 6. Composition of degree-mobile students from post-Soviet countries to Poland, 2013-14[4]
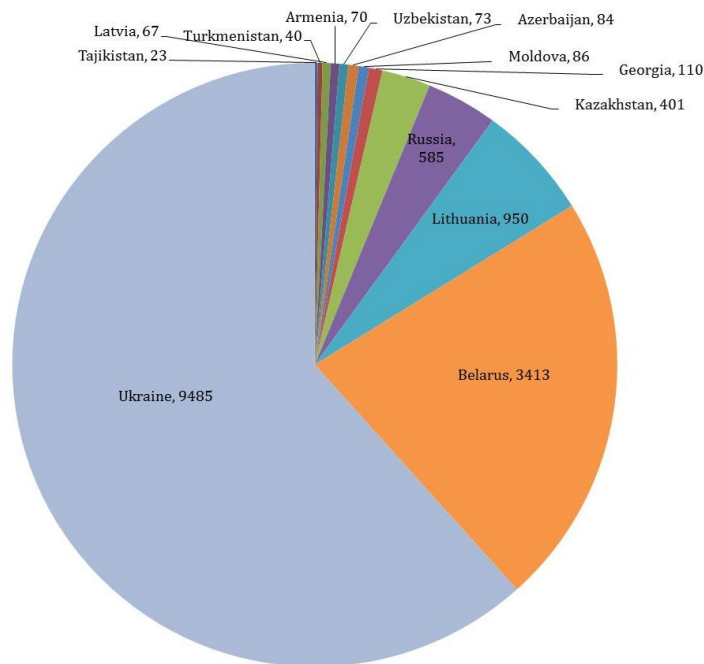
Source: own calculations based on UNESCO (2016a) data.

In contrast to some of the other major EU destinations such as France, Germany, and the UK, the inflow of degree-mobile students from the region has exhibited consistent growth since the late 1990s, without any decline. Particularly large growth occurred in 2002-03 (+19%), 2005-06 (+21%), 2010-11 (+19%), 2012-13 (+22%) and most significantly for the most recent year 2013-14 (+35%) (Table 6). The observed growth spurts in student enrolment numbers from the region were strongly driven by the student inflows from Ukraine and more recently Belarus. This inflow of Ukrainian students accounts for most of the increase in the total number of degree-seeking international students that Poland hosted in 2013-14. With the exception of the peak in 2002-03, these increases in the numbers of students from the region exceed the total growth in flows of international degree-seeking students in Poland. This indicates a growing attraction to Poland among students from the region, particularly so during the most recent year.

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[4] Countries that sent less than 20 students are not included.

Table 6. Numbers of degree-mobile students from 15 post-Soviet countries to Poland, 1999-2000 to 2013-14

Country of origin	1999-2000	2000-01	2001-02	2002-03	2003-04	2004-05	2005-06	2006-07	2007-08	2008-09	2009-10	2010-11	2011-12	2012-13	2013-14	cumulative
Armenia	16	19	26	24	28	43	64	90	95	88	123	122	67	74	70	949
Azerbaijan	4	2	1	..	1	10	13	14	20	25	33	31	29	53	84	320
Belarus	693	831	909	1002	1088	1171	1370	1483	1780	1922	2074	2522	2641	2991	3413	25890
Estonia	17	17	19	17	14	15	18	13	17	12	14	11	11	7	7	209
Georgia	8	8	10	19	21	30	43	47	37	50	60	70	55	64	110	632
Kazakhstan	321	363	409	411	430	422	447	457	449	426	397	399	369	384	401	6085
Kyrgyzstan	4	6	5	33	5	6	11	19	20	13	17	18	19	15	15	206
Latvia	53	54	54	66	71	59	63	72	64	50	53	58	58	52	67	894
Lithuania	467	515	634	753	628	543	558	485	397	543	570	703	795	942	950	9483
Moldova	23	33	45	55	64	70	88	84	87	89	90	97	88	89	86	1088
Russia	251	262	289	291	346	381	452	456	488	459	494	543	476	553	585	6326
Tajikistan	1	1	0	1	1	0	2	2	3	3	4	5	5	11	23	62
Turkmenistan	2	3	5	7	13	12	15	16	26	20	24	30	29	42	40	284
Ukraine	868	1073	1272	1693	1809	1880	2470	2482	2672	2877	3210	3951	4717	6118	9485	46577
Uzbekistan	6	7	14	21	23	35	50	55	66	56	61	60	52	56	73	635
Total	2734	3194	3692	4393	4542	4677	5664	5775	6221	6633	7224	8620	9411	11451	15409	99640

Source: own calculations based on UNESCO (2016a) data.

In terms of its relative attractiveness within the different source countries, Poland has enjoyed by far the greatest popularity among Ukrainian students with 24% of all outwardly mobile students from Ukraine choosing Poland as a destination for study in 2013-14. In Belarus, Russia is currently by far the most popular destination country attracting 74% of all outwardly mobile students, followed by Poland (10%). Moreover in 2013-14, Poland attracted 8% of all degree-mobile students from Lithuania. Poland's share of degree-mobile students from Russia, however, was only 1% (UNESCO, 2014b).

Almost half of all degree-mobile students from the former Soviet countries that Poland has hosted since 1999 have come from Ukraine. During the most recently reported academic year 2013-14, student numbers continued to rise sharply from 6,118 to 9,485 (+55%) (Table 6). Thus, almost two thirds of all degree-mobile students from the region and more than one third of all international degree-seeking students studying in Poland in 2013-14 were from Ukraine. This inflow of Ukrainian students accounts for most of the increase in the total number of degree-seeking international students that Poland hosted in 2013-14.

Diaspora effect may be strong in this case as there could have been up to 400,000 Ukrainians living within Poland's borders in 2015 (Kontowski & Altbach, 2015). Observers have also explained the strong momentum of student mobility from Poland's neighbour Ukraine with the ongoing conflict with Russia and Poland's diplomatic positioning (ICEF Monitor, 2016b). For example, in 2014-15 Poland launched the second phase of the Polish ERASMUS for Ukraine scholarship programme, providing study abroad scholarships for two semesters for 400 undergraduates and 50 postgraduates (Ministry of Science and Higher Education, 2016b). Sharing of experiences of life and study in Poland by hundreds of Ukrainian students with peers back home, as well as their own aspirations to return for degree studies may play a major role in increasing Poland's popularity among young Ukrainians even further. Continued support of student mobility from Ukraine, as well as other countries of the Eastern Partnership features as a key objective in Poland's *2016-2020 Higher Education Internationalization Programme* (Ministry of Science and Higher Education, 2015a).

The neighbouring country Belarus emerges as the second largest post-Soviet sender with 25,890 students overall and 3,413 students in 2013-14. Mobile student numbers from Belarus to Poland have been growing consistently since 1999. The most marked increases occurred in 2000-01 (+20%), 2005-06 (+17%), 2007-08 (+20%), 2010-11 (+22%), and in 2013-14 (+14%). The growth since 2007 onwards may be linked to the introduction of the Polish charter which enables students from Belarus and other former Soviet countries to study at Polish public HEIs free of charge, as well as providing access to student loans and other forms of state support that is only available to Polish students.

Poland's neighbour Lithuania is the third largest sender within the set both currently and cumulatively since the late 1990s. Despite sharing the same status as EU-students, current and cumulative student numbers from Lithuania are more than ten times higher than those from Latvia and considerably higher than those from Estonia (Table 6). This striking difference in student inflow may be explained in part by the geographic proximity and familiarity with Poland, as well as the large community of Polish speakers in Lithuania - 200,317 individuals in 2011, according to Statistics Lithuania (2013).

Lithuanian student numbers in Poland grew from 467 students in 1999-2000 to 753 students in 2002-03 (+61%). However, right after the countries' accession to the EU in 2004, student mobility from Lithuania to Poland shows a decline that is similar to some of the other EU destination countries, such as Denmark and the Netherlands. Numbers of Lithuanian students fell by 47% from 753 students in 2002-03 to 397 students in 2007-08. This trend seems to suggest that changes in access to other European HE systems lead a considerable number of Lithuanian students to choosing other EU countries, most importantly perhaps the UK. This trend is then reversed from 2008-09, when numbers of Lithuanian students in Poland start to grow again (Table 6).

The major non-EU senders Russia and Kazakhstan have been sending fairly similar numbers of students to Poland. However, while the numbers of degree-mobile students from Kazakhstan have been more or less plateauing since 2009-10, an increase of 18% is observed for degree-mobile from Russia during the same period (Table 6).

Poland hosts the third highest volume of students from the region (after Germany and the UK) despite the fact that it may lag behind other European destinations in terms of internationalisation, accreditation/quality assurance, and student support services. What attracts students from post-Soviet countries to Poland then? Historic ties, cultural affinity and special status of students from the region with the Polish Charter, which entitles them to free education and scholarship opportunities.

Tuition fees at public HEIs apply according to student status. Home/ EU students and holders of the Polish Charter (Karta Polaka) study may study at public HEIs free of charge (Ministry of Science and Higher Education, 2016c). Degree-seeking students from outside the EU are liable for tuition fees. However, students from former Soviet countries are eligible for the Polish Charter (introduced in 2007) that entitles a holder to undertake degree studies at state-funded institutions on the same terms as home students (Ministry of Science and Higher Education, 2012).

Moreover, there are currently at least four scholarship programmes for degree-seeking international students, most of which are targeted specifically at students from former Soviet countries:

- The Visegrad Scholarship programme which partially funds postgraduate studies at the master's and doctoral level for students from Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Russia, and Ukraine (International Visegrad Fund, 2016);

- The Stefan Banach Scholarship programme which funds master's and doctoral programmes for students from Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova, and Ukraine (Ministry of Science and Higher Education, 2016b);

- The Eastern Studies bachelor's and master's programme scholarships at the University of Warsaw for students from Eastern Europe, Russia, Caucasus and Central Asia (Uniwersytet Warszawski, 2016);

- The Konstanty Kalinowski Scholarship programme which provides 'politically and socially active Belarusians who, due to their political engagement, cannot advance in their home tertiary education system' with scholarships for undergraduate and graduate programmes in all fields of study (Uniwersytet Warszawski, 2016).

As holders of the Polish Charter, students from former Soviet countries are entitled to the same forms of financial assistance with their studies as their Polish peers, including maintenance grants, special grants for the disabled, merit-based scholarships, and assistance grants (Ministry of Science and Higher Education, 2016a).

In 2013-14, 405 of the 8,300 degree programmes (5%) offered by Polish HEIs were entirely taught in English (Wächter & Maiworm, 2014). The low spread of EMI in Poland has previously been explained with limited funding, lack of government incentives to internationalise, and insufficient English proficiency of Polish university staff. More than half of these EMI programmes were offered at the master's level (Giezynska, 2015).

According to the Polish Ministry of Science and Higher Education, the Polish HE sector is one of the least internationalised in the OECD, which it attributes to the low rankings of Polish universities internationally, citations of academic output produced in Polish universities, international mobility of academic staff, and the competitiveness of HE programmes (Ministry of Science and Higher Education, 2015b). In June 2015, the Ministry launched its first internationalisation strategy, the *Higher Education Internationalisation Programme*, shortly after it announced its new mobility target of attracting 100,000 foreign students to Poland per year by 2020. The new HE internationalisation programme provides funding mainly for the development of degree programmes in foreign languages, joint education projects and e-learning programmes, for the training of university staff in languages and international best practices, for the mobility of Polish students and staff, for attracting the best students to Poland through merit-based scholarship programmes and for funding international researchers to undertake their doctoral and post-doctoral research in Poland. Increasing inward and outward student mobility features among the strategy's key objectives (Ministry of Science and Higher Education, 2015a).

