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# Navigating Borders and Classrooms: A Phenomenological Exploration of Teachers' International Professional Experiences

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## Abstract

There has been an increase in teacher migration from the effect of globalization and internationalization. Teacher migration affects the education policies of both home and host countries. This phenomenological study aims to analyze the experiences of migrant teachers at the international level. This study examines 12 migrant teachers from different countries and with different backgrounds. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with these migrant teachers selected using purposeful sampling. Content analysis was used to analyze the interview data. As a result of the content analysis, two themes were obtained: 'Pre-migration process' and 'post-migration professional life'. Cultural differences between home and host countries were observed as effective on professional adaptation of the participants. The findings indicate that the participants complained about the challenges they had to deal with in adaptation process such as the pressure of grading and negative attitudes of their colleagues while they stated teaching abroad was positive for their professional development. In this regard, some formal arrangement could be designed by policymakers to make migrant teachers' adaptation process easier.

## Keywords

Teacher Migration,  
Internationalism,  
Globalization, Teacher  
Professional Develop-  
ment

## Introduction

Migration movements and patterns result in social and economic changes in home and host countries, as well as influencing the policies of states. According to a report from the International Organization for Migration (2020), the rate of international migration is on the rise, and it is estimated that around two-thirds of international migrants can be categorized as labor migration, meaning immigrating to other countries for better

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working and economic conditions. International migration has economic, geographical and demographic effects on both home and host countries and shapes their policies in these areas. International migration represents a complex process with longitudinal effects in many dimensions (International Organization for Migration [IOC], 2020). Therefore, there is a field to examine a specific group of professionals' migration experiences and the reasons for and results of their migration.

A report by the Europe Commission (2011) indicated that teachers have the highest rate of international mobility, after the health care workforce. Although there are few studies on international teacher mobility (Collins & Reid, 2012), how teacher migration affects the national education systems in some countries (Appleton et al., 2006) is a common issue among policymakers because teacher migration has a drastic effect on the educational systems of home and host countries (Caravatti et al., 2014; Guo & Singh, 2009).

Teacher migration is often discussed in the context of brain drain; that is, migration movements from third world countries to developed countries. This teacher migration means economical and academic losses for the third world home countries (Hatakenaka, 2004). However, developed countries benefit from this type of migration pattern by attracting brilliant individuals to their countries or by turning them into human capital as Bakioğlu and Keser (2019) stated. Thus, teacher loss has become a serious concern for sending countries due to increasing international migration (Keevy & Jansen, 2010, p. 11).

Teacher migration could be used interchangeably with teacher mobility, which refers to teachers that move to other countries for a brief time and teach abroad to develop themselves professionally. The current research adopts a holistic approach to explore the migration experiences of teachers in an international sense. Teacher migration is an important topic to be researched and analyzed, when its effects on the educational systems of countries are considered. However, the studies examining education and migration together generally focus on the educational and cultural experiences of refugees (i. e. Damaschke-Deitrick & Wiseman, 2021; Sangalang et al., 2019; Spaaij et al., 2019, Welker, 2022) and educational policies for refugees (i. e. Alpaydin, 2017; Buckner et al., 2018; Magos & Margaroni, 2018). There are few studies that examine experiences of migrant teachers from an international perspective in the literature (i. e. Caravatti et al., 2014; Yonemura, 2012). The current study aims to examine the experiences of migrant teachers with different backgrounds by exploring the reasons for migration, as well as the results of migration holistically to fill a research gap in the literature.

### Internationalization in Education: The Migration Trends of Teachers

The role of teachers for national development is critical, especially for developing countries. Teachers' social agency and commitment are addressed to achieve the national goals of the host countries on the educational level as teachers are expected to contribute to

social development of the society (Keevy & Jansen, 2010: 3; Sives, et al., 2005). However, teachers migrate from developing countries to developed countries for different reasons (Bense, 2016). The factors affecting this phenomenon of migration are usually classified into pull and push factors. While pull factors are positive factors that attract migrants to move to another region or country; push factors are explained as negative factors pushing people from their home countries for various reasons (Zanabazar et al., 2021). The pull and push factors affecting migration are summarized in Table 1.

**Table 1.** Push and pull factors for migration

|                             | <b>Push factors</b>   | <b>Pull factors</b>  |
|-----------------------------|---|--|
| <b>Economic factors</b>     | High unemployment rates<br>Lack of promotions<br>Risk of losing jobs<br>Low salaries                | Low unemployment rates<br>Labor recruitment<br>Reasonable remuneration                   |
| <b>Non-Economic factors</b> | Political, racial, ethnic upheaval<br>Fleeing war and/or civil unrest                               | Wealthy, stable and democratic practices<br>Safe country                                 |
| <b>Other factors</b>        | Inability to live a decent life<br>Deteriorating work environment<br>Significant stress and burnout | Better life<br>Satisfaction of practicing the profession<br>Satisfactory work conditions |

*Note:* Adapted and compiled from: Aguiar et al. 2007; Martin & Zurcher, 2008; Packer, et al. 2014.

In Table 1, push and pull factors include economic factors such as high / low unemployment rates, low salaries / reasonable remuneration, risk of losing jobs and labor recruitment. There are also other push and pull factors such as political considerations, physical security and quality of life. Parkins (2010) stated that the rise in global migration has been estimated at 35% overall in the last two decades, which implies an increase in push and pull migration factors (Urbanski et al., 2022).

### Studies on Teacher Migration

Bartlett (2014, p. 104) pointed out that migration trends alter traditional local boundaries of teacher labor markets by creating a brand new international migrant teacher labor market. Accordingly, most of the studies on teacher migration examine migration trends from developing countries to developed countries, while there are few studies in the literature examining the migration trends from developed countries to other developed countries. For example, the research conducted by Reid and Collins (2013, as cited in Bense, 2016) indicated that teachers' motivation for migration is to have an experience living abroad, while a few participants stated that they have career related reasons. Another study examining the experiences of teachers who immigrated to Australia (Collins & Reid, 2012) indicated that the reason for migrant teachers to teach in Australia are career

related reasons, such as professional development and acquiring modern teaching skills.

An international study examining migrant teachers' motivations to migrate by Caravatti et al. (2014) revealed valuable information about teacher migration. According to the findings in the research, teachers preferred to migrate because they wanted to live a better life, to provide better opportunities for their children, to improve their language skills or to have the opportunity to get further education. It seems migrant teachers have different sources of motivation based on the results of the limited number of studies examining teacher migration.

### Professional Experiences of Migrant Teachers

People within the same culture have a similar mental schema of what teaching is like, for the act of teaching is affected by one's mental conception (Mercado & Trumbull, 2018; Stigler & Hiebert, 1998). Thus, migrant teachers are exposed to different career processes due to the cultural differences of the countries to which they migrate (Peeler & Jane, 2005). It is possible to evaluate this situation as a natural result of the migration process; however, the increase in the number of migrants in developed countries aggravates the migration process, even for qualified migrants (Benson & O'reilly, 2009). The significant challenges they face can be summarized as employment problems and diploma equivalency, professional socialization, cultural conflict and classroom management problems derived from dominant pedagogical approaches in the host country that are different from the home country.

First, migrant teachers have some serious problems in the employment process. Accreditation issues are the main factor responsible for employment problems; some developed countries make migrant teachers take extra classes in order to have the title of teacher (Fee, 2011; Oloo, 2012; Schmidt, 2010), since some developed countries may not recognize migrant teachers' qualifications (Gravelle, 2011).

Second, migrant teachers may have problems communicating with students, teachers and parents in the host country; however, these problems may not be limited to linguistic problems. According to studies conducted in Australia, Canada and the USA, prejudice and discrimination toward migrant teachers are frequently observed because of their accents (Collins & Reid, 2012; Fee, 2010; Oloo, 2012). Linguistic problems also affect their communication and interaction with the school community; they fail to form professional socialization because they cannot feel themselves as legitimate member of a professional society (Niyubahwe, et al., 2013; Schmidt, 2010). Thus, migrant teachers need to make extra efforts to gain the trust and respect of school stakeholders (Janusch, 2015; Remennick, 2002).

Third, migrant teachers' professional experience and teaching philosophies may not work equally as well in the host country (Kostogriz & Peeler, 2004) because of culturally

different pedagogical approaches. Teaching is a cultural phenomenon; the content taught and the way it is taught are influenced by the cultural values of the country (Mercado & Trumbull, 2018). Thus, teachers need to be aware of the pedagogical approaches that dominate the education system of the host country; otherwise, many problems may arise in the teaching process. For example, Chinese teachers, mainly adopting didactic approaches, experience serious problems while teaching while working in Canada, where teachers are supposed to take a facilitator role, due to the different teaching approaches of the two countries (Wang, 2003; as cited in Niyubahwe, et al., 2013). These differences may make migrant teachers professional adaptation challenging.

While migrant teachers develop a unique educational philosophy and cultural awareness (Elbaz-Luwisch, 2014), these problems experienced during migration may discourage them from developing themselves professionally. Lashley (2018, p. 33), who is also a migrant teacher and PhD scholar, stated in one of her studies “the multiple losses migrant teachers experience is not parallel to the remuneration gains.” It is also ethically questionable how migrant teachers are exposed to such problems even in countries that formulate strategies to attract well-educated and qualified individuals (Schmidt, 2010). Challenges migrant teachers are exposed to in the host country are essential to analyze in order to understand the professional experiences of migrant teachers in depth.

### The Objective of the Study

Exploring the professional experiences of migrant teachers from an international perspective is useful to shed light on the procedures immigrant teachers go through in the migration process. However, there are very few empirical studies in the literature on teacher migration and most of these studies are limited to Canadian and Australian migrant teachers; thus, it is difficult to establish principles about the phenomenon. Therefore, this study aims to provide information and evaluation of current immigrant teacher migration trends at the international level and their experiences using an interdisciplinary and international approach. The results are expected to contribute to education policies related to migration and guide future research on teacher migration.

### Methodology

Phenomenological research studies are designed to understand phenomena in-depth, through exploring the essence of lived experiences (Creswell, 2017). New meanings and appreciation that the participants develop can be understood by analyzing in their subjective experience on the phenomena (Lavery, 2003). The main phenomena of this study are migrant teachers’ professional experience and teacher migration trends. This phenomenological study is designed to explore experiences of migrant teachers with different backgrounds.

## Participants

In this study, migrant teachers were selected as participants to reveal the experiences and migration processes of teachers with different backgrounds. The participants were determined by purposeful sampling, which entails the identification and selection of individuals or groups who have significant knowledge or experience related to the phenomenon being studied (Cresswell & Plano Clark, 2011). Out of all the purposeful sampling methods, maximum variation sampling is adopted to select cases that differ significantly from each other so that it yields detailed, high-quality descriptions of each case, valuable for documenting unique aspects (Patton, 2002).

The potential participants were contacted via a social-media group including migrant teachers. The candidate participants were informed about the purpose and scope of the research and 12 out of 20 migrant teachers agreed to participate in the research, and video conferences were planned. Semi-structured interviews were conducted via video conference. The profiles of the participants are provided in Table 2.

**Table 2.** Profile of the participants

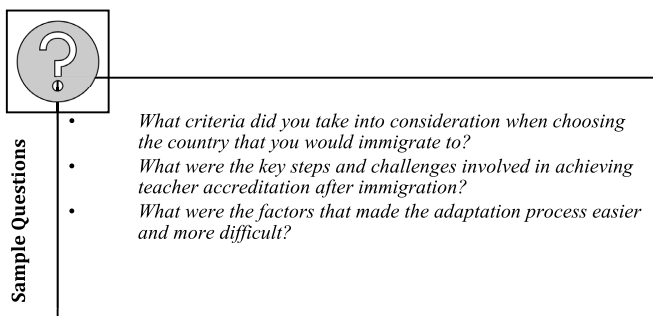
|     | Home country          | Host country  | Teaching subject       | Age | Gender | Teaching experience |
|-----|-----------------------|---|------------------------|-----|--------|---------------------|
| P1  | United Kingdom        | Thailand, Uzbekistan                                | Pre-school teacher     | 30  | Male   | 7                   |
| P2  | Turkey                | United States                                       | English                | 38  | Female | 16                  |
| P3  | Turkey                | France  | English                | 36  | Female | 14                  |
| P4  | Bosna and Herzegovina | United States                                       | Pre-school teacher     | 48  | Female | 23                  |
| P5  | Australia             | Egypt   | English                | 39  | Female | 20                  |
| P6  | Philippines           | Japan   | English                | 48  | Female | 15                  |
| P7  | United Kingdom        | Thailand  | Primary school teacher | 52  | Female | 27                  |
| P8  | Jamaica               | United States                                       | English                | 45  | Female | 26                  |
| P9  | India                 | United States                                       | Special education      | 39  | Female | 13                  |
| P10 | United States         | China   | Sciences               | 45  | Male   | 20                  |
| P11 | United Kingdom        | Egypt, Kuwait, Thailand, Germany, China (Hong Kong) | English                | 56  | Female | 20                  |
| P12 | United States         | Africa, South America, Turkey, Malawi               | Mathematics            | 49  | Male   | 24                  |

Table 2 indicates that half of the participant teachers migrated from developed countries to developing countries. The others migrated from developing countries to developed countries. None of the participants of the study were forced migrants; the participants stated they had chosen to migrate abroad voluntarily.

In the results section, the notation of “Home country” and “Host country” is adopted to clearly denote the countries from which the participants have migrated and their current countries of residence. If there is more than one country to which they migrated, their current location is written as a host country.

## Data Collection Procedure

A semi-structured interview technique was used to explore teachers’ migration experiences and migration processes. The semi-structured interview technique gives researchers the opportunity to reveal previously unknown and original information (O’Keeffe et al., 2019). The interview form questions were created by scanning the relevant literature in detail. The sample questions are provided in Figure 1.



**Figure 1.** Interview Form: Sample Questions

The interviews with 11 participants were conducted via video conference with all participants except 1 participant who agreed to answer the questions via e-mail. The interviews took place between October 2020 and January 2021. The shortest interview was 25 minutes long and the longest interview took 1.5 hours.

## Ethics Committee Report

Marmara University Research and Publication Ethics Committee decided that the current research was ethically appropriate with its decision numbered 2021/203 on 26.02.2021 and notified the ethics committee’s approval with the document numbered 2100082014.

## Validity and Reliability

Validity and reliability are essential standards to evaluate the research in data collection and analysis processes (Mohajan, 2017). To enhance the credibility of the results, experts of education and migration were consulted for drafting the interview questions, and



participants statements were quoted in the Results section. To establish transferability, the profiles of the participants was provided in detail. The data analysis ended after an agreement was reached between two researchers to enhance the dependability of the research. Lastly, the data of the whole research process is preserved to ensure the confirmability of the research.

### Data Analysis

Data analysis in qualitative research includes processes of preparing, arranging, defining, classifying the data obtained from various sources for analysis, and reducing and interpreting the data into coding structures and various themes (Creswell, 2013, p. 180). The use of qualitative content analysis provides more comprehensive qualitative research that can be associated with conceptual issues and uses the technique of systematically coding and analyzing qualitative data (Braun & Victoria Clarke, 2012). Since most of the participants were female, the data collected was also analyzed within the framework of gender theories and concepts to understand how the experiences of women interact with gender structures and norms.

### Results

As a result of the analysis, some common experiences emerged and are presented in Figure 2 based on the two time periods: (i) experiences before migration and (ii) experiences after migration.

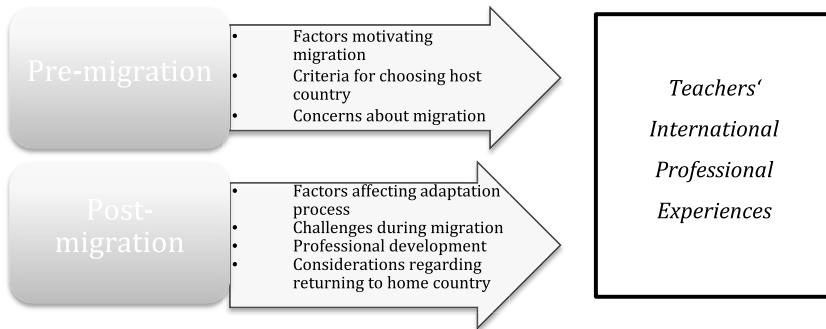


Figure 2. Themes and sub-themes

### Pre-Migration Period

#### Factors Motivating Migration

As observed in Table 3, most of the participants underscored they were motivated by economic benefits they would gain as a result of migration, like P6 (Philippines – Japan): “In my home country the teacher salary is quite low, so there are people who migrate abroad. Japan is a good opportunity to get better education and make more money.”

**Table 3.** Factors motivating migration

| Codes  | f | Participants          |
|--|---|-----------------------|
| Economic prospects                                 | 5 | P1, P6, P8, P10, P11  |
| Exploring different cultures / traveling the world | 5 | P1, P3, P10, P11, P12 |
| Gaining overseas experience                        | 4 | P3, P4, P7, P9        |
| Professional development                           | 1 | P9                    |
| Learning a new language                            | 1 | P12                   |

P6's case could be evaluated as common when it is thought that economic prospects encourage people in developing countries to immigrate to developed countries (Van der Mensbrugge & Roland-Holst, 2009); however, it is not necessarily true. There are some cases, like P1, in which people of developed countries prefer to immigrate to developing countries to earn more. P1 (United Kingdom – Uzbekistan) decided to work abroad for economic benefits: “The salary and opportunities offered in Uzbekistan were very good and being able to save money for the future motivated me a lot because the cost of living is relatively low compared to other countries.”

Apart from economic gains, a few participants, like P3 (Turkey – France), mentioned their desire to have working experience abroad, which is one of the important motivating factors for them to migrate:

Every day felt like the same day, and I could not learn anything new. I used to feel as if I were in a vicious circle. I wanted to open the door to a different world and see through it.

The statement above conveys a deep sense of monotony and frustration, as P3 described feeling trapped in a repetitive daily cycle, unable to learn or experience anything new. It is a stimulator to enrich both the participants personal and professional life and to explore new horizons.

Other than economic and professional reasons, a few participants were simply motivated by exploring different cultures and traveling the world. For example, P12 (United States – Turkey) explained how he was fascinated by different cultures and languages: “There is a huge world out there! Learning different languages and cultures is exciting! Also, it's a great experience for my kids.” This paints a picture of an individual who is deeply inspired by the possibilities of the world and is keen on sharing these enriching experiences to foster a similar sense of curiosity and global awareness.

Traveling the world is one of the popular items in the wish lists of the people; therefore, it is not surprising as a motivator for migration. However, interestingly, one of the participants P11 (United Kingdom – China) mentioned that she used to be a lawyer, she dropped her profession, and she picked teaching as her new profession to travel the world:

I took time off from my job and went to university again to be a teacher, and as soon as I graduated, we moved to Cairo. We've always wanted to travel and see the world. ... we wanted to do something exciting and have an adventure.

The career change decision highlights a proactive approach of P11 to both personal and professional development, demonstrating a willingness to embrace change and seek new experiences.

### Criteria for Choosing Host Country

As observed in Table 4, the participants had different opinions on criteria for choosing the host country, which is not surprising when it is thought that the participants have different backgrounds. On the other hand, most of the participants paid attention to the profile of host countries so that the migration process would be easier. These participants took language and culture into consideration to facilitate their migration process. For example, P2 (Turkey – United States) stated that she took the language of the host country as a first criterion while choosing the host country: “The main criterion was the fact that the official language was English in the country I was going to.”

**Table 4.** Criteria for choosing host country

| Codes                              | f | Participants          |
|------------------------------------|---|-----------------------|
| Language & culture of host country | 5 | P2, P6, P10, P11, P12 |
| Life standards                     | 3 | P2, P3, P9            |
| Personal development opportunities | 2 | P3, P10               |
| Economic conditions                | 2 | P1, P3                |
| Security                           | 2 | P1, P6                |
| Status of the teaching profession  | 1 | P11                   |

Similarly, P11 (United Kingdom – China) mentioned that the more cultures of home and host countries are similar, the easier the migration process becomes: “If I had had the chance, regardless of other factors, I would have worked [in] countries whose culture is similar to [the]United Kingdom. Except for Germany, the other countries were difficult for me to adapt to.” This statement highlights the significant role of cultural compatibility in the ease of adaptation for international professionals, underscoring the challenges faced when working in culturally diverse environments.

Remarkably, only one of the participants, P11, regarded the professional status of the teaching profession as important factor in choosing the host country: “After a lot of years abroad in different countries, I chose Hong Kong by knowing that teaching profession was highly respected by parents and society.” It underscores the importance of societal respect and recognition for the teaching profession in the choice of a working

environment, highlighting how professional esteem can influence the career decisions of teachers.

### Concerns about Migration

As observed in Table 5, the concerns about migration are mostly related to the cultural characteristics of the host country, which seems compatible with the findings on the criteria for choosing host country. For example, P8 (Jamaica – United States), explained her concerns about the culture in the USA and negative preliminary information regarding how teachers are disrespected based on stereotypes presented in the movies: “Before I went to the USA, I was worried about possible disrespectful behaviors of the students towards teachers. I was somewhat affected by the stereotypes I saw in the movies.” It highlights how media representations could shape perceptions and anxieties about professional environments, potentially influencing individuals’ expectations and preparedness for cultural and occupational challenges.

**Table 5.** Concerns about migration

| Codes   | f | Participants        |
|---|---|---------------------|
| Cultural differences  | 5 | P1, P2, P3, P8, P11 |
| Negative information about host country                     | 2 | P7, P8              |
| Discrimination, prejudice and racism                        | 2 | P6, P12             |
| Teacher equivalency problems                                | 1 | P2                  |
| Not being proficient in the native language of host country | 1 | P5                  |

Similarly, P5 (Turkey – United States), also had professional concerns related to cultural differences between her students and herself, which potentially raises some communication problems:

I was really concerned about establishing a bond with my students in the USA. It became very easy for me to connect with my Turkish students, and I wasn't sure if it would be that easy in the USA.

The statement above reveals her internal struggle with the potential challenges of forming meaningful relationships in a culturally different educational landscape, unlike the comfort and success experienced in a familiar environment. Lastly, P1 (United Kingdom – Uzbekistan), mentioned that he was really concerned about attitudes towards women in Uzbekistan which is a predominantly Muslim country:

Moving to Uzbekistan with two young daughters also worried me. However, it turned out my worries were in vain. The attitudes towards women are no worse than in other Asian countries here. I [was] relieved.

