International student mobility and the 'colonial connection' in Suriname:

The Surinamese-Dutch relationship as a factor in international student mobility choices and rationales in Suriname

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Abstract

International student mobility is, along with other internationalization strategies, on the rise. However, reasons for vesting in such efforts are rarely stated explicitly, nor are the benefits discussed. The effects of mobility need to be understood within their proper context. Suriname has a high level of student mobility to its former colonizer power the Netherlands. This study examines the historical relationship of these two counties and answers in which ways such a relationship can affect international student mobility flows. In addition, and more importantly, this contextual knowledge is used to place and understand present day mobility choices. 16 Surinamese students at the Anton de Kom University of Suriname were interviewed on their rationales for pursuing HE and their attitudes towards studying abroad. The findings were examined using postcolonialism and human capital theory. It is found that most students perceive of higher education as a means to secure their future. However, a lack of domestic opportunities and the status attributed to foreign higher education, combine to make studying abroad an attractive way of achieving this goal. The Netherlands is an attractive destination for many due to the language commonality, familiarity with the country and the education system compatibility. The government is found not to actively support mobility to the Netherlands on any large scale, but rather focus on mobility to other developing countries as a way to stop brain drain that is often the end result of mobility to the Netherlands. The paper concludes that the 'colonial connection' indeed affects mobility; however, the government's strategy might not be weakening the connection. Limiting access to mobility in the Netherlands acts to reproduce its status and maintain the low status of domestic higher education in society.

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Abbreviations

MINOV	Ministerie van Onderwijs en Volksontwikkeling (Ministry of Education and Community Development in Suriname)
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
AdeKUS	Anton de Kom Universiteit de Suriname
FMijW	Faculteit der Maatschappijwetenschappen (Faculty of the Social Sciences)
FMeW	Faculteit der Medische Wetenschappen (Faculty of Medicine)
FTeW	Faculteit der Technologische Wetenschappen (Faculty of Technological Sciences)
Caricom	Caribbean Community
IDB	Inter-American Development Bank
NUFFIC	Netherlands organization for international cooperation in higher education
ABS	Algemeen Bureau voor de Statistiek (Surinamese Bureau of Statistics)
HE	Higher Education
HEI	Higher Education Institution

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1   Introduction

This thesis will try to answer the overarching question

Why is Surinamese HE student mobility to the Netherlands so high?

It also aims at evaluating mobility in terms the strategies and goals the Surinamese government attach to internationalization processes. This first section of this first chapter will give a brief background and rationale for the main question and the research questions that follow. The second section outlines the research questions and gives a brief description of the methodology. The chapter will close with an overview of the structure and content of the remainder of the thesis.

1.1   Why international student mobility? Why Suriname?

Before presenting the research questions in section 1.2, the topic will be briefly introduced to provide a rationale for researching the topic of student mobility in the context of Suriname. First international student mobility is contextualized and its increasing impact in the world today is examined, before Suriname is introduced and the rationale for choosing this research topic is developed.

1.1.1 International student mobility

A discernible trend over the last 30 years or so (e.g. Altbach, 2003; Knight, 2005; Chen and Zimitat, 2006; Sehoole, 2006) is the increasing internationalization of education. Many connect the growth of internationalization of education, in particular higher education (henceforth HE) with the process of globalization (e.g. Knight, 2005).

Many different conceptualizations, definitions and not the least rationales are linked to this process. For the sake of simplicity, as a general idea it comprises everything from cross-border activities: co-operations, exchanges, franchises, partnerships, and projects, to curricular content and teaching methods with an international slant. An inclusive definition phrased by Knight describes the phenomena as: "the process of integrating an international, intercultural, or global dimension into the purpose, functions or delivery of postsecondary education" (2003; quoted in Knight 2005: 13). Included in this definition, and this trend, is

international student mobility[1]. In 2006 almost three million students at the tertiary level were studying outside their country of citizenship (OECD, 2008). The same report tells us that this is an increase of three percent from the year before and that numbers are expected to continue their rise.

The rationales for international student mobility at the macro level are, as with internationalization in general, many and diverse. However, Wiers-Jenssen states that the main idea underlying policies and inspiring commitment to mobility in HE is that it provides the knowledge society with the skills it needs to thrive, in particular the "international competencies that foreign studies can provide" (2008:13). In addition, Wiers-Jenssen (2008) points out that student mobility can be a strategy for developing countries to offer a broader scope of study options that what is domestically available.

At the individual level there are also many rationales for becoming mobile. Wanting to learn a new language (e.g. Wiers-Jensen, 2008; Senter for Internasjonalisering av Høgre Utdanning(SIU), March 2010), gaining international experience (e.g. *ibid.*), accessing education not domestically available (*ibid.;* Gürüz, 2008; Altbach & Gopinathan, 1987) and migration (e.g. Altbach and Teichler, 2001) are among the factors recognized as personal rationales for student mobility.

International HE mobility in general is a little researched topic (Lee et al., 2006), as is the reasons and reasoning behind the choice of studying abroad. The choices made concerning studying abroad are individual decisions, but they are also influenced by structural, political, cultural, and historical factors (*ibid.*). When broaching this topic it is therefore important to understand the context in which the mobility takes place.

1.1.2 Suriname

For many, Suriname is a little known country. It was formerly a Dutch colony and this relationship has affected Suriname and Surinamese society in many ways. The colonial history is, as is often the case, quite brutal, and has left its political marks. There is also a history of migration to the former colonial power. Included in this history is student mobility for the purpose of HE. A peak migratory period was from the time of independence in 1975

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[1] International student mobility will be referred to by many different names including, simply, mobility.

until around 1980. A large Surinamese Diaspora lives in the Netherlands today. The colonial history has also shaped the demographic outline. Today Suriname is a peaceful and multi-ethnic society. It is classified by the UNDP (2007) as a Medium Human Development country. The ranking is based on a number of measures including enrolment and adult literacy rate, both on which Suriname scores high.

The educational system in Suriname is based on the Dutch system. Primary education has been mandatory since the late 1800s and secondary school enrolment is hinged on graduation from primary school. When it comes to HE, the Anton de Kom University of Suriname (AdeKUS) is the only university, but there are other colleges and vocational HE institutions (HEIs). Schooling is free, apart from certain expenses for books and uniforms. At the university, there is also a small enrolment fee.

In a 2004 educational policy paper by the Ministry of Education and Community Development (MINOV) the knowledge economy and HE are seen as vehicles for further development, and internationalization is in turn seen as a tool to achieve improvements in the sector. Mobility of students is not a specified policy, but there is a high level of student mobility to the Netherlands today. The policy paper (MINOV, 2004) also notes a high level of brain drain from the country.

1.1.3   Rationale for the study

Internationalization efforts are increasingly recognized, not only by the Surinamese government in their policies on education and by AdeKUS, but by the international community, national governments and universities across the world as a way to boost the university's economy, the national economy and increase national/international competitiveness. Ultimately, for developing countries such as Suriname, it is seen as path towards improvement of national HEIs as well as society by proxy. International student mobility, though not explicitly mentioned in the 2004 MINOV policy paper is included in internationalization efforts. Moreover, there is a high level of mobility to the Netherlands.

But as was pointed out above there is a lack of research on international student mobility, both at the level of individual choice and within a contextualized national frame. Even though international student mobility is conceived of as a way to supply education and as a means of developing society, is it always so?

1.2 **Problem statement and research questions**

This study aims at delving deeper into this topic by contextualizing the high level of student mobility from Suriname to the Netherlands and answering

Why is Surinamese HE student mobility to the Netherlands so high?

This focus differs from perspectives of many other studies of international student mobility from developing countries which often focus on the experiences of mobile students abroad (Wiers-Jenssen, Student mobility and the professional value of higher education from abroad, 2008). According to Wiers-Jenssen (2008) the choices students make about studying abroad are under researched and little understood, though it is pointed out that several important contributions to the field have been made recently.

In order to answer this query and to understand mobility from Suriname it is also important to understand the country's history and its colonial past. The history will provide context for the current situation of student mobility today and the macro level will supply a frame in which to understand the individual's motivation for studying abroad and to determine in which ways mobility is perceived, used and accessed.

To do so the following research questions will be pursued:

1. Do Surinamese HE students want to study in the Netherlands? If so, why?

2. Which factors determine the access to international HE mobility? I.e. is mobility for a select group?

3. What rationale and/or strategy does the Surinamese government have towards mobility?

Previous research on student mobility has shown that there is often a connection between international student mobility flows and a country's prior colonial history. The former colonized countries often have a high number of students studying in the former colonizing countries, often understood as resulting from this relationship and refered to a 'the colonial connection'(Gürüz, 2008). The first question will therefore be answered by pursuing the following sub questions to uncover *individual* rationales for mobility:

a) What rationales do students' have for wanting to pursue HE?

b)   What rationales do students' have for wanting to pursue HE abroad?

c)   What rationales do Surinamese students have for pursuing HE in the Netherlands?

By answering these questions it is also hoped that a clarification of what exactly the 'colonial connection' is and how it effects students choices.

Question two, *Which factors determine the access to international HE mobility? I.e. is mobility for a select group?,* is important to establish a level of individual choice. I.e. whether or not those that want to study abroad are those that do study abroad. Question two, will therefore be answered by looking at which barriers students wanting to study abroad face, such as access to financial support. Question three *What rationale and/or strategy does the Surinamese government have towards mobility?* The issue of how the Surinamese government approaches mobility will be important to understand the choices of the Surinamese students as it can encourage or discourage mobility, by, for example, limiting access to mobility or actively promoting it. It is also important for an understanding of what the Surinamese government conceptualizes as the benefits of internationalization.

Answering these research questions will allow for an answer to the overarching question:

Why is Surinamese HE student mobility to the Netherlands so high?

1.3 **Methodology**

In order to answer these questions a hybrid methodology will be employed. The particular hybrid methodology employed will be a cross between, a cross-sectional, or survey, research design (Bryman 2004: 41) and a case study design (*ibid.*). Bryman defines cross-sectional research design as entailing "the collection of data on *more than one case …* and at *a single point in time* in order to collect a body of *quantitative* or *quantifiable data* in connection with two or more variables …, which are then examined to detect *patterns of association*" (Bryman 2004: 41). Though he emphasizes that a cross-sectional design is employed on *more than one case,* he also holds that case studies are aimed at examining a specific *location* should be deemed case studies, (*ibid.*). However, he refers to a cross-sectional study that is said to have yielded "case-study evidence" (Bryman 2004: 50). The research design employed here will therefore be a hybrid between the two in that it will be geared at going in-depth on the particular individual choices made, but simultaneously trying to get an overview so as to

be able to find *patterns of association.* Despite the use of the word *quantitative* in the definition above, Bryman concedes that it is possible and quite widespread to use cross-sectional design when conducting qualitative research, as will be done in this research (Bryman 2004: 42-44).

The data collection method will mainly be semi-structured, conversational style, one-on-one interviews with students at AdeKUS located in Paramaribo. The interviews are guided by a set of questions regarding the student's background, their thoughts around going to AdeKUS, about HE in general and about studying abroad, in particular the Netherlands. The degree to which these questions have guided the interviews vary from a totally set interview to very loose interviews depending on the interviewees responsiveness. Informants were students at AdeKUS, 16 in total, from the three different faculties. All the interviews were conducted at the university campus. One interview was also made with an employee at the Dutch embassy. In addition, a document analysis will be necessary to answer questions three. Since there is no extensive material available in English, pertaining to internationalization of HE in Suriname nor any explicit rationale for such processes in the documentation available, the question will be answered by analyzing government policy papers and interviews with a MINOV employee and the president of the university board.

The interviews with person employed at the university, embassy and MINOV were mainly geared at fact retrieval or fact checking and to a lesser extent to probe them about their opinions on HE and student mobility. Information gathered through these interviews was related to university policies and access factors such as finance possibilities and information availability. Most of the findings from these interviews will be employed in chapter 2 *Background,* and to some extent to contextualize the findings from the student interviews.

1.4   Structure of thesis

In the succeeding chapter, the reader will be introduced to Suriname. The aim of the first section of the introductory chapter is to give the reader an impression of the country through its geography, demography, politics and history. This section will also deal with the relationship to the Netherlands by showing some historical and present factors and events that have marked relations with the former colonial power. Section two presents an overview of the educational system in Suriname from the primary to the tertiary level, as is followed by a

short history of student mobility to the Netherlands, which, as will be shown, is important for understanding mobility today.

Chapter 3, *Literature Review,* will expound on some relevant historical aspects of HE student mobility and the 'colonial connection', as well as more recent trends and research done within the field. In addition the chapter introduces the 'push'-'pull' framework which has been extensively used to explain mobility flows.

Central to the understanding of both the analyses and the discussion will be the theories presented in chapter 4, *Theorethical Framework*. The macro level will be framed by postcolonialism, while the micro level perspective on educational choice will be human capital. In addition, a model developed by Wiers-jenssen (2008), forms the basis for understanding how these levels interact. The theories will be key to the discussion in chapter.

Chapter 5, *Methods*, will describe and justify the methods used in the data collection. The snowball method employed to select and recruit interviewees will be presented, as will the interview participants. An in-depth look at the semi-structured interview process follows, with a reference to the appendices IV and V, the interview guide and consent from respectively.

The data and the analysis will be presented simultaneously in chapter 6, *Data, analysis and results.* The data will be presented by introducing the students, and with reference to appendix VI that contains overview of some key data. The analysis shows that students consider HE in general, whether abroad or domestic, as very important to their future prospects. For many it is seen as an issue of status to study abroad, but access is limited. For some studying abroad is a necessity, for others an impossibility. It is also found that there might be a generational difference in attitude concerning the status and quality of HE abroad compared to the domestic provision.

The findings will be discussed in chapter 7, *Discussion*. In this penultimate chapter, it will be argued that the colonial legacy has resulted in the Netherlands being an attractive destination for students in that they have access to information regarding the country, the students have an advantage when it comes to language and studying there has always been and presently is an elite project. The generational change in attitude towards domestic and Dutch HE is within the framework of postcolonial theory a contestation of the colonial legacy that resulted in HE

being for the elite. It is also shown that human capital fits the findings of the analysis well and that students see HE as an opportunity to secure their future. A revised version of Wiers-Jenssens (2008) model incorporating information access and financial barriers, and closely links HE rationales to study abroad rationales will be presented as a better fit for the Surinamese context.

Lastly, in chapter 8, C*onclusions and Recommendations,* will summarize and answer the overarching question Why are there so many Surinamese HE students studying in the Netherlands today? The chapter will conclude with some recommendations for potential strategies for improving the HE sector in Suriname, based on the feedback from the students.

2 Background and context: setting the stage

The history of any country is an important factor in appreciating trends and patterns in the present. In order to understand the topic of this thesis, and to underline the need for contextual thinking in the approach to all subjects, an introduction to Suriname is essential. In addition, this country's history differentiates it demographically and culturally from the other countries in the region. The first part of this chapter is therefore dedicated to making the reader familiar with a country unfamiliar to many by painting a picture of it geographically, historically, demographically and culturally. The section will conclude with a look at the relationship between Suriname and the Netherlands, a central dimension to the comprehension of Surinamese student mobility.

The second part will introduce the national education system, with an emphasis on the tertiary level in general and the Anton de Kom University of Suriname (AdeKUS) in particular. Problems in the education sector repeat across educational levels. The issues that are recognized as problematic at the primary level can therefore tell us something about the reality facing Surinamese university students. This section consequently presents all levels in brief. The section will close with a look at the history of Surinamese student mobility to the Netherlands.

2.1 Placing Suriname

The Republic of Suriname is the smallest independent country in South America. It is located on the northeastern shoulder of Brazil, wedged between Guyana and French Guiana (see Appendix I). The mangrove dotted coastline to the Atlantic Ocean and the rivers that separates it from its small neighbors make the waters off the coast a muddy brown, and doesn't match the picture most have of the Caribbean. Though being the smallest independent country, size is relative. In the words of Dew, it is "roughly the size of Bangladesh, or the American state of Wisconsin, and about four times the size of the Netherlands."(Dew, 1996: 1). About two thirds of the country is covered in tropical rain forest and savannas. These regions have little infrastructure and people have settled mostly in the country's coastal region and in proximity to the largest rivers (see Appendix II).

Size aside, with a population of only 492,829 in the 2004 census (Algemeen Bureau voor de Statistiek (ABS), August 2005), or an estimated 509,970 in 2007 (Algemeen Bureau voor de Statistiek, November 2008) it is still one of the most ethnically, linguistically, religiously and culturally diverse countries in the world. Close to three-fourths of the population live in the urban areas, with approximately one-fifth in the capitol Paramaribo and adjacent areas (Suriname , 2010). In addition to having an urban population, Suriname has a young population: the median age is quite low at 27.1 years and 26.5 years, for women and men respectively (Algemeen Bureau voor de Statistiek, November 2008).

Since the time of colonization and in to the 20th century Suriname was witness to an influx of people from many different parts of the world. These groups have contributed to shaping the Suriname of today. With slavery came people from different parts of Africa. Descendants of these involuntary African immigrants are today categorized into 2 different groups: Creoles and Maroons, which respectively make up 17.7 percent and 14.7 percent of the population (ABS, 2005). The categorization is based partly on the settlement patterns. The creoles are considered urban, while the maroons are descended from the run-away slaves that after their escape settled in the interior of the country and continued a tribal way of life (Dew 1996: 5).

Contract laborers were after abolition of slavery, brought from India and Java. Today descendants of these groups are categorized as Hindustanis (27.4 percent), the largest population group today, and Javanese (14.6 percent) (ABS 2005).

The Amerindian, or, as in the 2004 Census, Indigenous group counted 10.2 percent of the population in 1971 (Dew 1996: 5) while in the 2004 Census the number was down to 3.7 percent (ABS 2005).

In addition to these five main groups, the country has smaller Chinese, Caucasian, and Creole, or "mixed", populations. The latter group constitutes 12.4 percent of the population (ABS 2005). The plural nature of Suriname today is historically grounded. The Dutch presence in Suriname and their actions have shaped the country demographically.

2.1.1 Suriname today: key figures

Suriname is categorized as a Medium development country, as it scores quite high on the Human Development Index (HDI) of the UN. HDI combines "indicators of life expectancy,

educational attainment and income into a composite human development index" (UNDP, 2009a). The HDI for Suriname is quoted as 0.769, which in a ranking system places Suriname 97th out of the182 countries indexed (*ibid.*). Adult literacy rate is one of main the factors pushing Suriname up on the index: in the population of 15 and older 90.4 percent are literate (*ibid.*). Combined enrolment at all three educational levels is at 74.3 percent (*ibid.*). This number also contributes positively to Suriname's ranking as it places them 86th on a list aggregated by this indicator alone (*ibid.*). More details on enrolment and the education system in general will be presented in the next section.

The period following the peace treaty of 1992 was economically unstable as the government was unsuccessful in changing the downward trends of the 80s. In the period since Ronald Venetiaan and the new coalition government of 2000 came to power they have succeeded to some degree in stabilizing the country's economy. The country's economic backbone is mineral mining, with bauxite and gold as the two main sources of export income, another factor that adds to the HDI score: again Suriname is 86th with a GDP of 7,813 PPP US$ (*ibid.*).Despite the relative economic and political stability there has been little innovation and reform. There continues to be inequality in access to resources and education.

The 2009 Human Development Report gives Suriname a GINI coefficient of 52.9, and state that 27.9 percent are living on under 2$ per day (UNDP, 2009b). The GINI indicates levels of inequality by measuring deviation from a perfect income distribution scenario (0) which represents a state where all income is equally distributed among the population. A measure of 100 represents perfect inequality (*ibid.*). It must be stated that those that score the highest on the GINI coefficient do not get closer to 0 than around 24, and the country with the highest level of inequality is Namibia with 74.3 (UNDP, 2009c). Therefore, though the level of variation is only a span of approximately 50 and Suriname measure is about mid-way in this range, the country's index is not average. The country following Namibia in inequality is the Comoros with 64, showing that Namibia is an outlier compared to the rest. The only Least Developed Country (LDC) in the Americas, Haiti, has a measure of 59.5, while Suriname's neighbor Guyana has 44.6 (*ibid.*).

Access to education is also an issue when it comes to inequality. As indicated above combined enrolment is at 74.3 percent, but the numbers are significantly lower for the interior

than for the urban areas[2]. To rectify some of the issues that might be contributing to this access inequality, a National Education Sector Plan has been developed, and some changes have already been implemented.

2.1.2 Language, Religion and Culture

Many of the ethnic groups originating from Africa, Asia and Europe, that have come to the country at different times and under different circumstances, have kept their languages, religions and cultures. The official language of education, government and media is Dutch. For around 60 percent of the population it is a first language, while for most others it is a second or third language (UNDP, 2010). A variant of Dutch often used is called Surinamese-Dutch, and is influenced by the English-based Creole Sranan Tongo, literally Surinamese tongue. Though the variant is almost ubiquitous, it is rarely spoken in the forested interior among the indigenous peoples (ibid.). While Sranan Tongo is often used as a lingua franca between the different ethnic groups, it is considered as a language of the urban Creoles. It is rarely used in the official domains.