Table 7. Pull of Poland's HE system: degree-mobility from post-Soviet countries

Size of HE system	436 HEIs, of which 295 are private; approx. 8,300 degree programmes (Giezynska, 2015; Wächter & Maiworm, 2014)
Volume of international degree-seeking students hosted in 2013-14	27,770 (UNESCO, 2016a)
Volume of degree-seeking students from post-Soviet countries in 2013-14	15,409 (UNESCO, 2016a)
Main senders among post-Soviet countries	Ukraine (9,485), Belarus (3,413), Lithuania (950), Russia (585), Kazakhstan (401)
Current smaller senders (100-500 students per year)	Georgia (110)
Tuition fee structure	As holders of the Polish Charter, students from former Soviet countries may undertake degree-studies at state-funded institutions free of charge (Ministry of Science and Higher Education, 2016a). Tuition fees apply to private institutions.
Funding opportunities for degree-seeking students	There are currently 5 government-funded scholarship programmes targeted at students from former Soviet countries, most of which are available at postgraduate level (Ministry of Science and Higher Education, 2016b). As holders of the Polish Charter, students from former Soviet countries are also entitled to the same forms of financial assistance with their studies as their Polish peers (Ministry of Science and Higher Education, 2016a)
Linguistic access and spread of EMI	In 2013-14, 405 of approx. 8,300 degree programmes (4.9%) were entirely taught in English (Wächter & Maiworm, 2014). Most of these programmes (232) were offered at the master's level (Giezynska, 2015). 17.8% of all Polish HEIs offered EMI programmes (Wächter & Maiworm, 2014)
Visa regulations for international students	EU-students need to register with the provincial office upon arrival. Degree-seeking students from non-EU countries need to apply for a type D entry visa. Upon arrival, they need to apply for a temporary residence permit, renewable after 15 months and for the duration of their studies (Ministry of Science and Higher Education, 2016d). Full-time degree-seeking international students (EU and non-EU) may undertake paid work and internships during their studies without having to apply for a work permit. Graduates of Polish HEIs only need a residence but no work permit for seeking employment (IOM, 2016)
Information channel for international students	Ready, Study, Go! Poland: http://www.go-poland.pl

France

In 2013-14, France hosted a total 235,123 or 6% of all international degree-mobile students (OECD, 2015a; UNESCO, 2016a). The inbound mobility rate is 10.2%, which is similar to that of its European competitors Denmark (10%), Belgium (10%), and the Czech Republic (9%) (UNESCO, 2014b). Similar to Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Germany, France's international student body shows a relatively high degree of diversification (Kelo, Teichler, & Wächter, 2006), in which the ten largest student groups constitute less than 50% of the entire international student population (UNESCO, 2014b). The biggest senders to France are China, Morocco, and Algeria. None of the post-Soviet countries are among the top ten senders to France.

With an annual volume of 8,434 students from the region (UNESCO, 2016a), France is the fourth most popular European destination for degree mobile students from former Soviet countries. The largest number of degree-mobile students comes from Russia, which is currently the 13th biggest sender of international degree-seeking students to France, followed by students from Ukraine, Moldova, and Armenia (Figure 7). Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Kyrgyzstan are the smallest senders.

Figure 7. Composition of students from post-Soviet countries to France, 2013-14[5]
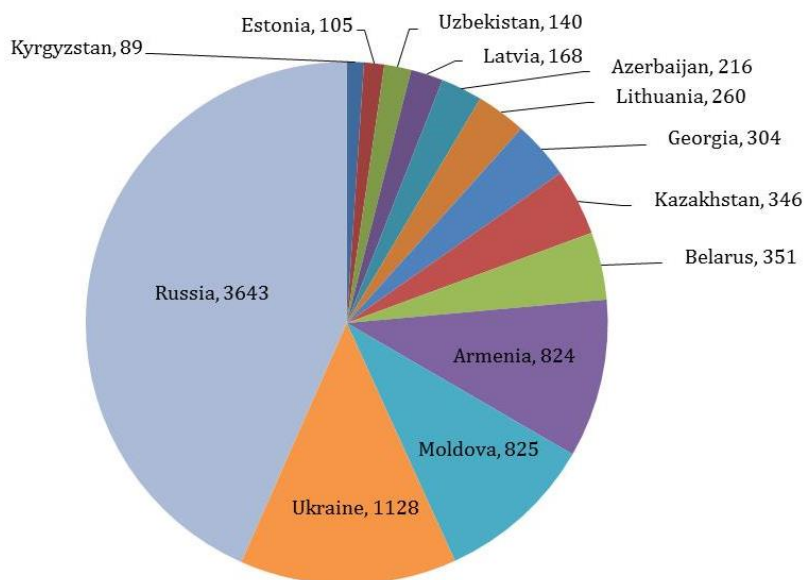
Source: own calculations based on UNESCO (2016a) data.

In terms of the current popularity, France was among the top eight study destinations for students from Armenia, Russia Belarus, Kyrgyzstan, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldova, and Ukraine (Appendix 1). Armenia clearly takes the lead with 12.7% of degree-mobile Armenian students choosing France as a study destination, followed by Russia (7%) and Moldova (5%), while the proportion of Ukrainian mobile students who choose to study in France is at only 2.8% (UNESCO, 2014b).

Since the late 1990s, France has seen a four-fold increase in the number of degree-seeking students from the region (Table 8). During the most recently reported year 2013-14, there appears to be a generalised drop in student enrolment from the region which affects all countries except Kazakhstan and Tajikistan and which is particularly sharp (>25%) for students from Ukraine, Belarus, and Georgia. The observed pattern of decline for these countries is in line with the drop in the total numbers of international students to France from 271,399 students in 2012 to 228,639 students in 2013-14 (-16%).

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[5] Countries that sent less than 20 students are not included.

Table 8. Numbers of degree-students from post-Soviet countries to France, 1999-2000 to 2013-14

Country of origin	1999-2000	2000-01	2001-02	2002-03	2003-04	2004-05	2005-06	2006-07	2007-08	2008-09	2009-10	2010-11	2011-12	2012-13	2013-14	cumulative
Armenia	114	128	166	184	248	290	279	717	282	482	525	777	806	888	824	6710
Azerbaijan	38	55	81	99	138	171	178	189	183	164	190	210	232	252	216	2396
Belarus	143	174	191	322	416	465	518	562	536	517	514	496	569	526	351	6300
Estonia	30	51	69	68	104	107	106	123	122	128	101	113	134	132	105	1493
Georgia	78	68	98	146	205	275	306	367	387	409	422	419	393	427	304	4304
Kazakhstan	60	78	74	84	115	135	132	174	184	200	232	246	303	326	346	2689
Kyrgyzstan	..	13	23	37	..	74	87	97	110	101	105	98	102	95	89	1031
Latvia	58	50	64	78	107	145	130	153	147	165	164	176	182	179	168	1966
Lithuania	68	81	114	128	189	229	246	235	257	237	227	242	241	285	260	3039
Moldova	74	100	158	239	363	463	519	634	751	794	884	922	993	1001	825	8720
Russia	1267	1453	1658	1925	2537	2597	2672	3083	3219	3347	3593	3822	4193	4300	3643	43309
Tajikistan	4	7	3	2	10	9	12	21	22	28	23	14	30	14	16	215
Turkmenistan	3	7	7	13	18	24	19	23	13	11	16	19	14	23	19	229
Ukraine	244	338	414	525	820	924	1066	1194	1259	1307	1334	1449	1532	1524	1128	15058
Uzbekistan	30	44	55	64	70	89	89	109	118	126	155	159	162	162	140	1572
Total	2211	2647	3175	3914	5340	5997	6359	7681	7590	8016	8485	9162	9886	10134	8434	99031

Source: own calculations based on UNESCO (2016a) data.

Much of the overall development in student enrolment numbers from the region reflects development in the mobility patterns from Russia and Ukraine, which are the two largest senders. The student enrolment numbers from these countries increased disproportionally and most significantly in 2003-4 (both countries) and again in 2006-7 (Russia only). The strongest total increase in student enrolment has been recorded for students from Moldova, whose numbers have grown more than ten-fold from 74 students in 1999-2000 to 825 students in 2013-14 (Table 8). Surprisingly perhaps, Moldova and Armenia as two rather small countries are the third and fourth largest senders of degree-mobile students to France within the set, just behind Russia and Ukraine. Armenia sends 824 degree-mobile students per year. Significantly, it is the country where the popularity of France as a destination for study is by far the highest at the moment with 12.7% of all degree-mobile students choosing to undertake degree studies in France. The disproportionally strong attraction among Armenian students may also be explained in part by the extensive diaspora of Armenians in France, which with an estimated 500,000 individuals is the largest in Europe and the third largest in the world (American Press, 2012).

From a financial perspective, France seems to be one of the most viable study destinations in Europe. Annual tuition fees at public institutions in France equally apply to all students and are regulated by law. According to Campus France, the national agency for promoting French HE, in 2015-16 tuition fees varied between approximately €200 (undergraduate) and €400 (doctoral).

30% of degree and credit-mobile incoming students receive need-based scholarships (Pol & Sursock, 2015, p. 102). There are also designated scholarships available for students from post-Soviet countries. CampusBourses, the centralised grant search engine, yields currently 104 funding opportunities for students from former Soviet countries, of which 21 are at bachelor's, 71 at master's and 50 at doctoral level. The majority are full postgraduate scholarships provided either by individual French HEIs, the French government, or French foundations (Campus France, 2016a).

Despite the good reputation of French HE and the relative affordability, France is not as popular as Germany, the UK, and Poland. Linguistic access could be one of the key impediments for students from this region. The spread of English as a medium of instruction in France is among the lowest in Europe. In 2014, approximately 16% of all HEIs were offering English taught degree programmes (Wächter & Maiworm, 2014). Only 1262 of the approximately 14,500 degree programmes offered are currently fully taught in English (Campus France, 2016d).

French language proficiency is one of the conditions for obtaining a student visa. Non-EU students need to apply for an extended-stay visa with residency permit (VLS-TS) upon receiving their preliminary admission certificate, subject to annual renewal. Priority is given to those applying for master's and doctoral programmes, to holders of a French baccalauréat, applicants to programmes that prepare students for the Grandes Écoles and to selective short programmes (Campus France, 2016c).

Finally, all students have the right to work up to 964 hours per year, which corresponds to 18.5 hours per week. Non-EU students holding a master's degree or equivalent may apply for a non-renewable one-year residency authorisation upon completing their studies, which permits any type of employment up to 60% full-time. Students who secure full-time employment related to their field of study may apply for a change in visa status from student to employee (Campus France, 2016e).