His initial concern about moving to Uzbekistan with his two young daughters highlights the gender-specific anxieties related to the treatment and status of women in a new cultural context. His worries are rooted in the understanding that gender norms and attitudes towards women could significantly vary across different countries and regions, potentially impacting his own and his daughters' well-being and safety. To summarize, the opinions on the criteria for choosing the host country differ, while the reasons for pushing teachers to migrate in the pre-migration process are similar. Pre-migration concerns, on the other hand, are mostly due to cultural differences between home country and host country.

### Post-Migration Period Factors Affecting Adaptation Process

As observed in Table 6, the factors affecting the adaptation process are mostly related to characteristics of host countries, which seems compatible with the findings on the criteria for choosing host country discussed in previous sections. The language of host countries was underscored by most of the participants, such as P11 (United Kingdom – China), as a facilitator or an impediment to adapt for migration:

There were some good things about the transition to Hong Kong, which makes things easier. Everyone here -China- speaks English, which is preliminary for achieving professional success here. Here's a bilingual country, so all traffic signs and some other things are bilingual.

This statement highlights the significant role of language accessibility in easing the transition and contributing to professional and personal integration in a new country.

**Table 6.** Factors affecting adaptation process

| Codes                              | f | Participants            |
|------------------------------------|---|-------------------------|
| Language of host country           | 6 | P3, P4, P5, P6, P9, P11 |
| Culture of host country            | 4 | P2, P7, P9, P11         |
| School administration              | 4 | P1, P4, P5, P10         |
| Mentoring and orientation programs | 2 | P8, P12                 |

However, the people's prejudice due to her culture and accent made adaptation difficult for P5 (Australia – Egypt): “When I immigrated to Egypt, I had a hard time because everyone was making fun of me especially when I was trying to speak Arabic”. Similarly, P3 (Turkey – France), also had problems with adaptation since she did not have a good command of a language of host country: “At first, I wasn't good at French. Also, the French generally do not prefer to speak English, which was quite challenging.”

Another factor affecting the adaptation process is the culture of host country and how host countries' people react to cultures other than theirs. P5 (Australia – Egypt) had

negative experience about it: “They tried to humiliate my hometown and culture. Even, they tried to impose their culture on me.” This statement highlights her experience with cultural discrimination and the imposition of another culture. It underscores the issue of cultural superiority, where dominant groups devalue and marginalize other cultures. The attempt to impose their culture indicates a lack of respect for cultural diversity and individuality, emphasizing the challenges of maintaining one’s cultural identity in such environments.

K9 (India – United States), migrating from India to the USA also underscored the effect of culture for adaptation: “What made it so difficult for me to get used to was that the cultures were so different. It took me a long time to adapt.” This statement captures the emotional complexity of cultural adaptation, highlighting the challenges of navigating significant cultural differences and the time and effort required to achieve a sense of belonging in a new environment.

P11 (United Kingdom – China), who had taught in different countries, explained how cultural differences and similarities between home and host countries shaped her adaptation process:

When we moved to Egypt in the early days, western food was very hard to find, whereas in Hong Kong, everything you need is very easy to find. We also had friends in Hong Kong, and having these people made a big difference for us because we had a great social life.

Attitudes towards migrants are effective on their adaptation processes. When attitudes towards migrants are shaped by micro and macro effects (Pakot & Róbert, 2014), meso-level effects should be also taken into consideration especially for educational organizations, where human interactions are critically important among school stakeholders. Therefore, schools where the participants are working and how the schools are managed is expected to have an impact on their adaptation processes in addition to the language and culture of host country, and, not surprisingly, half of the participants mentioned the role of school management for their adaptation processes. Most of these teachers, such as P1 (United Kingdom – Uzbekistan), criticized the school management since they failed to guide migrant teachers at schools:

The school management team seems to have a lack of experience. Things did not start well and got even worse during COVID. The motivation of the employees is very low as we were little appreciated during this difficult period. Also, we don’t get enough support on the school curriculum.

Similarly, P5 (Australia – Egypt), also disapproved the fact that she was not supported at all during hard time she got through in the first months in host country: “I had a

hard time and did not receive any support. I had to find strategies for dealing with problems by myself all the time, which was frustrating.” Both statements capture a sense of disillusionment and demoralization among teachers, driven by perceived incompetence in school management, inadequate recognition, and lack of essential support, particularly during the challenging times of the COVID pandemic.

Besides these negative statements, two of the participants mentioned their positive experience in the school they work, which includes orientation and mentor programs. For example, P12 (United States – Turkey), appreciated benefits of a mentor program, and how this program facilitated her adaptation process:

Most of the schools I’ve worked have had an ‘orientation week’ or a ‘mentoring system’, which has been very helpful. ... it was very easy to get used to the new places.

This statement highlights the importance and effectiveness of orientation and mentoring systems in helping individuals acclimate to new settings. This emphasizes the value of structured support in fostering a welcoming and adaptable environment.

### Challenges during Migration

As observed in Table 7, the challenges the participants faced at school mostly emerged because of the attitudes of stakeholders of the school. Half of the participants underscored how they had to endure negative attitudes of their colleagues, school managers and parents. P6 (Philippines – Japan) mentioned that her colleagues avoided communicating with her: “I had lot of bad experiences with my colleagues. I think this is because English teachers who were not very fluent in the language thought I was a threat to them at work.” This statement highlights the emotional complexity of navigating professional relationships, especially in an environment where colleagues may feel threatened by perceived differences in skill or proficiency. It underscores the impact of workplace dynamics on personal and professional well-being.

**Table 7.** Challenges during migration

| Codes   | f | Participants     |
|---|---|------------------|
| Adapting to the education system                        | 3 | P3, P9, P11, P12 |
| Communication with parents & parents’ high expectations | 3 | P2, P9, P10, P11 |
| Problems in classroom management                        | 3 | P4, P5, P9       |
| Communication with stakeholders                         | 2 | P1, P6           |
| Cultural conflict                                       | 1 | P11              |
| Prejudice & discrimination                              | 1 | P5               |

P1 (United Kingdom – Uzbekistan) considered school management responsible for the professional challenges she had to get through: “Management lacked experience and

expertise on how to communicate with teachers. We teachers are lack of management support. They avoid communicating with us.”

Besides school managers and other teachers, the participant teacher also mentioned they had some problems with parents for different reasons. For example, P10 (United States – China) admitted that she had to deal with unrealistic expectations of parents:

While Chinese students in general are very eager to learn and succeed in school, parents can still have unrealistic expectations for their children, and, sometimes, no success is enough for them, which makes things difficult for me as a teacher.

P10 experienced the emotional complexity of teaching in an environment where student enthusiasm is high but parental expectations is sometimes unattainable, creating a challenging and high-pressure situation for the teacher.

Similarly, P11 (United Kingdom – Uzbekistan), who also worked in China complained about the fact that parents tried to control decisions related to the school because of their high expectations for their children; that is why they tried to put teachers and managers under pressure. Moreover, she also mentioned how cultural differences between school stakeholders could result in conflict throughout the school by telling an anecdote:

The school I was working was a culturally rich environment. I mean, most of the teachers were Canadian and North American, but most of the parents and school management team members were Chinese. China is a more traditional society, Canada is more modern, and I, as an English person, have often been torn between two cultures. For example, a Canadian literature teacher assigned their students to review a novel on same-sex marriages. Chinese parents, naturally, did not approve it, they accused the teacher of badly influencing their children’s morals, and they tried to make a scene at the school. I had to calm two sides.

This anecdote illustrates the complex dynamics and potential conflicts that could arise in multicultural educational settings, where differing cultural values and norms often clash. P11’s role in mediating between these cultural perspectives highlights the need for cultural sensitivity and the challenges of balancing diverse expectations.

Reporting and grading generally differentiate across different education systems, which is one of the problems that a few participants, such as P12 (United States – Malawi) experienced: “The first few months in a new country everything is exciting but then things get harder to learn about a new education system, especially if it is totally different from [what] you are familiar with.” This statement captures the emotional journey of



transitioning to a new country, from the initial excitement to the subsequent challenges of adaptation.

Lastly, P5 (Australia – Egypt), explained how she had to handle prejudice and discrimination due to her religion: “I am a Muslim and people don’t want to hire me or they want to give me a much lower salary than any other foreigner could get, which discourages and hurt me.” This statement underscores the impact of religious discrimination in the workplace, highlighting how biases against Muslims could result in unequal treatment, such as hiring reluctance and lower wages. This discriminatory practice not only causes emotional distress and discouragement but also perpetuates systemic inequality, undermining fair employment opportunities and equitable compensation.

### Professional Development

All the participants stated that their professional development enhanced considerably because of overseas teaching experiences. As observed in Table 8, most of the participants such as P1 (United Kingdom – Uzbekistan) underscored that they improved pedagogical skills such as acquiring modern teaching methodologies, designing culturally rich lesson plans and developing new classroom management strategies:

I feel like I am a better teacher with teaching experience abroad. I learned lots of things that I couldn’t have learned in my own country. I have opportunities to experience new cultures, new languages and exotic countries.

**Table 8.** Professional development

| Codes                          | f | Participants            |
|--------------------------------|---|-------------------------|
| Improving pedagogical skills   | 6 | P1, P2, P6, P8, P9, P10 |
| Learning a foreign language    | 3 | P1, P2, P3              |
| Gaining different perspectives | 3 | P7, P10, P11            |
| Educational opportunities      | 1 | P8                      |

P8 (Jamaica – United States) appreciated the educational opportunities offered in the host country: “Professionally speaking, I feel more qualified. I learned lots of new strategies and skills. I got an education certification in Gifted Education. I could not have that opportunity in Jamaica.” These statements highlight the professional growth and opportunities afforded by working abroad, underscoring the transformative impact of international experiences on both migrant teachers’ qualifications. The acquisition of specialized certification in Gifted Education, unavailable in P8’s home country, exemplifies the unique professional development opportunities that could arise from international mobility.

## Considerations Regarding Returning to the Home Country

As observed Table 9, there are diverse factors that shape the participants' decisions about whether or not to return to their home countries or continue teaching abroad.

**Table 9.** Considerations regarding returning to home country

| Codes                               | f | Participants   |
|-------------------------------------|---|----------------|
| Personal satisfaction and lifestyle | 4 | P6, P7, P8, P9 |
| Cultural identity                   | 2 | P3, P5         |
| Family and emotional ties           | 2 | P2, P11        |
| Long-term career considerations     | 1 | P4             |

Many participants who find joy and fulfillment in their host countries and choose to stay, integrating deeply into the local culture and sometimes even obtaining citizenship, as P8 (Jamaica – United States): “I am now a citizen of the United States. I go back Jamaica for vacations. I have built a life here so I won't be going back to my country to live.” She considers the United States her permanent home.

On the other hand, P3 (Turkey – France) wanted to return her home country for some time:

I am considering returning. No matter how many years one lives in a country, if it's not the one they were born and raised in, they do not truly feel they belong to that culture.

P3 reflects on the intrinsic difficulties of fully integrating into a foreign culture despite prolonged residency. Her sense of belonging makes it difficult for her to feel fully part of the community.

Decisions to return the home country may be also influenced by family and emotional ties. Some female participants face dual expectations—achieving career success while adhering to traditional caregiving roles within the family as P2 (Turkey – United States) and P11 (United Kingdom – China):

I'd like to return but my kids will resume their education in the USA so I can't. (P2)

I only think of going back only if my mother needs me as she gets older. (P11)

As the statements above indicate gender roles could influence the professional experiences and life decisions of women, such as the need to care for aging parents or manage children's education, which reflects societal expectations that women should prioritize family care.

To sum up, apart from the culture and language of host country, the participants mentioned the importance of the support of school stakeholders; however, they could not get enough support, which made their adaptation processes challenging. All the participants stated that their professional development enhanced because of international migration. They have different considerations regarding returning to their home country or staying in the host country, though.

## Discussion and Conclusion

Teacher migration is a phenomenon that can be explained within the framework of both international mobility and brain drain. That is, some teachers migrate from developing countries to developed countries, which could be regarded as an extension of brain drain, and others migrate from one developed country to another, which could be seen as a part of international mobility. The participants of the current study provided cases described these two concepts.

In this research, the experiences of the participants are examined chronologically: pre-migration and post-migration processes. In the first sub-theme of pre-migration, it was concluded that most of the participants were motivated by economic factors regardless of whether their home country is developing or developed, which is compatible with the research by Chen (2007). That is, high salary expectations are among the most important factors that motivate teachers to migrate to other countries. Secondly, to explore different cultures is another prominent factor among the reasons for teachers to migrate. A teachers' desire to explore different cultures could be interpreted as an effect of globalization on education. The fact that teachers are willing to gain international experience is not surprising when education is considered a phenomenon beyond borders and time, and the roles of teachers are defined in accordance with this new paradigm (Chen, 2009). What is interesting is the fact that teaching was defined as a 'mobile' profession by one of the participants, and the desire to travel the world made her change her career path.

In the second sub-theme of pre-migration, the criteria for choosing host countries are explored. The culture and language of host countries were preliminary considerations before deciding on host countries. The research by Bense (2016) and Caravatti et al. (2014) also indicated that the culture of host countries and whether it is similar to or different from home country is an important criterion. As for a language of host countries as criterion, it could be explained that English is a *Lingua Franca*, which is the common mode of communication among speakers with different cultural and ethnical backgrounds (Jenkins, 2009). However, other aspects a host country's language as a criterion emerged in this study. Pragmatically, whether a language of host country improves teachers professionally is one of the aspects. Similarly, one of the participants stated that the professional status of teaching profession was important in choosing a host country. This means that

teachers are also career-oriented when determining the country that they will migrate to, and they attach importance to their professional dignity and professionalism. A high standard of living is another prominent criterion for those who migrated from developing countries to developed countries, which is in line with the conceptual framework that explains teacher migration in the context of brain drain.

In the third sub-theme of pre-migration, the participants' concerns about migration is examined. The cultural difference between home country and host countries was a factor that made teachers feel anxious about migration, which is expected when it is thought that difference between home culture traditions and the dominant cultural elements of host country poses a dilemma for migrants (Peeler, 2002). Some participants also stated that they had concerns about the pedagogical approach and communicating with students from different cultures. These participants are obviously aware the fact that teaching is a cultural phenomenon; it is affected by the cultural values of the country (Mercado & Trumbull, 2018). Moreover, Tran and Pasura (2019) found in their research, as in the participants in this study, teachers working in culturally rich schools are also aware of gaps in their professional practices, since the professional development of teachers is closely and inextricably connected with the engagement between teacher and student in context.

The second theme was the professional lives of teachers after migration. As a first sub-theme of post-migration processes, the adaptation procedures of the participants are explored. The culture and language of host country seem effective on their adaption process. While these effects could be negative or positive, the participants generally explained their negative experiences, such as prejudice, bullying and mobbing, which is consistent with the studies conducted by Collins and Reid (2012), Fee (2010) and Oloo (2012). These studies also indicated migrant teachers were exposed to mobbing because of their home cultures and native languages. Linguistic problems create a barrier for their communication and developing a bond with the students and their colleagues, which makes them feel isolated and creates a low self-esteem because they are not given enough credit in a professional sense by the school administration (Niyubahwe, et al., 2013; Schmidt, 2010).

Consistent with the studies by Peeler and Jane (2005) and Niyubahwe et al. (2013), the participants stated that orientation and mentor programs are highly beneficial for the adaptation process. Especially in a culturally rich schools, there is a corporate awareness for what processes migrant teachers go through, and that makes the integration process of migrant teachers healthy (Niyubahwe, et al., 2013). The fact that one of the participants in this study stated that the mentoring system facilitated his own adaptation process and that he even mentored newcomers, could be given as an indicator how important corporate awareness about cultures is for the adaptation of migrant teachers.

The opinions regarding challenges that the participants face differentiate each other. Firstly, different countries have different pedagogical approaches; migrant teachers need

to be aware of the education system, culture and pedagogical approaches that dominate the education system of the host country (Niyunbahwe, et al., 2013); otherwise, problems such as grading and reporting may arise, which were also stated by a participant in this study. Secondly, other challenges migrant teachers had to face were related to communicating with school stakeholders; some of the participants stated that their communication with the school administration was limited, and other teachers had a negative attitude towards migrant teachers. In parallel with the findings of this study, research by Niyubahwe et al. (2013) and Schmidt (2010) indicated that migrant teachers felt professionally isolated. Furthermore, the study conducted by Remennick (2002) showed that migrant teachers could be perceived as a threat by teachers in host countries, which was also stated by one of the participants in this study. Thirdly, expectations of parents from teachers generally differ from culture to culture (Fee, 2011). In this study, two migrant teachers in China complained about the high expectations of teachers from Chinese parents, which they were not familiar with in their host countries. The reason for this difference may be the different values that societies place on education. This difference becomes even deeper in terms of the expected values of students and the professional status of teachers, which are generally distinct for individualist and collectivist societies (Mercado & Trumbull, 2018; Niyubahwe, et al., 2013). It turns out that it is an important factor for professional adaptation was to not only understand the culture of the host country in the big picture, but also to thoroughly grasp its effects on school culture.

In the third sub-theme of post-migration processes, the professional development of migrant teachers is explored. The elements such as developing teaching skills, field specializations, learning a foreign language, and gaining different perspectives were expressed by the participants. Similarly, the study conducted by Cushner (2007) indicated that the abroad experience contributes to teachers' professional development in terms of teaching different student profiles, improving self-efficacy and cultural knowledge, and developing global perspectives. The experience abroad enables teachers to become global educators (Cook, 2009); that is, global educators are aware of the differences and diversity in the communities, so that their students could acquire open-mindedness skills with different perspectives. Thus, professional gains as the result of teacher migration could be highly beneficial for students to equip them with 21st century skills; therefore, it could be valuable to encourage teacher mobility as an educational policy.

In the fourth sub-theme of post-migration processes, considerations of migrant teachers regarding returning to their home country is explored. Personal satisfaction and lifestyle, cultural identity, family and emotional ties and long-term career considerations shaped their decision about whether to return to the home country or continue teaching abroad. It is remarkable that some female participants faced dual expectations—achieving career success abroad, while adhering to traditional caregiving roles within the family. Similarly, the study by Gannerud (2010) found that female primary school teachers are

driven by a strong intrinsic motivation to advance in their careers independently, while societal pressures and traditional cultural values heavily influence their lives, compelling them to prioritize starting and maintaining a family as a fundamental obligation. Female teachers' struggle to balance the dual demands of traditional roles and professional roles should be addressed to enhance fair employment opportunities.

### Limitations and Future Directions

This research highlights various aspects of teacher migration, identifying significant adaptation challenges faced by migrant teachers in developed countries. It suggests that policymakers might design formal arrangements to facilitate the adaptation process for these individuals.

However, this study was conducted within certain limitations regarding its theoretical framework and participant selection. Notably, the phenomenon of forced migration was not explored, which might have illuminated critical aspects concerning the status of forced migrant teachers. This exclusion was primarily due to the lack of access to forced migrant teachers because of the adverse conditions caused by the COVID-19 pandemic. Future research could address these limitations by including a broader range of teachers, particularly forced migrant teachers, to provide a more comprehensive understanding of the migration experiences of teachers. Lastly, as is typical in phenomenological studies, the number of participants in this study was limited. Future studies could adopt quantitative methods to gather data from a larger sample of teachers across different countries enhancing the generalizability of the findings and providing a deeper exploration of teacher migration. Also, to provide a richer analysis, it might be beneficial to adopt mixed methods approaches in future studies.

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## Connectedness of Malaysian Students in Indonesia Through Social Media

Muhamad Lutfi Habibi & Nur Fadhilah Andini

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## Connectedness of Malaysian Students in Indonesia Through Social Media

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### Abstract

The Malaysian diaspora is spread worldwide, and social media has become a useful tool for this diaspora to maintain a connection to their cultural identity. This research identifies the motivations for connections between Malaysian students studying at the Faculty of Da'wah and Communication at UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta through social media. This study aims to provide recommendations to strengthen positive cooperation in the field of education between Malaysia and Indonesia. Although much research has been conducted on the Malaysian diaspora, this paper focuses on a specific aspect of the diaspora that rarely receives attention, the student diaspora. This research employs the case study approach, a qualitative research method, that uses interviews as a data collection tool based on the Uses and Gratification theory. The research results show that Malaysian students connect through social media with several motivations, such as diversion, personal relationships, personal identity, and surveillance. They use social media as an escape through culinary content, a means of sharing recommendations for tourist attractions, strengthening religious and national identity, and monitoring current conditions in both Indonesia and Malaysia.

### Keywords

Malaysian diaspora, Malaysian students, motivation, social media, Uses and Gratification

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## Introduction

The Malaysian diaspora is spread worldwide, including many places such as, Singapore, Australia, and the UK (Nations, 2020). These diaspora refer to emigrants and their descendants who have settled in areas far from their homeland (Ember, Ember, & Skogsgard, 2004). Among the Malaysian diaspora, a number of young diaspora are studying to pursue a better future and career.

Many of these Malaysian student diasporas are studying in various countries, one of which is Indonesia, specifically Yogyakarta. This vibrant city, known for its rich cultural heritage and educational institutions, has become a second home for many Malaysian students. The distance that separates them from their homeland can sometimes create feelings of isolation and distance from their cultural roots (Behloul, 2016; Mahieu, 2019). These students often miss the familiarity of their own culture, traditions, and community events that are part of their everyday life in Malaysia.

However, social media has become a useful tool for this diaspora to maintain a connection to their cultural identity (Aziz, 2022; Soto, Bauwens, & Smets, 2023). Through platforms such as Instagram, they can communicate with colleagues from their home countries, sharing stories and experiences that help them stay connected to the cultural heritage they love. These platforms allow them to participate in virtual celebrations, follow updates on cultural events, and engage in discussions about their traditions and values. Social media also provides a space for them to express their cultural pride and showcase their heritage to a global audience, thereby reinforcing their sense of identity and belonging.

