



THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY

SOCIAL SCIENCES UNIVERSITY OF ANKARA

INSTITUTE OF GRADUATE STUDIES IN SOCIAL SCIENCE

**THE CASE OF AFRICAN STUDENTS IN TURKEY: THEIR MIGRATION
EXPERIENCES, TRANSNATIONAL IDENTITIES AND ADAPTATION**

Master's Thesis

Meryem KESKİN

Political Science

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THESIS APPROVAL

This is to certify that the thesis defense examination for the thesis titled THE CASE OF AFRICAN STUDENTS IN TURKEY: THEIR MIGRATION EXPERIENCES, TRANSNATIONAL IDENTITIES AND ADAPTATION prepared by Meryem KESKİN with student number 205413015 studying in the field of Political Sciences Program has been conducted in accordance with the related clauses of the Graduate Studies and Examination Code of YÖK (Council of Higher Education) on 06/10/2022 14:00 o'clock and has been approved by unanimous vote.

Chair : Assist. Prof. Dr. Bilge ŞAHİN KÖNİĞ
Advisor : Assist. Prof. Dr. Filiz Tutku AYDIN BEZİKOĞLU
Committee Member : Assist. Prof. Dr. Kadir Onur UNUTULMAZ

Approval:

The thesis has been approved by the Institute Board with the decision dated 06/10/2022 and numbered

06/10/2022

Prof. Dr.

Director

PLAGIARISM

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all materials and results that are not original to this work. I declare that this thesis is written according to the writing rules of Social Sciences University of Ankara, Institute of Social Sciences.

Name and Surname: Meryem KESKİN

Signature

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to investigate sub-Saharan African students in Turkey as a case of migration and transnationalism. We would like to explore the mobility experiences, identity development, and adaptation of African students by locating the case in the wider issue of migration in Turkey as well as the development of the African diaspora identity in Turkey. The African students in Turkey demonstrate a multiplicity of intersecting identities, including local, regional, national, gender, religious, class, and international identities but they also participate in pan-African and transnational identities. Going beyond generally nation-based studies of international students in the literature, we investigate students coming from the whole continent, which enables us to observe their identities beyond national such as their pan-identities and international identities. They develop a certain level of allegiance to Turkey while maintaining strong links with their homelands, defined in local, national, and African senses. Students view their educational experience as a way of building their human capital and acting with a sense of responsibility towards the development of their home country and Africa, whether in the form of both words and actions such as remittances and return. Although there is some research on the various international students, African students seem to be less permeable to Turkish researchers. While African students must also be examined from the standpoint of education studies with regard to their learning experiences, this study aims to investigate African students in Turkey as a case of temporary migration or mobility and a case of transnational identity development.

Keywords: African students, transnationalism, identity, adaptation, African diaspora

ÖZET

Bu tez, 2019-2021 yılları arasında gerçekleştirilen mülakatlarla Türkiye'deki Sahra-altı Afrikalı öğrencilerle ilgili ampirik araştırmalara katkıda bulunmayı amaçlamaktadır. Görüşülen kişilere anayurtla ilişkiler, ev sahibi ülke, diaspora ve ulusötesi bağlar olmak üzere üç boyutta sorular sorulmuştur. Afrikalı öğrencilerin öğrenme deneyimleri açısından eğitim çalışmaları açısından da incelenmesi gerekirken, bu çalışma Türkiye'deki Afrikalı öğrencileri bir geçici göç veya hareketlilik ve bir ulusötesi kimlik gelişimi vakası olarak incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Afrikalı öğrencilerin hareketlilik deneyimlerini, kimlik gelişimlerini ve adaptasyonlarını, konuyu Türkiye'deki daha geniş göç konusuna ve Türkiye'deki Afrika diasporası kimliğinin gelişimine yerleştirerek açıklamak amaçlanmıştır. Literatürde uluslararası öğrencilerle ilgili genel olarak ulus temelli çalışmaların ötesine geçerek, Afrika'dan gelen öğrencileri inceleyerek, ulusal ve Pan-Afrika gibi ulusötesindeki kimliklerini gözlemlememizi sağlar. Yerel, ulusal ve Afrika anlamında tanımlanan anavatanlarıyla güçlü bağlarını korurken, Türkiye'ye belirli bir düzeyde bağlılık geliştirirler. Öğrenciler, eğitim deneyimlerini, insan sermayelerini inşa etmenin bir yolu olarak görürler ve hem söylem hem de ekonomik yardım gibi eylemler şeklinde olsun, anavatanlarının ve Afrikanın kalkınmasına yönelik bir sorumluluk duygusuyla hareket ederler. Çeşitli uluslararası öğrenciler hakkında bazı araştırmalar olmasına rağmen, Afrikalı öğrenciler Türk araştırmacılara daha az kalıcı görünmektedir. Afrikalı öğrencilerin öğrenme deneyimleri açısından eğitim çalışmaları açısından da incelenmesi gerekirken, bu çalışma Türkiye'deki Afrikalı öğrencileri bir geçici göç veya hareketlilik ve bir ulusötesi kimlik gelişimi vakası olarak incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Afrikalı öğrenciler, ulus-ötesicilik, kimlik, uyum, Afrika diasporası

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AKID	: African Development and Cooperation Association
CamTurk	: Cameroonians in Turkey
EU	: European Union
IOM	: International Organization for Migration
OECD	: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
PAU	: Pamukkale University
TİKA	: Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency
TÖMER	: Turkish and Foreign Languages Application and Research Center
YÖK	: Council of Higher Education
YTB	: Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities

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Table 1.1. International Student Population in Turkey per years (between 2013-2018)



CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

In the 1950s the worldwide number of students studying abroad is estimated to have been about 200 000, whereas by 2020, it is estimated to be around 4 and a half million and the greater majority of these students are located in English-speaking countries and Europe but also in the Asia Pacific region (OECD, 2013). Turkey increasingly hosted international students since the 1990s from Balkan, Central Asian, and recently MENA countries however because of the Turkish government's policy vector towards Africa, sub-Saharan African students also grow in number. Turkey increasingly became an education country for many foreign students around the world. Foreign students prefer Turkey for their higher education because of extended full scholarship opportunities that cover accommodation, monthly payments, health insurance, and tuition. Secondly, for non-scholarship students, Turkish universities offer lower registration, tuition, and living costs in comparison to a global market. Thirdly, many Turkish institutions offer education in global standards, including education in the English language, academic year plan, syllabus, academic culture, credit and grading system, examination, and diploma they will get in the end of their education, so and so forth.

Foreign students' experiences in Turkey vary according to their backgrounds and origins. To illustrate, Balkan, Turkic, Middle Eastern, and Muslim students have fewer adaptation problems compared to African or non-Muslim students. Due to the differences in religion, native language, culture, living style, and so on, African student migrant Turkey experiences may be more problematic. Together with these differences between Turkish society and African student migrants, lack of integration programs, Turkish social structure impede adaptation, furthermore, pave the way for diasporization of African students in Turkey. Although there is some research on the various international students, African students seem to be less permeable to Turkish researchers.

Today the estimated number of African students in Turkish higher education programs is 4.403 and the number of graduated students is 8.786 (YTB, 2021). Despite

this growing number, the nature of their identities and adaptation experiences of African students is little researched.

While African students must also be examined from the standpoint of education studies with regard to their learning experiences, this study aims to investigate African students in Turkey as a case of temporary migration or mobility and a case of transnational identity development. We would like to explore the mobility experiences, identity development, and adaptation of African students by locating the case in the wider issue of migration in Turkey as well as the development of the African diaspora identity in Turkey. Transnational identity development can be observed on the African students in Turkey in various dimensions; homeland linkages, host land relations, and the social network they have.

We argue that students cannot be considered migrants as they are not very invested in integration in the receiving country as migrants because of their motivation to return. Migration has connotations of permanency or long-term stay, whereas the migration of students as highly skilled persons tends to be intermittent and short-term (cf. Koser and Salt 1997). They are sojourners and the word ‘mobility’ or ‘movement’ best describes their behavior. Having this in mind, we will use mobility and migration interchangeably because (i) their trajectories can change and they might turn into permanent migrants and use their time of education as the first step for settlement in the country (ii) with an extended period of education that includes language learning, post-graduate studies, they integrate into the receiving country and their ethnic community in the host country (iii) their behaviors show similar patterns to other migrants and therefore migration studies approaches can be useful understanding the international students as well.

In fact, although the students do not stay long enough as other members of the diaspora, they play a unique role in raising awareness of the community due to their education and skills. Moreover, they rejuvenate the bonds of the community with the homeland and refresh the culture of the community in the host land as they carry more updated homeland identities.

As the students continuously circulate, the effect is constant and keeps the diaspora more attuned to homeland culture and politics. Students are the most easily researchable part of the African diaspora, as they are generally more articulate, and have

a clearer legal status. Inquiring about African students in Turkey opens a window to the African diaspora and gives the researcher valuable clues about the nature of the latter. The second motivation of this research is to shed light on the common problems and identities of African migrants in Turkey.

This study aims to contribute empirical research on African students in Turkey by conducting interviews that were carried out between the years 2019 and 2021. The interviewees were asked questions in three dimensions: Relations with the homeland, relations with the host land, diaspora, and transnational networks.

Regarding to the relations with the homeland, African migrants' linkages with their families, their involvement in politics, daily life, and the economy of the homeland, and how they utilize communication technology in perpetuating networks will be investigated. Regarding to the relations with the host land, adaptation to Turkish society as well as discrimination, racism, and xenophobia faced by immigrants are examined. The image of African migrants as only transit migrants is deceiving, since there is a significant number of long-term migrants in Turkey, and this study aims to challenge that image.

The diaspora and transnational networks, African associations in Turkey, and their activities are also investigated. To illustrate, the celebration of their special days, solving immigration-related problems, and practicing African language, traditions, religion, and customs are examined.

Mobility represents both challenges and potential for international students. Utilizing new approaches to migration, we will explore how international students negotiate their identities, form of transnational social spaces, develop new ways of connectedness, belonging, and identities, and constitute social networks of associations that maintain social, familial, economic, religious, and political relations with contexts of origin. International students enable us to treat migration as an incomplete and fluid process perpetuated by transnational networks. We also focus on agency rather than structural causes of migration and bring into view the experiences, identity constructions, and voices of international students which must be taken into account in making migration policy. As suggested by Gargano in her research guidelines for international students, we emphasize the intersection of identities and the importance of contexts of origin, uncover the stereotypes that international students are deficient or

aliens, and refute the generalization that international students are a homogeneous group who similarly experience educational border crossings (Gargano, 2009). We want to bring to light the experiences of international students, especially the African students who are almost invisible. We would like to investigate state education and migration programs, and policies that isolate, marginalize, and stereotype international student needs and interests and show “the multiple trajectories that emerge from international student experiences and the juxtaposition of different practices, beliefs, worldviews, and transnational learning spaces”. “There are many ways to be and not to be an international student” (Gargano, 2011). Focusing on transnational social fields, we challenge the notion that international students are a “homogenized enclave of otherness” (Cohen, 2004, p. 125) and aim to highlight “unique student-defined spaces, perceptions, and identity negotiations” (Gargano, 2011).

To sum up, African students in Turkey have a key role in the identity development process. Together with constructing relations with the host society, they strongly keep their connections with the homeland. In this way, the transnational identity development process can be highly observed in African student migrants in Turkey.

1.1. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- What are the causes of African student mobility toward Turkey?
- How can we describe the identities of African students in Turkey? How do they maintain transnational networks and transnational social spaces, especially when their settlement in Turkey is temporary?
- What are the challenges and opportunities in their adaptation to Turkey?

1.2. THESIS STATEMENT

Turkey is increasingly preferred by African students because of the strengthening of African transnational networks in Turkey, Turkey’s international student acceptance and education policy, the shrinking of educational opportunities in the West for African students, and Turkey’s relatively safe and economically prosperous environment. It is also true that Turkey is a stepping stone for students who would like to pursue post-graduate education in the West.

The African students in Turkey demonstrate a multiplicity of intersecting identities, including local, regional, national, gender, religious, class, and international

identities but they also participate in pan-African and transnational identities. Pan-Africanism is a kind of nationalism that cover all the continent that emerged as a reaction to colonialism. Pan-Africanism is a movement of black consciousness (Mazrui, 1986). Transnational identity refers to migrants' connections with multiple locations and networks, as well as occupation and organizations requiring regular and permanent social connections across borders (Gold, 2002).

Going beyond generally nation-based studies of international students in the literature, we investigate students coming from the whole continent, which enables us to observe their identities beyond national such as their pan-identities and international identities. They develop a certain level of allegiance to Turkey while maintaining strong links with their homelands, defined in local, national, and African senses. Students view their educational experience as a way of building their human capital and acting with a sense of responsibility toward the development of their home country and Africa, whether in the form of both words and actions such as remittances and return.

African students generally have a positive appraisal of their education and campus experience in Turkey. However, they face systemic discrimination in employment and occasional xenophobia and racism in Turkey due to their visibility, which limits their motivations to become permanent migrants in Turkey. Turkey's adaptation policies are superficial and insufficient.

1.3. METHOD

The methods for this thesis are documental analyses and semi-structured interviews. We scanned main websites, reports, media analyses, and secondary literature on African students. A semi-structured interview is convenient for this study since it has a predetermined thematic framework without going into details. It contains open-ended questions and allows for flexibility. Informers can continue according to their experiments. There are guide questions for opening up the topic and sub-questions according to the informers explanations.

We conducted some preliminary interviews with members of the African diaspora in Ankara and İzmir to try out our interview questions. However, in our main research, 30 participants who study in Denizli, İzmir, and Ankara, since the researcher has a network in these cities at present, therefore reaching informer was easier

compared to Istanbul or other cities. We reached participants through snowballing. The researcher's social network with African students has a significant role in sampling and preparing questions for the interviews. We decided that this number of participants provided us with a wide variation of experiences of Africans and there was not much to gain if we had more participants, but only some experiences would repeat. Participants come from a large variety of sub-Saharan African countries including Malawi, Cameroon, Nigeria, Gine Bissau, Ethiopia, Somali, Chad, Ghana, Burundi, Kenya, Tanzania, Senegal, Mali, Uganda, Rwanda, Zambia, and Sudan. They are all students aged between 23-30 years old. 13 participants are women, 17 participants are men, all are based in Africa before coming to Turkey, and all participants are black. We tried to reach a larger number of female participants, but they were harder to find as the percentage of females is quite low among all African students. The duration of stay for participants in Turkey is 3-10 years in Turkey. The type of high education programs they are enrolled in the Turkish universities also vary. Some came for their bachelor's program and some continued their master's or doctorate programs so that they stayed longer in Turkey.

Due to the pandemic, interviews were conducted face-to-face on the online platform. The aim of the study and the content of the interview was explained to students in detail. Their confidentiality, if they wish, anonymity was guaranteed. With the Ankara Social Sciences University Ethical Commission's approval, an information letter about the study and a consent form was prepared. According to the ethical rules, attendees' consent was requested before starting the interview. At the beginning of the meeting, consent forms were read loudly and their confirmations were recorded. All attendees accepted to be audio recorded, the interviews took 45 minutes to one and a half hours. Participants chose the conversation language that they express themselves more comfortably, whether it is English, or Turkish, for some cases they used both languages. All the interviews were recorded by cell phone and were transcribed as in original conversation and without changing any word, except for minor mistakes or unclarities.

Interview questions were prepared ahead of and were classified into three issues: Relations with the African diaspora and student networks, relations with the host state and society, and relations with the homeland. We inquired about the reasons

for selecting Turkey as an education country, students' ambitions about the future concerning staying in Turkey, returning to their homeland, or transiting to another country, and if they see themselves as successfully adapting to Turkey and Turkish society, if they have a strong sense of community in Turkey, if they consider themselves as part of a diaspora, how they maintain their African identity, their self-identifications (diasporic, transnational, Pan-African, national, ethnic, religious and gender identities), their symbolic and real ties to the homeland.

Attendees were allowed not to answer a question if they did not want to. It is observed that interviewees were wary of voicing criticism about their community, embassy, and host state. They were also allowed to discontinue the interview if uncomfortable but there was not any uncompleted interview in this study. The interviewer's female identity made female students feel more comfortable and it did not affect the male students' interviews negatively. The identity of the researchers as master's students also created a comfortable atmosphere for the interviewees however the identity of a researcher as a member of the host society prevented complete trust and disclosure.

Next, interviews were coded by the author. Totally 20 repeating codes emerged, they were classified in categories and themes and interpreted by the researcher with input from the thesis supervisor.

1.4. LIMITATIONS OF THE THESIS

Because of the pandemic, organizing face-to-face interviews were impossible. We think the face-to-face interview would increase the level of trust. As noted, the interviewer's identity as a member of the host society also prevented a completely honest disclosure and it was observed that participants were prone to respond to the questions in positive ways, hiding any negative thoughts about their community, embassy, and host state. Only students studying in İzmir, Denizli, and Ankara could be interviewed because of the limitations of resources, and there could be different student experiences in other cities of Turkey. However, as these types of studies are generally conducted in big cities such as İstanbul and Ankara, we believe by including Denizli, the study sheds light on smaller city experiences of foreign students.

International education is not examined here at the national, sector, or institutional levels, such as the economic outcomes of international education both for

home and host countries, and national trends or statistics are not examined. We also did not examine the soft power dimension of international education and how it affects the foreign policies of the states involved. Our purpose was to focus on student voices, experiences, and identity negotiations and explore cultural flows and processes, and networks of association.