Table 9. Pull of France's HE system: degree-mobility from post-Soviet countries

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Size of HE system	73 public universities, 517 specialised schools (écoles), 30 public research institutes, grouped into 26 clusters; approx. 14,500 degree programmes
Volume of international degree-seeking students hosted in 2013-14	235,123 (UNESCO, 2016a)
Volume of degree-seeking students from post-Soviet countries in 2013-14	8,434 (3.52% of all degree-mobile students hosted) (UNESCO, 2014b)
Current main senders among post-Soviet countries	Russia (3,643), Ukraine (1,128), Moldova (825), Estonia (538) and Armenia (824)
Current smaller senders (100-500 students per year)	Belarus (351), Kazakhstan (346), Georgia (304), Lithuania (260), Azerbaijan (216), Latvia (168), Uzbekistan (140) and Estonia (105)
Tuition fee structure	Annual tuition fees at public institutions equally apply to all students and are regulated by law. In 2015-16, fees varied by degree level between approx. €200 (undergraduate) and €400 (doctoral). Tuition fees at private institutions are considerably higher (Campus France, 2016b)
Funding opportunities for degree-seeking students	CampusBourses generates 104 funding opportunities for students from former Soviet countries, of which 21 are at the bachelor's, 71 at master's and 50 at doctoral level. The majority are full postgraduate scholarships provided either by individual French HEIs (42), the French government (21) and French foundations (22) (Campus France, 2016a)
Linguistic access and spread of EMI	The spread of English as a medium of instruction (EMI) in France is among the lowest in Europe. In 2014, approx. 16% of all HEIs were offering English taught degree programmes (Wächter & Maiworm, 2014). Only 1262 of the approx. 14,500 degree programmes offered at French HEIs are currently fully taught in English (Campus France, 2016d)
Visa regulations for international students	Non-EU students, except those from Algeria need to apply for an extended-stay visa with residency permit (VLS-TS) upon receiving their preliminary admission certificate, subject to annual renewal. Priority is given to those applying for master's and doctoral programmes, to holders of a French baccalauréat, applicants to programmes that prepare students for the grandes écoles and to selective short programs (Campus France, 2016c). All students have the right to work up to 964 hours per year, which corresponds to 18.5 hours per week. Non-EU students holding a master's degree or equivalent may apply for a non-renewable 1-year residency authorisation upon completing their studies, which permits any type of employment up to 60% full-time. Students who secure full-time employment *related to their field of study* may apply for a change in visa status from student to employee (Campus France, 2016e)
Information channel for international students	Campus France: http://www.campusfrance.org/

The Czech Republic

During the most recently recorded academic year 2013-14, the Czech Republic hosted a total of 40,138 internationally mobile students (UNESCO, 2016a). A substantial proportion of 24,300 students (60.54%) were from its neighbour Slovakia, which is currently the top country of origin of international students in the Czech Republic, followed by Russia, Ukraine, and Kazakhstan (UNESCO, 2014b). In 2013-14, one fifth (8,017) of the total number of international students in the Czech Republic came from former Soviet countries. Up to 89% of these students were from Russia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan, or Belarus (Figure 8). In 2013-14, all four countries ranked among the six largest international student groups in the Czech Republic (UNESCO, 2014b). Estonia, Latvia, Turkmenistan, Lithuania, and Tajikistan are the smallest senders within the set.

Figure 8. Composition of degree-mobile students from post-Soviet countries to the Czech Republic, 2013-14[6]
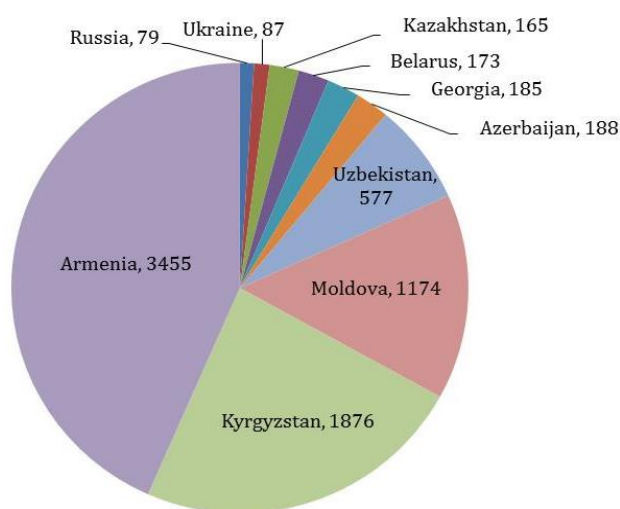
Source: own calculations based on UNESCO (2016a) data.

In terms of the current popularity, the Czech Republic is among the top five study destinations for students from Russia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and Belarus (Appendix 1). Considering its relative attractiveness within each of the major sending countries in 2013-14, the Czech Republic was most popular with students from Russia, where 7% of all degree-mobile students chose this country as a destination for study, followed by students in Ukraine (5%).

Since 1999, the Czech Republic has received a total of 45,079 students from the region. It is the 5th most popular EU destination country after Germany, the UK, Poland, and France. As many as 87% of these students came from either Russia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan, or Belarus (UNESCO, 2016a). The total student number hosted by the Czech Republic has been less than half of the volume of students hosted by France in 1999-2014. However, in 2013-14 the annual enrolment number of students from the region is almost the same for the Czech Republic and France (Table 8, Table 9). This is because in contrast to its competitor France, the Czech Republic has seen consistent growth in the numbers of students from the region. The increase in the numbers of students from the region has been particularly strong between the years 2001-02 and 2005-06 from 319 to 1,834 students (Table 10). During that time period, the Czech Republic experienced rather substantial average annual growth of 28% in the total number of degree-seeking international students (UNESCO, 2016a). Yet, growth in the enrolments of students from former Soviet countries in particular was even stronger at 42% per year on average. Pronounced increase in student enrolment numbers from former Soviet countries also occurred in 2009-10 (+24%) and in 2010-11 (+30%) which is again markedly higher than the growth that observed in the number of international degree-seeking students, which was +10% in 2009-10 and +14% in 2010-11 (Table 10). Up until 2002-03, the growth in student enrolment from the region was largely driven by Russia and Ukraine, while in subsequent years all four major senders - Russia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and Belarus – contributed to the increase in international enrolments.

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[6] Countries that sent less than 20 students are not included.

Table 10. Numbers of degree-mobile students from post-Soviet countries to the Czech Republic, 1999-2000 to 2013-14

Country of origin	1999-2000	2000-01	2001-02	2002-03	2003-04	2004-05	2005-06	2006-07	2007-08	2008-09	2009-10	2010-11	2011-12	2012-13	2013-14	cumulative
Armenia	20	23	24	24	29	35	45	39	46	52	58	67	84	81	79	706
Azerbaijan	8	13	12	13	12	16	19	19	22	36	46	58	86	133	185	678
Belarus	14	21	39	57	117	173	210	257	317	355	387	462	523	527	577	4036
Estonia	7	5	3	4	3	2	5	6	6	3	2	4	9	11	9	79
Georgia	15	15	16	19	19	15	30	32	41	54	76	98	117	109	188	844
Kazakhstan	10	18	27	34	44	75	124	159	238	332	490	679	821	979	1174	5204
Kyrgyzstan	5	7	7	7	8	7	25	46	47	42	42	46	66	72	87	514
Latvia	4	2	7	7	6	6	11	9	12	9	11	10	8	9	10	121
Lithuania	8	6	7	6	4	3	4	8	14	11	13	15	11	15	14	139
Moldova	2	4	12	19	29	34	37	51	61	79	99	141	167	176	165	1076
Russian	97	110	160	203	305	407	609	782	1088	1405	1768	2297	2588	2912	3455	18186
Tajikistan	9	10	8	8	11	11	13	12	12	13	14	13	7	12	14	167
Turkmenistan	1	1	3	3	6	1	9	8	9	6	9	15	10	7	11	99
Ukraine	66	77	122	192	302	397	603	685	774	907	1086	1443	1556	1727	1876	11813
Uzbekistan	3	7	7	7	10	31	90	104	115	147	175	190	185	173	173	1417
Total	269	319	454	603	905	1213	1834	2217	2802	3451	4276	5538	6238	6943	8017	45079

Source: own calculations based on UNESCO (2016a) data.

The numbers of Russian students studying in the Czech Republic have exhibited the steepest growth from only 97 students in 1999-2000 to as many as 3,455 students in 2013-14, with average annual growth of 30%. As the largest sender, Russia has sent 18,186 or 40% of all students from the region to the Czech Republic (Table 10). Similarly, student numbers from Ukraine (11,813) have grown consistently throughout the entire 15-year period, from 66 students in 1999-2000 to 1,876 students in 2013-14. However, the enrolment numbers of students from Ukraine flattened out somewhat after 2011-12, exhibiting an average annual growth of 10% as compared to 31% previously.

For the third and fourth most significant sending countries - Kazakhstan and Belarus - marked growth in the numbers of degree-mobile students to the Czech Republic occurred from 2003 onwards. This growth has been more pronounced for degree-mobile students from Kazakhstan, whose numbers have been going up by 37% per year on average. Annual growth for students from Belarus was more moderate at an average of 26%, with numbers plateauing in 2012-13, followed by a further 9% increase in 2013-14 (Table 10).

In 2013-14, a number of smaller senders from the region also sent more than 100 students to the Czech Republic, including Azerbaijan, Georgia, Moldova, and Uzbekistan. While Uzbekistan and Moldova have been consistently sending over 100 students per year for the last 5 years, student numbers from these two countries have been plateauing or declining since 2012. In contrast, the attraction of the Czech Republic seems to have grown recently among students from Azerbaijan and Georgia. In 2013-14, student numbers from Azerbaijan went up by 39% and a remarkable increase of 72% was observed for degree-mobile students from Georgia (Table 10).

Degree programmes at public HEIs taught in Czech are currently tuition-free. Programmes taught in English start at €500 per year, with fees varying across institutions. Tuition fees at private institutions range between €3,000 and €10,000 per year (Centre for International Cooperation in Education, 2016b). There are more private (42) than public (26) HEIs operating in the Czech Republic.

The Czech government awards full scholarships to undergraduate and postgraduate students from developing countries, including Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, and Uzbekistan. 21,500 such scholarships have been awarded since the 1950s (Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports, 2016). The programme funds bachelor's and master's degrees in Czech (including a one-year preparatory Czech language course), as well as selected master's and doctoral programmes in English at public research universities. Since 2006-07, the South Moravian Centre for International Mobility has been awarding partial scholarships (€250 per month) to non-EU students proficient in Czech who wish to pursue postgraduate degrees in the natural sciences and technical subjects at one of the selected Czech partner universities (approx. 22 scholarships per year) (JCMM, 2016).

In 2013-14, 202 out of the approximately 3,200 degree programmes (6%) offered by Czech HEIs were entirely taught in English, compared to 41 programmes in 2006-07 (Wächter & Maiworm, 2014). Such EMI degree programmes were offered by 22 out of 70 Czech HEIs (31%).

