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TO THE UNITED STATES IN THE POST 9/11
PERIOD: IS THE US LOSS A GAIN FOR CANADA?**

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RESTRICTED IMMIGRATION OF FOREIGN STUDENTS TO THE UNITED STATES IN THE POST 9/11 PERIOD: IS THE US LOSS A GAIN FOR CANADA

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The terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, have resulted in the increased scrutiny of both immigrants and nonimmigrants entering the United States. The latter group includes students who enter the US on temporary visas to complete programs of higher education. Depending on the source, the number of foreign students in the United States has remained constant or fallen since 2001, and there has been a large decline amongst students from predominantly Muslim countries. Canada, however, has relaxed its entry requirements for some foreign students there has been a concerted effort amongst Canadian universities to increase foreign student enrolment. We find that the number of foreign students has continued to increase following 9/11 and in fact accelerated for graduate students as well as students from predominantly Muslim countries. We discuss the implications of this increase in foreign students.

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Keywords: Canada, United States, Foreign Students, Migration, 9/11

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Introduction and Background

Since the terrorist attacks on the United States on September 11, 2001, there has been a concerted effort in the US to restrict access to foreign nationals who are deemed to pose a threat to US security. Although foreign students who enter the United States are not restricted by numerical limits, they have been subjected to much greater scrutiny (Szelenyi, 2003), and foreign students generally perceive the academic environment in the United States to be inhospitable (Altbach, 2004). Furthermore, students from the Middle Eastern countries, especially those which are predominantly Muslim and from countries most closely identified with terrorism may be more closely scrutinized upon entering the United States. This certainly will have an impact of permanent immigration to the United States, but will most profoundly effect those seeking admission on short-term (or nonimmigrant) visas, such as students (Camarota, 2002). The likely outcome is that fewer foreign students are admitted to the country. Universities in many Western countries are actively involved in attracting foreign students, and students are aware that a number of options are available to them. Increasing the cost of entry to the United States almost certainly has had an impact on the number of foreign students desiring to study in the United States, but has this potential loss in foreign students been a gain for Canada? In other words, have students who might have studied in the United States chosen instead to come to Canada to further their education? If so, what are the potential gains to the Canadian economy?

Generally, it is thought that foreign students are beneficial for the host country.¹ Foreign students increase diversity on university campuses. Graduate students conduct research and staff laboratories and classrooms. Upon graduation talented students might elect to stay in and contribute their talents and education to the host country.² If they return, they may be important contacts that facilitate trade and goodwill between countries. Foreign students also bring in large amount of foreign currency to the host country; the Institute of International Education (2003) estimates that nearly 75 per cent of all international students' funding comes from sources outside the United States. Further, it notes that the US Department of Commerce describes higher education as the country's fifth largest service export and the half-million-plus foreign students add over US \$12 billion annually to the US economy. In Canada, the equivalent figure is roughly CDN \$4 billion (Drolet, 2004).³

Not only do foreign students tend to benefit the national economy, but it is also likely that the most productive students come from foreign countries. Research has indicated that an increasing number of doctoral degree recipients in the United States are from foreign countries (Aslanbeigui and Montecinos, 1998; Groen and Rizzo, 2004).⁴ And a sizeable number of these foreign graduate students in the United States intended to stay in the country after obtaining their doctoral degrees (Johnson and Regets, 1998; Finn, 2000). Furthermore, it is well documented that scholars and professionals educated in the United States often facilitate further migration to the US through the networks that are created between foreign nationals and foreigners educated in the United States (Cheng and Yang, 1998). Finally, US colleges and universities tend to hire a large proportion of US-trained Ph.D.s, including foreign nationals (Groen and Rizzo, 2004).

Given the importance of these highly trained and skilled foreign nationals in the new knowledge-based economy, the increased border restrictions in the United States since 9/11, coupled with the fact that Canada has not imposed the same restrictions means that Canada may be the beneficiary of the increased migration of foreign students.⁵ Insofar as these students find that Canada is a reasonable substitute for a US education, and they have the same intention of staying in Canada as they would have in the United States, this could represent a significant net human capital gain for Canada. Indeed the Association of University and Colleges of Canada (AUCC) reported that international student enrolment was up 15 per cent across the country, and by as much as 20 per cent in some provinces, based on early enrolment figures from the fall of 2003 (CEC, 2004).

A recent online survey by the Institute of International Education (2003) shows that there has been a decline in students coming from predominantly Islamic countries. This could be blamed on the perception that the new visa procedures make it difficult to enter the country, as well as the increasing competition for foreign students from other countries, including Canada. Altbach (2004) notes that students from developing countries – especially Islamic countries – reported being treated with disrespect by US officials in their home countries. Coupled with the increased delays, new visa fees, and the implementation of a computing tracking system, the US seems to be both less hospitable and more costly destination for a number of foreign students. Indeed, it would appear that Canadian universities have been beneficiaries of the new US visa requirements as foreign applications have increased at most Canadian universities since 2001.⁶

Since September 11, 2001, the United States has been tightening its procedures to reduce the probability of admitting suspected terrorists. In May 2002, the Enhanced Border Security and Visa Entry Reform Act (EBSVERA) was enacted. Under this act, the US State Department has increased its scrutiny of visa applicants from certain countries, including checks with FBI and CIA data bases of suspected and known terrorists before visas are issued. Previously, consular officials simply checked visa applicants against a “look-out list” containing some six million names. Although the list of countries is classified, it is suspected that the list is composed of nations who are seemed to be “state sponsors of terrorism” and predominantly Muslim countries. Furthermore, it seems that is men in the 16-45 age group that are the most scrutinized; the same age group that intends to enrol in US post-secondary institutions. The result has been a huge increase in the backlog of applications being processed by US Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS) and a commensurate increase in the length of time necessary to approve visas.