Religion is another aspect that adds to the diversity of the Surinamese population. Christianity, all denominations included, accounts for the religious beliefs of around 40 percent of the population, and Christians can be found among most of the different ethnic groups such as Creoles, Javanese, Chinese, Hindustani and Caucasians (ABS 2005). If the Christian group is divided into the denominations, it is, the Hindu religion which is most widespread. Approximately 20 percent of the population confess to the Hindu religion (*ibid.*). In addition around 15 percent are Muslim and amongst the Indigenous peoples and the Maroons different traditional, indigenous religions are the most pervasive (*ibid.*).

There might be some problems with the numbers. According to the 2004 Census 15 percent say they do not know their religion (*ibid.*). This might indicate that some of the classifications or categories used in the census are insufficient or unclear. For example the Christian category includes Catholics, Protestants and sub-categories of both such as Moravian, Lutheran, Dutch Reformed, Evangelical, Baptist, and Methodist. It is possible that those belonging to one of these sub-groups have not been aware of this way of categorizing. If this is the case, the proportion of Christians might be higher.

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[2] More on this education under section 2.2

Culturally, the different ethnical groups have maintained many of their different traditions. The cultural diversity is represented and carried in large part through both linguistic and religious beliefs and actions. In the capitol Paramaribo, where around half the population lives, the culture is largely a modern, urban culture. Many of the traditional, cultural expressions have become incorporated by the other ethnic groups. Festivals and holidays such as the Hindu festival of Divali, the Christian tradition of Christmas, and Eid ul-Fitr, the Muslim holiday that marks the end of Ramadan, are all celebrated by all members of society, regardless of religious or ethnic affiliation. Many of the different ethnic groups have kept their languages, their religions and their cultures, and Surinamese politics have been split along ethnic lines (e.g. Dew, 1996). Suriname is a multi-cultural and presently peaceful society as can be witnessed by the collective celebrations of the religious holidays and the extent to which the Creole lingua franca is used. Even so, the influence of Dutch culture has been constant and has resulted in the rise of an urban, Surinamese- Dutch culture, which signals "a linguistically and culturally integrated nation" (St-Hilaire, 2001: 998).

2.1.3 A brief history

Pre-colonial and the arrival of the Europeans

The country became a Dutch colony in 1667. The English had 16 years earlier set up a trading post on the territory, and only with the so-called Breda- agreement of 1667 was it handed over to the Dutch in exchange for the Dutch area then known as Nieuw Amsterdam, today New York (Suriname: Historie, 2010) In pre-colonial times the area was inhabited by several indigenous groups such as the Taino (today Arawak), Kali'nago (today Carib), Warrau, Wayana and Akurio (Minority Rights Group International, 2008) who lived along the coast, the rivers and in the rainforest. After the Dutch settled the coastal area indigenous groups retreated

 " into the interior to avoid extinction. Colonial policy included practices like transporting a selection of indigenous people of Suriname to the 1883 International Colonial and Export Exhibition in Amsterdam and displaying them in human zoos." (*ibid.*)

Although the colony changed hands several times, was from 1851 until independence exclusively under the Dutch and became known as Dutch Guiana (*ibid.*). During the colonial period, the population lived mostly in the capital Paramaribo, the only town, and on

plantations (MacDonald, 1999). Manpower for the plantations consisted of slaves brought from the African continent by the colonizers. The plantation economy afforded the newcomers an often-brutal new life. According to Dew, the plantation owners in Suriname were quite infamous for their "harshness [which] was almost legendary throughout the Caribbean" (Dew, 1996: 21). For this reason, many of the slaves fled to the interior[3] where they settled and from where they led attacks on the former plantations. The attacks often doubled as liberating missions for the slaves still in captivity or as inspiration for others to flee (*ibid.*). These attacks continued for a period of about 50 years, up until the 1760s, after which a treaty was signed with the Dutch government (Minority Rights Group International, 2008).

In 1863, the same year slaves were emancipated in the USA, slavery was abolished in Suriname. In the succeeding period, the plantations relied on the 'contracted employment' of former slaves and the importation of contract laborers from Asia, mainly India, Java (Indonesia) and China (*ibid.*). The latter practice was continued well up into the 20th century. The colony was ruled by the Dutch government, via the Ministerie van Kolonien (Colonial Ministry) (Dew, 1996). The country was divided into districts governed by the plantation owners and administrators (MacDonald, 1999). After the abolition of slavery, the number of Districts was increased and the administration left to District Commissioners who would be able to better control the population now that they were no longer the plantation owners property (*ibid.*).

In1865 a new constitution and a colonial legislature, known as Staten, were introduced. The Staten consisted of elected representatives and a Governor, appointed by the Dutch government, to oversee them (Dew, 1996). But due to limited suffrage the country was, in effect, ruled by a few wealthy Europeans and some creoles whose interests often aligned with those of the old plantation owners (Dew, 1996), so that in reality there was little change in political power. Though there was opposition, protests and attempts at rallying against the colonial government, Dew notes that the conflict level was "relatively mild", at least in comparison to other Caribbean areas (Dew 1996: 40). This state of affairs, where power and privilege lay in the hands of the wealthy and Dutch-affiliated, remained relatively unchanged until the 1940s.

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[3] "The interior" and "the hinterland" are the two most common terms for the forested region furthest away from the Surinamese coast and closest to today's Brazilian border (see appendix II).

Towards independence

In December 1942, the Dutch Queen Wilhelmina, in need of local help to ward off attacks from the Japanese in Indonesia[4], spoke of change on the radio. The speech was broadcasted to all the territories of the Netherlands, Suriname included. She promised a new organization of the kingdom "in which the Netherlands, Indonesia, Suriname and Curaçau will all take part, and in which each will look after its own internal affairs, reliant on its own power, yet with the will to assist each other" (quoted in Dew 1996: 48).

The statement led to many hopes and spurred resistance against the unpopular colonial governor, who was thrown shortly after (Dew 1996). In 1947, universal suffrage was finally granted. Along with it came a partial fulfillment of Queen Wilhelmina's promise: internal budgetary and legislative control was granted, and in 1949, the first general elections were held (Dew 1996). The promise was completely fulfilled in 1954 when Suriname was granted autonomy within the kingdom. In effect, this meant that the Netherlands stayed in charge of foreign affairs and defense (*ibid.*).

Tuesday November 25th, 1975 Suriname peacefully gained their independence after Henck Arron, the incumbent premier of Suriname, and the Dutch premier signed an agreement to this effect in March of the same year (The Virgin Islands Daily News, 1975). The agreement included a large amount of financial aid that would be doled out from the Dutch government to secure development in the coming years. According to Willems & de Nooijer (2006) the amount equaled 1.6 billion Euro and was to be spent over a period of 10-15 years. The full amount has still not been dispersed, as will be returned to in section 2.2 below.

All the governments elected since the introduction of universal suffrage, both before and after independence, consisted of coalitions of different political parties, each of which were principally organized along ethnical lines. Though independence and the elections had been peaceful, the years that followed were turbulent for the new state.

Post- independence: the turbulent 80s and the path to stability

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[4] Indonesia was at the time also a Dutch colony. They claimed their independence shortly after WWII, in August 1945. Independence was acknowledged by the Netherlands in 1949

Five short years after independence a group of non-commissioned militaries, lead by Desirée Bouterse, staged a military coup, or, as some prefer, led a revolution[5]. The group's political ideology is often called the "Four Renewals", each of which was a promise of change in the political-administrative, social, educational and economical state of affairs (NDP, 2010). The post-coup government, though *de jure* led by a civilian, secured *de facto* power for Bouterse. Power being located somewhere other than where it officially belonged did not represent change. In fact it can be seen as a parallel to the introduction of elected members in the *Staten*. This official change in legislature, did not shift power from the plantation owners and the Dutch government to those with a vote, but rather acted as a veil to hide the seat of power. Both in the social and economical areas there was change, but the change was for the worse.

In 1982, the regime and Bouterse were accused of killing 12 members of the opposition that had spoken out against them[6]. Internal strife broke out between Bouterse's men and a guerilla group in 1986. Due to the internal fights, reckless economic politics and the murder accusations the Netherlands halted the donor funding promised in 1975. This led to increased economic difficulties. Large parts of the interior are still suffering from the shortage of infrastructure caused by the destructions of the fighting and worsened by the lack of investments to the region.

Due to popular resistance and international pressure, the regime called for democratic elections in 1987. The elections were held, but democracy was paused again in 1990 when Bouterse again showed his power by ousting the elected government by, literally, phoning it in. The so-called "telephone coup" proved the extent of his power: because the sitting government was not to his liking, he ousted it and instated one he did approve. Finally, in late 1991 a coalition government won the elections and Ronald Venetiaan was chosen for the presidency. The following year the new government was able to negotiate a peace treaty with the rebelling groups. Again, in 1996, the still popular NDP won elections and Dr. Jules Wijdenbosch, the NDP presidential candidate, secured the post as president. Many believed Bouterse still held the real power (Suriname , 2010). Though being responsible for the

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[5] Most external sources refer to this event as a military coup, what ensued as a military regime, and the leader as a military dictator. However, the party of which Bouterse is still the leader, NDP, refer to the event as a revolution (e.g. their official website http://www.ndp.sr/index-e.htm) as do other followers of the party and a few external sources (e.g. Store Norske Leksikon Surinam: historie on http://www.snl.no/Surinam/historie).

[6] The legal accusations brought against Bouterse led to trial in that started in 2007, but a verdict has yet to be made.

construction of a modern car bearing bridge across the Suriname River, connecting Paramaribo to the district of Meerzorg, he was not popular enough to keep the his post at the next round of elections. In 2000, the same year as the "The Jules Wijdenbosch bridge" was officially opened, Venetiaan returned to the presidency. He is still in office today[7], alongside another coalition government consisting of different ethnic parties.

2.2   **The Dutch- Surinamese relationship in brief**

As has been show above, Suriname's ties with the Netherlands has played a big role in shaping the nature of Surinamese society today. From the first time of colonization, the Dutch have influenced Suriname. The impact has been on settlement patterns by forcing the slaves and the Amerindians to flee to the interior. It has been demographical, cultural, and linguistic impact by the importation of slaves and workers. It has been a financial influence by granting and withholding aid. It has been political: by contributing to a political system with a tradition for hiding the true seat of power and for directing aid to the sectors they have deemed important. Today the financial support the Netherlands promised at the time of independence is running out and is being gradually phased out, a process that started in 2004 (Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs , 2004).

 These are all factors that have contributed to the present state of Surinamese society and its plural nature. In addition to influencing society and demographics *in* Suriname a great many people have also left Suriname for a life in the Netherlands. There has been an even influx of Surinamese to the Netherlands, but there have been two peak periods. The first occurred after the time of independence in 1975. The Surinamese people could chose whether they wanted to keep their Dutch citizenship: Approximately 40.000 did and left the country to settle in the Netherlands (Minority Rights Group International, 2008).The second peak was in 1980, when a change in the rules for obtaining a Dutch citizenship concurred with the military coup in Suriname. From this time, the Surinamese who wished to immigrate to the Netherlands were no longer automatically given access to do so.

The Surinamese Diaspora in the Netherlands counted over 300,000 in 2000, a doubling since the time of independence (Gowricharn, 2004). The doubling does not consist solely of new

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[7] New elections for the National Assembly were held in May 2010. NDP and their *Mega Combinatie* coalition have won the elections, but the choice of president will not be made until August by The National Assembly.

arrivals to the Netherlands, but also a "natural increase" as the second generation are born (*ibid.*: 611). As a reminder, there are some 490.000 inhabitants in Suriname today. Numbers from 2000-2002, presented in The Human Development Report (HDR) 2009, indicate that Suriname in the period had an emigration rate of 36.9 percent, and that 82.2 percent of these emigrants live in Europe (UNDP, 2009a).

2.3 Education in Suriname

 Suriname has since 1876 enjoyed compulsory primary education, as of The Compulsory Education Act for primary education (Ministerie van Onderwijs en Volksontwikkeling (MINOV), 2004). Today the education system[8] is comprised of pre-primary (2 years) and primary (6 years), before the choice has to be made between either the 4 year general "*meer uitgebreid lager onderwijs*" (MULO) or a 3 year lower technical or instructional training program (Willems & de Nooijer, 2006). After completing MULO the choice is between a 3 year pre-university education (VWO),   a 2 year higher general secondary education (HAVO), both of which can lead to qualifications for tertiary education, but only VWO graduates qualify directly to enroll at the university. MULO graduates can also choose between a mid-level technical education or mid-level business and administration training, which both have duration of 3 years. At the primary levels enrollment rates are high, but numbers indicate that there is a high degree of access inequality: in the urban, coastal areas, nearly 82% of the children went to school, compared to 62% in the hinterland (MINOV, 2004). Many of the primary schools are private and often religiously affiliated. Children start school when they are 6 and are supposed to stay in primary school for 6 years, graduating at 12 years of age.

2.3.1 Quality and equality in the education sector

Since the 1980s "there has been an enormous deterioration of … provisions in the field of education and a decrease in quality" (MINOV, 2004: 39). The Ministry of Education and Community Development have made sector plan for education ensure access and to increase the quality of both of graduates and the system itself (Willems & de Nooijer, 2006). The plan was drafted with inspiration from international trends as well as the input from local stakeholders in Suriname (MINOV, 2004: iii). The report from MINOV recognizes that

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[8] See also appendix III for an overview of the Surinamese Education system

education is a necessary base for further development of society, of "democracy and rule of law, good governance, poverty alleviation and sustainable production" within a long-term international and regional framework (MINOV, 2004: 1). All educational levels, from pre-primary to University, are analyzed in the report and a plethora of issues is revealed.

Dropout rates and repeaters are recurrent problems across all levels. About half of the children that attend primary school graduate, and out of these 50 percent, only 60 percent do so within the allotted time (*ibid.*). According numbers from 2006/2007 repeaters average about 17 percent of the school population for each school year, but in some districts the number is as high as 34 percent the first school year, and the proceeding grades (2nd -6th grade) also show similarly high numbers (ABS 2008: 107). Dropout rates vary between 7-8 percent per year, and in the period from 1996-2006

"less than half of the pupils [that were finishing the 6th grade were] found suitable to continue general education, the others being directed to technical education,[or] vocational training, ... while some 30% had to do the 6th grade again" (Willems & de Nooijer, 2006: 29)

The poor results might in part result from Dutch being the language of instruction all over the country, whereas in large parts of the interior this is not the children's first language. In the interior districts of Brokopondo and Sipaliwini more than 70 percent say they speak "Maroon language" in the home (Algemeen Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2010). However, it is important to note that the numbers are high even in the urban areas where Dutch is cited as the most used household language by 66.4 percent of the population (*ibid.*).

Poor quality instruction, lack of teachers and lack of *motivated* teachers are other prevalent problems the sector must deal with. As of June 2008, 12,777 teachers were employed in the entire education sector (Algemeen Bureau voor de Statistiek, November 2008). Perhaps contributing to this is the lack of innovation that has marked the system. The curriculum (Prins Syllabus) which dates from 1965, originally imported from Holland, was partly adapted to the Surinamese context in a joint project with Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) in the mid-eighties. This project ensured that "[m]ore attention was given to Surinamese culture and more emphasis placed on the pupils' active participation" (MINOV, 2004:17). Though the initiative was considered necessary and the rationale for was based in the needs of the students, the project was never completed and many were never able to access the materials

produced (Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) , 1998). There have been few other reforms. Even though progression through primary school is time-consuming for many children there is increased popular pressure for secondary education, in particular for the technical and instructional streams (Willems & de Nooijer, 2006), as well as for tertiary education (MINOV, 2004).

2.3.2 Tertiary Education in Suriname

History

In Suriname public tertiary education consists of one university and 6 institutions of higher vocational education, in addition to a few, but increasing number of private institutions[9]. There is no comprehensive HE plan that includes all the different institutions in the country (Willems & de Nooijer, 2006), but the university, Anton de Kom University of Suriname (AdeKUS), is dealt with in the education sector plan (i.e MINOV, 2004).

Founded November 1st 1968, the university's roots go back to 1882 with the foundation of Suriname's first Medical School. Following the establishment of the Medical school was the Law school (1948), both of which were incorporated in the new university structure as of 1975. In addition to the incorporation of these two facilities, the founding day of the university also saw the opening of the Faculty of Social-Economic Sciences. In 1976 and 1977 the Faculties of Natural Technological Sciences and Technical Sciences were instituted. With the political changes in the 80s came changes in the structure and nomenclature of the university. The university was renamed the Anton de Kom University of Suriname, after Anton de Kom, a workers movement leader popular in the mid-thirties, who was deported to the Netherlands for his efforts (Dew, 1996: 39). Today AdeKUS has three faculties: social sciences (including studies pertaining to law), medical and technological as well as a newly opened faculty of graduate studies offering some opportunities for Masters and PhD programs.

Current situation

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[9] See Appendix IV for a non-comprehensive list of tertiary institutions in Suriname.

In the 2007/2008 academic year, 7,024 students were enrolled at tertiary institutions in Suriname, 3,521 of these at AdeKUS (Algemeen Bureau voor de Statistiek, November 2008). All tertiary institutions have seen an increase the past few years, including AdeKUS where student numbers have been steadily increasing with about 200 students a year since 2002/2003 (*ibid.*). Of enrolled students in 2007/2008, 2,284 were female, to 1,237 male students; only the Faculty of Technological Sciences (FTeW) has marginally more male than female students (*ibid.*). No data is available regarding the students origin, nor on the number of academic instructors employed at the institution. An enrollment fee of 625 SRD, equivalent to approximately 170 Euros, has been implemented recently, after the MINOV (2004) report recommended such a fee be introduced. Changes have also been made in the degree structure after it was suggested in the MINOV report. Today, AdeKUS grants graduates titles according to the bachelor/master system, whereas previously the institution granted titles according to the old Dutch system.

As of 2004, though ambitious objectives were set for the university, several problems were divulged in the MINOV report. Due to a high pressure for graduates in addition to financial constraints, quality has been negatively affected. Quality is also an issue with the academic and administrative staff who receive little or no follow-up training, and many of whom are under-qualified for their positions. In general, there is lack of resources, equipment and materials; Curricula are out-dated and irrelevant. Moreover, as with the other educational levels, dropout rates and repeaters constitute a drain on all resources: economic, staff and material. In addition, the HE institution is not "attuned to social demand [and]… insufficiently directed towards the labor market" (MINOV, 2004:32)

It is also recognized that students wanting to pursue university education are also faced with several problems. There was no sufficient student financing scheme to ensure access to those with limited resources, there is little choice of programs and directions at the faculties and both potential and current students lack information and guidance in their choice-making and educational processes. The MINOV report does not state explicitly how to rectify these problems, but some solutions are presented in the form of a "mission and a vision"(2004: 50) and plans for reform from 2004-present, as well as more long-term plans over the next 15-20 years.

The reforms recommended for the tertiary level are multiple, and within several sections within the institutions, such as legal, administrative, financial, curricular, international and

instructional. Of particular interest here are the plans regarding internationalization and financial opportunities for students.

Internationalization is defined as "every activity of higher education to [sic.] beyond the national borders" (MINOV, 2004: 56). Though the definition points out of Suriname, it is also stated that it includes learning from and adapting to international trends or cooperations (*ibid.*). Many of the changes suggested are in reference to institutional changes or additions within its borders. Improving the quality of graduates and curricula, and adjusting degree- and institutional structure to international standards is declared a priority. It is suggested that a "desk" (MINOV, 2004: 57) be set up to handle all the international relations of the institutions. It is also suggested that the university should have an offer of studying foreign languages to both students and staff. When it comes to financing, MINOV(2004) states that a student loan scheme should be implemented in 2009.

The history of Surinamese HE can be traced back to the 1800s though, officially, the university was not established until the 1960s. Today the tertiary sector as a whole might not have a comprehensive plan, but the university certainly has a clear concept of its importance to society and plans have been made for reform. Some of the reforms and changes regarding student financing and internationalization were scheduled to have happened in the period 2004-2009 .

2.3.3 The status of Surinamese student mobility

OECD (2007) figures from 2005 show that 983 Surinamese students were studying in the Netherlands out of a total of 1,163 Surinamese students studying in OECD countries[10]. Only 23 students where at the time studying in non-OECD countries. As mentioned in the section above, the number of students studying at AdeKUS was in 2007/2008 3, 521 (Algemeen Bureau voor de Statistiek, November 2008) . This means that mobile students constitute the equivalent of more than one-fifth of all students enrolled at the tertiary level domestically, or almost half of those enrolled at AdeKUS. There are some financial support schemes available for those that want to study abroad. Both the Netherlands and Belgium have had some

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[10] The total recorded number might not be exhaustive. The OECD data set only contains numbers for the US, the UK, Netherlands, Turkey, Australia, Belgium, France, Germany, Korea, Norway, Netherlands, and Spain. For all other countries information is either not available or there were no Surinamese students studying there at the time of the datacollection.

university scholarships (Inter-American Development Bank(IADB), 1998). Belgium has also had a number of direct university-to-university collaborative projects with AdeKUS(*ibid.*). Only 14 students were enrolled in Belgium at the time the OECD data was collected in 2005, while 56 students were studying in France, 6 in the UK and 96 in the USA (OECD, 2007).

