

Exit regime for international students: The case of Georgia

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Abstract

In this paper, we focus on an exit regime for an important and fast rising, but still under-researched form of migration: student migration. More and more countries in the Global South—which suffered large emigration numbers of students to the Global North in the past—have started to establish their own exit regimes to regulate student emigration in their own interests. How do these exit regimes for students studying abroad operate? And are they actually successful in regulating student migration in the interest of the emigration state? Here, we take a closer look at the exit regime of the Caucasian state of Georgia. Drawing on Krasner's regime theory and on a larger empirical study, we identified a sophisticated exit regime of the Georgian state that operates on the basis of various scholarship programmes for Georgian students who study abroad and who have to return to Georgia after graduation.

INTRODUCTION

As stated in the introduction of this special issue, the “right of exit” of people from their specific home country can cause specific reactions by the state government of this emigration country (Hirschman, 1970). These reactions can include the establishment of an exit regime to regulate and manage emigration. Contemporary research often focuses on specific forms of emigration, such as asylum regimes (Pott et al., 2018) or labour migrant regimes (Broude, 2007). In this paper, we focus on an exit regime for another important and fast rising, but still under-researched form of migration: student migration.¹ In contrast to refugee or labour migration, student migration is

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not subject of strict state regulation based on the rationale of border control and specific labour market needs, but is mainly regulated by the demand and registration provisions for international students by universities abroad. However, more and more countries in the Global South—which suffered large emigration numbers of students to the Global North in the past—have started to establish their own *exit regimes* to regulate student emigration in their own interests. In this context, several countries of origin established specific scholarship programmes which fund studying abroad under the requirement of returning to their home country after they finished their studies.² Thus, they want to take advantage of good education opportunities in Western countries for their future leaders and their possible impact on the development of the country after they return.³ However, fostering educational migration abroad presents a certain dilemma, because it can help improve the human capital in the home country, but it can also foster brain drain.

How do these exit regimes for students studying abroad operate? And are they actually successful in regulating student migration in the interest of the emigration state? In the following, we take a closer look at a specific exit regime for international students: the exit regime of the Caucasian state of Georgia. Georgia is an interesting case, because many Georgian students want to study abroad or did that already in the past, and many of them return back to Georgia after their studies (more than 90% in our investigated scholarship programme). The state of Georgia is actively promoting this trend by a dense scholarship network with domestic and foreign partners coordinated by the diaspora ministry in Tbilisi. Here, we will focus particularly on the German partner institutions and organisations, because Germany and its student scholarship programmes are the closest partners of the Georgian state programmes for students, and Germany is by far the most popular study destination for Georgian students in the Western world, next to the United States (UNESCO, 2021).⁴

The presented research results are part of a larger two and a half years empirical study about international students from countries in the Global South to Germany, including students from Georgia (Krannich & Hunger, 2020).⁵ In total, we conducted 43 in-depth interviews with Georgian students and actors in this case study. 29 in-depth interviews were with Georgian students and alumni of scholarship programmes of the Georgian state and German organisations during field study in Germany (13 of them are in Germany) and a 4 weeks field trip in Georgia (16 of them are in Georgia).⁶ In addition, we interviewed 14 representatives of institutions and organisations which constitute an important part of the exit regime in Georgia.⁷ Furthermore, we conducted 10 observations in Georgian state institutions and other relevant organisations⁸ during the field tip in Georgia.⁹ Interview transliterations were analysed by applying the integrative analysis method (Kruse, 2015). The observation protocols were analysed by applying selective coding (Strauss, 1991) to allocate important text passages to generated codes and central samples.

To explain and analyse the specific student exit policy in Georgia, we draw on the most common regime theory developed by Stephen D. Krasner, who defines regimes as

“a set of implicit or explicit principles, norms, rules, and decision-making procedures around which actors' expectations converge in a given area of international relations. Principles are beliefs of fact, causation, and rectitude. Norms are standards of behavior defined in terms of rights and obligations. Rules are specific prescriptions or proscriptions for actions. Decision-making procedures are prevailing practices for making and implementing collective choice” (Krasner, 1983: 2).