In 2002, the National Security Entry-Exit Registration System (NSEERS) was implemented and required all male visitors from “politically sensitive areas” (again, likely predominantly Muslim countries) to register with the then-Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS).⁷ The NSEERS has been phased out and replaced by the US-VISIT program which requires that non-immigrant visitors to the US be photographed and submit digital fingerprints upon entry to the United States, as well as registering their departures. This regulation applies to foreign students as well. In addition, in January 2003 a new Student and Exchange Visitor Information System (SEVIS) was implemented whereby accredited schools have to supply electronic files to the State Department on all foreign students currently enrolled or risk losing their accreditation to host foreign students.⁸

At the same time the United States has been increasing its entry requirements for foreign students, Canada been reducing them. Undoubtedly this is due to the increased emphasis on border security in the United States, while Canadian immigration policy continues to stress the economic benefits of immigration and commitment to providing a safe destination for refugees. As such, the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (IRPA) was implemented in June 2002. The new act, *inter alia*, stipulates that foreign students registered for courses of six months or less, do not require a study permit. This likely has increased the number of foreign students in Canada, although CIC has

stopped gathering statistics on these student flows, so there is no way of knowing for sure.⁹ As of 2001, there were over 130,000 foreign students in Canada (about 44 per cent at the university level), more than double the number only 11 years earlier (Iturralde and Calvert, 2003). The establishment of Canadian Education Centres in 17 countries, which promote study in Canada, has undoubtedly helped this increase.¹⁰

Thus, the questions we are trying to answer are:

- Has there in fact been a decrease in the number of foreign students in the United States at the undergraduate and graduate levels?
- If so, have these declines been more pronounced amongst students from predominantly Muslim countries?
- To what extent have these students been diverted to Canada?

The following section will discuss the US and Canadian data sources used, followed by analysis of these data. The final section concludes and discusses some of the implications of these results for Canadian education and Canadian immigration policy.

Data

US Data

Since no data source is available that can adequately address the questions we are trying to answer, we utilize a variety of data source. First, data for foreign students admitted to the United States comes from the United States Citizenship and Immigration Service. Each year, this department compiles a lengthy document of the various types of legal permanent and temporary admissions (or immigrant and nonimmigrant admissions).¹¹ These statistics, however, only represent the gross flows of students into the United States, since it is entries that are counted and not persons. The second source of data is from the Institute of International Education (IIE). This institute surveys universities in the United States regarding the number of foreign students enrolled in their programs by level of study each year. This is a much better source of

information since we can track changes in students enrolled in programs in the United States, and not simply the number of entries. The IIE survey has a response rate of about 90 percent, so it is considered the most authoritative data source on foreign students in the United States. The most recent data are for the academic year 2003/04.

Canadian Data

The Canadian data were obtained from two sources.¹² Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) tracks the number of foreign students in Canada each year. These data contain both stocks (i.e., the number of foreign students in Canada), as well as flows (the number of foreign students entering Canada). Second, perhaps the best source of data found come from individual university websites. Each year, most Canadian universities compile a “factbook” which generally contain a plethora of statistical measures, including the number of students enrolled by visa status, country of citizenship, level of study, etc. Furthermore, these data are often publicly available on each university’s website. Since obtaining data from all Canadian universities over a period of time is rather impractical, we limit our search to include only public institutions from British Columbia, Alberta and Ontario. This is because these are the three largest English-speaking provinces and likely contain the universities that are most well known to foreign students. In other words, these are the provinces containing the institutions that we think will be considered substitutes to American universities by foreign students. Furthermore, we limited our search to include only those universities listed as medical/doctoral or comprehensive by the annual *Maclean’s* magazine rankings. This was for two reasons: since these are Canada’s largest and best known universities and because they likely to contain significant numbers of both undergraduate and graduate students.¹³ Our final sample consists of six universities: British Columbia, Simon Fraser, Alberta, Calgary, Carleton and Waterloo. The other institutions simply did not have data over the appropriate time period or were too aggregated to be of use. Still, the sample is of sufficient size to be representative of what is happening throughout Canada.¹⁴

Finally, since we wish to address the extent of foreign student flows from countries that have a predominantly Muslim population and how this compares to the inflow of all students, we limit the detailed analysis to these countries. The Islamic states chosen are essentially the same as those in Camarota (2002).¹⁵

Results

Are there fewer foreign students entering the United States since the events of September 11, 2001? Table 1 lists the number of nonimmigrant students admitted to the United States in each of the fiscal years from 1999 through 2003.¹⁶ The total number of students admitted from Muslim countries increased by 29.6 per cent between 1999 and 2001, compared to an increase of 22.6 per cent amongst the group of all other countries. These numbers, however, decreased between 2001 and 2003 by 7.9 per cent for all other countries, but by 38.3 per cent for predominantly Muslim countries. We note again that these numbers are only for admittances, and do not count actual students.¹⁷ Thus, they may simply reflect the fact that some students are not leaving and then reentering the United States as the costs of reentering have increased (i.e., longer waiting times at airports, increased scrutiny, possible refusal of reentry, etc.). Regardless, it is interesting to see the large decline in the number of students admitted to the United States.¹⁸ It should be noted too that this change has been most dramatic amongst the individuals from the subgroup of nations labelled as "state-sponsored terrorist states" by the US Department of State.

Table 2 uses data from the IIE which counts the number of foreign students on nonimmigrant visas at US institutions of higher education. These data are much more detailed than the INS data, and also much more reliable for our purposes since they count numbers of individuals, and not number of entries into the United States. These data show a less dramatic decline in student numbers compared to the decline in the number of admittances shown in Table 1. Still, following four years of steady increases, the number of students from Muslim countries slid 10.4 per cent in 2002/03 compared to one year earlier. This compares to an increase of 1.63 per cent amongst students from other countries. This figure is well below increases in the 4-6 per cent range witnessed over the previous three academic years. Also, the declines have been larger still for individuals from state-sponsored terrorist states. Finally, comparing Tables 1 and 2 also provide support for our scepticism in using the INS data; it does appear that a number of students who might have left prior to September 11, 2001 either did not leave and then return again, or they left the country without returning.

