Internal Migration for Higher Education: Is it two-step migration?

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Abstract

Keeping the premise of "two-step immigration" of students in the backdrop, this study aims to know whether the students' migration within India is motivated by earning educational credentials alone or the migrants see it as an opportunity to join the local labour pool and live a metropolitan life on the completion of their degrees. Given the fact that the local skilled labour pool and metropolitan locations have been found as the most determining localization factors for the service sector industry which has been guiding the Indian economy since the 1970s, therefore, understanding the behaviour of students (future labourers) is necessary since it has the potential to increase existing regional inequality through the migration of future labourers (students) to developed states from under or less developed states.

The secondary data collected from the All India Survey for Higher Education on hostel residents have been employed at the macro

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and the meso level to verify whether the clusters of service sector industries are the preferred destinations for migrant students or not. Further, the primary data collected from stakeholders- training and placement officers of higher education institutions and migrant students, at the micro level has been analyzed to comprehend the rationale behind the students' choices.

Alike the immigration of students, results suggest that the internal migration of students consider migration for higher education as an opportunity to join the labour pool of destinations on the completion of their degrees. Hence, it can be argued that internal migration for higher education is also a "two-step migration".

Key Words: *clusters, higher education, migration, service sector*

Background of the Study

The present demand of higher education market and the future demand of labour market have been behind the genesis of "two-step immigration" to the developed countries which are facing the challenges of declining demographic trends or the countries like Australia, New Zealand and Canada wherein immigrants contribute significantly to the total population of the country. It allows them to maintain the required skilled labour pool because migrants who obtain their degrees as international students in the destination or any foreign country have greater absorbability in foreign labour markets, compared to the students who are graduated from the home countries particularly the developing ones. It is guided by the perceived notion that the international students are equipped with the desired knowledge resourc-

es provided by the host country and thus carry a quality assurance which, in return, improves their work readiness (Hawthorne, 2008).

On the other hand, the literary evidence categorically suggests that the wage level differences are one of the key elements affecting the decision to migrate for students because education is 'to be employable' (Bessey, 2006; Agasisti & Dal Bianco, 2007). Therefore, students take the possibility of joining the labour market of the host country into consideration at the time of migration (Basillote & et al., 2016). The flow of students from low-wage countries to high-wage countries (Rosenzweig, 2006) categorically substantiates it. Hence, students do take note of post-degree opportunities at the time of migration for education.

The two-step immigration navigates the journey from temporary visa holders to permanent settlers for foreign students. The first step to be taken for skilled or potentially skilled migrants is to obtain temporary immigrant status to work or study. The numbers who take the first step are uncapped and lightly regulated. The second step is to demonstrate labour market skills of high quality to strengthen qualifications for permanent residence status. But, unlike the first step, there is a capping and tight regulation on the numbers for permanent visas probably to check the rise in immigrants and population as well (Hawthorne, 2011; Gregory, 2014). Hence, it serves the purpose of skilled labourers as well as employers. However, from the perspective of the source land, it is the permanent loss of human capital.

Likewise, external migration for higher education, literature on internal migration also underlines that the direction of migration is from the less de-

veloped states to the more developed states due to the better rates of return. Hence, those migrants are less likely to join the labour force of the home state upon completion of their education (Kodrzyck, 2001; Perry, 2001; Groen, 2004). This can also be explained by Becker's (1964) human capital investment theory which views the college decision as an investment in human capital since costs and anticipated future returns are associated with it. A prospective student migrates to another state to attend college when the present value of the expected profits from moving to another state and attending college overpasses the gross costs of migration including tangible (e.g. out-of-state tuition, travel costs) and intangible (psychic costs of being away from home) costs, given the individual's tastes and preferences. The expected benefits do include non-monetary and monitory benefits. The non-monitory benefits of migration are- better recreation facilities, better climate, independent living etc. On the other hand, the potential monetary benefits include higher wages and salaries in future (Becker, 1964; Tuckman, 1970; McHugh & Morgan, 1984; Perna & Titis, 2004).

