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Migration Intentions of International Students in Turkey: A Case Study of African Students at Süleyman Demirel University

Türkiye'deki Uluslararası Öğrencilerin Göç Eğilimleri: Süleyman Demirel Üniversitesi'ndeki Afrikalı Öğrenciler Üzerine Vaka Çalışması

ABSTRACT

This article contributes to the understanding of how certain destination choices influence migration intentions among international students in transition economies. A focused group of 15 participants comprising ten males and five females from various African countries was conducted to empirically verify how destination types affect migration intentions. Results from our analysis showed high intentions of participants to return to origin countries or proceed to more developed countries to work or further their education. The study identified cultural differences, inability to obtain a work permit and secure opportunities as well as rising security problems as reasons for return or transit migration intentions. The results also illustrate the importance of religion and social networking as influential factors in migration decisions. An important implication of this study is the implementation of immigration policies that provides support structures and opportunities such as international working experiences for students at the local level to facilitate the smooth transition into the labor market in case of stay, return or transit migration intentions.

Keywords: Migration Intentions, International Students, Africa, Isparta, Turkey.

ÖZET

Bu makale, geçiş ekonomilerindeki uluslararası öğrencilerin mevcut yaşadıkları yerin göç niyetlerini nasıl etkilediğini anlamaya yönelik katkı sağlamayı amaçlamaktadır. Afrika ülkelerinden 10'u erkek, 5'i kadından oluşan toplam 15 katılımcı ile odak grup görüşmesi yapılmıştır. Yapılan analizler sonucunda katılımcıların daha iyi eğitim almak ve işte çalışmak için daha gelişmiş ülkelere geçme ya da geri kendi ülkelerine dönme niyetinin yüksek olduğu ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu çalışmada, geri dönüşte veya transit göçte, kültürel farklılıklar, yeterli çalışma izni elde edilememesi, güvenli fırsatlar kadar artan güvenlik problemleri etkili olduğu belirlenmiştir. Ayrıca bu sonuçlar, din ve sosyal bağların da göç etme niyetinde etkili olduğunu göstermektedir. Bu çalışmada çıkan en önemli sonuç, geri dönüş veya transit göç niyeti olan uluslararası öğrencilerin yerel düzeyde iş piyasasına yumuşak geçişini sağlayan destekleme olanakları ve yapılarına olanak sağlayan göç politikalarının uygulanmasıdır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Göç Niyeti, Uluslararası Öğrenciler, Afrika, Isparta, Türkiye.

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Introduction

The decision to migrate is one of the critical decisions in life, more importantly for young students traveling to experience different education systems and culture. This is particularly evident in the growth of international students studying outside their respective countries of origin¹. One way countries foster economic and regional integration is by promoting international education. However, facilitating such ties requires migration of people which unfortunately has increasingly become a controversial issue. Notwithstanding the debates about migration, student mobility² enhances skills promotion and development as well as contributes significantly towards the foreign exchange of destination countries³. The industry generated US\$32.9 billion in revenue in 2005 with the UK (US\$10.5 billion), USA (US\$14.5 billion) and Australia (US\$8.5 billion) securing the majority of the revenue⁴. International students represent one-third of total temporary migration within Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries where approximately 84% of international students reside⁵. The United States host majority of these students (25%) followed by United Kingdom (15%), France (10%) and Australia (9%). The exact number of international students globally is contested, however, data from UNESCO-UIS (2016) estimates that close to 4.1 million tertiary students were enrolled outside their respective country of origin as of 2013 up from 600,000 in 1975 and projected to reach 7.2 million students by 2025⁶. Despite the fact that higher education systems in Sub-Saharan Africa are expanding, the growing population of secondary school graduates and the demand for higher education has rendered the systems inadequate and relatively costly⁷. Rizvi⁸ affirmed that the lack of opportunities in origin countries and the prestige associated with international education are motivational factors in student migration decisions.

¹ Institute of International Education, *What International Students Think About U.S. Higher Education: Attitudes and Perceptions of Prospective Students from Around the World*, New York, 2015.

² In this paper, student migration and mobility are used interchangeably.

³ Asian Development Bank Institute (ADBI) *Labor Migration, Skills, and Student Mobility in Asia*, Asian Development Bank Institute, 2014.

⁴ Leslyanne Hawthorne, *The Growing Global Demand for Students as Skilled Migrants*, Migration Policy Institute, Washington, DC., 2008.

⁵ OECD, *International Migration Outlook 2010*, Paris, 2010.

⁶ Anthony Bohm, *Global Student Mobility 2025: Analysis of Global Competition and Market Share*, Canberra: IDP Education Australia, 2003.

⁷ UNESCO-UIS, *New Patterns in Student Mobility in the Southern Africa Development Community*, UIS Information Bulletin No.7, UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2012.

⁸ Fazal Rizvi, "Theorizing Student Mobility in an Era of Globalization", *Teachers and Teaching*, 17 (6, 2011, p. 693-701.

Theories explaining international student migration has been advanced by Scott⁹, Bhagwati and Hamada¹⁰, King and Ruiz-Gelices¹¹, Docquier and Rapoport¹², Gibson and McKenzie¹³ in the context of brain-drain phenomenon or the migration of highly skilled labor. The concept gained prominence in the 1960s when a substantive growth of highly skilled migrants from developing countries to developed countries was quite prolific¹⁴. According to the proponents of the brain-drain theory, emigration propagates slow economic growth in sending countries due to the loss of the “*best and brightest*”. African countries have been categorized as one of the biggest losers to the brain-drain phenomenon. Brain-drain of graduates and scholars deprives the continent of the necessary human resource base imperative for development contributing huge financial loss in the form of salaries paid to western expatriates to augment the emigration of highly skilled labor from the continent¹⁵. The framework has been however criticized for failing to put into account the benefit to both sending and receiving countries in the form of remittance and knowledge transfer. According to Scott¹⁶ the brain-drain theory presents the notion that highly skilled migrants move to search for specific opportunities to justify past training or experience. Other schools of thought¹⁷ argue that majority of highly skilled migrants eventually return to their respective countries of origin equipped with knowledge, experiences and professional networks necessary to spearhead development and propel growth in their home countries. International students are regarded as the labor force of the future and policymakers are shaping and in some cases

⁹ Anthony Scott, “The Brain Drain is a Human Capital Approach Justified?”, *Education, Income and Human Capital*, (ed. W. Lee Hansen), NY: National Bureau of Economic Research, 1970.