In case of the exit regime of Georgia, *principles* can be understood as common core assumptions about losing the smartest students as a negative impact on the development in Georgia (brain drain) and to regain them through return migration as a positive impact for development (brain gain). *Norms* referring to general requirements of behaviour as the support and regulation of Georgian student migration with the purpose of return after their studies abroad and the possible take-over of leading positions in sciences, politics, administration or the economy in Georgia (brain circulation). *Rules* are targeted instructions, which define how the regime should actually work, in which treaties and agreements these rules are fixed, and which institutions

and organisations are in charge to realise these rules. In addition, rules should protect decision-making procedures. In the Georgian exit regime, these rules are embedded in the specific scholarship contracts as well as agreements and cooperation between the state of Georgia and the different scholarship programmes in Georgia and Germany (and other countries). *Decision-making procedures* are the concrete and shared strategies and processes to realise defined norms. These procedures include the selection of students for scholarships to study abroad, scholarship requirements, process of emigration, regular meetings and negotiations of involved actors, alumni conferences, university partnerships as well as return incentives and options. In the following, according to Krasner's regime theory, we will describe the four subcomponents with regard to the exit regime for students in Georgia in detail.

PRINCIPLES

The underlying theoretical principles of this approach are contextualised in the discussion about the *nexus of migration and development*, particularly with a focus on the developmental potential of highly qualified migrants for their countries of origin (cf. de Haas, 2012; Faist et al., 2013; Krannich & Metzger, 2018; Pries, 2010; Portes & Fernández-Kelly, 2015; Portes & Martinez, 2019). In this context, over decades the popular doctrine was that migration of highly qualified migrants from developing to industrialised countries has foremost negative consequences for developing countries (*brain drain*). From the perspective of dependency theories, brain drain was a strategy of industrialised countries to maintain dependency of developing countries (Bhagwati, 1976; Bhagwati & Rodriguez, 1975; Galeano, 1988). But also from the perspective of theories of modernisation—which always underlined positive effects of free trade and free flows of capital between industrial and developing countries (Kaiser & Wagner, 1991: 335ff.)—emigration of the “best brains” was perceived negatively—as a massive loss of human capital (de Haas, 2007; Körner, 1999).

However, the perception of this underlying principle has changed since the beginning of the 21st century. It is not fully accepted that this kind of migration has only negative impacts on the countries of origin, especially in the Global South. In 1996, the world bank showed that the amount of money that migrants from developing countries transfer back to their countries of origin exceeded for the first time the amount of money all countries of the “developed world” transfer into the Global South as official development aid. In addition, several studies showed that countries of origin benefit from emigration of highly qualified migrants once their elites have established in the host country and achieved good positions in the labour market. They are able to transfer their gained know-how, capital as well as experience back—in spite of appropriate conditions in the country of origin—and engage into the development process of their home country. Possibly much more effectively than they would have never emigrated. In this case, an initial brain drain turns into a brain gain in the long-run (Hunger, 2004; Thränhardt, 2005). In this context, international students from a country in the Global South acquire new knowledge and skills during their studies in the Global North—such as in Germany or the United States,—which they afterwards use for their future professions and/or social engagements. For instance, former international students returned home and engaged in the developing process by founding new companies, NGO's, clinics, or even universities (Krannich & Hunger, 2020).

Social and professional networks play an important role here. According to network theory, knowledge is mostly produced, acquired and transferred over social and professional networks (see Bommers & Tacke, 2011; Holzer, 2006; Tacke, 2011). International students build networks during their studies abroad and produce new knowledge through their own studies or research, and transfer that knowledge later back to their country of origin. Here, alumni clubs, founded and run by former students, play a significant role. These networks perpetuate flows of know-how and capital. The advantage of this principle is its flexibility (norms, systems and networks can change over time) and universality, and therefore, the possible inclusion of the Global North as well as the Global South.