Due to the affinity with the place and culture, and potential future benefits, migrants choose to remain in their college-state even after completing their graduation (McHugh & Morgan, 1984; Mixon & Hsing, 1994; Mak & Moncur, 2003). Ciriaci and Muscio (2010), and Zinovyeva and Labini (2008) also suggest that graduating from a better university significantly increases the probability to find a job in the same region. Therefore, the non-resident students who have prioritized the quality of higher education institutions (HEIs) feel the lesser necessity to migrate again for finding a job after earning their educational degrees. Later, Cracici (2011) argues, based

on shreds of empirical evidence pertaining to students' choices in Italy, that upon graduation migrant students prefer to stay and work in Centre-North of the country (destination state) which is the more developed region than the less developed source states (southern region).

In the whole process of deciding whether to move or not after graduation, the quality of higher education plays a significant role as better the institution lower the possibility of migration upon the completion of the degree. In other words, graduation from HEIs of better quality facilitates non-native students to secure a job or superior job in the region from where they have completed their degrees. Thereby, it reduces the possibility of future migration. Based on the above mentioned, it can be argued without sounding cynical that states with better quality of HEIs and post-education labour market opportunities gravitate non-resident students for earning their educational degrees.

In contrast, some studies argue that the higher education levels are associated with a higher propensity to migrate since education provides general cognitive skills that help in gathering and processing information about different locations, and the employment opportunities and amenities available at the alternative locations (Heuer, 2004; Malamud & Wozniak, 2008). Also, college education is an investment in human capital that should improve one's competitive advantage and provide opportunity for a variety of jobs over broad geographical areas (Heuer, 2004).

Thus, the literature pertaining to internal migration lays the basis to argue that the internal migrants do consider the possibility of joining the local

labour market opportunities after completing their educational degrees at the time of migration. Hence, they are less likely to return to the home state alike their immigrant counterparts.

Such a pattern has the potential to cause permanent loss of future skilled labourers from developing or underdeveloped states to the more developed states which in return can aggravate the existing regional inequality as the skilled labour force is the most fundamental raw material for the development of the service sector industries (SSIs). Given the fact that India is a service-based economy wherein migration for education has outclassed other counterparts in terms of growth rate during 2001-2011, therefore, it is pertinent to know whether the students migrate only for earning educational degrees or there is something more on their agenda.

Methodology

For satisfying the objectives of this study, the sequential explanatory research design has been employed wherein secondary data has been analyzed followed by the collection and the analysis of primary data. The secondary data collected from the All India Survey for Higher Education (AISHE) on hostel residents have been employed at the macro as well as the meso level to verify whether the clusters of SSIs are the preferred destinations for migrant students or not. For this purpose, the trends and the patterns of student mobility at both levels have been assessed. The macro level refers to states' level data analysis while at the meso level districts-wise data has been analyzed. The preference given to AISHE data over Census data is due to the reasoning that the migration for non-formal education cannot be filtered out from the data on age-specific migration for education released

by the Census of India. Hence, it has a great potential to get inflated by the numbers of migrants for non-formal higher education and ultimately mislead the results. Therefore, the employment of proxy data; information on hostel residents of formal higher education institutions (HEIs), provided by the AISHE seems more appropriate (Jha & Kumar, 2017; Kumar, 2020).

Other than secondary data, primary data has also been collected, however, at the micro level only, and for comprehending the rationale behind the students' choices. It has been collected from the stakeholders; Migrant students, and Training and Placement Officers (TPOs) of colleges, located in Delhi National Capital Region (Delhi NCR); one of the seven clusters- Bengaluru, Chennai, Hyderabad, Mumbai, Pune, Delhi NCR and Kolkata- of the SSIs. Clusters refer to the geographic concentration of industries related by knowledge, skills, inputs, demand and/or other linkages in a district or neighbouring districts (Smith, 2012; Delgado & et al., 2016). Based on the contribution to Gross domestic product (GDP), export values, and employment opportunities (Singala, 2008; Khare, 2014), information technology and Information technology enabled services (IT & ITES) has been identified as the representative of SSIs. Literature on IT&ITES has consistently identified Bengaluru (Bangalore), Hyderabad, Chennai, Delhi NCR, Pune and Mumbai as clusters of this industry during the last two decades (Singala, 2008; Balatchandirane, 2007; Bhatnagar, 2006; Basant & Chandra, 2006; Rao & Balasubrahmanya, 2017).