¹⁰ Jagdish Bhagwati-Koichi Hamada, “The Brain Drain, International Integration of Markets for Professionals and Unemployment”, *Journal of Development Economics*, 1 (1) 1972, p. 19-42.

¹¹ Russell King-Enric Ruiz-Gelices, “International Student Migration and the European ‘Year Abroad’: Effects on European Identity and Subsequent Migration Behaviour”, *International Journal of Population Geography*, 9, 2003, p. 229-252.

¹² Frederic Docquier-Hillel Rapoport, “Globalization, Brain Drain, and Development”, *Journal Economic Literature*, 50 (3), 2012, p. 681-730.

¹³ John Gibson-David McKenzie, “The Economic Consequences of “Brain Drain” of the Best and Brightest: Microeconomic Evidence from five Countries”, *The Economic Journal*, 122 (560), 2012, p. 339-375.

¹⁴ Simon Commander-Mari Kangasniemi-Alan L. Winters, *The Brain Drain: Curse or Boon? A Survey of the Literature*, Challenges to Globalization: Analyzing the Economics, NY: National Bureau of Economic Research, 2004.

¹⁵ Ulrich Teichler-Yasemin Yağcı, “Changing Challenges of Academic Work: Concepts and Observations”, *Higher Education, Research and Innovation: Changing Dynamics*, (ed., V. L. Meek-U. Teichler-M. Kearney), International Centre for Higher Education Research Kassel, Kassel, Germany, p. 85-145.

¹⁶ Anthony Scott, “The Brain Drain is a Human Capital Approach Justified?”, *Education, Income and Human Capital*, (ed. W. Lee Hansen), NY: National Bureau of Economic Research, 1970.

¹⁷ Uwe Hunger, “Brain Drain oder Brain Gain: Migration und Entwicklung”, *Migration im Spannungsfeld von Globalisierung und Nationalstaat*, (ed. H. Uwe), Wiesbaden, 2003, p. 58-75.

relaxing legislations to retain highly skilled migrants¹⁸. Other scholars such as Rizvi¹⁹ linked the concept of international migration to the process of globalization explicitly arguing that cultural and institutional reforms over the years have resulted in the internationalization of higher education.

Turkey as a New Destination for International Students

According to the Institute of International Education²⁰, international students are exploring more diverse range of destinations partly due to the influence of globalization. In 2012 alone, the number of Turkish students studying abroad was 49,000 a growth from 21,400 in 2006²¹ with majority enrolled in top destinations such as Germany, the UK, and the US.²² According to UNESCO²³, Turkey ranked 7th in terms of gross outflow of students, so why do international students prefer Turkey as a key destination for higher education? Over the years, Turkey, an emerging economy has invested heavily in its education system by providing scholarship opportunities to attract students from other emerging and developing economies. For instance during the 2000/2003 academic year, out of 1,256, 629 tertiary students, 15,719 were foreign students²⁴. The proportion of international students in Turkey rose to 26,000 foreign students in the 2010-2011 academic year²⁵. The Turkish government further implemented policies and measures to balance the distribution of scholarships to international student from traditional sending countries in the Caucasus and Central Asia (due to obvious cultural, geographical and ethnic similarities) to the Middle East and Africa²⁶. This is evident through the growth in international student enrollment since the 90s. (Figure 1). Provides the stock of international students in Turkey between 1995 and 2014. More important to the Turkish migration story is the presence of African students. Statistics from UNESCO²⁷ indicates

¹⁸ Simone Bertoli-Herbert Brücker-Giovanni Facchini-Anna Mari Mayda-Giovanni Peri, *The Battle for Brains: How to Attract Talents*, Print, CEPR Papers, 2009; OECD, *The Global Competition for Talent: Mobility of the Highly Skilled*, OECD, Paris, 2008.

¹⁹ Fazal Rizvi, *ibid.*, 2011.

²⁰ Institute of International Education, *ibid.*, 2015.

²¹ Ministry of Education of Turkey (2006), *Statistics on Students Studying Abroad*. (<http://yogm.meb.gov.tr>).

²² British Council, *The Importance of International Education: A Perspective from Turkish Students*, Research Report, Education Intelligence, UK, 2013.

²³ UNESCO, *Global Education Digest 2006: Comparing Education Statistics Across the World*, UNESCO Institute for Statistics, Montreal, Quebec, Canada.

²⁴ EURODATA, *Student Mobility in European Higher Education*, (ed., Maria Kelo-Ulrich Teichler-Bernd Wächter), Bonn: Lemmens, 2005.

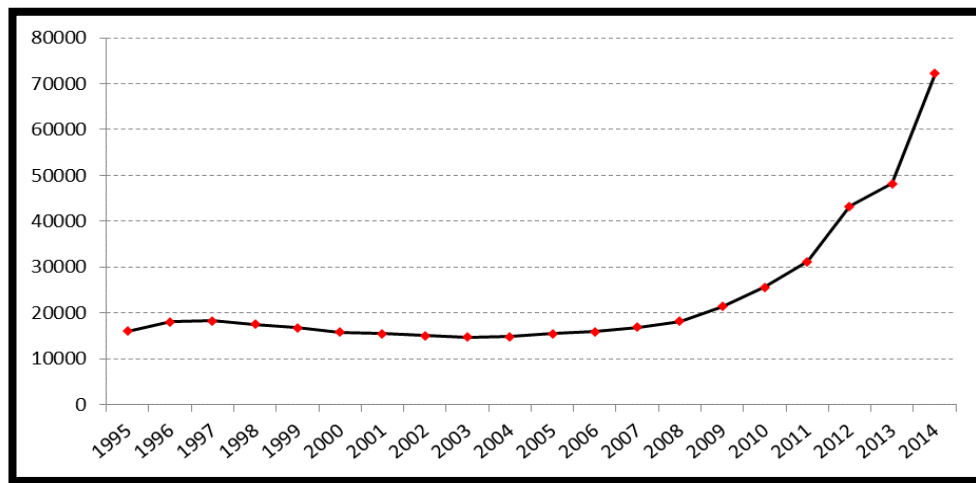
²⁵ Mahmut Özer, "Türkiye'de Uluslararası Öğrenciler", *Yüksek Öğretim ve Bilim Dergisi*, 2 (1), 2012, p. 10-13.