Table 11. Pull of the Czech Republic's HE system: degree-mobility from post-Soviet countries

Size of HE system	26 public HEIs (incl. 25 research universities), 2 state HEIs (Police Academy of the Czech Republic, University of Defence) and 42 private HEIs (incl. 4 research universities) (Centre for International Cooperation in Education, 2016c)
Volume of international degree-seeking students hosted in 2013-14	40,138 (UNESCO, 2016a)
Volume of degree-seeking students from post-Soviet countries in 2013-14	8,017 (UNESCO, 2016a)
Main senders among post-Soviet countries	Russia (3,455), Ukraine (1,876), Kazakhstan (1,174), Belarus (577)
Current smaller senders (100-500 students per year)	Georgia (188), Azerbaijan (185), Uzbekistan (173), Moldova (165)
Tuition fee structure	Degree programmes at public and state-operated HEIs taught in Czech are tuition-free. Programmes taught in English start at €500 per year and fees vary across institutions. Tuition fees at private HEIs vary between €3,000 and €10,000 per year (Centre for International Cooperation in Education, 2016b)
Funding opportunities for degree-seeking students	The Czech government awards full scholarships to undergraduate and postgraduate students from developing countries (21,500 awards since the 1950s), including all non-EU former Soviet countries (Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports, 2016). The programme funds bachelor's and master's degrees in Czech (including a one-year preparatory Czech language course) and selected master's and doctoral programmes in English. Since 2006-07, the South Moravian Centre for International Mobility has been awarding partial scholarships (€250 per month) to non-EU students proficient in Czech who wish to pursue postgraduate degrees in the natural sciences and technical subjects (approx. 22 scholarships per year) (JCMM, 2016)
Linguistic access and spread of EMI	The main language of instruction is Czech. In 2013-14, 202 out of the approx. 3,200 degree programmes (6.3%) offered by Czech HEIs were fully taught in English, compared to 41 programmes in 2006-07 (Wächter & Maiworm, 2014). In 2013-14, such EMI programmes were offered by 22 out of 70 HEIs (31.4%)
Visa regulations for international students	All international students need to register with the local Foreign Police Department upon arrival. Degree-seeking students from outside the EU need to apply for a long-term residence permit for study purposes from the local Czech embassy (renewable after 1 year). If studying on an accredited degree programme, this visa includes similarly unrestricted work hours as apply to EU students. Non-EU graduates who secure a job may apply for an employee card, which permits long-term residence (Centre for International Cooperation in Education, 2016a, 2016d)
Information channel for international students	Study in the Czech Republic: http://www.studyin.cz/

Italy

In 2013-14, Italy hosted a total of 82,450 degree-mobile international students (UNESCO, 2016a). The largest international student groups pursuing their degree studies in Italy are from Albania (11,637), China (9,788), Romania (6,552), Iran (3,637), and Greece (3,022).

9% of internationally mobile students studying in Italy came from former Soviet countries (UNESCO, 2014b). During the most recently reported academic year 2013-14, a 12% increase in enrolment numbers of students from the region has been recorded (Table 12). Russia, Moldova, and Ukraine are the three biggest senders from the region and currently rank as the top seventh, eighth and ninth countries of origin of international students in Italy (UNESCO, 2014b). Compared to these three major senders, the number of students from Belarus was considerably lower (Figure 9). Five other post-Soviet countries sent more than 100 students to Italy in 2013-14, including Armenia, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Latvia, and Lithuania. Thus, Italy appears to attract a more diverse body of students from former Soviet countries as compared to other popular EU destinations, such as Poland, Finland, or the Netherlands.

Figure 9. Composition of degree-mobile students from post-Soviet to Italy, 2013-14[7]
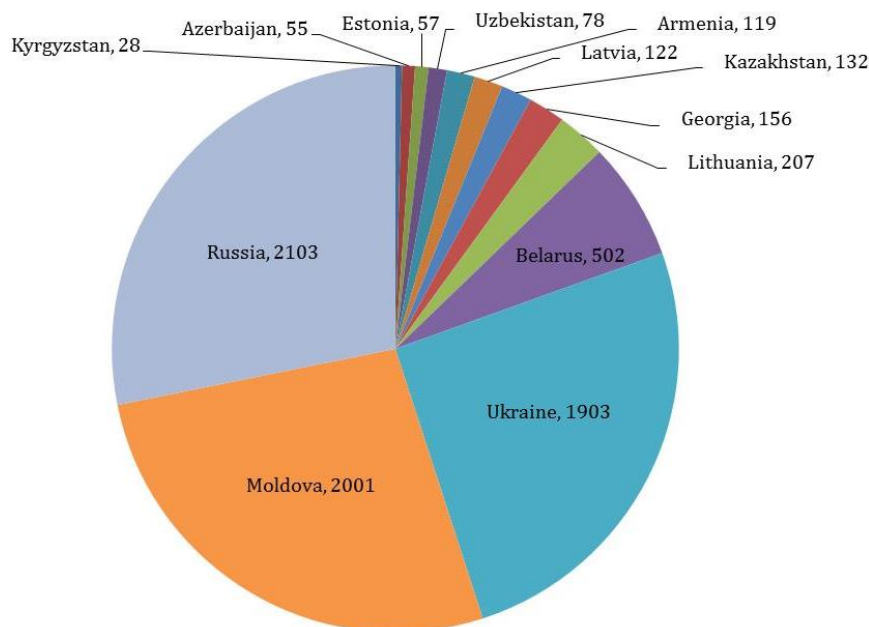
Source: own calculations based on UNESCO (2016a) data.

In relative terms, Italy currently enjoys the most popularity in Moldova, where 11.51% of all outwardly mobile students choose to undertake their degree studies Italy. Its popularity within the other two major sending countries Russia and Ukraine is lower and highly similar at 4.15% and 4.80% respectively. Controlling for the size of the outwardly mobile student population in each sending country also reveals that the attraction of degree-mobile students to Italy is higher in Armenia (1.83%) than it is in the fourth largest sender Belarus (1.40%) (UNESCO, 2014b).

Since 1999, enrolment numbers of students from post-Soviet countries at Italian universities have grown considerably from 218 to 7,474 in 2013-14 (Table 12). Over the entire 15-year period Italy has received 41,675 students from the region, making it the sixth most popular EU destination country after Germany, the UK, Poland, France, and the Czech Republic. 84% of these students came from Russia, Ukraine, Moldova, or Belarus. These four major senders have been driving the observed growth in the overall student numbers from the region. Particularly large growth in the enrolments of students from the region occurred during the years 2001-02 (+66%), 2003-04 (+84%), 2006-07 (+44%), and 2011-12 (+30%). For the most recent academic year 2013-14, an almost 12% increase has been recorded. These increases considerably exceed the growth in the total number of international

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[7] Countries that sent less than 20 students are not included.

degree-seeking students in Italy, which were +17% in 2001-02, +27% in 2003-04, +9% in 2006-07, +5% in 2011-12, and +6% in 2013-14 (UNESCO, 2016a), indicating a rising interest in Italy among students from former Soviet countries in particular.

Since 1999, the largest total numbers of students have come from Russia (12,466), Ukraine (9,962), and Moldova (9,622). However, the average annual growth in the student enrolment numbers from Russia (+27%) has been lower than that for students from Ukraine (+36%) and Moldova (+53%). Since the mid-2000s, the enrolment numbers of students from Moldova have been growing substantially (Table 12). Annual enrolment numbers have even exceeded those of students from Ukraine and Russia since 2010 (2012-13 is an exception) despite the considerably larger size of the outwardly mobile student populations of the latter two countries.

In explaining the attractiveness of Italy as a study destination one needs to consider international relations and significant diaspora links between Moldova and Italy. Italy was one of the first countries to recognise the independence and establish diplomatic relations with the Republic of Moldova in 1992. On the topic of Moldova-Italy relations, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and European Integration of the Republic of Moldova states the Moldova-Italy 'bilateral relations have been characterised by a dynamic development supported by an intense political dialogue and a constructive cooperation to the mutual interest of both countries'. As reasons for the engagement with Italy, the Ministry refers to 'the authority of Italy in the international community' and its status within the EU in particular, 'the belonging of Italy to the Latin origin community', the cultural and linguistic affinities and 'the numerous presence of Moldovan citizens on the territory of this country' (Ministry of Foreign Affairs and European Integration of the Republic of Moldova, 2016).

According to the OECD migration statistics, 39,314 foreign-born Moldovans were residing in Italy in 2013 (OECD, 2016d). However, a 2013 study by the International Organisation for Migration reports as many as 149,558 migrants from Moldova on Italian territory in 2012 (Cheianu-Andrei, 2013). The study also maps the migration waves from Moldova to Italy, which peaked in 2004 followed by a declining trend; it establishes Moldovans as part of the second migration wave to Italy, together with Romanians, Bulgarians, Ukrainians, and Russians, which occurred in response to labour market opportunities, especially in the home care sector (Cheianu-Andrei, 2013).

Table 12. Numbers of degree-mobile students from post-Soviet countries to Italy, 1999-2000 to 2013-14

Country of origin	1999-2000	2000-01	2001-02	2002-03	2003-04	2004-05	2005-06	2006-07	2007-08	2008-09	2009-10	2010-11	2011-12	2012-13	2013-14	cumulative
Armenia	8	7	10	9	49	38	27	33	50	40	60	61	75	100	119	686
Azerbaijan	0	1	2	1	5	7	7	8	9	20	24	31	48	47	55	265
Belarus	13	19	28	36	75	105	138	190	244	259	304	325	414	475	502	3127
Estonia	11	8	8	12	23	28	34	62	57	51	57	52	59	65	57	584
Georgia	3	11	9	10	17	26	40	40	60	74	90	80	107	139	156	862
Kazakhstan	2	3	10	17	37	31	26	46	32	36	66	85	111	110	132	744
Kyrgyzstan	0	0	1	..	1	0	2	6	4	11	10	17	20	19	28	119
Latvia	1	3	8	13	30	40	42	61	63	66	62	71	92	105	122	779
Lithuania	12	10	17	21	38	67	112	142	175	199	207	193	208	212	207	1820
Moldova	7	15	27	40	86	122	197	331	488	685	951	1246	1611	1815	2001	9622
Russia	127	118	200	237	369	512	600	793	930	949	1144	1132	1515	1737	2103	12466
Tajikistan	0	0	0	..	2	1	1	2	3	2	2	2	5	6	5	31
Turkmenistan	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	2	1	2	2	3	3	6	22
Ukraine	29	40	69	87	158	227	303	465	615	737	920	1145	1484	1780	1903	9962
Uzbekistan	5	1	2	4	7	14	22	58	41	45	64	62	93	90	78	586
Total	218	236	391	488	897	1218	1552	2238	2773	3175	3963	4504	5845	6703	7474	41675

Source: own calculations based on UNESCO (2016a) data.

As another major sender within the set, Belarus sent a total of 3,127 students to Italy since 1999. The numbers of degree-mobile students from Belarus have been growing from 13 students in 1999-2000 to 502 students in 2013-14, following the general pattern of pronounced growth.

Lithuania, Latvia, Armenia, Georgia and Kazakhstan emerge as smaller senders of students to Italy. Following Lithuania's accession to the EU, a steep rise in the number of Lithuanian students at Italian universities occurred in 2005-06 (+67%). Since 2008-09, however, their numbers have been plateauing at around 200 students per year. In contrast, enrolment numbers for students from Armenia, Georgia, Kazakhstan, and Latvia continue to rise.

While the Italian government has not formulated an overarching national strategy on the HE sector internationalisation, a survey of the internationalisation strategies of 37 Italian HEIs indicated that the principal strategic focus at most institutions was promoting student mobility through increasing recruitment activities, increasing the number of degree programmes taught in English and increasing temporary outward student mobility (Salvaterra, 2012). Another key focus was enhancing the institution's international research profile through attracting foreign or Italian scholars from abroad and establishing international partnerships. According to a more recent study - the EAIE Barometer 2014, the top three reasons of internationalisation for Italy include: attracting more international students; improving international reputation; and improving the overall quality of education (Engel, Sandstrom, Van der Aa, & Glass, 2015).

Financially, Italy appears as a very attractive study destination as both EU and non-EU international students are eligible for the same financial support, including fee waivers, student bursaries, loans, financial assistance with accommodation and meals. Such support is available to home students based on their socio-economic background and academic merit (Ministry of Education, University and Research, 2016b). Tuition fees for undergraduate degrees at state-funded universities are in the area of €850 - €1,000 per year, while fees for master's and self-funded doctoral programmes tend to be higher (Ministry of Education, University and Research, 2016). Fees are not differentiated by the home/ EU and non-EU status. However, tuition fees vary by degree course as well as students' socio-economic background. At several larger universities students from developing countries automatically qualify for the lowest fee bracket.