The selection of Delhi as the micro-site has been done employing the chit method of random sampling technique. The TPOs have been approached with semi-structured interview schedules while migrant students have been approached for the questionnaire survey. The semi-structured interview

schedules of TPOs had questions on students' preferences pertaining to the selection of college and location. While the questionnaire meant for students was framed to know the motivation behind their migration for higher education (MHE) along with the most preferred job location after completion of their degrees. 140 migrant students from the 18 colleges represented by those many numbers of TPOs have participated in the questionnaire survey. However, only 124 students have successfully filled the questionnaire. All the higher education migrants of the selected colleges have been approached employing purposive sampling.

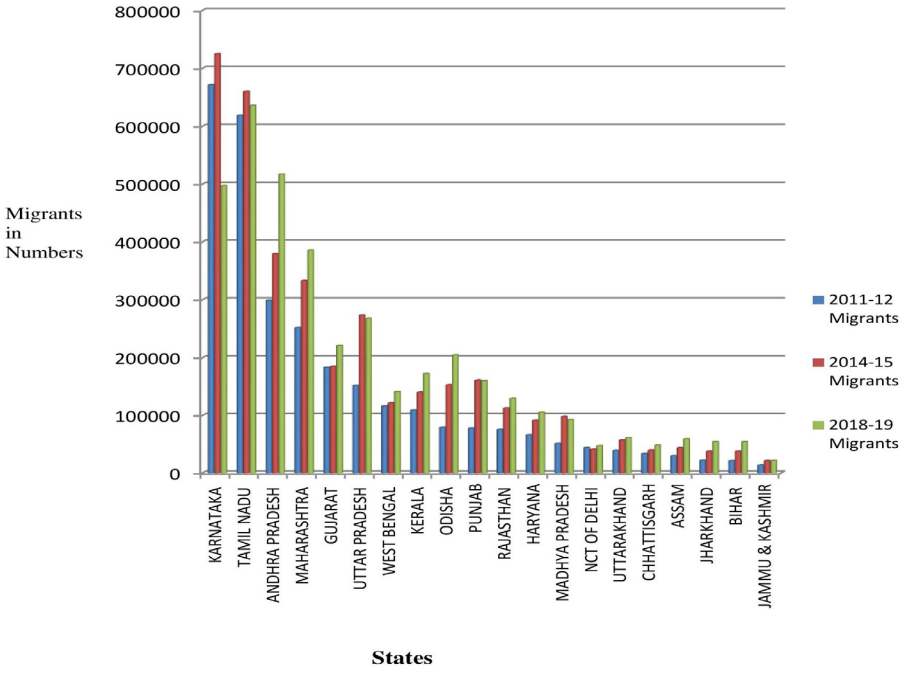
The analysis of trends and patterns of MHE at the macro and the meso level helped in determining the importance of clusters of SSIs in students' migration. On the other hand, the analysis of primary data explains the rationale behind the preferences given to the clusters. The conclusions drawn from the analysis of primary as well as secondary data have helped in verifying the two-stage nature of MHE.

Internal Migration for Higher Education at Macro Level

In order to understand the spatial relationship, if any, the trends and the patterns of higher education migrants have been traced for the twenty major provinces of the country. The pattern captures the direction of migrants while the trends are defined through the numbers of migrants at different time points. For this purpose, AISHE data on migrants for three-time points- 2011-12, 2014-15, and 2017-18 have been utilized. With the help of trends and patterns, the choicest destinations for the migrants can be identified. In addition, one would also get to know whether the choicest destinations have remained the most preferred locations for the students during the passage of time or not. Those twenty provinces (states and union territory)

for which trends and the patterns have been captured are- Andhra Pradesh, Telangana, Kerala, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, Maharashtra, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Odisha, West Bengal, Bihar, Jharkhand, Uttar Pradesh, Haryana, Punjab and Delhi. The trends and the patterns of higher education migrants can be comprehended from the following graph which is given below.