1.5. PLAN OF THE THESIS

1.5.1. Historical Background of African Diaspora and African Student Mobility in Turkey

The Ottoman Empire has a long history of receiving and settling migrants. The Muslims from Crimea, Caucasus, and the Balkans poured into the Empire after several Ottoman-Russian wars in the 18th century. There was continuous migration to the Empire throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, the last major one being after the Balkan Wars. A large percentage of the population of the new Turkish Republic were immigrants or people of immigrant origin. In-gathering of Turko-Muslim peoples from the former territories of the Ottoman Empire continued with the population exchanges between Turkey and Greece and treaties with Romania (1935) and Bulgaria (1950) for the immigration of Turks while a large number of non-Muslims emigrated to Greece and Israel. Small-scale immigration of Turko-Muslim peoples continued after the fall of communism from Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union to Turkey.

Both emigration and immigration had a significant effect on state policies in the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish republic (İçduygu & Aksel, 2013). After the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, with the shrinking of lands, Turko- the Muslim population immigrated to the new Turkish Republic. İçduygu and Aksel stated that those movements to Anatolia have been managed by the new state. State-led migrations in both Ottoman Empire in the 19th Century and the Republic period were conducted by reciprocity with other countries.

The migration flow was two-sided which are both from other countries to Turkey and from Turkey to other countries. After the exchange agreements for two-sided migrations, the population of the new Turkish state had a more homogenized population that consisted of Muslim and Turkish-originated societies (İçduygu & Aksel, 2013). In this way, the multinational feature of the Ottoman state disappeared in the new Turkish state. For the first time in history, Turkey became a country of emigration

by sending large numbers of “Guestworkers” to Europe, mainly industrialized countries in the 1960s. Guest worker emigration continued till the 1980s (İçduygu & Aksel, 2013). In the 1990s, with increasing globalization and ease of migration, Turkey became a country of transit migration for refugees moving to Western countries. After being a country of emigration for 30 years, the country's profile on the international platform transformed from emigration producer to migration receiver. Turkey started to attract non-Turkish and non-Muslim immigrants in the last three decades, furthermore, becoming a transit and destination country (İçduygu & Aksel, 2013). The changing migration profile of the country pushed Turkey to produce a policy. The clerk stated that the transit migration term had started to be discussed as a new experience during the 1990s (Clerk, 2013). In the 1990s and 2000s, more than half a million transit migrants were apprehended in Turkey they generally come from the Middle East, Asia, and African countries and plan to continue to European countries. More and more attention has been paid in the country to the issue of transit migrants, especially Africans who look for an opportunity to pass Europe (İçduygu & Aksel, 2013). For, some of them began to demand international protection. To control the flow, in 1994, a new regulation came to limit asylum seekers' flow to Turkey according to their geographical origins (Suter, 2013). The limitation means only European-origin migrants can have an asylum statute. The geographical limitation of the Geneva Convention has created a very special situation for the country (Faist, 2013). 1994 Asylum Regulation only led temporary asylum to non-European asylum seekers until they pass to another country. With the impact of the growing number of migrants, Turkey brought regulations on citizenship acquiring rules. In 2003, citizenship via marriage was redefined as the spouses should wait for three years before gaining rights (Suter, 2013).

In the late 2000s, with the growth of the Turkish economy, millions of refugees immigrated from the south and east, mainly from Central Asia, the Middle East, and Africa., including non-Muslims. After Syria's civil war outbreak, Turkey's followed an open-door policy, and Syrian migrants and along with them large numbers of Afghans, Iraqis, Iranians, and Pakistanis flew to Turkey. This flow is one of the most voluminous and diverse migrations in the history of the republic (Suter, 2013). The refugees escaping from the Syrian civil war settled in Turkey as a result of the 2016 agreement with the EU, and today their number is close to 8 million. While some

immigrants still hope to transit to Western countries, the number of refugees who do it lessened greatly. While most recent immigrants are refugees, there is a small number who came to Turkey for professional or educational reasons. African students are those types of temporary migrants, who are motivated to return to their homeland.

When we investigate the 2000s changing profile of the country, migration flow can be classified into four different categories. These are irregular labor migrants, transit migrants, asylum seekers, refugees, and regular migrants (Suter, 2013). The scholar explains each of these statuses in the case study in detail.

1.5.2. African Migration in the World

Migration is not a new phenomenon in Africa, conversely, the history of migration goes back as old as the continent's history. Migration model and motivation change from region to region. For instance, while people in the East and Horn of Africa largely migrate because of searching for grazing land for their livestock, the reason for migration in North Africa and the Sub-Saharan region is conflicts, political tension, and trade. The Sahara is a tremendous transit region and has a rich ethnic composition. It has a long history of mobilization (Bakewell & Haas, 2007). Mobilization within the continent is more prominent than intercontinental migration.

There is a high level of mobilization from rural to the appearing urban places, illustrating, Nairobi, Dar es Salaam, Lagos, Johannesburg, and so on (Bakewell & Haas, 2007, p. 6).

Various push factors accelerated the mobilization out of the continent such as war, political conflict, economic crashes, drought, and famine. and a significant example can be the 1973 Oil Crisis (Bakewell & Haas, 2007, p. 17). There is a consensus on the fact of the brain drain problem of the continent.

The African diaspora can be the most complex of all diasporas. Departures from African history, it goes back to the dawn of human history. Additionally, the mother continent has been sending migrants since then. This migration type has multiple arrivals from multiple points of departure. For instance, Afro-Atlantic, Indian Ocean, and Afro-Caribbean branches (Butler, 2010). Post-colonial African emigration was accelerated by civil war, famine, economic failure, and political fluctuations and can be evaluated as a “second” or “new” African diasporas (Cohen, 2008, p. 3)

Mazrui's categorization brings a new view by stating that historically there are two different African diasporas: The first one was created by the slave trade. They are the African ancestry that was sold as slaves both along the Atlantic Ocean and the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea. The second one was similarly created by colonialism, yet through economic or political migration (Mazrui, 2010, p. 33).

1.5.3. African Migration to Turkey

Even though during the Ottoman Empire period there was a strong relationship with Africa, during the time of the Republic of Turkey, the relations with Africa had almost disappeared (Suter, 2013). A new movement in Turkish foreign policy about Africa, made the country's foreign policy widen to new countries for partnerships in the continent. While in the Ottoman times the relation was more with the South African countries, the new Turkish foreign policy turned to West African countries. Turkey's "Opening up to Africa Policy" emerged in 1998, and included opening new embassies in the continent, and increasing operating flights of airlines to different destinations in the continent. Improvements in relations brought short-term visas for most sub-Saharan nationals although the migrants usually overstayed their visas. Flying with a tourist visa to Turkey and looking for an opportunity to pass Europe has become quite characteristic for African economic migrants. The relations between Sub-Saharan African countries and the Republic of Turkey have increased both in variety and volume over time. After the Africa Action Plan in 1998, the declaration of the Year of Africa for 2005 brought new embassies. Three years later, Turkey hosted the first Turkey-Africa Cooperation Summit called "Solidarity and Partnership for a Common Future" (Suter, 2012) and these steps can be considered milestones in developing relations with the continent. One Nigerian newspaper wrote that since 2006, Turkish Airlines opened more than two dozen regular routes to different sub-Saharan African cities, including travel and cargo flights, and is now one of the major connectors to African countries with Turkey.

While the development of relations between Turkey and the African continent is deemed as a consequence of the EU's refusal to member in the 1997 Summit (Suter, 2013), Turkey's EU harmonization process pushed the country to consider new approaches to its asylum and migration policies (Özdil, 2012). A growing number of migrations also led the country to make more regulations.

According to unofficial estimates, almost 6.000 undocumented sub-Saharan migrants live in İstanbul (Brewer & Yüksek, 2013). The African population becomes more intensive in big cities, for instance, İstanbul, Ankara, İzmir, and so on. Suter stated that since the 21st century, traders from various sub-Saharan countries have increased significantly (Suter, 2012). However, a large number of African consist of undocumented immigrants or those who have expired their tourist visas. For these migrants, Turkey is a transit point for their way to European Countries. Some part of African immigrants enters Turkey illegally ways too (İçduygu, 2005). These are the main obstacles to determining the exact number of African populations in Turkey. The International Organization of Migration (IOM) published a study, named “Irregular Migration in Turkey”, which gives detailed information about undocumented African migrants in Turkey. The study gives approximate numbers in a certain period. According to the IOM report, in 2003, there are 3,000 to 5,000 undocumented African migrants in Turkey. When we come 2006, the population of undocumented African migrants in Istanbul is 6.000. The study states the type of economic activities of African migrants as well, there are mostly low-salary, heavy, not skill-required jobs for them.

There is relatively little research concerning African migrants in Turkey, but case studies emerge examining the experiences of migration trajectories of African nationals in recent years (Clerck, 2013). Additionally, there are descriptive and journalistic publications that account for the experiences of African migrants in Turkey. Suter points out the static perception of African migrants or perceptions as transit migrants who would pass to Europe and the lack of empirical research. Migration patterns may be altered over time. While Sub-Saharan African migrants in Turkey are considered that they mainly consisted transit migrants, over the years, the trend may be changed, for instance, migrants would come to Turkey to pass Western Europe, but due to failed attempts, they stay and work for a long period in Turkey. They might also return to their homeland and not find opportunities in Turkey. Because of the lack of sufficient empirical work, Sub-Saharan African migrants are considered homogenous, and most studies categorize them as irregular or asylum seekers (Clerck, 2013). Özdil also points out that the regional division of African migrants between the West and East

of Africa, and their social and cultural backgrounds are mostly blurred in Turkey (Özdil, 2008).

The Sub-Saharan African migrants in Turkey consisted of various groups given their migration history, motivation, and country or region of origin. Most of cases, their migration projection does not go as planned, and their duration in Turkey may be longer due to either the failed attempt to pass Europe, they prefer to stay in Turkey longer (Clerck, 2013). There is a growing number of Sub-Saharan African informal traders in Turkey who do trade between Sub-Saharan African countries and Turkey (Suter, 2016). Brigitte Suter points out that the presence of these transnational traders from African countries creates opportunity structures for the settlements of African migrants in Turkey (Suter, 2013). African traders with their transnational linkages seek newcomers. This mobilization can be observed in the textile sector which constitutes a significant part of African economic activities in Turkey.

There are also African migrants coming to Turkey to have a position in prestigious sports clubs, especially football, basketball, athletics, and so on. Many of them wish to play in pioneer Turkish sports clubs which help move the social ladder quickly. However, because of the legal restrictions on working permits, newcomers cannot play in major clubs. For this reason, they generally organize informal tournaments among each other with low payments. Additionally, lower-segment clubs cannot provide immigrants with residence or work permits (Özdil, 2008).

Small shops are run by African migrants in Turkey, specifically in Istanbul. Africans also own formal businesses. One of the ways to have a formal business for a migrant is to marry a Turkish citizen since the migrant can get residence and work permission in this way, however, being a Turkish citizen requires another three years of residency. Another way to get a residence permit is to graduate from a Turkish University and be hired by a company. Since working permits are not granted easily and finding formal occupations willing to employ African graduates is a difficulty, most African migrants work informally (Brewer & Yüksek, 2006). According to Içduygu, migrant women are commonly working in the informal labor market, for instance, in domestic work, textile, restaurants, food industry, entertainment, and the sex industry in Turkey (Içduygu, 2006).

1.5.4. African Diaspora Identities in Turkey

Sub-Saharan Africa covers various countries, and within each country, there are various subcultures and ethnic groups that make it difficult to talk about a “Sub-Saharan African culture”. Despite the differences, migrants share lots of commonalities such as the feeling of belonging to the continent (Bouda, 2015). Race is another common identity among African diaspora members. A black person considers another black person as someone who can help potential and look for them when they come to Turkey. Research shows that ethnic, racial, national, and continental ties constitute the social capital that helps find accommodation, food, and getting information relating to money-generating activities (Suter, 2016). Suter also pointed out that there are differences in religion, social-economic background, and language (Anglophone and Francophone distinction and indigenous languages), which are crucial components in the constitution of power among migrants (Suter, 2012). However, this does not prevent a strong network of Black and African immigrants in Turkey. The networks of Africans are stronger than other immigrants because the irregular African migrants are at risk of deportation because of their visible phenotypes and have to support each other more (Suter, 2016). The ethnic, national, and African identities although not emanating from the previous close and face-to-face contact and based on imagined communities play a crucial role in economic mobilities since they determine migrants’ access to informal networks (Suter, 2016).

Significant linkages between Sub-Saharan African cities and Turkey develop with globalization in communication and transportation technology. Brewer and Yüксеker stated in their study that African migrants in Istanbul also have strong ties with their homelands, in this view, a high percentage of them send remittances to their host land, and many of them keep contact with their families through telephone and internet (Brewer & Yüксеker, 2012). Mazzucato, Wissink, and Düvell emphasize that the utilization of communication technology provides migrants with the ability to be mobile seeking to pass Western countries (Mazzucato, Wissink, and Düvell, 2017).

1.5.5. African Student Mobility towards Turkey

African students apply for globally ranged universities for higher education. Due to the high criteria for the acceptance of these universities and the economic requirement for the developed countries, candidates turn their interests and decide on

alternative universities. In China, Russia, India, and Turkey. These countries offer scholarship programs for students who can and have comparably lower costs of education.

With the inauguration of the new embassies, launching new lines for many directions to the continent, and fostering economic and political relations, Turkey became one of the countries preferred by African students for higher education. Especially in the last decade, universities in Turkey host tens of thousands of international students, and sub-Saharan African students currently constitute 8 percent. Their number is increasing every year (Higher Education Institution, YÖK, 2018). Despite the growing African student population, their adaptation is not much studied (Clerck, 2013). International education had historically three purposes: In the colonial period, it aimed to educate the necessary local personnel for the government of colonies. In the post-colonial period, it produces human resources for the home nations whilst increasing political, economic, and cultural dependence on provider countries. Presently, international education is a source of revenue in Western countries (Thi & Gomes, 2016). Turkey's education sector has not been commercialized yet, therefore Turkey can be said to follow the post-colonial model, regarding education as a soft power tool to increase its regional power in Central Asia, the Balkans, the Middle East, and currently in Africa.

African students' motivations for studying in Turkey are various. The first group does not come from a privileged background and lacks families' economic support and views studying abroad as an opportunity for their future. The second group wants to use the scholarship opportunity for individual career advancement. To illustrate, after graduation, they can get positions in Turkish companies in their homeland, and foreign affairs positions in the government since foreign students are considered an agent for cross-border relations. The scholarship covers basic student needs, for instance, flight tickets, school registration fees, health insurance, dormitory payment, and monthly payment. The third group comes from the middle class in their homeland but still is inferior to the middle class in homeland and therefore they seek economic opportunities. The last group of African student migrants is the minority of the African student population, and they are the elite or higher middle class in the homeland, to illustrate, having a parent who is a bureaucrat or politician. (Mulvey, 2020) In sum, the

African students abroad are largely due to scholarship programs offered by various countries. The large majority of the students plan to return homeland and continue their professional life in the homeland.

Since the declaration of the “Year of Africa” in 2005, the number of Sub-Saharan African students increasing by 2.5 times, reaching 11378 students in the following 5 years, and has drawn an increasing trend. For instance, Karabük and Kastamonu Universities have signed special protocols with Chad to increase the coming foreign student population. Together with hosting over 2300 Sudanese students, Turkey aims to boost the number of foreign students up to 350 000 and become the first 5 countries in the number of foreign students in the world. In the international platform, the most preferred countries for higher education are the United States of America, the United Kingdom, Australia, Germany, and France. President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan stated this plan in the 11. International Student Meeting Final Program. (Baydemir, 2020, p. 59) In 2018 the number of foreign students in Turkey is 125.000 and 11.378 of them are Sub-Saharan African students. (Federation of International Students' Associations, 2017) In the last decades, the foreign student population in higher education programs has reached 148 000 and become one of the most preferable countries on the international platform.

In the last decades, a 75 percent increase is reported in foreign students in Turkish universities and according to the current data, 148.000 foreign students are present in the country and 25.000 of them came with a full scholarship. (YTB, 2022)

Some of the motivations of foreign students for selecting Turkey as their higher education country can be counted down in this way; having the same religion is the main reason for their families. On the other hand, graduation from Turkish universities brings them higher positions in their countries, especially in Turkish-founded companies. Especially some of the Turkish public institutions; TİKA, Kızılay, and various charities affect their decision-making process for education country selection.

Studying abroad can be considered a challenge that foreign students face with language difficulties, new culture, customs, and values. (Maundeni, 2014) African students in Turkey have to adjust themselves to a new cultural environment in addition to the usual stresses of school. For most of them, leaving their families and breaking from familiar socio-cultural, economic, and other support systems result in an identity

gap. From this point, African students keep their relationships with back home and other Africans, both similar and different African nations. (Maundeni, 2014) Their connections are characterized by various activities, sharing cultural values, and intensifying the feeling of national and cultural identity.