Although the data on the number of scholarship opportunities for international degree-seeking students is not as readily available as for other EU countries, one of the most widely available financial support opportunities is the Italian government scholarship programme for EU and non-EU students that provides partial scholarships for master's and doctoral programmes at public universities (Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, 2016a, 2016b) . The government initiative *Invest Your Talent in Italy* is specifically aimed at students from developing countries, including students from Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan. It funds postgraduate programmes in Economics and Management, Engineering, Architecture and Design. There are also a number of merit-based scholarships offered by individual HEIs for specific subjects and levels of study.

The spread of English medium instruction in Italy is among the lowest in Europe. In 2013-14, Italian HEIs offered approximately 10,500 degree programmes in total. 3% of these programmes were taught entirely in English (Wächter & Maiworm, 2014). A recent survey study by Wächter and Maiworm (2014) highlighted that Italian HE programme directors evaluate the English language proficiency of Italian students as moderate and lower than that of foreign students. Lack of funding for the introduction of such programmes also seems to be an issue. A vast majority of these programmes are available at the master's level (Hunter, 2015).

Table 13. Pull of Italy's HE system: degree-mobility from post-Soviet countries

Size of HE system	96 universities (67 public and 29 private) and 137 HEIs with a more applied focus (the so-called non-university sector); approx. 10,500 degree courses (Hunter, 2015; Wächter & Maiworm, 2014)
Volume of international degree-seeking students hosted in 2013-14	82,450 (UNESCO, 2016a)
Volume of degree-seeking students from post-Soviet countries in 2013-14	7,474 (UNESCO, 2016a)
Main senders among post-Soviet countries	Russia (2,103), Ukraine (1,903), Moldova (2,001)
Current smaller senders (100-500 students per year)	Lithuania (207), Georgia (156), Kazakhstan (132), Latvia (122), Armenia (119)
Tuition fee structure	Fees are not differentiated according to home/ EU students and non-EU students. Tuition fees for undergraduate degrees at state-funded universities are in the area of €850 - €1,000 per year, while fees for master's and self-funded doctoral programmes tend to be higher (Ministry of Education, University and Research, 2016). Tuition fees tend to vary according to degree course and the student's (family) financial background. At several of the larger universities students from developing countries, including those from former Soviet countries (e.g. Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan) automatically qualify for the lowest fee bracket
Funding opportunities for degree-seeking students	Funding opportunities provided by the Italian government include the Italian government partial scholarship programme for EU and non-EU students and the government initiative *Invest Your Talent in Italy* (students from Azerbaijan and Kazakhstan). EU and non-EU degree-seeking students are eligible for the same financial support as Italian students based on their (family) financial background and academic merit (Ministry of Education, University and Research, 2016b)
Linguistic access and spread of EMI	In 2013-14, 307 of the 10,500 degree programmes at Italian HEIs were taught entirely in English, equalling a proportion of 2.9% of all degree programmes. Such EMI degree programmes were offered at 19.8% of all Italian HEIs (Wächter & Maiworm, 2014)
Visa regulations for international students	Degree-seeking students from outside the EU need to apply for a study visa from the Italian Embassy and obtain a 'stay permit for study purposes' upon arrival (renewable annually subject to satisfactory academic progress and proof of financial means) (Ministry of Education, University and Research, 2016). EU students must register with the local registry office. They may undertake part-time work of up to 20 hours during term time. Non-EU students require a work permit which 'is quite difficult to obtain' (Ministry of Education, University and Research, 2016b)
Information channel for international students	Study in Italy: http://www.study-in-italy.it/

Denmark

In 2013-14, Denmark hosted a total of 29,480 degree mobile students (UNESCO, 2014b). The largest senders to Denmark are Norway, Germany, Sweden, Romania, and Lithuania. 12% of degree mobile students in Denmark come from former Soviet countries (UNESCO, 2016a). Students from Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia accounted for up to 87% of all degree-mobile students from the region in 2013-14 (Figure 10). Students from Lithuania formed the fifth largest group of degree-mobile students in Denmark, while Latvian students were ranked 10th and Estonian students 19th (UNESCO, 2014b). The most significant non-EU countries of origin within the set were Russia and Ukraine while mobile student numbers from all other post-Soviet countries remained very low.

Figure 10. Composition of degree-mobile students from post-Soviet countries to Denmark, 2013-14

Source: own calculations based on UNESCO (2016a) data.
Note: Countries that sent less than 20 students are not included.

In terms of its relative popularity, Denmark is currently one of the most attractive destination countries among students in Lithuania and Latvia, where Denmark attracted 14% and 13% of all outwardly degree-mobile students, ranking as the second most popular study destination behind only the UK. In Estonia, Denmark attracts 11% of all degree-mobile students as the fourth most popular study destination behind the UK, Finland, and Germany. Within the two major non-EU post-Soviet senders, Russia and Ukraine, Denmark's attractiveness among the outwardly mobile student population is considerably lower, with 0.37% of all Russian and 0.34% of all Ukrainian students choosing Denmark as a study destination (UNESCO, 2014b)

Back in 2003-04, most students came from Russia, followed by Lithuania, Ukraine, Latvia, and Estonia (Table 14). The introduction of tuition fees for non-EU students in 2004-05 was associated with a sharp 76% decline in the numbers of mobile students from the region. The drop was particularly severe for students from Ukraine (-88%) and Russia (-81%). This was in line with the reduction in the overall number of international students undertaking degree studies in Denmark from 18,120 in 2003-04 to 9,882 students in 2004-05 (-45%). In 2004, Denmark was the first Nordic country that introduced tuition fees for non-EU students. This was part of the Danish government's new strategy for internationalisation of the education sector (Danish Ministry of Education, 2004), allegedly allowing Danish universities to compete in the international HE market. The strategy also encouraged the development of programmes that are entirely taught through English as well as the promotion of Danish HE abroad. The strategy document featured 'the enhancement of the mobility of pupils, students and teachers' among its six key points (Danish Ministry of Education, 2004).

Table 14. Numbers of degree-mobile students from post-Soviet countries to Denmark, 1999-2000 to 2013-14

Country of origin	1999-2000	2000-01	2001-02	2002-03	2003-04	2004-05	2005-06	2006-07	2007-08	2008-09	2009-10	2010-11	2011-12	2012-13	2013-14	cumulative
Armenia	15	20	19	15	19	2	1	0	1	1	4	4	4	6	12	123
Azerbaijan	5	4	3	4	4	0	0	1	1	0	2	3	5	6	4	42
Belarus	5	5	5	16	41	7	7	7	5	5	9	10	14	16	22	174
Estonia	23	27	30	54	94	24	20	22	32	58	157	186	262	325	450	1764
Georgia	2	2	2	7	16	6	7	7	6	3	4	8	7	7	13	97
Kazakhstan	2	4	4	5	9	3	3	3	4	4	0	3	5	6	6	61
Kyrgyzstan	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	3	2	0	2	9
Latvia	17	18	19	64	105	30	27	31	34	46	179	407	665	749	823	3214
Lithuania	43	50	55	124	249	71	73	66	91	145	496	893	1303	1573	1716	6948
Moldova	0	4	5	7	23	3	6	9	7	4	2	6	9	12	23	120
Russia	102	113	122	187	317	71	74	74	72	56	72	97	93	102	187	1739
Tajikistan	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	2	10
Turkmenistan	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	3
Ukraine	30	34	36	59	114	14	14	31	32	33	38	35	29	35	133	667
Uzbekistan	2	3	3	4	35	9	17	26	30	24	29	41	24	17	19	283
Total	246	285	304	547	1027	241	249	279	316	379	995	1696	2422	2855	3413	15254

Source: own calculations based on UNESCO (2016a) data.

The introduction of tuition fees also affected the student numbers from Estonia (-75%), Latvia (-71%), and Lithuania (-71%) in 2003-2004 to 2004-2005. Due to the 2004 accession of the Baltic states to the EU, these three countries were not influenced by the tuition fee introduction as much as other non-EU post-Soviet countries. However, the numbers of students from the Baltic states studying in Denmark did not pick up until a few years later. It could have been that the change in status to EU students also enabled access to other highly reputable, diversified and linguistically accessible, yet hitherto unaffordable HE systems, such as the UK, which started to attract substantially higher numbers of students from the Baltics during the subsequent years (UNESCO, 2016a).

With the introduction of tuition fees for non-EU students, the Danish government also established a scholarship scheme for highly qualified degree-seeking students from non-EU countries (DAHE, 2016b). The scholarships consist of full or partial tuition fee waivers and/or maintenance grants and are awarded through individual institutions. The introduction of this fee and funding structure was intended to contribute to 'a better match between students' needs and strengths and institutional capacity' rather than regarding Danish higher education as a low-cost alternative (OBHE, 2004, p. 3).

The nearly tenfold overall increase in degree-mobile students from former Soviet countries from 2009 to 2013 (Table 14) seems to be driven by an inflow of students from the Baltic states, rather than non-EU former Soviet countries. In 2013-14, students from Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia made up 87% of all degree-mobile students that Denmark received from all post-Soviet countries (UNESCO, 2014b). In 2013-14, substantial growth was also observed in the number of students from Ukraine (+380%) and Russia (+83%), after seven years of largely plateauing enrolment numbers (UNESCO, 2016a).

Lithuania clearly emerges as the largest sender of students during this period of renewed growth. This strong year-on-year increase in the enrolments of students from the Baltics in Denmark might also reflect the rapid expansion of EMI programmes in Denmark since 2008 (Wächter & Maiworm, 2014), which makes the Danish HE system not only seem affordable and reputable, but increasingly accessible with widening options. English taught programmes have been growing by a substantial 50% since 2008 and Denmark is currently one of the leading European countries in EMI provision (Wächter & Maiworm, 2014). 730 of the approximately 1,300 degree programmes at Danish HEIs are currently fully taught in English. Most of these programmes (433) are available at the master's level (Danish Ministry of HE and Science 2016).

The work hours for students from EU countries, Norway, and Switzerland are unrestricted (DAHE, 2016c). International students from non-EU countries need to apply for a residence permit, which is contingent on admission, proficiency in the language of instruction and sufficient funds, and is valid for the duration of their studies. This permit includes the right to work for up to 20 hours per week, or full-time during the months of June, July, and August. It may be extended for a further 6 months upon graduation for seeking full-time employment (Ministry of Immigration, Integration and Housing, 2016).