NORMS

There has also been a paradigm shift in policy dealing with the migration of highly skilled people and international students in particular. Numerous policies have been put in place to promote more strongly the potentially positive aspects of migration for development. An OECD report of 2016, for example states that “migration is not a precondition for development, yet it can contribute significantly to the development of countries of both origin and destination” (OECD, 2016: 36). As a result, “High-level Dialogues on Migration and Development” were launched, at the UN level in 2006, and since 2007, the annual “Global Forum on Migration and Development” has been held to discuss the positive aspects of international migration (see Rother, 2012). The World Bank—among other organisations¹⁰—has also established a “Global Knowledge Partnership on Migration and Development” (KNOMAD), which provides information on the nexus of migration and development (KNOMAD, 2021).

At the national level, a strict anti-brain drain doctrine, which was applied in many countries of immigration, was banded in the early 2000s. In the past 20 years, the possibilities for immigration, especially of highly qualified people were eased in many countries. Germany is a particularly instructive case. While Germany was considered as a “reluctant country of immigration” until the late 1990s (Thränhardt, 2005), it has become increasingly open to highly skilled immigrants in the early 2000s. The OECD even named Germany the country with the most liberal legal standards for highly skilled immigrants in 2014 (OECD, 2015). In this context, also the immigration of international students has been liberalised. Since 2005, international students are no longer obliged to leave the country after finishing their studies in Germany. Instead, they are allowed to stay in Germany for another 18 months after completing their studies to find a decent job. The reason for this policy change can explicitly be seen in the shifted brain drain-brain gain paradigm (Kolb, 2005). Against this background, numerous organisations, which are active in development cooperation have also changed their standards for regulating and managing international migration. In Germany, for example a new Center for International Migration (CIM) has been established by the German Corporation for International Cooperation (GIZ), which has introduced a number of special migration programmes designed to promote a so-called triple-win migration, namely the emigration and return migration of migrants “for the benefit of all involved actors,” including countries of origin, countries of residence and migrants themselves.¹¹

RULES

To address the norms of brain circulation, brain gain and development (and to prevent brain drain), it is crucial to look at the rules, which were established in the frame of the exit regime in Georgia. The main and initial actor that created these rules is the state of Georgia itself. To regulate emigration and to keep a strong relationship to Georgian emigrants abroad, the state of Georgia established the State Ministry on Diaspora Issues of Georgia in 2008, which was integrated into the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 2016 (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016). With the establishment of the diaspora ministry, the state of Georgia recognised highly skilled migration and, in particular, student migration as an important form of migration that could be easier regulated by emigration rules and to take advantage of good education at leading universities in Western countries, particularly in Germany, the United States and the United Kingdom, which are the most popular countries among Georgian students who want to study abroad (Georgian International Education Center, 2018).¹²

The idea was to create a network of scholarship programmes to fund successful bachelor's and master's students graduating from Georgian universities (public and private) and giving them the opportunity to study abroad in MA or PhD programmes. After they receive their degree, gain exceptional knowledge and create networks abroad, they should return and take over leading positions and, thus, contribute to the political and economic development in Georgia. Without a scholarship, most of Georgian students would not be able to afford a study abroad, because most of the students come from low-income households (average household income was about 350 Euro per month in 2019 (National Statistics Office of Georgia, 2020) (interview with the head of the Georgian

International Education Center, Tbilisi, Georgia, 2016). The largest and most popular foreign scholarship institutions for Georgian students are the Fulbright programme in the United States and the DAAD in Germany, which have also branch offices in Tbilisi (Georgian International Education Center, 2020; interview with coordinator of the DAAD in Georgia, Tbilisi, Georgia, 2016).

The Georgian state network of scholarship programmes was created in 2010 consisting of various foreign and domestic scholarship programmes of Georgian public and private universities in the frame of exchange programmes with universities in Western Europe and North America. In 2014, due to a lack of applicants, the Georgian state reformed the scholarship programme by creating the International Education Center (IEC) under the direct auspices of the prime minister of Georgia. This network is now able to raise sufficient financial opportunities for Georgian students to study abroad. The role of the IEC is to bring students together with the scholarship programmes, which have their branch offices in Tbilisi, because most Georgian students do not know that these programmes exist. In addition, the Georgian diaspora ministry introduced its own scholarship programme for talented Georgian students and researchers studying and researching abroad (Georgian International Education Center, 2018).