Foreign students have various challenges in addition to their educational stress in Turkey. They face different socio-cultural norms, intercultural interactions, different educational systems, food, climate, stereotyping, and discrimination. Although having similar religion accelerate the adaptation process, problems in educational and social area they face constitute a risk of negative marks in their Turkey experiments. (Baydemir, p. 66, 2020)

Turkish republic had received foreign students with scholarship programs and had offered higher education since its inception. Especially after the 1960s, with the reciprocal agreements, Turkey started to offer scholarships for higher education in Turkey. During the Turgut Özal period, national policy on foreign students had been systematized, and the “Great Student Project” (“Büyük Öğrenci Projesi”) was launched. When we come to the 2000s, along with Turkey’s proactive foreign policy initiatives and establishment of relations with non-Western countries, the foreign student population started to grow. Presidency For Turks Abroad and Related Communities, (YTB), founded in 2010, launched Turkey Scholarships Program in 2012 with the collaboration of different institutions. The project was conducted in the same year with 10 000 applications for scholarships from different countries. In 2017, with 165.511 applications, Turkey Scholarships reached its top point. The program does not only offer tuition waivers and monthly payments, but also accommodation, health insurance, and flying ticket. (YTB, 2022)

Providing scholarships for African students is expected to have a multiplier effect on the success of African policies in the international platform. With this motivation, public universities sign bilateral agreements with the African governments for students’ mobility programs (Baydemir, 2020). Since place in the global ranking determines the decision of international students’ university preference, Higher Education Institution promotes specific universities. In addition to YÖK promotions, some universities issue internationalization procedures for their strategies, for instance,

Aksaray University in 2017, Çukurova University in 2018, and Niğde Ömer Halis Demir University in 2020. (Güçlü & Yılmaz, 2021)

In the written documents on foreign students research, many institutions use the term “guest students” (*Misafir öğrenciler*), and using this term clearly shows that foreign students are expected to complete their education and return to their homelands instead of having professional positions in host land. Having the first year in a Turkish dormitory with Turkish students is obligatory. This obligation results in a culture shock and many challenges.

Almost all African students are having Turkish language courses (TÖMER) in the first year, and have their university education after they pass Turkish preparation class exams. This method was started to apply after the first experiences. The first waves of African students had completed their education without having the Turkish language, they had graduated from English programs. In the last decades, most of the higher education programs are in Turkish. These amendments show that the country gives importance to the integration of foreign students, however, it does not mean that the aim is to settle them in the host country.

There are various programs for helping African students' adaptation that is conducted by Higher Education Institution (YÖK), Presidency for Turks Abroad, and Related Communities (*Yurtdışı Türkler ve Akraba Topluluklar Başkanlığı*) and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. However, all these programs are far from being interactive, and cannot go beyond being one-sided. They are all for introducing Turkish culture, history, and practices to foreign students. For this reason, their entity and attendance cannot be durable.

Table 1.1. International Student Population in Turkey per years (between 2013-2018)

International Student Population in Turkey	Gender	2013/2014	2014/2015	2015/2016	2016/2017	2017/2018
All international students population	Men	33.420	49.533	60.037	71.775	81.706
	Women	14.749	22.487	27.680	36.172	43.324
	Total	48.169	72.020	87.717	107.947	125.030
African student population	Men	3.518	5.322	6.749	6.749	8.788
	Women	1.014	1.636	2.089	2.089	2.590
	Total	4.532	6.958	8.738	9.882	11.378

Source: YÖK, 2022

CHAPTER 2 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

In this chapter, the literature on the African diaspora, African students in the world, and literature on international students in Turkey are reviewed. Next, we form a conceptual framework by using concepts from migration, diaspora, and transnationalism literature.

2.1. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1.1. Empirical Literature on African Students

The literature on African students who study in Western countries is mostly empirical and focuses on problems of adaptation, and cultural identities. The literature shows that the meaning of going abroad is equal to leaving family and losing a social and cultural environment which can result in psychological and personal challenges. A case study in Britain shows that African students **have close relations with other Africans**, preferably from the same nations. Establishing a relationship with having the same background or nationality is considered an important strategy for African students in the adjustment process. (Maundeni, 2010, p. 10) African students' networks are composed of other African students. For friendship or close relations, students chose people from the same nation first, the other African nation second, and the people from the host society in the last point. Furthermore, they prefer nearby locations to each other or rent a flat together. Maundeni discussed in the research that people from the same region is important emotional support since they are good facilitator for adjustment to the new environment and he added that when health problems occur, the African network is the first contact for most of them (Maundeni, 2010, p. 11). Relations are bilateral in that they both receive and give support to each other for instance, experienced students give support to newcomers to find cheap food, good places to go, address to solve document issues, and so on.

Studies also address that in addition to the African network, strong relations with family members back home are common findings. Students maintain the linkage with their families, receiving and sending economical and psychological support as well. In most cases, they send, however, few students receive economical support from back home. On the other hand, having close relations with the same background people prevent integration into the host society, for instance, speaking the native language

between them instead of the host nation's language, and always having time with the same nationals complicates adjusting new environment. One of the host country-based difficulties for adaptation can be considered a one-sided curriculum since they generally host country-centered topics. Foreign students are expected to get what is given; however, they may be opposite to students' political, social, and cultural backgrounds. (Maundeni, 2020, p. 20)

Studies also point out the motivation of the students for choosing the country. Benjamin Mulvey discusses the linkage between foreign students and soft power in the case study on African migrants in China. He briefly explains the scholarship process the country conduct and how it affects students' decision-making process. (Mulvey, 2020, p. 9) Before the migration, students have access to Chinese language courses for free in their home country. The next step for the students is to win a scholarship for higher education abroad. At the end of the scholarship, each student will be an agent of Chinese culture, politics, language, and so on. The education system can be considered a return on investments. (Mulvey, 2020, p. 8)

In the literature, there is a consensus on the countries' foreign student perception as a tool of the soft power of sending countries. Migrant-receiving countries aim to intensify their economic activities since the foreign students are considered an agent for future economic, and political projects. From this point of view, scholarship projects can be explained as a return on investment, capitalizing on the sender country. In the same way, sending a country's motivation is having an economic partner in the international platform.

There are several studies on how African migrants reproduce the idea of home and homeland through diasporic culture such as food, music, language, clothes, the celebration of special days, daily practices, and so on. Elaine Lynn-Ee Ho took as an example the popular cities for African students since they have international ranked universities and contain a higher African student population to explain how African student migrants' practices and food consumption extents the collective maps through nations, furthermore, affect the habits of host land society in China. Opening local food restaurants consolidate the transnational identity as well as transforms the host societies' food habits. (Ho, 2018, p. 4) There is a consensus on local food restaurants' function in the reproduction of the diasporic community. To illustrate, it is a place to

practice your native language, get in contact with newcomers, and feel at home. According to Ho, food functions not only as an identity reproducer but also as a way to undertake challenges the students face in the host land. (Ho, 2018, p. 5)

The studies of African students in Turkey are few and are not based on extensive empirical research. They focus on their psychological well-being, educational success, learning the Turkish language process, so and so forth (Büyükgöze, 2016, Çetinsaya, 2014). There is a lack of study on African migrants' adaptation to Turkish society, which kind of challenges they face in social life, and what is the degree of their adaptation or identity development.

2.1.2. Migration Literature in Explaining Student Mobility

The pull and push concepts of the migration literature were used to explain student mobility. Pull factors are associated with the various educational, career, and life opportunities and students' desire to move up the social ladder and obtain foreign citizenship as well as various scholarships and educational programs offered by the host countries. Push factors are those that make them not to receive high education in their home countries, such as economic difficulties, conflict, and political reasons that affect other migrants. The reasons specific to students can be the high cost of education or living while studying and the poor quality of education. As for all migrants, push and pull factors analysis can be insufficient and might not be very useful and in want of attention to context. Li and Bray (2007) mention 'reverse push and pull factors. Home countries have many advantages such as linguistic and cultural security, social and family ties, and lower cost of living while host countries might not offer the same secure environment and comes with various risks and challenges. These blanket explanations do not provide sufficient space for individuality, agency, and context. Responses to push and pull factors are highly individualized and thus complex.

Migration Studies (King, 2002) also classifies students as 'short-term migrants' but some students might stay long-term or even become permanent migrants. Various trajectories are possible in which students may choose to work in the host country for some time and then return home, go to other countries, and then come back to the country of education. Permanent migrants go through different processes than short-term migrants. It is also undefined in the literature how long a graduate has to stay or work in the country of their education in order to qualify as a migrant. Therefore, it is

better to have an open-minded outlook when researching students and develop a dynamic and flexible framework.

Another relevant discussion in the migration literature is the phenomenon known as human capital flight or, colloquially, a brain drain? Arguably, a large number of students who study abroad cause countries to lose their collective human capital but there is no scientific evidence to support this view. Despite being a popular term, brain drain is an imprecise concept. How long should an individual work abroad before being considered as part of a brain drain? This view accepts students automatically as potential highly skilled permanent migrants, who tend to stay in their host countries, but a large majority of students return because of their visa limits, difficulties in finding a job, or motivation to return after studying. Students are observed to be motivated to develop their human capital in the host country during education and carry this capital home for individual advancement, and contribution to family and homeland development. Our purpose is to examine structures and circumstances that pave the way for student mobility and personal circumstances and individual perceptions that motivate mobility (Hadler 2006, 112).

2.1.3. Transnational Networks of Student Migrants

Current migration literature makes a sharp distinction between temporary and permanent migration and as we noted this is not viable in the case of students. Early sociology of migration has focused on how migrants adapt themselves to their place of immigration. This approach is not appropriate especially for student migrants as they actively maintain attachments to people, traditions, and causes outside the boundaries of their host state (see Glick Schiller et al. 1992, Smith and Guarnizo 1998, Vertovec and Cohen 1999, Portes et al. 1999a) Similarly the students' networks of former migrants and existing diasporas play a large role in both channeling student migration and facilitating settlement and adaptation of new migrants such as students. Therefore, we need to incorporate the anthropological studies of migrant networks and transnationalism. A social networks perspective for the study of international migration is now well-established (Kearney 1986, Grasmuck & Pessar 1991, Portes 1995, Massey et al. 1999, Vertovec & Cohen 1999, Brettell 2000). Gargano argues that “viewing the mobile students as members of their social networks allows positioning them not only in geographical and institutional localities but in the social structure as well as viewing

each individual as a member of their transnational community.” (Gargano, 2009) One way is to locate student mobility within the transnational social fields, situated between students’ home countries and countries of education. (Collins, 2008) A transnational social field is “an unbounded terrain of interlocking egocentric networks that extends across the borders of two or more nation-states and that incorporates its participants in the day-to-day activities of social reproduction in these various locations” (Fouron & Schiller, 2001, p. 544) Students are not passive actors, they negotiate links to the homeland, construct their gender, social class, race/ethnicity, and nationality identities, organize, exchange and transform ideas, practices, and social networks and gain personal cultural capital, economic advancement, and social recognition (Gargano, 2009, p. 332).

Because of transnational networks, migration flows often become self-sustaining. Through networks, students exchange information, send assistance, and fulfill obligations towards friends and relatives in the sending country. These networks ensure that movements are multi-directional, multi-dimensional, and continuous (Boyd, 1989, p. 641).

Pre-migration networks influence which people migrate, the means of migration, and the destination and post-migration networks are crucial for finding jobs and accommodation, circulating goods and services, as well as psychological support and continuous social and economic information (Portes and Bach). Portes and Bach (1995, p. 10) propose that “migration itself ‘can be conceptualized as a process of network building’”. Through these networks, an increasing number of people can live dual lives. Participants are often bilingual, move between different cultures, and have economic, political, and cultural interests in both places (Portes, 1997, p. 812). Networks influences economic exchange practices (remittances, etc), political mobilization, types of cultural reproduction (including religious practices, institutions like marriage, images, and symbols affecting group identity), information transfer, and professional association of students (Vertovec 2000), networks themselves are influenced by socio-cultural and historical conditions and power dynamics.

However, transnational migration literature neither recognizes nor incorporates university student networks and in this study, we want to apply the approach of the transnational networks to the case of African students in Turkey.

2.1.4. Diaspora Theory and Students

African students play a significant role in consolidating the African diasporic identity in Turkey. Although African students settled in Turkey for a short period shows they display diasporic community character and transnationalism in many aspects.

Migration studies did not pay sufficient attention to the migrants who had to leave their homeland involuntarily, and refugees and migrants with a traumatic history, therefore diaspora studies were born (Hall, 1994). While students are largely accepted to immigrate voluntarily unlike diasporas, the fact that economic hardships force students from the South to immigrate North means the mobility is not voluntary. We noted before the existence of students who come from lower classes in the home country and who wanted to utilize scholarship opportunities for economic advancement, send remittances to their families, and become undocumented migrant laborers in the country of education.

Migration literature is criticized for voluntary and involuntary distinction. For instance, migration because of overpopulation, landlessness, poverty, or coercive political regime can count as voluntary migration. Because those factors are not involved directly dragged, expelled, or coerced to leave by force or army, all are counted as indirect factors. For this reason, measuring the level of voluntariness is more complex than one thought. The actual level of voluntariness is less important than that is remembered as involuntary (Aydın, 2000, p. 16).

International students have more affinity for diaspora than migrants. Migrants are expected to integrate into the host society ultimately. The diaspora community is understood to sustain its identity within the host society and maintain transnational links (Cohen, 2008, p. 13).

Diaspora meant almost exclusively to the Jewish people for a long time. In the past two decades, established diasporas and their members have constituted growing numbers. Cohen determines the criteria for the migrant group to be diaspora, which has the following commonalities:

- Splitting to other countries from the homeland, mostly traumatically or for economic reasons.

- Having a collective memory and myth about the homeland, its location, history, and achievements, as well.
- Idealization of the homeland ancestors and a sharing commitment to its maintenance, restoration, safety, and prosperity, furthermore, as the creation and development of a return movement.
- Having a strong ethnic group consciousness sustained over a long time and based on a sense of distinctiveness
- Having a shared history and belief in a common fate.
- Having a problematic relationship with the host land communities and being reluctant to accept the host land community's practices.

Having a sense of empathy and solidarity with co-ethnic members in other host land countries (Cohen, 1997, p. 180). Recently, the definition of the diaspora had been extended among various examples, including scientists, intellectuals, engineers, football players, and professionals in specific areas, and diaspora became a metaphor for describing those groups of people. In this sense, African students demonstrate many diasporic features, such as dispersion, links to the homeland, transnational networks, and dual lives. Currently, the diaspora has gained a new feature of **self-reference and political identity**. Martin Sökefeld states that imagined transnational communities can be considered as a united segment of society that territorially separated locations. African diaspora constitutes an imagined transnational political community and demonstrated long-distance nationalism as exemplified in many cases such as the establishment of Liberia.

Cohen classifies diasporas as victim, imperial, labor, and cultural diasporas. **Victim Diasporas** The first category is the classical approach, which explains diaspora as a community that experiences a traumatic event in the homeland, named victim diaspora. African diaspora in this sense is the quintessential victim diaspora. To many, Africa stands for enslavement, poverty, denigration, exploitation, white superiority, loss of language, and loss of self-respect. Until the middle of the 1950s or 1960s, the expression of blackness was not common. As a reaction to the mentioned approaches, Ethiopianism was born in the diaspora community. Ethiopianism was the most significant expression of attachment to the African homeland. Ethiopia was considered the heartland of African civilization. In the 1930s, the pioneer of Rastafarianism in

Jamaica was Ethiopianism. Ras means prince and Tafari is a significant leader of Ethiopia in the 1930s. Rastafarianism is the spiritual and mystical form of Ethiopianism (Cohen, 2008).

The second category is **imperial diaspora**, raised from the ambition of colonialism or pursuit of economic activities rather than traumatic experiences in the homeland.

Labor diasporas Meaning of the labor diaspora for the current time are people who are outside of their country in search of work due to the lack of employment in their homeland. Sending remittance is a common feature for this diaspora group (Cohen, 2008, p. 61). A large part of the African diaspora is in this category today. According to Weiner's description, the labor diaspora mostly keeps their homeland citizenship, the aim is to accumulate capital in the host land. However, African migrants in Turkey constitute the minority in the view of having Turkish citizenship.

Cultural diasporas are associated with African and Caribbean diaspora in the view of landlessness but still having a homeland idea. There is a symbolic concern to keep linkages with their roots, at least. They have cultural artifacts, practices, and rituals showing commonality with the African or Caribbean in their host lands. The idea of being deterritorialized and behaving in this way consistently is also a sign of cultural diaspora.

African diaspora and students in Turkey fit the 'cultural diaspora'. Stuart Hall, from the post-colonial literature, argues that cultural identity is located at the center of the Pan-African political projects (Hall, 1994). Hall explains cultural identity in two alternative ways: with the sharing culture and type of "one true self" that is inside of us and "selves" for the common history and ancestry we hold. With this determination, cultural identity symbolizes common historical memory and a common cultural code that constitutes "one people" with a sustainable and permanent body of meanings. Cultural identity is about "becoming" beyond "being". This identity is not only about history but also the future. This explanation fits the constructivist approach in which identity is transforming incessantly. Hall stated in the same way that identity is the names we call to the different states we are in, and we are positioned by, and at the same time, it reflects our narrative of our history (Hall, 1994, p. 225). Diasporas. More

than territorialized nations have cross-border, dispersed, heterogeneous, hybrid, and transnational characteristic features (Sheffer, 2006).

Brubaker summarizes the constituencies of the diaspora with three core elements. **Dispersion in space, homeland orientation, and boundary maintenance** (Brubaker, 2005, p. 5). Academics mostly agreed on the first criterion, dispersion exclusively forced or traumatic dispersion is the key element for classical diaspora constituents.

Second, homeland orientation gives the diaspora community value, identity, and loyalty making this literature indispensable for my analysis of African migrants in Turkey. The meaning of home has become wider and has been considered as a place of origin or place of habitation, as local, national, and transnational places as well. Furthermore, that can mean, globalization in the meaning of internet usage, imagined virtual community, and close relations. To some scholars, the homeland is a starting point for a description of diaspora (Sökefeld, 2006). Additionally, Cohen discusses the necessity of feeling belonging to the homeland and sustaining the idea of the homeland (Cohen, 2012, p. 12).