Table 15. Pull of Denmark's HE system: degree-mobility from post-Soviet countries

Size of HE system	8 full universities, 8 University Colleges, 9 Business Academies and 11 Artistic HEIs with applied undergraduate programmes, 3 national research institutes; approx. 1,300 degree programmes in total
Volume of international degree-seeking students hosted in 2013-14	29,480 (UNESCO, 2016a)
Volume of degree-seeking students from post-Soviet countries in 2013-14	3,413 (11.58% of all degree-mobile students hosted) (UNESCO, 2014b)
Main senders among post-Soviet countries	Lithuania (1,739), Latvia (823), Estonia (450)
Current smaller senders (100-500 students per year)	Russia (187), Ukraine (133)
Tuition fee structure	In 2004, tuition fees were introduced for non-EU/EEA students, except those from Switzerland. During the academic year 2015-16, fees ranged from € 6,000 to 16,000, as set by individual HEIs (DAHE, 2016b). Fees for home/ EU students have been under consideration since 2014 (ICEF Monitor, 2016)
Funding opportunities for degree-seeking students	Funding opportunities for degree-seeking students from former Soviet countries outside the EU include the *Danish government scholarships for highly qualified degree-seeking students* from non-EU/EEA countries, which consist of full or partial tuition fee waivers and/ or maintenance grants and are awarded through individual institutions (DAHE, 2016b)
Linguistic access and spread of EMI	English taught programmes have been growing by a substantial 50% since 2008 and Denmark is currently one of the leading European countries in their provision (Wächter & Maiworm, 2014). 730 of the approx. 1,300 degree programmes at Danish HEIs are currently fully taught in English. Most of these programmes (433) are available at the master's level (DAHE, 2016a)
Visa regulations for international students	International students from non-EU countries need to apply for a residence permit, which is contingent on admission, proficiency in the language of instruction and sufficient funds, and is valid for the duration of their studies. This permit includes the right to work for up to 20 hours per week, or full-time during the months of June, July and August. It may be extended for a further 6 months upon graduation for seeking full-time employment (Ministry of Immigration, Integration and Housing, 2016). The work hours of students from EU countries, Norway and Switzerland are unrestricted (DAHE, 2016c)
Information channel for international students	Study in Denmark: http://studyindenmark.dk/

Finland

In 2013-14, Finland hosted 21,859 degree-mobile international students (UNESCO, 2016a). The main sending countries to Finland are Russia, China, Vietnam, and Nepal. 15% of all degree-seeking international students hosted in Finland in 2013-14 were from post-Soviet countries (UNESCO, 2014b). Two-thirds of students from post-Soviet countries came from Russia (Figure 11). Russians were the most highly represented international student group in Finland in 2013-14. However, Finland is only the seventh most popular destination for Russian students, with only 4% of all degree-mobile students from Russia choosing to study in Finland (UNESCO, 2014b).

Figure 11. Composition of degree-mobile students from post-Soviet countries to Finland, 2013-14[8]
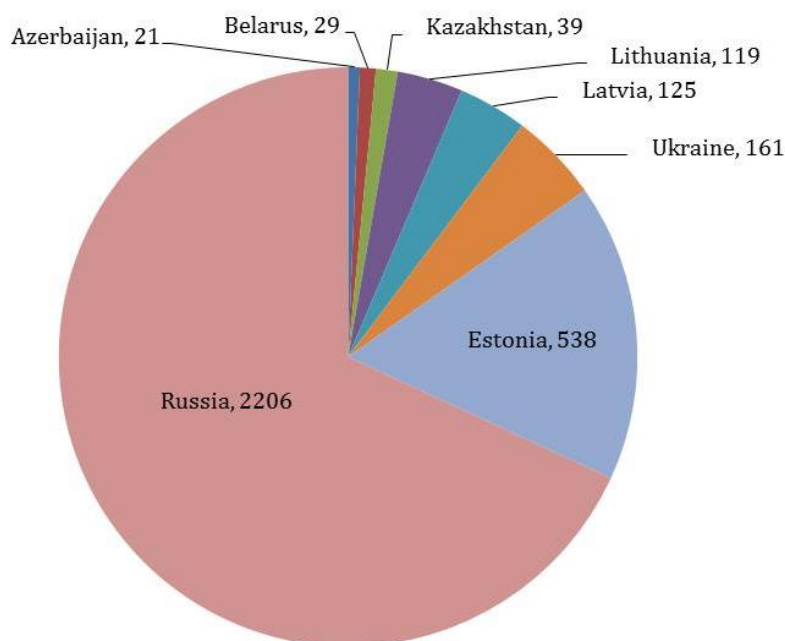
Source: own calculations based on UNESCO (2016a) data.

With 538 students (16%), the next largest group of degree-seeking students from the region were Estonians (Figure 11). For Estonian degree mobile students Finland is the second most attractive destination after the UK. 13% of all mobile students from Estonia choose to study in Finland (UNESCO, 2014b). Student numbers from other post-Soviet countries to Finland remained low, with the lowest numbers being recorded for Central Asian countries.

With 30,643 individuals since 1999, Finland has attracted a higher volume of students from post-Soviet countries than any of its Nordic competitors. The majority of students have come from Russia (58%) and Estonia (27%) (Table 16). There has been a consistent moderate growth in the number of degree-seeking students from post-Soviet countries coming to Finland from 997 students in 1999-2000 to 3,437 students in 2012-13, with average annual growth of 11%. For the most recently reported academic year 2013-14, the UIS recorded a 4% decline in student enrolment numbers from post-Soviet countries for the first time since 1999. This happened in the context of the overall number of degree-mobile students to Finland increasing by as much as 24%. The decline in the number of students from the region seems to be driven by the substantial drop in the numbers of students from Estonia (-30%) and Ukraine (-11%), which is offset to some extent by continued growth in the comparatively large number of Russian students as well as an increase in the numbers of Latvian students (Table 16).

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[8] Countries that sent less than 20 students are not included.

Table 16. Numbers of degree-mobile students from post-Soviet countries to Finland, 1999-2000 to 2013-14

Country of origin	1999-2000	2000-01	2001-02	2002-03	2003-04	2004-05	2005-06	2006-07	2007-08	2008-09	2009-10	2010-11	2011-12	2012-13	2013-14	cumulative
Armenia	..	2	2	6	6	7	7	..	6	11	9	13	16	13	13	111
Azerbaijan	1	2	2	3	4	3	5	..	9	6	8	14	15	27	21	120
Belarus	4	8	9	11	14	16	20	..	19	25	23	25	29	27	29	259
Estonia	400	463	474	493	528	576	599	..	664	681	684	700	713	772	538	8285
Georgia	6	5	5	7	7	8	6	..	8	6	12	11	7	7	11	106
Kazakhstan	2	6	7	9	11	18	20	..	23	27	31	30	31	35	39	289
Kyrgyzstan	..	..	..	1	..	2	3	..	6	9	11	11	18	13	8	82
Latvia	17	20	26	29	27	36	44	..	53	61	60	65	91	106	125	760
Lithuania	28	43	54	65	78	87	102	..	102	99	78	82	103	118	119	1158
Moldova	1	2	1	1	1	..	1	..	4	11	12	14	12	13	19	92
Russia	509	656	764	911	1079	1140	1127	..	1182	1291	1378	1595	1776	2107	2206	17721
Tajikistan	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	..	3	2	4	4	2	2	2	19
Turkmenistan	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	..	0	0	1	0	2	2	2	9
Ukraine	29	46	75	96	94	108	111	..	114	115	114	123	145	180	161	1511
Uzbekistan	0	1	2	2	5	7	11	..	11	15	13	12	13	15	14	121
Total	997	1254	1421	1634	1854	2009	2057	0	2204	2359	2438	2699	2973	3437	3307	30643

Source: own calculations based on UNESCO (2016a) data.
Note: In 2006-07, the Finnish government reported only the total number of international degree-seeking students to the UOE, but not their country of origin.

The attraction of Estonian students to Finland can be explained partly with the close historical, cultural, and linguistic ties between Estonia and Finland, among other factors. As stated by the Estonian Embassy in Helsinki (2015), 'one condition that sets the stage for close bilateral educational co-operation is an adequate and thorough knowledge of each other's history' (Estonian Embassy in Helsinki, 2015). Frequent business travel and tourism between the two countries, particularly so the millions of Finns visiting Estonia each year, continue to foster contact and familiarity between the two peoples, which is facilitated by the linguistic proximity of Estonian and Finnish. The Finnish and Estonian governments have also been cooperating in advancing 'reciprocal language instruction on all educational levels' (ibid.), including bilingual Estonian-Finnish classes in Finnish schools, as well as the teaching of Finnish as a foreign language in Estonian schools (Estonian Embassy in Helsinki, 2015). This is motivated by demographic developments in Finland where a growing Estonian community has been attracted by Finland's labour market, moderate cost of life and its accessible education system (OECD, 2016d; Yle Uutiset, 2011). The close economic ties between the two countries are manifested, for example, in the significant Finnish investment in the Estonian economy, especially in the area of mobile technology (Estonian Investment Agency, 2016).

Moreover, proficiency in Finnish further widens the study options of Estonian students in Finnish HE as compared to their own HE system, as well as to the Finnish labour market. This is reflected in the continuous stream of Estonian degree-seeking students into Finland even prior to the remarkable spread of EMI programmes at Finnish universities (UNESCO, 2016a). Most crucially perhaps, as compared to student mobility from Latvia and Lithuania, there has been a critical mass of Estonians with first-hand experience of Finnish HE, who may motivate further degree-mobility to Finland through personal referral (e.g.,Vierimaa, 2013). While Finland remains the second most popular study destination for degree-mobile students from Estonia in 2013-14 (UNESCO, 2014b), the drop in student mobility from Estonia to Finland reflects a general contraction (-8%) in the numbers of Estonian students studying abroad, as well as a growing attraction to Denmark as a destination for study (+39% degree-mobile students from Estonia in 2013-14).

Considering the post-Soviet countries outside the EU, Finland's neighbour Russia has clearly been the most significant sender of degree-mobile students to Finland. In 2013-14, the numbers of Russian students at Finnish universities continued to grow by 5%. Besides historic, geographic, and economic ties, there exists a strong history of cooperation in education and research between the two countries (CIMO, 2016b). Russia features in Finland's *Strategy for the Internationalisation of Higher Education Institutions* (CIMO, 2009) as a key market for HE export. 'Taking into consideration Finland's geographical location, Russia's increasing role as a market area and its importance as a country of culture and science require special attention,' according to the Ministry of Education and Culture (2009, p. 42). Russia is also identified in the Ministry's 2011 – *2016 Development Plan for Education and Research* as a key partner for cooperation in both areas, along with Brazil, China, and India (Ministry of Education and Culture, 2012).

While Finnish universities are not strongly represented in popular international rankings, part of the attraction for Russian students still appears to be based on perceptions of quality of Finnish HE (Balbutskaya, 2015). Moreover, Finland also markets itself to students as a country that 'boasts gender equality and low levels of corruption', as well as a society that is 'transparent and open, and education is always considered to be a top-priority' (CIMO, 2016g), which seems to speak to the values of Russian middle-class families. Indeed, Finland has been attracting a growing Russian community, which currently forms the largest minority in Finland (OECD, 2016d) .

Tuition fees for home/EU and non-EU students are currently banned in Finland by law. Following the prolonged contraction of the Finnish economy, the current Finnish government introduced tuition fees for non-EU students studying on bachelor's and master's programmes that are taught entirely in English, starting in autumn 2017 (CIMO, 2016d). Scholarship opportunities in Finland are mostly restricted to doctoral level studies (CIMO, 2016d). However, with the introduction of tuition fees in 2017, Finnish universities and universities of applied sciences are expected to establish scholarship schemes for fee paying students (CIMO, 2016f). The Finnish student visa for non-EU students also entails the right to work for up to 25 hours per week during term time and to undertake full-time work outside term (Finnish Immigration Service, 2016c). Students may apply for a residence permit of up to

one year for seeking work after graduation (Finnish Immigration Service, 2016b), or for a residence permit on the grounds of holding 'a degree from Finland' after having secured employment (Finnish Immigration Service, 2016a).