Graph 1- Trends and Patterns of Higher Education Migration at Macro Level



Source: AISHE, 2011-12, 2014-15 and 2018-19

*Andhra Pradesh of 2014-15 and 2018-19 also includes Telangana

From the graph, it is clear that Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra, Gujarat, Uttar Pradesh (UP) and West Bengal are sequentially most sought after destinations for migrant students. There is one commonality among all, except Gujarat, which is that each state houses one or more SSIs' clusters. The clusters of Mumbai and Pune are located in Maharashtra while the clusters of Bangalore (Bengaluru), Chennai, Hyderabad, and Kolkata are located respectively in Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, and West Bengal. The cluster of Delhi NCR is spread largely over the NCT of Delhi, Haryana, and Uttar Pradesh. Thus, barring Gujarat, all other states which house clusters of the service sector are the most preferred states for migrant students.

The exceptionality of Gujarat can easily be understood through its manufacturing industries which continuously contributed to the State Gross Domestic Product (SGDP) better than any of the large states in the first two decades of the current century (NITI Aayog, 2021). Further, manufacturing does require skilled labourers trained at HEIs for their localization (Lall & Chakravorty, 2003) which justifies its positioning in the table.

Internal Migration for Higher Education at Meso Level

Herein, the focus has been given to explore whether clusters of SSIs are the same district or groups of districts (clusters are usually spread over more than one district) which attract/s maximum migrants or not. Therefore, the district-wise data on hostel residents released by the AISHE has been analyzed.

In the table given below, the top five districts with respect to the hostel

residents (proxy of in-migrants) of all the states wherein the clusters are located are given. This is also to note that the Delhi NCR is spread majorly on Haryana and Uttar Pradesh; hence, district-wise migration data of both states have been analyzed as well. Rajasthan is left out from this exercise as none of the IT hubs; Gurugram, Faridabad, Ghaziabad and Noida (Rao and Balasubrahmanya, 2017, p.10), is located within its boundary. Further, in comparison to Haryana and Uttar Pradesh, a very limited part of the state comes within the NCR which also justifies ignoring Rajasthan for this exercise.

Table 1- Districts with Maximum Numbers of Higher Education Migrants in States Where Clusters are Located

States	Years	Rank 01	Rank 02	Rank 03	Rank 04	Rank 05
Karnataka	2018-19	Bangalore (Bengaluru)	Dakshina Kannada	Tumkur	Dharwad	Mysore
	2011-12	Bangalore (Bengaluru)	Dakshin Kannada	Dharwad	Mysore	Tumkur
Andhra Pradesh	2018-19	Hyderabad	Rangareddy	Chitoor	Guntur	YSR
	2011-12	Rangareddy	Hyderabad	Mahbub Nagar	Chitoor	Guntur
Maharashtra	2018-19	Pune	Mumbai	Ahmad Nagar	Kolhapur	Nagpur
	2011-12	Pune	Mumbai	Ahmad Nagar	Nagpur	Kolhapur
Tamil Nadu	2018-19	Coimbatore	Kancheepuram	Chennai	Tiruchirappalli	Vellore
	2011-12	Coimbatore	Kancheepuram	Tiruchirappalli	Chennai	Namakkal
Haryana	2018-19	Sonipat	Kurukshetra	Rohtak	Ambala	Gurugram
	2011-12	Kurukshetra	Sonipat	Ambala	Rohtak	Hisar
Uttar Pradesh	2018-19	Lucknow	Gautam Buddha Nagar	Varanasi	Ghaziabad	Kanpur Nagar
	2011-12	Gautam Buddha Nagar	Varanasi	Ghaziabad	Allahabad	Lucknow
West Bengal	2018-19	Barddhaman	Kolkata	Paschim Medinipur	South Twenty Four Pargana	Murshidabad
	2011-12	Barddhaman	Paschim Medinipur	Kolkata	South Twenty Four Pargana	Purvi Medina Pur