The evidence from two data sources show that the number of students from predominantly Muslim countries in the US has in fact declined. Furthermore, students from other countries are not pursuing post-secondary education in the

Table 1: Nonimmigrants Students¹ Admitted to the United States by Country of Citizenship

Country	Fiscal Year					% change	
	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	1999-2001	2001-2003
Afghanistan	20	17	31	16	28	55.00	-9.68
Algeria	214	159	224	144	74	4.67	-66.96
Bahrain	755	852	808	589	477	7.02	-40.97
Bangladesh	2,213	2,451	2,517	1,490	1,382	13.74	-45.09
Egypt	1,646	1,926	1,796	1,137	979	9.11	-45.49
<i>Iran</i>	401	624	852	295	255	112.47	-70.07
<i>Iraq</i>	36	35	36	10	13	0.00	-63.89
Jordan	1,968	2,253	2,522	1,670	1,492	28.15	-40.84
Kuwait	4,374	4,445	4,146	3,110	2,434	-5.21	-41.29
Lebanon	1,443	2,015	2,709	1,741	1,437	87.73	-46.95
<i>Libya</i>	16	10	9	1	3	-43.75	-66.67
Mauritania	224	325	253	127	92	12.95	-63.64
Morocco	1,913	2,455	2,668	1,982	1,826	39.47	-31.56
Oman	702	824	906	685	466	29.06	-48.57
Pakistan	4,588	5,761	7,496	5,274	5,433	63.38	-27.52
Qatar	686	761	844	515	363	23.03	-56.99
Saudi Arabia	7,356	8,286	8,765	5,080	2,869	19.15	-67.27
<i>Sudan</i>	246	290	310	82	57	26.02	-81.61
<i>Syria</i>	444	510	630	328	231	41.89	-63.33
Tunisia	420	487	594	326	315	41.43	-46.97
Turkey	12,293	16,165	17,624	15,434	15,178	43.37	-13.88
United Arab Emirates	4,015	4,528	3,957	2,408	1,578	-1.44	-60.12
Western Sahara	--	--	--	3	--	--	--
Yemen	428	432	436	168	104	1.87	-76.15
Predominantly Muslim Countries	46,401	55,611	60,133	42,615	37,086	29.59	-38.33
% change over previous year		19.85	8.13	-29.13	-12.97		
<i>State-sponsored Terrorist States</i>²	1,143	1,469	1,837	716	559	60.72	-69.57
% change over previous year		28.52	25.05	-61.02	-21.93		
All Other Countries	520,745	603,470	638,462	603,401	587,831	22.61	-7.93
% change over previous year		15.89	5.80	-5.49	-2.58		

Notes: ¹Includes both F1 and M1 visa holders admitted during the relevant fiscal year, but does not include spouses and children of visa holders.

²Over this time period there are seven of these states, so declared by the U.S. Department of State. In addition to the five listed above, Cuba and North Korea are also included. Iraq has been removed from this list as of 7 May 2003.

Source: INS, *Immigration Yearbook*, and Office of Immigration Statistics, *Yearbook of Immigration Statistics*.

Table 2: Foreign Student Totals by Place of Origin, 1997/98 to 2002/03

Place of Origin	1997/98	1998/99	1999/00	2000/01	2001/02	2002/03
Afghanistan	90	77	110	75	92	102
Algeria	210	219	214	220	196	177
Bahrain	399	421	542	562	601	451
Bangladesh	3,458	3,650	3,845	4,114	3,935	3,596
Egypt	1,831	1,834	1,964	2,255	2,409	2,155
<i>Iran</i>	1,863	1,660	1,885	1,844	2,216	1,834
<i>Iraq</i>	155	159	112	155	147	127
Jordan	2,027	2,039	2,074	2,187	2,417	2,173
Kuwait	2,810	3,013	3,298	3,045	2,966	2,212
Lebanon	1,321	1,315	1,582	2,005	2,435	2,364
<i>Libya</i>	41	47	38	39	42	33
Mauritania	41	58	62	73	79	87
Morocco	1,168	1,419	1,607	1,917	2,102	2,034
Oman	595	649	661	702	623	540
Pakistan	5,821	5,905	6,107	6,948	8,644	8,123
Qatar	339	409	416	463	461	441
Saudi Arabia	4,571	4,931	5,156	5,273	5,579	4,175
<i>Sudan</i>	328	326	354	366	378	431
<i>Syria</i>	534	570	641	713	735	642
Tunisia	277	300	344	385	458	381
Turkey	9,081	9,377	10,100	10,983	12,091	11,601
United Arab Emirates	2,225	2,524	2,539	2,659	2,121	1,792
Western Sahara	5	6	5	2	8	4
Yemen	341	329	372	411	436	375
Predominantly Muslim Countries	39,531	41,237	44,028	47,396	51,171	45,850
% change over previous year		4.32	6.77	7.65	7.96	-10.40
<i>State-sponsored Terrorist States</i>	<i>2,921</i>	<i>2,762</i>	<i>3,030</i>	<i>3,117</i>	<i>3,518</i>	<i>3,067</i>
% change over previous year		-5.44	9.70	2.87	12.86	-12.82
All Other Countries	441,749	449,696	470,695	500,471	531,825	540,473
% change over previous year		1.80	4.67	6.33	6.26	1.63
Other	50,494	43,705	59,293	54,941	57,168	58,344
% change over previous year		-13.45	35.67	-7.34	4.05	2.06
Undergraduate degrees	223,276	235,802	237,211	254,429	261,079	260,103
% change over previous year		5.61	0.60	7.26	2.61	-0.37
Graduate degrees	207,510	211,426	218,219	238,497	264,749	267,876
% change over previous year		1.89	3.21	9.29	11.01	1.18

Notes: Includes all foreign individuals on nonimmigrant visas enrolled in programs leading to associate degrees, bachelor's degrees, and graduate or first professional degrees, and others which includes language schools, vocational training, etc.

Source: Institute of International Education, *Open Doors*, various years.

United States at the same rate of growth witnessed in the period before 9/11. Unfortunately, we have no way of knowing from these two sources if it is US policy which is influencing the decision of students, or if it is institutions of post-secondary learning that are admitting fewer of these applicants. Still it is unlikely that the universities themselves, which rely so heavily on foreign students as a source of revenue and talent, are responsible for this decline. Recent evidence suggests that there is growing frustration amongst many universities in the United States regarding restrictive US immigration policy for foreign students; a coalition of five higher education associations in the United States attribute the drop in applications to an impression that the US has an unwelcoming climate for international students.¹⁹

We have answered the first question posed, namely “Have the number of foreign students entering the United States decreased since 9/11?” The answer appears to be yes. Furthermore, there has been a steeper decline in students originating in predominantly Muslim countries, as we expected. Still, we have to ask are these students then coming to Canada. The global market for higher education is highly competitive, and there are other options for students from these countries. We now turn to Canadian data sources in an attempt to answer our second question: “Has there been an increase in foreign students attending Canadian universities?”