The scholarship programmes are subject to a clear exit regulation, which are fixed in the scholarship contract between the scholarship holder and the scholarship donor. The scholarship holder gets sufficient funding—scaled in three funding levels (100%, 50% or 25% of average scholarship funding in the country of residence)—and immaterial support by the programme, which could include language classes, training and additional support by alumni of the programme during the study and support for re-integration after return, for instance, in job or accommodation search.¹³ In turn, the scholarship holder is obliged to return to Georgia after finishing studies abroad, which is the central precondition of the contract.¹⁴ If that is not the case and the holder is keeping to stay abroad, he/she has to pay back the entire amount of the scholarship to the Georgian state or the other organisation (cf. Georgian International Education Center, 2018). The contracts of the various scholarship programmes do not differ much regarding these specific preconditions of the contract (interview with the head of the Georgian IEC, Tbilisi, Georgia, 2016).

DECISION-MAKING PROCEDURES

An essential part of the exit regulation of students is the application and selection procedures for a scholarship. From the beginning of the process, the IEC wanted to make sure that it selects primarily students and researcher who study in a field of interest of the state of Georgia and who could contribute in their later job to the development of Georgia (interview with the head of the Georgian IEC, Tbilisi, Georgia, 2016). Therefore, already in the application forms, candidates should make clear how relevant is their study and research to Georgia, their MA or PhD thesis is related to development in Georgia, and in what kind of job they want to work after their return (interviews with Georgian scholarship holders and alumni in Georgia and Germany, 2016).¹⁵

In the selection process, the IEC prefers applicants who already worked for a Georgian state institution or other development-relevant organisations or private companies. The rationale behind is that they receive a job offer after their return at the same state institution they worked before they left, which should help to prevent that they keep staying abroad after graduation. Due to the general aim of the programme to contribute to the development of Georgia by students and researchers, the selection committee for the scholarships consist not only of IEC representatives and particular academics, but also of representatives of relevant development-related organisations, including local NGO's or foreign development organisations, such as the German Corporation for International Cooperation (GIZ) (interview with the head of the Georgian IEC, Tbilisi, Georgia, 2016, interview with a representative of the GIZ, Tbilisi, Georgia 2016).

In this context, the Georgian state developed a main focus in the selection process on law and social science students and researchers who could help to develop the legal system in Georgia. This is the case, according

to our interview partners, because jurists as experts with a well-grounded legal knowledge are highly demanded by the Georgian state, universities and civil society. In the past, many Georgian law students were studying in Western Europe, especially in Germany.¹⁶ The reason is that the Georgian law is strongly based on Continental European law (Winter & Kalichava, 2019). After independence of the Soviet Union in 1991, when Georgia under its president Eduard Shevardnadze began to orient towards Western Europe, Georgian legislators attempted to create the new constitution on Western European law.¹⁷ Many of our interviewed alumni of scholarship programmes (including IEC, DAAD, KAAD, KAS and Fulbright) were also involved in several legal reforms in Georgia in the last years. In many cases, interviewed scholarship holders did not only work before, but also during studying or researching abroad and, actually, after their return for a Georgian state institution, including the national parliament, state ministries or national and regional courts (interviews with Georgian scholarship alumni in Georgia, 2016).¹⁸

In the exit regulation procedure, the ICE works also closely together with foreign scholarship organisations in order to generate more funding and expand scholarships. Next to the regular MA and PhD scholarship programmes, the ICE created the specific Fulbright Graduate Student Programme with the support of the US Fulbright programme. It gives grants only to Georgian students who want to pursue a master's degree at a university in the United States. Here, the US embassy in Tbilisi and the Bank of Georgia are involved in the selection process (interview with the head of the Georgian IEC, Tbilisi, Georgia, 2016).