²⁶ Farkhad Alimukhamedov, "Understanding Socio-economic Situation of International Students at Turkish Universities", Paper presented at the 10th TurkMiS Workshop, Hacettepe University, Ankara, 2014; Ayhan Kaya, "Turkey as an Emerging Destination Country for Immigration: Challenges and Prospects for the Future", *Europe, Turkey and the Mediterranean: Fostering Cooperation and Strengthening Relations*, (ed. Joachim Fritz Vannahme-Armando Garcia Schmidt), Bertelsmann Foundation, Gütersloh, 2012, p. 85-96.

²⁷ UNESCO, *Tertiary Education: International Flows of Mobile Students by Country of Origin, 2012*, Montreal: UNESCO Institute of Statistics, 2014.

that student from Sub-Saharan Africa represent eight percent of globally mobile students. For instance in countries such as Swaziland, Botswana and Cape Verde more than 50 percent of students further their education abroad²⁸. One of Turkey's key foreign policy agenda constitutes a close relation with Africa. This involved pursuing both economic and political partnerships based on mutual bilateral trade agreements and development assistance in the form of scholarships to African students²⁹. The partnership provided 4380 scholarships between 1991 and 2014 excluded other categories such as fee paying African students.

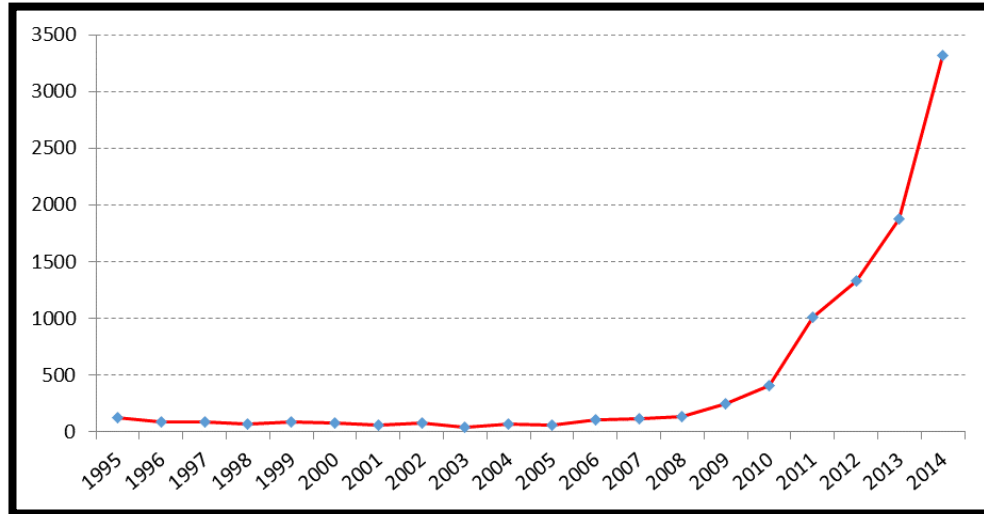
Figure 1. Number of International Students in Higher Education Institutions in Turkey



Source: www.osym.gov.tr

²⁸ Institute of International Education, *ibid.*, 2015.

²⁹ Republic of Turkey Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2016. www.mpa.gov.tr.

Figure 2. Number of African Students in Turkey from 1995-2014

Source: www.osym.gov.tr

Examining trading partnership further revealed that, growth in trade volume and partnership between Africa and Turkey has also resulted in corresponding increase in the number of students enrolled in Turkish universities. For instance, Turkey's trade volume in Africa amounted to US\$ 9 billion in 2005 to US\$ 17.1 billion in 2011 with a corresponding growth in African student population 351 to 1903 respectively³⁰. The diagram below provides some perspective on the growth and development of African students in Turkey between 1995 and 2014. As evident from the diagram below, the number of African students in Turkey grew dramatically during the aforementioned period, although there was a relative decline from 2003 to 2005.

Problem Statement

In international migration literature, a significant body of research on student mobility and more importantly their migration intentions are focused on developed economies³¹. The justification is partly due to the share volume of international students

³⁰ Numan Hazar, "The Future of Turkish-African Relations", *Dış Politika*, 25 (3-4), 2000, p. 10-110; Mehmet Özkan-Birol Akgün, "Turkey's Opening to Africa", *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 48 (4), 2010, p. 525-546; Chigozie Enwere-Mesut Yılmaz, "Turkey's Strategic Economic Relations with Africa: Trends and Challenges", *Journal of Economics and Political Economy*, 1(2), 2014, p. 216-230.

³¹ Josefina Jayme Card, "The Correspondence Between Migration Intentions and Migration Behavior: Data from the 1970 Cohort of Filipino Graduate Students in the United States", *Population and Environment*, 5 (1), 1982, p. 3-25; Bernt Bratsberg, "The Incidence of Non-return Among Foreign Students in the United States", *Economics of Education Review*, 14 (4), 1995, p. 373-384; Qianru She-Terry Wotherspoon, "International Student Mobility and Highly Skilled Migration: a Comparative Study of Canada, the United States, and the United Kingdom". *Springerplus*, 2 (132), 2013, p. 1-14; Rachel Brooks-Johanna Waters, *Student Mobilities, Migration and the*