Source: Calculated by the researcher using AISHE 2011-12, 2018-19

*Andhra Pradesh of 2011-12 and 2018-19 also includes Telangana

In table 1, the top five destination districts of higher education migrants for the states of Karnataka, Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, West Bengal, Haryana and Uttar Pradesh are mentioned. The states of Maharashtra, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh are those states wherein clusters of SSIs are the table toppers. Pune and Mumbai are the clusters of SSIs in the state of Maharashtra and occupy first and second positions respectively. While the Silicon Valley of Asia; Bengaluru, is the table topper for the state of Karnataka. The situation is slightly different for the state of Andhra Pradesh. Instead of Hyderabad, the Rangareddy district was found as the most favoured destination for the migrant. The preference for Rangareddy can easily be justified by the fact that the district of Rangareddy encircles the district of Hyderabad and has more geographical contribution to the Hyderabad metropolitan area than the tiny district of Hyderabad itself. Even the IT hub of the Hyderabad metropolitan area; Cyberabad, is located in the district of Rangareddy, not in Hyderabad. Jointly, both the districts have more migrants than the subsequent five other prominent districts. Likewise Hyderabad, the Chennai metropolitan area is also spread over the districts of Chennai, Kancheepuram and Tiruchirapalli. Separately, all these three districts have a presence in the table at both time points. Similarly, two of the four districts of the Kolkata metropolitan area; Kolkata and South Twenty Four Pargana, are among the top five preferred destinations in the state of West Bengal.

Haryana and Uttar Pradesh do not have clusters directly but ten districts of Haryana and eight districts of Uttar Pradesh are the constituents of the Delhi NCR. The table shows that the Gautam Buddha Nagar and the Ghaziabad

which are also the constituents of Delhi NCR are table toppers for the state of Uttar Pradesh at both time points. Similarly, three out of the top five most favoured districts on both occasions are the NCR districts of Haryana named Sonipat, Hisar and Gurugram. The table topper in Haryana is Kurukshetra which is the traditional centre of higher education as it is the home of the oldest and the largest university of the state which is Kurukshetra University, therefore, justifies its pole position.

Thus, by the analysis of the above table, it can be stated that the clusters are the most preferred destinations for the migrants in their respective states as those districts or the districts which are the constituents of clusters are among the prominent destinations across states on both the time points. Further, if the districts, over which clusters are spread, are clubbed together then without doubt they attract a higher number of migrants than any other district of their respective states.

Internal Migration for Higher Education at Micro Level

The semi-structured interview schedule meant for the TPOs was framed to capture their opinion to know whether they consider that their location in the NCR helps them to attract migrant students or not. Similarly, the questionnaire for the students was framed to know what motivated them to come to their present college and also what would be the choicest location for their jobs upon the completion of their degrees. The responses of the TPOs and the students are represented separately and thematically as below.

TPOs Responses on Rationale behind Students' Migration

The responses to the question of why migrant students come to your college can be categorically divided into two parts- responses by the TPOs of the professional colleges and the non-professional colleges. The majority of the representatives of the professional colleges have highlighted the importance of placements and their current location behind the enrolments of migrant students in their college. It can be understood by one of the following but the most common statement - "*Mine is a very reputed college. Definitely, it is better than the colleges of their home-states, otherwise they would not have migrated."(Respondent-08)*

They have elaborated their good and reputed status by emphasizing their placements, curricular activities as well as extra-curricular activities. Further, they unanimously pointed out that the placement is what attracts students mostly to any college. Furthermore, they have pointed out that the students or their guardians know that the college is located in the Delhi NCR. Thereby, there is a better possibility of earning a livelihood opportunity through campus placement drives. It can be sensed by one of the TPO's statements mentioned below- *"My college is located in Delhi NCR and undoubtedly it is the biggest plus point because it helps in placing students as good numbers of firms are stationed in the NCR. It in return attracts students from across the country to my college." (Respondent-13)*