In cooperation with the German DAAD and universities in Georgia and Germany, the ICE supports specific master's programmes. For instance, the DAAD established a one-year master's programme in German law for Georgian law students based on a winter semester at the Ivane Javakishvili Tbilisi State University (TSU) and a summer semester at the University of Cologne. The programme is fully funded by the DAAD and ICE (DAAD, 2016). Furthermore, the ICE additionally funds Georgian students who get only a part of a scholarship. For instance, a Georgian scholarship holder who got only 50 per cent of the normal amount of scholarship from the German organisation KAAD, got another half from the ICE scholarship programme to study international relations in Germany (interview with a Georgian scholarship holder, Germany, 2016).

Before selected scholars are able to leave the country to start their studies abroad, they have to prove that they have sufficient language skills. Here, the ICE collaborates closely with foreign language schools. For instance, Georgian students who want to study in Germany can take German language classes at the Goethe Institute, a German cultural institution established in Tbilisi in 1992.¹⁹ Depending on requirements and precognition, courses can take up to 3 years, but average time is 6 months for an intensive university language course, which partly or completely covered by the state scholarship programme (interview with a manager of the Goethe Institute, Tbilisi, Georgia, 2016).

To institutionalise this exit process, the ministry created a network of "Georgian junior ambassadors." Georgian junior ambassadors are not involved in the decision-making process of selecting applicants, but in cooperation with other Georgian scholarship holders who already study abroad, they support new scholarship holders in the visa application process as well as during the arrival in the country of study (interview with the Georgian junior ambassador in Germany, Cologne, 2016). In doing so, they hold tutorials about the country of study, prepare the student's stay abroad by helping, for instance, with language classes or in the search for accommodation and student jobs. There are Georgian junior ambassadors in seven different countries (Germany, United States, United Kingdom, France, the Netherlands, Italy and Spain). They are scholarship holders and students or researchers as well, and are appointed for one year by the ICE (interview with the Georgian junior ambassador in Germany, Cologne, 2016). In this regard, the Georgian junior ambassadors constitute the link between the Georgian ministry and its student diaspora abroad, and they should help to keep (or to win) the loyalty of scholarship holders abroad to their country of origin.

CONCLUSION

The Georgian state is using scholarship programmes in the attempt to regulate the emigration of students in the interest of the government. In order to prevent brain drain, it created a sophisticated exit regime that includes a network of various national and international actors, including other state institutions, foreign scholarship programmes (including Fulbright programme and the DAAD), foreign language institutions and other foreign organisations and national and foreign universities. The rationale behind that regime is to facilitate exit opportunities to selected students and researchers without creating brain drain. The selected students and researchers will be motivated to return to Georgia after graduation and to contribute to the political and social development of Georgia. Our findings suggest that this kind of student exit regime actually can work since the selected Georgian students are mostly able to gain good education and obtain degrees abroad and return to Georgia after graduation (about 90% in the frame of above-mentioned scholarship programmes). Here, they take over leading positions and apply their knowledge gained abroad, primarily in state institutions. This finding points to a way in which even a state with a basically open regime of exit can use incentives to manage exit to increase the likelihood that any given act of exit will lead to an outcome considered beneficial by the policymaker. This framework applies particularly well to developing countries designing their policy on educational mobility, but is likely to be applicable in other contexts as well. At a higher level of generality, our finding also points to ways in which exit can be channelled to reduce the likelihood of long-term emigration.

However, there is also the question, if that kind of exit regime is also able to consider Georgian students who do not return to Georgia, but rather stay abroad after graduation. According to the brain gain theory, Georgians abroad could also contribute to the development in Georgia in form of transnational networks, know-how transfers and political and financial remittances. They are not necessarily “lost” for the development in Georgia, because our study showed that some of the recent reforms in the Georgian legal system can also be traced back to former scholarship holders who stayed in Germany. Several areas within the Georgian constitutional and criminal law have been reformed with the contribution of former students who stayed or who are still in Germany. For instance, one alumnus consults the Georgian ministry of justice in Tbilisi by explaining parts of the German law, which could be adjusted to Georgian norms and implemented into the law. Another one works for the legal committee of the Georgian parliament (interviews with Georgian scholarship alumni in Germany, 2017).²⁰ However, this norm of brain gain and brain circulation is not (yet) implemented in the rules and decision-making processes of the exit regime, which focuses explicitly on the return of students, specified in the return obligation of the scholarship contracts.