in higher institutions of learning in the USA, Canada, France, Australia, UK, and Germany and for the fact that English-speaking countries have the natural inclination of attracting international students³². However, current statistics and trends show a growing number of international student enrollment in transition economies such as Turkey (Figure 2). Migration Policy Institute (MPI) (2012) asserted that the economic recession at the beginning of 2008 has resulted in a shift and increased movement of international students and labor migrants from traditional immigration receiving countries such as the United States to emerging economies, such as Brazil, China, and South Africa. What most studies have failed to analyze is how various destination types and the choice of university and city at the destination by international students influence migration intentions. Turkey for the fact of been a transition economy and a relatively new player in the international education industry has opportunities and inherent challenges and therefore a perfect case study to explore the various dynamics of migration intentions. Furthermore, the research exploring the various dimensions of student mobility in Turkey are limited and expectedly so because of the dominance of other types and forms of migration such as irregular and humanitarian migrants³³. Existing studies on international student's mobility in Turkey are however focused and leaned towards their socio-economic and integrational challenges. For instance, Özoğlu et al³⁴. using semi-structured interview surveys of international students found the importance of culture, history, geographic proximity, religion and ethnicity as pull factors in decision to study in Turkey. A more recent study by Titrek et al³⁵ based on their analysis of international students at Sakarya University in Turkey found that students faced social and integrational problems such as health, accommodation, communication challenges. Other studies arrived at the same conclusion based on the analysis of social, cultural and economic perspectives and dimensions of international students in Turkey³⁶. The

Internationalization of Higher Education, Palgrave MacMillan, Basingstoke, 2011; Rachel Brooks-Johanna Waters, *Student Mobilities, Migration and the Internationalization of Higher Education*, Palgrave MacMillan, Basingstoke, 2011; Paul Merwood, *International Students: Studying and Staying on in New Zealand*. Department of Labour, Wellington, New Zealand, 2007; George Borjas, *An Evaluation of the Foreign Student Program*, Center for Immigration Studies, Washington, 2002; Michael Dorgan, "China's Brightest Study, Stay in U.S.", *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, April 30, 2000.

³² Asian Development Bank Institute (ADBI), *ibid.*, 2014.

³³ Rebecca Kilberg, "Turkey's Evolving Migration Identity", Migration Policy Institute. Washington, July 24, 2014.

³⁴ Murat Özoğlu-Bekir S. Gür-İpek Coşkun, "Factors Influencing International Students' Choice to Study in Turkey and Challenges They Experience in Turkey", *Research in Comparative and International Education*, 10 (2), 2015, p. 223-237.

³⁵ Osman Titrek-Sayed Hassain Hasimi-Ali Salim Ali-Hamadi Fadhil Nguluma, "Challenges Faced by International Students in Turkey", *Anthropologist*, 24 (1), 2016, p. 148-156.

³⁶ Ayşe Aslı Sezgin-Tuğba Yolcu, "Göç ile Gelen Uluslararası Öğrencilerin Sosyal Uyum ve Toplumsal Kabul Süreci", *Humanitas*, 4 (7), 2016, p. 417-436; Yaser Snoubar-Gizem Çelik, "Cultural Differences of International Students in Turkey and Problems they Experience", *Procedia-Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 106, 2013, p. 759-766; Mahmut Özer, "International Students in Turkey", *Journal of Higher Education and Science*, 2 (1), 2012, p. 10-13; Yaşar Kondakçı, "Student Mobility Reviewed: Attraction and Satisfaction of International Students in Turkey", *Higher Education*, 62 (5), 2011, p. 573-592; Kasım Kiroğlu-Alper Kesten-Cevat Elma,

purpose of this study, therefore, is to move beyond the current narratives of student mobility in Turkey and explore the migration intentions (stay, return or transit) of African students at the same time providing some clarity as to the reasons for such decisions using Süleyman Demirel University in Isparta as a case study.

Data and Methodology

Research Approach

This research used a qualitative methods design specifically, focused group discussions because of the need to capture and obtain a better understanding of the shared experiences and interests of international students. Focused group discussions are organized to explore the views and experiences of a group of people on a particular set of issues³⁷. Focused group gained popularity in the 1940s as a research method for conducting commercial market research and to assess the response of a particular audience on an issue of shared importance³⁸. A crucial characteristic of the of focus group that distinguishes it from other group interviews is the emphasis on ‘group interactions’³⁹.

Study Setting

The study was conducted at the Süleyman Demirel University in Isparta, Turkey. Isparta city is relatively small in terms of economic and industrial productivity with a population of 214,096 based on 2015 estimates. The city has only one higher institution of learning and home to more than 70,000 tertiary students. Süleyman Demirel University has a wide international student population with a growth from just 12 foreign students in 2008 to 613 in 2015. Despite the fact that the number of African students at the university is comparatively low (Table 1), the increase in enrollment over the years

“Socio-Cultural and Economical Problems of Undergraduate International Students in Turkey”, *Mersin University Journal of the Faculty of Education*, 6 (2), 2010, p. 26-39; Fatma Karaoğlu, *Yabancı Uyruklu Öğrencilerde Uyuma Davranışı: Tömer Örneği*, (Basılmamış Yüksek Lisans Tezi), Gazi Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Ankara, 2007; Ali Çağlar, “Türk Üniversitelerinde Öğrenim Gören Türk Cumhuriyetleri ve Akraba Toplulukları Öğrencilerinin Sorunları”, *TODAY Amme İdaresi Dergisi*, 32 (4), 1999, p. 133-169.

³⁷ Gary Knaul Barker-Susan Rich, “Influences on Adolescent Sexuality in Nigeria and Kenya: Findings from Recent Focus-group Discussions”, *Studies in Family Planning*, 23, 1992, p. 199-210; Margot Zimmerman et al. “Assessing the Acceptability of NORPLANT Implants in Four Countries: Findings From Focus Group Research”, *Studies in Family Planning*, 21, 1990, p. 92-103; Charles E Basch, Ingrid M. DeCicco, James L. Malfetti, “A Focus Group Study on Decision Processes of Young Drivers: Reasons that May Support a Decision to Drink and Drive”, *Health Education Quarterly*, 16, 1989, p. 389-396; Susan J. Crockett-Karen E. Heller-Joyce M. Merkel-Joshua M. Peterson, “Assessing Beliefs of Older Rural Americans About Nutrition Education: Use of The Focus Group Approach”, *J. American Dietetic Association*, 90, 1990, p. 563-567; Larissa A. Grunig, “Using Focus Group Research in Public Relations”, *Public Relations Review*, 1, 1990, p. 36-49.

