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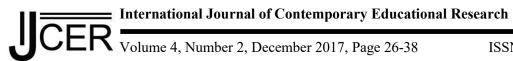
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Friendship Networks of International Students Attending Long-Term Programs in Turkey: Implications and a Need for Intervention

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Abstract

Building on Bochner's (1977) functional model for the development of overseas students' friendship patterns, this study examines the friendship networks of international students attending long-term programs in Turkey concentrating primarily on their close friendships with host country nationals. The facilitating and hindering factors of friendship formation were also examined with a special attention to students' motivations to come to Turkey as one of the relevant factors. The study was designed as a case study and conducted at Uludag University. Data were collected via semi-structured in-depth interviews with 20 international students enrolled in a Turkish Preparation Course at ULUTÖMER in Bursa in academic year 2016/2017 and interpreted using the phenomenological research approach and quantitative content analysis. The findings have confirmed a strong preference for co-national friendships and limited interactions with Turkish students. The lack of proficiency in Turkish language and a cultural distance (especially different religious background) were the most common reasons why closer bonds with Turkish students have not been formed. It has been also shown that the negative consequences of limited contact between both groups may go beyond the international students and an institutional intervention should be therefore provided.

Key words: International students, Turkey, Friendship networks, Socio-cultural adaptation, Student experiences

Introduction

Turkey has been for a long time characterized primarily as a sending country under the global scheme of student mobility, but despite some fluctuations over the last couple of decades, the number of international students coming to Turkey has been also growing. While in 2013 Turkey hosted only about 55,000 international students (Özoğlu et al., 2015, p. 224), the number almost doubled in the following three years and according to the statistics, in academic year 2016-2017, there were 108,076 international students registered in Turkey (Council of Higher Education, 2017).

Student mobility and the relevant policies represent one of the subsets of "internalization of higher education", which "refers to the process of integrating an international or intercultural aspect into the teaching, research and service functions of an institution of higher education" (Knight, 1993, as cited by Knight, 1994, p. 3). The trend of internationalization of higher education does not have only economic and political benefits. The researchers have also shown that "diverse student populations provide unique social forums to foster intercultural development (Volet, 1999), reciprocal tolerance (Horne, 2003) and development of multicultural individuals" (Adler, 1974) (Volet, 2004, as cited in Dunne, 2013, p. 567). Similarly, focusing specifically on the host country students, Bruch & Barty (1998) suggested that the "student diversity broadens students' cultural horizons and promotes international understanding and cross-cultural sensitivity" (as cited in Dunne, 2013, p. 568). However, the other researchers have been warning that the mere presence of international students is insufficient and a meaningful contact needs to take place first to secure the potential benefits of a multicultural environment. (Dunne, 2013, p. 569)

The present research is a part of a longitudinal study evaluating the quality of contact and friendship networks between international students and Turkish nationals. Regarding the international students, our target group are students who decided to pursue their university education instructed in the Turkish language, in its entirety in Turkey. Many of these students are coming to Turkey without any previous knowledge of Turkish language and are expected to master the language within 10-12 months before they start the university program of their

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choice. They had usually excelled in their respective countries and many of them had received one of the available scholarships in Turkey. Nevertheless, the statistics show that the success rate of these students is relatively low (e.g. less than 50% of students who were awarded scholarship between 1992 and 2009 were also able to complete their programs on time) (Özoğlu et al., 2015, p. 225). While some researchers attribute this situation to an ineffective selection procedure (Vural & Alkan, 2009), the others link it to a lack of planning and insufficient care and support for international students (Kavak & Baskan, 2001). While these may be some valid factors, our research is trying to assess the quality of contact between international students and host nationals and its potential to be a predictor of international students' academic success.

The article covers the first stage of our research. First, it introduces Bochner's (1977) functional model for the development of overseas students' friendship patterns and outlines the potential benefits of a frequent contact with host nationals; secondly, it summarizes the findings after the first-round interviews with 20 international students at Uludağ University in Bursa. Finally, implications of a limited interaction among international and domestic students are summarized and a design for photography and storytelling project as a tool to increase students' cultural awareness is provided.