These diaspora are interconnected and operate at three levels: internet-specific, network-oriented, and embedded in broader social practices (Ponzanesi, 2020). These connections enable them to support each other and address challenges faced in their home communities and globally. One example of this connection is how the East Asian diaspora used a Facebook group called “Subtle Asian Traits” to express catharsis, shared concerns, and discursive activism when waves of racism and xenophobia hit them during the COVID-19 pandemic (Abidin & Zeng, 2020).

Diaspora connections can also fuel economic activity and small-scale businesses, as in Khartoum, Sudan, where highly educated women built transnational networks with diaspora abroad to supply international products such as traditional perfumes, cosmetics, and hijab to sell online to the global market (Steel, 2021). These networks not only help them access quality local products but also expand their business reach to a broader audience, improving their economic well-being.

In addition, social media is used to influence public opinion and loosen the grip of government control over media messages, as was the case in Cameroon during the

Sub-Saharan African crisis. Diasporas use platforms like Twitter to expand public narratives and connect with fellow diasporas in the country (Njanji & Cockburn, 2020). A similar trend is seen among the Indian diaspora in America, who used Twitter to create a multi-layered identity as individuals, an imaginary collective non-Muslim diaspora, and members of a populist radical right Twitter society expressing pro-Brexit and pro-Trump views (Leidig, 2019). This shows how social media can be a powerful tool to influence political and social discourse among diaspora communities worldwide.

Through this connection with social media, the Malaysian diaspora also establishes mutually beneficial relationships with many parties. With a total diaspora of 1.5 million people spread worldwide (Hugo, 2011), the Malaysian diaspora has significantly contributed to the international economy and social life. These individuals are often engaged in various sectors, ranging from education and healthcare to business and technology, making their mark in diverse fields across the globe. In several cases in developed countries, this diaspora has been empowered to dominate the global market in halal commodities (Fischer, 2015). The demand for halal products is rising worldwide, and the Malaysian diaspora has played a crucial role in meeting this demand through their extensive knowledge and adherence to halal standards.

Moreover, the Malaysian diaspora has been trained to become a skilled workforce according to global standards (Chow & Mathien, 2018). This training ensures that they possess the necessary skills and competencies to thrive in highly competitive environments, contributing significantly to the economies of their host countries. Their expertise and professionalism often reflect positively on Malaysia, showcasing the country's ability to produce world-class talent. This skilled workforce is instrumental in fostering innovation and driving economic growth in their respective fields.

Several efforts have been made to connect the Malaysian diaspora, primarily through digital channels. One of these significant efforts is the *Global Bersih* movement, which aims to strengthen the democratic role of the Malaysian diaspora by gathering support through websites and social media platforms (Lee, 2014). This movement has been instrumental in mobilizing Malaysians living abroad to participate in political advocacy and electoral processes, thereby ensuring their voices are heard and their rights are protected.

In addition to political mobilization, traditional Malaysian kinship concepts such as *silaturrahim*, which typically involve face-to-face interactions, have also shifted to the digital world. This shift allows the diaspora to stay connected with family and friends back home through online platforms (Adzmi & Bahry, 2020). Social media, video calls, and messaging apps have become essential tools for maintaining these familial bonds, providing a sense of continuity and emotional support despite the physical distance.

However, it must be underlined that most of these efforts are primarily driven by the adult diaspora, who possess the awareness and sense of obligation to contribute positively to both their country of origin and their host countries. These adults actively engage in initiatives that bridge the gap between Malaysia and their new homes, fostering a bi-cultural identity that enriches both societies. Until now, no research articles have specifically examined the connection between the young Malaysian diaspora living abroad with the primary goal of studying rather than working. This demographic, which represents a significant portion of the diaspora, experiences unique challenges and opportunities in maintaining their cultural identity while pursuing academic goals.

In Yogyakarta, many young members of the Malaysian diaspora choose to pursue higher education at various universities in the city. The presence of several Islamic campuses in Yogyakarta is particularly attractive to Malaysian students, given that Islam is recognized as an official religion in their home country (Department of Information Malaysia, 2016). These campuses offer a familiar cultural and religious environment, which eases their transition and supports their educational journey. One prominent example is the State Islamic University (UIN) Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta, which has welcomed numerous Malaysian students, who are eager to develop their interests and talents within an Islamic-based educational framework. This university provides a conducive environment where Malaysian students can thrive academically and spiritually.

Beyond the regular academic curriculum, Malaysian students at UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta receive special attention in areas such as language assistance and religious formation (Andany, 2020). These tailored programs are designed to help them overcome language barriers and deepen their understanding of Islamic teachings, ensuring that they can fully integrate into the academic community and excel in their studies. The support structures in place at UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta not only facilitate their academic progress but also foster a sense of belonging and community among Malaysian students.

To find out the answer to this question, researchers conducted in-depth interviews with several representatives of Malaysian students studying at UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta regarding their motivations for connecting with each other through social media. These interviews aimed to explore the underlying reasons and benefits that social media provides to these students in maintaining their connections and cultural identity. The questions addressed to the students were based on guidelines derived from motivation indicators in the Uses and Gratification theory, which include surveillance, identity, relationships, and diversion (West, 2000).

The surveillance motivation indicator pertains to how students use social media to stay informed about events and updates both back home in Malaysia and within their community in Yogyakarta. Identity motivations explore how social media helps them

express and maintain their cultural and religious identity. Relationships indicators examine how social media facilitates the building and sustaining of personal connections with family, friends, and fellow Malaysian students. The diversion motivation indicator looks at how social media serves as a source of entertainment and relaxation amidst their academic responsibilities.

The findings from this research provide valuable insights into the specific needs and preferences of Malaysian students in a foreign educational environment. Understanding these motivations can help educators and administrators at UIN Sunan Kalijaga and other institutions develop better support systems and programs that cater to international students' unique requirements. Furthermore, these insights can also be used as recommendations to enhance positive, cooperative relations in the field of education between Malaysia and Indonesia. By fostering a supportive and culturally sensitive environment, both countries can benefit from stronger educational ties, promoting mutual understanding and collaboration.

### Materials and Methods

The method applied to reveal these findings is qualitative research and uses a case study approach because the phenomena studied are based on events that occurred in real life (Yin, 2012). The selection of this method aims to provide a more holistic picture of individual experiences. It allows researchers to capture the nuances and complexities of students' motivations by exploring the various aspects that influence their desire to connect through social media, including cultural, social, psychological, and other factors.

The data collection technique used was in-depth interviews with three participants. They included students from Malaysia studying at the Faculty of Da'wah and Communication, UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta. The provision of this limitation is based on the existence of a language assistance program and religious formation, which is carried out intensively through one of the internal institutions within the faculty, *Buddy FDK*. The three students were selected as representatives from each study program in a faculty that accommodates Malaysian students, namely Communication and Islamic Broadcasting, represented by Mohammad Saifullah bin Soffian (Saiful), Islamic Counseling Guidance, represented by Nurul Atiqah binti Ghafur (Nurul), and Da'wah Management represented by Nur Allia binti Mohamad Khalifah (Allia). The three participants agreed to be interviewed and have their names listed in accordance with the ethical clearance letter issued by the Institute for Research and Community Service UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta.

The questions presented to Malaysian student representatives were based on motivation indicators in the Uses and Gratification theory proposed by Elihu Katz, Jay Blumler, and Michael Gurevitch, which include surveillance, identity, relationships, and diversion.



The four indicators in this theory explain that surveillance is how individuals use media to obtain information and monitor their environment, identity is in what manner media helps individuals strengthen or explore their personal and social identities, relationships explains where media is used to build and maintain social relationships, and diversion illustrates how media provides entertainment and escape from the pressures of everyday life (West, 2000).

The findings were then processed using the Miles and Huberman data analysis model, which consists of three main stages: data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion. The first stage, data reduction, involves selecting, focusing, simplifying, and transforming raw data obtained from the field to make it easier to manage and understand. Second, data presentation is the process of arranging data in a systematic format, such as narratives, so that it can provide a clear picture of the information that has been collected. The third stage, concluding, involves interpreting the data that has been presented to find patterns, relationships, and deep meanings and to draw valid and accountable conclusions. These three stages are carried out iteratively and repeatedly to ensure comprehensive and in-depth data analysis (Miles & Huberman, 2018).

## Results and Discussion

After conducting interviews with each student, data was obtained regarding the motivation for Malaysian students at the Faculty of Da'wah and Communication at UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta to connect with social media in the detailed findings below.

### Food Content as an Escape

The Malaysian diaspora student often uses social media as the main channel to connect and access various content from Indonesia and their home countries. Amid busy schedules and academic activities, social media has become a place for them to practice self-healing. For Nurul, social media offers the opportunity to feel at peace without leaving the comfort of their home. The phrase “self-healing without leaving the house,” conveyed by Nurul, reflects the important role of social media in helping her fight the boredom that is often found in the lives of students from abroad. By accessing content from various sources and interacting with fellow students, they can feel more connected and find emotional support in online communities. Social media is not just a platform for entertainment or communication but also an essential tool for the Malaysian diaspora student to maintain their mental and emotional balance amidst the challenges of life abroad.

As active social media users, Malaysian students show consistent interest in certain types of content, especially food content. They tend to access more content, such as culinary reviews, food recommendations, *mukbang* (eating broadcasts), and ASMR (Autonomous Sensory Meridian Response). This interest is driven by exploring various culinary

cultures and seeking new culinary experiences. What is more interesting is that the food content provides entertainment and has a significant relaxing effect on them. While watching or listening to such content, Malaysian students often feel distracted from academic pressures and daily routines. They find peace in their focus on culinary delights presented in audio-visual format. At this moment, social media has become more than just a communication tool; it has become a window into a fun and refreshing world. This is as expressed by Allia:

When it comes to (social media), I prefer to open TikTok. It's like watching cooking videos and eating like that. I like hearing the sound of people eating or ASMR. I love hearing it and relax. The way I like it, I do not think about the problems of studying anymore. Just think about food.

Besides using food content as an escape from boredom, Malaysian students also use social media to express their interests and hobbies. An example is Nurul, who has a particular interest in cooking. She actively searches for recipe content on Instagram for Western and Indonesian dishes. For Nurul, Instagram is a platform for socializing and a source of inspiration and knowledge about culinary matters. Whenever she succeeds in cooking one of the recipes she finds on Instagram, she feels happy because she can apply her interest in her daily activities.

Not only Nurul, but also Saifful found a way to channel his interests through social media. Living in Yogyakarta as an international student from Malaysia, Saifful is interested in exploring various local culinary delights. He often looks for recommendations for places to eat through review videos or food reviews that he finds on social media platforms. Saifful even invited other Malaysian student friends to join the culinary adventure, making the experience of exploring Yogyakarta's culinary delights a way to unite their community. In this way, social media is a tool for content consumption and a platform for actualizing interests and hobbies, as well as building social ties among the Malaysian diaspora student. Saifful stated it as follows:

For me, on Instagram, the FYP is more culinary; the closest ones are like this in Jogja (the local term for Yogyakarta). Then, if you meet someone nearby, you want to come there. I want to try that. During the pandemic, I was still studying online; I wanted to try it; it would be fun. However, I still need to go to Indonesia. So, after arriving in Indonesia, I immediately saw it before my own eyes and wanted to try it myself. I like watching food review videos, such as influencers taking food reviews and giving comments about food like that. I usually invite friends to come together if the place is near me. I usually tell my family in Malaysia about the different culinary tastes here and there.

## Recommendations for Local Tourism Nearby

Apart from relying on social media to explore culinary content, the Malaysian diaspora student also actively uses this platform to exchange recommendations for tourist attractions in Yogyakarta and build relationships. They are looking for information about culinary delights, hiking locations, and natural attractions they can visit. Most are interested in natural destinations, so they often share information about interesting places in Yogyakarta and its surroundings.

For example, Allia enthusiastically shared information about natural tourist locations with fellow Malaysian students. This creates mutual involvement and collaboration between them, building a community that supports each other in exploring the natural beauty around Yogyakarta. In this case, social media has become more than just a means to socialize; it also provides a platform for the Malaysian diaspora student to share experiences and create bonds through a shared passion for nature exploration. Allia revealed:

...we like looking for natural tourist locations like that. We want to climb a mountain or visit Bromo or Mount Andong. I share, for example, a video of that location with friends so they can invite them to go there. So, do not just eat, but also enjoy nature.

For Malaysian students, social media is not just a platform to share culinary recommendations and tourist attractions, but also a tool to show concern for each other. They maintain relationships with each other by staying in touch even though they are far from home and amid busy academic routines. Similar conditions and shared experiences make them feel connected. For example, Allia shows her concern for her friends' mental health by recommending relaxing natural tourist attractions. Saifful always invites his friends to explore the best culinary locations recommended to him. Meanwhile, Nurul sends funny content and tips about lifestyle, sports, and beauty to entertain and support her friends. In this way, social media becomes more than just a communication tool; it is a means of strengthening emotional ties between them, creating a solid support network amidst the busyness and challenges of life as students studying at UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta. Allia added:

I often send memes, like those funny ones—or even beauty tips. Let us make this. We share sports and lifestyles like that. Invite me to go jogging somewhere like that.

Malaysian students often exchange news to maintain relationships and communication with family and relatives in Malaysia. For example, Nurul regularly sends messages to her family and relatives, informing them about the latest conditions in Yogyakarta and providing information about herself as a sign that she is doing well there. As a form of

mutual concern, Nurul also always asks how her family and relatives in Malaysia are doing, showing her care and desire to remain connected even though the distance separates her, as she said:

Apart from parents, friends also usually tell us that there is an earthquake in Jogja. Let me know the weather. It is boiling, and it has not rained for a long time. More to report on my condition while in Jogja. Someone asked if it was raining in Jogja or not. Because there is a flood near here.

Allia has a different approach to maintaining communication with her family than Nurul. She rarely details current conditions to her family, such as the weather or her circumstances. Allia believes that providing too much information will only make her family worry about her situation abroad. Instead, she prefers to communicate with her family and relatives via social media, especially discussing the differences in the university atmosphere in Indonesia and Malaysia. Apart from that, Allia also actively provides recommendations for tourist locations that they should explore when visiting Indonesia, as stated below:

I always share things about college, the learning atmosphere here, and tourist attractions like that. Like if Allia has been to Bromo, Allia will share what is going on here, what the weather is like, things like that.

In common with Allia, Saifful also tends to communicate more often with his family and relatives in Malaysia about unique culinary recommendations that they should try when visiting Indonesia. Both Allia and Saifful use social media to share culinary experiences and provide suggestions about places to eat that are worth visiting. Apart from that, Saifful's parents often ask about his eating habits and ensure that he can adapt to the food taste in Indonesia. They pay special attention to food because they understand it is an important part of their child's adaptation to a new country. This is as conveyed by Saifful as follows:

If I am more interested in culinary delights in Jogja, I will share them with the family WhatsApp group. What is the difference? This food is the same as in Malaysia, and the price is cheaper. Another thing is that my mother often asks what the differences are between the food in Indonesia and Malaysia, such as Soto. The Soto in Indonesia is better than the one in Malaysia. Often asked, have you eaten or not? How many times do you eat a day? That is how it is with family.

### **Strengthening Religious and National Identity**

Malaysian students use social media to maintain and affirm their religious identity as Malaysian citizens, especially in the context of Islamic beliefs. They remain loyal to

*Ahlussunnah wal Jama'ah (Aswaja)*, a teaching firmly adhered to based on Malaysian government regulations. Malaysia is known for its Muslim society, which has traditions and daily routines that adhere to the *Sunnah* (Prophet Muhammad's example for Muslims to follow). This difference can be seen in the homogeneous beliefs in Malaysia, in contrast to Indonesia, which tends to have diversity in understanding the Islamic religion, where *Muftis* (great clerics who often give Islamic judgment) are often used as references in everyday life. While in Indonesia, the Malaysian diaspora continues to follow the religious regulations of their home country, such as the first day of Ramadan fasting and the Eid al-Fitr holiday, which are often adopted from the teachings of the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) in Indonesia. In maintaining consistency with their beliefs, the Malaysian diaspora uses social media to monitor news and developments related to Malaysia's religious regulations and strengthen their religious identity through content related to holiday celebrations and other important religious days.

For them, *Aswaja* is a personal belief and a shared guideline for maintaining their religious identity amid different environments. United in the same belief, they use social media to strengthen the bonds of their religious identity by sharing information, discussing, and voicing their shared beliefs. This illustrates that social media is a platform for social interaction and a space to strengthen beliefs and values that are important to them as individuals and as a community. As a representative, Nurul said the following:

*Aswaja* is like a handle. Here there are [Islamic organization such as] *NU* and *Muhammadiyah*. However, in Malaysia, Imam Syafi'i and *Aswaja* are indeed in harmony. There are *Muftis* there who issue *fatwas* (Islamic judgment), so we follow that. Like yesterday, it was Eid al-Fitr, *Muhammadiyah* Eid first, so if we followed in Malaysia, we would still be fasting. We are together with *NU*. We know the development of information there from the *Mufti* of Religion. They have Instagram, too.

Apart from religious identity, national identity is also maintained by Malaysian students because they feel homesick for the place where they grew up. They use these platforms to play the Malaysian national anthem and popular songs from Malaysia, which take them back to memories of home. Video calls with family have become a necessary routine, providing an opportunity to feel the warmth of family relationships even though distance separates them. Apart from that, they also cure their homesickness by looking at archives on social media such as Instagram, which are often filled with memories of the places they left behind in Malaysia. It is not uncommon for them to monitor the condition of their home environment via Google Earth or Google Maps, trying to re-experience the atmosphere of the cities and villages they left behind.

## Latest Surveillance in Indonesia and Malaysia

In terms of surveillance, Malaysian students also often monitor traditions and developments in Indonesia through news spread on social media. With easy access to social media platforms, Malaysian students can follow various events, cultures, and traditions in Indonesia in real-time. They often follow social media accounts that focus on news and content related to Indonesia to gain new insights regarding the similarities and differences in their culture. Nurul said:

It is nice to read news about differences in ritual or traditions, like news from people celebrating *Tasyakuran* (a kind of thanksgiving), where the colors scatter to fight for blessings. Oh, that is all. In Malaysia, it is different.

Apart from his daily activities, Saifful also actively monitors developments in information related to safety in his surroundings. This includes monitoring information on police patrol points to check drivers licenses and information on criminal conditions that may occur while driving. Saifful realizes the importance of safety in driving and considers this information as a proactive step to avoid the risk of accidents or unwanted violations of the law, as he said:

I follow the development of ticket information in the WhatsApp group. Information that seems close by. The problem is that it is sufficient if you leave the house but need to know the information. It is like *klitih* (kind of street crime) information, too.

Besides monitoring information developments in Indonesia, Malaysian students also often observe information developments in their homeland. They tend to pay more attention to climate and weather developments in Malaysia, as stated by Allia:

More often follow weather developments. In Malaysia, there is now a lot of air pollution, such as fog. Moreover, it came from Indonesia because of forest fires.

Apart from monitoring weather conditions, they also follow information developments about scholarship programs provided by the Malaysian government for students studying in Indonesia. This is because scholarship opportunities from the Malaysian government for its citizens who wish to continue their studies in Indonesia still need to be expanded. The Malaysian government provides scholarships to citizens studying in Western and Eastern countries. In addition, Malaysian students also often look for information about job vacancies in Malaysia. With the differences in education systems and regulations between Indonesia and Malaysia, they hope to be able to adapt the

knowledge and skills they acquired while studying in Indonesia to apply well in their own country.

## Discussion

Based on the data findings, it can be concluded that culinary content serves multiple purposes for Malaysian students beyond just an escape from their academic routine. It acts as a vital means for them to connect virtually with their peers, share recommendations and recipes, and find relaxation. The types of culinary content that particularly interest these students include recipes and ASMR videos. Recipes provide them with practical ideas for meals, allowing them to experiment with cooking and share these experiences with friends, thus fostering a sense of community and shared cultural heritage. ASMR content, on the other hand, offers a unique form of relaxation.

ASMR videos typically feature soothing sounds and visuals associated with cooking and food preparation, which have been found to have a calming effect on viewers. Malaysian students use these videos as a way to unwind and clear their minds from their various academic and social responsibilities. This aligns with research findings that state listening to ASMR content can induce relaxation and make listeners feel as if they possess the cooking skills demonstrated in the videos (Keating & Łapińska, 2023). The immersive experience of ASMR helps in reducing stress and provides a comforting distraction from the pressures of student life.

In the context of personal relationships, Malaysian students in Yogyakarta actively exchange information about tourist attractions through social media. This exchange of information demonstrates their concern and enthusiasm for helping relatives or friends who plan to visit Yogyakarta, guiding them to interesting and worthwhile destinations in the area. By sharing their personal experiences and recommendations, these students become trusted sources of information within their social circles. Their firsthand knowledge and experiences lend credibility to their suggestions, helping shape the expectations and experiences of their visitors.

As pioneers in their networking circles, Malaysian students are often looked upon as reliable guides, who can offer valuable insights into the best tourist spots in Yogyakarta. This role of information sharing not only strengthens their connections with friends and family, but also enhances the visitors' overall travel experience. Research supports this phenomenon, indicating that content shared for the first time by social media users significantly influences tourists' satisfaction when visiting a destination (Narangajavana Kaosiri et al., 2019). This initial sharing of information sets a precedent and creates a framework for visitors' expectations, contributing to their enjoyment and fulfillment during their travels.

Apart from that, being in a foreign country exposes Malaysian students to a variety of ideologies, which often strengthens their preference to maintain their original identity.

This preservation of identity is particularly evident in the religious context, where Malaysian students frequently follow *Aswaja* teachings via websites or Instagram. These digital platforms provide them with a continuous connection to their religious beliefs and practices, reinforcing their cultural and spiritual identity despite being far from home. The accessibility of such content mirrors the ease with which the Malaysian public can access religious guidance from the Mufti through various technology and information channels (Khairuldin et al., 2018).

This digital connection to their religious roots helps Malaysian students navigate the complexities of living abroad while maintaining their faith. Additionally, their longing for their homeland is expressed in other forms, such as listening to the national anthem, which evokes deep feelings of patriotism and national identity. This practice is not merely a nostalgic act, but is driven by a strong sense of loyalty and pride that has been instilled in them over time (B. Smith & Tryce, 2019; L. R. Smith, 2019; Storey, 2020).