³⁸ Michael Bloor-Jane Frankland-Michelle Thomas-Kate Robson, *Focus Groups in Social Research*, SAGE Publications Ltd, 2001.

³⁹ Jenny Kitzinger, “The Methodology of Focus Groups: The Importance of Interaction Between Research Participants”, *Sociology of Health & Illness*, 16 (1), 1994, p. 103-121; David L. Morgan, *Focus Groups as Qualitative Research*, London: Sage, 1988.

can be fairly acknowledged with a relative representation in both undergraduate and graduate levels of study. Participants were sampled from multiple departments in the university. One of the exceptional characteristics of the sample size is the geographical diversity of the participants. The participants were drawn from different African countries with a wide range of linguistic, political, cultural and economic differences. A critical examination of the enrollment statistics of African students at the university by country further shows variations with students from Somalia (N=12) and Libya (N=21) comprising more than half of the enrollments as of 2015. Possible reasons for the relatively large number of such student group may be as a result of an already established community of Somali Asylum seekers in the city. International students in this study were students from foreign countries physically studying in Turkey⁴⁰.

Table 1. The number of African students at Süleyman Demirel University (SDU) (2011-2015)

	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Undergraduate	2	17	5	23	27
Graduate	1	1	6	21	25
Total	3	18	11	44	52

Source: SDU Student Affairs Directorate

Sampling Procedure

In all, a focused group of 15 international students in their third and final years of study at both the graduate (Master, Ph.D.) and undergraduate level comprising of ten males and five females were purposively sampled. Bader and Rossi⁴¹ cautioned against adopting certain sampling procedures such as random sampling in order to prevent the selection of participants who are not directly affected and knowledgeable about the situation. In essence, the participants are persons with a deep enthusiasm and understanding of the issue⁴². Participants were sampled from multiple departments in the university. One of the exceptional characteristics of the sample size is the geographical diversity of the participants. The participants were drawn from different African countries with a wide range of linguistic, political, cultural and economic differences. Bader and Rossi⁴³ further argued that a much representative sample ensures efficiency and timeliness by decreasing the number of sessions required without compromising accuracy. Participants were selected from different African countries to ensure geographic diversity. Three group sessions were conducted in a week interval. The first group session comprised of four males and two females, the second two males and two females and the third session comprised of three males and two females. The reason for

⁴⁰ Catherine Gomes-Marsha Berry-Basil Alzougool-Shanton Chang, "Home Away from Home: International Students and their Identity-Based Social Networks in Australia", *Journal of International Students*, 4 (1), 2014, p. 2-15.

⁴¹ Gloria E. Bader-Catherine Rossi, *Focus Groups: A Step-by-step Guide*, U.S: The Bader Group, 1998.

⁴² Gloria E. Bader-Catherine Rossi, *ibid.*, 1998.

⁴³ Gloria E. Bader-Catherine Rossi, *ibid.*, 1998.

such divisions was based on linguistic variabilities. The first and second group sessions were conducted in French and the third was conducted in English. The questions were in line with the objective to gain further insight into migration intention of students and comprised of open-ended conducted by two facilitators. The group session was recorded using tape device and note based analysis with the permission from the participants. Bader and Rossi⁴⁴ asserted that recording the sessions will capture the specifics which the facilitators might easily forget. These two analysis types were selected because of the relatively low risk of error in interpretation⁴⁵. Using content analysis technique, major subject matters discussed by the participants were identified and used for the analysis.

Findings

Demographic Characteristics of Participants

The average age of the participants was 23 years with the youngest being 20 and the oldest being 27 years. The majority of the participants were single with only one participant engaged to be married soon. The average duration of stay among the participants in Turkey was four years for both undergraduate, and Doctorate participants and two years for Masters Students. With regards to country of origin, most of the participants were from West African countries (Ghana, Nigeria, Niger, Chad, Benin, Togo, Senegal, and Guinea-Bissau) with two from East Africa (Uganda and Tanzania) one from the Horn of Africa (Somalia) and two from Southern Africa (Mozambique and Botswana). The majority of the participants are Muslims (N=11) with just a few being Christians (N=4). Most of the participants did not have any transnational migration history; however, a majority has relatives in other countries particularly in Europe and North America. The majority of the participants are in the Health, Physical and Engineering Sciences department with just a hand full (3) studying social sciences and a proportionate representation based on the level of study; 50% undergraduate and the remaining 50% graduate students. With regards to mother tongue, the majority of the participants were from French-speaking countries (N=9) and (N=4) from English-speaking countries, (N=1) Portuguese and (N=1) Arabic. Participants were asked to rate the state of their respective home country's educational system and most of them stated that it was normal (N=9). Participants were also asked to rate the state of their economy as a determinant for return migration. The reason for this question was based on the fact that, a stable economy would likely generate opportunities such as employment and investment and may propel return migration. The majority of the respondents stated that their economies are underdevelopment and subject to shock and well as an occasional crisis (N=13). All of the participants are receiving a scholarship from two main organizations namely, the Turkish Government Scholarship and TUBITAK. Both organizations provide scholarships for a duration of five years for undergraduate and doctoral studies and three masters' studies including a mandatory Turkish language study to promote integration and prepare students for respective programs of study. When asked about how they got the information about the scholarships, most of the

⁴⁴ Gloria E. Bader-Catherine Rossi, *ibid.*, 1998.

⁴⁵ Richard Krueger, *Designing and Conducting Focus Group Interviews*, 2002.

participants about (N=12) mentioned friends who were already studying in Turkey. This shows the importance of social networking among friends in promoting and sharing vital information on scholarships and job opportunities.