Friendship Networks of International Students

Bochner's (1977) functional model for the development of overseas students friendship patterns, one of the first studies concerning friendship networks of international students, suggested that international students belong to three distinct social networks, each serving a particular psychological function: The primary, monocultural network, consisting of close friendships with other sojourning compatriots (i. e. people from the same, similar or neighboring countries) functions as a setting to rehearse, express, and affirm culture-of-origin values. Secondary or bi-cultural network, consisting of links with host nationals (e.g. the host country students, teachers, counselors etc.) has an instrumental function and it facilitates students' academic and professional aims. Finally, the third, multi-cultural network consists of friendships with other non-compatriot foreign students and its function is largely recreational; it provides students with the sense of companionship and social support based on the shared experience of foreignness (Ward, Bochner &Furnham, 2001).

While international students can benefit in a certain way from all three Bochner's social networks, the research has shown that the links with host nationals play an important role in the process of students' adaptation and thriving in a new environment. The frequent contact with host nationals has been associated with fewer academic problems among international students (Pruitt, 1978); better socio-cultural adaptation (Swami, 2009; Ward & Rana-Deuba, 2000), sojourn satisfaction (Rohrlich & Martin, 1991) as well as lower levels of stress and better psychological adjustment (Berry & Kostovcik, 1990; Pruitt, 1978; Redmond & Bunyi, 1993; Searle & Ward, 1990). By the same token, Severiens and Wolff (2008) found that "students who feel at home, who are well-connected to fellow students and professors and who take part in extracurricular activities are more likely to successfully graduate from the university". Moreover, interacting with local students can also improve international students' communication competency and facilitate their general adaptation to life in a host country (Ward & Kennedy, 1993; Zimmerman, 1995). However, while the preference of international students for the host national friendships would be desirable, Bochner's and other studies have found that international students generally prefer their co-national and multi-cultural friendships and the relationships with host nationals usually belong among the least developed (Bochner et al., 1977; Furnham & Alibhai, 1985).

On the other hand, other research has been suggesting that the friendship networks of international students are more than just the matter of students' preference or choice. Hendrickson et al. (2011, p. 283) argued that there are the following factors which may influence the willingness and ability of international students to build up closer friendships with their host culture peers: (1) poor language skills of international students; (2) perceived discrimination; (3) and established friendship networks of local students which may be difficult to infiltrate. Cultural distance between the host society and the sojourners' home culture, different values (see e.g. Bochner et al., 1977; Furnham & Alibhai, 1985, Redmond & Bunyi, 1993) and a pressure of compressed time in a host country are another factor which may weigh down international students' motivation to develop quality friendships with others (Hotta & Ting-Toomey, 2013). Last but not least, there is some indication that international students tend to "seek out host nationals only for utilitarian purposes, preferring to engage in more intimate activities with co-nationals and fellow foreigners" (Furnham & Bochner, 1982, p.193).

Besides the factors listed above, we decided to consider one more factor as a predictor of contact with host nationals, namely, the international students' motivations to pursue their studies in Turkey. Özoğlu et al. (2015) grouped the factors influencing students' decision to study in Turkey into following five broader categories:

quality of the education, affordability, scholarship opportunities, proximity (in a sense of cultural, religious or ethnic kinship) and recommendation by others. The quantitative study by Kondakci (2011), conducted with a bigger sample of 331 international students, showed similar results and added the desire to experience a different cultureto the list. However, the latter was a decisive factor primary for students coming from Europe and North America, generally a underrepresented group of students in long-term programs in Turkey (see "Council of Higher Education", 2017). Therefore, we assumed that the desire to experience the Turkish culture will not be the leading motivation of the students from our target group. However, considering the fact that the students from our target group are expected to learn Turkish in a very short time, it seems that the genuine prior interest in Turkish culture and/or Turkish language could predict students' willingness to engage in communication and more meaningful relationships with host nationals.