These behaviors underscore the importance of cultural and national identity for Malaysian students in a foreign environment. By engaging with familiar religious content and national symbols, they create a sense of continuity and stability in their lives. This practice helps them cope with the cultural differences and potential isolation they might experience while studying abroad. It also highlights the role of digital media in maintaining cultural ties and fostering a sense of community among the diaspora.

Furthermore, in terms of supervision, Malaysian students utilize various social media channels to stay updated on the latest developments in both Indonesia and Malaysia. This practice helps them maintain a sense of connection and awareness about their surroundings and family conditions back home. When monitoring their families in Malaysia, these students often focus on climate and weather updates. Given Malaysia's tropical climate and susceptibility to seasonal changes and natural disasters, such as air pollution, keeping an eye on weather conditions becomes crucial. This vigilance ensures they are informed about any potential threats or disruptions that might affect their loved ones.

This focus on environmental monitoring aligns with broader trends observed on social media platforms like Twitter. Studies have shown that a significant portion of monitoring activity on Twitter revolves around environmental issues, particularly climate change (Becken et al., 2022). Users frequently share and seek information about weather patterns, climate anomalies, and related news, reflecting a growing global concern about the environment. For Malaysian students, this type of monitoring is not just about staying informed, but also about feeling connected to their homeland and ensuring the safety and well-being of their families.

Moreover, by using social media for such monitoring purposes, these students can quickly communicate any urgent information to their family members, advising them to



take necessary precautions. This proactive approach underscores the importance of social media as a tool for real-time information sharing and crisis management. It also highlights the role of technology in bridging geographical distances, allowing students to remain involved in their families' lives despite being physically distant.

## Conclusion

The connection between Malaysian students studying at the Faculty of Da'wah and Communication at UIN Sunan Kalijaga Yogyakarta via social media is driven by various motivations. These motivations include using social media as an escape through culinary content, sharing recommendations for tourist attractions, strengthening religious and national identity, and monitoring current conditions in their surroundings and back home. This multifaceted motivation arises from their busy academic schedules, their significant role as influential recommenders within their networking circles, the discomfort associated with the potential loss of identity, and their concern for popular issues at both local and global levels.


Based on the literature reviewed in the discussion, the motivational aspects of these students show several implications for using social media. First, students feel they have similar skills to the content they watch, such as cooking in ASMR videos. Second, they act as a credible source of information for relatives back home, especially regarding recommendations for tourist attractions and culinary delights. Third, social media facilitates accessibility to religious fatwas, allowing them to stay connected with religious teachings from the Mufti. Finally, climate issues are a favorite of netizens on social media, reflecting their concern for climate change and the environment and following general trends on platforms such as Twitter.


The findings from this study offer an opportunity to provide recommendations for future inquiries to expand the scope of Malaysian diaspora research. The main focus of this analysis is Malaysian students studying in Yogyakarta, but it is important to consider other distributions from various cities in Indonesia. By expanding the scope of the research to include the Malaysian diaspora from other cities in Indonesia, future researchers can gain a more comprehensive understanding of interactions and relationships with Indonesian culture.

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# Indonesian Migrant Women Workers in Türkiye and Media Representation at Home: Precarity Works and Mediating the State Protection

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## Abstract

This qualitative study examines the portrayal of Indonesian migrant women workers in Türkiye by major Indonesian online media outlets from 2018 to 2023. Using content analysis, the research explores dominant media representations surrounding workers in Türkiye's care service and tourism sectors. Findings reveal patterns of precarious work, exploitation, and vulnerability to undocumented employment, particularly involving Syrian employers. The study highlights a significant shift in media coverage from sensationalist reporting to echoing government narratives on combating undocumented migration. This shift aligns with Indonesia's labor-export policy reforms under President Jokowi, which aim to promote labor migration to formal sectors and distance the country's image from domestic worker exports. The research demonstrates how media reflects and reinforces state migrant protection policies through "domesticated protection." However, this approach inadvertently perpetuates victimization and potentially exacerbates vulnerabilities by stigmatizing unofficial migration channels. While intended to safeguard workers, stringent regulations may if not already contribute to increased undocumented migration. By analyzing the nexus between media representation, state policies, and migrant precarities, this study contributes to understanding the complex dynamics of labor migration in an emerging corridor, calling for a more nuanced approach to media coverage, policy-making, and future studies that acknowledges both migrant agency and structural challenges

## Keywords

Türkiye, Indonesia, Migrant Women, Labor Migration, Media Representation

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## Introduction

Indonesia's labor migration has always been a subject of prominent discussion within and outside the country since the 1970s. According to the World Bank (2017), Indonesia with a population of 279 million people has amassed 9 million migrant workers overseas both documented and undocumented, an equivalent of 7% of Indonesia total national workforce. United Nations (UN) (2019; 2020) reports that 4.6 million of Indonesian migrant workers overseas are documented and in a year, Indonesia can send more than 350 thousand migrant workers. Thus, Indonesia is the largest migrant-sending country surpassed only by the Phillipines and China. Indonesian migrant workers mobility now spans to diverse regions, starting from the Middle East (Saudi Arabia, Qatar, and United Arab Emirates), East Asia (Hong Kong and Taiwan) and Southeast Asia (Malaysia and Singapore). This includes 2 major corridors established with more than 55% of migrants are employed in Indonesia-Malaysia corridor and around 13% in Indonesia-Saudi corridor (World Bank, 2017; United Nations, 2019;2020 as quoted in. Bal & Palmer, 2020).

The majority of Indonesian migrant workers have historically been women, but this gender disparity is gradually closing. The World Bank (2017) reports that the proportion of female migrant workers decreased from 80% to 62% between 2009 and 2016. However, women still dominate certain sectors, particularly paid domestic or care services for childcare and elderly care. These sectors, while declining in overall numbers, still account for almost 40% of the total existing migrant labor workforce, with 94% of these positions held by women.

A large portion of international labor migration from Indonesia is also due to actual economic benefits through remittance that is acknowledged by international organization, governments, NGOs, and scholars (Bal & Palmer, 2020). Remittance directly affects the daily lives of migrant families making remittance more successful than any domestic and international welfare aid from a top-down programme. The World Bank (2017) reports Indonesia migrant workers sent over 8.9 billion USD in 2016 amounting to 1% of the total GDP of Indonesia of 931 billion USD.

While it's also important to acknowledge the development opportunities through remittances, there is clearly an inherent risk of vulnerabilities that international labor migration carries. International labor migration is also a subject to both receiving and sending country policies that, most of the times are in contrast with migrant workers' interest. Critical scholars from feminist to post-colonial studies argue that there's an interplay between structural, gender, and class inequalities embedded within global migration systems that undermine migrant workers well-being in recruitment, work, and repatriation (Elias, 2010; Piper & Withers, 2018; Suliman, 2018).

In Türkiye, large numbers of Indonesian migrant workers have started to emerge. Since 2019, Türkiye's Ministry of labor and Social Security (CSGB) has granted work

permits to 2400 migrant workers from Indonesia, of which 90 %% were women (CSGB, 2023). Indonesian migrant women workers mainly employed in tourism sector as spa workers, masseuses, chefs, and sport trainers (Yanuar, 2024). The importance of increasing labor force human capital projects seems to prompted the two governments to renew a bilateral memorandum of understanding in the field of labor (Musyaffa, 2023).

Significantly, marking the first emergence of Indonesian undocumented migrant women workers in the domestic and care services (Cindyara, 2022), the Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia in Ankara declassified numbers of rising undocumented labor migration considered to be human trafficking cases that involved many Indonesian migrant women workers in the domestic or care services of the elderly and children. In entirety, the Embassy claimed all migrant women workers are employed by non-Turkish citizens. In total, 19 individual human trafficking cases were reported in 2021, and 20 more in the 2020.

This emerging trend of Indonesian workers in Türkiye is expected to continue growing, particularly in domestic or care services and tourism sectors, with a predominance of female workers. Furthermore, with more undocumented workers involved due the unregulated nature of domestic or care services and circularity of migration induced by proximity and flexible visa policies. This projection is based on Türkiye's recent shifts in economic, political, and social structures (Töksöz, 2020). The increasing presence and future projection of Indonesian workers in Türkiye presents a new and evolving dimension to Indonesia's labor migration landscape, offering both opportunities and challenges that warrant further investigation.

### Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

labor migration remains a prime factor in inducing global movement, despite the varied reasons for migration such as family reunion, education, conflict, or lifestyle changes (De Haas et al., 2019). For origin countries, labor migration offers economic benefits through remittances, investment, and technology transfer, while destination countries use it to address labor and skill deficits.

However, the demand for migrant labor is socially constructed, often resulting from poor wages, working conditions, and low social status associated with certain jobs. This has led to the outsourcing of "3D" (dirty, difficult, and dangerous) jobs to migrant workers, a trend observed since the 1970s with Turkish guest workers in Western Europe (Münz et al., 2007; De Haas et al., 2019). While some low-skilled manufacturing jobs have been exported to developing countries since the 1980s, sectors such as construction, hospitality, healthcare, and domestic care remain location-bound. The increasing participation of native women in the workforce and rising education levels have further depleted the labor pool for care jobs, making migrant labor crucial for industrialized economies



in the Gulf, East Asia, and Southern Europe (Ambrosini, 2016; Piore, 1979; De Haas et al., 2019).

Neoliberal globalization since the late 1970s has transformed employment practices, shifting from jobs with social benefits to independent contracts where workers bear more risks and costs. This shift has contributed to the growth of informal economies and increased reliance on undocumented migrant workers. The rise of precarious work, particularly affecting migrant women in domestic and care services, is a direct result of these labor market restructurings. The intersectionality of gender and lack of legal rights makes migrant women especially vulnerable to abuse and exploitation in these sectors (De Haas et al., 2019).

This theoretical framework underscores the complex interplay between global economic trends, labor market restructuring, and the specific vulnerabilities faced by migrant women workers. It provides a foundation for understanding the context in which Indonesian migrant women workers in Türkiye navigate their experiences and the challenges they face.

### **Migrant Women and labor Immigration in Türkiye**

Türkiye has transitioned from a migrant-sending country after World War II to a major migrant-receiving country, particularly following the Syrian refugee influx. The country shares Mediterranean traits with South European countries, characterized by irregular migratory flows, a rudimentary familistic welfare state, economic dependence on tourism and agriculture, and low but increasing women participation in the labor force. Yet, Türkiye differs in its positive population growth and labor surplus (Çoban, 2023; Töksöz, 2020).

Migrant workers in Türkiye are employed in low-paid, labor-intensive sectors such as manufacturing, construction, agriculture, entertainment, tourism, and domestic and care services. labor migration is highly gendered, with women forming the majority in most sectors except construction (Töksöz, 2020). Domestic or care services and tourism are leading economic activities for foreigners, accounting for 9.48 % and 7.15 % of work permits issued in 2023, respectively (CSGB, 2023).

Another important variable is Türkiye's visa regime, as the country supports export-led growth policies, flexible visa facilitates migration from nearby countries and less developed regions. The country's familistic society, low welfare support for care services, and increasing native female participation in professional roles have also boosted demand for domestic work among the middle and upper classes. However, this sector remains unregulated and prone to undocumented work. Since the 1990s, domestic work has primarily attracted women from former Soviet countries due to flexible visa requirements and perceived qualities like discipline and education (Töksöz, 2020).

Limited but growing literature on Filipino migrant women workers in Türkiye also indicates a new dimension of supply and demand for domestic and care work from Southeast Asia (Akalin, 2014; Çeltikçi, 2022; Deniz, 2018; Kavurmaci, 2022). These workers are often employed by high-income families who value their English skills and education. Their increasing presence has spurred growth in work agency firms. Despite being the top category for work permit registration, domestic work remains largely a grey area due to its unregulated nature and widespread informality (Çoban, 2023; Töksöz, 2020).

Similarly, as a sector of major migrant workers employer, Türkiye's tourism industry operates on similar exploitative practices, with employers seeking to "pay less for better work." This creates demand for cheap but skilled labor, often filled by migrants who can speak tourists' languages, work longer hours, and have better education than locals (Gökmen, 2018). Migrants in this sector work as masseuses, animators, waitresses, tour operators, and receptionists. Studies suggest that the increasing numbers of foreign tourists, especially from Russia, correlate with higher employment of migrant workers from former Soviet countries (Deniz & Özgür, 2010; Gökmen, 2018; Töksöz, 2020).

### Overview of Indonesia's labor Migration

Indonesia's labor migration is mainly driven by gendered women labor export, neoliberal development practices, poverty, unemployment, and the demand for domestic labor in receiving countries (Killias, 2018; Silvey, 2004). These migration experiences are often marked by precariousness due to poor working conditions, exploitation, and inadequate legal protection (Parreñas et al., 2019; Silvey & Parreñas, 2020). Migration in Indonesia also has been heavily gendered, influenced by state paternalism and paradoxical perceptions of women. Indonesia's labor migration also can be understood through the following phases.

During the New Order era under President Suharto's 30-year rule, the state domesticated femininity, portraying women as symbols of household prosperity and extensions of the state. Women were expected to be obedient to men as breadwinners, while their economic contributions were often overlooked (Platt, 2018). However, driven by declining oil revenues and the need for political stability, political elites commodified the export of migrant women domestic workers. This phase saw the rise of the recruitment industry, establishing various channels to maximize profits from labor export (Killias, 2018).

The second phase, in post-authoritarian Indonesia after Suharto, witnessed the country's first democratic election in 2004. Political and economic turmoil during this transition brought migrant worker issues to media attention, resulting in state intervention and new labor migration policies. Law 39/2004 or "The National Law on the Placement and Protection of Indonesian Migrants Overseas," introduced a state-sanctioned scheme led

by the National Board for the Placement and Protection of Indonesian Overseas Workers (BNP2TKI). This law required all prospective migrant workers to register with licensed private recruitment agencies with migration outside this scheme considered illegal which made labor recruitment and employment industries the biggest lobbying forces in the country and an integral part of migration infrastructure (Killias, 2018).

This phase also saw peak remittance flows, with international organizations like the International Labor Organization (ILO), International Organization of Migration (IOM), United Nations (UN), and World Bank hailing remittances as inherently positive and a tool for development (Bal & Palmer, 2020; Kunz, 2008, quoted in Killias, 2018). The Indonesian government, particularly under President Yudhoyono (SBY), celebrated women as “economic heroes” and generators of remittances. However, this period was also marked by paradoxical domesticated femininity discourse, requiring women to obtain their husband’s consent for migration and restricting their ability to leave young children (Platt, 2018). This era was often described as a “care crisis,” with women’s migration viewed both as economic progress and a threat to national identity (Platt, 2018).

The third phase emerged as media constructed a victimized image of migrant women workers through sensationalized news coverage of abuse, rape, and exploitation (Platt, 2018). Cases of abuse were framed as “national dishonour” and “dignity violation” (Killias, 2018). This perpetuated a stereotypical view of migration as dangerous for women, implicitly suggesting home as the only safe space (Andrijasevic, 2007, as quoted in Killias, 2018). Major cases, such as Winfaidah’s rape and abuse in Malaysia in 2010, were portrayed as failures of paternal protection, leading to the stigmatization of Indonesian migrant women workers as unskilled and backward (Killias, 2018). This enabled the state to impose stricter controls through moratorium bans, while still promoting migration through sanctioned channels (Platt, 2018).

During Jokowi’s presidency (2014-2024), the government has focused on migrant workers’ rights and labor export policy reform. The aim is to replace informal sector employment abroad with formal ones, which has outpaced the informal sector since 2012 (Manning et al, 2018). Jokowi’s “politics of embarrassment” seeks to curb low-skilled migrant worker programs to protect national dignity, this approach has shifted the narrative from viewing migrant workers as economic heroes to a source of moral anxiety (Killias, 2018). In practice, Jokowi’s reforms have introduced moratorium bans and quotas, limiting labor migration outside designated channels - a practice conceptualized as “domesticated protection” (Dewanto, 2020).

## Problem and Research Question

This study focuses on media representation due to its crucial role in shaping public perceptions and discourse surrounding Indonesian migrant women workers. From sociological lens, media creates what Cohen (2011) termed “moral panics,” following a logic of attraction that, in the context of migrant workers, often delivers sensationalized images of migrants in distress. Analyzing media representation can also reveal the mechanism of othering and how stereotypes attached to particular stories, images, and bodies (Smets & Bozdağ, 2018). From anthropological lens, humanitarian organizations and media representation practices strategic silences (in other terms architecturing silence), which employs visibility but also invisibility at the same time, spreading awareness through headlines or producing benevolent acts but exclude engagement with migrant themselves, yet leaving the root cause and complexities behind migration unaddressed. Thus, making migrant devoid of their agency, presented as objects of media and philanthropic mode of power that is dissociated from migrant’s own historical, political, biographical specificities (Malkki, 1995; 1996; Nikunen, 2019).

Media, along with brokers, transnational activism, state regulations and institutions, forms part of a complex infrastructure that shapes migration experiences. As part of the humanitarian infrastructure, media connects migrant sufferings with transnational advocacy (Xiang & Lindquist, 2014). However, media scrutiny of human rights and labor abuses can sometimes lead to unintended consequences. For instance, in China, brokers responding to human trafficking allegations opted to deduct transport costs from migrant workers’ wages, potentially trapping them in debt bondage (Xiang & Lindquist, 2014). In Indonesia, media initially contributed to stigmatizing migrant women workers as “backward,” while later NGOs pressure led to heavy state regulation of labor export.

This study examines how media coverage mediates the experiences of migrant women workers, particularly in light of major labor export reforms during the Jokowi period. It aims to identify key issues faced by migrants in Türkiye, a new frontier for Indonesian labor migration, potentially serving as a precursor for future research.

This study intends to provide analysis toward this research question:

- How does Indonesian media outlets portray the experiences and working conditions of Indonesian migrant women workers in Türkiye? What is the dominant narrative? Is the portrayal empowering, patronising or victimizing the migrant women workers?

This work investigates an understudied population of migrant women workers in Türkiye, who are largely unseen in the receiving country but closely followed by the sending country’s government and media. It has the potential to unveil hidden precarity chains and vulnerabilities while identifying current trends and patterns in media coverage. The

study offers a critical, empowered reading of migrant women’s experiences, serving as a reminder to stakeholders to respect migrant women in their own right.

### Methodology

This study employs qualitative content analysis to examine Indonesian media coverage of women domestic workers in Türkiye. Data were collected from major online outlets *www.detik.com* and *www.kompas.com*, focusing on articles published between 2018 and 2023, coinciding with Jokowi’s last term. Using keywords such as “pekerja migran Indonesia” (Indonesian migrant worker, abbreviated as PMI), “tenaga kerja wanita” (migrant women workers, abbreviated as TKW), “Turki” (Türkiye), “tindak pidana perdagangan orang” (trafficking in persons, abbreviated as TPPO), and “Migran” (migrant), approximately 30 news articles, reports, and features were gathered and translated into English for analysis.

A coding scheme was developed based on themes including working conditions, exploitation, legal protection, migration processes, and Indonesia-Türkiye relations. The content was systematically coded using Nvivo12 software to identify patterns and representations. This analysis aimed to uncover dominant narratives and portrayal patterns in the coverage of Indonesian women domestic workers.

Additionally, a contextual analysis was conducted to examine the broader socio-cultural, economic, and political factors shaping the media coverage. The study also explored potential implications of this coverage on public perceptions, policies, and the lived experiences of the workers. Through this comprehensive approach, the research aims to provide insights into the portrayal of Indonesian women domestic workers in Türkiye by Indonesian media, illuminating dominant narratives, reporting patterns, and the wider contexts influencing the coverage.

### Findings

#### Persistent Precarities



Figure 1. Word cloud commonly used the news coverages

The main findings of this study reveals the persistent signs of precarities involving Indonesian migrant workers in Türkiye. It highlights the involvement of deception, contract violation, and undocumented work are common employment practices toward migrant women workers in the domestic or care works services in Türkiye. While migrant women workers in tourism sector, also vulnerable deception and prevalent undocumented practices.

The Ambassador of the Republic of Indonesia in Türkiye, Lalu Muhammad Iqbal gave a reward to the NTB Police for their achievement in thwarting and uncovering the criminal act of trafficking in persons (TPPO). Lalu said ‘in the period 2018-2022, the NTB Police Criminal Investigation Unit has handled 7 TPPO cases with 11 victims and named 9 suspects.’ Lalu added ‘from 2018-2022 the NTB Police had sent a team to Türkiye three times in order to identify victims, collect evidence and repatriate victims to NTB (NTB Police Thwart TPPO, Receive Award from Indonesian Ambassador in Türkiye, 2022).

Through a virtual press conference, Director of Protection of Indonesian Citizens at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Judha Nugraha said ‘based on records from the Indonesian Embassy in Ankara and the Indonesian Consulate General in Istanbul, during 2022 there were 85 cases handled by the two representatives, of which 69 have been successfully repatriated, and 16 are still ongoing cases in Türkiye waiting for the next stage of return.’ There are three things that make migrant workers tempted by the agent’s persuasion until they are abandoned in Türkiye. ‘There are 3 modus operandi that are used. First, our migrant workers work as domestic workers for employers from Middle Eastern countries (particularly Syrian employer), and then they experience labor exploitation or unpaid salaries, etc. The second mode, migrant workers are promised in EU countries and use Türkiye as a transit country, but then they end up abandoned in Türkiye’ said Judha (Ministry of Foreign Affairs Reveals 3 Modes of Perpetrators Bringing Illegal Migrant Workers, Latest in Türkiye, 2022)

The selected data sample above represent migrant women in domestic or care services work mainly recruited from the NTB province, one of the main origin region of migrant in domestic or care services. Migrant workers, which predominantly are women are reportedly vulnerable to deception, abuse, and forced labor practice. The Indonesian government through Kemlu and its Embassy immediately categorized domestic work as associated with human trafficking, as there exists no bilateral agreement between the two countries regarding this sector.

Media representation suggest migrant women in domestic or care services are mainly employed by Syrian employers in Türkiye, migrants are often deceived by false promises of high wages, averaging between 3 to 4 million Indonesian rupiah per month, with the prospect of employment in destination such as European Union (EU) countries. However, they ultimately find themselves trafficked to Türkiye, which was initially promised only as a transit point. For instance, media report highlighted apprehension of major transnational human trafficking syndicates involving Indonesian migrant women workers as victims, including in Türkiye. Notably, in 2019, the Indonesian police apprehended suspects belonging to a human trafficking syndicate with networks and victims spanning in Morocco (500 victims), Saudi Arabia (200 victims), Syria (300 victims), and Türkiye (220 victims), resulting in a total of 1,200 victims.