In the other case study countries of our research (Colombia, Ghana, Indonesia and the Palestinian territories), we could not find similar exit regimes for students like in Georgia. In fact, so-called surplace scholarships (in-country/in-region programmes in developing countries) for students studying at universities in Ghana and other African countries of origin are funded by programmes in the Global North, such as the DAAD and KAAD in Germany (DAAD, 2022; Krannich & Hunger, 2020). Without the necessity to study abroad, they want to avoid a brain drain of students by holding them in the country. This stands in strong contrast to other emigration states choosing a different approach to deal with highly skilled migrants abroad. For instance, the state of the Philippines is not supporting the return of emigrants at all, but rather focuses on their financial and social remittances, which should promote development (Kessler & Rother, 2016). Similar approaches are implemented in emigrant and diaspora policies in Mexico (Portes & Fernández-Kelly, 2015), India (Hunger, 2004) or Morocco (de Haas, 2012, Krannich & Metzger, 2018).

To overcome the dualism between return and staying abroad in the frame of this (national) student exit regime, it is necessary to further develop the norm dimension of the regime and generally to transform the national or bi-national setting into a broader transnational framework. This transnational student migration regime could consider not only the return after studying abroad but also transnational participation in Georgian affairs from abroad after graduation of students during the time of emigration in the frame of rules

and decision-making processes of the exit regime. In coordination with countries of destination (such as the United States or Germany), this could be achieved by the introduction of long-term research and business visa—which would be accepted by all involved countries—multiple entry visas in the country of study (and other relevant countries if possible), low travel barriers, low bureaucratic immigration costs and a broader international acceptance of academic degrees as well as fast knowledge and language tests to become accepted to study or work abroad, as already demanded by the *Global Compact for Migration* of the United Nations in 2018 (UN General Assembly, 2019).

However, there is no coherent path yet on how to support and manage international student migration on the global level. Although especially student migration in the frame of scholarship programmes is a specific form of migration, which can be well-organised and regulated in the frame of international structures and regimes, as part of a so-called *global migration governance* (Betts, 2010). Here, scholarship programmes for international students could be coordinated either in a binational or multinational frame—supported by the country of origin as well as the country of study under support of specialised international institutions—or solely in the context of international institutions, such as a part of the *International Organization for Migration* (IOM). In this sense, international student migration can be governed as an impetus of a long-run migration cycle, starting with studying abroad and followed by either working abroad or in the country of origin (after re-migration), which could lead to circular migration in the frame of a job (labour migration) and transnational networks—beyond from brain drain and brain gain. At the beginning of this cycle, specific fields of study, in which skilled workers are needed in the country of origin, can be funded in the frame of specific scholarship programmes, for instance, in the legal system in Georgia. Here, scholarship programmes can be always adapted to the specific needs in certain countries of origin.²¹

In our study on scholarship programmes in Germany, we found similar student migration and development processes with an emphasis on agriculture and environment in Ghana, medicine in Palestine/Israel, STEM professions in Indonesia and democracy studies in Columbia. Here, we found that there is a close link between study and research topics of international students on the one hand and their later developmental commitment on the other hand. In this regard, many alumni focus on development-related issues in their master's and doctor's theses, which they later picked up again in their professions. This includes the above-mentioned Georgian lawyers, who wrote their PhD theses about German and Georgian law in comparison. Similarly, Ghanaian scholarship holders did primarily research on environmental and agricultural subjects, and Colombian alumni gained specific knowledge on issues about the civil war in Colombia in the frame of their studies, which they applied in their later professions. Therefore, the nexus between study subjects and development should find also considerations in the structure and regulation of exit regimes in countries of origin. In this way, scholarship programmes can help students to find professions after graduation, which are relevant for the specific development of a country. A first approach of that kind can be found in the student exit regime of Georgia.