The third component for Brubaker, boundary maintenance is keeping the own characteristics in the host country or countries (Brubaker, 2005). Diaspora in that sense is an ethnic phenomenon. While some view ethnicity as not a choice, it is pre-social and instinctual (Sheffer, 2006, p. 13), ‘cultural diasporas’ such as student diasporas can be best conceptualized as a sense of collective identity constructed by ideational and institutional frameworks. Sökefeld argues that ethnic identity is a consequence of accumulation progressively, according to this approach, identity is a production that is in progress and never gets its final form (Sökefeld, 2006). Accordingly, ethnic belonging does not have to be real, it can be imagined. Ethnical identification is individually and culturally perceived within the boundaries of different nationalities. Suter also added that belonging to ethnicity, race or national identification is not stable and varies according to the context. She uses the idiom: “Birds of a feather flock together” Black people perceive other black people as potential who can help. From this point, the social capital of black people can be reached via the symbolic capital of race (Suter, 2012, p. 204).

Diaspora organizations play a significant role in the construction of identity. Diaspora organization requires enough population to facilitate a significant mass in urban settings (Quayson & Daswani, 2013, p. 18). These organizations shape the perception of the migrants and the following generations of migrants about the origin and host state, produce the consolidated common future for the diaspora and mobilize the group accordingly. In this thesis, various kinds of African associations/organizations' effects on the diaspora's identity understanding and self-explanations will be examined to measure the level of internal solidarity, closeness in the diaspora community, and linkages to their homelands.

Cultural practices and institutions connect and mobilize various types of ethnic and diasporic populations in different societies and construct diasporic identities not only for cultural diasporas but for all (Cohen, 2008, p. 58). **Components of popular culture like religion, music, and the common history of genocide** are shared across the diaspora. Transnational forms of talk flow between elites and institutions greatly.

Diaspora relations with the host states and societies

Diaspora challenges the role of both home and host states (Schiller, 2005, p. 440). Ethnonational diasporas remain minorities in the host societies. This circumstance potentially brings the probability of exclusion, additionally, with social, political, and economic difficulty and refusals. However, the diaspora has a positive potential to contribute to the host societies (Cohen, 1997). Diasporas add to cultural and economic well-being significantly.

They are also like a bridge between segments of their host societies and their homeland. Exchanges between those societies can provide cultural, economic, scientific, and political benefits for everyone. There is always a dynamic between immigrants, home country politics, and politicians. Diaspora society does have not an integrated body. The origin countries or homelands mostly engage in gaining support from their diasporas. Political parties may have the ability to push emigrants to influence homeland politics, furthermore, build a lobby for the homeland societies' welfare. For instance, the origin country can have power in its diaspora society to promote its interests (Aydın, 2000, p. 19).

2.2. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

African student migrants in Turkey will be examined as a transnational community and part of the African diaspora. African students' identity has the following dimensions:

- Causes for migration: Variation in causes for migration on a spectrum from involuntary to voluntary will be examined.
- Relations to homeland: Transnational networks: Economic, political, and cultural links will be examined.
- Relations to host land: Adaptation strategies and responses to host state policies will be examined.
- Sense of community, solidarity networks, and diaspora organizations

African migrants and host state and society relations:

Analyzing the African migrant in Turkey, given criteria going to be the references to determine them as a diaspora. They clearly express the identical differences between Turkish society and African society in many ways. Suter determines this situation as **boundary-making**. We can come to this point from self-identification. They identify themselves so that they distinguished between two societies: host land and migrant society in various ways. The first and the most significant of them is black-white distinctness (Suter, 2012).

African Diaspora's Relations with the Host State and Society

Suter states that social networks function to sustain a common background, connection, and shared migration experience. However, these elements are not constructed through a social network system automatically, there should be such structural entities that have opportunities or risks in the country of residence as well (Suter, 2013). African migrants in Turkey, being a diaspora community, have not considered themselves as integrated with Turkish society. They have differed in this point of being the only migrant in Turkey since the migrant community means a candidate for integration into the host land society. Together with ethnic distinctiveness between host land and migrant communities, there are almost no integration practices in host land that catalyze the formation of the African diaspora. Being in an exclusive host land forms migrants as a diaspora in long term, as well.

Government role in student policies

Relations with the homeland and transnational identities

Working for the sake of homeland societies' well-being exists in the African migrant in Turkey, which is the prominent characteristic of diaspora society. Many **remittance** flow systems that are run by African migrants in Turkey seek the needs of their relatives. They keep their linkages with the homeland in many ways. To illustrate, they run their cinema organization that brings their films from their homeland. Magazines, music, and publications in their native language, and local products are available in Turkey.

Secondly, they have a strong attachment to their homeland, whether they define it as the whole of Africa, their home country, or their region. Thirdly, sustaining culture can be observed in the African diaspora.

Coherence of African community and Diaspora Self-Identification

Suter suggests that there is both an emic understanding of identity in which diaspora members self-identify as diaspora and an ethnic understanding of identity in which host land society describes migrants (Suter, 2013). From this point, we can say that the Africans in Turkey are considered diaspora from both emic and etic perspectives.

In diaspora studies, the social network has a key role in setting norms that are consciously acknowledged by the group. According to Brigitte Suter, there is solidarity and a strong network between Africans in Turkey. Newcomers always find another African to help them their first time. They teach newcomers where to stay, where to buy cheap food, and so on (Suter, 2012).

Turkey's metropole cities' socially and economically diversified characteristics give migrants the construction of social ties therefore, migrants are eligible to develop a social network. Having similar characteristics, for instance, near geographical background, ethnic affiliation, and dialect bring about investment and reward relationships. Organizations consolidate cultural aspects and internal cooperation, consolidating ethnic ties to which they belong.

Faist's explanation of symbolic ties, which can be religion, political ideologies, or racial features (Faist, 2000), is eligible to be applied to African migration in Turkey's case. Symbolic ties between Sub-Saharan African migrants can be addressed as a

network of blacks in the host land. The further side of religion, building social ties, is a significant element for considering African migrants in Turkey as a diaspora. Religion-based organizations, especially churches have a key role in diaspora society, support self-esteem, and widen their potential contacts.

The expression of blackness can be seen in many ways, this is one of the key elements of the diaspora, celebrating their holidays, using their local languages, and practicing their religion are some basic points. Furthermore, celebrations are organized by diaspora associations (Suter, 2013).

Perception of African migrants by Turkish society is mostly marked by their ethnicity, color, and religion. African diaspora displays and sustains their significant character in Turkey, their identity is vital, significant, and prevailing (Suter, 2012).

African Diaspora is originally categorized as victim diasporas. To many, Africa stands for enslavement, poverty, denigration, exploitation, white superiority, loss of language, and loss of self-respect. Until the middle of the 1950s or 1960s, the expression of blackness was not common. As a reaction to the mentioned approaches, Ethiopianism was born in the diaspora. Ethiopianism is the most significant notion of the African homeland. Ethiopia was considered the center of African civilization. In the 1930s, the pioneer of Rastafarianism in Jamaica was Ethiopianism. Ras means prince and Tafari is a significant leader of Ethiopia in the 1930s. A spiritual and mystical form of Ethiopianism; Rastafarianism, created a massive movement. The ideology of the movement is all descendants of Africans must support their relatives who have the same ancestors as them (Suter, 2008).

The second wave of examples of a sense of community in the African diaspora is a reaction to the stereotypes, Garveyism. In this study, African migrants' feeling of belonging to their homeland is distinctive evidence. There is a negative correlation between the degree of integration in the host land and the feeling of belonging to the homeland. It is the case for Africans in Turkey too since there is a high degree of consciousness about their feeling of belonging to their country together with the problematic relations with the host land society. In the interviews, various examples were collected on this matter. Additionally, there is various news about these problematic relations between African migrants and host land societies in the broadcast media and written media. Especially in public transportation, restaurant, shops, and

streets African migrants experience discrimination, racism, and even harassment in the same cases.

Having the common features with classical diaspora communities, sustaining group linkages for a long period by practicing religion, language, culture, marriage within the community, homeland-related myth, and last and most significant one, dispensation socially in the country of residence. Garveyism is considered a failed return movement generally. Jamaican-born Marcus Garvey is the founder of the movement, he is one of the earlier promoters of the black consciousness and the expression of self-esteem. He gathered the highest number of Africans in the 1920s in his organization (Suter, 2008).

When we come to the Pan-African movement which is the most common ideology currently, W. E. B. DuBois became a significant leader for the African diaspora. Furthermore, the movements gained international identification, covering all Africans. The leader stated that there are two deficiencies of the African diaspora: empathy and solidarity in their ethnic groups internationally. The movement stresses the common fate and motivation that centralized on the construction of a strong, united, and rich Africa (Suter, 2008).

Trade and business diasporas can be applied to a minority of African migrants in Turkey. Although this concept has a colonial background, the current generation is migrating voluntarily for business purposes. Particularly, cultural trade is a key element for the diasporic community in the view of remaining the original culture in the host land. Making trade by bringing homeland-produced textiles, food ingredients, items for daily life, so and so forth. The movement in the cultural trade has a key role in trade the diaspora in many ways, for instance, in magazines, and newspapers on the social or political life of the homeland. Trading linkages vitalize cultural nostalgia and prevent the loss of the identity of the diasporas.

Thus, the African migrants in Turkey are the diaspora group because they keep connections with their homeland significantly and group consciousness and solidarity are profound. Diaspora identity is constructed, rather than being a given. Moreover, it is not static, and its meaning is continuously updated in changing conditions.

There is no clear-cut to classify them as transit, return, or Turkey residential aiming. For most of them, the starting point is transit migration, however, they stay in

Turkey more than planned, adopting the working and living conditions in this period gradually. The rest of them are planning to return, after sufficient money accumulation. Considering Turkey as a destination is a minority group (Suter, 2012).

Firstly, they have a high level of social solidarity. The experienced students in higher classes support the newcomers in their adaptation process, help document issues with officials, and guide them in finding cheap and good products in the host country. Secondly, they have an association in their locations and have a connection with other cities' student associations. In this durable entity, they organize many events. Thirdly, they have nested networks that are mostly constituted by (i) the same nation students, (ii) other African students, (iii) other foreign students, and lastly by Turkish students. Their first contact is mostly the same nation-person.

CHAPTER 3 CASE STUDY: IDENTITIES OF AFRICAN STUDENTS IN TURKEY

In this chapter, I am going to explain the nature of African migrants in Turkey from various aspects. Their linkages with the homeland, host land, and other Africans in the host land are observed with the help of interviews, daily news, and various articles. According to my interviews, self-identification as an African and identifying themselves as an African diaspora in Turkey is common. Identification with nationality is another finding as well. There is a consciousness of being a member of the diaspora community and group solidarity in most cases.

The closeness to their homeland was measured with interview questions, additionally, seek for the answer to how is the host country's experiences and how are their relations with the host community, what are the challenges they faced in their Turkey times. Findings show that Africans in Turkey face discrimination, racism, and even harassment in some cases.

Details from the findings are offered in this chapter. African students constitute a significant part of the African diaspora community in Turkey due to their growing population in the last decades. Starting from this point, analyzing this group can give a clue for the information about the African diaspora community.

3.1. DIASPORA ORGANIZATION AND NETWORKS

The interpersonal networks assist in the movement and settlement of international students and former international students play in promoting overseas study play a role in influencing migration decisions. But student networks are sustained by students in the course of their education and afterward perpetuate the continuous flow of student migrants (Collins, 2008, p. 399).

Due to the various factors, Africans in Turkey were divided into many small groups, based on ethnicity, nationality, or language. Furthermore, there is also continuous circulation and mobility, therefore it is a dynamic community (Knight, 2011, p. 73). Although the profiles of African migrants from Eastern, Western, Southeastern, and Central Africa differ, African migrants can be characterized into two groups: West and East Africans. Despite the geographical differences, they mostly have commonalities in social and cultural backgrounds (Özdil, 2012). They can be

classified into two main groups: Anglophone and Francophone. Having English or French as an official language has a significant effect on the type of relations one develops in the host land.

The analyses of interviews show that African students in Turkey have strong diaspora networks and they have coherent diaspora community. Almost all participants emphasize the importance of having an African network that consists of both students group and other Africans in Turkey or different countries outside of their homeland. There are various types of diaspora groups: student organizations, city organizations, ethnic groups, the group for religious activities, so and so forth. One individual can be a member of multiple groups and attend their activities. One interviewee explained as such:

Mainly my connection is with other Cameroonians, people I meet in Turkey. It is not really blood-related, but I have very close friends in Turkey mainly because this is my group. I have a strong connection with other Africans because I also lived in South Africa for some time, so I have very good relations with South Africans. We are almost like a family. (Rosalinda, Cameroon)

One of the Cameroonian participants, who live in Ankara responded to the question about their network relations as such:

I am a member of the Cowry network. This is a platform is created in France for the African diaspora. I am a member of a Cameroonian platform. It is a local platform. I am a member of an African platform called AKID, *Africa Kalkınma İşbirliği*, and stuff. I am a member of a Cameroonian platform CamTurk. I have memberships in a group also in Ankara. I have a lot of memberships to keep alive a person. I am inside, in a target to help brothers and sisters who come to this country and need help. I am in this group just because I want to be with my brothers and sisters. I am in contact with Turkish friends. I have good relations here. But I have a lot of African platforms, where we get together and share the news. We support each other when there is a need. We have African platforms, we have Cameroonian platforms, and we also have a regional platform. In Cameroon, we have a region we came from. We

have a platform where we share news about the cities and places. So, we have multiple platforms. I cannot say all of them are my friends, but some are my first contacts. You know, when you are in a diaspora, you learn how to deal a people, with your brothers. Take them as a brother or sister and when they need you, you rush the support them. We have some celebrations like national days, and cultural days we get together. (Mohamad, Cameroon)

26 participants in 29 interviews feel like diaspora members and have membership in various groups. Half of them consider diaspora as unofficial, while for the others diaspora is considered to be an official status. Participants who think of diaspora as an unofficial status emphasize the emotional factors, group events, and national feelings for their homeland. On the other hand, those who consider diaspora as an official status have an ID card from their embassy, and some of them have positions in their associations and take the role in projects for their homeland reconstruction.

As in all migrant student communities, African students in their first year receive senior students' support for the adaptation process, including picking the newcomer from the airport, bringing them to their place of accommodation, helping them with the official paperwork, introducing them to the African network, so and so forth. They generally choose their home mate from other Africans. One of the informants in Denizli explains his network activities in the city:

I live with my housemate, he is also from Ghana, studying medicine. We have so many Africans at Pamukkale University. So, we have an association, we have the African students in Denizli. The association allow us to always get involved and engage with each other. There is an African Students Association. When there are new students at the university, we try to organize them. We have so many activities, we have like football competitions, picnics, Ted Talks, and so many things we do together as Africans. We are actively in contact. We have social media group and organize vacations, to go to Ankara and Antalya. It is a very nice association. Normally it depends on the year, in some years we are more than a hundred students, some years like last year we were

70 students. I think this year we have more African students I am thinking we are close to 120. (Lateef, Ghana)

Interview findings show that African students' social life mostly constitutes activities with other Africans in Turkey. This finding can be considered evidence of a lack of institutions of guidance in solving the problems in the host society which leads to leaning on diaspora networks to solve them. The following speech belongs to a participant from Ankara:

If I have a problem, I directly contact my group. We talk to each other if we can help. Weekly or once in two weeks we meet, and we talk about what to do and what is else. They are my first contact, yes. Yes, I have many Ethiopian friends abroad. Not like a friend in Turkey but still, we contact. They are students who got a scholarship from different countries we had high school together. (Minel, Ethiopia)

Especially, Somalian diaspora activities in Turkey are considered transnational and politized, and thereby conflict of ideas among diaspora organizations is also observed. Following their homeland's political social and economic agenda and taking a supportive or against the position in the host land is highly observed in the African students in Turkey. They take action and organize events for their countries' hot topics. They organize campaigns, get together, and advocate for political issues on the international platform (Aygül, 2020). Diaspora of mainly remittance-dependent countries has stronger diaspora communities mostly.

One of the participants in İzmir explains the importance of his social activities with African friends in the following speech:

I have friends in Denizli, Ankara, in Istanbul. Every month I go from İzmir to Denizli to visit my friends, one is Tanzanian and two are from Burundi. I have an African friend. I am living with an African home mate. We have close relations with African friends. (Barack, Tanzania)

The importance of social networks is facilitating the adjustment process for African students sometimes the social network of the African diaspora is the only social network Africans have in the host land. Although having an African network is generally considered supportive, in some cases it may be a reason for stress. The African networks are perceived to have their own culture, language, and practices

which differ from the host land society. When some member of the network interacts with the host land society, she feels under the pressure and is perceived as disloyal by the other members (Maundeni, 2010).

3.1.1. Cultural Activities

Caring for the maintenance of the original culture is one of the characteristics of diasporic communities. According to analyses of interviews, participants organize courses, programs, activities, so and so forth. Organizing travels around Turkey and opening conversation clubs for improving their foreign languages (French, Arabic, English, or Turkish). One of the participants in Ankara explains her point of view on the importance of maintaining original culture with the following speech:

[it is] very important to maintain original culture. Yes, it is easy because the students before me, helped us to understand the system. So, how to have our cultural day, how to celebrate the cultural event, how to get together for a special occasion, keeping in touch, music, our food, our clothing stuff. Because Cameroon is a mixed country, we have Christians and Muslims. So, eid for example they come together, they go to the mosque together, and they cook our traditional food. So, it is possible to practice in Turkey. (Rosalinda, Cameroon)

We Africans have a large network. I am almost friends with all Africans in Denizli I can say. Not everyone but I know almost everyone. I have friends in different cities also.