Conversely, tourism migrant women workers, mostly coming from the Bali province and also predominantly women, despite following proper procedures and documentation in addition being considered as a formal work, due to officially certified skills of Balinese migrant workers, language capability, and hospitality industry popularity in Türkiye, also faces vulnerability to fraud. These workers frequently encounter challenges in their daily lives, including inhumane living and working conditions and fraud employment in sectors unrelated to agreed roles, such as manufacturing or hard labor factories. Below are selected samples that represent migrant women workers from Bali:

Based on data from the Bali Province Manpower and Energy and Mineral Resources Office as of March 2022, 18,248 Indonesian Migrant Workers (PMI) have returned to work abroad. The profession as an employee in the cruise ship and hospitality industry is the most popular profession. As for the most destination countries for Bali PMI, namely Italy, then followed by Türkiye and the Maldives. 'Public interest from year to year to go abroad to work is high. This is due to limited job opportunities in the country. Then since 2005 the policy of the Bali Provincial Government is to send workers who already have skills with certified competencies' said the Head of the Bali Province Manpower and Energy and Mineral Resources Office, Ida Bagus Ngurah Arda (18,248 Migrant Workers from Bali Have Departed Again, Most to Italy then Türkiye, 2022).

The Bali Regional Police (Polda) will tighten supervision of labor placement companies. This is after a case of alleged fraud of a labor channeling agent in Bali. The case left 29 Indonesian Migrant Workers (PMI) from Bali stranded in Türkiye with 16 have returned to Bali. As previously reported, this case was revealed after four PMIs from Buleleng who had been stuck in Türkiye reported the alleged fraud against them to the Buleleng Police. Previously, these four PMIs had brought this case to the realm of law because they felt cheated by the labor channeling agent. They were

sent to work in Türkiye, but using tourist visas. In addition, the jobs they got there were not as promised. (Bali Police Takes Over Case of Alleged Fraud in Sending Indonesian Migrant Workers to Türkiye, 2022)

There are also cases of migrant women in the domestic or care service and tourism sectors who are often forced to endure substandard accommodations. These include cramped and indecent guesthouses or shelters, where they are housed together with other migrant workers, predominantly from the same countries of origin. Exacerbating their plight, these workers are reportedly provided with as little as a single meal per day and are often deprived of access to drinking water.

The media representation of migrant workers in Türkiye portrays a pervasive narrative of precarious working conditions, with negative reports spanning across various sectors and employment arrangements. The narratives surrounding migrant women workers whether in domestic or care works and tourism sectors paint a concerning pictures, as they are subjected to various forms of exploitation, deception, mainly undocumented works and for migrant women in domestic or care works as their existence is firmly equated as human trafficking by the Indonesian government, particularly by the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Embassy.

### How the Media Covers

The findings learned Indonesian media still tends to focus on scandalous cases or tragic events when covering Indonesian migrant workers in Türkiye. Out of 30 news articles analyzed, 4 were written in a feature-style format. These features mostly centered on procedural tourism workers affected by the 2023 Turkish earthquake. The study found that there were 73 themes embedded in these news samples, with major recurring theme lies on exploitation, fraud, inhumane conditions, and human trafficking issues.

**Table 1.** Main themes found in the news coverages

| <b>Recurring Major Themes</b>             |           |
|---|-----------|
| Exploitation, Fraud and Human Trafficking | 22        |
| Non-Procedural Migrant Worker             | 16        |
| State Protection and Mitigation           | 16        |
| Inhumane Working Condition                | 7         |
| Procedural Migrant Worker                 | 6         |
| Türkiye's Earthquake Pazarcık 2023        | 5         |
| Covid-19 Repatriation                     | 1         |
| <b>Total</b>                              | <b>73</b> |



These news includes precarious cases, namely 6 non-procedural Indonesian migrant women workers from the NTB province, the death of a migrant worker from Cirebon, and reports of migrant worker shelters in Türkiye that used violence to Indonesian women migrant worker. Workers in tourism also received significant attention due to fatalities from force majeure events such as the loss of life during the 2023 earthquake with the death of Irma Lestari and Ni Wayan Supini.

Media also highlighted other hardships that migrant workers encountered in tourism sectors, such as contract violation or fraud and daily lives difficulties. For instance, in accessing affordable healthcare, a migrant women worker from Bali, I Gusti Ayu Vira Wijaya, penned an open letter to the Indonesian President, Joko Widodo, regarding her deteriorating health conditions. Similarly, cases of fraudulent employment, like that of Putu Septiana, an Indonesian migrant women from Bali who was deceived into working in Türkiye but ended up stranded and hiding from immigration authorities also receive significant attention. The media appears to capitalize on sensational cases or tragedies, focusing primarily on the precarious situations faced by the victims but not the underlying question of “why” and the root cause and the structural factors contributing to these issues.

### Media Attention and State Mitigation

The study reveals a significant shift in media coverage of Indonesian migrant workers in Türkiye, particularly in the portrayal of the state’s role in addressing migrant issues. While sensational cases and tragedies continue to receive attention, there is a noticeable media pattern towards emphasizing government narratives on migrant protection efforts.

Diplomatic missions, specifically the Indonesian Consulate General in Istanbul and the Embassy in Ankara, are frequently depicted as the first line of response in crisis situations. Media reports prominently feature their roles in repatriation, issuing warnings, and coordinating with local authorities, reflecting a narrative that positions the state as an active protector of its citizens abroad. The Embassy’s key functions, as portrayed in the media, include repatriating distressed workers using government funds or compensation from recruiting agencies, issuing warnings against accepting domestic work in Türkiye, and collaborating with regional law enforcement authorities for criminal investigations. However, the reports also highlight challenges in conducting in-depth investigations in Türkiye due to limited jurisdiction.

Head of Sub-Directorate IV of the NTB Police Directorate, AKBP I Made Pujawati explained, ‘we are trying hard to dismantle this network, until now we are also still developing’. Pujawati admitted that she had to go down to Türkiye to investigate. ‘I was a week in Türkiye, it was difficult to dismantle this. Because we have to coordinate with the Turkish Police.

We could not penetrate the location of the shelter that we suspected. But the Indonesian Embassy was able to overcome our difficulties', said Puja-wati (Revealing the Stories of 6 TKW, Victims of Human Trafficking from NTB, 2018)

Interestingly, the media reports also show that there are contrasting approaches between government bodies. While the Embassy and Kemlu adopt a stronger stance with outright warnings against domestic work in Türkiye, the Central and Regional Manpower Offices opt for a more cautious approach, emphasizing the importance of choosing government-sanctioned recruiting firms. The contrasting tones in warnings issued by different government bodies highlight the complexities and potential inconsistencies in the state's approach to migrant worker protection.

When asked about the recent case of a number of people (migrant workers) who were stranded in Türkiye and deceived because they were given holiday visas, even though at the beginning they were promised to be able to work there, Ida Bagus Ngurah Arda, the Head of Manpower in Bali urged the public to be more careful (not to use tourist visa) and follow the recommended stages (18,248 Migrant Workers from Bali Have Departed Again, Most to Italy then Türkiye, 2022).

Indonesian Ambassador to Türkiye Lalu Muhammad Iqbal urged the Indonesian people not to easily believe job offers as domestic assistants (ART) in Türkiye. This is because, he said, the job is illegal and has the potential to become a case of human trafficking. 'Almost certainly all people who go to Türkiye are offered as domestic assistants in Türkiye, is certainly illegal,' said Lalu (Domestic Work in Türkiye is Illegal, Says Indonesian Envoy, 2021).

The media also highlighted limited narrative SBMI (Migrant Workers Union of Indonesia) is portrayed as pushing for reparations from irresponsible recruiting firms, such as in the case of a trafficking incident in Indramayu regency in 2022, where a recruiting firm was responsible for the physical abuse of a domestic migrant worker in Türkiye. SBMI's efforts aimed to compel the firm to either pay for the worker's repatriation or face legal consequences. This only highlight from NGOs, shows that either media coverage notably lacks substantial representation from NGO efforts, with only brief mentions of their push for reparations in specific cases.

The media's portrayal of collaborative efforts between the Embassy, regional authorities, and law enforcement in addressing human trafficking is particularly noteworthy. By highlighting these inter-agency collaborations and even the incentivization of successful investigations, the media constructs a narrative of an proactive and coordinated state response

to migrant exploitation. However, the media's reliance on government sources in these reports raises questions about the balance and comprehensiveness of the coverage. While it's crucial to report on state interventions, an overemphasis on official narratives may overshadow the complex realities and challenges faced by migrant workers on the ground.

## Discussion

### Prearity Works and Mediating State Protection

The Jokowi administration's strategy to limit the emigration of low-skilled migrant workers, particularly domestic workers, in favor of promoting skilled labor migration to East Asia and Europe, represents a significant shift in Indonesia's labor export policy. This approach, driven by economic considerations and concerns for national prestige, aligns with what Dewanto (2020) terms "domesticated protection." This concept encapsulates the government's efforts to safeguard both the economic interests and the international reputation of Indonesia, reflecting a continuation of the state's paternalistic approach to women migrant workers as discussed earlier in this paper.

The media's role in mediating this policy shift is crucial and multifaceted. As observed in the findings, there has been a notable change in media coverage of migrant worker issues during the Jokowi era. The transition from sensationalist reporting of abuse scandals to a more government-aligned narrative echoes the evolution of state perspectives on women's migration as outlined in the introduction. This shift in media portrayal can be understood as part of the third phase of state views on women migrants, where the victimization narrative is being replaced by a discourse of protection and formalisation. This transition means government has wrestled and established the narrative authority from predominantly NGOs protectionist campaigns. It also means the Indonesian government has the ability to claim an audience and providing "the voice" and yet in doing so, the government renders migrant women workers speechless over their own circumstances and future (Malkki, 1996).

This new pattern raises questions about the balance between reporting and government advocacy. While the focus on government mitigation efforts, such as swift repatriation and awareness campaigns, provides a more proactive image of state involvement, it may also obscure the ongoing challenges faced by migrant workers. The media's reliance on government sources, as noted in the findings, potentially limits the diversity of perspectives presented to the public. The Indonesian government narratives are also potentially fulling the risks of unofficial migration channels, media outlets contribute to the state's efforts to channel migration through sanctioned routes. This may inadvertently stigmatize those who choose or are forced to use unofficial channels, potentially exacerbating their vulnerability. according to Platt's (2018) argument, where state protectionism may do more harm than good.

For instance, the protectionary discourse that led to stringent bureaucratization despite the success of the migrant export program over decades in generating remittance, instead, ended up exacerbating more undocumented migration that opens the door to exploitation and human trafficking. As the loss of annual remittances to lower-income households following the moratorium ban could be a contributing factor to the high numbers of undocumented migration and human trafficking to banned countries over the years (Manning et al., 2018). As evidenced by a post-moratorium survey by Migrant Care, the ban tends to push migrant workers to seek employment opportunities abroad through unregistered recruitment agents or firms, opening the door to exploitation and human trafficking (Migrant Care, 2017).

The findings also shows a universal pattern of architecture of silence or strategic silence. Media representation shift from facilitating NGOs public pressure, media sensationalist coverage and now the state narrated coverage, silencing victimization narratives still persists. This continuing trend, while highlighting real vulnerabilities, inadvertently perpetuates a passive image of migrant women workers that fails to capture the complexity of their experiences and agency.

The unintended consequences of labor policy reform, as revealed in the findings, highlights the complex interplay between policy, media representation, and migrant realities. This analysis underscores the importance of understanding media coverage not just as a reflection of policy, but as an active participant and medium in shaping public discourse, state policy and its outcomes.

### **Migration Infrastructure Nexus Between Indonesia and Türkiye**

As Türkiye transitioned from a migrant-sending country to a major migrant-receiving one, particularly following the Syrian refugee influx, its labor market has become increasingly dependent on migrant labor, especially in sectors like domestic or care services and tourism. This shift has introduced new dynamics to Türkiye's labor landscape, complicating the traditional understanding of migrant work that previously centered on workers from former Soviet countries and the Philippines. The emerging presence of Indonesian women in these sectors, often unnoticed and potentially vulnerable, raises concerns about the true magnitude of Indonesia's labor force in Türkiye and the nature of their employment.

The labor market for migrant women workers in Türkiye is not homogeneous, reflecting broader trends of feminization of migration. This phenomenon is driven by Türkiye's familistic society, low welfare support for care services, and increasing participation of Turkish women in the professional workforce. These factors have contributed to a rising demand for migrant women workers, particularly in domestic care services. Simultaneously, the tourism industry's need for multilingual and skilled workers has created

opportunities for Indonesian women migrants, especially those from Bali. However, the extent of these variables' influence on Indonesian migrant women workers remains a subject for critical research.

In response to these global labor dynamics, Indonesia has implemented two key policies under President Jokowi's administration: domesticated protection and formal labor export (Killias, 2018; Manning, 2018; Dewanto, 2020). The Ministry of Foreign Affairs implements domesticated protection by restricting domestic workers' overseas employment, while BP2MI (Agency for the Protection of Indonesian Migrant Workers, previously BNP2TKI) manages the formal labor export policy, promoting and legalizing formal sector workers. These policies have created a complex migration infrastructure nexus encompassing state regulations, intermediaries, and media representation.

State policies affect migration flows through formalization and stringent bureaucratization, potentially increasing the risk of undocumented work. This is evidenced by media representations that highlight migrant agency and constructed demand, as seen in accounts of undocumented employment that expose the limitations of domesticated protection. Intermediaries in both Türkiye and Indonesia play a crucial role in facilitating migrant workers' mobility and securing employment, often navigating the gaps between policy intentions and on-the-ground realities.

The media's attention to government narratives, particularly cases involving Indonesian workers employed by Syrian migrants in Türkiye's domestic care and tourism sectors, underscores the complexity of these labor dynamics. This coverage not only reflects state protection and labor export formalization efforts but also reinforces them, shaping public perception and policy discourse.

This intricate migration infrastructure nexus between Türkiye's evolving labor market needs, Indonesia's policy responses, and the role of various actors in the migration process represents the complex realities of labor migration during Jokowi's presidential terms. It highlights the tension between protecting workers and meeting economic demands, while also revealing the potential unintended consequences of restrictive policies, such as increased vulnerability through undocumented channels. Understanding this migration infrastructure is crucial for developing more effective and nuanced approaches to labor migration management that balance worker protection with the realities of global labor markets, especially in an emerging corridor.

## Conclusion

This study reveals a complex migration infrastructure nexus between Indonesia's evolving labor export policies, state protectionism, and media representation of Indonesian migrant women workers in Türkiye. The findings highlight a significant shift in media representation patterns during Jokowi's presidential terms, from sensationalist reporting

of abuse scandals to narratives more aligned with government labor export and migrant protection policies. This shift reflects the government's efforts to promote formal labor exports while distancing the country's image from domestic worker exports.

However, this policy shift has unintended consequences. The study reinforces recent arguments that stringent bureaucratization and restrictions on domestic or care workers migration have exacerbated undocumented migration and human trafficking, particularly evident in the emerging migration corridor to Türkiye. The media's role is crucial in mediating between state interests, migrant lived experiences, and public perception. As the government takes over narrative authority to manage labor migration flow, it potentially further marginalizes and stigmatizes the voices of migrant women workers.

The portrayal of Indonesian migrant women workers in Türkiye's domestic and tourism sectors reveals patterns of precarious work, vulnerability to exploitation, and complex labor market dynamics, particularly involving Syrian employers. This underscores the missing nuances of contextual factors in destination countries contributing to migrant workers' vulnerabilities, such as labor market restructuring and labor demand construction in media representation.

In conclusion, this study critiques the role of media in shaping public discourse on migrant workers and calls for a more balanced approach that acknowledges both the agency of migrant women and the structural challenges they face. It urges a reevaluation of Indonesia's labor export policies and media practices to better protect migrant workers' rights while accurately representing their experiences. Finally, as argued by Nikunen (2019), this study also advises future research to move beyond methodological representation studies and proactively seek spaces of migrant agency, listening to grassroots voices and providing critical alternatives.

## Appendix

Article types are coded as 'NR' (News Reports) or 'F' (Features). Themes are represented by codes like 'AWC' (Abusive Working Condition), 'PM' (Protection and Mitigation), 'EHT' (Exploitation/Human Trafficking), 'TEV' (Türkiye's Earthquake Victim), 'P' (Procedural), 'NP' (Non-Procedural), and 'CR' (Covid-19).

| No. | News Article   | Source | Date    | Type | Theme        |
|-----|--|--------|---------|------|--------------|
| 1.  | 11 Balinese PMIs Who Were Stranded in Türkiye Finally Repatriated                | Kompas | 8/4/22  | NR   | PM, EHT, NP  |
| 2.  | 18,248 migrant workers from Bali have departed again, most to Italy then Türkiye | Detik  | 12/4/22 | NR   | PM, EHT, NP  |
| 3.  | 2 housewives in Lombok suspected of trafficking to Türkiye                       | Detik  | 12/1/21 | NR   | EHT, NP, AWC |

| No. | News Article  | Source | Date     | Type | Theme        |
|-----|---|--------|----------|------|--------------|
| 4.  | Bareskrim Arrests Iraqi Man Who Distributes Illegal Migrant Workers in Jaktim Apartment   | Detik  | 25/3/21  | NR   | EHT, PM, NP  |
| 5.  | BP3MI Bali Coordinates with Ministry of Foreign Affairs to Facilitate the Repatriation of Indonesian Migrant Workers from Türkiye | Detik  | 16/8/22  | NR   | AWC, PM, P   |
| 6.  | Aftermath of migrant workers stuck in Türkiye, police keep an eye on distribution agencies in Bali                                | Kompas | 12/4/22  | NR   | AWC, PM, NP  |
| 7.  | Stories of migrant workers from Bali in Türkiye, working 13 hours to playing cat and mouse with immigration officers              | Kompas | 11/4/22  | F    | EHT, AWC, NP |
| 8.  | Domestic Work in Türkiye is Illegal, Says Indonesian Envoy  | Kompas | 6/4/21   | NR   | EHT, PM, NP  |
| 9.  | Emak-emak dragged into human trafficking case, claims to have a police son-in-law   | Detik  | 15/6/23  | NR   | EHT, PM      |
| 10. | NTB Police Thwart TPPO, Receive Award from Indonesian Ambassador in Türkiye   | Detik  | 17/5/22  | NR   | EHT, PM      |
| 11. | Türkiye Earthquake Victims Irma's Path of Destiny: Moving to Diyarbakir 40 Days Before the Earthquake                             | Detik  | 19/2/23  | F    | TEV          |
| 12. | Indonesian Embassy asks Indonesian citizens not to accept ART jobs in Türkiye!  | Detik  | 6/4/2021 | NR   | EHT, PM      |
| 13. | Ministry of Foreign Affairs Mentioned an Increase in TPPO Cases in Indonesia Throughout 2022                                      | Detik  | 4/4/23   | NR   | EHT, PM      |
| 14. | Ministry of Foreign Affairs Reveals 3 Modes of Perpetrators Bringing Illegal Migrant Workers, Latest in Türkiye                   | Detik  | 28/4/22  | NR   | EHT, PM, NP  |
| 15. | Irma Lestari's Sad Story: Wanting to Buy a Bicycle and Pay for College  | Detik  | 19/2/23  | F    | TEV          |
| 16. | The Sad Story of a Migrant Worker in Türkiye, stacked like Cats and Tortured to Broken Ribs                                       | Kompas | 23/2/18  | F    | EHT, PM, NP  |
| 17. | Indonesian Consulate General in Istanbul and Indonesian Embassy in Ankara Help Repatriate 144 Indonesians Detained in Türkiye     | Detik  | 17/6/20  | NR   | CR           |

| No. | News Article  | Source | Date     | Type | Theme            |
|-----|---|--------|----------|------|------------------|
| 18. | Revealing the Stories of 6 TKW, Victims of Human Trafficking from NTB                               | Kompas | 5/2/18   | NR   | EHT, PM          |
| 19. | Sad! Cirebon resident killed while working illegally in Türkiye                                     | Detik  | 9/6/23   | NR   | EHT, NP          |
| 20. | Fate of 1,375 Balinese migrant workers in Türkiye after deadly quake                                | Detik  | 6/2/23   | NR   | TEV, P           |
| 21. | Indonesian Migrant Worker from Indramayu Mistreated by Employer in Türkiye for Not Wearing Mask     | Kompas | 12/12/22 | NR   | AWC, EHT, PM, NP |
| 22. | Stranded migrant workers in Türkiye write to Jokowi, Bali Manpower Office opens up to respond       | Detik  | 16/8/22  | NR   | PM, P            |
| 23. | Bali Police Takes Over Case of Alleged Fraud in Sending Indonesian Migrant Workers to Türkiye       | Detik  | 29/3/22  | NR   | EHT, NP          |
| 24. | NTB Police Arrests 2 Perpetrators of TPPO Modus Illegal PMI, Victims Flee Türkiye                   | Detik  | 23/2/21  | NR   | AWC, EHT, PM, NP |
| 25. | Police Receive 560 Reports of TPPO Cases in a Month, 649 Suspects                                   | Detik  | 28/6/2   | NR   | EHT, NP          |
| 26. | Police: 1,000 Migrant Workers Victimised by Trafficking in Persons to the Middle East Since 2015    | Detik  | 4/4/23   | NR   | EHT, NP          |
| 27. | Bali Trafficker Sentenced to 5 Years in Prison for Funnelling 13 Migrant Workers to Türkiye         | Kompas | 26/4/23  | NR   | EHT, NP          |
| 28. | Around 1,200 People Become Victims of Trafficking to Morocco, Syria, Saudi Arabia, and Türkiye      | Kompas | 4/9/2018 | NR   | EHT, NP          |
| 29. | Tears Greet the Arrival of Wayan Supini's Body from Türkiye   | Kompas | 23/2/23  | F    | TEV, P           |
| 30. | Balinese migrant workers in Türkiye safe from earthquake, labor office creates quick reaction group | Detik  | 6/2/23   | NR   | TEV, P, PM       |



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# Uluslararası Öğrencilerin Türk Ekonomisine Katkıları: İstanbul'da Kendi Hesabına Okuyan Öğrenciler Örneği

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## Özet

2020 yılında küresel ekonomiye 370 milyar dolarlık katkıda bulunduğu tahmin edilen uluslararası öğrencilere ev sahipliği yapmak her zamankinden daha fazla önem ve rekabet gerektirmektedir. Türkiye de bu rekabete ayak uydurabilmek adına uluslararası öğrenci varlığını artırmak istemiş ve son 20 yıldaki payını yüzde 0,83'ten yüzde 2,9'a çıkarmıştır. Türkiye'nin yumuşak gücünü artıran uluslararası öğrenciler aynı zamanda Türk ekonomisine de etki etmektedir. Bu çalışma, İstanbul'daki vakıf ya da devlet üniversitelerinde eğitim gören uluslararası öğrencilerin Türk ekonomisine olan katkılarını ortaya koymayı amaçlamaktadır. Online anket çalışmasına dayanan çalışmaya göre uluslararası öğrenciler; toplam harcamalarının yüzde 72'sini üniversite ödemesi, barınma ihtiyacı ile gıda ve içecek için gerçekleştirmiştir. Bir öğrencinin yıllık harcama miktarının 8.172 dolar olarak ortaya çıktığı çalışmada, 2023 yılında Türkiye'de eğitim gören yaklaşık 285 bin burssuz öğrencinin toplamda 2 milyar 345 milyon dolarlık harcama yaptığı varsayılmaktadır. Bu verilere dayanarak, son 4 yılda, Türkiye'deki uluslararası öğrencilerin Türk ekonomisine katkısının gerek öğrenci sayındaki artış gerekse artan maliyetler nedeniyle dolar bazlı yüzde 135 oranında arttığı tespit edilmiştir.