Student flows to the Netherlands

Since the creation of a Surinamese university was not fact until 1968 while the country was still a part of the Dutch Kingdom, Surinamese students have been studying in the Netherlands for a long time. The access to tertiary education abroad was not granted all groups throughout the period. Students that came from Suriname to the Netherlands for the purpose of HE in the time span 1900-1950, were from " 'the light-skinned Creole' higher echelons of colonial society" (van Stipriaan, 2006 : 160). In the subsequent period, the Dutch government started offering scholarships, which opened up for mobility from the middle- and working class Surinamese (Gowricharn, 2004). This, in addition to an improved economic situation for the Surinamese population in general, lead to both an increase in the number of students going to the Netherlands and increased access for previously excluded groups (van Stipriaan, 2006).

Around the time of independence and the military coup, a lot of those educated abroad were returning, according to van Stipriaan because "they felt obliged to help rebuild their country" (2006: 162). As described in section 2.2 both of these times were periods of mass emigration *to* the Netherlands from Suriname. If both van Stipriaan and Minority Rights Group International (2008) are correct this means the educated were going in the opposite direction of most Surinamese at the time. In 1986, during the political turmoil and internal fights, 702 Surinamese nationals enrolled at colleges and universities in the Netherlands (Piket, 1991). Piket (1991) remarks on the fact that this was the first year Surinamese students were counted as 'foreign' students and that this group constituted almost all of the increase in foreign student enrollment from the previous year. Even though aid to Suriname from the Netherlands is being phased out , as mentioned in section 2.2, there are still some scholarships available from the Dutch state and directly from some universities; Surinamese students also pay the same tuition fees as Dutch nationals (Nuffic, 2010). These fees vary from institution to institution.

According to numbers from Nuffic 600 students from Suriname were conducting either credit- or degree qualifying studies at government funded higher education institutions in the

Netherlands in 2008/2009, a number which is lower than it has been in previous years and Suriname is no longer among the top 10 sender countries of international students to the Netherlands (Nuffic, 2008). In contrast only 1200 students from the South American continent were conducting studies in the Netherlands in the same time period (*ibid.*) Another country of comparison, which will be returned to in chapter 7, is the former Dutch colony Indonesia which in the 2008/2009 data had 1350 students registered in the Netherlands (*ibid.*).

3 Literature review

The literature review has been limited by the research questions. However, a brief introduction is first made to trends concerning internationalization of HE is first made, before looking closer at the subcategory international student mobility. The concept is defined and theories used to explain it are examined, before looking at some relevant research pertaining to individual level motivations for mobility.

3.1 Internationalization of higher education

Many researchers discern that increasing internationalization of HE has been a trend over the last 30 years or so (e.g. Agarwal et al., 2007; Chen & Zimitat, 2006; Sehoole, 2006). There are many different conceptualizations, definitions and rationales that drive this process. As a general idea, it comprises everything from cross-border activities: co-operations, exchanges, franchises, partnerships, and projects, to curricular content and teaching methods with an international slant. An inclusive definition phrased by Knight describes the phenomena as "the process of integrating an international, intercultural, or global dimension into the purpose, functions or delivery of postsecondary education." (2003; used in Knight 2005: 13)

3.2 How is Internationalization explained?

Many connect the growth of internationalization of education, in particular HE, with the process of globalization (e.g. Knight, 2005). Just as internationalization is a broad phenomenon covering many different aspects and processes, so is globalization. The difficulty lies mainly in the multiple factors that are recognized as being part of or contributing to the phenomenon, as well as the historical longevity of many of these factors (Scholte, 2005). Scholte (*ibid.*) takes a step back from the fact that many of the factors are manifest over a long period and concludes that under a strict definition of globalization is a recent phenomenon. He bases this reduction of historical importance on the unprecedented growth of global connections, or in his own words "the present ongoing large-scale growth of transplanetary- and often also supraterritorial- connectivity" (Scholte 2005: 84). Such a definition is useful in that it places the scale and activity level of the connections in the forefront and marks globalization as a phenomenon that marks the world today in a way it has not previously done. Nonetheless, it also causes the loss of the historical perspective. As

mentioned, it is not the broad topic of internationalization that is the focus here, but one of its many manifestations.

3.3 Defining student mobility

The term student mobility is taken to include the movement of students from one country to another for the purpose of pursuing parts of or a whole tertiary education. Cross-border education is also used as a term to indicate mobility (e.g. Varghese, 2008; Magagula, 2005). In the Global Education Digest 2006, UNESCO uses 3 criteria to define who these international students are. These criteria are citizenship, permanent residency and prior education (quoted in Gürüz 2008: 161). I.e. an international student must be pursuing HE in a country other than that in which they are a citizen, other than that in which they live and other than the country where their primary and secondary education has been completed.

3.4 History of student mobility

Historically, access to HE during the colonial era often hinged on the needs of the colonizers. Whether HE was provided within the national boundaries (e.g. Kingsley,1993), or in the colonizing country, access was often granted to a few individuals that were expected to serve the colonizers in return (Varghese, 2008). Access to mobility was not just an individual choice, but also an issue of allowance. Independent of where the education took place the purpose of the education was both to emerge the student in the dominant culture and to achieve an education that would be useful in the administration of the territory (*ibid.*). After independence student mobility to the colonizing country often continued (*ibid.*).

Though systems of primary education had extensively been implemented during the colonial era, the period following decolonization saw the growth of tertiary educational institutions to a greater extent than before. Due to shortages in areas such as capacity, access and funding as well as the dominance of the western knowledge and education paradigm, there was a continued pressure for studying abroad. The greatest part of the students were coming from postcolonial countries and going to the former colonial powers (*ibid.*). According to Varghese postcolonial student mobility was possible due to 5 major sources of funding: Scholarships or other funding from the former colonial powers; Scholarships from other governments; Bi- or

multi-lateral development agencies; Scholarships from domestic governments; and lastly, Private funding (Varghese, 2008: 14).

3.5 Current research and trends

Research done on student mobility falls into two main categories. In the first category she places qualitative, "small scale studies, mainly addressing free-movers from developing countries" and their sojourns abroad. (Wiers-Jenssen, 2008: 41). In the second are found larger scale surveys, which often have Europe as their geographical focus and exchange students as their main group (*ibid.*). Though the methodology, scale and geography of this paper would fall into the first category, the latter group is where most of the research related the topic of this paper has been made and some of the findings will therefore be presented here. Some of the research will be touched upon in the discussion that follows in chapter 7.

This section covers current trends and some research within the field of student mobility. First is a brief status report on global trends in student mobility. A look at the often-used 'push-'pull' framework, which frames mobility choices within the context of domestic and foreign structural conditions, ensues. Lastly is a review of some pertinent factors that are seen as contributing to or hindering students in studying abroad.

3.5.1 Trends

International student mobility is, along with internationalization efforts, a phenomena on the rise(e.g.Gürüz, 2008). One of the clearest trends is the high mobility to English speaking countries (*ibid*.) as will be exponded on in section 3.4.3. In the case of Latin America, Gacel-Ávila, Jaramillo, Knight, & de Wit, (Gacel- Ávila et al., 2005) finds that the student flow is mainly directed towards Europe, with the exception of Mexico. They also find that students prefer mobility to either Europe or North America rather than their geographical neighbors. In Latin America in general they find that "student mobility remains a marginal activity" (Gacel-Ávila et al., 2005: 344).

In general, 'developing' countries have high mobility rates and often to 'developed' countries in the geographic North (Gürüz, 2008). Mobility from 'developing' countries is often characterized by so-called free movers, student who pursue education abroad without being anchored to a domestic university, whereas mobility from 'developed' countries frequently is

characterized by shorter sojourns with students pursuing part of a degree while they continue to be affiliated with the domestic HEI(Wiers-Jenssen, 2008). Similarly, there seems to be a difference between 'developing' and 'developed' countries when it comes to reasons for going abroad. 'Developing' countries in which domestic HE offers and inadequate range of programmes or poor quality HE, are often driven by such structural inadequacies, whereas students from 'developed countries are more prone to consider mobility an allure in it self, often being driven by a desire for new experiences (*ibid.*). (both these points will be considered in more detail in section 3.4.3).

3.5.2 The 'push'-'pull' framework

One model that is often used to understand factor relevant to the decision to study abroad is the push-pull framework. Based on a theory of migration the 'push' and' pull' framework has been developed to recognize and label the different factors that influence the choice to study abroad (Agarwal et al., 2007). The 'push' factors are those that pertain to domestic issues such as lack of access or opportunity, while the 'pull' factors describe host country possibilities (Wiers-Jenssen, Student mobility and the professional value of higher education from abroad, 2008). Relevant in this research are 'pull' factors pertaining mainly to costs, status and familiarity, including language, and 'push' factors pertaining to domestic opportunities, quality, and access to funding. All these factors have been recognized as influential, though to varying degrees, on choices to study abroad in the research done by Wiers-Jenssen (2008), as well as in the SIU report (2010) which both have studied Norwegian students. Agarwal et al. (2007) use this framework and identify a list of factors that can be relevant regardless of developmental levels. They use the framework as a way of analyzing trends and patterns in mobility changes, rather than as a model for organizing data. One of the factors they identify is *Colonial ties* (Agarwal et al., 2007: 119). This paper will not include this 'tie' as a separate factor, but rather try to explore aspects of *why* a former colonial relationship influences mobility. An understanding of this 'tie' will therefore be expounded on in chapters 4 and 7. Gambetta (1987, cited in Wiers-Jenssen, 2008: 27) has argued that the push-pull framework allows little room for individual agency and choice, as its main focus is on structural issues, such as s flaws in domestic HE provision, forcing students to pursue education abroad, rather than wanting and choosing to do so. The framework, though valuable in recognizing factors that influence the individual level decisions will in this thesis therefore

not be used as a framework to understand the decisions, but as a convenient labeling tool that allows for recognition of which factor pertain to which countries.

3.5.3 Reasons and rationales, 'pushes' and 'pulls'

According to Wiers-Jenssen (2008) the macro, or governmental, level rationales fall into four categories: educational, cultural, economic and political, with some degree of overlap. The educational rationales are often tied to quality enhancement and "export of students is a strategy to compensate for deficits in diversity in the domestic provision of HE" for developing countries (*ibid.*: 13). Gürüz (2008) also sees mobility as an intential strategy to expand domestic options and capabilities in these countries. Cultural rationales are connected to expanding intercultural skills and understanding (Wiers-Jenssen, Student mobility and the professional value of higher education from abroad, 2008). Economic rationales pertain to reasons focusing on potential and expected economic return in the form of either increased trade relations or by the more direct income fee paying students ensure. The last category of rationales Wiers-Jenssen (2008) operates with is political rationales, which includes improvement of international relations. Of importance to this thesis will chiefly be educational rationales. These same categories can be applied to micro, or individual level, rationales (*ibid.*). Yet the micro level decision is "among the least understood elements of student mobility" (Zikopolous and Barber, 1986, cited in Wiers-Jenssen, 2008).

Some factors are recognized as influencing student mobility choices as well as access. Some of these are listed below, including cultural factors, quality issues, status differencies, ease of employment post-graduation, domestic range of programmes, background variables, financial considerations, geographical distance and system compatibility.

Cultural rationales are found to be most common amongst Norwegian students (Wiers-Jenssen, 2003.; SIU, March 2010). Included in this category are rationales pertaining to learning new languages (see below), wanting to experience a new country or culture and wanting international experiences. These are classic 'pull' factors.

Stock of citizens of country of origin in the host country is by Agarwal et al.(2007) seen to influence the number of students that chose to study there. Research on Norwegian students show that the presence of family or significant others in the host country can be a factor for choosing to study abroad, though not a particularly significant one: SIU finds that 5.2 % of

the students asked to state their reasons for choosing to study abroad point out such presence as a factor (SIU, March 2010). Likewise, Wiers-Jenssens research shows that *Boy-/girlfriend studying abroad* was of " 'fairly high' or 'vital' importance" to only 7 students, making it a less significant reason than *Coincidences* (Wiers-Jenssen, 2003: 396). Having a network, including, but not exclusively family, is described as being "a key factor in integration and satisfaction" in the host country (Wiers-Jenssen, 2008: 29)., However it is not described as a factor influencing the choice to study abroad, but rather as a factor contributing to adaptation in the host country milieu.

Many researcher recognize that either language commonality (e.g. Agarwal, er al., 2007) or language skill in the language spoken in the host country (e.g. Wiers-Jenssen, 2008) is an important factor for students when choosing where to study. As seen in section 3.4.1, mobility to English speaking countries is high and is seen to be connected with the ubiquity of the English language. Language skills is seen to ease a sojourn abroad in that it allows for a smooth transition into the host country and eases academic comprehension. Cultural rationales for wanting to study abroad includes wanting to learn or improve learn a second language. Langauge therefore influences mobility choices in two ways: both by attraction to ease if a language is already mastered and as attracting because it is not already mastered.

Higher quality of this study abroad is stated by 48 students as being of "'fairly high' or 'vital' importance", in Wiers-Jenssen study (Wiers-Jenssen, 2003: 396). The related variable, *Sceptical about higher education in Norway*, is rated of equal importance by 14 students, making them the 8th and 14th most important variables respectively (Wiers-Jenssen, 2003: 396). Similar findings were made in the SIU study, were considering foreign HE of superior quality was an important factor for 12.3% of the participating students. Li and Bray(2007, cited in Wiers-Jenssen, 2008) found that for Chinese students studying in the nearby countries Macau and Hong Kong domestic domestic quality was a factor in students' decisions to study abroad. Quality of the HE is also related to the status of HE.

Wiers-Jenssen (2008) states that status is not necessarily important in the choice to study abroad *in general*, but that it can have an effect on choices pertaining to country, which institution and which programme, since there are status differences at these levels. Agarwal et al. (2007) list *Ranking/status of higher education* as a general factor students are enticed by in the host country, and that lack of such quality domestically can act as a factor 'pushing' students to study abroad.

Lødding (2003, cited in Wiers-Jenssen, 2008) found that many employers look to minimize risks when hiring new employees and therefore hire people with backgrounds with which they are familiar. Chen & Zimitat (2006) find that Taiwanese students consider it an added value to have a foreign degree and they also see it as a way to improve their job prospects. Likewise Agarwal et al. (2007) see Enhanced value of foreign degree as a factor influencing mobility. In fact, Altbach & Gopinathan state that studying abroad lends "a certain prestige to the individual who has been abroad. [And this] frequently leads to better job opportunities and access to power" upon return (Altbach & Gopinathan, 1987: 173).

The variable *The study programme does not exist in Norway* is ranked by 20 students to be of "'fairly high' or 'vital' importance", ranking the variable 15th out of 20 in Wiers-Jenssen study (Wiers-Jenssen, 2003: 396). Similarly, the SIU report find that the non-existence of or lack of admission to a wanted programme is a motivational factor for respectively 7.9 % and 4% of the students (SIU, 2010 March). However, Wiers-Jenssen states that domestic HE availability is a significant contextual factor for students when making their choices, particularly for free movers "coming from countries where domestic opportunities are inadequate" (Wiers-Jenssen, 2008: 54).

Sociological theories, such as the culture theory and the value theory, relate differences in educational attainment to differences in family background, more specifically their cultural capital and values respectively (Wiers-Jenssen, 2008). Student mobility choices are also "related to norms and expectations, and students originating from a milieu where studying abroad is common are probably more aware of this alternative than others."(*ibid.*: 34) Background variables pertaining to parents, or other family members studying abroad is therefore seen as a factor that can influence the younger generations mobility pattern by acting as informational or normative role models.

Agarwal et al. (2007) state that the cost of studying abroad influences mobility. Likewise, it is recognized as an important issue for Taiwanese students in particular (Chen & Zimitat, 2006). Availability of scholarships is recognized as a factor specifically pertaining to students from developing countries (Altbach & Gopinathan, 1987). However, research pertaining to Norwegian students also show that availability of financial support can be influential

Geographical distance and *System compatibility* are seen as 'pull'factors influencing student mobility choices in the 'push'- 'pull' framework employed by Agarwal et al. (2007: 119).

Altbach and Teichler (2001) states that emigration can be a motivating factor for student mobility (this will be expounded on in section 4.1.3).

4   Theoretical framework

As the literature review shows, many different perspectives and ideas are applied to student mobility. This chapter will outline the theoretical framework and clarify the concepts employed in this thesis. First, postcolonialism is introduced which will frame the macro level perspective and give insight into how the relationship of Suriname and the Netherlands has affected Surinamese citizens including the students interviewed during the fieldwork. Postcolonialism will also provide a framework that allows for the detection of contestations to the colonial legacy. A clarification of the terms the knowledge society and brain drain follows. Both these concepts are used in the MINOV (2004) report and constitutes macro level rationale for mobility. The second section will outline human capital theory as it pertains to micro level educational choice. The final section introduces as model developed by Wiers-Jenssen (2008) which captures both micro and macro level influences on individual level mobility rationales.

4.1   Macro level perspective and concepts

The main purpose of this thesis is to understand in which ways the former colonial relationship has affected student mobility from Suriname to the Netherlands. As mentioned, Agarwal et al. (2007) use *Colonial ties* as a factor influencing student mobility trends. Gürüz (2008) likewise explains high levels of student mobility between two countries simply by referring to this link, holding the "colonial connection" up as a self-evident and self-explanatory reason for mobility trends. However, neither Gürüz (2008) nor Agarwal et al. (2007) delve into this connection to understand its constituent parts or in which ways it contributes to high mobility levels. They use the colonial connection as an explanation for global flow patterns rather than trying to understand the components of how and in which ways a historical, seemingly macro level relationship influences contemporary, micro level decisions. Only by pinpointing what the relationship entails and how the individual is affected can we begin to look to the connection as an explanation for the choices of individuals. The perspective that will be applied in this thesis to comprehend the context of the students is that of postcolonial theory, which will be turned to shortly. After the introduction of postcolonialism follows a clarification of the knowledge society, or the knowledge economy, as it is often called. The concept is a necessary element in the

understanding of present day macro level goals and rationales of student mobility in Suriname, in that it is the conceptualization of development presented in the MINOV(2004) report. It is also the framework for the Surinamese government's current reforms in the education sector. Third in this section follows a clarification of brain drain, which is also related to the development efforts and reforms.

4.1.1 Postcolonial theory

Certainly, there is the common understanding that since culture is partly based on the collective histories and stories of a country then also a postcolonial country must be marked by its part in a colonial past; a people that have been colonized can perhaps be expected to carry this collective memory in their present day culture. Though Gürüz' book (2008) gives little information as to what this connection entails for the students, we might find a piece of the puzzle by looking at postcolonial theory.

By understanding internationalization efforts solely through the perspective of globalization many historical aspects are overlooked or marginalized (Sehoole, 2006). Since postcolonialism, as internationalization, is a contested, defined and used in many different ways (Tikly, 1999) it is important to define how it will be used in this thesis. Postcolonialism will not be understood in opposition to globalization, but rather as a historical precursor that continues to shape the form of globalization as it is expressed today. As Sehoole phrases it

"the colonial legacy is central to the ongoing processes of globalisation in education rather than marginal to them. This implies that it is impossible to understand globalisation in education without recognising the role that colonial and post-colonial education systems have played in the spread of western cultural forms and languages." (2006: 3).

This means that though there is increased global activity today in the field of HE, the legacy of colonialism continues to inform many of these activities, their directions and their outcomes.

Knowledge hegemony and identity formation

One of the aspects postcolonialism highlights is the link between colonialism and knowledge hegemony and production, or as Mongia puts it it is a "collusion of power and knowledge"(1996: 8). Colonialism was not just used as a mode of controlling territories or geographical areas, to do so the action had to be justified. The justification for such actions

was create through defining the 'colonized' in opposition to the 'colonizers', simultaneously creating an image of the European as rational and civilized and of the 'other' as uncivilized and irrational. Edward Said (cited in Mongia, 1996) depicts how this process was done through the creation of the academic branch of orientalism, where inhabitants of Asia were described through the eyes of European scholars. Said(*ibid.*) further posits that the notions and connotations created through such scholarly works were transplanted to the general populous through exposure and again reproduced through in research and literature. Though his work is specifically related to Asia, it is according to Mongia(1996) one of the seminal works of postcolonialism.

Transferred to a more general level, as will be applied in this thesis, the idea is that these definitions served as justification for colonialism, as one part in a relationship is defined as superior over another. Since the power of definition, as the hegemony over knowledge production, lay in the hands of the 'colonizers' the 'colonized' also became subject to these definitions through colonial administrations and other institutions, notably schools.

Formal schooling was instituted during the colonial era and was constituted around a European reality. The introduction of European values, languages and systems in school not only created further negation of the traditional values, languages and systems, but also reproduced them. Education was therefore a tool to cement the superiority of European knowledge and value systems. By educating people within a knowledge and language paradigm in which they are foreign the 'colonizers' impose their identity onto the 'colonized', creating a constant tension between their own identity and that imposed.

What postcolonial theory brings to the table is the understanding that these ties, as Gürüz (2008) might have called them, make an impact even today because the same definition and the same relationships are often reproduced today through education systems and the continued hegemony of western ideas. By perpetuating the colonizers viewpoint within present systems where values are reproduced, such as schools, self-understanding and sense of self is undermined.