For example, on social media, there is a group of African students in Turkey. So, it is like everyone is there, and we get to know each other. There is a group in PAU, the African student association of Denizli. When I am free, I participate in their activities. In August, we went to Kocatepe, Afyon. (Blessings, Malawi)

I have a very strong relationship when it comes to the student association, the African student association in Denizli the same time I am the president of this association for two years. Before this, I was a very active member and I was selected to be president. Yes, I am the first contact when students have a problem. This is what we do. Of course, the name of the association is the African student association in

Denizli. Other foreign students can be a member. It was responded to by an African student. We are doing two things: We keep relations with African students and international students. To preserve the group culture because it is very necessary for people to know more things about Africa. We have a social media page you can check what we are doing and who we are (<https://www.instagram.com/sadafica>) (<https://www.facebook.com/pauasadafrika>). In Denizli, we organize some events for example for our Independence Day (Bailey, Nigeria).

The Africans in İstanbul organize a football tournament called All-Africa Cup, and each team consists of footballers of the same nationality. Although each team is based on the same national players, they may exchange players to ensure the numerical balance. The organization necessitates coordination and interaction with the whole African community. The All-Africa Cup organization can be considered as a potential for the emergence of Pan-African cooperation in Turkey (Knight, 2011, p. 166).

Which will support coordinated action against inequalities in social and economic difficulties. African embassies' representatives are in the All-Africa Cup organization as well. They attend the matches, make the opening speeches, and search for sponsors. In this way, African-founded organizations, in particular, All-Africa Cup symbolize Pan-African unity (Knight, 2011, p. 80).

One of the participants in Ankara explains how diaspora associations work and support each other. In this way, she expresses the Pan-African mentality of the associations.

I have a good relationship with them (other Africans in Turkey) Yes, they organize the event. Before the pandemic, there was an event. I attend the events, last time because they built a new embassy, a new one. Our president came last year. In my first year, I went to the Sudan embassy event. There are many African country associations we do some events with them. If they need help, we just help them out and sponsor the event. I have some links with other student associations of Africans. Not only Ethiopian associations but also different African associations I have relations. Yes, we have an Ethiopian association so,

whenever we go out, we do organizations like Ethiopian movies and following series. You can find them if you want these films. The association is general, for everyone. There are also student associations. I am a member of both. There is a newcomer we just go to the airport to get them and help them with a residence permit and so on. If there is any problem, we just contact them if they need something. We do an event to get together and to know each other. (Minel, Ethiopia)

Summarizing all the findings, we can state that African migrants in Turkey value maintaining the original culture in the host land, whether it is the country of their homeland or Africa in a general sense. African students are willing to attend all the activities organized for Africans in Turkey, without distinguishing the country name. They mostly do not consider the national differences in decision-making process for participation.

3.1.2. Religious Activities

Religion constitutes a significant place in most of the African migrants' life in Turkey. Africans in Turkey have basically two religions; Islam, and Christianity. Differences are the result of different national origins. For instance, Malawians are generally Christian, and Tanzania, Zanzibar, Sudan, and Ethiopia have Muslim populations (Knight, 2011, p. 211).

Population attends the church programs and the rest of them identify themselves as religious even if they don't attend the programs regularly. There are many churches organization for the Christian African communities in Istanbul. The churches can influence the identity of Africans and help them with the challenges they face in the host land (Knight, 2011, p. 190). Local and global networks of African churches in host land and homelands have a significant role in African migrants in continent or out of the continent. There are various types of churches, and they have a wide range of activities for their diasporas. To illustrate, special events, conferences, publications, social media management, religious leaders' visits to the diaspora, so and so forth. There is consistency and frequency in their activities. From this point, the religious transnationalization of African churches can be observed in the African diaspora (Adogame, 2007, p. 26).

The religious identities' role in the adaptation and integration into the host land is an important puzzle. Especially for Muslim women, the religious networks facilitate the adaptation to host land society (Aygül, 2020). Being in a society with the same religion is helpful for migrants' integration in the host land since they can partly understand each other's culture.

According to the analyses of interviews, the diasporic consciousness of Christian Africans is much higher than that of Muslims, which could be attributed to the religious difference between them and the majority of the host society. When it comes to Muslim communities, although practices and understanding of Islam are not parallel, still basic concepts are similar such as, the headscarf, Ramadan, halal food, mosque programs, and praying five times a day, one of the Muslim participants in Ankara expresses her observation of Christian Africans in Turkey with the following speech:

Africans in Turkey are diaspora. That's why Africans are so connected to each other. ...Especially, I noticed that non-Muslims are becoming more diasporic. They are getting closer to each other. They do not participate in international students' events [organized by universities or states]. They only come to African days." (Somalia, Mewahib)

For the African community, religious and spiritual well-being have a significant part in the view of feeling loyal and attached to their original cultures. From this point, religion offers hope for coping with the challenges in the host land society (Kamya, H. 1997) From the interview findings, religion differences have a key role in the identity development process. Having different religious practices, different special days and lifestyles from the host society can be considered a significant factor in the African student diasporization process.

3.1.3. Sence of Belonging

It is unusual to observe Africans and members of the host society together in the same location. Places belonging to Africans are mostly visited by their diaspora members. To illustrate, African restaurants, shops, hairdressers, boutiques, and nightclubs have their consumer profiles consisting of Africans (Winter, 2020). African communities create their own habitats in the host land society. One of the informants

in Ankara expresses the feeling of belonging when he sees other Africans in public places as such

When I came to Turkey in 2012, seeing an African in the metro was making me feel safe. Seeing someone look like you make you straight, warms my heart, and makes me feel safe. I feel that I am not alone. Being a member of a diaspora is important. It helps you know you have people that will help you and support you in hard times. I cannot say all of them are my friends, but some are my first contacts. You know, when you are in a diaspora, you learn how to deal with people, with your brother. Take them as a brother or sister and when they need you, you rush the support them. (Mohamad, Cameroon)

The following speech belonged to a participant from İzmir, and she explains the importance of having a group speaking her native language:

Yes, we have groups. I have friends who speak my native language, yes. There is a Senegalese group. We also have African groups. We help each other. We live like a family. We usually call each other first in our problems, that's how it is. For example, when I am sick, I call them first. When I go to the hospital, I call them if anything happens. (Farah, Senegal)

Another student migrant focuses on common activities such as eating and praying together, music, and clothing for creating the feeling of belonging:

For Cameroonians, we have a very strong relationship we have the association. Generally, for students who have a problem, we contact our association first. After that our association contract with the embassy and the government. Generally, we try to help each other first. If not, we call our embassy in Ankara. Yes, very important to maintain the original culture. Yes, it is easy because the students before me, helped us to understand the system. So, how to have our cultural day, how to celebrate the cultural event, how to get together for a special occasion, keeping in touch, music, our food, our clothing stuff. Because Cameroon is a mixed country, we have Christians and Muslims. So, eat for example they come together, they go to the mosque together, they

cook our traditional food. So, it is possible to practice in Turkey.
(Rosalinda, Cameroon)

Almost all Nigerians in Turkey engage in business, and they explain this situation as being similar to Jews. They have skills for trade and travel (Knight, 2011, p.181). From this point, the Africans' mentality in Turkey has similarities with Jewish communities.

Funerals have high importance for the African diaspora, as the value is being buried in the homeland, therefore, whenever someone dies, the African diaspora collects donations for shipping the body home, or buying a flight ticket for the family (Knight, 2011, p. 183).

3.1.4. Gender Identity

The percentage of gender in the African population varies according to the origin country they came from; however, the African migrants' population highly consists of males. There is a gender imbalance in the İstanbul community (Knight, 2011, p. 77). For this research too, finding female African participants was harder than finding males. According to my observations, gender imbalance was similar in İzmir, Ankara, and Denizli, and in none of these cities, female students were anywhere close to males. Moreover, the culture of female Africans in Turkey who belong to a group that is close to outside interaction made finding female participants difficult

Male and female Africans may have different kinds and levels of social, cultural, and economic capital in Turkey (Knight, 2011, p. 172). Experiences of African migrants vary according to their gender too. For instance, African female students have female groups where they can practice their religion together. Especially Muslim African female students have closed groups and they do not have much interaction with the members of the host society. However, African male students are more likely to have Turkish friends.

African females regularly face sexual harassment from both African and Turkish males. Turkish men offer and insist on paying for prostitution when they see them in public places. African men's way of harassment is different, they generally ask for and insist on a romantic relationship with African women (Knight, 2011, p. 173).

According to my interviews, most African female students experienced sexual discrimination and harassment at different levels. As a result of their negative experiences, African females generally limit their social activities and try not to go outside much. They don't leave their comfort zone and don't have relations outside of their African group. The reason can be their legal status and social position. In detail, African student migrant comes alone, without family. They challenge all the problems alone, there is no voice behind them generally. Especially for women, this condition makes them vulnerable to the outside.

Highly educated African females in the job market complain about discrimination, especially in the engineering or construction sectors. Sexual harassment by males in higher positions is another significant complaint (Knight, 2011, p. 175)

European female migrants also face sexual harassment in Turkey, but the frequency is lower compared to African female migrants. Learning the Turkish language and social norms reduces harassment for most migrants however, for African migrants it does not help much (Knight, 2011, 243). One of the female students from Malawi residing in İzmir expressed her tragic experiences and disempowerment as follows

I face a lot of challenges in daily life, it happens frequently, like every week. I just say it is ok, never mind. So it is that bad. I don't cry about that anymore. So, the reason may be first we are women, and we are African, we have no voice here. There is no voice behind us says, don't do this to an African woman. (Wema, Malawi)

Discrimination in social life is a common complaint for the big city participants, especially for the women participants. Although there is almost no complaint about their professional life and campus experiences, discriminative behaviors are highly found in daily life, for instance, in public transportation, shops, restaurants, in street, so and so forth. In small cities, society is considerably more welcoming to African students. The reason can be, in small cities, there is only student migrant, therefore host society does not have negative experiences with them.

3.2. RELATION TO THEIR HOSTLAND

A significant finding in my interviews is that Turkey was not the first choice for higher education for most African students. Globally ranked universities in developed countries came first in their preferences. Some of the informants received admission from different countries before Turkey but because of various family, economic, and visa reasons, they could not go to the university of their first choice. Here are the words of an interviewer located in Ankara:

I came from Sudan to Turkey for education. Actually, I decided to come to Turkey after a while. I looked for a scholarship. I was accepted from London last year. Something happened in my family, and I just lost contact with the university. I have lost my chance to go to London to do my Ph.D. After that I had plans for a scholarship, I was looking for. But for this time in Turkey. And I got the acceptance. (Inaya, Somalia)

Moreover, African students do not generally consider staying in Turkey or working in a Turkish university as an option. They think that they don't have equal opportunities with Turkish candidates for the same academic position. Additionally, requirements for the applications contain certain grades for exams in the Turkish language which reduces the success of African students. Most African students' duration of stay is limited by the period of their high education program. Their plan is either to continue their postgraduate education in a European, or American university or to return homeland for their professional life. The greatest majority of African students plan to return to their homeland either after the completion of education or gaining some professional experience and making some economic accumulation. The reason for that can largely be a host land experience. Getting academic positions in universities has many requirements which African students cannot meet and there is high competition for academic positions among natives as well.

Although it is not their first choice, Turkey still has attractiveness as an education country to some extent. Many African students select Turkish universities for their higher education for various reasons. To illustrate, recommendations of earlier students and academic advisors at home, lower cost of education and living compared to globally ranked universities, and full scholarships provided by the Turkish government.

Religion plays an important role in choosing Turkey Having a Muslim culture and community is a reason for selecting Turkish universities for Muslim students.

Here is the expression from an African participant studying in Denizli:

I was a student back in my country. I finished high school in Chad. I had exams for university after that successfully I got acceptance into Turkey. I have a scholarship. There are many reasons I chose Turkey. I have friends living in Turkey. They told me about Turkey. Turkey has some good universities in the global ranking. I am safe here and I have economic means. (Saleh, Chad)

Another point of view from an African student in Ankara:

Me, I had to do my Ph.D. outside of Sudan. I had a master's and bachelors in Sudan. For finding academic jobs, I have to do some of my academic careers outside of Sudan. For, I needed new academic experiences, with different instructors. After that, I got a scholarship in Turkey. It was a chance for me to go out of my country. My supervisor told me that Turkey is good for an academic career, just go. So, I came in 2019. (Inaya, Somalia)

There is evidence in the interview of partial inclusion and adaptation in the host society. Half of the participants don't follow the Turkish political agenda except for daily news Africans in Turkey don't find themselves having a voice at any level in the policy-making processes of the host state regarding migrant issues. There is no adaptation or integration policy regarding Africans in Turkey. The African students do not think Turkey has an inclusive political culture.

80 percent of participants in the interviews find Turkish society nationalist. When I asked whether their national feeling toward their country has changed given their experiences in Turkey the answer was. Participants explain it with their observation of Turkish society. The following speech belongs to an African student from İzmir:

Yes, I am a nationalist. The feeling of belonging to my country, after I came to Turkey, has not completely changed but evolved, yes. The feeling of belonging to my country got higher not only because I was missing my country but also because Turkey was a mirror for most of us

or for me. By seeing how Turkish people are proud of their countries, and how they behave. Willingly or not willingly, you are asking yourself where did I come from? And question if I have a similar sense of belonging as Turkish people. This is how Turkey contributes to this feeling of belonging and the construction of my identity.” (Solomon, Cameroon)

We can also interpret that lack of integration in Turkish society strengthens Africans’ national identity. The next section will discuss this issue.

3.2.1. Integration Problems of Migrants in Turkey

The African students in general feel physically quite safe in Turkey and in this way, they feel partially included.

The interviews include evidence of the feeling of partial inclusion on university campuses. From the African students’ point of view, Turkish universities offer an equal and fair atmosphere for foreign students. Harassment, racism, or discrimination toward African students are rare among students and lecturers on the campus.

A participant from İzmir stated:

At school or working place, I did not experience discrimination and have always been in an equal situation as all other students. Sometimes even lecturers favored us because we are foreigners so I cannot complain about that. (Elza, Gine Bissau)

However, mixed dormitories with foreign and Turkish students are the places the African students have negative experiences most of the time. The majority of the challenges can be counted in this way; no ability to cook or find the homeland foods and products, strict dormitory rules, language barrier, and culture shock especially in their first year, they face these challenges. Furthermore, conflicts with Turkish students in dormitories often take place. Turkish students’ reaction to the fact that African students have full scholarships and receive monthly payments from the government while some Turkish students cannot be the main source of these tensions. Moreover, African students are stereotyped as poor, lacking basic hygiene, underdeveloped, and so on.

The following words belong to one of the participants from Ankara. He expresses his reaction to the stereotypes he faced at the university.

There are some people who ask stupid questions just because they don't know much about Africans, or sometimes with bad intentions. Sometimes we understand this. Turkish people usually ask too many questions. There are some questions that are not kind to ask in my country. The Turkish people are very curious but sometimes there are some people that ask questions because they are just stupid. There are some people that keep asking me, "Turkiye cennet mi?" [Is Turkey a paradise for you?] I know that they try to insult me. Because they think that I am from Africa, what they know about Africa is what they see in the movies. It is just like me going to Ulus, inside Ulus, Ankara Kale, all those old buildings, taking pictures and videos and sending them to my country. And saying this is Turkiye. If I do that everyone, everyone will say that is Turkey like a village or something like that. There is this kind of image of Africa in the minds of people. It may be global racism about Africa, there is already a built image of Africa in the minds of people so when you say you are from Africa. I met somebody that asked me if we have chicken in Africa. (Abdallah, Nigeria)

The interviews that are conducted in Denizli show that discrimination cases are rare compared to Ankara and İzmir. Only one of the participants in eight interviews confirmed facing discrimination. Apart from this one case, a small amount of racism, discrimination, or harassment cases were identified for Denizli. The reason for the difference can be that because Denizli is a smaller city and foreigners mostly consist of foreign students rather than refugees or asylum seekers unlike in Ankara and İzmir cases, racism is rare in general in city life. In the interviews, problematic relations with officials, police officers, or members host society were not expressed. Another reason can be that informants hesitate to tell all the negative experiences

The following speech belongs to a participant living in Denizli:

Denizli is a kind of small city. People are not like İstanbul or Ankara. Me, I am the kind of person who understands that Turkish people are not used to seeing African people. Maybe now they are getting used to it because a lot of Africans are coming. But before we were new to them. One of the first Africans to be in Denizli. It was even hard for me to get

to the bus, to go to school because like, all the people were looking at me. But then I got used to it, now I don't mind. I know how the Turkish people think, I know they are good people, they are hospitable people, and they love foreign people. They don't have bad intentions so, I don't mind, I am used to them. I mind my own business and keep what I am doing, and what I have to do. But maybe the case is different in the big cities. In Denizli, I haven't really experienced such kind of behavior as someone being unpolite to me. (Benjamin, Malawi)

On the other hand, being a student in a small city have its disadvantages. The people are not used to living with Africans, few people speak English or French, and there is no African restaurant or store available. The students state that their first years are the most challenging period since they didn't have the Turkish language yet. Additionally, they don't feel comfortable showing the symbols of their identity in public such as speaking in the native language with other Africans and wearing homeland clothes, or homeland accessories.

The situation in Ankara and İzmir is different in the view of xenophobia. Participants stated that they face racism and xenophobia in their daily life, especially outside the campus. Evidently, together with the growing number of migrations from Syria, Afghanistan, and neighboring countries to Turkey, the receiving society's level of tolerance towards migrants decreased. In the last decade, with the growing volume of bilateral political and economic relations between Turkey and Somalia, migration flow to Turkey proliferated and this made Africans more visible in Turkey. Moreover, Turkey changed from a transit migration country into a migrant-receiving country in a decade, and the receiving society could not adapt to this new reality (Obsiye, 2019). From this point, one of the participants explained his experiences in Ankara in the following manner:

I don't have negative experiences with officials, they always help me. When I go to Kızılay before the Somalians started to come to Turkey in big numbers, before that time, you could live without a paper for three or four years, and nobody would stop you and ask you about your ikamet [residence permit]. Nobody, the police didn't ask you anything. But when the Somalians started to come to Ankara, they are too much now.