## Anahtar Kelimeler

Uluslararası Öğrenci,  
Kendi Hesabına Okuyan Öğrenciler, İstanbul, Türk Ekonomisi

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## Contributions of International Students to the Turkish Economy: The Case of Self-Funded Students in Istanbul

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### Abstract

It is estimated that hosting international students contributed \$370 billion to the global economy in 2020. This phenomenon requires more significance for hosting countries and the competition is higher than ever before. To keep pace with this competition, Türkiye has sought to increase its international student presence, raising its share from 0.83% to 2.9% over the past 20 years. International students, who enhance Türkiye's soft power, also impact the Turkish economy. This study aims to reveal the contributions of international students studying at private and state universities in Istanbul to the Turkish economy. According to the study based on an online survey, international students spend 72% of their total expenses on university fees, accommodation, and food and beverages. The study found that the annual expenditure of a student is \$8,172, with approximately 285,000 non-scholarship students studying in Türkiye in 2023, spending a total of \$2.345 billion. Based on this data, it has been determined that the contribution of international students to the Turkish economy has increased by 135% in dollar terms over the past four years, due to both the increase in the number of students and rising costs.

### Keywords

International Student,  
Self-Funded Students,  
Istanbul, Turkish  
Economy

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## Giriş

Uluslararası öğrenciler, dünyada son derece önemli bir ekonomik enstrüman olarak görülmektedir. Özellikle ABD, Kanada, Birleşik Krallık gibi ülkeler tarafından ihraç kalemi haline gelen uluslararası öğrenciler, 2022/23 akademik yılında bir milyondan fazla uluslararası öğrenciye ev sahipliği yapan ABD ekonomisine 38 milyar dolar ve 338 bin istihdam katkısında bulunmuştur (U.S. Department of State, 2023). Diğer bir çarpıcı örnek ise Birleşik Krallık'ta çeşitli paydaşlar tarafından hazırlanan rapordur. Bu çalışmaya göre uluslararası öğrenciler 2021/22 akademik yılında ülke ekonomisini 41,9 milyar İngiliz Sterlini artırmıştır. AB üyesi olmayan her 11 öğrencinin eğitim süreleri boyunca Birleşik Krallık ekonomisi üzerinde 1 milyon sterlin net etki yarattığı ifade edilmektedir (The Pie News, 2023). Avustralya Eğitim Bakanı Jason Clare de uluslararası öğrencilerin ekonomileri için ne kadar önemli olduğuna dikkat çekmektedir. Clare, pandemi öncesinde 40 milyar dolar seviyelerinde olan eğitim ihracatının 2023 sonu itibariyle 20 milyar dolar seviyelerine gerilediğini belirtmektedir (Ministers' Media Centre, 2023). Eğitim Bakanı Chris Hipkins ise Yeni Zelanda'da ülkenin dördüncü en büyük ihracat sektörü olan uluslararası eğitimin 2018 yılında ekonomiye 5,1 milyar dolar katkıda bulunduğunu belirtmiştir (The official website of the New Zealand Government, 2018). Avustralya ve Yeni Zelanda'da eğitimle ilgili hizmetlerin ihracatı, 2019 yılında toplam ihracatın sırasıyla yüzde 8 ve yüzde 5'ini oluşturmuştur. Kanada, Birleşik Krallık ve Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nde ise bu oran toplam ihracatın yaklaşık yüzde 2'sini takip etmektedir (OECD, 2022). OECD genelinde uluslararası öğrencilerden elde edilen nominal doğrudan ihracat geliri 2010 yılında 50 milyar Avro'nun üzerindeyken 2019 yılına gelindiğinde uluslararası öğrencilerin ev sahibi ülke ekonomisine doğrudan katkısı 115 milyar Avro'nun üzerine çıkmıştır (OECD, 2022). Dolayısıyla 2020 yılında küresel ekonomiye 370 milyar dolarlık katkıda bulunduğu tahmin edilen (ApplyBoard, 2023) uluslararası öğrencilere ev sahipliği yapmak her zamankinden daha fazla önem ve rekabet gerektirmektedir.

Uluslararası öğrencilik, Türkiye'de de son yıllarda artan öğrenci sayısına paralel olarak ekonomik bir girdi haline gelmiştir. 2021/22 yıllarında Birleşik Krallık'taki üniversitelere 381.000 uluslararası öğrenci yeni kayıt olurken (Universities UK, 2023) aynı dönemde Türkiye'deki üniversitelere ise 85.341 yeni uluslararası öğrenci kayıt yaptırmıştır (YÖK İstatistik, 2023). Bu durum her ne kadar aradaki devasa farkı yansıtmış olsa da Türkiye'de 2002/03 öğrenim dönemindeki 3.070 yeni kayıt ile kıyaslandığında son yıllardaki artış Türkiye'nin konuya ilgisini ortaya koymaktadır. Türkiye'nin uluslararası öğrencilikteki yerini sağlamlaştıran ve önemli destinasyonlardan biri haline geldiğini gösteren bu durum istatistiksel verilere de yansımaktadır. 2000 yılında tüm dünyada eğitim gören uluslararası öğrencilerin yalnızca yüzde 0,83'ü Türkiye'de eğitim görürken 2022 yılı sonu itibariyle Türkiye, tüm dünyadaki uluslararası öğrencilerin yüzde 2,9'una ev sahipliği yapmaktadır (YÖK, 2022). Her ne kadar mültecilerle ilintilendirilerek hedef tahtasına oturtulmaya çalışılsa da uluslararası öğrenci varlığı hızla artmaktadır. Türkiye'nin son yıllardaki



çekiciliğini simgeleyen bu durum ulusal refahın artmasına etki etmektedir. Türkiye’de eğitimlerine devam eden uluslararası öğrenciler; kampüste ve sosyal hayatta din, dil ve ırk çeşitliliği ve uluslararası perspektifler sunmanın yanında Türkiye’nin ekonomisine önemli katkı sağlamaktadır.

## Literatür Taraması

Literatürde, uluslararası öğrenci varlığına ilişkin yoğun bir artış söz konusudur. Uluslararası öğrencilere yönelik yapılan araştırmalar genel olarak öğrencilerin sorunlarına yönelmiştir. Mevcut literatürde uluslararası öğrencilere yönelik çok sayıda çalışma olmasına rağmen uluslararası eğitimin ekonomik etkilerine ilişkin çalışmaların eksikliği göze çarpmaktadır. Apaydın ve diğerleri tarafından Ankara ili özelinde yapılan çalışmada uluslararası öğrencilerin şehrin kalkınmasında göz ardı edilemeyecek önemli bir unsur olduğu sonucuna varılmıştır (Apaydın vd., 2012). Uluslararası öğrencilerin tüketim harcamalarının şehir ekonomisine katkısını Kastamonu örneğinde inceleyen Gümüş ve Onurlubaş, uluslararası öğrencilerin yapmış olduğu doğrudan harcamaların yanı sıra dolaylı olarak yaptıkları katkılar ve istihdama etkilerinin kent için önemli olduğunu vurgulamıştır (Gümüş ve Onurlubaş, 2019). Tekin ise İstanbul’da öğrenim gören uluslararası öğrencilerin istihdam süreçlerinde yaşadıkları zorlukları araştırmıştır (Tekin, 2019). Baş ve Eti, Türkiye’de uluslararası öğrencilerin istihdamını hukuki boyutuyla ele almıştır (Baş ve Eti, 2020). Süyğün ve Kaplan (2021) da yaptıkları çalışmada uluslararası öğrencilerin uluslararası ticaretin gelişmesine sunabilecekleri katkıyı değerlendirerek bu çerçevede politika yapıcılara öneriler sunmuştur. Çalışmada, yabancı uyruklu öğrenci sayısının illerin ihracatını pozitif yönde etkilediği sonucuna varılmıştır (Süyğün ve Kaplan, 2021). Bu çalışmaların yanında uluslararası öğrencilerin sorunlarını ele alan çok sayıda çalışmada, bu öğrencilerin yaşadığı ekonomik ve kültürel sorunlar ele alınmıştır (Kıroğlu, Kesten ve Elma, 2010; Ghranbary, 2017; Usta vd., 2017; Yardımcıoğlu, Başel ve Savaşan, 2017; Gönültaş, Kul ve Al-Khatib, 2023; Sayıkoğlu Uçar, Yıldırım ve Güngör, 2022; Güzel, 2021; Karaca, 2021; Kandemir ve Aydın, 2020; Topal ve Tauscher, 2020).

## Metodoloji

Bu çalışmada kullanılan analitik yaklaşım, uluslararası öğrencilerin 2022/23 eğitim öğretim döneminde Türk ekonomisine katkısını yaklaşık bir değer ile açıklamayı hedeflemektedir. 2023 yılı itibarıyla uluslararası öğrencilerin Türkiye ekonomisi üzerindeki etkisini açıklayacak olan çalışma, İstanbul’daki üniversitelerde eğitim gören uzun dönemli öğrencileri (altı aydan daha fazla Türkiye’de bulunan ve eğitimlerine halen devam edenleri) kapsamaktadır. Çalışmada, Yükseköğretim Bilgi Yönetim Sistemi’ndeki (Bkz. <https://istatistik.yok.gov.tr/>) veriler ve öğrenci harcamalarını hesaplamak için yapılan anket çalışması referans alınacaktır. Uluslararası öğrencilerin toplam harcamalarının Türkiye ekonomisi üzerindeki genel etkisini yakalamak için öğrencilerden toplanan istatistiksel

veriler ortaya konmuştur. İstanbul'daki uluslararası öğrencilerin harcamaları referans alınarak YÖK öğrenci verilerine dayanarak uluslararası öğrenci harcamalarının Türkiye ekonomisine katkısı tahmini bir değer olarak sunulmuştur. Çalışmanın sonraki bölümünde yıllık toplam harcamalara ve bunun sonucunda Türkiye ekonomisine katkılara yönelik analiz yapılmıştır.

Uluslararası öğrencilerin Türkiye ekonomisine katkısının yaklaşık bir tahminle hesaplanması kapsamında Şubat ve Mart aylarında öğrencilerle yüz yüze ve çevrimiçi kanallarla anket çalışması gerçekleştirilmiştir. Türkiye'de 2022/23 eğitim öğretim döneminde 301.549 uluslararası öğrencinin eğitim gördüğü düşünüldüğünde tüm öğrencilere ulaşmanın imkânsızlığı nedeniyle araştırma örneklemini, İstanbul'da eğitim gören ve kamu kurumları da dâhil olmak üzere hiçbir yapıdan ekonomik destek almayan uluslararası öğrenciler oluşturmaktadır. İstanbul'un tercih edilmesinin nedeni ise Türkiye'deki tüm uluslararası öğrencilerin yaklaşık üçte birinin İstanbul'da bulunmasıdır.

Diğer yandan Türk ya da uluslararası öğrenci olsun bir ürüne veya hizmete para harcadığında, o ürünün üretimi için doğrudan bir gereksinim yaratılmaktadır. Ürünün ya da hizmetin miktarı arttıkça ara mal ve hizmetlerin de üretimi artmakta ve diğer mal ve hizmetlere de aynı oranda talep oluşmaktadır. Dolaylı etkiye neden olan bu ürünler, daha fazla çalışanın istihdam edilmesine neden olmakta ve artan istihdam nedeniyle mal ve hizmetlere olan talep artmaktadır. Doğrudan harcamalara mal ve hizmet sağlayan işletmelerin (tedarik zinciri), doğrudan ve dolaylı etkileri neticesinde artan işgücü geliri sonucunda hane başına düşen gelirden de artış meydana gelmesi olasıdır. Ancak çalışmada, verilere ulaşmanın zorluğu nedeniyle dolaylı etkilere yer verilmeyecek ve yalnızca uluslararası öğrencilerin belirtilen kalemlerde yaptıkları harcamalara odaklanılacaktır.

## **İstanbul'da Eğitim Gören Uluslararası Öğrencilerin Aylık ve Yıllık Harcamaları**

Beyond \$300 Billion: The Global Impact of International Students adlı çalışmasında Choudaha (2016), uluslararası öğrenci hareketliliğinin son 20 yılı boyunca üç aşamalı bir evrim geçirdiğini savunmuştur. 2001-2008 yılları arasındaki ilk aşamada öğrencilerin ABD'ye alternatif destinasyon arayışına girdiklerini belirten Choudaha, Bologna süreci ile Avrupa'da bölge içi hareketlik oluştuğunu Asya'da ise Japonya'nın merkez haline geldiğini kaydetmiştir. Çinli ve Hintli öğrencilerin kitlesel çıkışının başlangıcını da bu dönem oluşturmuştur. 2008-2016 arasındaki ikinci dalgada, Çin, Hong Kong, Malezya, Japonya ve Singapur gibi ülkeler bölgesel eğitim merkezleri olarak öne çıkmıştır. Avrupa'da bölge içi hareketlilik devam ederken Çin, çok sayıda lisans ve yüksek lisans öğrencisini eğitim için diğer ülkelere göndermeye devam etmiştir. 2016 yılında başlayan üçüncü dalga, birçok ülkede başlayan göçmen karşıtlığıyla birlikte uluslararası öğrencilerin destinasyon seçme şeklini değiştirmesiyle sonuçlanmıştır. Bu durum, ABD ve İngiltere gibi ülkelerin pazar payının düşmesine katkı sunarken Avustralya ve Kanada gibi daha ılımlı ülkelerin

payını artırmıştır (International Affairs Canada, 2020). Türkiye'deki uluslararası öğrenci hareketliliğini de üçüncü aşama ile ilişkilendirmek mümkündür. Öyle ki 2015/16 öğrenim döneminde 87.903 olan uluslararası öğrenci sayısı 2022/23 öğrenim dönemine gelindiğinde 3,5 kata yakın artarak 301.549'a ulaşmıştır. Türkiye'de eğitim gören uluslararası öğrencilerin sayısı istikrarlı bir şekilde artmaya devam etmektedir. Gerçekten de 2002/03 ile 2022/23 tarihleri arasındaki veriler dikkate alındığında 285 binlik artışın Türkiye'nin uluslararası öğrenciler açısından önemli bir destinasyon haline geldiğinin göstergesi olmuştur.

**Tablo 1.** 2002-2022 yılları arası Türkiye'de Uluslararası Öğrenci Sayısı ve Profili

| Yıllar  | Toplam Öğrenci Sayısı | Yeni Kayıt | Mezun  |
|---------|-----------------------|------------|--------|
| 2002/03 | 15.017                | 3.070      | 1.813  |
| 2015/16 | 87.903                | 23.614     | 7.369  |
| 2016/17 | 10.8076               | 25.827     | 9.579  |
| 2017/18 | 125.138               | 33.226     | 10.692 |
| 2018/19 | 154.505               | 52.835     | 12.562 |
| 2019/20 | 185.047               | 63.734     | 13.417 |
| 2020/21 | 224.048               | 80.110     | 17.714 |
| 2021/22 | 260.289               | 85.341     | -      |
| 2022/23 | 301.549               | -          | -      |

**Kaynak:** 2000/01-2012/13 verileri Levent & Karaevli (2014)'ten ve 2013/14-2022/23 istatistikleri YÖK'ten (Yüksek Öğretim Bilgi Yönetim Sistemi) alınmıştır.

Tablo 1, Türkiye'deki toplam uluslararası öğrenci sayısını ve Tablo 2 de İstanbul'da eğitim gören uluslararası öğrenci sayısını göstermektedir. İstanbul, uluslararası öğrenci nüfusunda en büyük paya sahiptir. Bununla birlikte diğer tüm iller de artan sayıda uluslararası öğrenciye ev sahipliği yapmaktadır. Uluslararası öğrencilerin büyük çoğunluğunun İstanbul'da yaşaması ve diğer kentlere göre daha pahalı bir il olması, bu çalışmada İstanbul'un seçilmesinde belirleyici faktör olmuştur.

**Tablo 2.** 2022/23 Döneminde İstanbul'da Eğitim Gören Uluslararası Öğrencilerin Cinsiyet Dağılımı ve Toplamı

| Erkek  | Kadın  | Toplam |
|--------|--------|--------|
| 51.141 | 42.680 | 97.821 |

Online olarak hazırlanan anket çalışması sadece İstanbul'daki devlet ya da özel üniversitelerde eğitim gören ve burs almayan uluslararası öğrencileri kapsamaktadır. Ankete 250 uluslararası öğrencinin katılımının gerçekleşmesi hedeflenmiş ve bu sayıya ulaşıldığında anket erişime kapatılmıştır. Ancak gerek veri eksikliği bulunması gerekse diğer nedenlerle

85 anket verisi analize dâhil edilmemiş ve sadece 165 katılımcının verileri çalışma için kabul edilmiştir. Ankete katılanların cinsiyetine bakıldığında ise kadınların erkeklere oranla daha fazla ilgi gösterdiği görülmektedir.

**Tablo 3.** Ankete Katılan Uluslararası Öğrencilerin Cinsiyet Dağılımı

| Erkek | Kadın | Toplam |
|-------|-------|--------|
| 71    | 94    | 165    |

Yapılan ankete 35 farklı ülkeden uluslararası öğrenci cevap vermiştir. YÖK veri sisteminde 2022/23 eğitim öğretim döneminde en fazla öğrencinin 12.869 ile Suriye'den olduğu görülmektedir. Ankete en fazla cevap veren ülke öğrencisi de 44 katılım ile Suriye'den olmuştur. Ancak 12.050 öğrenci ile ikinci sırada bulunan İrandan yalnızca bir katılımcı ankete cevap vermiştir. En çok katılımcı olan ülkeler ise Bangladeş, Pakistan, Filistin ve Somali olmuştur.

**Tablo 4.** Ankete Katılan Uluslararası Öğrencilerin Uyuşuğu

| Toplam Ülke Sayısı | En Çok Katılım Sağlayan 5 Ülke ve Öğrenci Sayıları |    |
|--------------------|--|----|
| 35                 | Suriye   | 44 |
|                    | Bangladeş  | 14 |
|                    | Pakistan   | 12 |
|                    | Filistin   | 7  |
|                    | Somali   | 7  |

Ankete öğrencilere her hangi bir işte çalışıp çalışmama durumu da sorulmuştur. Verilen cevaplar incelendiğinde ankete katılan uluslararası öğrencilerin yarıdan fazlasının hiçbir zaman bir işte çalışmadığı görülmektedir. 45 öğrenci ara sıra çalıştığını ifade ederken 17 öğrenci yarı zamanlı ve yine 17 öğrenci de sürekli olarak bir işte çalıştığını belirtmiştir.

**Tablo 5.** Ankete Katılan Uluslararası Öğrencilerin Herhangi Bir İşte Çalışma Durumu

| Hiçbir Zaman | Ara Sıra | Yarı Zamanlı | Sürekli |
|--------------|----------|--------------|---------|
| 86           | 45       | 17           | 17      |

Çalışma durumuna paralel şekilde öğrencilerin gelirlerinde de düşüş olduğu görülmektedir. 95 öğrenci aylık 5000 TL ve altında gelire sahip olduğunu söylerken 23 öğrenci de 5001-10000 TL arasında gelire sahip olduğunu belirtmiştir. 17 uluslararası öğrencinin 10001-15000 TL arasında gelire sahip olduğunu belirttiği ankete 30 uluslararası öğrenci 15000 TL üzerinde gelire sahip olduğunu söylemiştir. Aylık gelir miktarı ile bir işte çalışma durumu birlikte değerlendirildiğinde bazı öğrencilerin iyi bir gelire sahip olduğu ya da aileden destek aldığı değerlendirilebilir.

**Tablo 6.** Ankete Katılan Uluslararası Öğrencilerin Aylık Geliri

| 5000 TL ve altı | 5001-10000 TL | 10001-15000 TL | 15000 TL ve üstü |
|-----------------|---------------|----------------|------------------|
| 95              | 23            | 17             | 30               |

Türkiye’de yükseköğrenim devlet üniversitelerinde yerli öğrenciler için ücretsizdir. Yalnızca belirlenen süre içinde mezun olamayanlarla ikinci öğretim öğrencileri ve uluslararası öğrencilerden öğrenim ücreti alınmaktadır. Türkiye’deki kamu kurumlarındaki öğrenim ücretleri, mevcut verilere göre ülkeler arasında lisans programı için en düşük ücretler arasında yer almaktadır (OECD, 2021). Diğer yandan Türkiye Bursları’nın ilk hedefi az gelişmiş ya da çatışmalarla anılan bölgelerdeki ülkelerdir. Başvuruların çoğunun Suriye, Filistin, Afganistan, Yemen, Irak, Somali ve Myanmar gibi ülkelerden geldiğini söyleyen Erdoğan, burs programının amacına ulaştığını belirtmiştir (Aktas ve Sahin, 2019). Gerçekten de Yükseköğretim Bilgi Yönetim Sistemi’ne bakıldığında uluslararası öğrencilerin büyük çoğunluğunun az gelişmiş ülkelerden geldiği görülmektedir. 2019 yılında OECD ülkelerindeki düşük ve alt-orta gelirli ülkelerden gelen uluslararası öğrencilerin oranı yüzde 29’u temsil ederken, Türkiye’deki bu oran yüzde 44 olmuştur (OECD, 2021). Dolayısıyla Türkiye, uluslararası öğrenci politikasıyla öteki ile ilişkileri geliştirmeyi hedeflerken aynı zamanda bu politikasını insani yardım anlayışı çerçevesinde şekillendirmiştir.