Contestation

Mongia (1996) states that postcolonialism has been criticized by some for focusing too much on the continuation of knowledge hegemony and other remnants of the colonial relationship

and too little on agency and resistance. Indeed given the repercussions of the knowledge hegemony as described above The imposed lack of self-definition must be rectified to before the colonization effects can be considered surpassed.

In Tikly's (1999) conceptualization of postcolonialism, contestation is a key term. He contends that the goal of postcolonialsim should be to focus on movements away from colonial legacies and breaks with the knowledge hegemony. He specifies that if postcolonialism is "understood at this level of abstraction it is possible to keep in mind the global experience of European colonialism as a general referent whilst leaving room for the careful study of the effects of colonialism in specific contexts."(1999: 605). In this view the goal of postcolonialism is not simply to identify the continued effects of colonialism, but also and importantly to look for contestations of this legacy. Such contestations must be seen in the light of the specific historical, political and geographical contexts they take place. Contestations are efforts to reclaim space and power to define in own terms what is valuable and what is not, rather than a continual reproduction of the legacies left by the colonial encounter.

4.1.2 The knowledge society

As mentioned, a clear understanding of the 'knowledge society' is necessary to understand present day conceptualization of development in Suriname, as well as their commitment to HE. The macro level importance of HE, in turn, influences the choice Surinamese studies make pertaining to their education. So, what is the 'knowledge society'? The words alone are enough to perceive of a society where knowledge is a most important attribute. However, knowledge is not just the goal; it is also a necessary means for achieving the knowledge society. Kearney (2008) describes the knowledge society as one which uses the skills and capacities of its people as the main developmental engine; to drive growth and production. She also suggests that it can be a tool for all countries to grow and change, not just for the so-called "underdeveloped" countries (*ibid*.: 12). As both a driver of change and growth and as a building block knowledge can be used to construct productive societies. However, if knowledge is to take on this role education is paramount.

The connection between development and education is not new, but within this conceptualization knowledge, and therefore implicitly education and research, are seen as both means and end to development. However, education, even good education, in and by

itself is not sufficient. There are specific requirements that education should to meet: education should ideally be embedded in societal needs, the local culture and the local moral values if it is to be a developmental driver (*ibid.*). That is, in order for a nation to develop as a Knowledge society, education alone is not adequate. Given a conceptualization such as Kearney's (2008) education within the individuals own national or local framework is the most optimal route to ensuring that graduates have the knowledge and potential most relevant for national or local development. Kearney (2008) makes one last important stipulation for a thriving knowledge society, which relates to HE graduates. After completing HE graduates must stay in the society to actively contribute to its development. As will be expounded on in the succeeding section, migration is often portrayed as a gain to a 'developing' country as the financial boost of remittances, though often not part of the official economy of a country, contributes to economic development (e.g. Unger & Siegel, 2006). Nevertheless, if development is construed as the knowledge society, economic growth is part and package, but insufficient by itself. Though knowledge society growth might be measured through the economic production of a nation, it also entails an empowerment perspective it its increased reliance on the creative, critical and independent capacity of its citizens. In the end, the society leans on the capabilities of society's members, and productivity therefore relies on the health and well-being of these individuals, something not easily measured in economic terms alone.

The knowledge society then, as applied in this thesis, is a society reliant on locally anchored and produced knowledge. A society that must, through its education system, promote and instill critical, creative and independent capacity to be applied in the context it was achieved.

4.1.3 Brain Drain

As there are different opinions as to the effects, and definitions, of brain drain, it is important to clarify the concept. Gürüz defines brain drain as emigration or non-return of persons "with a good education" with the effect of "depriving [the country] of a global asset"(Gürüz, 2008: 232). As mentioned in the previous section, many researchers see emigration and diasporas as economically beneficial to national economy through the practice of sending remittances (e.g. Unger & Siegel, 2006). Though remittances can, for many countries including Suriname (*ibid.*), constitute a significant economic contribution, brain drain as defined by Gürüz (2008) takes another aspect of emigration into account, namely the loss of a national asset.

How does brain drain pertain to student mobility, which is temporary rather than permanent migration? Altbach & Teichler connects the two by seeing one as the precursor of the other and states that "[in] many cases, a rationale for participation in exchange programs and foreign study is emigration." (Altbach & Teichler, 2001: 15). Brain drain can therefore take place even before HE is completed. The country of residence have already had the economical expenses of the individuals primary and secondary education, giving brain drain an economic loss perspective. Congruently, in a knowledge society brain drain constitutes a further capability loss. Both aspects of loss are also pertinent to international student mobility if it entails non-return. If a HE student leaves and does not return, education taken at lower educational institutions can also be construed as "good education" as per Gürüz' (2008) open definition.

4.2 A human capital perspective on educational choice

As mentioned, understanding student mobility requires both an understanding of the context of the sending country and an individual level perspective since studying abroad is a matter of individual choice, though it might be constrained or encourage by external factors. This section will outline the main perspective on making educational choices. First comes a clarification of the term human capital as it will be applied in relation to the empirical data. Following this will be a clarification of other related capital, namely mobility capital and social capital. Human capital is the conceptualization of skills and capacity as assets, or capital, that the individual possesses. From a macro level perspective, investing in human capacity through for example educational access expansion, can be beneficial because it is expected to return the investment in the form of increased productivity. At the micro level, educational choice can also be construed as investment behavior (Wiers-Jenssen, 2008). The investment will be in the form of time and expenses required to pursue HE, while the 'pay off' is expected in form of higher entry level positions and higher salaries upon entering the labor market (*ibid.*). Educational choices are therefore construed as long-term plans rather than instant monetary gratification, which an individual might get through procuring employment directly, without HE.

Human capital does not differentiate between capital accrued through foreign or domestic education, however a difference is made between "general" and "specific", skills (Wiers-Jenssen, 2008: 38). The former skill set contains fundamental employment requirements such

as literacy (*ibid.*). The latter skills, also referred to as "bonus" skills, are more specific or specialized knowledge, from foreign language aptitude to knowing how to optimize plant growth, i.e. skills that are only required for certain kinds of jobs (*ibid.*). In addition, and of importance to international student mobility is the concept of "country-specific" skills, which has been used by some researchers looking at the human capital of migrants (Wiers-Jenssen, 2008). Language acquired abroad can be such a skill, but it is also assumed that the education itself varies and therefore results in different skill sets. Pertaining to international student mobility foreign education is adapted to a different social context than domestic education and will therefore give the student skills specific to the country where the education is pursued. Some abilities relevant abroad, might be less relevant domestically. Wiers-Jenssen (2008) states that though many internationally gained skills can be valuable domestically because they are scarce; the downside is that they might not be as relevant as they are in the host country.

Another type of capital relevant to internationally mobile students is the idea of "mobility capital" which is considered "a subcomponent of human capital" (Murphy-Lejeune, 2002, cited in Wiers-Jenssen, 2008: 37). Such capital is relevant in that it captures the abilities gained from the international experience itself, such as language skills and adaptation experience (*ibid.*). In addition it posits that individuals which either have previous personal, international experiences or are from families which have been mobile, are more likely to be motivated to study abroad (*ibid.*).

In this thesis, human capital is used as a way of framing educational choice as investment behavior, which means that choosing HE entails a hope of future rewards. It is posited that different types of capital are expected to give different rewards in line with their relevance to the geographical and social locations. Its relevance to the empirical data will be discussed in chapter 7.

4.3 **A model for understanding how the macro and micro levels combine to create a framework for decisions**

Neither postcolonialism nor human capital are alone sufficent to grasp the choice to study abroad . Postcolonialism posits that macro level, historical events have left imprints on society and thereby the individuals that consitute that society. It can be a useful tool to

contextualize and highlight certain aspects of a historical reality that is still pertinent today, but it is insufficient to grasp the micro level descion to study abroad or the factors influencing that choice. Likewise, human capital can be used to frame the decision as an investment, but cannot factor in the macro level incentives or barriers to stduent mobility. In order to fully understand how the different levels influence each other, and in particular to see how the individual is influenced by structural as well as individual matters, a model developed by Wiers-Jenssen (2008) will be employed. The model (Figure 1, below), in opposition to the push-pull framework described in section 3.4.2, allows for a reading of the choices students as influenced by external structures and conditions, yet made by the individual. The choice is also and vitally influenced by the individuals own background and characteristics.

Figure 1: Wiers-Jenssens model portraying "Micro and macro level conditions influencing student mobility"
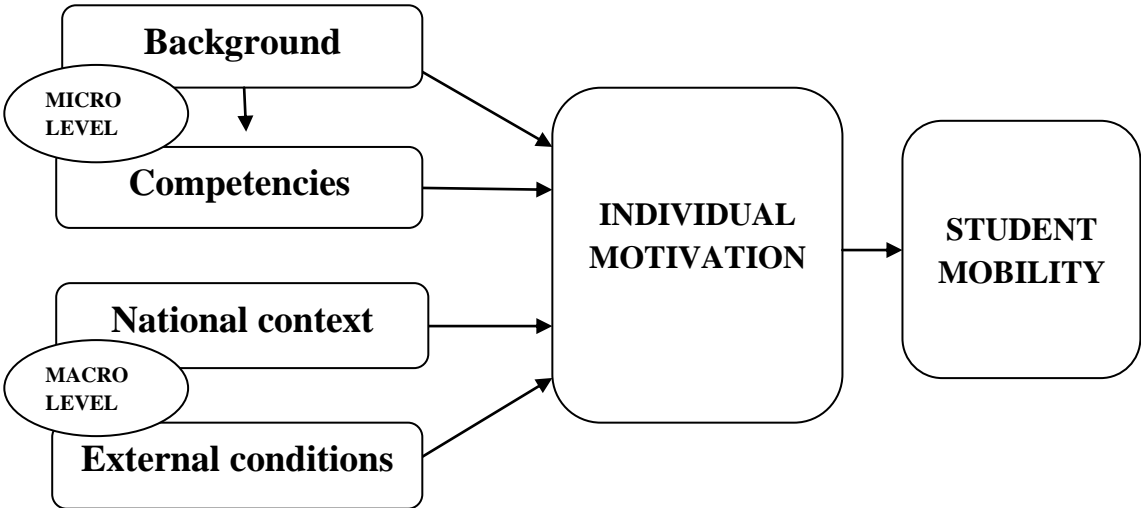
At the micro level the *Background* component includes 'mobility capital' and 'social origin', variables that have been seen to influence the likelihood of becoming a mobile student(Wiers-Jenssen, 2008) The next component, *Competencies* also have been seen to influence mobility choices. Such factors include 'language skills', 'performance (grades)' and 'personal characteristics'. These two micro level components influence the individuals rationales and choices by increasing or decreasing the likelihood of becoming mobile.

At the macro level are *National context* and *External conditions*. In the former Wiers-Jenssen includes issues relating to country of origin, such as access to financial support, "domestic provision of HE", and "Relative affluence" of country of origin (Wiers-Jenssen, 2008: 58). The latter component consists of issues pertaining both to the host country and to global

trends. The issues she considers important are: 'Internationalization/regionalization of HE', 'Globalization of HE markets', 'Technological development' and lastly, 'Fees/costs'.

The last step of the model is the choice to study abroad, including which country, which programme and which HEI.

The *Individual motivation* component is comprised of the three rationale categories "New impulses", "Urge", and "Different education" which overlap (*ibid.*) as individual motives are not singular, but complex and interrelated. Wiers-Jenssen (2003) indicates the complexity of individual rationales by categorizing separate, yet related rationales into these three groups and by having all three groups overlap, and together form the individual motivation.

The first rationale category, 'new impulses', consists of cultural and social motivations, such as wanting to learn a new language (see section 3.5.3), experience a different culture, gaining international experience or seeking adventure (Wiers-Jenssen, 2003). The next two categories are related more directly to education. 'Urge' comprises desires for a specific educational or occupational path, which the student might not be able to enter domestically (*ibid.*). The third category, 'Different education', is the most pertinent for this thesis. Encompassed are motivations related to increasing the likelihood of international employment, access to HE which is either not offered domestically or is considered of superior quality to domestic HE, and lack of belief in domestic HE provision (*ibid.*). The first rationale is related to future prospects, i.e. it is not directly concerned with the education in itself, but rather what the student stands to gain from having it. The other three motivations link to domestic HE opportunities and can therefore be seen as driven by macro level issues. Wiers-Jenssen(2008) suggests that information could be added as a catalyst component between the macro level and the individual motivation given that access to information about opportunities is vital.

In order to comprehend the individual rationales and choices, they must be nested within the social reality in which people exist. The model shows how macro level issues not only frames individual decisions, but also influence their rationales, their reasons for wanting what they want. This model will be taken as a basis for understanding of the choices, rationales and barriers Surinamese students make, use and face. It's relevance for the Surinamese context will be discussed in chapter 7 .

5   Methods

The starting point of this thesis is a curiosity regarding what exactly the 'colonial connection' explains in terms of student mobility choices. The curiosity has led to wanting to answer which reasons Surinamese students have for wanting to study where and which barriers they face in their pursuit of fulfilling these wants. The methods chosen have grown from the assumption that the questions that can best be answered by the students facing the choice. The use of the quantitative quality measures (reliability, validity and generalisability) are not always considered appropriate for qualitative research (Bryman, 2004). Lincoln and Guba suggest the use of the alternative measures trustworthiness and authenticity, where the first comprises four subcategories one of which is confirmability (1985; cited in Bryman, 2004). Confirmability is ensured by showing how data was collected, i.e. in this case how the participants were chosen and how the interviews were conducted. This chapter therefore aims at describing particular methods have been employed to reach the findings and concusions tht will be made in this paper.

First is a section on the methods used to select the interview participants at AdeKUS, as well as a description of the students interviewed. Then follows a section describing the semi-interviews approach, and its relevance to the research questions. Included in this section is a short description of the interview guide. The context in which the interviews took place will also be described in some detail. In the relevant method sections considerations and issues faced during the collection of the material will also be described to give the reader a thorough comprehension of the fieldwork. Closing the chapter will be a presentation of the ways in which the analysis was conducted, a preview of the analysis that follows in chapter 6.

5.1   Sampling methods and participant numbers

The fieldwork consists of 16 student interviews from the three faculties at AdeKUS. Four were conducted with students at the faculty of social sciences, six at the faculty of medicine, and six at the faculty of technology. Students of both genders were interviewed in the age range 18-25.

	Male	Female	Total
Faculty of Medicine	4	2	6
Faculty of Technology	2	4	6
Faculty of Social Sciences	2	2	4
Total	8	8	16

The informants were selected from different faculties in order to allow for a representation of as many different opinions and viewpoints as possible. The choice of faculty made by the students is a reflection of personal characteristics and/or background. To correct for any potential differences across faculty or unison within faculty the selection consists of representatives of all three faculties. Both genders are also equally represented to make sure that a multitude of viewpoints is represented. Two of the students interviewed had experience with studying in the Netherlands.

In addition to the student interviews, three relevant actors were interviewed for fact gathering purposes. The first is the acting president of the university board, Alan Li Fo Sjoe. He was interviewed as a way of accessing and verifying material collected as well as on his opinon regarding why there is a high number of Surinamese students studying in the Netherlands. The second non-student interview was with the senior policy advisor on education, HIV/aids and capacity development at the Dutch embassy in Paramaribo, Elisha Deekman. She is responsible for the administration of a Dutch government scholarship available to Surinamese students. She was interviewed for the purpose of gathering information pertaining to finance opportunities, and visa regulations. The third person was with a representative at a MINOV run government office offering information on educational opportunities and scholarships abroad that are supported or administered by the Surinamese government.

5.1.1 Selection of AdeKUS

There are several reasons why AdeKUS was chosen as the basis for the research. AdeKUS is as mentioned the only university in Suriname. There are several other institutions offering HE, but they are often more specialized, offering one particular field of study, such as the the People's School of Music (Volks Muziekschool, VMS) and the Institute for Training of Practitioners of Education (IOL). In addition, many of the other institutions, for example the the Institute for Business-Economic Sciences (IBECW) are not government run and fees to attend private institutions are higher than at AdeKUS. Therefore it is felt that AdeKUS offers the most democratic access to as many viewpoints as possible from as many different people

as possible, yet making the research viable within the time and resource frame. It might be argued that the most logic group to approach would be Surinamese students that are currently studying in the Netherlands or alternatively, students that have previously studied in the Netherlands. There are two main reasons why these groups were not chosen for this project. The first is considerations of access and time and the second is the research questions. Access to students currently studying in the Netherlands is difficult as the universities, for reasons of confidentialty, are not able to divulge contact information of their students, nor, for capacity reasons, able to relay information provided by the researcher to Surinamese students at their institutions. Similarly, returned Surinamese students are a diffuse group which would be hard to locate given the time restrictions. Secondly, yet more importantly are the research questions themselves. The research aims at answering not just why Surinamese students wish to study abroad, but also which barriers they face in their attempts to do so. Students studying abroad can therefore been seen as having overcome or never having met any such barriers. Students studying in Suriname will also shed a more apt light on whether the desire to study abroad is widespread or just manifest in those that do study abroad. For these reasons only Surinamese students *not* currently studying abroad were interviewed.

5.1.2 Number of students

The number of student interviews was based on two fundamental issues. One was the goal of having as many different perspectives as possible. Guba and Lincoln refer to this as a way of increasing the authenticity, more specifically fairness: the idea is to capture and represent the "different viewpoints among members of the social setting" (quoted in Bryman 2004: 276). The second was the irrefutable limitations of time and capacity. Yet the research has aimed at presenting a relatively high number of student informants to ensure rich data. Amount proved a valuable tool to this end. For some informants the topic was not as salient as for others, and therefore some interviews were not information rich. However, given the number of informants is rather high within the restrictions set by time, finances and capacity, the total data set still yielded rich material. In addition, much of the data collected through the interviews is fairly unified in that many of the students were of similar minds in relation to the topic, as the data and analysis will reveal in chapter 6.

5.1.3 How were the students recruited and chosen?

Participants were recruited through the snowball method. This method is based on acquiring contact with an initial person or group, and through them establish and widen a contact network that allows for access to interviewees that are particularly relevant for the research (Bryman, 2004). Making initial contact with the university proved a challenge. The initial attempt was made by e-mail three months before departure for Suriname. Though this attempt was followed by several others, using e-mail, fax and phone, establishing contact with a person or an office that could provide help in accessing students, was unsuccessful before arrival. Once in Suriname a visit was paid to the head office, the workplace of Malinie Kaersenhout, an administrative employee, whom had communicated by e-mail a hope that she would be able to be of assistance in finding someone who could grant access to the students. Through her an introduction was made to Zanjabil Ali, a student at the Faculty of Technological Sciences (FTeW), who acted as a guide and facilitator, both in introductions and through the interview process(which will be described in the next section) with the FTeW students on campus. With his help, contact was established with two other students Khalid Saboerali and Daniella Wondel, who in turn did the same at the Faculty of Medicine (FMeW) and the Faculty of the Social Sciences (FMijW) respectively.

It was a goal to interview some students that had studied abroad and therefore have experience with both foreign and domestic institutions. This was possible using the snowball method. The assumption is that these students will have reflected more on the topic than those not having studied abroad. At the same time, it was neither desirable nor feasible to limit the interviews to this group considering the wish to ensure a wide scope of perspectives. Two female students that had studied abroad were interviewed. Some also had experience with foreign institutions through visits to family members studying in the Netherlands.

None of the facilitators were interviewed. They were at times present during interviews with other students and it was therefore seen as undesirable to interview them since they had heard the questions and also had an intimate understanding of the research being conducted. One argument that could be used against this approach to selecting participants is that it is based on interviews with persons that are within the same network as friends or acquaintances and therefore represent a similar perspective. However, given that the students interviewed were contacted through three different people, at three different faculties, and represented students from different places in the region, at various study programs and at different stages of

completion in their studies, some were less known to the three facilitators than others. Thereby the desired multitude of perspectives is preserved and represented in the data.

5.2 The semi-structured interview approach

When using a cross-sectional design in the conduction of qualitative research Bryman states that the unstructured or semi-structured interview is often the favored method, and that this method might increase the ecological validity of the research (Bryman 2004: 45). The semi-structured interview was the main data collection method used. The choice of this method is based on the nature of the research questions. Patton (2002) states that the purpose of an interview is to gain access to a individual person's perspective. Answering a when, where, or how question does not necessarily warrant a need for the inclusion of other perspectives. Answers to the particular research questions on the other hand, are reliant on the understanding of the individual's perspective. In order to uncover the reality in which Surinamese students make their decision regarding studying at the university level and where, the semi-structured interview is an appropriate tool. This type of interview is not necessarily premised on face-to-face interaction. In this case, close interaction is considered important since it allows for a conversational style approach. Such an approach can help to decrease the formality of the interview setting and thereby be useful to elicit candid answers from the participants (*ibid.*). It also allows the participants a higher participation level that might allow for an increased willingness to answer.