Some people are illegal maybe I don't know. Now the police always stop you and check your ikamet. They look at your kimlik [identity card] and make sure if you say you are a student, they make sure that you are a student. And they look ikamet [identity card] to see if it expired or not. But before like 3-4 years ago they didn't do that. I did my master's here. I came for my master's in 2012 and I finished 2014. I went back to Nigeria and started working. Then I get a scholarship, I came for the Ph.D. When I was doing my master's, no one asks my ikamet [residence permit].
(Abdallah, Nigeria)

Participants who had more than one higher education program, for instance, continuing a master's degree in Turkey express their observations on the transformation of society's attitudes toward migrants. Due to the growing number of migrants from different countries because of conflict, political fluctuation, economic crisis, civil war, and so on, there is a high level of reaction in the host society. Therefore, problematic relations arise from this point. African student migrants' reluctance to have close relations with host communities and African identity development can be explained by this factor. Lack of integration in Turkish society strengthens national identity.

3.2.2. Legal Problems

There is a consensus in the interviews about the nature of problems they face in Turkish professional life. Africans have advantages in employment in foreign language-required positions in the private sector. They work in trade companies, doing import or export, international organizations, and offer language lessons. However, they come across various legal problems, in obtaining work insurance, work permits, and residence permits. Due to the stated obstacles, they cannot easily get admission equal payment or personnel rights.

The following words belong to a participant residing in Ankara:

Some Turks have the wrong attitude towards us. Foreigners can take over more work with less salaries than Turks. We claim our rights, but those who do not know their rights, go along with them. For example, you look for jobs but cannot find them. Truly speaking, Turkey is for

Turks, not foreigners. There is no fine job on equal terms. (Gazali, Nijer)

There is a general displacement with African stereotypes of Turkish society. Without giving the name of the foundation, they criticized their concept and their way of publicizing the Africa profile. Participants express their reaction to the image they create and show, and find their way of conducting the donation campaigns pejorative. One of the participants in Ankara expresses his reaction to this topic with the following sentences:

You cannot judge a country from surface images. For example, Turkey, Ulus. If you show scenes of Ulus, in which beggars are everywhere, and say this is Turkey, and if people believe that, this is dangerous. There is a program, Mirror. He goes to the country and photographs places. He comes and publishes it here, saying that people are alive. Every country has rich and poor. If you only show one side, you're not being fair. They are shrinking countries. Not good environments. Here, the use of some places, they say if they are in Niger, they say they are in Turkey. Something like this will go to my country. (Gazali, Nijer)

Lack of integration can be considered the main factor for the diasporization of African migrants in Turkey. Once the students come, they face many challenges being African. Various programs are implemented to facilitate foreign migrants' adaptation process however some programs have several failures or are ill-designed. For instance, higher education programs offer accommodation for most of the students in their first year, and it is obligatory to stay in these Turkish dormitories with Turkish students. Together with the language barrier, no ability to access homeland food, products, and cultural differences with roommates prevents or impedes integration rather than facilitating it.

3.2.3. Socio-Economic Problems

The types of jobs African migrants can find can be categorized into two types basically: informal sector and self-employment. The first type of job refers to unofficial employment, and they get paid in cash. Most of cases they do not have insurance and work without an official agreement with the employer. The second type includes selling goods and providing services (Knight, 2011). To illustrate, bringing

goods from the homeland to sell in the host land or in the opposite way, selling host land products to the homeland. African student migrants do these types of economic activities together with their higher education programs in Turkey time.

Although Africans take various types of work in Turkey, due to the high unemployment rate of the country, most of them are unemployed (Knight, 2011, p. 145). Without exception, informants think that they don't have an equal opportunity with the citizens for professional and academic positions in Turkish institutions and the marketplace. Most of them find it natural, it would be the same in their homeland too. Preferring same-nation candidates for professional positions is something that they understand. However, they express their reaction to inequality in payments for the same positions. Here is the point of view of a participant in İzmir:

If I have been in my country, I would have liked them to choose me rather than a foreigner. I understand Turkish to choose natives over foreigners because first of all, we are not equal so you cannot take foreigners and reject citizens. I love Turkey, I feel like it is my second home in the whole world, but Turkey still has a problem with making more profit. If I would have more profit from Turkish citizens working for me, then I would do this. But if my profit would require taking a foreigner to work for me, then I would go with a foreigner. This does not work in Turkey as such. I don't think it is about my color or origin it is just because having a foreigner work for you, you would have less trouble like you don't have to deal with many things, and foreigners must solve their own problems. Foreigners really need work, most of us would say yes to whatever you tell them. That is the first profit. And you pay less money than Turkish people. Having more foreign languages, different than English, is also a profit for the employer. Because we need a job and money, we don't complain about working conditions. (Elza, Gine Bissau)

One female participant from İzmir explains how she copes with these problems:

Actually, it is better for me when I talk to African people about my problems than my Turkish friend because they understand much better,

so it is always good to have Malawians. I have so many African friends we motivate each other and connect with each other always. Like, oh it is okay, it is fine, Turkey is always like that just move forward. It is always like that. Much better with Malawians. (Wema, Malawi)

The interviews show that the number of Turkish friends Africans have in Turkey is less than African or same-nation friends. They mostly organize events in their African groups and don't attend Turkish activities. According to them, organizations conducted by state officials are not for solving their problems and facilitating their adaptation but for propagating Turkish history and culture to foreign students. One of the participants from İzmir expressed her point of view on the subject:

I heard about these official events, but I have never been too. So, I cannot state my opinion about it. It is not about feeling comfortable, it seems like they are just for the picture, just for saying that we are getting together with international students, let us take a picture. I have never been to any of them. Most of them say, if you need anything, you can call. But when you have a problem, you call them, they are just not there. So, it is hard to understand. That is why I am not actively participating in their organizations. (Wema, Malawi)

3.2.4. Language and Discrimination (Lack of Adaptation Policy and Programs?)

Racism cases are found outside the university mostly. To illustrate, in streets, public transportation, cafes, hospitals, so and so forth. The following speech belonged to the participant in Ankara:

It wasn't pleasant at all. There is racism. There is discrimination in hospitals. I'm waiting in line for the ultrasound. The turn put my name, but he didn't care about me. He took the person behind me. I still haven't forgotten this. I was sick then. He is a doctor. He studied medicine. There is no such discrimination in medicine. When that woman came out, she should have picked me up. He didn't. He was looking, was there another Turk waiting? Did not have. Then he took me. I experienced this in the state hospital in Ulus. I wanted to complain, I wanted to talk, but I didn't.

Some concepts are so ugly. I hear the word ‘zenci’ a lot here. (Gazali, Nijer)

The term “yabancı” is not used for calling Africans in Turkey, instead of that, the term “zenci” is commonly used for this function. This term connotes biological differences drawing attention to color and resulting in building the thick barriers between African and host land societies. (Knight, 2011, p. 241)

African students feel safe physically in Turkey although, in some cases, they don’t feel safe mentally.

I say I feel partially safe. In Turkey, it is not about feeling safe it is just, that you do not know where the problem is coming from. Even inside the dorm, someone can become crazy and just do something nonsense. And there are two kinds of security physical security, which is I can say, %80 safe. Second is phycological security which is difficult to feel safe because somebody asks a question, and you ask yourself, is it a human being asking this question? (Solomon, Cameroon)

Orientation programs focused on international students do not have cultural or region-specific programs, and the support given to students in this regard is insufficient. (Baydemir, 2020) Most of the higher education programs in Turkey are in Turkish therefore, there is a Turkish preparation class in their first year. According to the findings, this period is the most challenging part of their Turkey experiences because of the language barrier. Apart from the Turkish Language Courses (TÖMER), foreign students can have different courses as well. All the courses and activities aim to introduce Turkish culture and history too foreign students. This concept is founded one-sided by the Africans. Therefore, there is not much participation in these programs. Some of the significant challenges that foreign students face in Turkey is having higher education in a language that they have learned only recently. After the Turkish preparation class, the education language is Turkish in most universities and lecturers’ speaking can be an obstacle to foreign students’ success. Additionally, differences in the method of giving the lesson, measurement of success, exam methods, differences in academic Turkish and Turkish they have learned in the preparation class, so and so forth, affect their motivation and adaptation process. (Biçer, Çoban, Bakır, 2014) Foreign students’ academic success obstacles and the problems they face both on

campus and in daily life are mostly explained by the language barrier. It is hard to adequate a new language in a year in order to have higher education and an academic career. According to foreign students' transcripts analyses, they have lower grades in lessons compared to Turkish students. The reason is considered a lack of language knowledge (Demirtaş & Şahin, 2014).

One of the criticisms is belong to the participant from İzmir:

Personally, there is no program for integration. There are programs designed with the public goal called integration, but the hidden goal is not integration because the content of the program is not designed for integration. When you design the program with the aim of integrating people, you really care about what they think and what they share in the program. What we call participation. Inside of them is empty, with no programs geared to migrant needs. Just for taking pictures. (Solomon, Cameroon)

Since most African students have a Turkish language education in their first year, the language barrier does not constitute a big issue.

3.3. RELATION TO THEIR HOMELAND

3.3.1. Evidence of Transnational Identity

Transnational migrants build social and psychological existence in the host community while at the same time maintaining strong ties with their homeland (Ogbuagu, 191, 2013). They follow homeland policy and economic news, send remittances or receive economic support from family. Foreign students coming with a family sponsor receive economic support from their homeland. This case can be considered student tourism.

On the other side, foreign students that come with a full scholarship can manage in Turkey, by finding part-time jobs teaching English or French. Some even send remittances to their family members. The following words belong to a master's degree student in İzmir:

Not like completely but I send something to my family when I have extra. If I have more than the average in a month, I send it to my sister or younger sister or I send something to my mom. But it is not something that I do regularly. (Elza, Gine Bissau)

On the other hand, African students are receiving their country's scholarships for bachelor's, master's, or doctorate programs. Having a position in African universities some fulfill the required foreign experience in an academic career. The students have a close relationship with their embassies because they officially contact their universities via their embassies. Students keep in touch with their families via social media, face-to-face calls, and family group messages. According to their argument, sharing their experiences and receiving emotional support from their homeland have a considerable effect on their adaptation process in the host land. All the participants from 29 interviews confirm that they have an inseparable connection with their homes. The frequency of speaking with a family is changing person to person, for instance, every day, once in three days, once a week, so and so forth.

With technology, there are many communication channels to share their worries, concerns, and challenges they face in the host land with family back home. (Maundeni, 2010) Without exception, all informants confirm that there is emotional support from their friends and family in the homeland. Students that send remittances or receive economic support from their families express the importance of the homeland's emotional support for their adaptation process and motivation to stay in the host land. Furthermore, the feeling of responsibility for their families is one of the significant findings. Also, their desire for returning homeland can be considered a result of the feeling of responsibility.

Although the frequency is changing from person to person, the students follow the news updates for their homeland. They follow their government policies, political parties, elections, and crises. They organize events discussing political, social, or economic issues in the host land. They might hold meetings and walks in public to show their position. Especially during their election time, they have the right to go to their embassy and vote for their political parties. Follow vote-counting screens online and wait for the result with their citizens. They also follow the African league, watch football matches, and celebrate championships together with their country simultaneously. Globalization in communication technology fosters transnational linkages.

Visiting the homeland on every holiday is the wish of all African students, however, having a limited budget and expensive flying tickets from Istanbul to African

cities is the main obstacle to their travel plans. Most African students visit their families every summer, and the rest of the students wait for their graduation to go homeland.

Shipping goods in both directions strengthen their linkages with their homeland. For instance, receiving local products for their daily life, food ingredients, and clothes from their homeland, and sending gifts to their families. This flow is facilitated by other students who travel to the homeland during holidays and come back during school times.

The students follow their mass and social media in their home country. One of the participants from Ankara explain his curiosity about national and continental issues with the following speech:

Because of information technology, I can see everything in my country, in my home, every day from social media. This is very easy for me to follow up on everything. I use social media and I also go to special pages. For example, there is a newspaper in Nigeria called, Daily Trust, so I always go to their pages and see the news. I am using TVBU. Some financial channels that show everything about the world regarding finance. That is what we are used to in our country, so we always see our news from there. Their international news you see whatever happens in the world. If there is any important news about Africa, I will see it there. But for Nigeria, I have some specific websites and some specific pages and social media that I follow. (Abdallah, Nigeria)

African students have a connection with other Africans from their homelands. Students having the same background, being classmates, friends, or family members are the main reason for the maintenance of the linkages. They share their host land experiences and have group solidarity. Although they don't have close relations with other Africans abroad compared to their African network in the host land, in many cases, they still communicate with each other and follow the new updates they keep in touch with.

Pride in being black and self-esteem are common in participants' expressions. According to the findings in interviews, elements symbolizing African origin in Turkey can be counted as speaking the native language in diaspora groups, cooking local food, and having local music on their playlists. On the other hand, there is a hesitation on

clothing as in their homeland and speaking in their native language in a public. The reason for this hesitation was discussed in the host land relations chapter. Here is the speech from one of the interviews with Izmir:

Maintaining the cultural origin is important, even fundamental. It should not be a question even. When you lose your culture, you lose yourself. It is important, yes. It is not like food that feeds you. Only the fact being myself and knowing where I came from and knowing where I lead is the first way of maintaining my culture. In your new environment, expressing who you are for them to understand you is also a way of maintaining identity. (Solomon, Cameroon)

According to findings from interviews, there is a high consciousness of the African diaspora community. 20 participants preferred to marry in the same nation and 10 of them give the possibility to have a Turkish partner however, they mostly have hesitations because of various reasons. For instance, cultural differences, having different backgrounds, language barriers, family approval for marriage, different future projection, return to the homeland, so and so forth. Most Africans think that having a serious relationship with a Turkish partner can be problematic due to the mentioned reasons. From this point, endogamy can be considered a prevalent preference among Africans in Turkey. The following speech belongs to an Ethiopian student in Denizli:

For me, I think no. because I am a nationalist person. I have to go back to Ethiopia, and I have those plans to do. I don't want anyone to drive them with my dream. Because everyone has a dream. (Sabia, Ethiopia)

Planning the future in their homeland is a common finding for the motivation of endogamy. Most of the participants think that they can be in a romantic relationship with a Turkish partner. However, they don't think it could be a sustainable relationship due to the differences in various aspects; cultural differences, background differences, for some cases, religious differences, linguistic differences, so and so forth. Additionally, parents of the Turkish partner's attitudes, in detail, the fear they have for their child and stereotypes they have for the African partner, relations with the host country society,

On the other hand, a sense of belonging to their countries is highly founded in the interviews. Feeling responsible for their homeland is a significant factor in their

decision-making process. Consequently, African students in Turkey show transnational characteristics in many aspects.

3.3.2. Relations with African States and Institutions

According to interview findings, students in Ankara have closer relations with their embassy compared to students in Denizli and İzmir. Studying in the same city as their embassy can be considered the main reason for closer relations.

In Denizli, we have too many organizations African students' association. Also, the international student community. So, I am kind of active in both of them, so I keep track of what is going on. In Ethiopian organizations, I am not that much active in them. I know they exist; I know they have activities. If they have activities, I can go. But that is rare because Denizli is a little bit far from all these activities. Maybe if I was in Ankara or in İstanbul, I could be more active. But from here, it is kind of hard. If you ask me if I want to be active, yes. I want to be active in these organizations. (Sabia, Ethiopia)

The invitation to the events that embassies organize for their citizens received a response from the African students in Ankara mostly. On the other hand, in order to receive an invitation to those events, they needed to be registered in their embassy first and have an ID card issued by their embassy. Among the embassy events, a celebration for national days, get-together dinners, inaugurations of some offices or buildings, and new appointments of foreign office personnel can be counted. In addition, embassies conduct both economic and emotional support programs for their citizens abroad, for instance, the embassies issue gift certificates to use in supermarket expenditures organize visits to their homes for their special day celebration, and establish social media groups and pages, which have an interactive characteristic, for increasing responsiveness to their queries.

We meet here [the embassy] with my brothers, and we talk. For example, we help newcomers. We always need to establish a connection with our embassy. Even if there is no problem, we have to do it. If you're not registered at the embassy, how can he help you if he doesn't recognize you? For example, I have an ID from the embassy, let me show you. For example, this is the consulate ID, so I go to them. Not much, but I'm

going. Because I went and registered there. Some don't have this. This identity means that Ghazali is registered at the Niger Embassy in Turkey. He is one of the Nigerien people living in Turkey. If I have a problem, they can fix it right away. The embassy is like my family to me. A person living in a country other than a diaspora country is called a diaspora. It is a union of non-residents. All are together. For example, the diaspora is important in elections. I think the Philippines is the one with the best diaspora in the world. Diaspora is at a very good point if managed well. It contributes to its development. Helping the weak. I am also a member here in the diaspora. I always follow Niger news. Diaspora should follow its own country. He should think about the situation in his own country. (Ghazali, Niger)

Interview evidence shows that social media groups are effective instruments for interactive embassy associations and embassy-citizen relations. Especially, newly established embassies are more active in embassy-citizen interactions compared to older embassies. They have connections with various associations that preceded the establishment of the embassy that represent different diaspora groups. To illustrate, students, business groups, religious groups, mixed groups, and so on. The working principle for these diaspora associations can be explained in this way; selected or appointed presidents of the associations periodically hold meetings with their embassies for their agendas and report the demands of their members. In addition to this system, their members can reach their embassies for their requests individually as well.