Tables 3 and 4 contain CIC data on the flows and stocks of foreign students to Canada by country of last permanent residence. The final two columns of each table indicate the percentage increase in the 1999-2001 and 2001-2003 periods (i.e., two years on either side of 9/11). In Table 3, the increase in students from predominantly Muslim countries was about 34 per cent from 1999 to 2001, somewhat lower than the 42 per cent increase from all other countries, while student numbers from state-sponsored terrorist states rose by about 24 per cent. Between 2001 and 2003, those from predominantly Muslim countries increased by only 6.5 per cent while those from state-sponsored terrorist states rose by almost 68 per cent. This compares to a decrease of 16.6 per cent amongst students from all other countries. It should be noted, however, that these figures for the 2001-2003 period are certainly an underestimate of the true number of students admitted to Canada. This is owing to the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (enacted in June 2002) which has the provision that foreign students studying in Canada for a period of six months or less do not require student authorizations. This pattern, however, is generally reflected in the stock numbers in Table 4.

Table 3: Flows of Foreign Students to Canada, Selected Countries and Total, 1997-2003

Country	Fiscal Year					% Change			
	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	1999-2001	2001-2003
Afghanistan				0					
Algeria	24	15	23	38	30	44	41	30.43	36.67
Bahrain	9	8	45	43	37	32	45	-17.78	21.62
Bangladesh	85	169	249	176	395	446	408	58.63	3.29
Egypt	63	71	93	147	156	135	158	67.74	1.28
Iran	151	164	201	226	320	437	603	59.20	88.44
Iraq				4	5		0		
Jordan	76	101	98	136	95	98	82	-3.06	-13.68
Kuwait	45	48	78	65	63	82	67	-19.23	6.35
Lebanon	32	60	95	149	260	221	195	173.68	-25.00
Libya	165	210	199	273	159	70	256	-20.10	61.01
Mauritania	10	4	8	7	13	9	16	62.50	23.08
Morocco	336	350	449	485	538	442	455	19.82	-15.43
Oman	16	30	38	24	42	42	49	10.53	16.67
Pakistan	279	358	525	382	374	260	317	-28.76	-15.24
Qatar	4	7	17	21	27	91	38	58.82	40.74
Saudi Arabia	136	164	191	226	276	330	531	44.50	92.39
Sudan			4	6		4	4		
Syria	7	16	22	30	46	28	27	109.09	-41.30
Tunisia	173	224	280	357	587	459	389	109.64	-33.73
Turkey	73	125	280	388	430	438	363	53.57	-15.58
United Arab Emirates	88	156	243	330	364	411	426	49.79	17.03
Yemen		15	12	16	18	28	45	50.00	
Predominantly Muslim Countries	1,779	2,307	3,153	3,529	4,239	4,111	4,515	34.44	6.51
% change over previous year		29.68	36.67	11.93	20.12	-3.02	9.83		
State-sponsored Terrorist States²	323	390	426	539	530	539	890	24.41	67.92
% change over previous year		20.74	9.23	26.53	-1.67	1.70	65.12		
All Other Countries	40,767	38,689	47,882	58,487	68,078	63,913	56,778	42.18	-16.60
% change over previous year		-5.10	23.76	22.15	16.40	-6.12	-11.16		

Notes: No data for Western Sahara. Blank cells are the result of data suppression due to too few student permits issued. As a result, column totals may not add. Data are for total student authorisations, although individuals may also hold other immigrant authorisations. Individuals are classified by country of last permanent residence.

Source: Special Tabulations from Citizenship and Immigration Canada.

Table 4: Stocks of Foreign Students in Canada, Selected Countries and Total, 1997-2003

Country	Fiscal Year							% Change	
	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	1999-2001	2001-2003
Afghanistan	0	0	0	0	2	3	3		50.00
Algeria	67	61	68	87	87	99	117	27.94	34.48
Bahrain	28	37	62	102	114	121	132	83.87	15.79
Bangladesh	140	143	287	412	654	1,049	1,327	127.87	102.91
Egypt	131	159	176	262	355	402	464	101.70	30.70
<i>Iran</i>	<i>831</i>	<i>677</i>	<i>571</i>	<i>575</i>	<i>639</i>	<i>863</i>	<i>1,225</i>	<i>11.91</i>	<i>91.71</i>
<i>Iraq</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>0.00</i>	<i>-20.00</i>
Jordan	124	161	190	236	285	300	307	50.00	7.72
Kuwait	63	104	151	157	193	241	239	27.81	23.83
Lebanon	100	134	186	253	432	569	611	132.26	41.44
<i>Libya</i>	<i>383</i>	<i>308</i>	<i>326</i>	<i>369</i>	<i>298</i>	<i>235</i>	<i>385</i>	<i>-8.59</i>	<i>29.19</i>
Mauritania	25	20	21	22	29	25	30	38.10	3.45
Morocco	810	923	1,090	1,286	1,437	1,455	1,439	31.83	0.14
Oman	34	54	80	92	113	137	154	41.25	36.28
Pakistan	441	659	1,053	1,154	1,238	1,141	1,192	17.57	-3.72
Qatar	6	11	24	40	58	130	134	141.67	131.03
Saudi Arabia	348	368	428	493	596	701	920	39.25	54.36
<i>Sudan</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>42.86</i>	<i>10.00</i>
<i>Syria</i>	<i>23</i>	<i>29</i>	<i>34</i>	<i>52</i>	<i>83</i>	<i>94</i>	<i>101</i>	<i>144.12</i>	<i>21.69</i>
Tunisia	476	521	605	771	976	1,157	1,194	61.32	22.34
Turkey	138	181	328	461	611	777	853	86.28	39.61
United Arab Emirates	134	239	415	621	821	1,019	1,215	97.83	47.99
Yemen	5	12	25	39	55	79	95	120.00	72.73
Predominantly Muslim Countries	4,325	4,811	6,132	7,499	9,091	10,613	12,152	48.26	33.67
% change over previous year		11.24	27.46	22.29	21.23	16.74	14.50		
<i>State-sponsored Terrorist States</i> ²	<i>1,255</i>	<i>1,024</i>	<i>943</i>	<i>1,011</i>	<i>1,035</i>	<i>1,208</i>	<i>1,726</i>	<i>9.76</i>	<i>66.76</i>
% change over previous year		-18.41	-7.91	7.21	2.37	16.71	42.88		
All Other Countries	72,187	72,875	82,007	96,594	117,305	128,848	139,299	43.04	18.75
% change over previous year		0.95	12.53	17.79	21.44	9.84	8.11		

Notes: Data are for number of individuals by country of last permanent residence as of December 1st each year. No data for Western Sahara.

Source: Special Tabulations from Citizenship and Immigration Canada.