The perceived quality and low cost of Finnish HE have shown to be key factors in attracting university students to Finland, in addition to having a reputation of a country with moderate living expenses that is frequently highly ranked for its quality of life (OECD, 2016a; Vierimaa, 2013).

In the periods when Finland saw declines in the total number of international students (e.g. in 2007-08) the cumulative numbers of students from former Soviet countries did not go down. Following the decline (-13%) in the enrolment numbers of degree-seeking international students in 2007-08, the Ministry of Education and Research issued a *Strategy for the Internationalisation of HEIs 2009-2015* in which increasing student exchange and international degree-mobility to Finland feature as cornerstones in achieving the primary key objective of a 'genuinely international higher education community' at its HEIs (Ministry of Education Finland, 2009, p. 26). In line with this objective, the spread of English as the medium of instruction (EMI) in Finland is rapidly expanding and one of the largest in Europe, with 83% of all HEIs offering degree programmes in English (Wächter & Maiworm, 2014). 456 of the approximately 1,700 degree programmes on offer at Finnish HEIs are fully taught through English (CIMO, 2016c), constituting a 15% increase since 2013 (Wächter & Maiworm, 2014). The prevalence of EMI is highest in subjects related to technology and business (ibid.).

Table 17. Pull of Finland's HE system: degree-mobility from post-Soviet countries

Size of HE system	14 universities and 24 universities of applied sciences; approx. 1,700 degree programmes
Volume of international degree-seeking students hosted in 2013-14	21,859 (UNESCO, 2016a)
Volume of degree-seeking students from post-Soviet countries in 2013-14	3,307 (15.13% of all degree-mobile students hosted) (UNESCO, 2014b)
Main senders among post-Soviet countries	Russia (2,206), Estonia (538)
Current smaller senders (100-500 students per year)	Ukraine (161), Latvia (125), Lithuania (119)
Tuition fee structure	Tuition fees for non-EU students studying on bachelor's and master's degree programmes taught in English apply from autumn 2017 (CIMO, 2016d). The minimum tuition fee is set at €1,500 per year. However, the limited fees information that is currently available indicates that tuition fees will be substantially higher (€10,000- €20,000 per year at universities and up to €10,000 at universities of applied sciences) (CIMO, 2016e)
Funding opportunities for degree-seeking students	Scholarship opportunities in Finland are currently mostly restricted to doctoral level studies (CIMO, 2016d). However, with the introduction of tuition fees in 2017, Finnish universities and universities of applied sciences are expected to establish scholarship schemes for fee paying students (CIMO, 2016f)
Linguistic access and spread of EMI	Finnish and Swedish are the official languages in Finland, with Finnish being the language of instruction at most HEIs (Centre for International Mobility, 2016). However, the spread of English as a medium of instruction (EMI) is among the highest in Europe, with over 83% of all HEIs offering English taught degree programmes (Wächter & Maiworm, 2014). Currently, 456 of the approximately 1,700 degree programmes on offer at Finnish HEIs are fully taught in English (CIMO, 2016c)
Visa regulations for international students	Students from non-EU countries need to apply for a student residence permit upon successful application for their degree course, which is subject to annual renewal. It includes the right to work for up to 25 hours per week during term time and to undertake full-time work outside term (Finnish Immigration Service, 2016c). Students may apply for a residence permit for seeking work after graduation (Finnish Immigration Service, 2016b) or upon securing employment after graduation on the grounds of 'holding a degree from Finland' (Finnish Immigration Service, 2016a)
Information channel for international students	Study in Finland: www.studyinfinland.fi/

The Netherlands

During the most recently reported academic year 2012-13, the Netherlands hosted a total of 57,506 international degree-mobile students. 4% of all international degree-seeking students hosted by the Netherlands in 2013-14 were from former Soviet countries (UNESCO, 2016a). Russia is the largest sender from the region, Lithuania, Latvia, and Ukraine (Figure 12). As compared to the top international student groups studying for degrees in the Netherlands, such as Germany (24,815), China (4,638), and Belgium (2,288), student communities from former Soviet countries are comparatively small. In 2012-13, Russian students were the 18th, Lithuanian students the 19th, and Latvian students the 20th largest group of international degree-mobile students hosted. Estonia emerges as another small sender of degree-mobile students to the Netherlands with 138 students in 2012-13. All other former Soviet countries have consistently been sending less than 100 students per year with the smallest senders being Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, and Kyrgyzstan (Table 18).

Figure 12. Composition of degree-mobile students from post-Soviet countries to the Netherlands, 2012-139
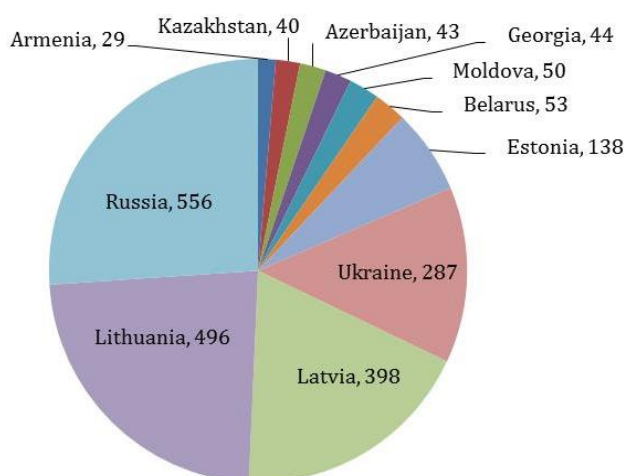
Source: own calculations based on UNESCO (2016a) data.
Note: countries that sent less than 20 students are not included.

The Netherlands is currently the fifth most popular study destination for students from both Latvia and Lithuania, and the seventh most popular destination for students from Estonia (UNESCO, 2014b). In 2012-13, it attracted the highest share of outwardly degree-mobile students in Latvia (6%), followed by degree-mobile students from Lithuania (4%) and Estonia (3%). Within the two major non-EU senders within the set, Russia and Ukraine, the relative popularity of the Netherlands as compared to other study destinations was lower, with 1% of degree-mobile students from Russia and another 1% of degree-mobile students from Ukraine.

Since 1999, the Netherlands have received almost 9,000 students from former Soviet countries (Table 18).[10] The Netherlands is currently the the nineth most popular EU destination for degree-mobile students from the region behind the two Nordic competitors - Denmark and Finland. Almost 40% (3,480) of students from the region hosted by the Netherlands come from Russia which remains by far the most significant sender of students to Holland within the set. This may be explicable not only by the fact that Russia concentrates the largest population of outwardly mobile students within the region but also by the fact the largest number of scholarship opportunities are available to students from Russia. These include the recently launched substantial merit-based Global Education Scholarship (postgraduate only) and Orange Tulip Scholarship schemes, both of which provide full scholarships to recipients pursuing degrees at Dutch institutions. Russia, along with Brazil, China, Indonesia, Korea, Mexico, Thailand, and Vietnam, is one of the countries 'deemed strategically important for Dutch HE' (EP-Nuffic, 2016c). In each of these countries, EP-Nuffic entertains education support offices in order

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[10] In 2013-14, the Netherlands reported data on the numbers of international degree-mobile students at public institutions only. These partial data were therefore not published by UNESCO.

to 'promote Dutch HE to increase student and staff mobility and related activities' through such initiatives as the Orange Tulip Scholarship programme (EP-Nuffic, 2016c). The programme was launched in 2014, providing scholarships to 67 Russian students, and seeks to support other talented students who are not scholarship recipients to study in the Netherlands (EP-Nuffic, 2016d).

In terms of cumulative numbers, Ukraine has been sending the second largest number of students to the Netherlands. However, since 2011 Ukraine is outperformed by Latvia and Lithuania, which is when student numbers from these two Baltic states started to exhibit much more substantial and consistent growth (+100% and +142% a year, on average). Recent steep growth has also been observed in the numbers of Estonian students, while previously annual enrolment numbers for Estonia were rather small.

The numbers of mobile students from former Soviet countries choosing to study in the Netherlands have not been growing as much as for other European destinations. Similar to Denmark, the Netherlands saw a sharp decline (-29%) in degree-mobile students from the region in 2004-05, albeit it was rather less pronounced. The decline largely reflects a drop in the numbers of degree-mobile students from Russia (-37%), which fully recovered again in 2005-06. Following largely plateauing student numbers from the region between 2005-06 and 2009-10, a three-fold increase in student enrolment occurred from 2010-11 to 2012-13. This rather substantial recent growth has been driven mainly by students from Russia (+68% average annual growth), Lithuania (+142%), Latvia (+100%), Ukraine (+67%), and Estonia (+116%) (Table 18). These trends are in line with the general increase in the attraction of the Netherlands as a destination for international degree-seeking students, which is reflected in a remarkable doubling of student numbers (+106%) from 27,968 students in 2010-2011 to 57,506 students in 2012-13 (Table 18).

Table 18. Numbers of degree-mobile students from post-Soviet countries to the Netherlands, 1999-2000 to 2013-14

Country of origin	1999-2000	2000-01	2001-02	2002-03	2003-04	2004-05	2005-06	2006-07	2007-08	2008-09	2009-10	2010-11	2011-12	2012-13	2013-14	cumulative
Armenia	17	19	21	31	19	7	12	13	10	7	9	9	20	29	..*	223
Azerbaijan	4	4	5	11	12	9	13	15	17	12	9	10	25	43	..*	189
Belarus	1	9	13	16	23	25	28	24	20	31	31	31	46	53	..*	351
Estonia	1	4	6	5	7	4	9	15	20	21	23	30	59	138	..*	342
Georgia	17	23	24	18	23	11	11	19	8	7	11	11	20	44	..*	247
Kazakhstan	1	3	7	12	12	8	10	9	7	4	13	15	26	40	..*	167
Kyrgyzstan	0	0	2	2	3	2	3	5	5	6	6	9	10	17	..*	70
Latvia	2	3	8	10	18	17	26	25	21	57	50	100	202	398	..*	937
Lithuania	5	6	10	14	25	15	28	42	52	34	69	85	198	496	..*	1079
Moldova	9	3	2	5	9	13	13	16	18	12	18	23	38	50	..*	229
Russia	169	175	227	255	271	170	291	237	184	211	199	199	336	556	..*	3480
Tajikistan	0	0	1	1	0	2	2	1	1	0	1	0	0	2	..*	11
Turkmenistan	1	1	1	1	3	3	3	3	1	3	2	2	2	0	..*	26
Ukraine	23	34	57	67	80	69	122	110	109	92	97	104	187	287	..*	1438
Uzbekistan	1	1	1	4	6	9	10	7	8	8	5	12	16	14	..*	102
Total	251	285	385	452	511	364	581	541	481	505	543	640	1185	2167	..*	8891

Note. * In 2013-14, the Netherlands reported data on the numbers of international degree-mobile students at public institutions only. These partial data were not published by UNESCO.

Source: own calculations based on UNESCO (2016a) data.

The Netherlands is widely recognised for offering high quality university education. The Dutch HE system features 13 research universities, all of which are placed amongst the world's best 300 universities in the THE ranking. The latter is commonly used as a reference in government scholarship programmes in post-Soviet countries. The larger group of Dutch HEIs, however, which enrol almost twice as many students as the research universities, are the 39 universities of applied sciences (UAS) in which programmes have a strong professional orientation and often feature internships as part of the curriculum (EP-Nuffic, 2016a).