In addition, some of the respondents have also stated that few of the students take personality development classes or other classes offered by the coaching institutions located in the NCR to be campus ready. *"Jaise kuchh computer wale bachche Java, C+ ka course karte hain, Mechanical wale C-DAC ka course karte hain. In courses ke liye coaching institutes aapko*

Delhi me kaafi hai." (Respondent-01) (In order to be more placement or market-ready, students of Computer stream complete extra courses on C+ while students of mechanical stream take admission in C-DAC course. The coaching institutes which offer such courses have mushroomed around Delhi).

They stated that even though the *c*olleges take care of all these things, despite, few students go to such institutions. Such facilities cannot be availed if your college is not located in proximity to a place like Delhi because those institutions are not ubiquitous.

Hence, the migrant students can foresee a secured job upon the completion of their degree if compared to colleges located in their home states. This sense of security is very much due to the location of their college in the Delhi NCR which is a cluster of SSIs, therefore, a regular demand for professional graduates can easily be expected. Further, the coaching/training institutes of the NCR help students to be more campus-placement ready through several add-on courses.

On the other hand, the representatives of non-professional colleges believe that students come to their college due to their age-old reputation. This reputation has a different meaning for students from various disciplines. For the students enrolled in the courses like Economics, Commerce, Statistics etc for which campus hiring has regularly been done, the past record of campus placement is the reputation. On the other hand, studying in a north-campus college or any college of the University of Delhi (DU) is a matter of pride for students of other traditional disciplines as the prominent faces of the country in the field of politics, arts, culture, and aesthetics are the alumni of DU. However, the rationale behind taking admission is not

limited only to this pride or reputation but also to avail other opportunities which Delhi offers in the form of coaching classes for competitive exams or personality development. The following statement of one of the TPOs of such college reflects so- "*Students of Economic, Commerce make comparisons ki kis college me achchha placement hota hai ya jyada placement hota hai. Other departments ke bachche jante hai ki unke subject ka campus placement nahi hota hai, even though we try but shayad hi koi company unko hire karne aati hai. Waise bachchon ka DU ke colleges me admission lene ka ek maksad UPSC, SSC, CAT-MAT ki taiyari karna bhi hota hai kunki saare behtareen institutes Delhi me hi hain. No doubt, North campus ke college me padhna bachhon ka sapna hota hai, isliye bahut baar desired stream nhi milta hai phir bhi bachche admission le lete hain just because of the reputation of the college." (Respondent-17) (Students of Economics and Commerce streams take note of placement records of colleges before admission. While, for students of other disciplines, studying in North- campus of DU is like a dream come true, despite the fact that no company come for recruiting them. For this purpose, they even compromise with the choice of their disciplines. Such students usually come to DU to avail coaching facilities that Delhi offers.)*

Likewise, professional counterparts, the TPOs of non-professional colleges have also stated that the presence of students from the southern part of the country is very limited. A majority of the students are from neighbouring states or states of the northern part of the country like Uttar Pradesh, Haryana, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Bihar.

Hence, the students hailing from the neighbouring states and other northern states constitute the majority of the migrant students irrespective of the na-

ture of the institutions. They take admission to the colleges of Delhi not for college education alone but also because of its location. For students who aspire to get placed in the firms through the campus placement drives feel that because of their location in Delhi NCR, they have a better possibility of becoming employed upon completion of their degrees. On the other hand, the students enrolled in those traditional courses for which campus hiring is usually not get done, the coaching institutes located in Delhi are the reasoning for taking admission in University of Delhi (DU) along with the pride associated with studying in the most prominent institution of the country. Hence, the attractiveness of Delhi is due to its formal institutions as well as non-formal educational institutions (coaching classes/ training institutes) along with the possibility of securing jobs.

Responses by the Higher Education Migrants

Keeping the questions asked to the students, their responses have been categorized against the two themes which are given below.