Pull factors

Most of the respondents stated the availability of scholarship and financial challenges as the key pull factors. Despite the unusually strong ties between France and its former African colonies by extending assistance and partnerships, one participant stated that:

Originally, I gained admission to France, however due to unavailability of scholarship and the high cost of living in France, I opted for Turkey. Further, the cost of education in my country is very high especially for master's study. Another reason is that France does not provide enough scholarship opportunities for its former colonies as it used to. (Female participant, graduate Student)

Another participant asserted that:

In my opinion, the education system in Turkey is better compared to my country and I wanted to experience another education system. (Male participant, undergraduate)

The research further ascertained whether there are variations in response about scholarships availability and opportunities between French and English speaking participants. One participant from an English speaking country stated that:

I also gained admission in the UK, and applied for several scholarships,but unfortunately the quota for such scholarships are very limited and the competition is high..... Long story short, I didn't get the scholarship and therefore came to Turkey. (Male, graduate)

The finding of this analysis is consistent with in-depth empirical studies by the Academic Cooperation Association⁴⁶ with particular reference to the determinants of the choice of destination by international students. The report concluded that the opportunity to learn and improve of foreign language competences, acquire international and cultural experiences and to improve the chances of an international career are some of the key factors that determine international students' destination choice. The findings of this study however show an inclination towards the availability of financial and scholarship opportunities as pull factors although the above mentioned determinants plays a critical role in destination choice.

Another participant stated religious reasons of which a fair number of the participants rightly agreed. As mentioned earlier in the demographic characteristics, the majority of the participants are Muslims and their submission is comprehensible.

As a Muslim, and Turkey been a majority Muslim country, I feel much comfortable studying here.. Religion is a very important part of my life and it played a major role during my research for scholarship opportunities. I feel that I can practice my religion here without any prejudice and living among my Muslim brothers and sisters makes me more confident and peaceful. (Male participant, undergraduate student)

⁴⁶ Academic Cooperation Association, *Perceptions of European Higher Education in Third Countries*, Brussels, 2004.

The language was another reason respondents opted for Turkey. As one respondent passionately stated:

As you as well aware, majority of the scholarship opportunities are in Europe, America and Canada and most of the programs are in English. This is a major problem for student from French speaking African countries. Although there is an option for providing standardized English test certificate, the cost of writing such exams are very expensive. We sometimes have to travel to neighboring English speaking countries such as Nigeria and Ghana to undertake these courses. The financial burden is huge as a result of this, I chose Turkey which provided the option to learn the language as a medium of study. (Male participant, graduate student)

Integration of African Students

“It is very difficult when you are used to living a certain life and you have to change.....” That was an open statement by one of the participants with regards to integration. Integration is a complex social process that entails the gradual adaptation of migrants to the majority society⁴⁷. By ‘majority society’, Esser⁴⁸ referred to the “totality where societal integration seems to function unproblematically”. Defining integration from a micro-sociological and macro-sociological perspectives, Esser⁴⁹ further asserted that a micro-sociological approach examines integration based on individual processes whereas a macro-sociological perspective draw relationships between immigrant groups and native groups. Immigrant’s level of integration has been closely linked to return migration intentions⁵⁰. The hypotheses put forward by the authors argued that a higher level of integration hitherto results in a lower willingness to return or transit to another country and a lower level of integration facilitates a higher degree of willingness to return⁵¹. Structural (labor market, living condition, resident permit) and sociocultural (making friends, learning the language and ascribing to the norms of the host country) integration are identified as key dimensions in the integration process⁵². Integration patterns according to Renee et al.⁵³ also varies considerably based on the type of migrant. Compared to other migrant types, students exhibit quite a distinctive experience and

⁴⁷ Hartmut Esser, “Does the New Immigration Require a New Theory on Intergenerational Integration”, *Rethinking Migration, New Theoretical and Empirical Perspectives*, (ed. A. Portes & J. DeWind), New York: Berghahn Books, 2008, p. 308-341.

⁴⁸ Hartmut Esser, *ibid.*, 2008.

⁴⁹ Hartmut Esser, *ibid.*, 2008.

⁵⁰ Kriste Anniste-Tiit Tammaru, “Ethnic Differences in Integration Levels and Return Migration Intentions: A Study of Estonian Migrants in Finland”, *Demographic Research*, 30 (13), p. 377-412, 2014; Luthra Renee-Platt Lucinda-Salamońska Justyna, *Migrant Diversity, Migration Motivations and Early Integration. The Case of Poles in Germany, the Netherlands, London and Dublin*, LEQS Paper, No. 74, 2014; Hein de Haas-Tineke Fokkema, “The Effects of Integration and Transnational Ties on International Return Migration Intentions”, *Demographic Research*, 25 (24), 2011, p. 755-782.

⁵¹ Hein de Haas-Tineke Fokkema, *ibid.*, 2011, p. 755-782.

⁵² Hein de Haas-Tineke Fokkema, *ibid.*, 2011; Friedrich Heckmann, *Integration and Integration Policies: IMISCOE Network Feasibility Study*, European Forum for Migration Studies (EFMS), 2005.

⁵³ Luthra Renee-Platt Lucinda-Salamońska Justyna, *ibid.*, 2014.

perceptions of integration⁵⁴. International students have the tendency to be more ‘culturally interested’ in the host country and establish relatively good relationships with the locals resulting in higher levels of integration, thereby further enhancing future migration intentions⁵⁵. With regards to this study, the level of integration among participants was mixed. Initial integration challenges were the language. Learning the Turkish language was a prerequisite for sociocultural interactions and academic life. Participants from both French and English speaking countries faced challenges in learning the language, however, participants with a foundation in Arabic stated the relative ease in integrating socially. The majority of the participants also stated the perception about Africans by some Turks resulted in some integration challenges. A participant asserted that:

Some Turks perceive Africans as poor and as a homogenous entity, underprivileged, underdeveloped and so on (Other participants nodded in agreement). I don't blame them because they get most of these information from the media (Female, graduate)

The study also found that perception did not vary based on gender. Both males and female participants experienced the same level of prejudice. Perception differs based on country of origin and cultural similarities. Kiroğlu et al. (2010)⁵⁶ concluded based on their study of international students from some Turkish speaking countries such as Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, Mongolia, Uzbekistan, Georgia, Greece and Kazakhstan that participants experienced less isolation and prejudice mainly due to similarities in culture. The role of fellow African students in the integration progress was also highlighted by the participants. The majority of the participants stated that the already established network of friends at the destination have contributed significantly in registering for a residence permit and other essential information. Integration among participants differs based on religious affiliation. Muslim participants integrated more quickly compared to Christian participants who stated the unavailability of places of worship in the study area as a challenge. It is important to point out that most of these perceptual challenges and religiosity are evident in smaller cities and less frequent in bigger cities such as Istanbul and Ankara with greater diversity and multiculturalism. A study by Brewer and Yüksek⁵⁷ on irregular African migrants in Istanbul confirmed the role of church-going among Christians in facilitating a sense of belonging in a West African community as well as interactions between Muslim migrants and Turkish citizens in the Mosque propels the integration process. Relating to Sawir's⁵⁸ study of social networks of international students showed that students experienced loneliness in host countries

⁵⁴ Luthra Renee-Platt Lucinda-Salamońska Justyna, *ibid.*, 2014.