5.2.1 Interview guide

An interview guide with a set list of questions was used to structure the student interviews (see appendix IV). The interview guide has behavioral or experience questions, knowledge questions, demographic and value/opinion questions (Patton 2002: 349-351). The purpose of the thesis is to uncover individual attitudes towards studying abroad and to see if there are any common beliefs that might encourage the students to do so. Bryman (2004) states that it is important to have some level of structure to the interview guide if you want "to ensure cross-case comparability" (2004: 324). Through all the interviews most of the questions were asked and often in the same order, but not strictly. The sessions were flexible. Answers and information from participants was followed up with extra questions not in the interview guide whenever deemed necessary or appropriate. The order of the questions was often changed and

in many cases, participants answered the questions without being asked. In one interview, very few questions were asked as the female interviewee spoke about the relevant topics and to the questions in the interview guide without being asked or prompted for the most part. It seemed that the topic was very salient to the participant and in addition, she had a very open and talkative personality. In other cases, the topic was not as salient. This led to participants' answers being short and the interview in those cases followed the guide strictly both in wording and sequence.

5.2.2 Interview context: execution and setting

After an introduction through the facilitator, who presented the student, the researcher and the research in Dutch, students were asked if they were willing to participate in an interview. They were given information about the purpose and length of the interview both through the consent form (see appendix V) and orally. They were also asked if they were comfortable with the interview being taped. If they were willing to participate, the process continued by either appointing a time to meet or, if their schedule allowed, by signing the consent form and starting the interview.

Length of the interviews

 The length of the interview varied greatly according to the level of participation of the students. For some the subject was salient and the interview could last an hour. For other the saliency was limited and the interviews often short, in some cases lasting only 15 minutes. Due to this variation in time, the consent form states that the interview would last approximately an hour. It was felt that it was better to overestimate the time than to underestimate it, to give the participants an understanding of how long it might potentially last. This might have discouraged some students from participating in the interviews. However, as mentioned, they were also informed orally that the interview potentially might be have a shorter duration and that they could stop the interview at any time.

At the end of each interview, the informants were asked for their contact details in the event that follow up questions would be necessary. The informants were also given contact information, in the form of a phone number an e-mail address where the researcher could be reached if they wanted anything or had any questions.

Location

All the student interviews were conducted on campus, either outside or in available rooms. The access to space was an issue. The outdoor setting was not optimal since it provided many distractions, such as passing friends or co-students eager to engage in conversation. When possible, interviews were conducted indoors. This improved the situation somewhat, but since there was no glass or other material insulating the windows from the chatter and activity outside noises still proved distracting. At the FMeW there was an opportunity to interview participants in a room in a basement, away from fellow students and chirping birds. Unfortunately, there was maintenance of a noisy kind being undertaken throughout many of the interviews, which has resulted in some difficulty in the transcription process. Apart from the noise from maintenance, the noise distractions did not seem to affect the informants in any significant way, but it did require some additional prompting and patience from a researcher's perspective. The topic of the interview was not sensitive and the informants spoke freely, even in front of others. In some cases, the distractions even attributed to decrease the level of formality even beyond what was attempted through the conversational style approach as it supplied both the informant and the researcher with a common "problem" and some comic relief.

5.3 Document Analysis

One main document has been analyzed: the MINOV(2004) report. The reasons why this document was chosen are two-fold. For one it is one of the few documents that are available in English that document the plans and rationales of the present and future reforms in the Surinamese education sector. The rationales and reforms are both important for the understanding of structural possibility. The analysis of this and other minor documents pertaining to the information available to students provided a lot of useful information, but was not a critical part of the research. Such minor documents included information sheets about student loans, brochures on student scholarships for studying abroad, and websites on studying in the Netherlands. Analysis of these documents was a way to examine the data critically. Some documents provided verification of implemented policies or beliefs held by students, while others disproved information or assumptions uncovered during the interviews. In the case of the student interviews, views and beliefs they presented were the most

important. However, through examining relevant documentation it was possible to assess whether the beliefs held constituted a positive or negative, or even false, assessment of reality.

5.4 Analysis approach to interview data

Rather than make categories for the analysis prior to analyzing the data, the analysis of the student interviews will be based on the topics that appear to be salient for the students and relevant to the research question. By approaching the data on its own terms instead of placing it within preordained categories the hope is that the issues the students' themselves seen as important claim their rightful presence in the analysis.

What emerged during the analysis was a big overlap of rationales driving the choice of pursuing HE and where to pursue HE. The rationales for deciding *if* they wanted to pursue HE was mainly a concern for *Future prospects* and the desire to pursue *Personal interests*. Pertaining to the choice of *where* they wanted to pursue their HE ,i.e. abroad vs. domestic, as well as factors relevant to the Netherlands in particular, where the issues of *Opportunities and choice; Quality; Status; Familiarity and Commitments*; and *Finances*. Though the *if* decision and the *where* decision will be presented as two separate decision levels in succeeding chapter, they influence each other and overlap. As an example, consider a student motivated to pursue HE for the reason of future security and a better life. Even though none of the students gave this particular reason as a rationale for wanting to study abroad in particular, many consider that it will be easier to gain well-paid employment with a foreign degree or that they would be easily able to access employment abroad if they stayed there. In many ways then the prospect of future security is heightened by being in possession of a foreign degree. Separating the analysis into *if* and *where* decisions is therefore a way to respect the fact that future security was mainly an issue when asked why they chose to go to university and not an attempt at saying they are unrelated.

6 Data, analyses and results

The analysis is based on the research questions:

1.   Do Surinamese HE students want to study in the Netherlands? If so, why?

a)   What rationales do students' have for wanting to pursue HE?

b)   What rationales do students' have for wanting to pursue HE abroad?

c)   What rationales do Surinamese students have for pursuing HE in the Netherlands?

2.   Which factors determine the access to international HE mobility? I.e. is mobility for a select group?

As mentioned in the previous section, the analysis will be divided into the two decisions *if* and *where*. Firstly, a prospective student makes a decision concerning whether or not s/he will pursue HE- the *If* decision, pertaining to question 1*a)*. Secondly, the student has to decide where to study- the *Where* decision, pertaining to questions 1*b)* and *c)*.

Rationales for the two decisions will constitute the main division of the chapter. Under these will be salient categories the students have divulged during the interviews. The main rationales for the *If* decision are: *Future prospects* and *Personal interest*. These rationales also influence the next decision, i.e. *where* they want to study. The main categories in the *Where* decision are: *Opportunities*, *Quality, Status*, *Familiarity and Commitments,* and *Finances*, where the two first categories are mainly concerned with the general choice to study abroad, and the three latter categories are primarily concerned with decisions to study in the Netherlands. Question 2 will also be dealt with within the section on the *where* descision.

Research question three, *What rationale and/or strategy does the Surinamese government have towards mobility?,* will constitute the last sectional division of this chapter where the analysis and results of the MINOV paper (2004) is presented, as well as some results from the interviews with the president of AdeKUS and the MINOV employee. First, an introduction of the students that were interviewed.

6.1 Introducing the students

As outlined in section 5.1, 16 students were interviewed in the age range 19-25. Four of these study at the Faculty of Social Sciences (FMijW), six at the Faculty of Technological Sciences (FTeW) and six at the Faculty of Medicine (FMeW) (see appendix VI for more data on subject fields).

6.1.1 Where are they from? Where to they live?

Twelve of the students are from Paramaribo. One of the students relocated from Paramaribo to Wanica with his family when his father got a job opportunity there, while another male student was born and raised in the same city. One student is from the district of Brokopondo, and another from the district of Saramacca. Fourteen of the students live with both parents. One student, whose parents are no longer together, lives with his mother. The students that live in Wanica and Brokopondo take the bus to the university. The student from Saramacca lives in an *internat*, a kind of boarding house run by a religious group.

One female student has a mother who has completed a university degree, while a makle student has a father with a few years of university education, but no degree. In addition two other students have one or both parents with other HE.

6.1.2 How do the students finance their studies?

Most of the students, seven in total, rely solely on their parents to cover their expenses while they are studying. Three students are supported by a more extended family. One of these has an uncle in the Netherlands who sponsors educational material such as books, while the two others have older siblings that contribute financially to their studies as well as their parents. Four students have jobs through which they make some extra money, but they also rely mainly on their parents. One of the students that have a job is saving all her money to buy a plot of land and build a house with her boyfriend. Three students that previously relied solely on their parents have applied for and been granted student loans, a possibilty first introduced in autumn 2009.

6.1.3 Do the students want to study abroad?

Only two of the students stated categorically that they had no wish to study abroad, neither for their current study nor for pursuing a master's degree. One student wanted to go when she

was younger, but does not consider it a tempting opportunity today, because she would not be emotionally able to leave neither her boyfriend nor her family. Eleven of the students wanted to study abroad at the bachelor's level, eight of these want or wanted to go to the Netherlands. Two had their sight set on the University of the West Indies (UW) and another two were considering Belgian institutions. Two were able to study abroad for a period, both went to the Netherlands, though one of them would have preferred the US. She could not go to the US because it was too expensive. Likewise, eight other students were not able to pursue their wish to study abroad partly or fully due to a lack of financial resources. Three of these applied for scholarships. One of the students that wanted to go had the financial opportunity to do so, but chose not to because of his girlfriend. Several of the students that wished to go when they first started HE, still wish to go to pursue their master's degree. An additional three students wish to go abroad for their master's because no master's degrees available at AdeKUS within their fields.

6.2   The *If* decision

The main rationales influencing the *if* decision are future prospects and personal interests.

6.2.1 Future Prospects

Many of the students explain that they have continued to study after secondary school in order to be able to get a job and secure a living when they graduate. A male student at the Faculty of Technology explains that he wants to "study further for my future life. To be secure and to get a better … a job. So that I can be independent and work for myself. So, that's why". A female medical student doesn't like the alternative to studying and choose to come to AdeKUS "Because I didn't want to get married already and it would be a waste of time just to sit at home or work in some super market. You won't be getting enough money. So, that's why."

Even with a diploma, getting a job is not automatic. A young man at the Medical Faculty explains that his girlfriend graduated from the faculty of the social sciences about a year ago, but she has not been able to get a job. He says "… it's very hard. If you're in connect.. know a politician or something you get very fast a job. Because they are in the government they know

places where they can push you in". Other students are also aware of the need for connections in the pursuit of jobs.

A higher income is also an attractive prospect for some of the students. A female student at the Faculty of Medicine says that "with only a high school diploma you cannot … do much in Suriname. You don't get paid much either. So how are you gonna make a living?" She sees education as a necessity to be able secure her future. Another female student at the Faculty of Technology, who is already in the possession of a job, believes a university degree will not make her change her job, but she will get more money for doing the same job.

Not everyone is convinced graduates will get a higher income.

"Better paid.. it depends. Because in Suriname our technology faculty is not so big on practical issues. So if I had gone to Natin, that's a school lower, there you have much more practical…. That way I would be able to get more money than my bsc now. In some aspects it's almost certain that you get the higher position with a bsc, so like an overseeing kind job."(male, FTeW)

A degree is believed to increase the likelihood of getting a higher position that what they could get with a lesser diploma. A young male student at the Faculty of Technology is asked whether he believed he could get a job after finishing high school answers "Yes, maybe but not as high a position as if you have a bachelor or a master."

Students at the medical faculty are in a special position when it comes to securing a job after graduation. A young woman there says that the students at the other faculties that "it's not guaranteed they get a job […] that's the difference in the medical faculty, right? When we are done we are assured of a job. Because doctors are always needed."

Whether they believe it will increase their income or their entry-level positions, or not, most believe that HE is necessary to secure an income and their futures. A male medical student shared some of his mother's thoughts on education that had played a role for him in choosing to study:

" Because my mother always told me: 'I can't give you money, I can't give you material things, but I can give you education. Education can help you through life.' Because with education you can get all those things: money, car, house- that's her opinion about education."

One student has a contrary rationale for studying. He, a student at the faculty of social sciences, believes that studying at the university is not about the prospects or the potential career benefits. " People think it's a career coming to the university, but it's for knowledge." He wanted to come to the university to "learn to think out of the box. And that's why I came here." For him then the purpose of studying at the university was improving personal skills in critical and creative thinking.

6.2.2 Personal interests

It is important for the students to be able to have choice in their studies and be able to study according to their interests. For a male student at the Faculty of Technology it was a longstanding interest in all things technical that has led him to pursue HE: "since I was six years I was playing with lights, and batteries and you know, later on it became computers. I just follow my passion."

For others it is the mysteries of the body that entices: "I find the body very, very interesting .The way the complexity, you know, every disease that can infect the human body. I find it very interesting". Another male medical student is, more specifically, "very interested in the heart" and this interest directed him towards medical studies. After completing his medical education, he wants to pursue his interest further and specialize in the particular organ.

6.3 The *Where* decision

As mentioned in the chapter introduction this section will outline motivation to pursue HE abroad. The students often compare domestic HE with foreign HE using information they have gotten through experience or from others experiences. Below follows the category *Opportunities and choice* which shows that the students want access to a wider variety of fields and levels of study. In *quality*, are comparisons of the relative merits of domestic and foreign HE in the subcategories *Curriculum, Teachers and support, Facilities,* and *International recognition.* In *Status*, which is closely related to *Quality*, a *change of attitude* can be seen. Then follows a look at the importance of *Familiarity and commitments* including *information and imagination, language, experience and tradition,* and *family and network.* Lastly, *Finances* is both in motivation and in the realization of a sojourn abroad.

6.3.1 Opportunities and choice

A main rationale for studying abroad amongst the students at AdeKUS is access to opportunities. A male student explains:

"At our … faculty of technology... you have 6 fields and all other universities have 20 or 25 or even more so you can understand that there's a lot broader field and its more attractive and if you want something that isn't here you have to go abroad.".

A female medical student agrees that the lack of choices is a reason why many go abroad: "Because we don't have those choices at Anton de Kom. ... but, if you create …the things in Suriname, then your own people get the chance to do it. So you don't have to spend money to go abroad to do it." Another young female student studying social sciences also believes that there is both interest and a need for provision of other studies that are not currently offered at AdeKUS.

Even students that have found studies that suit their interest are considering going abroad to pursue master's degree or to specialize within the medical field. As per today, there are few master's programmes at AdeKUS and no medical specialization available. Those that wish to continue have to go abroad.

However, access to opportunities is not just about being able to access a particular study, it also includes access to post-graduation employment opportunities: "A lot of them when they go and study abroad they don't come back. Because the money there is a lot more than they can get here" (female, FMeW)

6.3.2 Quality

Quality issues are divided into the sub-categories *Curriculum;, Teachers and Follow-up; Facilities*; and *International Recognition*. Within all categories are quality judgments regarding both the HE offered in Suriname and perceptions concerning quality abroad.

Two students explicitly refer to the quality of AdeKUS and its graduates. A male medical student says : "I think the quality is good if you compare with other students who come from the Netherlands and you look at what you get and what they get- it's at the same level. I think we are very good."A female student at the same faculty also believes in the quality of the graduates:"Anton de Kom delivers…good graduates to the society. The study there is good".

Both these students are from the Faculty of Medicine. These students speak favorably of their institutions and its quality. As will be shown not all agree.

Curriculum

Three students talk about the curriculum at AdeKUS. Two of these mention that it needs to be updated and improved. One female student at FMeW states that:

" It's an old curriculum. Since we started, 30 years now the faculty of Medicine, till now it hasn't changed. But, you know, the world goes on. You have to change the curriculum. Some things are not necessary anymore, some things you have to add, some things you have to subtract from it. But that didn't happen to our curriculum."

A young, male student at FTeW who lives in Wanica, also recognizes the need for curricular change. He suggests that the university "…could be doing much better if they just reevaluated the curriculum…." Perceptions regarding the curriculum tell us something about how relevant the students believe the university to be, both to the needs they believe the university should cater to and to the times they live in. When the students comment on the need for change they are recognizing that they believe what they are learning is, largely, irrelevant information.

He also, though he has never studied abroad, believes that the curriculum in the Netherlands only contains "…an extraction of that material, so just the necessary stuff. It's lighter, it's more efficient…". As will be show in subsequent sections, this belief that HE offered abroad is somehow, intangibly, *better* appear in many statements from students that have not been abroad. This indicates that although they have no experience with studying abroad, it is associated with a better quality than what they get in Suriname. The curriculum is not only "old" it is also too comprehensive. The female medical student mentioned above says plainly that " *… the curriculum of ours, it's very … there's so much in it, you know"?* She is aware that the university is in "process of doing that, you know evaluating everything, what is too much, what" has to be added and what has to be removed for the curriculum to be relevant, and surmountable. She believes it will take 4-5 years to make the changes. Nevertheless, she also sees past the curriculum issue and recognizes the purpose of the education when she says, "the main thing is, we deliver good doctors".

Another more specific curricular complaint was the lack of English. The third student that mentions the curriculum a female student at FMijW, is shocked that English is not available:

"... there's no English at the university. You don't have an English course. And I was like: 'they should have an English course!' because the grammar, the level of English that they read, they don't understand it all the time. They're reading it, but the question is do you understand what you're reading?"

This student has spent several years in the United States where she lived with her family and attended school. After her stay there, she moved to Holland for some years for study purposes. Her statement indicates that though her level of English proficiency is sufficient to comprehend the material they need to read, not all the students are as skilled. What she is indicating is that the lack of English as a subject at the university might have an impact on the comprehension the students have of several other subjects and therefore reduce the quality of the education they receive.

Teachers and support

Several students see it as a problem that there is a lack of teachers at AdeKUS. This leads to lack of follow-up, access to exams and classes.

The main issue the students bring to the fore is the lack of time the teachers have for them: "they don't have time …. They're always busy, busy, busy, busy." (female, FMijW). The ones that talk about the time issue recognize that it is "because they [the teachers] don't earn a lot by giving lessons", and therefore "beside having their job here sometimes they have other jobs with companies or projects" (female, FTeW). The same student also finds it "frustrating sometimes" how the teachers do not show up to appointments and neglect to follow up on grading papers and exams.

A male student at FMijW who has visited cousins studying at two different HEIs in the Netherlands, and heard their stories, states that there "… you have more support. You have like a whole lot of people supporting you, tutors and … but here you don't have a tutor and support or anything…."

One student prefers "Teachers that ask me to really participate... Are open to your ideas. If they don't agree with them, it's okay, but give me a good argument why you don't agree. I like teachers that want you to speak your mind." (female, FMijW). Her opinion is that "a lot of teachers prefer if you just come in, you sit down, keep quiet, you don't say anything, you listen and then you go". Most other students have little to say against the teachers methods, a

part from stating that they consist mainly of "talking [and] the blackboard" (male, FTeW) and memorization (female, FTeW).

Facilities

The students that have seen or experienced university facilities abroad, in the United States, the Netherlands and Belgium are malcontent with student facilities at AdeKUS. The young man who has visited his cousins at HEIs in the Netherlands says that "If you go there you see the facilities there, when you come back here, you're like 'aaahhh…[making heartbreak sound] why are we here?'. You also see … it's not very advanced [here]"

The female student at FMijW, that has spent time at educational institutions both in the United States and in the Netherlands, is passionately occupied with the facilities needing to be improved:

"we need new classrooms, new seats, new boards, I think we need more modern technology…. And you can't hear if you're in the back unless there's a microphone. We don't have power point yet. We have a projector, but you can't put a projector in the back…you have to put it close up. They need to modernize I think. And … say when it's raining, we have a rainy season here, November-December it starts raining like crazy. It just rains and rains, everything is under water. And you can't hear the teacher talk. So you're sitting there, but you can't hear, so you miss a lesson… At UCC, that's … for the internet, but it's really slow and you have to pay. And I'm thinking, you're a student, you already pay. Everywhere around the world you have internet at school and you don't have to pay, you just go- why can't it be the same way?"

She also states that all these changes should be made "so that we don't stay behind." Access to student facilities seems to be more salient for those with international experience that those with none. All the students that recanted their international experiences also pointed to deficiencies in the facilities at AdeKUS. An equal amount, 3 students of the students with no international experience sought improved access to facilities. One female student from the Faculty of Technology expressed a wish for more sporting facilities, and a male student at the medical faculty identified what he saw as a need for a quiet space where the students could study at the medical faculty, which is located away from the main campus. He said that they do have a small library there, but it is always full. The other alternative is a room in the basement of the hospital. This is where the interview took place. During the interview he simply said: "because you see where we are. We're in the basement of a building and that's

actually not great for us." All the interviews conducted at the medical faculty took place in the basement the student is referring to, while maintenance work was going on in the background making the surrounding salient during the interview. The basement is rather dark with some narrow windows high up on unpainted concrete walls. A female student at the faculty of technology is also quite sober in her demands. She "would like to see [the] laboratories here have more equipment. That's something for the future". The students with no international experience do, as those with international experience, recognize needs and have wants as to their study environment, yet they seem more sober in their demands. Those with international experience seem to compare more directly to foreign institutions using their experiences as a measuring stick for AdeKUS. Students that have not been abroad make international comparisons as well. One male student at the faculty of technology simply said "I think the facilities over there are better" referring to the Netherlands. Though he himself has not experienced the facilities abroad, he believes them to be superior to those of AdeKUS.

International recognition

AdeKUS graduates are not internationally recognized, while the HE of the Netherlands is. A male student at the medical faculty states that those that graduate from a HEI in Europe

" would have a better degree. Because most universities in Europe are internationally certified you can go to any part of the world. But if you go here, you can only go to Suriname. You can only work in Suriname. Because our general doctor- that's what you are when you graduate here- if you're a general doctor you can only work in Suriname. If you go abroad, they won't accept your diploma, if I can say that, papers. So you have to take another test there to qualify to work there."