Many informants explain in the interviews their diaspora groups on social media and the concepts, mentality, and events of each group. Diaspora groups have different political ideologies, such as the ideology of the ruling party, or opposition par. Being a member of different diaspora groups does not mean that they do not come together. All diasporas celebrate their special days and have cultural practices together regardless of their different political ideologies.

Although some participants say that they don't have close relations with their embassies since they come with YTB full scholarship that undertakes all documental work, accommodation, scholarship, and school registrations by the Turkish government. If any crisis occurs, they can solve it on their campus with the Office of Students'

Affairs or the International Office. However, if needed, they think that they can apply to their embassies too.

Most of the African students in Turkey are a member of three tiers of associations: associations for their nations, associations for their regions, and associations for the continent in general. The purpose of these associations can be counted as, presenting their culture to the host society, introducing the newcomers to the rest of the members, establishing strong relations amongst Africans, including the diaspora in homeland development projects, encouraging diaspora investment in the homeland, propagating significant homeland events, organizing various cultural events such as religious courses, conversation clubs

There are 37 African country embassies in Turkey and all of them have close relations with their students. Students have connections with their embassy individually as well as via their associations. To illustrate, citizens can directly contact the embassy for any passport problems, losing a passport, voting in elections times, diaspora membership registration, and ID card issuance, only for visiting so and so forth. Additionally, a student who comes with a home country scholarship for their higher education contacts their embassies for their official documentation issues individually.

Embassies also initiate civil society organizations for their diasporas. Here is an example from a participant:

We have two groups, one is called ASAD, which is for all African students in Denizli, and another one is for Zambians which is created by the embassy in Ankara. There is communication, and they know how is where and what we are doing. Through those groups, we communicate what is going on and what we need to do. In these groups, people share their problems so I am in these groups. Zambian government helps their diaspora. (Weston, Zambia)

Embassies have a significant role in strengthening the national identity of the diaspora and enable maintaining linkages with the homeland. According to the participants, when they are in their embassy, they can feel transplanted to their country by viewing the food, language, and practices, of fellow citizens. The following speech belongs to a participant from Ankara, and she expresses her close relations with the Cameroon embassy and various African associations in Turkey.

We have a diaspora community in Turkey. Being part of this community is very important because I have spent a long time outside of Cameroon for my education since high school. Being a part of a diaspora community makes me consistently close to my country. Keeps me updated with local issues, and with people, and enables practicing my language, and culture. It means a lot. Because our embassy is new, it is almost two years old. Before the embassy, the student organizations were very strong and very active. Because of this, our embassy had to continue with the same energy. Our embassy provides us with information about consular issues once or twice a week. Sometimes it is related to passport, sometimes it is related to current events but of course, because of the Covid, events are less. But normally, for example, we have our national day, and we have an event for this every year. Beyond that, we have CamTurk general meetings every year as well. The embassy is also involved, and they provide us with some support. Our ambassador attends. Beyond that, we also contact the embassy however we like. We can send them an e-mail; we can give them a call. We contact them regularly. Because all announcement comes to me, and I share them with CamTurk. That is my responsibility. So, the embassy can contact us three or four times a week” (Rosalinda, Cameroon)

3.3.3. African Nationalism Pan-African Nationalism

The Pan-Africanism movement emerged in Africa and also today exists in various regions and continents of the world. The founding of the African Union is a milestone in the development of this movement. The motivation of this organization is to address the continent’s common economic problems in a unified manner. African diasporas have a major impact on the Pan-African movement The ideas developed in the diaspora such as the decolonization struggle in the beginning and currently, as the development of African political theory, economic development studies, and reconstruction of the continent contributed to the Pan-African movement greatly. (Adi, 2007)

According to the interviews, the African diaspora in Turkey mostly has a Pan-African identity along with their national identity. Three fourth of my participants identify themselves as African before their nationality.

A Tanzanian informant who studies in İzmir confirmed the importance of maintaining African identity and blackness in the host land.

I never hide my identity from someone even if it is about money, about anything. Yes, it is very important ... Even if I will be a Turkish citizen one day, which is impossible if German one day, Canadian or a citizen of any other country but my root from Africa. My surname is African. Even if my kids will live in any other country or in Africa, they will be African all the same. This is what you are. They (kids) need to know their continent. My origin is my identity. In Turkey, any African guy I see, I say hi just because you know, it is very hard to be in this country and I can feel for them. (Barack, Tanzania)

All the participants in the interviews emphasized the importance of their cultural identity. The level of giving time for their practices in daily life is changing person to person however, they care for the maintenance of their original culture abroad in different ways without exception.

Pan-African identity can also emerge after the migration and certain experiences in the host land. They started to identify themselves as African, more than their national identities because Turkish society, in general, lacks information about various African countries. For this reason, they prefer to identify themselves as African, without going into details about their origins. Taking the host society as a reference, having an African identity is the most common identification for them. Furthermore, many informants point out that their country's issues are embedded in their considerations for Africa in general.

Furthermore, Pan-African identification can emerge after leaving the continent and having experiences in a different continent. Informants explain how their self-identifications altered after their migration. Being in a "white" environment and, being outside of the homeland fosters their feeling of belonging.

Sometimes political culture is the reason for their Pan-African identity surpassing their national or religious identity. Most African countries have they have a

diverse population with different religions, different languages, and dialects. Ethnic groups and many groups also disseminated across national borders. Country borders that were drawn at the Berlin conference, did not align with the boundaries of the ethnic groups. Crossing borders for business, family reunions, visits, or travel are common practices in Africa. Intermarriage is prevalent across different ethnic groups and countries as well. Considering the historical background of the African diaspora and cultural, and political hybridization between Africans in the diaspora reinforces Pan-African identity in the diaspora. (Mercer, Page, and Evans, 2008)

According to the finding in the interviews, there is no obligation to have the same nationality to attend the events organized for associations or embassies. Furthermore, events are organized for all Africans in Turkey most of the time. For instance, countries' Independence Day celebrations have an invitation for all Africans in Turkey. One of the informants who studied in Ankara expresses the meaning of get-together events.

There is an African house in Sıhhiye, there is something before, and there is an association for African students now. I am going there. For example, I have friends, I was going to them on Independence Day. I'm going to special celebrations. So, I like these events. When I hear such a thing, I go to celebrations in other countries, even if I am not invited.
(Mewahib, Somalia)

To sum up, African students represent features of being part of the African diaspora in Turkey in various aspects. Having a strong relationship with their homeland, group consciousness, keeping cultural practices in their host land, organizing activities together as Africans, and being a member of associations that was founded for African solidarity in Turkey, are fundamental for the diaspora community and all of them are belong to African students' characteristics in Turkey.

African students face challenges of adaptation. For instance, higher education programs offer accommodation for most of the students in their first year, and it is obligatory to stay in these Turkish dormitories with Turkish students. Together with the language barrier, no ability to access homeland food, products, and cultural differences with roommates prevents or impedes integration rather than facilitates it.

CHAPTER 4 CONCLUSION

In the last decades, Turkey's profile on the international platform is shifted from migrant sender country and transit migration country to migrant receiver country. There are many reasons that make migrants select Turkey. In this study, African student migrants were examined as part of the African diaspora in Turkey in order to understand their migration experiences, the nature of their identity, and their problems in adapting to Turkey. The reasons for student mobility in Turkey can be summarized in these points:

- Turkey's foreign policy of accepting international students, specifically from African countries as a means of soft power
- Governments (both sender and receiver country) offer full scholarship programs for study in Turkey.
- Being a student in Turkey is more affordable compared to developed countries.
- Due to the bilateral agreements, visa procedures are less complex than in developed countries.
- Students who have Muslim culture prefer Turkey for easier adaptation

Given headlines can be considered as the pull factors that Turkey has in this view. Despite the fact that Turkey's pull factors increase the African student flow, the population is not growing simultaneously. The reason for the considerably stable population is African student migrants' high rate of return to homeland after completing their education, which surpasses the ones in other developed countries, they overwhelmingly do not plan their professional life in Turkey. Students are expected to complete their higher education and return homeland. Being returned and having a position in different professions, they are considered an agent for countries' economic, and political relations. Both sender and receiver countries may have the same motivation for capitalizing on relations. From this point of view, higher education programs for African students can be called a win-win act.

To sum up, international students constitute a significant place in migration studies due to their growing population and their interaction with the host land society. In particular, African students stay in different places compared to other foreign

students, to illustrate, Balkans, Turkic countries, and Middle Eastern originated students from many aspects. For instance, African students are phenotypically different from all of them therefore, being a foreigner or feeling foreigner in Turkish society remains, despite living for years in Turkey.

In order to understand the identity of African students in Turkey, we examined three dimensions:

- Hostland relations
- Homeland relations and transnational networks
- Social solidarity and a sense of community

There are various reasons that African students prefer Turkey for education. The first motivation is a scholarship that covers accommodation, school fees, monthly payments, health insurance, and so on. Even if they come with homeland support, and a family sponsor, the education is more affordable compared to European or developed country universities. We examined students' relations with Turkish society, and the challenges they face in their educational, professional, and daily life, furthermore, discriminative, and even racist treatments are included in their host land experiments. Most Africans think that they don't have an equal opportunity with Turkish nationals. Adversely, no discrimination case was detected in African students' campus experiments, they feel equal in their educational life. Apart from this, daily life and professional life are the places that they complain about the problematic relations with the host land society. Additionally, there is various news about these problematic relations between African migrants and host land society in the broadcast media and written media. Especially in public transportation, restaurant, shops, and streets African migrants experience discrimination, racism, and even harassment in the same cases. From another perspective, staying in Turkey strengthened their national feeling toward their own country

This thesis examined students' transnational identities and how much they feel attached to their homelands. African students in Turkey have strong relations with their homeland in many dimensions. There is an economic flow in both directions; students coming with a family sponsor receive both economic support, and students coming with scholarships send economic support to their siblings or family members, so they keep connections with their homeland. Both are receiving emotional support

during their adaptation to a new environment. We also examined how much they feel connected, and their contact with their origins. Findings show that they have close relations with their homeland, and maintain their homeland culture, traditions, values, beliefs, and practices. There are both emotional and economical support and this support is actualized in both directions. They receive economical support for their higher education, and emotional support for their adaptation process, on the other hand, they send remittances to their family, relatives, or friends back in the homeland in some cases. To sum up, there is a strong linkage with homeland and they sustain this in various ways.

We also examine their sense of community and solidarity in Turkey. For most of the informers, the same nation or Africans in Turkey are their first contact in case they have trouble. Additionally, there are various African-founded associations that have mostly African members and serve according to their needs in the host land. They practice religion, language, culture, and marriage within the community. This study offers evidence that African migrants in Turkey, in the same way as all the diaspora communities, have self-esteem, group mentality, activities, and close relations with each other. African students play a significant role in consolidating the African diasporic identity in Turkey. They have associations for Africans in Turkey that have a mentality of introducing African culture to Turkish society. These associations organize events for their members and get together in order to celebrate their special days. Senior student members help newcomers with the adaptation of the hostland. We consider diaspora as a sense of collective identity that is continuously reproduced in each generation. We can also conclude that lack of adaptation can be considered the main factor for the diasporization of African migrants in Turkey.

The African students in Turkey generally are not transit migrants as their accession to Europe is increasingly more problematic. Students with bachelor's or master's degrees plan for their doctorate program in globally ranked universities in developed countries however, they don't plan their professional life abroad. From this point, they generally return, neither Turkey nor Europe is the destination for the rest of life. Most of the African students in Turkey identified themselves as diaspora who feel responsibility for their nations. African migrants in Turkey are an important element of the African diaspora in many aspects. To maintain their original culture, they bring

ingredients for food, and products for their daily life follow new updates thanks to social media frequently, even at the same time as their country, and organize activities on their special days, contributing to the African migrant network in Turkey. Many of them are a member of various associations established by Africans in Turkey. Various associations mean each of them has different profiles and concepts, such as an association for all African students in their city, the association only for the same nation students in their city, and the association only for their own nationals. In the end, they all form a common African diaspora community. For instance, African Students Association in Denizli, African Students Association in Ankara, Cameroonian Students in Turkey, so and so forth.

For future research, the situation of African women deserves to be studied as a topic on its own. According to the findings in the interviews, daily news, and writings, African women have problematic relations with Turkish society. To illustrate, discrimination based on gender in Turkish society is a common complaint of the women informers in this study.

Student mobility is a response to globalization in which students try to take advantage of the opportunities provided for globalization such as increasing foreign scholarships, and international relations, eased transportation and communication technology, to elevate their individual and national position in the global workforce and contribute development of their society as active agents. Students with their networks shape greatly the structure of overseas education and their own educational experience, have multiple identities, contest, and recreate various ideologies. Current international student mobility literature lacks theoretical frameworks for analyzing the intersections of class, ethnicity, religion, culture, sexual orientation, gender, academic, and identities of students, and understanding the role of multiple identities on students' experiences is very important. We tried to include a personal level of analysis that demonstrates how students experience cross-border education policies and practices to ensure that student voices are included in the academic and policy discourses on international student mobility.

Turkey's policy regarding Africans is insufficient. Various programs are implemented to facilitate foreign migrants' adaptation process however some programs have several failures or are ill-designed. The current system places the responsibility on

the shoulders of students and at large their migrant networks. Turkey must go beyond the standardized practices and must develop innovative programs and realize the potential of international student mobility.



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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A LIST OF INTERVIEWERS

Name	Country	Gender	Age	Religion	Duration in Turkey
Rukiya	Somalia	Woman	23	Muslim	2017-
Solomon	Cameroon	Man	29	Muslim	2012-
Rosalinda	Cameroon	Woman	27	Christian	2015-2022
Minel	Ethiopia	Woman	24	Muslim	2018-
Benjamin	Malawi	Man	27	Christian	2013-2022
Happy	Zambia	Man	28	Christian	2012-2016
Mifta	Ethiopia	Man	30	Muslim	2015-2021
Inaya	Sudan	Woman	31	Muslim	2019-
Mawahib	Sudan	Woman	29	Muslim	2015-
Wema	Malawi	Woman	25	Christian	2013-
Khadija	Kenya	Woman	27	Muslim	2012-
Madouko	Mali	Woman	27	Muslim	2017-
Kabiru	Cameroon	Man	26	Muslim	2018-
Elza	Gine Bissau	Woman	25	Christian	2012-
Barack	Tanzania	Man	27	Muslim	2015-
Abdullah	Nigeria	Man	28	Muslim	2014-
Gazali	Niger	Man	28	Muslim	2014-
Ali	Chad	Man	24	Muslim	2019-
Weston	Zambia	Man	27	Christian	2014-
Lateef	Ghana	Man	23	Christian	2018-
Saleh	Chad	Man	24	Muslim	2018-
Thiery	Burundi	Man	30	Christian	2018-
Bailey	Nigeria	Man	26	Christian	2017-
Loic	Cameroon	Man	25	Christian	2018-
Farah	Senegal	Woman	27	Muslim	2018-
Jordan	Cameroon	Man	28	Christian	2018-

Tchadrack	Benin	Man	25	Christian	2018-
Denis	Uganda	Man	26	Christian	2017-
Sabia	Uganda	Woman	25	Muslim	2016-
Mohamad	Cameroon	Man	29	Muslim	2012-
Sekina	Ethiopia	Woman	26	Muslim	2018-



APPENDIX B EXAMPLE OF INTERVIEW

Name: Rosalinda

Gender: Woman

Religion: Muslim

Age:27

Country: Cameroon

Date: 30 May 2021

Personal Questions:

Researcher: What are the reasons for your selecting Turkey as your country of destination? What is your occupation in Turkey? In what type of accommodation do you live in this city and in which part of the city? (i.e. dormitory, shared apartment, own rental apartment, own apartment)

Interviewer: Türkiye Bursları gave me everything, my fly ticket. Only I afford the visa. I came Turkey for my education. I came to Turkey first in 2015. I made 6 years in Turkey. I choose Turkey because I heard about Turkey before. I got some information from my family, studied in Turkey before. Because I am studying Political Sciences and International Relations, Turkey is an interesting place for this. Turkey's location is very good for this topic. On one side, I had scholarship, it made easier for me to come. In my first year, I was put in a dormitory, a private dormitory. In 2017, I was changed to government dormitory. After that, I got my own flat. For the 6 years, I lived in Ankara.

Researcher: What are you plans for future? Do you plan to return your country, transit to another country via seeking asylum or citizenship, or do you plan to reside in Turkey?

Interviewer: I have plan to return my country. After my undergraduate, I started my master, and now I am doing my master. I have no plan to stay in Turkey. After I complete my education, I will return.

Questions related to transnational links and flows:

Researcher: Do you send remittances to some people in your country? Are they family? How much and how frequently?

Interviewer: I send some money to my family and my country. I teach English part time, send to family. Once a month I send.

Researcher: Do you follow African/ your country media? If yes, how frequently and through which sources (youtube, email list, facebook, instagram, tv, newspaper etc.)?

Interviewer: Yes, absolutely. Every single day I follow the news. At least once a year I visit my country. Yes, I follow the political news.

Researcher: Do you have any connections with African in other parts of the world except your own country? Do you have networks in Europe, Middle East or the US?

Interviewer: I have someone abroad, yes. Some of the are my close friend. For Cameroonians, we have very strong relation we have an association. Generally, student who have problem, we contact our association first. After that our association contract with the embassy and the government. Generally, we try to help each other first. If not, we call our embassy in Ankara.