In 2015, the Dutch government introduced a large-scale Holland Scholarship which provides one-off grants of €5,000 to non-EU degree-seeking students in their first year and is financed jointly by the Dutch Ministry of Education, Culture and Science and a number of participating research universities and universities of applied sciences. The introduction of the scheme is linked with the Dutch government's action plan *Make it in the Netherlands* (Ministry of Education, Culture and Science, 2013) which seeks to attract top foreign students, increase their retention in the Dutch labour market, and facilitate the formation of strong ties between the Netherlands and students' countries of origin. Furthermore, according to the EAIE Barometer 2014, the top two reasons of HE internationalisation in the Netherlands include preparing students for a global world and improving the overall quality of education for all students (Engel et al., 2015).

Out of the nine destination countries under study, the Netherlands is the only country that explicitly encourages international students to start a career there and indicates in the *Make it in the Netherlands! 2013–2016* that one of the strategic aims of internationalisation is 'having as many international students as possible decide to work in the Netherlands after they graduate from a Dutch higher education institution, especially in sectors with good labour market perspectives' (Ministry of Education, Culture and Science, 2013, p. 3).

Tuition fees in the Netherlands apply to all international degree-seeking students, from both in- and outside the EU. At €2,000 per year, however, they are considerably lower for EU students. The tuition fees for degree-seeking non-EU students at undergraduate level vary between €6,000 and €15,000, and between €8,000 and €20,000 per year for a master's degree (EP-Nuffic, 2016a). The search engine *Grantfinder*, which is operated by the Dutch government's designated independent agency for the internationalisation of HE, contains all scholarships available for studying in Holland, currently lists 50 scholarship opportunities for undergraduate students, 90 opportunities at master's level and 37 funding opportunities for international doctoral students (EP-Nuffic, 2016b). Most scholarships are partial, institution- and subject-specific. Similar to the German system, doctoral candidates are regarded as professional researchers rather than students. Thus, positions are mostly advertised as job vacancies, instead of being included in the scholarship database.

The Netherlands offers more English taught programmes than any other EU country. A majority of 1002 programmes are offered at the master's level (874 offered by universities, 87 by UAS, 41 by institutes for international education), while 319 are undergraduate programmes (113 offered by universities, 206 by UAS) (EP-Nuffic, 2016f).

International students from outside the EU need to apply for an entry visa, followed by a residence permit, which is issued for the duration of the study programme and subject to obtaining at least 50% of the required credit points each year (EP-Nuffic, 2016g). Non-EU students also need to apply for a work permit, which entitles them to work up to 10 hours per week or full-time during June, July, and August (EP-Nuffic, 2016g). EU students may work without restrictions. All undergraduate, postgraduate, and doctoral students who graduated from a Dutch HEI may apply for a non-extendable Orientation Year within three years of graduating in order to seek employment (EP-Nuffic, 2016e). This new scheme also forms part of the government's action plan in order to attract and retain high-performing international students.

Table 19. Pull of the Dutch HE system: degree-mobility from post-Soviet countries

Size of HE system	14 research universities, 39 universities of applied sciences , 3 institutes for international education (EP-Nuffic, 2016a) (DAAD, 2016)(DAAD 2016h)
Volume of international degree-seeking students hosted in 2013-14	57,506 (UNESCO, 2016a)
Volume of degree-seeking students from post-Soviet countries in 2013-14	2,167 (UNESCO, 2016a)
Main senders among post-Soviet countries	Russia (556)
Current smaller senders (100-500 students per year)	Lithuania (496), Latvia (398), Ukraine (287), Estonia (138)
Tuition fee structure	Tuition fees apply to all international degree-seeking students, both home and EU. At approx. €2,000 per year, tuition fees are considerably lower for EU students. Fees for non-EU students studying for undergraduate degrees vary between €6,000 and €15,000, and between €8,000 and €20,000 per year for master's degrees (EP-Nuffic, 2016a)
Funding opportunities for degree-seeking students	The search engine *Grantfinder,* which is operated by EP-Nuffic, currently lists 18 (Latvia) to 29 (Russia) scholarship opportunities at bachelor's level, 30 (Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania) to 44 (Russia) at postgraduate level, and 3 (Lithuania) to 5 (Russia) at doctoral level (EP-Nuffic, 2016b). Most scholarships are partial, institution- and subject-specific. Further doctoral positions are advertised as job vacancies
Linguistic access and spread of EMI	The Netherlands offer the largest number of English taught programmes in the entire EU. A majority of 1002 programmes are offered master's level (874 offered by universities, 87 by UAS, 41 by institutes for international education), while 319 are bachelor's degree programmes (113 offered by universities, 206 by UAS) (EP-Nuffic, 2016f)
Visa regulations for international students	Non-EU students need to apply for an entry visa and a residence permit for the duration of their programme (subject to obtaining min. 50% of their credit points each year). The work permit entitles non-EU students to work for up to 10 hours per week or full-time during June, July and August. EU students may work without restrictions. All students who graduated from a Dutch HEI may apply for a non-extendable 'Orientation Year' (EP-Nuffic, 2016g)
Information channel for international students	Study in Holland: https://www.studyinholland.nl

Conclusion

This report has charted the flows of students from Russia, Eastern Europe (Belarus, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldova, Ukraine), Caucasus (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia), and Central Asia (Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan) to the EU countries since the late 1990s to show that increasingly large numbers of students from this region pursue degree programmes at European universities.

Germany, the UK, and Poland feature as the most attractive destinations for students from former Soviet countries. These are followed by France, the Czech Republic, and Italy. Finally, Denmark, Finland, and the Netherlands also emerge as rather desirable European destinations.

Potential pull and push factors that may explain some of the observed patterns of student mobility from the region were discussed based on the review of literature on internationalisation of HE and international student mobility. It emerged that the perceived quality and considerations of affordability of HE in different European destinations constitute major pull factors for students from Russia, Eastern Europe (Belarus, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldova, Ukraine), Caucasus (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia), and Central Asia (Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan). Quality and affordability are intertwined as many students who pursue degree programmes in Europe do this on their home government funding. Many of such funding schemes use widely recognised international rankings to limit the availability of funding to those students who gain access to the world's best institutions.

Furthermore, specific characteristics of these destination countries and their higher education systems, such as the size of the system, availability of funding, tuition fee structure, linguistic access, visa regulations, and post-study work opportunities appear to play a role in the students' mobility choices. The relevance of some of these factors, however, might be overestimated. For example, judging from the macro data, post-study work opportunities may not be a matter of great concern for students from former Soviet countries. One of the top two destinations – the UK – operates the strictest regulations regarding post-study work. Out of the nine destination countries overviewed, the Netherlands is currently the only country that explicitly encourages graduates to stay there and find employment. Yet it attracts the lowest numbers of students from the region. This is in line with our earlier finding emerging from the UK context that UK HEI recruitment/admissions officers do not view students from this region as potential labour migrants (Chankseliani & Hessel, 2016).

The popularity of European HE does not seem to be overwhelming in the context where the former coloniser – the Russian Federation – remains to be by far the most attractive study destination for the absolute majority of these countries. The relative attractiveness of Russia over the EU countries could be due to the historical and linguistic links, considerations of affordability driven by low fees and availability of federal scholarships (Malinovsky & Chankseliani, forthcoming), as well as the regulations related to the recognition of secondary school qualifications issued by former Soviet countries.

Considering this evidence, a bigger question that we are unable to answer here relates to the wider implications of pursuing degree programmes in Europe for students from post-Soviet countries, the majority of which remain to be undemocratic. The analysis of data sets on student mobility (UNESCO, 2016a) and democratic development of post-Soviet countries (Economist Intelligence Unit, 2015) reveals that there is a very strong, positive, and statistically significant correlation between the proportion of degree mobile students that are enrolled at European universities (as a % of all mobile students from each of these countries) and countries' democratic development index ($r= .87$, $p=.01$). In other words, post-Soviet countries which send higher numbers of degree mobile students to HEIs in EU countries tend to have achieved higher score on democratic development than those who have lower proportions of students pursuing degrees at European universities. Student mobility however can be an expression of democratic transformation as much as it can be an agent of such transformation. Thus, future research will need to examine this significant trend in greater detail.

Acknowledgement

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Appendix 1. Eight most popular destinations for mobile students from former Soviet countries (EU countries in bold)

Country of origin	Outbound mobility ratio	Destination country I	Destination country II	Destination country III	Destination country IV	Destination country V	Destination country VI	Destination country VII	Destination country VIII
Moldova	14.2	Romania (7432)	Russia (4902)	**Italy** (2001)	Ukraine (1703)	**France** (825)	**Germany** (597)	Bulgaria (466)	USA (363)
Azerbaijan	9.1	Russia (10530)	Ukraine (7599)	Turkey (6989)	Georgia (860)	**UK** (638)	**Germany** (580)	USA (371)	Belarus (293)
Georgia	8.8	Kazakhstan (6639)	Canada (2655)	**Germany** (1852)	Ukraine (1517)	Armenia (1256)	Russia (1143)	Australia (580)	USA (436)
Uzbekistan	8.4	Russia (10211)	Kazakhstan (5588)	Ukraine (2072)	Kyrgyzstan (1219)	**Germany** (789)	USA (426)	Korea (411)	Malaysia (379)
Lithuania	7.5	**UK** (5041)	**Denmark** (1716)	**Poland** (950)	**Germany** (865)	**Netherlands** (496)	Russia (457)	USA (272)	**France** (260)
Latvia	6.7	**UK** (2084)	**Denmark** (823)	**Germany** (672)	Russia (658)	**Netherlands** (398)	USA (282)	**France** (168)	**Finland** (125)
Belarus	6.4	Russia (26434)	**Poland** (3413)	Lithuania (1894)	**Germany** (1173)	**Czech Republic** (577)	**Italy** (502)	Ukraine (461)	**France** (351)
Estonia	6.4	**UK** (1152)	**Finland** (538)	**Germany** (489)	**Denmark** (450)	Russia (388)	USA (209)	**Netherlands** (138)	**Sweden** (133)
Kazakhstan	6.3	Russia (35106)	Kyrgyzstan (4357)	USA (1884)	**UK** (1725)	**Czech Republic** (1174)	Malaysia (1089)	**Germany** (695)	**Poland** (401)
Armenia	5.6	Russia	**France**	Ukraine	**Germany**	USA	**Greece**	**UK**	**Italy**

		(3602)	(824)	(604)	(418)	(330)	(214)	(145)	(119)
Tajikistan	5.0	Russia (6458)	Kyrgyzstan (885)	Kazakhstan (476)	Ukraine (422)	Saudi Arabia (385)	Turkey (364)	USA (299)	Egypt (215)
Kyrgyzstan	2.1	Russia (3215)	Kazakhstan (963)	**Germany** (494)	Saudi Arabia (361)	USA (250)	Tajikistan (162)	Egypt (109)	**France** (89)
Ukraine	1.8	Russia (9586)	**Poland** (9485)	**Germany** (5444)	**Italy** (1903)	**Czech Republic** (1876)	USA (1426)	**Hungary** (1269)	**France** (1128)
Russia	0.7	**Germany** (9480)	USA (4688)	**France** (3643)	**UK** (3604)	**Czech Republic** (3455)	Ukraine (2930)	**Finland** (2206)	Belarus (2128)
Turkmenistan	No data	Ukraine (14053)	Russia (10128)	Belarus (8153)	Turkey (5887)	Kazakhstan (1090)	Kyrgyzstan (369)	Azerbaijan (177)	USA (170)

Source: own calculations based on UNESCO (2014b) data.