Here the word 'better' in the first sentence is difficult to interpret. Does the student mean simply that the degree is accepted elsewhere and that this is positive if you wish to settle elsewhere? On the other hand, he might mean that the degree itself is actually better quality-wise. When asked a follow-up question to clarify the student answered that it was both a positive thing with regards to mobility of the credentials and that he believed te education in itself to be of a superior quality. The same student believes, as do a few others, that the education required to become a GP in the Netherlands is much shorter than in Suriname. He says that to become a doctor in Suriname requires a 7-year general medical education, while in the Netherlands it is "4 or 5 years". Two other students at the medical faculty also mention the shorter education in the Netherlands as reasons for wanting to study there. One says it is

"much shorter than here". The female student who spent two months in the Netherlands says it is a 6-year study. According to an overview of the the Dutch education system on the website of Nuffic (Nuffic, 2010) she is right. The education is split into a 3-year bachelor's of medicine followed by a 3-year master of medicine. After these 6-years, a medical student is qualified to work as a '*huisarts*', the Dutch and Surinamese word for General Practitioner (GP). The same system applies in Suriname, but the education is one year longer. Their assumptions about the length of the education might be connected to statements regarding the size of the curriculum and lack of efficiency, i.e. that the curriculum is not as comprehensive therefore the education is more efficient and takes less time to complete.

6.3.3 Status

As indications of status will be included quality judgments (above) and other references to status differences. The reason why this is included as a separate section is statements made by the president of AdeKUS, both at a casual meeting and in the interview session. Both times he expressed a firm belief that the reason why some many student where going, and wanted to go abroad was due to status differences. In the first casual conversation, he presented a t-shirt metaphor to explain his views stating that if a t-shirt made in Suriname were sold in a store for a low price, people would not buy it. However, if a label was placed on the same t-shirt and it was sold at a higher price the same t-shirt would be a popular purchasing item. This statement captures that he believes that HE in Suriname and in the Netherlands to be the same 't-shirt', i.e. that the quality and education offered is in fact the same. He believes that because HE abroad is more expensive the students perceive it as more exclusive and by *implication* superior. The quality perceptions above might indicate that he is right. Many of the students show that they believe the curriculum, the support, the facilities and the international recognition, as well as the duration of the medical education, to be positive or sometimes superior aspects of HE in the Netherlands. So: what do the students think about the status? For one, none of them explicitly mention status. However, some say they believe status to be a reason why *other* students choose to study abroad. Two students mention that others are motivated by thinking they will get a better education there. A third student expounds and says, "people often think, when I go abroad I'm better than the rest who stays here. But that's not always so. But the most of them who have money they want to show off, you know?" (male, FMijW). For this student not only are others motivated by the status

studying abroad brings, but because it makes them "better than the rest" and allows them to "show off". That they can show off by choosing to study abroad implies that there is status connected to doing so. They themselves do not express status as motivation. However, the status of HE is not *un*important. A female medical student (24) said that one thing she liked about studying at the medical faculty of AdeKUS was the status it afforded her:

"it helps that when you're studying to be a medical doctor they look up to you. They call and ask you all this stuff, but sometimes that not good, cause they expect too much of you. I'm only a student and they ask you stuff like which medicine should I take and I'm like: 'I don't know! I'm not a doctor!' so in a way it's also a good thing cause you know that they look up to you."

At least for this student status is of importance. Her statements regarding why she wanted to go to the university was that she did not like her prospects had she not continued her studies and was not related to status (quoted in section 6.2.1). Was it a motivation when she chose what to study? When asked about why she chose medicine she states that she "didn't plan anything", but that it was only after someone mentioned that her grades were good enough to get into the medical faculty that she chose to go there. When she was not admitted the first time she applied she expressed that she was "a little bit disappointed even though I didn't want to do the study". Though she did not want to study medicine, she chose to accept the place that was offered to her when someone else dropped out. Being a doctor is a high status occupation and this might have factored in when she made her choice.

Status, it seems might also be an issue with employers. A female student at the Faculty of Technology, along with two others believe that students with a foreign degree might have an advantage when applying for jobs in Suriname "because when they come here they get jobs easier than people that study here. If you have an interview and there are like 6 people that qualify, the person that's gonna get it is the person with the foreign diploma."(female, FTeW)

Change of attitude?

Many of the statements pertaining to both quality and status indicate that there might be a generational change in the attitude towards the value of HE in general, and domestic HE in particular. Several students mention that for their parents HE abroad is a goal because they believe it is better, and as the president of the university stated there is also the status belief attached to HE abroad. One male student at the faculty of medicine said that though his parents did not encourage him going abroad, they would support him if he chose to do so

because "I'm their son….If you keep him back how will he develop himself? They think the education there is better." Since medical studies are also available at AdeKUS, it is not a choice between studying medicine and some other study of lower status, nor it is an issue of wanting their son to stay abroad to pursue job possibilities there since, he says, his mother would miss him too much. For his parents it is a choice between what they believe is a superior education and a less valuable education. Given these beliefs and the parental imperative of wanting what is best for your children, they would support him in his endeavors. A male student at the technical faculty agrees that many, in particular those of the parental generation, are of this opinion:

"a lot of people, especially older people, don't have a lot of confidence in Suriname or like AdeK, Suriname's university. They don't really believe that it would be the same or equivalent. ... they just don't believe that it would be the same as studying abroad".

A young man studying at the faculty of the social sciences acquainted with the attitudes of his parents explains that

"in those days[when his parents were his age] ... the university wasn't that old. And most people didn't go to the university, if you had like an lower degree, you were good to work. University was only for like if you wanted to become like politician or doctor, someone in a top function. It was not for everybody"

Previously the university was solely for the elite- it was "not for everybody". Implicit in the statement is that today the university is for everyone, not just for those that aim at a "top function". The statement might indicate that there is a status decrease in attaining a HE degree. Yet it also indicates that HE is increasingly an asset that is important to succeed in society and the job market. The MINOV 2004 report indicates that becoming a knowledge society is a priority (section). In such a society, there is a high premium on HE.

6.3.4 Familiarity and commitments

Information and imagination

There are many possible destinations for Surinamese students and Holland is not the only destination brought up in the interviews. Two students mention Belgium as a destination for Surinamese students. Another two students have a very positive impression of the United States, which they consider of high quality. A male student at the Faculty of Technology says that he has an imagination for the United States due to impressions left by different media:

"America … attracts me because, you know, the media is full of American pictures. Warner Brothers, Fox, you know. All the channels, or a lot of the channels come here so America attracts me. ". A female student at the Faculty of the Social Sciences, with experience from both the United States and the Netherlands, would return to the US if she had a choice:

"I like studying here to a degree. If I had a choice to study in the United States…. I had a scholarship opportunity, but I wasn't old enough, I wasn't 18 yet. I was 17 when we left over there and my parents were like: 'We're not gonna leave you here by yourself.'… so they took me and then if I had the choice I would have studied there. But without a scholarship it's too expen..it's waaaay to expensive. And I can't pay like 20 thousand us dollars per year. Not excluding books, excluding like living"

Her observation that the costs related to studies in the United States are too much are also reflected in other statements.

Information and imagination for the place where they want to study is important in their decision making process. Many destinations are relatively little known by the students, the exceptions being the US and the Netherlands. A male medical student speaks to this: "Because in the first place I don't know so much about other countries beside United States and Netherlands" .

Some students have also heard about the possibility to go to Cuba and China for HE. One female medical student believes those that do go to such places go because they are given an opportunity, i.e. a scholarship to do so, not because they had a desire to go to that particular location: " I think they went there cause they got a chance to study there, not because they chose to go there. There is a girl here who studied in Cuba and she's now in my year." A male student at the Faculty of Technology has an acquaintance that got a scholarship to study in China, which might corroborate the idea that they go to unfamiliar because of the scholarships.

Given that there are other destinations that they see as tempting, such as Belgium and the US and the potential for scholarships in more unfamiliar places such as Cuba and China, which reasons do they give for being attracted to the Netherlands?

Language

Familiarity with and fluency in the language of instruction is a rationale several students state for preffering the Netherlands. A young male student, that is in his first semester at AdeKUS,

says that his experience with English is sporadic, and that the advantage of Dutch is a factor why he is considering pursuing at master's in the Netherlands. A male student at the medical faculty considers it a benefit that it would ease learning: "actually, they also speak my language so it's much more easy to attend college". One female student at the Faculty of Tchnology, sees the fact that instruction is in Dutch as a deterrent. She wanted to study at the university of the West Indies when she started and is still looking into the possibility of going there for her master's:

"Because for one, because of the language. They speak English, so I could get better in speaking English. That's why, because if you go in Netherlands they speak Dutch so you stay in a Dutch area. So you can't communicate with others, you can't communicate better with the people from the other countries. That's why I wanted to go to the West Indies."

Experience and tradition

A young woman at the medical faculty explains that though there are several different destinations a student can choose to go to, many, her included, prefer the Netherlands because "Holland is for us Surinamese the most … we go there often, so we know it the best. So that is why my first choice was to study medical, the medicine study in Holland".
Many students also talk about receiving information about studying in the Netherlands: one through a sister who is studying psychology in the Netherlands; one through his uncle who pursued his medical education in the Netherlands and is currently residing there, one through a cousin. Through personal experience or through the stories of other the students gain and maintain an imagination for and knowledge about the Netherlands. The input influences the decision process in that that they are open to and have easier access to information from the Netherlands.

Family and network

For choices relating to mobility in the Netherlands, the presence of family plays an important part. According to a female medical student "everyone in Suriname has family in Holland, so it's a lot easier to go there to study." The students that have been interviewed all mentioned family in Holland: fathers, uncles, aunts, cousins, siblings, "all of them". One student tells the story of how her mother's sister and her father's brother met while both living in the Netherlands, neither realizing their respective siblings were together. The two eventually got married. The presence of family is important for both material and mental support.

Accommodation is one way in which a family can help. Many of the students explain that if they go to the Netherlands they would stay with their family there because it would be economically beneficial: "a lot cheaper … cause you wouldn't have to pay for rooms and everything." Like the students staying with their parents in Suriname, the extended family will often be willing to stretch far to accommodate the students. A medical student tells me his uncle had paid and made all necessary arrangements for him to be able to study in the Netherlands. The uncle even "built… a special study room" in his house. In addition, family is considered important because they provide love and a support network. The Netherlands is preferred to other destinations "because if I went to for example Norway… I'd have no one there". One student explains that having siblings in the Netherlands would make it easier because "if I go there I'll have enough people around me", more specifically "close, loving family". The female student from the faculty of social sciences who went to the Netherlands describes the hardship of being away from your family: "you miss your parents, you're by yourself- all the time. I was there for like 5 years and you're by yourself, you have no parents, you have to do everything, you're struggling. And it gets hard." She returned to Suriname because eshe wanted to be close to her family. Both the absence and presence of family can influence choices to study abroad. For some we see that even extended family in the Netherlands can make going there viable. However, lack of family is factored in when considering a period abroad, or when returning as with the student above. Also other commitments can influence their choices. The male student with the kind uncle decided not to follow up on his uncle's offer because of his girlfriend. She had told him "Once you're gone, you're gonna meet a lot of other girls, and our relations will not be the same again'". His decision to stay in Suriname made his uncle "very pissed".

For a few of the students independence is more important, and studying abroad is seen as an opportunity for independence. One female student says : "I have a *loooot* of family, but I prefer when I want to study in Holland, I prefer to want to live alone, not with family." Another female student also mentions that some "just want to try to see if they can make it on their own". The independence aspect might be an important rationale for students that want it because it is difficult to achieve in Suriname while studying. Student jobs are hard to find: "There are no part time jobs really." Renting an apartment is also difficult. There is a shortage of student housing and rent in the private marked is costly.

6.3.5 Finances

Though the small fee necessary for enrollment at the university is never mentioned as an issue, the students also need to cover transportation and the cost of their books. The latter expense can be a challenge according to a female student at the faculty of the social sciences. Most of the classes require

"European books and the students here don't get paid in.. or the parents don't get paid in Euros. Or in US dollars. And sometimes to find the books you have to be very lucky, because not everyone has family in Europe or if they do, not everybody's family has money there to buy the books and send them"

The government implemented a new student loan scheme that started as of August 2009 to cover living expenses. Prior to this, they had a scheme that could cover transportation cost. The Surinamese government is trying to make education at the university level affordable.

When it comes to studying abroad what role do finances play? For most of the students, it is a decisive factor. The 11 students that wanted to go abroad, but had not been abroad stated lack of finances was the key. Two had applied for scholarships, but information about funding opportunities is hard to come by. One female student says "Trust me; you have to do it on your own. If you want information you have to search on the internet, call them yourself, or if you're there in that country go there". Even if the family can afford to subsidize a sojourn abroad the students do not necessarily choose to take the opportunity. One student says that she would not want to put the extra financial pressure on her family.

When it comes to the choice of the Netherlands, a student offers a simple rationale. Because

"we can afford [it]. Because, America is too expensive for us. I mean, 30 000 dollars a year? We don't make that much money. So, it's too expensive for us. Whereas in Holland it's just 10 000 Euros per year. We can afford that a little bit. So… the main place where people go to study abroad is Holland." (female, FMijW)

The relative affordability is a rationale for preferring it to other more expensive destinations. However, given the number of students that stated they had not had the financial opportunity to study there, the affordability is very relative. The majority of the students have families that are not able to afford such an extra cost, even with the help of other relatives in the host country. There is some awareness about scholarships. Three students mention scholarship opportunities for studying in the Netherlands. One student says, "There is one scholarship. Every year the university [AdeKUS] gives, I think its five scholarships, to the best, the

persons who studied the… cum lauda they get a scholarship to do masters there"(male, FMijW).

According to the interview with E. Deekman at the Dutch embassy in Paramaribo the Dutch government offers a scholarship opportunity to students interested in HE in the Netherlands. The scholarship is not exclusive to Surinamese students, but they are eligible to apply. She explains that though there are approximately 10-15 available scholarships each year, sometimes they do not even receive that many applications from Suriname. Almost all Surinamese applicants, since there are so few, are granted a scholarship. But she, explains, there are strict demands as to the quality of the applicant and they must provide testimonies from employers or teachers. Whoever is granted as scholarship must also promise to return.

6.4 Macro level rationales and strategies

This section will present the analysis of the MINOV paper. All references will be from MINOV(2004). For the sake of avoiding repetition, only the page numbers are referenced in parenthesis after the quotes throughout this section. The first part of this section will focus on the stated goals of MINOV for education in general, followed by a more specific look at the goals they attach to HE and AdeKUS. These goals will form the basis for understanding what they wish education can contribute to, including student mobility. The second part will focus on the strategies they employ to achieve these goals. included in this last section is material gathered through an interview. Some issues recognized in the report as they pertain to the goals and strategies and that are relevant with regards to mobility are also presented. An evaluation of the strategies will follow in chapter 7.

6.4.1 Goals and rationales

The MINOV report states explicitly that improvements in the educational infrastructure is necessary to "promote a knowledge-based society" (3). Education is seen as the "key that should give access to the necessary economic redress" (3). The stated priorities are "universal access" to primary education and "access for at least 75% of young people to quality secondary education" within "the framework of the *Education for All*"(2). This indicates that the main driver of the reforms promoted in the report is influenced by international trends. Though the focus is on primary and secondary education, high hopes are placed on post-

secondary education. It is meant to "give direction to the national development and to meet challenges" faced by society (6). To this end it is it is a goal that the educational system should promote students that are "versatile, demonstrates an independent and critical intellect… and is oriented towards the application of knowledge and facts to solve problems" (8). It is also meant to promote people that have "a strong connection with the own country and people and [have] the orientation of a cosmopolitan" (8). In addition, it is stated that the graduates of

"higher education should be oriented towards social goals and needs which are relevant in the long term, with due respect for culture and the environment…they should contribute to the development of the entire education system. Finally, higher education should create a new society that has no violence and is not directed towards exploitation" (50-51).

When it comes to AdeKUS, it should be "contributing actively to the social reform process, directed towards social and economic independence"(27). The "Mission" of the higher education sector includes "training … qualified and responsible citizens", producing "an international competitive working population" (9) and graduates that should be able "to identify and direct themselves toward subjects which have an effect on the well-being of society". They should also be geared towards "conducting research to produce, create and expand knowledge, and to render service to society" so as "to help to understand, interpret, conserve, perfect and extend culture" (50). Higher education in general then has as its main goal graduates that contribute to the development of society, the educational system and culture, by ensuring that they are responsible and attuned to the "well-being" of society and culture.

However, there are issues that might hinder these goals as students have a "limited choice of studies" and the "content of the studies are insufficiently directed towards the labor market" (32). There is also a "lack of information on possibilities for studying at higher education institutions" and a "lack of any form of study financing"(32), all of which are elements that might discourage the pursuit of HE. Despite these facts, there is "a growing demand for post-secondary and tertiary education" (5).

As has been eluded to, and as will be shown below, internationalization is a core strategy of MINOV.

6.4.2 Strategies

In order to ensure graduates are attuned to society and able to respond to the challenges it faces the "social relevance of the studies" needs to be improved to ensure that graduates can be attuned to society and in turn, contribute to its development (27).

One way of improving the education system and thereby the graduates are to access "the advantages of international cooperation" (27) which is done partly by learning from "best practices" (13). To do so, MINOV aims at "strengthening regional cooperation" (13). Several regional, international organizations are mentioned as potential partners to learn from, such as Caricom, OAS and IDB (13). However, the only national level cooperation mentioned in the section is a "cooperation between the Ministry [MINOV] and the Netherlands-based foundation *Samenwerking Onderwijs Suriname-Nederland, SOSN.*"[11] (13)

At the tertiary level "concluding efficient agreements of cooperation and [ensuring] an equitable admission to the advantages of international cooperation" (27) are strategies to promote internationalization and reap the benefits that can be gained. Implicitly, MINOV here recognizes that there is inequity in the access to "international cooperation" without specifying what exactly constitutes such cooperation.

At AdeKUS the education should receive "adjustments … to international standards, both in form and content" and legal regulations need to be developed for the "encouragement of international orientation, international collaboration and international mobility" (53).

Already in the foreword it is recognized that there is "a remarkable brain drain" (iii) partly due to the inefficiency of the educational system and partly "because of salaries and poor working conditions" (26). However, no explicit strategies to stag this drain are mentioned.

Throughout the report, much weight is placed on "international developments", "international" competiveness, "international practice", "international recognition" and "international … exchange of knowledge" (13). It seems the international agenda and learning from others is a core aspect of both the rationale and the strategies employed to improve the education system.

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[11] An educational cooperation organization

Through the interview with the employee at the MINOV office for information on educational opportunities it becomes clear that the mobility the government is promoting is not mobility to the Netherlands. The office provides information on study destinations they sanction, and promote this sanctioned destinations by administering scholarships offered by the host country governments. MINOV offer no scholarships themselves for study abroad. The destinations they promote are other developing countries either in the region, for the time being Cuba, Brazil and Venezuela, and further away, for the time being China. Since the scholarships are not funded by MINOV the scholarships available vary over time in accordance with what the other governments offer.

7   Discussion

In this section the empirical findings will be discussed. First a short summary is presented. Then follows a general discussion on the relevance of the theories to the empirical data. The section is led by a look at how postcolonialism relates to the findings. Subsequently, human capital theory informs the reading of the micro level rationales. The findings are also related to the Dutch-Surinamese relationship to explicate its role in mobility trends. Lastly, a revised model is introduced to tie the findings together.

7.1   Summary of the findings

One of the research questions was why do Surinamese students want to study abroad? It has been shown that there are many and intertwined reasons why Surinamese students want to study in the Netherlands. More specifically, we have seen that push- factors such as lack of opportunity to study the subject or at the level students want and the quality or duration of the offer at AdeKUS are important drivers of student mobility. It has also been show that pull factors include the perception of quality and status of HE in the Netherlands and familiarity with the country, the language and the culture.

When it comes to the second research question relating to barriers to study abroad finances and commitments are the two main factors for these students. The lack of scholarships and information about them result in a situation where only students from families with monetary and other resources are able to study abroad. Family is important in two ways. First, families often influence the attitudes of the students towards studying abroad as it is seen as an opportunity to create a better life, a chance to secure their future. Secondly, family and significant others are also important factors in keeping students from being mobile in that students would miss them or that they want to take care of their families.

Since most of the students do not have international study experience it is interesting to note that many assume that others choose to study abroad because they have the resources and want to "show off". This, in collusion with the fact that there are financial barriers for those who want to study abroad, tells us that student mobility is considered and is an elite phenomenon. When it comes to the macro level rationales for education, it is clear that the link between development and education in the concept of the knowledge society has strongly

influenced the reform plans of MINOV. To contribute to societal, cultural and economic development then the graduates must be attuned to what is need in Suriname. Strategies to ensure this outcome include adjusting the curriculum and learning from international best practices. To ensure that access to HE in spite of the increasing demand one strategy is to ensure that there are mobility opportunities, partly done by administering scholarships for mobility to other developing countries. Brain drain is noted as an issue, and it is seen as a result of poor employment opportunities, salaries and efficiency of the education system.