Reasons behind Migration

The question on the reasoning behind enrolment in the present institution was a close-ended question wherein students were asked to rank eight options on a five-point scale. Based on the frequency of maximum value (mode value), the reasons ticked by the respondents have been arranged in the following rank order- 1) Possibility of getting job/better job in Delhi NCR, 2) Better exposure at present college in terms of infrastructure, lab facilities, extra-curricular activities, 3) Possibility of taking coaching in Delhi NCR for additional skills or competitive exams/degrees for becoming more employable, 4) Due to the location of college which allows you to live a life

in Delhi NCR, 5) Lack of college at par with present college in home state/ state where the last institution is located, 6) No/less possibility of getting a job (placement) from the colleges of home state or state of last institution, 7) Unavailability of desired courses or courses were not up-to-date in the colleges of home state/ state where the last institution is located, 8) Due to bad law and governance at home state/ state where the last institution is located.

Placements and Job Location

Students' choices related to campus placement drive, based on the suggestions of TPOs, have been taken into consideration for comprehending their post-education preferences. Hence, the institutions offering non-professional courses have also been approached. However, amongst the non-professional courses, only the students enrolled in the disciplines of Maths, Statistics, Commerce and Economics have been approached. Thus, only those students irrespective of the nature of courses have participated in the questionnaire survey for whom firms compete during campus placement drives. And, they have been treated as a singular unit and analysis has been done accordingly.

The responses can easily be categorized on the basis of the courses of students. 89% of students enrolled in the professional courses were found very willing to appear in the campus placement drive while only 9% were found uninterested. The rest 2% of the students were unsure whether they would appear or not in the campus hiring tests. Those uninterested students either wanted to pursue higher studies or open start-ups or take up their parental business.

In the following question, respondents were asked about where they would prefer to be located for their job. Against the question, they were asked to rank the following options- Delhi NCR, Anywhere in the country, Anywhere in the world, and Home state. Employing frequency analysis (mode value), these four options have been arranged in the following order- 1) Delhi NCR, 2) Anywhere in the country, 3) Home state, 4) Anywhere in the world.

In response to the rationale behind their choicest location, students have highlighted the quality of life which metropolitan Delhi NCR offers. It can be sensed by one such response- "*It's my third year in Delhi. Now, I know the city, culture and have started speaking Hindi too. I would prefer to stay longer in Delhi as it has a very vibrant lifestyle, culture and amenities if compared to Hyderabad. In comparison to Delhi, Hyderabad is nowhere."(Respondent-112)*

Based on the preference supported by the above response, it can be argued that the migrants foresee the possibility of living a metropolitan life by joining the labour pool of Delhi NCR before enrolling in the colleges located in the NCR. Preference to metropolitan life for new-age skilled workers has also been highlighted by Florida (2006) who has argued that the labourers of creative community; skilled labourers engaged in the quaternary and the quinary sector, prefer to live a metropolitan life. The cluster of Delhi NCR wherein firms, as well as colleges, are mushroomed along with the non-formal institutions which make students job-ready are the rationale behind such expectations of migrant students.

Conclusion

The analysis of secondary data suggests that the states which house clusters of service sector industries are the most sought after destinations for migrant students on all three occasions. Further, HEIs located in those districts over which clusters are spread attract the maximum number of migrants. The analysis of primary data collected at one of the clusters indicates that the choicest location for job, for migrant students upon completion of their degrees, is that cluster (Delhi NCR) itself. The rationale behind that preference is the possibility of campus placement drive due to the regular demand of skilled labour force from the firms of the cluster coupled with the courses/training/coaching which make students of professional as well as non-professional courses job-ready. The possibility of getting a job in NCR can easily be the tool to fulfil the desire of living a modern urban life for future skilled workers.

Based on the above-mentioned analysis, it can easily be put forward that students' migration, at least in the context of one of the clusters, is a two-step migration because the migrant students do not enrol themselves to the colleges located in the cluster for earning their educational degrees alone but they foresee it as an opportunity to join the local labour pool and live a metropolitan life upon the completion of their degrees.

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