Community-identity related Questions:

Researcher: Do you think it is important to maintain your original culture here? Do you think it is possible? If so, how do you maintain your culture, your identity in Turkey? (Music, food, dance, clothing style, religion, political organization, language, religious rituals, attending mosques etc.)

Interviewer: Yes, very important to maintain original culture. Yes, it is easy because of the students before me, they helped us to understand the system. So, how to have our cultural day, how to celebrate cultural event, how to get together for special occasion, keeping in touch, music, our food, our clothing stuff. Because Cameroon is a mix country, we have Christian and Muslim. So, eat for example they come together, they go to the mosque together, they cook our traditional food. So, it is possible to practice in Turkey.

Interviewer: Mainly my connection is with other Cameroonians, people I meet in Turkey. It is not really blood related, but I have very close friends in Turkey mainly this is my group. I have strong connection with other Africans because I also lived in South Africa some time, so I have very good relations with South Africans. We are almost like a family.

Researcher: Do you regularly contact the embassy of your country? What type of events do you attend in embassy?

Interviewer: Because our embassy is new, it is about almost two years old. Before the embassy, the student organizations were very strong and very active. Because of this,

our embassy had to continue with the same energy. Our embassy provides us information the embassy once or twice a week. Sometimes it is related to passport, sometimes it is related to events that happening but of course because of the covid, events are less. But normally, for example, we have our national day, we have event for this every year. Beyond that, we have CamTurk general meeting every year as well. The embassy also involved, and they provide us some support. Our ambassador attends. Beyond that, we also contact the embassy however we like. We can send them e mail; we can give call. We contact them regularly. Because all announcement comes to me, and I share them with CamTurk. That is my responsibility. So, the embassy can contact there or four times a week.

Researcher: How do you identify yourself? (African, your country's nationality, your religious identity, your tribe, Turkish, African-Turkish, etc.) Do you consider African here as a diaspora? What does a diaspora mean to you? How important is being part of the African diasporic community for you?

Interviewer: The first thing I could say that I am an African. Second thing I am a woman. Third can be my nationality. Yes, I am a nationalist. I support my country, work for my country. In my personal life, I am religious. When it comes to education or work, definitely secular, it is not important. I my country and in Turkey, I go to church every Sunday. I go to church regularly. My opinion to be a diaspora, it means, a group of people located outside of their country. So, we have a diaspora community in Turkey. Being part of this community is very important because I have spent so long time outside of Cameroon for my education form high school. Being a part of a diaspora community makes me consistently close to my country. Keeps me updated with local issues, with people, also practice my language, culture. It means a lot.

Hostland-Related Questions:

Researcher: Is it easy to find a job in your profession or not? Could you find a job in your field? Which challenges did you face with in your working place/ daily life/ public place? How do you grade your economic condition from 1 to 5, 1 is very poor and 5 is very good? (Good, ok, bad, very good, etc.)

Interviewer: I think for foreigner, especially African foreigners, it doesn't matter from Cameroon or other country, it is really difficult to find professional curious in Turkey. Especially in academic, it is extremely hard for any African academician in university

in Turkey. I don't even know who did like this. It is possible to find a job for instance international relations you can find a job, but it is not going to be the same as you want. In international sales, business but not in politics or like that. Maybe you can work for the embassy which is also good but for limited number of people. So, it is not easy to find a job. Even you find a job, it is not easy to get sufficient documentation. They don't give you ikamet, sağlık sigortası. So, you find many people if they work, they work with nothing no insurance, no support nothing. I grade 3,5 to 5 economic conditions. Because I have part time jobs, I teach English, sometimes I take some videos make online English content. Because of this it helps me with my income. I am okay, not too bad. But if I didn't have these things maybe I would say 1 ha ha ha.

Researcher: Who helps you with the official issues? (Turkish Migration Office, YTB, IOM, embassy of your country, etc) Would you please evaluate Turkish bureaucracy's policies towards African immigrants? Do you think Turkey seeks to integrate Africans? Do you think there are sufficient programs in Turkey for integration of immigrants? What are the advantages or problems?

Interviewer: YTB is a good example because before we have our embassy, they were very helpful. I can give an example in my personal life. 3 years ago, my father passed away and I went to YTB. They organized for me a ticket to go my county and for me to come back. They never ask any money from me. They just gave me the ticket. For me that was really big help, very big support. YTB provide additional support for us in some situation. I heard other stories as well. They do something like this. YTB give house someone because their house burned. İdaresi is not such a good experience for most Cameroonians but YTB and the embassy definitely yes.

Yes, as far as I know, there are some programs somebody comes new from the African county, with YTB or with Türkiye Bursları or Turizm Bakanlığı, sometimes they take people and they show around Turkey. They take them to İzmir, Çanakkale to learn about the history. We have Turkish lessons, you can learn ebru, Osmanlıca, music, instruments, Yunus Emre. All are over there but when it comes to integration on social level also Africans and Turkish people sometimes there are some issues you know. To provide information, to Africans to know more about Turkey. Some Turkish people of course they are very friendly, marrying, becoming family. But sometimes some don't want yabancı. Maybe is only African, yabancı genel bir şey istemiyorlar. For Africans

to know more about Turkey, not integration target. Programs are one sided. To provide information about Turkey.

Researcher: Did you come across discrimination due to your race, or your nationality on the street, in your dealing with Turkish people? Do you feel safe in Turkey?

Interviewer: Yes, I experienced discrimination not because of my country but because of my race. Because I am a black person, I have had discrimination. For example, in a shop. People don't want to help you, or people are threatening you like you are hirsiz. In the metro definitely people sometimes they shout things, and they say things to you. It is frequent I can say once a day, sometimes it can be that bad. It is because first my race, I am a black second, I am a woman. There are some önyargılar, what people think. Afrikalı kadında maybe what is her job, the abuse ideas as well. It is a big one definitely. If I am alone sometimes in a street or late night like after 6 pm, I can say be honest, I don't feel safe, I feel a little bit I have to be really careful. I think it is a general one, I think most woman in Turkey feel this issue of feeling safe when you are alone. Also, I feel this because I am foreigner.

Researcher: Do you have Turkish friends? In which language do you communicate with your Turkish friends? Do you think it is acceptable for Africa immigrants to marry with a Turkish national? Do you approve? Why/why not?

Interviewer: I don't have many Turkish friends; I have no Turkish friends actually. I have some Turkish school friend, but we are not very close. The Turkish people I feel close to they are married people from my country so for example, Turkish women who married my brother from my country, we are of course very close because now we are like a family. In this situation yes but it is very few like 2 or 3. With them, we don't speak Turkish. They speak English or French that how we communicate. So I only speak Turkish with Turkish people. I think Turkish people also a bit like with boys; it is so different. You know, you find African boys any country and Turkish boys, they are really close. They have very good relationship. They go each other's families; they are still friend. My brother, he studied in Turkey in 2001 okumuş ama yine bugüne kadar hala görüşüyorlar yani. O kadar güçlü bağlantılar var yani. Even when I went to Turkey, some Turkish friends of my brother, they were the ones helping me. They haven't seen him like 10-15 years but still their connection is very close. I don't have this I can say, not for many Turkish people. Intermarriage is normal for me of course, it is normal.

Researcher: Do you follow Turkish politics, media? Do you support any political or religious organization or group in Turkey?

Interviewer: I started to follow the Turkish political news after coming to Turkey and I became more aware about political situations in Turkey. For all the details no but main topics I know. Because of social media, I can say every day. Because every day it shows on my social media about Turkish political news. I don't support any political group in Turkey, I look them from outside. I am a foreigner all the time. So, it is not about supporting but definitely interesting. I find CHP it is right niw especially Ekrem İmamoğlu and Mansur Yavaş are extremely interesting because of the last election. Having the election again is very interesting.



APPENDIX C INFORMATION LETTER AND CONSENT FORM
(ON DEPARTMENTAL LETTERHEAD)

Date

Dear Madame/ Sir,

I am master Candidate in the Department of Political Science at the Social Sciences University of Ankara. I am conducting a dissertation project entitled African Migrants in Turkey and Their Identity, Integration Process and Their Experiments. This study is going to help understand the nature and cause of the recent mobilization of the African migrants in Turkey, African diaspora communities and the linkages with their homeland. I am requesting your cooperation as a prominent activist in the African migrant's movement.

With this letter, I am inviting you to assist my study by agreeing to be interviewed. The interview will focus on your family history, migration reason, migration process, your current participation in African organizations and movement, the purposes, principles and projects of your organization, and your thoughts and perspectives on various aspects of the African diaspora politics in Turkey. The expected length of the interview is no longer than one hour. If you do not want to be audio taped, I may record the interview by hand. If you do not want your name to be cited, you may choose to remain anonymous. you may also, at any time, raise questions about the interview, withdraw your consent to the use of already provided information, or withdraw from the interview. Only I will have access to the data provided by this interview, and I will protect the data to the best of my ability.

Your participation in this research project does not involve any foreseeable risks or harms for you.

Although the findings of this study will not benefit you directly, by participating in this study you will be provided to the interviewer. You may, however, request that your name be deleted from the publication that will result from this research.

If you have further question, you can contact me or my supervisor:

Principal investigator: Meryem Keskin, Master Candidate

Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Filiz Tutku Aydın Bezikoğlu / Social Sciences University of Ankara

By signing this consent form, I confirm that I have read, and understand this letter and have had the opportunity to ask further questions. I understand that I am under no obligation to agree to participate. I understand that I may refuse to answer any question, stop the interview at any time or withdraw from the study without any direct or indirect consequences affecting me. I may also at any point ask any part of the interview, or, the full interview to be stricken from record. I understand that my name will be kept anonymous if I request. I understand that there are no risks or benefit involved for me as a result of my participation in this study. I have been given a copy of this consent form. Please check the appropriate boxes:

- | | |
|--|--|
| ☐ I consent to be personally cited. | ☐ I would like to remain anonymous. |
| ☐ I consent to be audio-taped. | ☐ I prefer not to be audio-taped |

Name:

Signature:

Date and Place:

APPENDIX D INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Personal Questions:

1. Where did you come from? What was your occupation back in your country? If it is possible, can you tell your migration story? Did you transit through other countries or did you come here directly? When did you come to Turkey? For how long, have you been here? If it is possible, could you disclose your immigration status in Turkey, provided that your name will remain anonymous? (For instance, do you have a valid visa (what type and for how long), you have a working permit, do you have a residence permit, are you married to a Turkish national?)
2. What are the reasons for your selecting Turkey as your country of destination? What is your occupation in Turkey? In what type of accommodation do you live in this city and in which part of the city? (i.e. dormitory, shared apartment, own rental apartment, own apartment)
3. What are your plans for the future? Do you plan to return to your country, transit to another country via seeking asylum or citizenship, or do you plan to reside in Turkey?

Questions related to transnational links and flows:

4. Do you send remittances to some people in your country? Are they family? How much and how frequently?
5. Do you follow African/ your country's media? If yes, how frequently and through which sources (youtube, email list, Facebook, Instagram, tv, newspaper, etc.)?
6. Do you visit your country? If yes, how often?
7. Do you follow the politics of your country? (Elections, domestic/ national policies, social movements, human rights, etc)
8. Do you have any connections with Africans in other parts of the world except your own country? Do you have networks in Europe, the Middle East, or the US?

Community-Identity Related Questions:

9. Do you think it is important to maintain your original culture here? Do you think it is possible? If so, how do you maintain your culture and your identity in Turkey? (Music, food, dance, clothing style, religion, political organization, language, religious rituals, attending mosques, etc.)
10. Are you a member of any African-related associations in Turkey or do you attend any of their cultural events and organizations? Which ones do you attend?

11. Do you keep in touch with people from your country here? Or do you have relations with people from other African countries? Other immigrants?
12. Do you regularly contact the embassy of your country? What type of events do you attend in the embassy?
13. How do you identify yourself? (African, your country's nationality, your religious identity, your tribe, Turkish, African-Turkish, etc.)
14. Do you consider African here as a diaspora? What does a diaspora mean to you? How important is being part of the African diasporic community for you?
15. Do you see yourself as religious or secular? Have you been involved in any religious movements or organizations in your country or here?
16. Do you see yourself as a nationalist? Have you been involved in any ethnic-national movements or organizations in your country or here?
17. Do you think your feelings of belonging changed after you came to Turkey? (For example, do you think your feelings of belonging to your old country or communities increased after you came to Turkey?)

Hostland-Related Questions:

18. Do you learn Turkish? Do you need to learn? Why? Do you follow Turkish political life? (Elections, national policies, regulations, immigration policies, human rights)
19. Is it easy to find a job in your profession or not? Could you find a job in your field? Which challenges did you face in your working place/ daily life/ public place? How do you grade your economic condition from 1 to 5, 1 is very poor and 5 is very good. (Good, ok, bad, very good, etc.)
20. Who helps you with official issues? (Turkish Migration Office, YTB, IOM, the embassy of your country, etc?) Would you please evaluate the Turkish bureaucracy's policies toward African immigrants? Do you think Turkey seeks to integrate Africans? Do you think there are sufficient programs in Turkey for the integration of immigrants? What are the advantages or problems?
21. Did you come across discrimination due to your race, or your nationality on the street, in your dealing with Turkish people? Do you feel safe in Turkey?
22. Do you have Turkish friends? In which language do you communicate with your Turkish friends? Do you think it is acceptable for African immigrants to marry a Turkish national? Do you approve? Why/why not?

23. Do you follow Turkish politics, and media? Do you support any political or religious organization or group in Turkey?



APPENDIX E CODEBOOK

name	sentence	code	category	theme	
Solomon (Cameroon)	Originally, I was planning to go France for my education but what motivated me Turkey provide hundred per cent scholarship	Turkey is not the first choice	Hostland as a Transit country	migrant's view of Turkey as a hostland	
Solomon (Cameroon)	Being black in Turkey is not transparent. If you walk in the street, you are directly pointed by eyes, by fingers. <u>they</u> are disrespectful With a group we were walking, we had an attack, a racist attack. What is more annoying is we complaint to police the people who are responsible for handling the case but like nothing happen.	racism outside the university	Exclusion from the hostland society	relations with hostland	
Solomon (Cameroon)	About the university level I had not feel the foreigner.	in university/campus I don't face racism	Partial inclusion in hostland society	relations with hostland	
Solomon (Cameroon)	Yes, I have a Turkish friends but we didn't have close relations.	small number of Turkish friends. / number of Turkish friend < number of African friend	Partial inclusion in hostland society / Strong diaspora network	relations with hostland	coherence of diaspora community
Solomon (Cameroon)	Marry with a person who come from the same origin, it is what advised, I mean from the nationalist point of view.	prefer to marry with the same nation	Prefers Endogamy	type of identity	
Solomon (Cameroon)	Yes, I send remittance to my country. Not only family, sometimes event to friends. There is no frequency, when there is a need, you just send. It can be monthly; it can be once in three months. There is no frequency in time and amount.	sends remittance	contribution to homeland economically	relations with homeland	
Solomon (Cameroon)	Every day I follow the news for my country. Via social media, every day I am seeing the news, the same time with my country. Sometimes I am more aware on the events than my people in my country.	Following homeland news	Continuing relationship with homeland politics	relations with homeland	
Solomon (Cameroon)	Yes, I follow up the policy of my county, I follow every news	Following homeland political news	Continuing relationship with homeland politics	relations with homeland	
Solomon (Cameroon)	Maintain the cultural origin is important, even is fundamental. It should not be a question even. When you lose your culture, you lose yourself. It is important, yes. It is not like food that feed yourself with. Only the fact of being myself and knowing where I came from and knowing where I lead to is a first way of maintaining my culture. In your new environment, expressing who you are for them to understand you is also the way of maintaining identity.	Cultural identity is important	care for maintenance of national culture	type of identity	
Solomon (Cameroon)	I identify myself as an African, after that, as a black, man, after that as a Cameroonian, as a son of the world at the end.	self-identification as African, black and national identity	nature of national identity	type of identity	
Solomon (Cameroon)	I will say yes, I am a productive diaspora for any African young people, as well as available current leaders. I will say yes because I engage in several networks. I have a contact with many people for this aim, being productive for our citizens, for our country.	Africans in Turkey is a diaspora / Diaspora as an unofficial official status	diaspora definition	nature of diaspora	
Solomon (Cameroon)	Yes, I am a nationalist. Feeling of belonging to my county, after I came to Turkey, not completely changed but evolved, yes. Feeling of belonging to my country get higher not because I was missing my country but because Turkey was a mirror for most of us or for me. By seeing how Turkish people are proud of their countries, how they behave. Willingly or not willingly, you are asking yourself were I came from?	Lack of integration in Turkish society strengthens national identity	Exclusion from the hostland society	relations with hostland	
Solomon (Cameroon)	Personally, there is no program for integration. There are programs designed with the public goal called integration but the hidden goal is not integration because the content of the program is not designed for integration. When you design the program in the aim of integrating people, you really care about what they think and what they share in the program.	Lack of integration policy	Exclusion from the hostland society	relations with hostland	
Solomon (Cameroon)	I say, I feel partially safe. In Turkey, it is not about feeling safe it is just, you do not know where the problem is coming from. Even inside the dorm, someone can become crazy and just do something nonsense. And there are two kind of security physical security, which is I can say, %80 safe. Second is psychological security which is really difficult to feel safe because somebody ask a question, and you ask yourself, is it human being asking this question?	feeling physically safe in Turkey	Partial inclusion in hostland society	relations with hostland	

CURRICULUM VITAE

Personel Information

Last Name, Name : KESKIN, Meryem

Education

Degree	Graduate School	Graduation Date
Postgraduate	Social Sciences University of Ankara	-
Bachelor	Gazi University	2016
High School	Kazim Kaynak Anatolian High School	2011