The studies conducted in Turkey confirmed that similar cultural background plays an important role and helps students to adapt to a social life in a new culture (Özoğlu et al., 2015). Similarly, international students coming from regions with common historical, lingual, and cultural background (such as Balkans and Turkic Republics) reported a high level of contentment with their studies in Turkey (Kondakci, 2011). However, the research in this area has been still limited. Existing studies (see Annaberdiyev, 2006; Bayraktaroğlu, & Mustafayeva, 2010; Ercan, 2001; Garabayev, 2000; Güçlü, 1996; Karaoğlu, 2007; Kıroğlu, et al., 2011; Kumcağız, et al., 2016; Otrar, et al., 2002; Özçetin, 2013; Özoğlu, et al., 2012; Paksoy, et al., 2012; Savaşan, et al., 2015; Soyutürk, 2000; Yıldıran, et al., 2016) mostly concentrated on international students' adaptation problems and while some addressed also the issue of social support and friendships (see e.g. Kıroğlu, et al., 2011; Özçetin, 2013) none of them have focused exclusively on the contact with host national and the possible consequences of the lack of it. Moreover, many studies have included mostly students coming from culturally similar regions (see the list above) whose experiences may not correlate with the experiences of students coming from the more culturally distant countries. In addition, all these studies were conducted as cross-sectional studies without any opportunity to compare students' social networks and satisfaction in different stages of their studies. Finally, none of the studies took into consideration the opinions of Turkish students and their experiences with international students, which will be included in second stage of our research. Therefore, we believe that our research can guide the policies ensuring effective cross-cultural communication and contribute to better general satisfaction of international students in Turkey as well as promotion of cultural awareness and sensitivity among Turkish students.

Research Questions

Building on Bochner's (1977) functional model for the development of overseas students' friendship patterns, this article examines the friendship networks of international students in Turkey, as well as the facilitating and hindering factors of friendship formation with a special emphasis on students' motivations to study in Turkey as one of the relevant factors. With this research goal in mind, the following research questions have been formed:

- RQ 1: Do international students in Turkey prefer the friendships with their co-national?
- RQ 2: How and where do international students interact with host nationals?
- RQ 3: Do international students in Turkey desire more contact with host nationals?
- RQ 4: What are the factors hindering socializing with host nationals?
- RQ 5: Do international students who were motivated to come to Turkey by their genuine interest in Turkish culture and/or Turkish language seek contact with host nationals more actively compared to international students motivated by other factors?

Method

This research was conducted as the first stage of a longitudinal study evaluating the quality of contact and friendship networks between international students and Turkish students at Uludağ University in Bursa. In this stage of the research data were collected via semi-structured in-depth interviews with 20 international students enrolled in a Turkish Preparation Course at ULUTÖMER in academic year 2016/2017. Phenomenological research approach and quantitative content analysis were used to interpret the data and draw the conclusions

Participants

The participants were selected based on the purposeful sampling (Creswell, 1998) in cooperation with the teachers of ULUTÖMER and in an effort to provide the best representation of students from different cultural, ethnic and religious background. Another important criterion was the ability of students to express themselves either in English or Turkish, the working languages of our research. However, as most of the students were not fully proficient in any of these languages, some of them, especially the ones opting for Turkish, struggled to express themselves during the interviews. As a consequence, in some cases, we were not able to obtain more detailed descriptions of their experiences.

The sample consisted of 20 international students enrolled in a Turkish Preparation Course at ULUTÖMER (Uludağ Üniversitesi Türkçe Öğretimi Uygulama ve Arastırma Merkezi-Uludağ University, Turkish Teaching Practive and Research Center) in Bursa in academic year 2016/2017. All of them, with one exception, had relocated to Turkey within 6 preceding months. Only one student had been living in different cities in Turkey for last 5 years. Participants represented 19 different countries including Afghanistan, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Chad, Djibouti, Egypt, Guatemala, India, Indonesia, Kenya, Liberia, Macedonia, Madagascar, Morocco, Myanmar, Syria, Tajikistan, Ukraine, Yemen. The sample generally included one respondent per country, with the exception of Egypt (n = 2). Overall, there were 10 female and 10 male participants. All but 2 participants were identifying themselves as Muslims, other two were Christians. The age of the participants ranged from 18 to 28 years of age, with most participants being 18-19 years old. Three students were married and one of them had a child. Only one of the married students came to Turkey together with his spouse (she was pursuing her studies in a different city in Turkey). All participants were planning to enroll in one of the university programs in Turkey (mostly at the Uludağ University in Bursa) the following academic year. All programs of their choice are officially instructed in Turkish. According to their programs, the participants are planning to stay in Turkey for 3 to 7 years. Three students were planning to start their PhD and 3 of them their master's degree. The remaining 14 students were undergraduates. Most of the students were recipients of full scholarships covering their studies and living costs in Turkey. Only 4 undergraduate students had come to Turkey without any scholarship. They were relying mostly on the support from their families. Two of them found a part-time job as English teachers.