⁵⁵ Russell King-Enric Ruiz-Gelices, *ibid.*, 2003; Matthias Parey-Fabian Waldinger, “Studying Abroad and the Effect on International Labour Market Mobility: Evidence from the Introduction of ERASMUS”, *The Economic Journal*, 121 (551), 2011, p. 194-222.

⁵⁶ Kasım Kiroğlu-Alper Kesten-Cevat Elma, *ibid.*, 2010.

⁵⁷ Kelly T. Brewer-Deniz Yüksek, *A Survey on African Migrants and Asylum Seekers in Istanbul*, Research Report, MIREKOC, İstanbul, 2006.

⁵⁸ Erlenawati Sawir-Simon Marginson-Ana Deumert-Chris Nyland-Gaby Ramia, “Loneliness and International Students: An Australian Study”, *Journal of Studies in International Education*, 12 (2), 2008, p. 148-180.

during the early months of arrival. The problems of loneliness categorized under personal, social and cultural were in the form of infrequent or loss of contact with family and loved ones, linguistic differences⁵⁹.

Migration Intention of African Students

This paper draws extensively from Fishbein and Ajzen's (1975) psychological interpretation of intentions. The authors perceived intentions as a "*special case of beliefs in which the object is always the person himself and the attribute is always a behavior*"⁶⁰. In essence, intentions can be categorized into four: the behavior (migration), target (USA, Europe, etc), situation (job opportunities, return, stay) and the time (after completion of program) the behavior is been executed. Elaborating further, Fishbein and Ajzen⁶¹ contended that, the effectiveness of intentions is shown by a person's "subjective probability" that he will engage in the behavior in question, in this case, migration. Surprisingly, the majority of the respondents stated their intention to return back to their respective countries or move to a more developed country after completion of their study. The following are some of the key outcomes of the discussions.

"As for me, I will return to my country to work there..... Because in my country, there are few food engineers... so I want to share my knowledge and experience. Furthermore, with my master's degree, I think I stand a better chance of securing a job in my country considering the fact that engineers are in high demand there." (Female participant, graduate student)

"I plan to move to France after completing my program.... I have relatives there: my uncle and cousins. I hope to find a job there or continue with my studies. Because if I return to my country, job is not readily available and I don't want to be a burden on my parents who are retirees." (Male, Graduate student)

"I intend to stay in Turkey [Other participants interjected asking why?] [Participant reluctantly continued] provided that, there are available job opportunities and the possibility to continue with my master degree. My short term goal is to attain a master's degree and if I can get the opportunity here, why not." (Male, Undergraduate student)

"In my case, I don't plan to stay in Turkey and returning to my country is not an option I am considering now. I am the first born child in my family and I have to take care of my siblings who are also in school back home. Because of this ... I intend to migrate to the USA purposely to seek job opportunities in order to take care of my family back home." (Male, graduate student)

Security and Terrorism were other key issues that were highly discussed. An open discussion of security showed heightened emotions with the topic being a major concern among respondents. Participants from less peaceful countries (occasional conflicts and acts of terrorism) argued the role of the mainstream media in chastising their respective countries. Most of the participants also stated that the recent and deteriorating security

⁵⁹ Erlenawati Sawir-Simon Marginson-Ana Deumert-Chris Nyland-Gaby Ramia, *ibid.*, 2008.

⁶⁰ Martin Fishbein-Icek Ajzen, *Belief, Attitude, Intention, and Behavior: An Introduction to Theory and Research*, Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1975.

⁶¹ Martin Fishbein-Icek Ajzen, *ibid.*, 1975.

and attacks in Turkey are critical factors in return migration decisions. Some of the discussions are highlighted below.

“Now every time you hear the news, there is bombing and attacks here and there. Although we in Isparta are safe, what of my friends in the big cities?, they are always afraid because of the frequency in attacks there... The current security situation in my point of view is getting bad. Because of this, I am less motivated to stay in Turkey and will return to my country after my studies.” (Male, Graduate)

“I know that some of these things happen, but after all, it’s my country and I have to return to contribute my quota to national development. I cannot in good conscience abandon my motherland due to a few minority who want to destabilize it. I have lived through a conflict and that does not deter me from returning to my country. The government is taking steps to address this issue, I know that although challenges are still persistent, significant progress has been made.” (Male, undergraduate)

Permit to stay and work in Turkey and cultural differences was another reason for return migration intention among the participants. This assertion is closely related to Renee et al.⁶² conclusion that relatively weak perceptions and hospitality in the host society usually culminates into lower levels of social and residential integration.

“In my opinion, it is difficult for Africans to live in Turkey because of the stereotype and the way some ... Turkish people behave [participant referring to an earlier submission by another participant during discussions on integration of students]...(Male, undergraduate)

“I want to return to my country. First of all, I can’t feel free in another country. I just came here for my education. Furthermore, I have the opportunity to work and live with my family in my own country. I can’t stay in Turkey because getting working permit here is very difficult.” (Female, graduate)

It is crucial to point out that despite available legislation providing the right of work for international students stipulated in article 41 of the “Law of Foreigners and International Protection”⁶³ obtaining such permits are very difficult according to participants.

“I have been living here in Turkey for almost four years now, and even getting internship opportunities are very difficult... I have a friend who by chance got an internship in a company but the remuneration is inadequate. After my degree, I will migrate to the US to find a job, I heard it is easier to get a job there than here.” (Male, undergraduate)

Recent studies based on student surveys conducted in Canada, Germany, the Netherlands and Sweden⁶⁴ as well as other studies by reports that although majority of international students preferred to remain and work after completion of studies, real

⁶² Luthra Renee-Platt Lucinda-Salamońska Justyna, *ibid.*, 2014.