The interesting phenomena in these data is that the Canadian numbers are almost mirror images to those for the United States: The largest increases for Canada over the 2001-03 period are amongst students from state-sponsored terrorist states, followed by predominantly Muslim countries and those from all other countries. For the United States, the pattern is opposite with the largest decreases amongst those from state-sponsored terrorist states followed by those from predominantly Muslim countries and finally all other countries (Table 1).

To further investigate and corroborate this trend, we compile data from our sample of six Canadian universities in Figure 1.²⁰ The figure shows the year-over-year percentage increases in the number of students coming from predominantly Muslim countries as well as all other countries. The data show that there has been an increase in students from all countries, but this increase has been especially pronounced for students originating in Muslim countries, and for graduate students from all countries. Although the growth in foreign students began before the events of 9/11, clearly the growth in 2002/03 and 2003/04 has been larger compared to the two previous years. Furthermore, this pattern has generally occurred at each of the six universities considered here (See Appendix for individual university details).

Conclusions and Discussion

Following the events of 9/11, there has been an increase in the number of foreign students studying at the university level in Canada; this has coincided with the decrease in international students studying in the United States. We have documented both of these phenomena. In terms of students coming to Canada, we have shown that the growth began earlier than 2001, but has accelerated since this time, especially amongst students from predominantly Muslim countries. This growth has coincided with the drop in students from these same countries entering the United States. It has been argued that US immigration policy is now less hospitable to foreign students, and especially so for students from Muslim countries.

We also note a much more dramatic increase in graduate students registering in Canadian universities. But why are foreign graduate students, especially those from predominantly Muslim countries, increasing their numbers at a faster rate than undergraduate students from the same region? Increasing numbers of

students began to enter Canada before the events of 9/11. This is likely the result of the increasing foreign demand for university educations, in general, and the prestige of a North American education, in particular. We have evidence from the United States which suggests that foreign students often stay on in that country to work following graduation and this is especially true of graduate students who fill an increasing number of faculty positions at universities throughout the country. If these individuals desire to live in Canada following graduate school, then attending a Canadian graduate program might be the best option.

Although Canadian universities have been trying to increase foreign enrolments, it is unlikely that this alone is responsible for the large increase in foreign students, especially those from Muslim nations. Of the 17 Canadian Education Centres established overseas, Turkey is the only country in our sample which houses one, and growth in the number of foreign students from that country has been about the same as that of all predominantly Muslim countries. While we cannot say definitively that stricter entrance requirements to foreign students entering the US have resulted in some of these students choosing Canada, the data presented do not refute this hypothesis.

This increased flow of foreign students is likely to continue for sometime.²¹ There is a general increase in demand for university education worldwide, especially so amongst developing countries that do not have the capacity at the present time to provide spots to qualified students. Furthermore, the scrutiny of foreign students attempting to study in the United States is likely to increase, not decrease as there may be even more internal pressure in the United States to limit immigration (both temporary and permanent) in the future, especially amongst individuals from Muslim nations.²² This depends on a number of factors including the outcome (if there is one) of the so-called war on terrorism.

Canada, however, may be the beneficiary of restrictive US immigration policies. Although foreign students are only a small part of total immigration to Canada, the composition of this flow is very important, especially if the number of students coming to Canada continues to increase as expected.²³ There are several economic benefits that can be ascertained, and each is worthy of further research and policy consideration:

- Since evidence for the US suggests that most foreign students finance their

education from non-US sources, the economic benefits would now accrue to Canada;

- Foreign students provide an important source of revenue to Canadian universities since these students generally pay higher tuition and fees;
- The impressive growth in the number of foreign graduate students means that Canada is attracting the best and the brightest from these countries, and graduate students will become increasingly necessary to staff laboratories, teach classes, etc. as the demand for university education continues to increase;
- Similarly, an increase in foreign graduate students might help to reduce the impending faculty shortage at Canadian universities;
- Foreign students, especially graduate students, provide a supply of potential permanent residents for Canada; and,
- The lack-of-recognition of foreign credentials has impeded the entry into the labour force of many immigrants. Obviously this will be less of a problem in Canada as these foreign students obtain Canadian credentials.

Recently, there has been talk of increasing integration between Canada and the US to include the freer movement of labour between the two countries. In the wake of September 11th, this would undoubtedly require some sort of joint border policy which would have implications for the current disparate immigration policies of the two countries.²⁴ While politically this might be a prudent policy to follow, the economic implications should be fully explored.

Notes

- 1 The minority opinion is offered by Borjas (2002) who argues that the benefits to the United States tend to be grossly overestimated and that it is mainly the foreign students and host universities that benefit because of subsidized tuition and cheap labour, respectively. He writes: "Once one stops mindlessly humming the *Ode to Diversity* that plays such a central role in the modern secular liturgy – and particularly so in higher education – it is far from clear that the program generates a net benefit to the United States." (p. 13)

- 2 For example, in the US, Aslanbeigui and Montecinos (1998) find that 60 per cent of their survey respondents planned to work in the US either temporary (45 per cent) or permanently (15 per cent) following completion of their Ph.D. programs in economics. Similarly, over 50 per cent of the individuals who completed their doctorates in the United States in the 1990s stayed in that country (Finn, 2001). Furthermore, science doctorates who remain in the US contribute a larger amount to the advancement of science than their native counterparts (Stephan and Levin, 2001).
- 3 In 2001, roughly 44 per cent (or about 57,000) of the 130,000 foreign students in Canada were studying at the university level (CIC, 2003). In the United States, the comparable number of university-level students was about 445,000 out of 586,000 in 2002, or about 78 per cent (IIE, 2003:2).
- 4 The first of these articles is the result of a 1996 survey of foreign students in Ph.D. programs at the top US programs. Of the total of 2479 applications made to foreign graduate schools, applications to Canadian universities were third (behind the US and the U.K.) and comprised 1.6 per cent of all applications. One reason for the attractiveness of US programs (55 per cent of respondents) was the availability of financial support. Since this is less of a factor for undergraduate students, we can comfortably speculate that the proportion of applications sent to Canadian universities will be much higher.
- 5 One the surface it seems paradoxical that only a small number of foreign students returned home following September 11, and many of these returned to complete their students. However, it is likely that those with a significant university-specific investment in human capital were the ones to return to the US to complete their studies. We are interested in knowing the numbers of new international students entering the US and Canada, since these provide a more accurate picture of international student flows.
- 6 More aggressive marketing of Canadian universities as well as the lower relative cost of Canadian universities are also credited with this increase in foreign students (Drolet, 2004).
- 7 The duties of the INS were taken over by the United States Citizenship and Immigration Service (USCIS) on March 1, 2003. The USCIS is a part of the new Department of Homeland Security.
- 8 Details can be found in Martin (2004) and Rudolph (2004). Foreign students are expected to pay the US \$95 for this "service."
- 9 In its brief submitted to the House of Commons Standing Committee of Citizenship and Immigration Canada, the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada (AUCC) lauded these changes, but suggested that they did not go far enough in facilitating the entry of students into Canada. The document refers to the lack of a coherent and coordinated national policy which is harming Canada's position in the global competition for students (see AUCC, 2002).
- 10 Turkey is the only predominantly Muslim country that is home to one of these centres.
- 11 These can be found at <http://uscis.gov/graphics/shared/statistics/yearbook/index.htm>. Prior to fiscal year 2002, these were titled the *Statistical Yearbook* of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, a branch of the Department of Justice. Since fiscal year 2002, the name has been changed to the *Yearbook of Immigration Statistics*. This move coincides with renaming of the Immigration and Naturalization Service to the US Citizenship and