Data collection and data analysis

The data were collected via semi-structured in-depth interviews. The interviews were initially planned to be conducted at ULUTÖMER in Bursa between 14 April - 14 May 2017 but due to the late endorsement of the project the actual interviews took place between 03-28 April 2017. Semi-structured, in-depth interviews were conducted either in English or Turkish based on the preference of the participants. The list of topics and questions were given to all participants in their language of preference a few days before the interview. They covered not only the topic of friendship networks but also other topics such as family background, decision to come to study to Turkey and a process of adaptation to a new environment and culture. Regarding the friendship networks' assessment, the modification of Bochner's *Best friend test* was used and the participants were asked their best friend's nationality (understand as a person with who they prefer to spend their free time). Additional questions were asked about friendships with Turkish nationals if the students' best friend belonged to any of the other two social networks. All interviews were recorded with the permission of the participant using the digital voice recorder and were transcribed via intensive back-and-forth listening process in preparation for data analysis. The length of each interview session was 25 min – 1,30 h and the range of each transcription was anywhere between 4 - 9 single-spaced typed pages.

The second part of the data analysis involved reading and re-reading verbatim transcriptions of the interviews for multiple times and identifying the general categories under which the data were grouped and analyzed (Holstein & Gubrium, 2004; Lindlof & Taylor, 2010). Eventually we analyzed the following categories: best friends, interaction with Turkish students in general, challenges regarding friendships with Turkish students and motivations to study in Turkey. The phenomenological research approach and quantitative content analysis were used to interpret the data. The frequencies were also used were it was appropriate. The analysis was completed with the direct citations from the interviews, referring to the individual students by codes composed of their Country of origin, Gender and Age (e.g. Yemen, Male, 19).

Findings and Discussion

Based on Bochner's functional model, it was predicted that the international students would prefer a co-national or another foreigner as their best friend(s) more often than a host national. Our results have supported this prediction. Only 3 out of 20 international students reported that their best friend was a Turkish national.

My best friends are my roommates, all of them are Turkish, I became a friend even with their other friends, we get along very well...(Egypt, Female, 19)

My best friend is from Düzce. (Macedonia, Male, 18)

I have a close Turkish friend and I love her so much. She stays in the same dormitory and we speak Turkish. (Syria, Female, 19)

In line with Bochner's findings, students showed a strong preference for co-national friendships. Twelve students stated that their best friend comes from the same country or from the same region what means that they use their mother tongue for communication. Four students reported another foreigner as their best friend, but interestingly enough, three of them actually used Turkish as their main language of communication. One student reported no close friendships in Turkey.

The fact that only three of the interviewees indicated that they spent most of their free time with a Turkish national, indicates limited contact of international students with Turkish nationals. A student from Bosnia and Herzegovina stressed the limited opportunities for interaction with Turkish students during her first year in Turkey:

Now, since I am in ULUTÖMER I hang out only with foreigners. I don't know many Turkish people. Next year it will be different. I will be surrounded by Turkish students. There will be maybe just 10 foreigners ... and the rest will be Turks. (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Female, 19).

And a student from Egypt felt physically isolated from Turkish nationals while on campus:

On campus we are far from [Turkish] people. I often go out to Bursa, to Kent Square, to see the people and how they speak and live. (Egypt, Female, 19)

The students felt this way even though they were generally placed in dormitories together with Turkish students (only 3 students stayed in a private flat). Some students used the shared dormitories successfully as an opportunity to form new friendships:

I stay in a room for 3 but we are actually only 2. My roommate is Turkish... He would like to learn Persian. So I am teaching him some Persian and he is teaching me some Turkish. (Afghanistan, Male, 18).