Anket verileri incelendiğinde üniversite ödemelerinin diğer ülkelere nazaran daha düşük olduğu görülmektedir. Uluslararası öğrencilerin üniversitelerine yaptıkları yıllık ödemelere bakıldığında 165 öğrencinin toplamda 12 milyon 174 bin 500 Türk Lirası (kayıt dönemi olarak 15 Eylül 2023 dolar kuru baz alınarak 474 bin 144 USD) ödeme yaptığı görülmektedir. Öğrenci başına ise 77 bin 300 Türk Lirası (2 bin 873 USD) ödeme yapıldığı ortaya çıkmaktadır. Bu soruda öğrenciler, hem Amerikan Doları hem de Türk Lirası cinsinden ödeme yaptığını belirtmiştir.

**Tablo 7.** Uluslararası Öğrencilerin Yıllık Üniversite Öğrenim Ücreti Katkıları

| Ankete Katılan Öğrenci Sayısı | Katılımcıların Toplam Harç Ödemesi            | Ortalama Ödenen Tutar                               |
|-------------------------------|---|---|
| 165                           | 12 milyon 754 bin 500 TL<br>(474 bin 144 USD) | 77 bin 300 TL<br>(2 bin 873 USD)<br>(Aylık 238 USD) |

Üniversite harcamalarının yanında öğrencilerin ödemesi gereken eğitim ücretleri de vardır. Öğrencilere ders kitabı, kırtasiye, fotokopi ve benzeri harcamaların aylık ortalaması da sorulmuştur. Buna göre öğrenciler bu kaleme toplamda 216 bin 400 TL, kişi başı ise 41 USD karşılığına denk gelen 1.293 TL ödediklerini belirtmiştir.

**Tablo 8.** Uluslararası Öğrencilerin Aylık Ortalama Ders Kitapları, Kırtasiye, Fotokopi ve Benzeri Harcamanız?

| Toplam Harcama | Kişi Başı Ortalaması | Dolar Karşılığı     |
|----------------|----------------------|---------------------|
| 213 bin 400 TL | 1.293 TL             | 41 USD <sup>1</sup> |

Öğrencilerin üniversite ve eğitim materyali harcamalarının yanında en önemli giderlerinden birini ise barınma ihtiyacı oluşturmaktadır. Ankete katılan uluslararası öğrencilerden 46 tanesi aile yanında ya da burslu olarak vakıf yurdunda kaldıklarını ve 1 tanesi de daire sahibi olduğunu belirtmiştir. Dolayısıyla barınma harcamasını içeren tutarlar 118 öğrenci üzerinden hesaplanmıştır. Ancak kişi başı ortalama hesaplaması yapılırken 165 öğrencinin tamamını kapsayacak şekilde değerlendirme yapılmıştır. Buna göre aylık barınma ihtiyacı için toplamda 805 bin 850 TL ödeme yapıldığı belirtilmiştir. Kişi başı ortalaması 157 USD karşılığı olan 4 bin 884 TL olarak belirlenmiştir.

**Tablo 9.** Uluslararası Öğrencilerin Aylık Ortalama Barınma Harcaması

| Toplam Harcama | Kişi Başı Ortalaması | Dolar Karşılığı |
|----------------|----------------------|-----------------|
| 805 bin 850 TL | 4 bin 884 TL         | 157 USD         |

Öğrencilerin aylık ortalama gıda ve alkolsüz içecek harcama tutarı da ankette yer almıştır. Buna göre uluslararası öğrencilerin bu kaleme yönelik aylık harcama tutarı 481 bin 500 TL olmuştur. Kişi başı 94 USD karşılığı olarak 2 bin 918 TL harcama yapılmıştır. Uluslararası öğrencilerin bir kısmı yurttan kaldıkları için bu soruya cevap olarak harcama yapmadığını belirtmiştir.

**Tablo 10.** Uluslararası Öğrencilerin Aylık Ortalama Gıda ve Alkolsüz İçecek Harcaması

| Toplam Harcama | Kişi Başı Ortalaması | Dolar Karşılığı |
|----------------|----------------------|-----------------|
| 481 bin 500 TL | 2 bin 918 TL         | 94 USD          |

Çalışmada uluslararası öğrencilere aylık giyim ve ayakkabı masrafları da sorulmuştur. Buna göre toplamda aylık 223 bin 500 TL'nin giyim ve ayakkabı masrafı olarak harcandığı belirlenmiştir. Ancak ankete katılan uluslararası öğrencilerden 34 tanesi aylık kıyafet ve ayakkabı almadığını belirterek harcama tutarı girmemiştir. Bu öğrencilerden bazıları gıda ihtiyacını ancak karşılayabildiklerini belirtmiştir. Dolayısıyla toplam tutarlar 131 öğrenci üzerinden hesaplanmıştır. Bununla birlikte ortalama gider yine 165 öğrenci üzerinden hesaplanmıştır. Buna göre uluslararası öğrenciler aylık 43 USD karşılığı olarak 1.354 TL'yi giyim ve ayakkabı masrafı için harcamaktadır.

<sup>1</sup> Anket verilerinin işlendiği tarihte 1 USD'nin karşılığı 31,00 – 31,20 TL seviyelerindedir.

\* 26 Şubat 2024 Pazartesi günü Merkez Bankası USD kuru: alış 31,0441 TL – satış 31,1000 TL

**Tablo 11.** Uluslararası Öğrencilerin Aylık Ortalama Giyim ve Ayakkabı Harcaması

| Toplam Harcama | Kişi Başı Ortalaması | Dolar Karşılığı |
|----------------|----------------------|-----------------|
| 223 bin 500 TL | 1.354 TL             | 43 USD          |

Uluslararası öğrencilerin aylık fatura ödemeleri de önemli bir tutar olarak dikkat çekmektedir. Toplamda 165 bin 300 TL, elektrik, su, telefon, internet gibi harcamalara ödenmiştir. Ankete katılan uluslararası öğrencilerden 25 tanesi bu harcama kalemi için aile yanı ya da yurttan kaldıklarından ödeme yapmadıklarını belirtmiştir. Dolayısıyla toplam tutar 140 öğrenci üzerinden hesaplanırken aylık kişi başı harcama ortalaması 165 öğrenci üzerinden hesaplanmıştır.

**Tablo 12.** Uluslararası Öğrencilerin Aylık Ortalama Fatura Harcaması

| Toplam Harcama | Kişi Başı Ortalaması | Dolar Karşılığı |
|----------------|----------------------|-----------------|
| 165 bin 300 TL | 1.000 TL             | 32 USD          |

Aylık ortalama eğlence harcaması da ankette yer alan sorulardan bir diğeri olmuştur. Gezi, kafe, sosyal aktiviteler gibi harcamalara uluslararası öğrenciler toplamda 125 bin 100 TL harcadıklarını ifade etmiştir. Kişi başı ortalaması ise 24 USD karşılığı olan 757 TL olmuştur. Ankete katılan uluslararası öğrencilerden 41 tanesi bu harcama kalemi için harcama yapmadıklarını belirtmiştir. Dolayısıyla toplam tutar 124 öğrenci üzerinden hesaplanmış ancak kişi başı ortalaması yine 165 öğrenci üzerinden hesap edilmiştir.

**Tablo 13.** Uluslararası Öğrencilerin Aylık Ortalama Eğlence Harcaması

| Toplam Harcama | Kişi Başı Ortalaması | Dolar Karşılığı |
|----------------|----------------------|-----------------|
| 125 bin 100 TL | 757 TL               | 24 USD          |

Anketteki bir diğer soru da kişisel bakım harcaması konusunda olmuştur. Toplamda aylık 115 bin TL, bu harcama kalemi için uluslararası öğrenciler tarafından harcanmıştır. Kişi başı ortalaması ise 22 USD karşılığı olarak 697 TL olmuştur. Ankete katılan uluslararası öğrencilerden 15 tanesi bu harcama kalemi için harcama yapmadıklarını belirtmiştir. Toplam tutar 150 öğrencinin yaptığı harcamadır ancak kişi ortalaması yine 165 öğrenci üzerinden hesaplanmıştır.

**Tablo 14.** Uluslararası Öğrencilerin Aylık Ortalama Kişisel Bakım Harcaması

| Toplam Harcama | Kişi Başı Ortalaması | Dolar Karşılığı |
|----------------|----------------------|-----------------|
| 115 bin 000 TL | 697 TL               | 22 USD          |

Öğrencilerin yaptığı harcama kalemlerinden bir diğeri de ulaşımıdır. Ankette toplam harcama tutarı 80 bin 250 TL olarak belirlenmiştir. Ankete katılan uluslararası öğrencilerden 4 tanesi bu harcama kalemi için harcama yapmadıklarını belirtmiştir. Kişi başı

ortalaması ise 15 USD karşılığı olarak 486 TL olmuştur. Öğrencilerin aylık ulaşım masrafları ülkelerine gidiş-dönüşlerini içermemektedir.

**Tablo 15.** Uluslararası Öğrencilerin Aylık Ortalama Ulaşım Harcaması

| Toplam Harcama | Kişi Başı Ortalaması | Dolar Karşılığı |
|----------------|----------------------|-----------------|
| 80 bin 250 TL  | 486 TL               | 15 USD          |

Uluslararası öğrencilerin aylık sağlık harcamalarının yer aldığı soru dikkat çeken cevaplar içermektedir. Ankete katılan uluslararası öğrencilerden 67 tanesi bu harcama kalemi için ya hiç harcama yapmadığını ya da aydan ayağa değiştiğini belirtmiştir. 98 öğrencinin bu kalem için harcama yaptığını belirttiği bu kalemde toplam harcama 78 bin 400 TL olmuştur. 165 uluslararası öğrencinin aylık ortalama sağlık harcaması tutarı ise 15 USD karşılığı olarak 475 TL olmuştur.

**Tablo 16.** Uluslararası Öğrencilerin Aylık Ortalama Sağlık Harcaması

| Toplam Harcama | Kişi Başı Ortalaması | Dolar Karşılığı |
|----------------|----------------------|-----------------|
| 78 bin 400 TL  | 475 TL               | 15 USD          |

Alkollü içecek ve sigara harcamalarının yer aldığı soruya verilen cevaplar da dikkat çeken başka bir harcama kalemi olmuştur. 165 öğrenciden yalnızca 16 tanesi alkol ya da sigara kullandığını belirtmiştir. Aylık toplam harcama ise 19 bin 750 TL olurken kişi başı harcama 4 USD'den daha az bir meblağ olan 119 TL olarak gerçekleşmiştir.

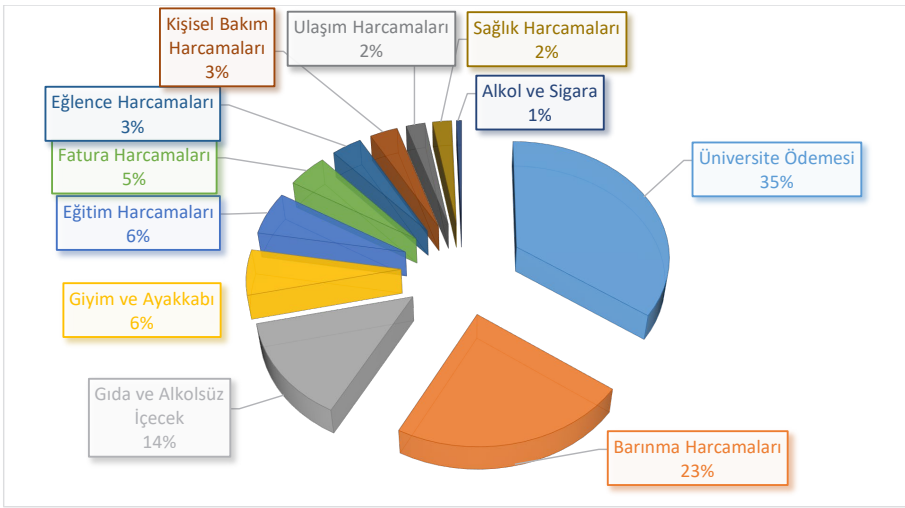
**Tablo 17.** Uluslararası Öğrencilerin Aylık Ortalama Alkol ve Sigara Harcaması

| Toplam Harcama | Kişi Başı Ortalaması | Dolar Karşılığı |
|----------------|----------------------|-----------------|
| 19 bin 750 TL  | 119 TL               | 4 USD'den az    |

Anket sorularına verilen cevaplardan hareketle uluslararası öğrencilerin, üniversite ödemeleri, ders materyalleri, barınma, gıda ve alkolsüz içecek, giyim ve ayakkabı, fatura, eğlence, kişisel bakım, ulaşım, sağlık, alkol ve sigara gibi harcamalarına aylık olarak 681 USD harcadığı ortaya çıkmaktadır. Yıllık harcama ortalaması ise 8.172 dolar olarak gerçekleşmektedir. Türkiye Uluslararası Eğitim Fuarları (International Education Fairs of Turkey / IEFT) Genel Müdür Yardımcısı Elif Deveci, 2019 yılı verilerini içeren açıklamasında Türkiye'de eğitim alan 170 bin yurt dışı öğrencisinin Türkiye ekonomisine yıllık 1 milyar dolar civarında katkı sağladığını bildirmiştir. Deveci, Türkiye'ye gelen her bir öğrencinin eğitim ve diğer temel ihtiyaçları için ortalama 7 bin dolarlık harcama yaptığını belirtmiştir (Yıldız, 2019). Deveci'nin 2019 yılında uluslararası öğrencilerin yıllık eğitim ve temel ihtiyaçlar için ortalama 7.000 USD harcadığı şeklindeki açıklaması dikkate alındığında yapılan anket çalışmasına göre uluslararası öğrencilerin yıllık harcamalarının ortalama 1.172 dolar arttığı görülmektedir.



YÖK verilerine göre 2022/23 eğitim öğretim döneminde Türkiye’de 301.549 uluslararası öğrenci eğitim görmüştür ve bunların yaklaşık üçte biri (97.821) İstanbul’daki üniversitelere kayıtlıdır. Yurtdışı Türkler ve Akraba Topluluklar Başkanlığı (YTb) ise Türkiye’deki uluslararası öğrencilerin yalnızca 15 bininin Türkiye Burslusu olduğunu ifade etmektedir (YTb, Uluslararası Öğrenciler). Dolayısıyla 287 bin uluslararası öğrenci kendi imkânlarıyla Türkiye’ye gelerek eğitim görmektedir. Bu öğrencilerin yıllık ortalama 8.172 dolarlık harcama yaptığı dikkate alınırsa Türkiye’de toplamda 2 milyar 345 milyon doların üstünde harcama yaptıkları ortaya çıkmaktadır. Devci’nin açıklamasıyla kıyaslandığında son 4 yılda Türkiye’deki uluslararası öğrencilerin Türk ekonomisine katkısının yüzde 135 oranında arttığı tespit edilmektedir.



**Grafik 1.** Uluslararası Öğrencilerin Yıllık Harcamalarının Oransal Dağılımı

Uluslararası öğrencilerin yıllık harcamalarının oransal dağılımına bakıldığında en büyük payın üniversite harçları olduğu görülmektedir. Yıllık harcamaların yüzde 35’le üçte birinden fazlasını oluşturan harç ücretleri –her ne kadar diğer ülkelere göre daha düşük kalsa da- uluslararası öğrencilerin en fazla zorlandığı kalem olarak öne çıkmıştır. Öte yandan yüzde 23’le ikinci en büyük harcama kalemi olan barınma konusu, yine uluslararası öğrenciler açısından ve özellikle depremin sosyal ve ekonomik etkileri sebebiyle gün geçtikçe zorlaşan bir ihtiyaçtır. Beslenme ihtiyaçları yine öğrenciler açısından ertelenemeyen ve vazgeçilemeyen bir kalem olarak yıllık harcamaların önemli bir kısmını oluşturmaktadır. Bu bağlamda Gıda ve Alkolsüz içecek kalemi yüzde 14 ile üçüncü büyük harcama payını oluşturmuştur. Giyim ve Ayakkabı ile Eğitim harcamaları yüzde 6’şarlık paylarla beslenme kalemini takip etmiştir. Fatura harcamaları yüzde 5, Eğlence ve Kişisel Bakım kalemleri yüzde 3’er, Ulaşım ve Sağlık harcamaları yüzde 2’şer ve Sigara ile Alkol harcamaları ise yüzde 1’lik paya sahip olmuştur. Dolayısıyla uluslararası öğrencilerin üniversite

ödemesi, barınma ihtiyacı ile gıda ve içecek harcamaları toplam harcamalarının yüzde 72'sini oluşturmuştur. Bu durum aynı zamanda uluslararası öğrencilerin temel ihtiyaçları dışındaki harcamalara ya çok az pay ayırdıklarını ya da hiç ayıramadıklarını göstermesi açısından önemli bir göstergedir.

## Sonuç

Çalışma, uluslararası öğrenci sayısı ve yapılan öğrenci harcamalarının türüne ilişkin veri ve bilgilerin toplanmasını içermektedir. Uluslararası öğrencilerin eğitim ücretleri ve geçim masraflarına ilişkin genel harcama miktarı Türk ekonomisine katkının genel çerçevesini oluşturmaktadır. 2023 yılında Türkiye'deki uluslararası öğrenci harcamalarının toplam değeri 2 milyar 345 milyon dolar olarak tahmin edilmiştir. Ancak uluslararası öğrenciler, öğrencilikleri sırasında ve sonrasında da Türk ekonomisine katkı vermeye devam etmektedir. Mezun olan çok sayıda öğrenci Türk kamu ve özel sektöründe çalışmakta ve hatta kurdukları firmalarla Türkiye ile kendi ülkeleri ve üçüncü ülkeler arasında ticari ilişkiler geliştirmektedir. Dolayısıyla Türkiye'deki uluslararası öğrenci hareketliliği aynı zamanda ithalat ve ihracat açısından da ekonomik bir hacim yaratmaktadır. Hem Türkiye'de hem de kendi ülkelerinde şirketler kurarak istihdam yaratan uluslararası öğrenciler, ikili ilişkileri geliştirirken aynı zamanda ticaret hacminin artmasına da hizmet etmiştir.

Choudaha'nın belirttiği gibi 2016'da başlayan ve göçmen karşıtlığının yükseldiği üçüncü dalga, uluslararası öğrencilerin yeni destinasyonlar aramasına neden olmuştur. Bu dönemde uluslararası öğrencilere ılımlı bakan ve kapılarını açan ülkeler yeni duraklar haline gelmeye başlamıştır. Yeni duraklardan biri haline gelen Türkiye'de 2015/16 eğitim öğretim döneminde 88 bin seviyelerinde olan uluslararası öğrenci sayısı 2022/23 dönemine geldiğinde 301 bini aşmıştır. Ancak son dönemde Türkiye'de başlayan yabancı karşıtlığı uluslararası öğrencileri de etkileyecek boyuta ulaşmıştır. Bu durumun devam etmesi olumsuz etkiye neden olacak ve yıllarca onarılamayacak yaralara neden açacaktır.

Türkiye'nin uluslararası öğrenciler için açık ve misafirperver bir durak olarak kalması ve giderek artan sayıda öğrenciye ev sahipliği yapması sadece yumuşak güç bağlamında değil aynı zamanda ekonomik açıdan da hayati önem taşımaktadır. Bir başka deyişle uluslararası öğrenciler Türkiye'ye hem kültürel hem de sosyal fayda sağlarken aynı zamanda ekonomiye önemli katkı sağlamaktadır.

Uluslararası öğrenciler, üniversitelerin uluslararasılaşmasına katkı verirken aynı zamanda Türkiye'nin eğitim kalitesinin artmasına yardımcı olmaktadır. Diğer yandan farklı kültürleri ve bakış açılarını Türkiye'ye getirmek, Türk kültürünü tanıtmak, uluslararası işbirlikleri ve ortaklıklar için zemin hazırlamak, Türkiye'nin daha kozmopolit bir toplum olmasına ve Türkiye'nin uluslararası imajına katkı vermek uluslararası öğrencilerin sosyal ve kültürel katkılarıdır. Yurt dışından gelen öğrencilerin Türk ekonomisine katkıları ise

eğitim ücretleri, yurtdışından döviz girişi, barınma, yeme, içme ve ulaşım gibi temel ihtiyaçlar, yerel işletmelerin büyümesine katkı, yeni iş imkânlarının oluşmasını sağlama şeklinde özetlenebilir.

### Extended Abstract

International students are seen as an extremely important economic instrument worldwide. Particularly in countries like the USA, Canada, and the United Kingdom, international students have become an export item. In the 2022/23 academic year, international students contributed \$38 billion and 338,000 jobs to the US economy, which hosted more than one million international students (U.S. Department of State, 2023). In the 2021/22 academic year, international students increased the British economy by 41.9 billion British pounds (The Pie News, 2023). In Australia and New Zealand, the export of education-related services constituted 8% and 5% of total exports, respectively, in 2019. Hosting international students, estimated to have contributed \$370 billion to the global economy in 2020 (ApplyBoard, 2023), requires more importance and competition than ever before.

In Türkiye, international students have also become an economic input in recent years, parallel to the increasing number of students. While 381,000 international students newly enrolled in universities in the United Kingdom during the 2021/22 academic year (Universities UK, 2023), 85,341 new international students enrolled in Turkish universities in the same period. Although this reflects a massive gap, the significant increase in recent years compared to the 3,070 new enrollments in the 2002/03 academic period in Türkiye is impressive. This situation consolidates Türkiye's place in international education and shows it has become a significant destination. This is also reflected in statistical data. Despite efforts to target international student presence by associating it with refugees, the presence of international students is rapidly increasing. This situation, symbolizing Türkiye's growing attractiveness in recent years, impacts national prosperity. International students continuing their education in Türkiye contribute significantly to the Turkish economy, offering religious, linguistic, and racial diversity and international perspectives on campus and in social life.