7.2 General discussion

The discussion will first center on pull factors that pertain to the Netherlands, and is followed by a discussion of the push factors. Studies pertaining to Norwegian students have been included to provide a contrast and as starting point for discussion for many of the factors relating to mobility. Though Wiers- Jenssen states that different factors normally pertain to developing and developed countries they have been used to highlight exactly these differences and thereby used to clarify exactly what the 'colonial connection' is. Indonesia, another former Dutch colony, is also used as a comparison to root out which elements of the colonial relationship are important in relation to student mobility.

7.2.1 The 'colonial connection' manifest in 'pull' factors?

The colonial connection is seen by many to influence international student mobility flows (e.g Gürüz, 2008; Agarwal et al., 2007). In the case of Suriname, we have seen that the number of students going to the Netherlands is high which might indicate that this is the case. Does this mean that all former colonies have a high rate of mobility to their former colonial powers? In the case of Indonesia, another former Dutch colony, the registered number of students in the Netherlands in the school year 2008/2009 was 1350 (Nuffic, 2008). Though the number is more than twice that of Suriname's, which in the same year had 600 students in the Netherlands. However, while Indonesia in 2007 had a projected population of 230 million (UN Data Indonesia, 2010) Suriname, as was mentioned in chapter 2, has an estimated population of 509 970 (ABS 2008). This means that while Indonesian students studying in the Netherlands represent about 0.00065 percent of the domestic population, the same number for Surinamese students is approximately 0.2 percent. Gürüz, which several times mentions the "colonial connection" as a self-evident explanation for student mobility, states that in the case

of Indonesia and the Netherlands it "is interesting to note that no colonial connection appears to exist between [the two countries]"(Gürüz , 2008: 224). This means that while he uses the connection as an explanation for high rates of mobility, he also admits that a link in and by itself is not sufficient to predict mobility rates.

The history of Suriname is closely linked to the Netherlands and the history has shaped much of what Suriname is to today. The education system is a clear indication of this. It is built on the same mold as that of the Netherlands, the content of the curriculum has changed minimally after the institution of the *Prins* curriculum, Dutch has been retained as language of instruction, and is also the country's official language of media and government. Going back to Indonesia, we see that their history is somewhat different in this respect. After the country reached independence, they actively contested the colonial legacy amongst other things by replacing the official language and instead introduced Bahasa Indonesian (Agarwal et al., 2007).

Maybe language commonality is what the colonial connection is about? Regarding student mobility, skill level in the language spoken in the host country is recognized by several researchers as an important element in the individual decision to study abroad (e.g. Wiers-Jenssen, 2008; SIU report, 2010; Agarwal et al., 2007). Commonalities in language can explain many mobility trends and the results of the research in Suriname shows that it is an important factor for the Surinamese students in their desire to study in the Netherlands. The students hold up language as a reason why many choose to study in the Netherlands. However, it is an insufficient explanation by itself. As Gürüz (2008) points out one of the most obvious trends is high mobility to English speaking countries. This holds for former colonies that still use English today (Gürüz, 2008), but it also holds for other countries, such as Norway that where students have a high level of competency in the language (e.g. Wiers-Jenssen, 2008). Language must therefore be considered as an independent variable, included in, but not constituent of, Gürüz' (2008) colonial connection. Wiers-Jenssens model (2008), introduced in section 4.3 , includes language competency as a influencing factor. the model will be discussed in more detail in section 7.3.

Agarwal et al. (2007) mentions that Indonesia re-structured their HE system after independence, an endeavor not attempted in Suriname before the present day. But, the restructuring of the university system in Suriname today must be seen in light with the restructuring in the Netherlands, as well as a general European trend of instituting the

bachelor's and master's system as part of the Bologna process.. It should therefore not be seen as a contestation of the colonial legacy, as was the case in Indonesia, but rather as a continuance of system compatibility with the Netherlands. One of the students at AdeKUS mentions that the university is undergoing a process of once again, making the Surinamese system more like the Dutch. As material pertaining implementation and details of planned changes to the HE system in Suriname are not readily available, this cannot be confirmed by other sources and would at this time be speculative. Nonetheless, when the Netherlands changed to the bachelor's and master's system in 2002, Suriname shortly after started a gradual introduction to the system (Nuffic, 2009). Is this a result of colonial ties or simply a process of globalization? Given that the two countries prior to the implementation also shared a system indicates that Suriname continued to follow the Netherlands, rather than it indicates a change towards more global inspirations, but one does not exclude the other. However, when it comes to mobility degree structure compatibility is not a salient factor for the students at AdeKUS. This does not mean that it is not a factor. Many of the students have plans to pursue their master's degrees in the Netherlands, and in order to do so they are reliant on structural compatibility. Even though they do not overtly consider this, it is unlikely that so many of them would want to do this had the systems to been the same.

Another element seen to have an effect on student mobility and that also can be construed as a legacy of colonialism is the presence of the diaspora. Agarwal et al. (2007) recognize *Stock of citizens of country of origin* as a 'pull' factor for outward mobility. Both Indonesia and , as was mentioned in chapter 2, Suriname have significant diasporas in the Netherlands. The data also shows that this does constitute a factor for the students. Most of them have either close or extended family living or studying in the Netherlands who contribute to ease mobility in a range of ways. Another element of Tikly's (1999) conceptualization is the idea that postcolonialism is not simply concerned with a dichotomous division of colonizer it can be a tool for focusing on binary "linkages between and across nation state frontiers in addition to the more traditional 'vertical' relationships." (Tikly, 1999: 607). As is evident in the data set the Surinamese students have contact with family members in the Surinamese diaspora in the Netherlands which contribute to their open mindedness towards the destination for student mobility, and otherwise increases the possibility of going there. The diaspora are crucial in keeping the students imagination open towards the Netherlands. They receive information and stories from people in the Netherlands, and visits to family in the Netherlands are by some students used as a information gathering strategy. Information about studying abroad in

general is hard to obtain in Suriname, and as one student mentions "you have to do it on your own. If you want information you have to search on the internet, call them yourself, or if you're there in that country go there". The VSSA support that there is a lack of information concerning studies and visa processes pertaining to the Netherlands (VSSA, 2009a). Family in the Netherlands is also in other ways part in easing mobility to the country. Many of the students mention that they can stay with family if or when they go there, making mobility more financially feasible. As tuition fees and living cost are much higher than in Suriname, such economic support can make or break the possibility for studying abroad. In addition, the presence of family eases a transition by providing a network. The importance of having a network is evident in the data. A student who had stayed there considered it hard to have no one to turn to, and others that do have family in the Netherlands, said that having someone to go to if encountering difficulties would be important. Having a network is by Wiers-Jenssen described as being "a key factor in integration and satisfaction"; however the networks she describes are not solely familial, but larger social networks consisting (Wiers-Jenssen, 2008: 29). The presence of family can then be seen as having a network before departure, a safe haven regardless of the students' social skills upon arrival. Wiers-Jenssen(2003) does not include family in the host country as a factor in her study, but does include the presence of a girl- or boyfriend. The SIU study (2010) also found the presence of family and/or significant others in host country to be of minimal importance. Given that these two studies both concern Norwegian students, there is no diaspora to speak of. In contrast, two of the interviewees mention that one of the *enticements* of studying abroad would be distance from family and the possibility of living by themselves, indicating that increased independence is a factor for them. The independence aspect might be an important rationale for students that want it because it is difficult to achieve in Suriname while studying. Student jobs are hard to find, or as one student puts it, "There are no part time jobs really." Renting an apartment is also difficult. There is a shortage of student housing and rent in the private marked is costly. For the studies pertaining to Norwegian studies independence is not a variable, probably because financial and domicile independence are the norm rather than the exception in Norway, as in many other countries.

Since its inception, HE has been available to an elite minority only. During the colonial period, HE in Suriname consisted of a medical school and a law school. These elite professions where the only HE options available until after independence. One of the students references this, stating that the university previously was only for those wanting to be

a "politician or doctor, someone in a top function. It was not for everybody". Since there has been little tradition for domestic HE in Suriname except for the elite, as several of the students point out, HE itself is also considered elite by the previous generation. If the elite wanted access to other subject fields, they left for the Netherlands. This is still the case today: due to the expenses attached to studying abroad HE abroad is only available to an elite few. The limited access to this kind of opportunity has made it a status issue which has repercussions in the way both students and society in general view HE abroad, particularly in the Netherlands. In addition, the status of Dutch education leaves AdeKUS with comparatively little status. The continued emulation of the Dutch education system might leave the Surinamese HEI with even less status if it strives to adopt policies for which there are limited resources. Wiers-Jenssen (2008) states that status is not necessarily important in the choice to study abroad in general, since there are status differences between different countries, HEIs and programmes. In relation to the Netherlands in particular it is clear that status is attached to studying there.

Sociological theories, such as the culture theory and the value theory, though they differ in which aspects of the parents reality they highlight, both posit that children from families with little education are less likely to pursue or succeed in HE (Wiers-Jenssen, 2008). However, most of the students interviewed did not have parents with HE. The university only opened in 1969 when potentially many of the parental generation had already started their working lives. The increasing enrollment numbers also tell us that HE is a more common practice today that what it was when their parents were growing up. In addition, the newfound commitment of the government represented by MINOV (2004) in matters of HE might have contributed the increase. If the sociological theories are right, then it can be argued that the parental generation always wanted and valued, but were never able to access, HE. The data does contain evidence that students receive backing, support and encouragement from their parents and other family members in their want to pursue HE . However, reducing the choices and beliefs of the students to those of their parents is too simplistic and leaves the individual with little room to maneuver their own lives (Wiers-Jenssen, 2008). This is not to exclude the influence of the family and its perception of HE as a factor in the personal decisions to study abroad, but rather to emphasize that it is not the background of the parents that are of importance, it is their attitudes.

All these are factors that contribute to 'pull' the students towards wanting to study in the Netherlands based in the historical legacy of colonialism. Given that Indonesia and Suriname both have a colonial history with and a large diaspora in the Netherlands, one major thing that separates them is the different relationships in the *post*colonial-period. Above, the Indonesian switch to Bahasa, as well as the re-constitution of their HE system was called a contestation of the colonial legacy, as in Tikly's conceptualization of postcolonialism (1999). However, Suriname has witnessed little contestation at the macro level. The language of instruction, the educational system and the status of studying in the Netherlands are all legacies of Suriname's colonial past that have not been contested not any serious degree at the macro level. It seems that the 'interesting' lack of a strong 'colonial connection' between Indonesia and the Netherlands as expressed in student mobility, might be connected to the level of contestation that has taken place in the country. It seems that it's not the 'connection' which is important in and by itself, but how the countries have developed their own educational identity in the period after colonization.

7.2.2 Push factors for HE

As Wiers-Jenssen (2008) states, and as has been mentioned, student mobility from 'developing' countries is driven mostly by 'push', rather than 'pull' factors in opposition to student mobility from 'developed' countries. The data from Suriname support the notion that 'push' factors are more relevant than those that 'pull'.

Within human capital theory, educational choice is conceptualization as an investment decision (Wiers-Jenssen, 2008). It specifies that returns are expected once entry is made in the job market. As was seen in the data the students perceive of HE as a means to secure their future: by educating themselves they envision that they will more easily be able to access employment opportunities, higher entry-level positions, better salaries and through the money they make easily provide well for themselves. What about the desire they have to study abroad? Not only does studying abroad incur direct cost increases in relation to tuition fees, but the students also have to live away from their families and supply the necessary food, books, etc. The living costs in Suriname are minimal for the students since most of them live at home with their parents. In addition, students have to prove that they can provide a monthly sum of approximately 770 Euros in order to secure a visa (VSSA, 2010). How do the students rationalize the added costs of studying abroad? There are indications that for this added

investment the students expect a greater return. The greater return is that it is construed as easier to secure employment with a foreign degree than with one gained in Suriname.

By making it easier to secure employment with a foreign, rather than a domestic, degree society encourages the investment of studying abroad. The students are therefore willing to accrue the extra costs because they believe it will be beneficial long-term. One student stood out from the rest. She, though she wanted to pursue her master's abroad, believed that it would be more *difficult* to gain employment being in the possession of a non-domestic degree. She believed HE degrees from abroad were not as relevant for the kind of employment available in Suriname. Lødding (2003, cited in Wiers-Jenssen, 2008) found that many employers indeed look to minimize risks when hiring new employees and therefore hire people with backgrounds with which they are familiar. Such strategies could then imply that it would be difficult to gain employment with skills acquired abroad. However, the beliefs of the other students that spoke to this issue, paired with the presence of a multitude of international and transnational companies in Suriname, all in demand of varied and often international skills, indicates that it would not be more difficult to find a job with a non-domestic degree.

Given the conceptualization of development as the knowledge society, the government are reliant on citizens with HE. As mentioned in chapter 2, scholarships to study in the Netherlands were provided over a period of time as an attempt to provide opportunities not domestically available, a strategy often used by developing countries (Gürüz, 2008). However, the Surinamese "experience with scholarships to Dutch universities indicated that many students did not return to Suriname at the end of their studies."(IADB, 1998). The students are aware that salaries are higher in the Netherlands, and that it is "more developed". Wanting to pursue the good life, including "a big house, an SUV" living in the Netherlands is tempting. The Surinamese diaspora might contribute to this temptation. As mentioned they keep the students imaginations open towards the Netherlands, through stories and visits going both ways. These encounters allow the Surinamese a look at how their investment could pay off. Some researcher connect mobility trends to migration trends (Gürüz, 2008; Altbach, 2001). The diaspora might contribute economically to Suriname in the form of remittances (Unger & Siegel, 2006), but brain drain is a problem (MINOV, 2004). Good quality and sufficient opportunities in HE is therefore not only important in order to ensure the students access to these elements which are important to them, but it is also important for

development. Since the government is conceptualizing their development strategy as knowledge driven (MINOV, 2004.), the emigration of HE graduates is detrimental. Kearney (2008) states that in addition to being hinged on local knowledge production and embeddedness of graduates, a vital component of for a functioning of the knowledge society is that the graduates stay in their country. It is therefore a paradox that they need students to study abroad if they are to achieve an adequate knowledge level given the current provision of domestic HE, but that their conceptualization of development requires local knowledge, embeddedness and staying. None of these elements are fulfilled to their fullest if the government pursues the strategy of relying on HEIs abroad. Both the government and the students want and need more educational opportunities if the knowledge society is to be achevied. Today, the range and levels offered are not extensive enough to satisfy the students wants or society's needs for skills (Inter-American Development Bank (IADB) , 1998). The government is attempting to stay brain drain by administering scholarships to other developing countries in the region, such as Cuba and Venezuela, and further away, such as China. Still we see in the students perceptions of such study destinations that they are not as desirable as the Netherlands. Agarwal et al. (2007) recognize geographical distance as a factor influencing student mobility choices. As some of the students have an imagination for places such as Cuba and the West Indies it might indicate that this is relevant to their decisions. However, the status of Dutch education, as mentioned in the section above, and the allure of a better life might be more important factors than proximity to home.

Macro level rationale for mobility though not explicitly stated must be considered to coincide with the rationales guiding education and educational outcome. As was shown the general educational goals are to promote embedded graduates that can contribute constructively to the development of society. Mobility is seen as a way to allow access to possibilities not domestically available. However, the promotion of such opportunities, done through the administration of scholarships to study abroad is geared towards regional destinations rather than the Netherlands, though as one students, mentioned a few scholarships are also available for master's studies in the Netherlands. Promoting regional and south-south exchanges is used by the government as a strategy to stay brain drain (IADB, 1998). However they are not themselves explicit in this. Nor are they explicit in recognizing that mobility can be a first step towards migration. Since the students want to ensure their future and a good life, migration might constitute a rationale for some of the students. Though the reforms suggest in the MINOV report are said to be inspired by international and in particular regional

cooperations and best practices, there is still a close cooperation with the Netherlands. The syncing of the HE system with that of the Netherlands might encourage mobility as system compatibility is recognized to have an effect on mobility (Agarwal et al., 2008).

In a postcolonial perspective it can also been seen as a contestation of the importance the Netherlands has had as a student destination. The government is therefore not seen to contribute in any large part to student mobility to the Netherlands, though they still have cooperational links with the country.

Not only is pursuing HE abroad perceived as better investment, but it is, for some, the only way of pursuing their personal interests. Both Wiers-Jenssen (2008) and the SIU report (2010) find that the non-existence of or lack of admission to a wanted programme is a motivational factor for Norwegian students to study abroad, though one of less importance than many others. In the former study, failure of admission is a more common factor than non-existence of programme, while in the latter it is the opposite. Some studies in Norway, as in the medical programme of Suriname, only allow a set number of students each year. The alternative for some is to pursue the same programme abroad. The provision of HE in Norway is more diverse and cater to a lot more interests than what is the case in Suriname. It is therefore not surprising that among the Surinamese students, in opposition to the Norwegian students in Wiers-Jenssen (2003) study, non-existence of programme was more salient than non-admission. Even if students are driven to pursue a certain field of study, the barriers to doing so are great. Returning to the economic jargon introduced above, most of the students interviewed were unable to afford the initial investment to secure the increase in return.

One of the most important rationale groups for Norwegian students is what Wiers-Jenssen refers to as "cultural rationales" (2008: 57). Though this is a little used rationale among the Surinamese students, one student wants the opportunity to improve her language skills and another to gain international experience. Cultural rationales do not seem to be important to the group as a whole. Graduates who can supply skills to the labor marked for which there is a demand, but a shortage, have an advantage. Investment in such skills is therefore considered to expand human capital. As elucidated in section 4.2 there is a difference between country-specific skills and general skills. With the cultural rationales given above, these students place more importance on expanding their *country-specific skills*, rather than their *general* skills. For them it is not an issue of the better quality or the improved access to a programme that beckons, these basic skills could arguably be pursued domestically. Rather they are driven by

the pursuit of improving their bonus skills. However, the students did not frame this as a capacity expansion idea; rather they were following their personal interests, a result of experience and personality. Cultural rationales can be connected to the expansion of their human capital. Graduates who can supply skills to the labor marked for which there is a demand, but a shortage, have an advantage. Investment in such skills is therefore considered to expand human capital.

It is important to note here that it might be a rationale for the students that *do* study abroad. However, given that the most salient study destination is the Netherlands, which the students are familiar with both culturally and linguistically, wanting to gain 'new impulses' should not be expected to constitute a rationale for going there. Rather, as we have seen, the students rationales are characterized by familiarity. The lack of cultural rationales also lends credence to the claim that push factors are more important than pull factors for developing countries.

Access to HE has not only been unequal between the economic elite and the non-elite, it has also been a geographical difference. In fact all education above the primary level, has been marked by geographical access inequality. The region of the interior is lacking in infrastructure and there are no schools in the interior above the primary level. These factors combine to limit access to education above this level. Given the ethnical division of settlement patterns, the inequality of access also pertains to ethnical groups. MINOV wanted to rectify the inequality partly by giving lower socio-economic groups grants (MINOV, 2004) but have instead introduced a student loan scheme to make HE available to students from families without the financial capacity to supply students with the tuition fee . And the important extra costs of the transport costs and the books, which often have to be purchased from Europe or the United States. The government has also instigated the building of student housing to make it possible for individuals from the interior to move and live in the city away from their families, without having to pay rent on the expensive private market. There is still a long way to go and access to HE both domestic and abroad is still marked by inequity. The lack of domestic access equality increases the status of studying abroad since access to such opportunities are even rarer.

Going back to contestation there are indications in the interview material that something is happening at the micro, or individual level. Even though student mobility to the Netherlands continues to be perceived as, and in reality is due to the economic costs, an elite project, students believe in their institution in comparison to the parental generation. The parental

generation beliefs, as expressed through their sons and daughters, indicate that they afford foreign HE great status. They encourage efforts to go abroad, even though they will "miss" their children. Since the beliefs are ubiquitous and strong, it seems that the general opinion concerning the domestic HEI is negative. There is simply a lack of esteem towards the institution.

As mentioned in the previous section, status is not necessarily important in the choice to study abroad in general, since there are status differences between different countries, HEIs and programmes. In this case, it seems that since the esteem in the domestic institution is low, abroad destinations for which the students have an imagination are considered better. In addition, it can be argued that studying in the Netherlands in particular is related to status because of it traditionally being the privilege of a resource-elite. The statements made by the AdeKUS president and the students presentations of their, and their parents beliefs, confirm this. However, many students positively evaluate made AdeKUS and they are after all more familiar with the HEI than their parents.

Some of the students believe that AdeKUS "produces good graduates to society", that "study there is good", and that the offer they "get [is] at the same level" as the Netherlands. In addition, many of the quality issues that the students point out are issues that the government have already recognized in the MINOV report (2004) and are trying to rectify. This means that the students are realistic in their quality judgments. When it comes to the positive evaluations of HEIs abroad, some are made by students that do not themselves have experience with studies or HEIs abroad and some seem somewhat rose-tinged. One example of this is the beliefs regarding the length and efficiency of medical education in the Netherlands. It seems then that though there are negative evaluations done by the students regarding the quality of their institution, which can have an effect on their desire to study abroad, they are still realistic.