- Immigration Services (USCIS) as of March 1, 2003. The USCIS is a bureau of the newly-formed US Department of Homeland Security.
- 12 Another source of potentially useful Canadian data comes from the Council of Ontario Universities (COU). Each year, the COU compiles data on applications and registrations into each of the 18 public universities in that province. These data are useful because they give the researcher an idea about intention to attend university (as reflected in the application numbers) and actual attendance (as reflected in the registration numbers). Unfortunately, the most recent year in this data set is for 2002 and the coverage is limited to new undergraduate students, making the data somewhat limited in usefulness for our purposes.
- 13 The third category in the *Maclean's* ranking is primarily undergraduate institutions. These institutions are generally smaller and focus on providing education to local or regional students.
- 14 For 2003/04, our results are generally similar to those using results compiled with preliminary data by the AUCC (Drolet, 2004). Our numbers tend to be a little higher, but this is expected given that we have chosen some of Canada's better-known universities. We have no reason to believe, however, that our sample will distort the trends in international students in Canada, and this is the measure in which we are interested.
- 15 The exception is Israel and the Palestinian Authority, which are not included in our analysis. The former because it is not a predominantly Muslim nation and the latter because it is not always appropriately disaggregated in the data. A check of the CIA World Factbook (available online at www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/) confirmed that each of these countries has an overwhelmingly Muslim population.
- 16 The US fiscal year runs from October 1st through September 30th. For example, FY 2002 would be from October 1, 2002 through September 30, 2003.
- 17 See Borjas (2002) for details.
- 18 We also produced a similar table for J1 exchange visitors. These are individuals coming to the United States on academic exchanges, but also include a number of foreign students. We found a similar, albeit less pronounced, pattern amongst this group of nonimmigrant visa holders. According to the IIE (2003:55) in 2002/03, 86.0 per cent of undergraduates held F visas, 2.9 per cent had J visas, 0.1 per cent had M visa, and the remaining 11.0 per cent held other visas. For graduate students, these numbers were 87.0, 5.9, 0.1, and 9.9 per cent, respectively.
- 19 Recently, according a survey conducted by the Council of Graduate Students, graduate student applications from international sources have fallen by 32 per cent for fall 2004 admissions, compared to fall 2003 (itself a poor year). This finding is mirrored by five other agencies concerned with higher education in the US (CEC, 2004).
- 20 The complete data used to generate this chart can be found in the Appendix.
- 21 Indeed, recent evidence suggests that this trend is continuing. See Sam Dillon, "US Slips in Status as Hub of Higher Education," *New York Times*, December 21, 2004, and Caroline Alphonso, "Facing US Security Hurdles, Top Students Flock to Canada," *Globe and Mail*, February 22, 2005.
- 22 This scrutiny of Muslims seems certain to increase following the release of the 9/11 Commission report in July 2004. The report notes that the threat to the United States is

- not simply a few rogue Islamic extremists, but rather an ideology which is widespread in the Islamic world and has been given support by young, disaffected Muslims and gained sympathy amongst other Muslims as well (Pipes, 2004).
- 23 On April 18, 2005, Minister of Citizenship and Immigration Joe Volpe announced changes to immigration policies that will allow international students to work off campus during their studies and seek employment in Canada for up to two years following graduation. These, and other changes announced, are aimed at making Canada a more attractive destination for foreign students.
- 24 See Green (2004) for a discussion of this issue and how harmonization of immigration policies (likely towards the US model) would result in costs to the Canadian economy.

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Appendix

Table A-1: Foreign Student Totals by Country of Origin, Selected Canadian Universities, 1997/98 to 2003/04

	Academic Year						
	1997/98	1998/99	1999/00	2000/01	2001/02	2002/03	2003/04
Carleton University							
<i>Undergraduate Students</i>							
Algeria			1				
Bahrain			1	5	6	3	4
Bangladesh	1	2		1	4	7	10
Egypt	2	2	10	10	15	16	23
Iran	3	1	4	7	11	12	26
Iraq	1						
Jordan	3	4	4	4	6	8	8
Kuwait		1	2	3	3	13	10
Lebanon	1	1	4	8	7	7	8
Libya		1	1			1	2
Morocco		1	1		1		
Oman		3	6	7	8	10	9
Pakistan	6	11	11	7	12	9	19
Qatar		2	2	2	2	1	1
Saudi Arabia	2	3	10	12	8	17	16
Sudan			1	2	3	2	1
Syria			1		1	2	4
Turkey	4	3	6	7	12	13	14
United Arab Emirates	1	2	10	15	12	29	20
Yemen		1	4	2	3	4	1
Predominantly Muslim Countries	24	38	79	92	114	154	176
% change over previous year		58.33	107.89	16.46	23.91	35.09	14.29
All Other Countries	406	367	378	444	567	814	1,116
% change over previous year		-9.61	3.00	17.46	27.70	43.56	37.10
<i>Graduate Students</i>							
Bangladesh	1	1	3	7	13	9	13
Egypt	2	7	6	16	22	23	22
Iran	7	5	13	19	20	37	49
Jordan			2	2	3	3	6
Kuwait							1
Lebanon						1	2
Libya	13	10	5	5	5	4	4
Morocco						1	
Pakistan	2	5	6	1	3	5	5
Saudi Arabia	1	1	1				3
Sudan				1			1
Syria					1		1
Turkey	7	3	5	6	14	18	18
United Arab Emirates					1	2	6
Predominantly Muslim Countries	33	32	41	57	82	103	131
% change over previous year		-3.03	28.13	39.02	43.86	25.61	27.18
All Other Countries	166	164	156	197	188	198	280
% change over previous year		-1.20	-4.88	26.28	-4.57	5.32	41.41

Table A-1 cont.