The analytical approach used in this study aims to explain the contribution of international students to the Turkish economy in the 2022/23 academic period with an approximate value. As of 2023, this study, which will explain the impact of international students on the Turkish economy, covers long-term students (those who have been in Türkiye for more than six months and are still continuing their education) studying at universities in Istanbul. Data from the Higher Education Information Management System (See <https://istatistik.yok.gov.tr/>) and a survey study conducted to calculate student expenditures will be referenced in the study.

First, the existing literature on international students was reviewed. Then, the methodology of the study was outlined, and primary and secondary source data were considered together. Statistical data collected from students were presented to capture the general impact of total international student expenditures on the Turkish economy. Based on the expenditures of international students in Istanbul and YÖK student data, the contribution of international student expenditures to the Turkish economy was presented as an approximate value. In the following section of the study, an analysis was conducted on the annual total expenditures and, consequently, the contributions to the Turkish economy.

As part of the approximate estimation of the contribution of international students to the Turkish economy, a survey was conducted with students via face-to-face and online channels in February and March. Given that 301,549 international students were studying in Türkiye in the 2022/23 academic period, it is impossible to reach all students. Therefore, the research population comprises international students studying in Istanbul who do not receive financial support from any institution, including public institutions.

It is important to consider that either a Turkish or international person spending money on a product or service creates a direct demand for its production. As the quantity of products or services increases, the production of intermediate goods and services also increases, creating the same demand for other goods and services. These indirectly impacted products lead to the employment of more workers, and the increased employment leads to greater demand for goods and services. The direct and indirect effects of businesses (supply chains) providing goods and services to direct expenditures likely result in increased household income per capita. However, due to the difficulty of accessing data, indirect effects will not be included in the study, and only the expenditures made by international students in the specified categories will be focused on.

Based on the responses to the survey questions, it was revealed that international students spend \$681 monthly on expenses such as university fees, course materials, housing, food and non-alcoholic beverages, clothing and footwear, bills, entertainment, personal care, transportation, health, and alcohol and cigarettes. The average annual expenditure is \$8,172. Elif Deveci, Deputy General Manager of IEFT International Education Fairs, stated that 170,000 international students studying in Türkiye contributed around \$1 billion annually to the Turkish economy in a 2019 report. Deveci mentioned that each student coming to Türkiye spends an average of \$7,000 on education and other basic needs (Yıldız, 2019). When comparing Deveci's statement in 2019 with the survey conducted, it is seen that the annual expenditures of international students have increased by an average of \$1,172.

According to YÖK data, 301,549 international students studied in Türkiye during the 2022/23 academic year, with approximately one-third (97,821) enrolled in universities in

Istanbul. YTB states that only 15,000 of the international students in Türkiye are Türkiye Scholarship holders (YTB, International Students). Therefore, 287,000 international students come to Türkiye for education on their own means. Considering that these students spend an average of \$8,172 annually, it is revealed that they contribute more than \$2.345 billion to Türkiye. Compared to Deveci's statement, it is determined that the contribution of international students to the Turkish economy has increased by 135% over the last four years.

Remaining an open and hospitable destination for international students and hosting an increasing number of students is vital not only in the context of soft power but also economically. In other words, international students provide both cultural and social benefits to Türkiye, while also contributing significantly to the economy. International students contribute to the internationalization of universities and help improve the quality of education in Türkiye. Additionally, bringing different cultures and perspectives to Türkiye, introducing Turkish culture, laying the groundwork for international collaborations and partnerships, contributing to a more cosmopolitan society in Türkiye, and enhancing Türkiye's international image are the social and cultural contributions of international students. The contributions of students from abroad to the Turkish economy can be summarized as tuition fees, foreign currency inflows, housing, food and beverage, transportation, contributing to the growth of local businesses, and creating new job opportunities.

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**Çıkar Çatışması Beyanı:** Çalışma esnasında herhangi bir kurum veya kişi ile çıkar çatışması bulunmamaktadır.

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## Book Review

Jalal Ts Selmi

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## Book Review

Robin Cohen, **Global Diasporas: An Introduction**, Routledge, London, 08/06/2023, 234 Pages, £135.00 (Hardback), ISBN: 9781032188454

Jalal Ts Selmi 

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The concept of global diasporas gained world-wide popularity starting in 1990. After the Cold War, the international system began to stabilize and until 1990, migration was classified according to categories such as “labor migration” and “brain drain migration.” Later, these classifications transformed into “mass movement” and “mass refugee migration.” These two types of migration constitute the main focus of present migration issues. Cases of mass migration have been described using various terms, including “mass uprooting”, “mass dispersion” and “mass relocation”, and then these cases have come to be called “hybrid integration”. However, the term “diaspora” remains the most commonly used term to describe collective groups residing in a homeland that is not their home country.

According to what the author states in the introduction to the book, after 9/11, when a terrorist attack took place in the United States, discourse surrounding diaspora and the security agenda was transformed. In this context, the basic questions that arose on the issue of the collective diaspora were: Do collective diaspora identities imply disloyalty to the countries to which they moved and in which they were formed, or do collective diaspora groups adopt allegiance to the countries to which they moved? Furthermore, do these groups engage in work within global development agencies and the governments of rich countries that have a positive impact on the economic and social development of their home countries, thus benefiting the world?

These are questions that need to be answered, but they are not sufficient to understand the state of global diaspora, particularly after the emergence of other terms that result from this diaspora, such as transnational identity, hybrid identity, multiculturalism, mosaic societies, and globalization, to name a few. Robin Cohen’s book entitled, *Global Diaspora: An Introduction*, provides a simplified and comprehensive clarification of the issues raised and the terms mentioned above, specifically as it approaches the topic by presenting examples of diasporas of various peoples throughout history.

Robin Cohen is a South African sociologist and professor specializing in globalization, migration, diaspora. He taught at the University of Warwick and then the University

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of Oxford. During his career, he worked at several universities, including Cape Town, Ibadan Post, Birmingham, The West Indies, Stanford and Berkeley.

The book is based on the descriptive approach, which describes the research topic as it is on the ground, by collecting data and information that the author added to the book. Data in this book includes numbers of global diaspora groups and their areas of distribution. Additionally, the author revises data and information recorded in past periods providing neutral and objective critiques. The book provides an array of information with evidence, also leaning towards the historical approach.

With the aim of creating a database, as well as a neutral basis for analysis to address the issue of global diaspora and creating a definitional entry similar to a scientific document, the author raises two important questions: "What are the stages and reasons for the formation of diaspora groups throughout history?" And "What is the influence or role of diaspora groups in the policies of the countries in which they reside?"

The book, *Global Diaspora: An Introduction*, consists of 9 chapters. The book's chapters are divided into two parts: The first 5 chapters discuss the stages of the emergence of diaspora groups. In this context, the author points out that the conversation on global diaspora began with the Jewish diaspora (p.33, 35, 39). In the 1880s, through the 1970s and afterwards, the term diaspora gained popularity with the emergence of the African diaspora and the Armenian diasporas. This is described as the second phase of the diaspora state (p. 57, 72). The author also pointed out that in the second phase some diaspora groups were formed as a result of seeking work or trade, such as Lebanese and Chinese diasporas and those who went out to serve the goals of empires in achieving colonial interests, such as Indians and British people. A large number of Indians and British still live in the diaspora (p.153, 155, 156).

Regarding the third phase, the author writes that the 1990s saw an intellectual development in the use of the term diaspora, towards a social structural perspective and beyond positivist approaches. That is to say, the term was used to study the state of diaspora by redefining the existing identities in a country in isolation from the concepts of homeland and religious or ethnic groupings, but rather through circumstantial intellectual trends. Thus, diaspora is no longer an existing concept as a result of the emergence of overlapping cultural-intellectual identities on the surface according to many thinkers from a social structural perspective. The fourth stage or the stage of consolidation or unification, as the author describes it, brought the concept of the diaspora back to the scene with a vengeance, as it became clear that there were small minorities who still clung to the identity and culture of their homeland. The intellectual literature of this period was characterized by a treatment of the diaspora and the classifications associated with it based on two elements: Common characteristics and ideal references. The author names the fourth stage, the consolidation stage, because it redefined the global diaspora and established its rules based on the reality of its status quo around the world (p.10-14).

The last 4 chapters focus on the changes that have occurred in global diaspora groups. Here, the author mentions the attempts of some diaspora groups to propose what is called a “return to the homeland”, such as Zionist thought and the Sikh dream. In these chapters, the author also discusses the role played by diaspora groups in the globalized economy, while addressing the new forms of global migration resulting from mass movements driven by the search for a better future or because of war and disasters (p.214). Additionally, the author mentions that there are changes in the nature of some diaspora groups. The Jewish diaspora no longer form a diaspora group because of wars, but rather out of trade (p.247). Finally, the author looks at the role that diaspora groups can play in international politics, summarizing this role based on Gabriel Sheffer’s account of the diaspora between diasporas with a homeland and diasporas without a homeland. While the thinking of those without a homeland range between separation and unity, the thinking of those with a homeland focuses on the idea of developing the standard of living in their country (p.251-252).

As part of a critical outlook, the book tentatively addressed the issue of the Palestinian diaspora. While noting that the establishment of Israel in 1948 created a massive refugee disaster for a large number of Palestinians, it pointed out that there was no scholarly consensus that Palestinians formed a diaspora identity, and the book left this issue unresolved, just as it did with other diaspora groups

In conclusion, the author discusses the stages of the formation of the global diaspora throughout history and then discusses the situation of various diaspora groups at the present time, by pointing out that many of these groups have become an essential element in the advancement activities of developing societies, and this category includes diaspora groups whose homeland enjoys stability. As for diaspora groups whose homeland does not enjoy stability or independence, their focus is on the issues of their homeland and they make a political and societal effort to bring their homeland to its goal of stability and independence.

This book is a neutral, solid academic document for understanding the issue of global diaspora in many of its details and contexts. In fact, the importance of this book as a scientific document in understanding the issues of migration and diaspora stems from its focus on sorting out a wide area in monitoring the historical movement of the diaspora from its beginning until our modern history. The book also did not neglect to establish a precise scientific definition of diaspora groups and the criteria for their formation in a certain place. More importantly, the book discussed the role of diaspora groups in the political and economic contexts of our current time.

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## Book Review

Moh Asmahil Kohan

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## Book Review

Aydođan Asar, **Vatansızlık: Uluslararası Temel Belgelerde Vatansız Kişiler ve Hakları**, GAV Perspektif, Ankara, Ekim 2022, 284 sayfa, 116,25 TL, ISBN: 978-605-73877-8-3.

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Yaşanan zorlayıcı olaylar sonucunda insanlar uyruđu ülkelerin topraklarını gönüllü veya zorunlu bir şekilde bırakarak başka bir ülkenin egemenliğinde olan bölgelere göç etmektedirler. Göç eden bireylerin bir kısmının menşe ülkeleri ile olan hukuki ve manevi bağlarını devam ettirmekle o ülkenin himayesinden faydalanmakta iken diđer bir kısmının ise menşe ülkesinin himayesinden mahrum kaldığı, mahrum bırakıldığı veya istemediğinden korumasız ve kırılgan durumlarla karşılaşmaktadırlar. Bu gibi durumlarda olan bireylerin hem menşe ülkeleri ile olan ilişkilerinin belirsizliği hem de göç ettikleri ülkenin ulusal ve hukuksal yapısının özellikleri bu göçmenlerin vatansız kalmasına ve haklardan mahrum bırakılmalarına neden olmaktadır.

Menşe ve hedef ülkelere tanınan egemenlik hakkı, yurttaşlık anlayışı ve yargı yetkilerinin sınırında oluşan bir boşluğun çođu zaman göçmenlerin vatansız kalmasına ve sayılarının her geçen gün artması ile sonuçlanmaktadır. Vatansızlıktan kaynaklanan sorunların ise yerel düzeyi aşarak uluslararası arenada düzensizlik ve belirsizliklere yol açtığı görülmektedir. Bu tür sorunların giderilmesi, durumdan etkilenen ve vatansız kalan göçmenlerin özellikle çocuklar ve kadınların en az bir ülkenin vatandaşlığına sahip olmalarının ancak ulusal düzenlemeler ile değil, bölgesel ve uluslararası sözleşmelerin devreye girmesi ile mümkün olacaktır. İlgili sözleşmelerde ise 'herkesin vatandaşlık hakkı olacak', 'vatansızlıktan kaçınılacak', 'kimse vatandaşlığından keyfi olarak yoksun bırakılamayacak' gibi ilkelerin yer aldığı, taraf devletlere vatandaşlık yasalarını düzenlerken ırk, cinsiyet, inanç ve etnik köken gibi konularda seçici ve ayrımcı davranmamaları gerektiği ifade edilmektedir.

Vatansızlıkla ilgili konuların daha kapsamlı bir şekilde araştırılması özellikle ulus devlet, yurttaşlık anlayışı ve ülkelerin egemenlik hakkı gibi konuların, ayrıca vatansızlığın tanımını, vatansızlığa yol açan nedenlerin ve sonuçların tespiti ve vatansızlığın önlenmesine yönelik ulusal ve uluslararası hukuki metinlerin anlaşılması için Aydođan Asar'ın *Vatansızlık* kitabı önemli bir kaynak sayılmaktadır.

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Aydođan Asar, gc ynetimi ve Trk yabancılar hukuku uzmanı olarak yıllardır hem yasaların tasarlanması ve yasalaşması hem de uygulamada çeşitli faaliyetlerde bulunmuştur. Gc ve iltica alanları ile ilgili çeşitli resmi grevlerde bulunan Asar, Polis akademisi ve Trkiye Orta Dođu Amme İdaresi Enstits gibi yerlerde gc, sınır ynetimi, yabancılar ve vatandaşlık hukuku gibi dersleri verdi. *Vatansızlık* kitabını kaleme alan Aydođan Asarın gc ile ilgili *Trk Yabancılar Mevzuatında Yabancı ve Hakları; Gc Ynetimi; Yabancılar Hukuku*; ve *Yabancılar Hukukunda Geri Kabul* gibi kitapları ve diđer alıřmaları da mevcuttur. Asar, gc alanındaki alıřmalarını bir sivil toplum kuruluşunun başkanı olarak yrtmektedir.

Vatansızlık, bu kitabın başlıđı olmakla birlikte dnyanın farklı blgelerine gc eden, lkelerin ulus devlet yapısı, egemenlik hakkı ve gc politikalarının, ayrıca konuyla ilgili dzenlenen uluslararası szleşmelerin yetersizliđinden vatansız kalan veya kalmakla mecbur olan milyonlarca gcmenin durumundan bahsetmektedir.

Vatansızlık kitabı 5 blmden oluşmaktadır. Birinci blmde yazar vatandaşlıđın olmazsa olmazı devlet ile birey arasındaki uyrukluđ ilişkisinin kavramsal erevesi ve tarihsel geliřimini, vatandaşlık haklarını, vatandaşlıđın korunması ve vatansızlıđın nlenmesi konusunda Trk yasalarının yanı sıra, blgesel ve evrensel insan hakları szleşmelerin ilgili hkmlerine deđinmektedir. Vatandaş ve yabancı kavramları sınırında kalan ve hangi statde yer alması gerektiđi belirsizlik gsteren vatansızlık statsnn yabancılar hukuku erevesinde deđerlendirilmesi, vatansızların haklardan yararlanmaları ve vatandaşlık kazanmalarına kolaylık sađlaması aısından nemli sayılmaktadır. Asar’a gre: “vatansız kiřilerin, hibir devlete hukuki bađı bulunmayan kiřiler olduđu dikkate alındıđında, vatansızlık halinin yabancılar hukukunun temel konularından biri olduđuna dair řphe kalmamaktadır” (s. 32-33). Ekonomik, sosyal, siyasi ve diplomatik haklar bađlamında vatandaşlar ile vatansızlar arasındaki makas aralıđının en ok aıldıđı nokta diplomatik himaye grp grmemesidir. Yazar konu hakkında řyle ifade ediyor: “zetle, vatansız kiřilerin hukuken yabancı olduđu dikkate alındıđında, vatandaşlarda olduđu gibi diplomatik himaye grme haklarından sz edilmemektedir” (s. 38).

Yazar, kitabın ikinci blmnde vatandaşlık hukukuna deđinmiřtir. Vatandaşlıđın hangi yollardan kazanılacağına ynelik esaslardan bahsetmektedir. Vatandaşlıđın aslen kazanılmasında soy bađı esası ve toprak esasının Trk hukukunun yanı sıra ođu lkenin hukuki sisteminde yer aldıđını, vatansızlıđın engellenmesinde nemli esaslar olduđunu belirtilmektedir. Soy bađı esası ile engellenemeyen vatansızlıđın toprak esası ile bertaraf edildiđine dikkat eken Asar, Trkiye’de bulunan ancak anne veya babadan vatandaşlık alamayan ocukların Trk hukukunda kabul edilen toprak esasına gre vatandaşlık kazanacaklarını ifade etmektedir. Asar, toprak esasına gre vatandaşlıđın kazanılmasının son zamanlardaki yařanan kitlesel, dzensiz ve zorunlu gclerle bazı zorlukları beraberinde getirdiđini sylemektedir. “Vatansızlıđın daha ilk bařtan ocukluk evresinden

engellenmesini ve insanları vatandaşlık hakkını kullandırmayı amaçlayan yukarıdaki düzenlemelerin, birtakım zorlukları ve riskleri içinde taşıdığı söylenebilir. Günümüzde düzensiz ve kitlesel göç akınlarındaki artışlarla birlikte refakatsiz çocuklar konusunun giderek derinleşmesi, konuyla ilgili tartışmaları bir süre daha gündemde tutacaktır” (s.58). Asar konuyla ilgili mevcut sorunlara ve bu sorunlardan kaynaklanan tartışmaların devam edeceğine değinmekle iktifa etmektedir; halbuki yeri gelince bu tartışmaların ortadan kalkması için nasıl bir politika izlenmesi gerektiğine de değinebilir idi.

Kitabın belki de en önemli ve dikkat çekici bölümünü üçüncü bölüm oluşturmaktadır. Yazar bu bölümde: “vatansız kişi; hiçbir devletin vatandaşı olmayan, temel haklara erişme sorunu yaşayabilen kişilerdir” (s. 100), tanım ile vatansızlık olgusunu, vatansızlığı tetikleyen unsurları, vatansızlığın tespiti ve Türk hukukunun yanı sıra çeşitli uluslararası sözleşmelerde vatansızlara tanınan hakları inceleme altına almıştır. Vatansızlığın tespitinde üye devletlere verilen yetki ülkelerin bu konuda seçici davranmalarına sebebiyet verecektir. Özellikle ulus devlet yapısının genişlemesi, düzensiz ve kitlesel göç akınlarının artması ve ülkelerin bu konudaki endişeleri onları daha hassas ve seçici davranmaya teşvik edecektir. Bu durumun ise vatansızlık ve ilgili sorunların devamı anlamına gelmektedir. Asar’a göre: “Aslında rasyonel, tutarlı, adil, şeffaf ve doğru sonuçlar veren bir tespit sistemine sahip olmak, vatansızlığın etkin şekilde yönetilmesinde devletlerin işini kolaylaştırdığı gibi olası hak kayıplarının da önüne geçmektedir” (s. 115).

Kitabın dördüncü bölümünde yazar vatansızlığı küresel adımlar bağlamında ve kitabın beşinci bölümünde ise vatansızlığı Türk mevzuatı çerçevesinde ele almaktadır.

Vatansızlığın azaltılması için atılan ulusal ve uluslararası adımlar ve düzenlenen yasalar bu kişilerin haklardan yararlanmaları ve belirsizlikten kurtulmaları açısından önemli sayılmaktadır. Ancak artan göç hareketleri ve ülkelerin egemenlik yetkileri ve keyfi davranışları hukuki (de jure) vatansızlardan daha ziyade fiili (de facto) vatansızları etkilemektedir. Çünkü fiili vatansızlık, vatandaşlık ile vatansızlık sınırında sıkışıp kalan bir durum olduğu bir gerçektir. Asar’a göre: “Fiili vatansızlık, uluslararası belgelerde net olarak tanımlanmadığından, hukuki vatansızlığın anlaşılmasında kavram kargaşasına yol açabilecek özelliktedir” (s. 104). Ayrıca belirtmek gerekir ki uluslararası hukukun bu alandaki yetersizliği bir yandan vatansızlıktan diğer statülere geçişleri diğer taraftan da fiili vatansızlıktan dolayı haklarından mahrum kalanları etkilemektedir.

Yukarıda kitap ile ilgili bazı değerlendirmelere yer verildi. Konunun önemi itibarıyla kitap araştırmacılar, politika uygulayıcıları ve öğrenciler için yol gösterici bir kaynak sayılmaktadır. Konuların kapsamlı ve müstenit bir şekilde özellikle Türk hukuku bağlamında ele alınması, yazarın hem yasaların tasarlanması hem de uygulamada bulunmasından kaynaklanmaktadır. Ancak kitapta kullanılan dilin ve beyan şeklinin okuyucu için ağır gelebileceği bir gerçektir; yalnız bu dilin ve beyan tarzının çeşitli hukuki metinlerden esinlendiği için belki de daha kolay bir dilin kullanılması mümkün olmayabilir. Asar’ın

bu kitapta daha fazla vatansızlığın hukuki boyutlarına değindiđi gör÷lmektedir; halbuki konunun önemi itibariyle vatansızlığın olgusal olarak tartışılması daha iyi olur idi. Bununla birlikte, *Vatansızlık* başlığı ile yazılan bu değerli eserde yazar vatansızlık olgusunun ülkenin göç yönetimindeki yerine ve önemine değinmesi ile konuya farklı bir açıdan bakmış olabilir idi. Tüm bu konular ile birlikte kitabın literatüre kattığı değer ve yapılması önemli gör÷len yeni araştırmalara tuttuđu ışık ile okunması gereken eserler arasında yer almaktadır.

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