In view of the postcolonial approach, the generational change of attitude that seems to be happening, as such, can be seen as a negation of the values that have been in place since HE was instituted as an elite project during colonialism. The students want HE and value HE as a tool to secure their futures. They are not alone in the importance they place on HE, the government is also encouraging HE and attempting to supply good alternatives to HE in the Netherlands. The students' attitudes towards HE also reflect the belief in HE as a development tool, though at the individual rather than the societal level.

The 'contestation of domination' is also evident in the students' perceptions of quality pertaining to the Netherlands. Another country has caught the students' imagination. The United States is, by many, considered a mobility destination of higher status. This might be linked to the actual costs of studying there, and might not be directly related to quality, but it is still being spoken of as a more attractive, and yet more unaffordable, destination than the Netherlands.

7.3   A model of "Micro and macro level conditions influencing student mobility"

How does the model developed by Wiers-Jenssen (2008), introduced in section 4.3, fit the empirical findings in the context of Suriname? The four influencer components, Background and Competencies at the micro level and National context and External conditions at the macro level, are all seen to influence the motivations and choices of the students interviewed.

As has been shown the students background can influence their motivation. Mobility capital seems to be more pertinent than socio-economic background. This can be gleaned from the fact that only two students have parents with university experience, while two others have parents with other domestic HE, while some mobility capital seems to be held by all the students in their own or their families experiences with studying, living or visiting the Netherlands. In addition, background is important in that all the students have received encouragement from their parents and the more extended family to pursue HE. The families are also, with one exception supportive of the choice to study abroad, since they want what is best for their children.

The most relevant competency factor seems to be language. Most students use Dutch at home and all students encounter it through HE where it is the main language of instruction. This language compatibility with the Netherlands is highlighted by many of the students as a motivation to study there.

The macro level components *National context* and *External conditions* are vital influences on students' motivation. At the national level both access to the study options the students are motivated to take and to pursue the studies at the level they want are main motivations for wanting to study abroad. Another issue pertaining to the national level that influences students motivations is the access to the financial means. One female students at FMeW

wanted to study abroad, but was no longer motivated to do so because she knew she would not be able to finance a stay abroad. many other were not able to materialize their motivations to study abroad for the same reason. The latter component consists of issues pertaining both to the host country and to global trends. In relation to external conditions, the cost of studying in the Netherlands compared to the US is a pull factor. The efforts of the government to focus on South-South mobility to places such as Cuba and China also affords the students more possibilities, that, though some take them, does not seem to motivate the students' interviewed, maybe, as one student says, because they "don't know so much about other countries beside United States and Netherlands" ?

With the motivation component of the model we see that what Wiers-Jenssen (2008) categorizes as a want for different education is the most important, though there are a few that seem motivated by a want for 'new impulses', such as improving English skills and gaining international experience. Limited access to the choices they want is, nonetheless, what seems to 'push' students to study abroad.

The model captures all these influences well. Nevertheless, as has been shown, future prospects is a main motivation for choosing to pursue HE and one that also motivates studying abroad. A foreign degree is expected to better employment chances, salaries and position levels on return. Studying abroad is for some also seen as a migration opportunity. How does the model capture this aspect? Within Wiers-Jenssens model relative affluence of sending country is a factor within the national context component which might be sufficient to capture this want for migration, but it does not capture the overlap between HE motivations and studying abroad motivations. In addition, the financial barrier many meet is insufficiently accentuated in the model to be fitting for the Surinamese context.

7.3.1 A revised model for understanding student mobility choices in the context of Suriname

To incorporate the overlap of the decision to pursue HE and where, as well as the financial barriers the Surinamese students face, a revised model is presented below. The main components remain unchanged.

As mentioned in section 4.3, Wiers-Jenssen (2008) hinted that an information component could be added as a catalyst. The empirical findings in this thesis suggest that it is necessary

for understanding mobility from Suriname. Information can hard to come by for the students. The information they do get is often from family or friends abroad, often located in the Netherlands. Though they are aware that there are other abroad options supported by the government, such as Cuba or China, their knowledge about these destinations does not rival their experience with and knowledge about the Netherlands or the US. The information component suggested by Wiers-Jenssen (2008) is therefore added in the revised model to capture how the individual knowledge base and access to information about studying abroad frames individual motivations.

Model 2: Revised model for Understanding Student Mobility- CHOICES AND REALITIES
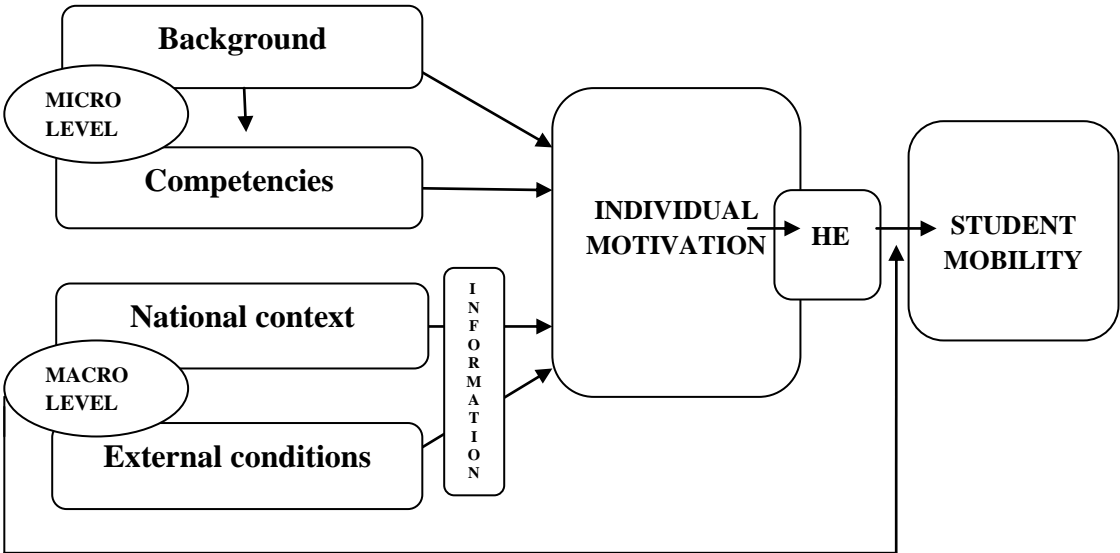
The new model includes a HE component, seen as overlapping with the individual motivation component to illustrate the overlap of the motivations influencing the two decisions. This also implies that in the context of Suriname the decision to study abroad is an extension of the decision to pursue HE, due to the lack of range of domestic HE, i.e. students wanting to pursue a certain kind of HE have to study abroad making the *where* decision reliant on the *if* decision. Also added is a direct influence of the macro level to the realization of studying abroad, illustrated by the arrow from the macro level component to the arrow illustrating the choice of studying abroad and where. Adding a direct barrier line captures how the students are influenced by macro level issues both in their motivations, as the previous model adequately illustrated, and their realization of these motivations as they choose where to

study. The female student who wanted to study in the US can be used to illustrate this point. She originally wanted to study in the US, but the micro level External condition issue of fees in the United States was an effective barrier to block that choice. More importantly, it captures the experience of the eight students that wanted o study in the Netherlands, but could not do so because they could not access the financial means. The lack of scholarships or other financial opportunities acted as an efficient barrier to realize their want to study abroad.

8 Conclusion: Implications and Recommendations

Suriname has, in relation to its population size, a high number of students pursuing HE in the Netherlands. Research focusing on flow patterns often attributes high level of student mobility between former colonized and colonizer countries to the colonial connection. This thesis therefore set out to answer *why* there are so many Surinamese students in the Netherlands and to grasp what exactly the colonial connection is.

Do the students want to study abroad? The answer is yes. Even though there are many studying in the Netherlands, the number could have been higher if funding opportunities were more readily available. Rationales for wanting to study abroad are complex and overlapping. It is important to reiterate that though the government is doing little to promote mobility to the Netherlands, in the way of offering financial assistance to do so, they are still geared towards the Netherlands in their policy reforms. Given the conceptualization of development as the knowledge society, it is vital for the government that young people pursue HE and that graduates are attuned to the needs of the society. However, mobility is counter to this logic as it attunes students to a different society and can also be a precursor to migration, thereby contributing to brain drain.

Wanting the best possible start to the post-student life and securing well-paid, well-positioned employment is a main driver for pursuing higher education, which also influences motivation for studying abroad. The majority of the students believe it is easier to gain such employment with a foreign rather than a domestic degree. The focus on wanting a return for the investment they make is captured using human capital where educational choice is seen as economic behavior.

The desire to satiate personal interest in particular fields and expand access to the opportunities they want is a main reason for wanting to go abroad, and is also a rationale for pursuing HE. The lack of access to many such options domestically, 'pushes' the students abroad. Even students that have no wish to study abroad, see it as the only option if they want to study a particular subject field or complete a higher degree. Domestic quality and its status in society is another rationale for wanting to study abroad, nested in the belief that the status of a foreign degree is a more efficient way of gaining the employment they want. However,

even if society in general are seen by the students as rewarding the status of a foreign degree, they themselves express a belief in the quality of education offered at AdeKUS, while remaining realistic in their hopes for reform. The historical precedence and the present day expenses connected with studying abroad have made it an activity for the economic elite. The status connected to the elite activity has been prevalent since before HE was available in Suriname is still held by many. A contestation of this attitude seems to be emerging, as several of the students interviewed do believe in their HEI.

What rationales do the students have for pursuing HE in the Netherlands in particular? The Netherlands is a popular destination as witnessed both by the number of students going there and the students that express a wish to go there. The students express a familiarity with the country that they have achieved through visits or stories told them by family residing there. Most of the students have family in the Netherlands, as do most citizens of Suriname. Having family in the Netherlands is by many of the students seen to ease any potential move to the country, both by its promise of economic and emotional support. Conversely, some students see going abroad as an opportunity for independence not readily available in Suriname. Student housing is not yet a reality and private market housing is expensive. Though, as one student illustrates, boarding houses are an option. In addition, employment opportunities are few making it difficult to live alone and cover their own expenses. Most the students live with their families. These conditions make it more difficult for students from regions further away from Paramaribo to access HE, since all HE institutions are located in the city.

Is mobility for a select group? The student interviews show that the main push factor, lack of access to the opportunities they want domestically, in collusion with the multiple pull factors pertaining to the Netherlands, which vary between the students, has created a great desire to study abroad in general and in the Netherlands in particular. One of the main factors which determining the outcome of this want and the access HE abroad is the financial factor. Financing studies and covering living expenses is an imperative issue for those who wish to study abroad. Many have had to abandon their plans to study at foreign HEI due to lack of financial opportunity. The scholarship opportunities that do exist are rarely known by the students. Even if finances constitute a barrier to student mobility, one student who both wished to study abroad and had the financial means to do so through the support of his uncle, decided to stay in Suriname in commitment to his girlfriend, and to the anger of his uncle. Family or other commitments can act as both as barriers and encouragement. Parents want

what is best for their children, and the students often receive encouragement to study abroad for this reason. The decision to stay in Suriname made by this student illustrates the inadequacy of the push-pull framework as sole explanatory framework. Many of the students could well be seen as operating within the framework: being pushed out by a lack of diversity in the range of HE, and being pulled to the Netherlands. However, a student not going despite having the financial means to do so means that there must be left space for the individual decision no matter the existence of structural push and pull factors. The revised model (figure 2) adequately captures the macro level barriers, the structural pushes and pulls, as well as the micro level influences on individual motivation.

It has been shown that although mobility is a strategy used by the Surinamese government, there is awareness that mobility can be a first step towards migration. Brain drain is recognized as an issue, and is addressed by supporting mobility to other developing countries rather than e.g. the Netherlands. The government policies can therefore not be seen as a factor contributing to the mobility. However, limited access to this kind of mobility can increase its status, making it more desirable. Given that one of the most salient rationale for mobility was the lack of domestic opportunities, expanding access to HE as well as the range and level of opportunities might be a better method to limit mobility, and thereby assuring that they are attuned and stay to contribute to the development of society. A potential idea to still ensure that graduates have some international competencies in demand on the labor market might be to institute shorter term exchanges or to internationalize the curriculum and the content of education at AdeKUS.

 As has been shown there are many different reasons for the high level of mobility to the Netherlands. When it comes to the influence of the former colonial relationship of Suriname and the Netherlands on present day choices it has been shown that the elite aspect of HE and mobility is an important factor for mobility choices, as it will secure better employment opportunities. In addition language, culture and system commonality between the countries, which were instituted or developed during the colonial era are also factors that motivate mobility to the Netherlands. By using postcolonial theory and comparing with Indonesia, it has been shown that the colonial connection is not a useful explanation for mobility by itself. Contestations of the colonial legacy, which happened in Indonesia, never happened in Suriname, a fact that might indicate the relevant factor of the colonial connection. Postcolonial theory has also been used to show that there are micro level contestations

towards the status of Dutch HE, and macro level contestation in the efforts of the Surinamese government to stag brain drain to the Netherlands by focusing on South-South mobility. However, they remain in a close relationship with the Netherlands and still structure their education system on the same mold. Clearly, the influence of the former colonial power has not seceded. Supporting scholarships to other developing countries is seen as a means of accessing opportunities that the government is not able to supply, while also ensuring the return of the students and avoiding brain drain.   The reproduction of HE abroad as an elite activity, simultaneously devalues domestic HEI in the eyes of the Surinamese people as it builds up the status of HE in the Netherlands. As the case of Suriname shows and as Sehoole states "the colonial legacy is central to the ongoing processes of globalization in education rather than marginal to them." (2006: 3). It is recommended that more research be done on internationalization efforts in a postcolonial perspective to highlight that it is not simply a matter of globalization at work. It is also important to show how the effects of such efforts can be adverse to national development strategies and are not, always beneficial, as they are usually perceived.

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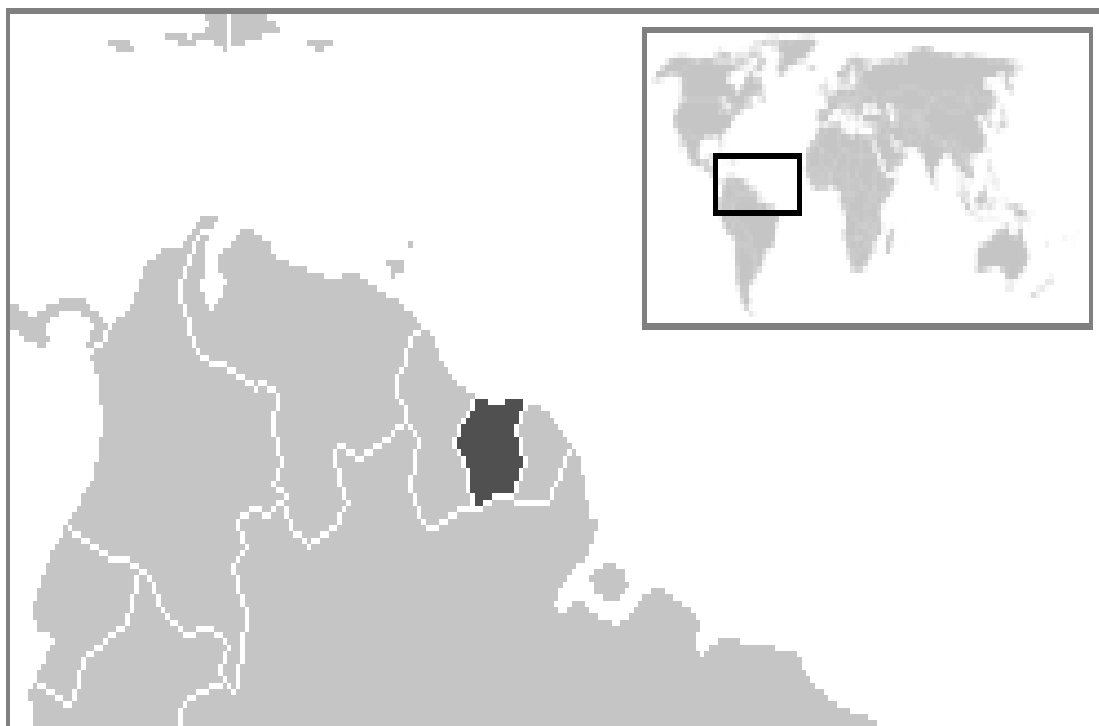
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Appendices

Appendix I: Suriname, context map[12]

[12] Retrieved from http://no.wikipedia.org/wiki/Surinam

Appendix II: **Map of Suriname**[13]

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[13] Retrieved from http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Image:Surinam-map-fr.png

Appendix III: Overview of Surinamese Education Institutions

From Age	Level	Name/Characteristic	Duration
6 years	**Primary school**		6 years
12 years	**Secondary School**	MULO: meer uitgebreid lager onderwijs	4 years
		Lower technical education	3 years
		Lower practical & instructional training	3 years
15 or 16 years	**Senior secondary level (from 15-16 years of age)**	VWO: voorbereidend wetenschappelijk Onderwijs	3 years
		HAVO: hoger algemeen voortgezet onderwijs	2 years
		mid-level technical education	3 years
		mid-level business & administration training	3 years
18 or 19 years	**Tertiary**	AdeKUS and other HE institutions(see below)	

Other Surinamese HEIs

Government run HEIs:

1.   Institute for Training of Practitioners of Education (IOL)

2.   Central Training and Education System for Nurses and related disciplines (COVAB)

3.   Academy for Higher Art and Cultural Studies (AHKCO)

4.   Volks Muziekschool (VMS) (People's School of Music)

Non-exhaustive list of private HEIs:

1.   Poly-Technical College (PTC)

2.   Institute for Business-Economic Sciences (IBECW)

3.   Institute for Practical Training in Business Administration

4.   FHR Institute of Social Studies and the School for Hotel Management.

Appendix IV: **Interview Guide**

- Introduction, student's name, age and year/level at university.

University:

- What are you studying? And why did you choose this area? (Was it your first choice? If no→ what was the first choice and why did you not take this?)
- Why decided to continue their education at the university level?

Future:

- What do you want to do when you finish the education/degree you're taking now? What kind of job do you want? Is it easy to get a job within your field? Are these jobs well paid?

Finance:

- How do you finance your studies?(work beside studying?)

Background:

- Where are you from (in Suriname)?
- Living: where/with whom
- Parents: what do they do? What kind of education do they have?
- Which type of school did you go to before starting your university studies?

Abroad:

- Did you consider studying abroad when you first started your higher education? If yes→ Where? Why? And why didn't they in the end?
- Have you gotten information about studying abroad? If yes→ From whom/where?
- Do they know anyone that has gone abroad for their studies?
- How many people from class at upper secondary school continued their education? Where?
- Why do you think people choose to study somewhere else?
- I know that a lot of people that take their education abroad, also stay abroad; why do you think people choose to stay?

University:

- What do they like/dislike about studying at the university level? At AdeKUS?
- What is different from their previous school?
- Anything they would change?

Appendix V: Sample Consent form

<div align="center">

CONSENT FORM

</div>

Principal Investigator: Hege A.E. Jacobsen, Master of Philosophy in Comparative and International Education candidate

Institution: University of Oslo

Research: The purpose of this research is to examine the choices Suriname university students make in connection with their university education, in particular their choice to continue education at this level and where. I will also examine the Anton de Kom university goals, policies and structure. Questions of student responsiveness to societal development, effects of university policy on student choice, as well as effects of student choice on the capacity and policy of AdeKUS will guide my research.

Participation/Process: Participation consists of one interview, lasting between 30 minutes to one hour. The interview will be audio taped, unless otherwise requested by the participant. There may be additional follow-up/clarification through email or by phone, unless otherwise requested by participant. Privacy will be ensured through confidentiality. Participation is voluntary and the interviewee has the right to terminate the interview at any time. A summary of the results will be available to participants upon request.

Participant's Understanding

- I agree to participate in this study that I understand will be submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Comparative and International Education at the University of Oslo
.
- I understand that my participation is voluntary.

- I understand that all data collected will be limited to this use or other research-related usage as authorized by the University of Oslo.

- I understand that I will not be identified by name in the final product.

- I am aware that all records will be kept confidential in the secure possession of the researcher.

_____   _____

Place, Date   Signature of Interviewee

_____   _____

Place, Date   Signature of Interviewer

Appendix VI: Overview of some key empirical data

Gender	Age	Faculty	Wanted or wants to study abroad?	Where?	If yes, why did they not?
Female	25	FTeW	Yes, wanted	N	Finance
Female	?	FTeW	Yes, wants	Be	
Male	18	FTeW	No		
Female	22	FTeW	Yes, wanted	UW	Finance, Parents
Male	19	FTeW	No		
Female	20	FTeW	Yes, wanted	UW	Finance
Male	24	FMeW	Yes, wanted	N	Finance, Parents
Female	23	FMeW	Yes, wanted		Financial pressure on parents
Male	22	FMeW	Yes, wanted	N	Finance
Male	?	FMeW	Yes, wanted	N	Finance
Male	24	FMeW	Wanted and could have gone, but didn't	N	Girlfriend
Female: chosen	21	FMeW	Went to N. Returned to avoid retaking first years of education	N	n.a.
Female: chosen	25	FMijW	Went to N, wanted US. Returned to be close to family.	(US)	(Finance)
Male	23	FMijW	Yes, wanted	N	Finance
Male	23	FMijW	Yes, wants- because necessary to do masters	N or Be	
Female	24	FMijW	Yes, wants, because necessary to do masters		