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PEER REVIEW

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ENDNOTES

1. In the OECD countries alone, their number has almost doubled between 2010 and 2020 to over 5 million. Most of them study in the United States (around 20%), followed by Great Britain, Germany, France, and Australia (OECD, 2021).
2. This includes states of origin of the largest diasporas worldwide, including China, India and Mexico.

3. About international student migration, integration, and development see King & Raghuram, 2013, Raghuram, 2013, Leung & Waters, 2013, Tejada, 2013, Thieme et al., 2014, Pott et al., 2015, King & Sondhi, 2016, Lin & Kingminghae, 2017, King et al., 2020.
4. Currently, almost 1900 Georgian students study in Germany, 1500 in the Ukraine, 900 in Armenia, about 800 in Russia, and almost 600 in the United States (UNESCO, 2021).
5. The other case countries in the research project were Colombia, Ghana, Indonesia and the Palestinian territories (Krannich & Hunger, 2020).
6. These German scholarship organizations include the DAAD (German Academic Exchange Service), KAAD (Catholic Academic Foreigner Service), Konrad Adenauer Foundation (KAS), and Friedrich Ebert Foundation (FES).
7. These Georgian state institutions and German organizations are the diaspora ministry, the parliamentary commission for foreign affairs, universities (State University Tbilisi, State Ilia University, Caucasus University, and Sulchan Saba Orbeliani Teaching University), NGO's and German scholarship organizations and language institutions (including DAAD, KAAD, KAS, FES, German Corporation for International Cooperation (GIZ) and the Goethe Institute in Tbilisi).
8. Observations were conducted at the Georgian state diaspora ministry, the Georgian ministry of justice and the Georgian state parliament as well as the German organizations in Georgia named above.
9. Due to the centralist state system, all of the interviews and observations were conducted in Tbilisi, the capital of Georgia.
10. For instance. The Swedish government, the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation, the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development, and the German Corporation for International Cooperation (GIZ).
11. For more details see <http://www.cimonline.de/de/index.asp>.
12. According to a survey study, more about 70% of students in Georgia who want to study abroad would like to do that either in the United States or Germany (Tukhashvili, 2018).
13. Employments or internships as well as longer travels during the study have to be reported to the scholarship donor.
14. In some cases, with a special approval by the scholarship program, it is possible to stay for a maximum of two years after graduation abroad, for instance, for a postdoc or another employment.
15. Basically, application papers consist of diploma, expert opinions and letter of recommendation of professors in Georgia and planned country of study, acceptance of university, letter of motivation and aspired MA or PhD thesis topic.
16. According to a poll survey, almost 60% of Georgian law students wanted to study in Germany (Sheila & Tukhashvili, 2020).
17. See Winter & Kalichava, 2019 about the development and transformation of law in Georgia.
18. For instance, an alumnus is dealing with issues of corruption in the frame of the Georgian criminal law. It is important to him to realize democratic legal principles and laws also in politics. Therefore, since 2011, in addition to his research projects, he works also in an assurance group for issues of corruption in the national parliament in Tbilisi. Here, he deals with cases of corruption of members of the national parliament across all parties and with the legal clarification of these cases (interview with a Georgian scholarship holder, Germany, 2017). Other ones consult the Georgian Ministry of Justice in Tbilisi, or work for the legal committee of the Georgian parliament (interviews with Georgian scholarship alumni, Tbilisi, Georgia, 2016).
19. There are Goethe Institutes in more than 90 countries to promote German culture and language (Goethe Institute, 2020).
20. Because he stays in Germany, he has fast access to German law literature as well as professors and judges. Colleagues from the Ministry of Justice in Georgia contact him regularly and ask about how specific laws and rules are look like in Germany. For this purpose, he translates parts of the German law book and sends the translation to colleagues in Georgia. According to him, if he would be in Georgia, he would not have access to these resources (interview with a Georgian alumnus in Germany, 2017).
21. Smaller structural elements of a global student migration governance on the UN level do already exist, including the UN university network (UNU) with its own scholarship program. However, these institutions lack sufficient funding and purposeful cooperation with affected states, universities, and other relevant actors (United Nations, 2020).

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