	Academic Year						
	1997/98	1998/99	1999/00	2000/01	2001/02	2002/03	2003/04
Simon Fraser University							
<i>Undergraduate Students</i>							
Afghanistan			1	1	1	1	1
Bahrain					1	1	1
Bangladesh			1	1	2	1	4
Egypt				1	2	2	3
Iran			3	5	6	8	14
Jordan			2	2	1	2	4
Lebanon					1		
Pakistan			1	2	6	9	5
Turkey			2	1	3	5	5
United Arab Emirates			1	1			
Predominantly Muslim Countries			11	14	23	29	37
% change over previous year				27.27	64.29	26.09	27.59
All Other Countries			535	694	815	1,028	1,101
% change over previous year				29.72	17.44	26.13	7.10
<i>Graduate Students</i>							
Bangladesh			2		3	5	9
Iran			7	11	10	20	33
Iraq			1	1	1	3	1
Kuwait							1
Mauritania						1	1
Pakistan			3	2	1	2	
Sudan					1	1	1
Turkey					1	3	6
United Arab Emirates						1	1
Predominantly Muslim Countries			13	14	17	36	53
% change over previous year				7.69	21.43	111.76	47.22
All Other Countries			332	350	335	330	382
% change over previous year				5.42	-4.29	-1.49	15.76

Table A-1 cont.

	Academic Year						
	1997/98	1998/99	1999/00	2000/01	2001/02	2002/03	2003/04
University of Alberta							
<i>Undergraduate Students</i>							
Algeria						1	
Bahrain			1				
Bangladesh						4	4
Egypt					2	2	2
Iran	1	1	1	2	1	2	2
Iraq	1		1	1	2		
Jordan							1
Kuwait	2	3	3	3	3	1	1
Lebanon					2	6	5
Libya					2	3	2
Oman						2	2
Pakistan	1	2	3	10	6	6	10
Qatar	1	2	2	3	3	2	1
Saudi Arabia	22	22	24	29	26	37	42
Sudan				1			
Syria				1	1		
Turkey			3	2	3	4	9
United Arab Emirates	1	3	3	4	8	10	10
Yemen			1			1	2
Predominantly Muslim Countries	29	33	42	56	59	81	93
% change over previous year		13.79	27.27	33.33	5.36	37.29	14.81
All Other Countries	393	469	511	556	628	743	885
% change over previous year		19.34	8.96	8.81	12.95	18.31	19.11
<i>Graduate Students</i>							
Algeria	1	1					
Bahrain		1		1			
Bangladesh	8	9	14	15	21	30	33
Egypt	2	5	3	4	4	9	10
Iran	26	22	15	16	11	24	37
Iraq				1	2		
Jordan			1	2	2	2	3
Kuwait	1	1	1	2			
Lebanon	1	1	1				
Libya	2	2	1	1	1	1	1
Morocco	1	1			1		
Oman	1	1	1			2	2
Pakistan	7	9	5	8	7	16	14
Saudi Arabia	3	1	1	2	1	1	2
Sudan		1					
Syria					1		
Tunisia			1	1			
Turkey	4	8	7	8	9	10	13
United Arab Emirates			1	2			
Predominantly Muslim Countries	57	63	53	63	60	95	115
% change over previous year		10.53	-15.87	18.87	-4.76	58.33	21.05
All Other Countries	479	498	491	538	639	743	878
% change over previous year		3.97	-1.41	9.57	18.77	16.28	18.17

Table A-1 cont.

	Academic Year						
	1997/98	1998/99	1999/00	2000/01	2001/02	2002/03	2003/04
University of British Columbia							
<i>Undergraduate Students</i>							
Algeria			1				
Bahrain		3	3	1	1	1	3
Bangladesh		1			1	1	3
Egypt		1					1
Iran		6	5	6	7	6	15
Jordan				1	1	2	3
Kuwait		10	10	11	10	20	15
Lebanon		2	2	2	3	2	2
Libya		1	1		2	2	2
Morocco			1	1			
Oman				1	1	1	3
Pakistan		3	6	5	7	7	8
Qatar						1	6
Saudi Arabia		45	24	29	38	42	48
Sudan		1	1	1	1		
Tunisia						1	
Turkey				1	2	4	8
United Arab Emirates		2	2		1	3	4
Yemen							1
Predominantly Muslim Countries		75	56	59	75	93	122
% change over previous year			-25.33	5.36	27.12	24.00	31.18
All Other Countries		1,093	1,132	1,283	1,573	1,885	2,329
% change over previous year			3.57	13.34	22.60	19.83	23.55
<i>Graduate Students</i>							
Algeria					1		
Bahrain		2	1	1		1	
Bangladesh		1	3	6	10	15	25
Egypt			1	1			2
Iran		28	27	29	29	43	71
Iraq		1	1				1
Jordan		2	2			1	2
Kuwait		2	2	2	2	3	5
Lebanon			1	1		1	4
Libya		7	6	4	3	2	2
Morocco		1	1				
Oman							1
Pakistan		2	3	5	5	8	10
Saudi Arabia		1	1	3	6	6	
Sudan				1	1	1	7
Syria							1
Tunisia		1	1				
Turkey		6	7	9	10	14	18
United Arab Emirates		1	1	1	1		1
Predominantly Muslim Countries		55	58	63	68	95	150
% change over previous year			5.45	8.62	7.94	39.71	57.89
All Other Countries	1,081	940	913	988	1,085	1,263	1,603
% change over previous year		-13.04	-2.87	8.21	9.82	16.41	26.92

Table A-1 cont.