I spend most of my time with my aunt. But I have other (Turkish) friends too. We met at the dormitory. We have moved out now but we stayed in touch. (Morocco, Female, 18)

But it has not always facilitated meaningful interaction with Turkish students:

I don't have a close Turkish friend. There is only this roommate of mine, but we have never been out together. We only ate together 3 or 4 times in a dormitory... In dormitory, they are asking me the same questions all the time. For example where I am from. I don't know why I haven't been able to build up a closer friendship with anybody. I am a very social person. (Yemen, Male, 18)

One of my roommates is from Erzurum ... they are very young. They just want to have fun. I used to be like them but now I want to study. I don't have Turkish friends. I don't know why. Their behavior is a little bit reserved towards us, they are not that warm. (Tajikistan, Male, 28)

And in some cases, it even led to conflicts:

I am staying in a room for 6 people. I am the only foreigner there. Now we are getting along well but there was this girl before with who I had a big fight....She told me that I was not from this country, that I was Arab...first I thought she was not serious but after I understood that it was not a joke I got very angry... It got really serious and I am not speaking with her since then. (Egypt, Female, 19)

I used to stay in a room for 6 people. There were 2 Turkish and 3 foreign girls in the room... I came last and stayed with them for 5 months. I could not get along with this girl from Ankara ... She was constantly interfering with my stuff. For example, if I said that I spent all my scholarship she would ask "What are you doing with all your money? It would be enough for me..." Also, it was winter and she was always opening the window while I kept closing it...So I changed my room. (Ukraine, Female, 18)

I am staying at a public dormitory here. There are six people in the room. One is from Bosnia, one is from Afghanistan and others are Turkish. I am getting along with my friend [from Bosnia] ... but Turkish girls are a different story. When I first arrived, there were actually 2 different Turkish girls in my room. They studied economics and from what I understood they were not obliged to attend classes. So they spent the whole day in the room. I and my friend had to wake up at 7 and get ready [for our class]. It was winter, dark and cold but they always complained when we turned on the light ... so there were always fights about it. And one morning I again turned on the light and one girl jumped out of her bed grabbed my hand and told me to turn it off. She wanted to fight with me. It was very stressful. I almost cried. But then we went to a manager and complained and they moved them to another room and two new girls came. It is better now but still...I don't have any close Turkish friends... (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Female, 19)

On the other hand, keeping up with hobbies or finding a job helped some students to make some new friendships with Turkish nationals, but many of them stayed very formal and lacked the intimacy of close friendships:

I have a friend from a gym. His name is Ahmet. Sometimes we go to the cinema together or we go for a coffee and have some chat. (Chad, Male, 21)

Probably the closest [Turkish] friends I have are the ones from the gym. But I only talk to them when I am in the gym. It is not like we are going out. It is not like to have a very close Turkish friend. (Guatemala, Male, 18)

I don't have any close Turkish friends, but I have my students. Sometimes we drink coffee together. But I don't speak Turkish with them. And I also cannot speak Turkish that well. (Myanmar, Female, 19)

Regarding the third research question, students were not actually directly asked if they desired more contact with host nationals, as we supposed that had they been asked directly, all of them or at least most of them would have answered affirmatively. Instead, we were trying to figure out how they felt about not having any close Turkish friends (if it was a case). As the following quotation shows, the students see the benefits of the close contact with Turkish students:

I would like to have a really good Turkish friend. It would be really nice to me because I still don't know the culture very well so if I had any questions I could ask him in a very nice way ... I would trust him and he would trust me so there would not be any problems. (Guatemala, Male, 18)

But, in line with Hendrickson's findings (2011) the lack of knowledge of Turkish language was a big obstacle for many of our interviewees to form closer bonds:

My best friend is ... from Ghana ... Maybe because of our roots. We are from the same continent and we share some similarities and you can easily speak and understand each other. If somebody speaks just Turkish it is really difficult for us to communicate. Well, I might like the person but when the communication is disrupted it makes it really hard to form a closer bond. But if you can easily communicate and you find the time you will get used to each other. (Kenya, Female, 28)