⁶³ Ministry of Interior Republic of Turkey, *Law on Foreigners and International Protection*, Directorate General of Migration Management, Ankara, 2014.

⁶⁴ SVR, *Research Unit Train and Retain: Career Support for International Students in Canada, Germany, the Netherlands and Sweden*, Berlin, 2015.

challenges exist in finding skilled employment opportunities⁶⁵. It is important to point out that return migration decision may be influenced by the scholarship agreement provided by the Turkish government. There is a section that stipulates that students are required to return to their respective countries after successful completion of their study. However, irrespective of this agreement, the return migration intention among the participants was very high.

Discussion and Conclusion

This study shows considerable variation in perception and intention of students across different geographic and economic regions. Outcomes of the analysis showed the relevance of the destination country as a determinant factor in migration intention decision. A similar study conducted among Chinese students in Canada stated the desire of students to stay behind and apply for residence permit to work after completion based on their short and medium-term objectives⁶⁶. Other studies by Merwood (2007)⁶⁷ in New Zealand, Baruch et al.⁶⁸ in the United Kingdom and the United States, Borjas⁶⁹ in the United States and ADBI. (2014) of international students in OECD countries concluded that international students preferred to stay in those respective countries after completion of the program of study. Participants in this study prefer to return to their respective countries or migrate to the more developed countries to work or continue with their study. It is obvious that the intention to return is high, however, response rate differs slightly based on the level of study. Some undergraduate students stated the intention to stay provided opportunities are available to continue with their respective studies. Masters and Doctoral students, on the other hand, were highly motivated to return or transit. This study also elucidates the importance of religion and social networking as well as financial condition in influencing migration decision. The importance of social networks as determinants of migration decision and destination choice has been widely researched⁷⁰. Religiosity was a major theme highlighted by participants as a pull factor

⁶⁵ Nancy Arthur-Sarah Flynn, "Career Development Influences of International Students Who Pursue Permanent Immigration to Canada", *International Journal for Education and Vocational Guidance*, 11, 2011, p. 221-237; Social and Economic Council of the Netherlands (SER), *Analyse ten Behoeve van Advies "Make It in the Netherlands!"* 2013;

https://www.ser.nl/~media/db_deeladviezen/2010_2019/2_013/make-it-in-the-netherlands/make-it-in-the-netherlands-analyse.ashx (Erişim: 11.08.2016); SVR Research Unit/Migration Policy Group, *Mobile Talent? The Staying Intentions of International Students in Five EU Countries*, Berlin, 2012; Canadian Bureau for International Education (CBIE), *A World of Learning: Canada's Performance and Potential in International Education*, Ottawa, 2014.

⁶⁶ Yixi Lu-Li Zong-Bernard Schissel, "To Stay or Return: Migration Intentions of Students from People's Republic of China in Saskatchewan, Canada", *Int. Migration & Integration*, 10, 2009, p. 283-310.

⁶⁷ Paul Merwood, *ibid.*, 2007.

⁶⁸ Yehuda Baruch-Pawan S. Budhwar-Naresh Khatri, "Brain drain: Inclination to Stay Abroad After Studies", *Journal of World Business*, 42 (1), 2007, p. 99-112.

⁶⁹ George J. Borjas, "The Labor Market Impact of High-Skill Immigration", *American Economic Review*, 95 (2), 2005, p. 56-60; George J. Borjas, *Immigration in High-Skill Labor Markets: The Impact of Foreign Students on the Earnings of Doctorates*, NBER Working Paper No. 12085, 2006.

⁷⁰ Biswajit Banerjee, "Social Networks in the Migration Process: Empirical Evidence on Chain Migration in India", *The Journal of Developing Areas*, 17 (2), 1983, p. 185-96; Anita Böcker,

in migration to Turkey. Participants although being aware of the relative good education system in Europe and elsewhere chose Turkey mainly due to religious ties and an established network of friends who encouraged them to apply for the scholarship. Integration challenges were another issue raised by the participants. As mentioned earlier in the works of⁷¹ migrants with lower level of integration are more likely to return to their origin countries or move to another country. This study's conclusion about student integration is contrary to Russell et al.⁷² findings relating to international student's integration in Melbourne, Australia. They found that students felt more positive and connected to Melbourne and experienced relatively less stress and isolation.

The decision of the participants to migrate back to their respective countries may be as a result of their current location. In essence, geography plays a critical role in migration intention. First and foremost, Isparta is a relatively small city with little opportunities. Examining Göver and Yavuzer's⁷³ study on perceptions of foreign students in Kayseri, a much large and industrialized city in Central Anatolia, however, shows a more positive and comfortable perception of the participants and an indication to stay in Turkey after completion of the program. A major policy recommendation from this study has to do with opportunity structures and support for international students. Substantial evidence points to the fact that, providing opportunities such as internships and training in addition to the degree program enhance chances of international students in the labor market. It is obvious that retention efforts are not well implemented, the best way forward, therefore, is for policymakers to provide opportunities at the local level which in the long run will promote Turkey as a key destination and a hub for skills acquisition and promotion.

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⁷¹ Kriste, Anniste-Tüt Tammaru, *ibid.*, 2014; Luthra Renee-Platt Lucinda-Salamońska Justyna, *ibid.*, 2014; Hein de Haas-Tineke Fokkema, *ibid.*, 2011.

⁷² Jean Russell-Doreen Rosenthal-Garry Thomson, "The International Student Experience: Three Styles of Adaptation", *Higher Education*, 60 (2), 2010, p. 235-249.

⁷³ İbrahim Hakan Göver-Hasan Yavuzer, "Kayseri'de Öğrenim Gören Yabancı Uyruklu Öğrencilerin Kayseri, Türkiye ve İslam Algısı", *Turkish Studies*, 10 (2), 2015, p. 1025-1050.

- 244 MIGRATION INTENTIONS OF INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS IN TURKEY: A
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