	Academic Year						
	1997/98	1998/99	1999/00	2000/01	2001/02	2002/03	2003/04
University of Calgary							
<i>Undergraduate Students</i>							
Algeria					1		
Bahrain				1			2
Bangladesh		1	3	4	2	3	8
Egypt	2	1		1			
Iran	1	2	3	3	8	10	10
Iraq		1	1	1	2		
Jordan			1	2	2	2	1
Kuwait	8	9	5	4	3	4	3
Lebanon		1	1	1	1	2	2
Libya	2	5	5	4	4	3	2
Morocco					1	1	1
Oman					1	1	1
Pakistan	1	2	5	5	7	7	8
Qatar				7			1
Saudi Arabia	8	13	13	15	18	22	31
Sudan	1						
Syria							1
Turkey	1	2	3	2	2	2	
United Arab Emirates					3	3	2
Yemen		1	7	12	18	23	31
Predominantly Muslim Countries	24	38	47	62	73	83	104
% change over previous year		58.33	23.68	31.91	17.74	13.70	25.30
All Other Countries	408	445	458	484	584	597	726
% change over previous year		9.07	2.92	5.68	20.66	2.23	21.61
<i>Graduate Students</i>							
Bangladesh	2	1	3	6	7	10	12
Egypt	6	4	2	5	13	16	22
Iran	15	11	2	6	27	31	53
Iraq						1	1
Jordan	1	2	3	3	1	3	4
Kuwait					1	1	1
Lebanon			1	2	1	1	1
Libya	1	1			1		2
Morocco							1
Pakistan		1		1	2	4	5
Saudi Arabia					2	3	11
Sudan							1
Tunisia			2	2			
Turkey		2	2		1	2	2
Yemen							1
Predominantly Muslim Countries	25	22	15	25	56	71	117
% change over previous year		-12.00	-31.82	66.67	124.00	26.79	64.79
All Other Countries	295	251	341	305	318	414	492
% change over previous year		-14.92	35.86	-10.56	4.26	30.19	18.84

Table A-1 cont.

	Academic Year						
	1997/98	1998/99	1999/00	2000/01	2001/02	2002/03	2003/04
Univeristy of Waterloo							
<i>Undergraduate Students</i>							
Bahrain						1	1
Bangladesh		2	3	4	7	10	13
Egypt					2	2	
Iran		2	2	2	6	8	8
Jordan				1	2	2	3
Lebanon					1	1	2
Libya							1
Morroco						1	1
Oman			1		1		
Pakistan		5	11	16	18	34	51
Saudi Arabia							1
Tunisia							1
Yemen					2	2	
Predominantly Muslim Countries		9	17	23	39	61	82
% change over previous year			88.89	35.29	69.57	56.41	34.43
All Other Countries		252	322	426	584	788	919
% change over previous year			27.78	32.30	37.09	34.93	16.62
<i>Graduate Students</i>							
Algeria			1	1	1	1	1
Bangladesh		2	1	3	8	16	22
Egypt		2	3	14	12	15	19
Iran		11	11	16	23	44	68
Jordan			1	1	1	2	2
Kuwait		2	2	1	1	1	1
Lebanon			2	1	1	3	4
Libya		9	8	5	3		2
Pakistan		1	2	3	5	4	6
Saudi Arabia		1	1	1	2	1	7
Tunisia		3	1	1			
Turkey			1	1		1	6
Predominantly Muslim Countries		31	34	48	57	88	138
% change over previous year			9.68	41.18	18.75	54.39	56.82
All Other Countries		189	212	253	301	379	401
% change over previous year			12.17	19.34	18.97	25.91	5.80
All Selected Universities							
Total from non-PMCs			5,781	6,518	7,617	9,182	11,112
% change over previous year				12.75	16.86	20.55	21.02
Total from PMCs			466	576	723	989	1,318
% change over previous year				23.61	25.52	36.79	33.27
Total Undergraduates from non-PMCs			3,336	3,887	4,751	5,855	7,076
% change over previous year				16.52	22.23	23.24	20.85
Undergraduates from PMCs			252	306	383	501	614
% change over previous year				21.43	25.16	30.81	22.55
Total Graduates from non-PMCs			2,445	2,631	2,866	3,327	4,036
% change over previous year				7.61	8.93	16.09	21.31
Graduates from PMCs			214	270	340	488	704
% change over previous year				26.17	25.93	43.53	44.26

Table A-1 cont.

	Academic Year						
	1997/98	1998/99	1999/00	2000/01	2001/02	2002/03	2003/04
All Selected Countries by PMC							
<i>Undergraduate Students</i>							
Afghanistan			1	1	1	1	1
Algeria			2	0	1	1	0
Bahrain			5	7	8	6	11
Bangladesh			7	10	16	26	42
Egypt			10	12	21	22	29
Iran			18	25	39	46	75
Iraq			2	2	4	0	0
Jordan			7	10	12	16	20
Kuwait			20	21	19	38	29
Lebanon			7	11	15	18	19
Libya			7	4	8	9	9
Morocco			2	1	2	2	2
Oman			7	8	11	14	15
Qatar			4	12	5	4	9
Pakistan			37	45	56	72	101
Saudi Arabia			71	85	90	118	138
Sudan			2	4	4	2	1
Syria			1	1	2	2	5
Tunisia			0	0	0	1	1
Turkey			14	13	22	28	36
United Arab Emirates			16	20	24	45	36
Yemen			12	14	23	30	35
Total Undergraduates from PMCs			252	306	383	501	614
Graduate Students							
Algeria			1	1	2	1	1
Bahrain			2	2	0	1	0
Bangladesh			26	37	62	85	114
Egypt			15	40	51	63	75
Iran			75	97	120	199	311
Iraq			2	2	3	4	3
Jordan			9	8	7	11	17
Kuwait			5	5	4	5	9
Lebanon			5	4	2	5	11
Libya			20	15	13	7	11
Mauritania			0	0	0	1	1
Morocco			1	0	1	1	1
Oman			1	0	0	2	3
Pakistan			19	20	23	39	40
Saudi Arabia			4	6	11	11	23
Sudan			0	2	2	2	10
Syria			0	0	2	0	2
Tunisia			5	4	0	0	0
Turkey			22	24	35	48	63
United Arab Emirates			2	3	2	3	8
Yemen			0	0	0	0	1
Total Graduates from PMCs			214	270	340	488	704

Note: Totals include only students registered full-time on student or other visas.

General Information

• What are PCERII Working Papers?

PCERII's working paper series is related to the broad mandate of the Metropolis Project. This initiative is designed to: (1) speed up the dissemination of research results relevant to the interests and concerns of Metropolis researchers, policy-makers, NGOs; (2) fulfill a commitment made in the application to SSHRC/CIC for a renewal grant for the Prairie Centre; and (3) populate the Virtual Library on the PCERII web site.

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