My best friend is called Edilo, he is from the same country, he is also Malagasy as me. I don't have very close Turkish friends. I haven't mastered the Turkish language yet. I speak just broken Turkish. So we cannot understand each other. (Madagascar, Male, 19)

Contrary to Hendrickson (2011) though, in this stage, perceived discrimination did not emerge as a problem for international students in Turkey. Some ethnically visible students mentioned that they might have experienced some strange looks but it was not perceived by them as a case of discrimination. Besides, students speaking Arabic reported that they were asked if they were Syrians in some situations. Our participant from Syria also

confessed that she adjusted her look to look more like a Turkish girl and prefers speaking Turkish or English in the public. But in general, these incidents did not create any further negative sentiment against Turkish people. On the other hand, the student from India has noticed some signs of jealousy of Turkish students against international students:

I think that Turkish people are not open to foreigners, they are afraid of foreigners, they don't want them... in their country. I think so because I have seen many boys and girls thinking that I could not understand Turkish complaining about foreigners. I just kept my calm but they were asking questions like:" Why did they come here? Don't they have their own country? Why is government paying them to come here to study while for us [the situation] is so bad?" (India, Female, 22)

Cultural distance and a different set of values seemed also to be an obstacle for some relationships:

My Muslim friends in the dormitory... ask me [about my religion] and I am telling them... yes, I am a Christian. The smart and mature ones understand that it is normal that there are diverse religions in the word. But the others say this guy is a Christian and we are Muslims so we have nothing to do with him. (Liberia, Male, 24)

I see myself so different from people in my dormitory. There are mostly people who are going to study Ilahiyat. They do not listen to music and they wear very simple clothes. They are that kind of religious people that I am not and I don't want to be. I like the way I am and I don't want to change. I mean I have some friends among them but there is some distance between us. I don't like to mingle a lot with them because of the way they think and because I know that they would judge me... I cannot say that I feel completely comfortable there. (Guatemala, Male, 18)

Here the first question people ask me is where I am from... Then they ask me about my religion. And I answer that I am a Christian. Sometimes the atmosphere changes completely after I say this. It suddenly doesn't feel good. Maybe they think something bad about Christians. Some of them are trying to persuade me that Islam is the right way. I had never heard about Islam before I came here. So when they are telling me that Islam is the truth they are implying that my way is wrong. It makes me a bit angry. I also have this friend who comes to me from time to time asking me if I have already become a Muslim.... But now I usually don't tell my real religion. I am like yes, of course, I am a Muslim. (Madagascar, Male, 19)

In some situations, the lack of new friendships originated rather from students' personal circumstances such as personality, marriage or students' primary focus on their studies.

I stay in a dormitory here. There are four persons in a room. Two of them are Turkish and one girl is Chinese. ... We get along very well actually, we always eat together we always talk a lot and share ideas. But I don't have yet a very close Turkish friend... I do not make friends easily and it has been just 7 months... I would say that my best friend here is my Chinese roommate. Our ideas are very similar, maybe because we come from very similar regions, our education system our thinking and upbringing are similar, so I feel very comfortable with her. (India, Female, 22)

I don't have a very close friend here but there is this Turkish girl who came to me once seeing me struggling with my Turkish homework and after that she became my friend and she is still helping me whenever I need help. (Pakistan, Female, 28) [recently married]

Coming to our last research question, we identified 5 students whose studies in Turkey appeared to be motivated primarily by their interest in Turkey and Turkish language. Those were the students who mentioned that they always loved Turkey or that they dreamed to study in Turkey in their interviews. Two of these students are representatives of Turkish minorities (Macedonia, Male, 18; Ukraine, Female, 18) in their home countries and they speak the local dialect of Turkish as their mother language. Other two students started to learn Turkish before they received the Turkish scholarship (Egypt, Male, 21; Djibouti, Female, 18) and the last student from Tajikistan had also had some understanding of Turkish before his arrival in Turkey. However, considering the fact that only one of these students designated a Turkish national as his best friend (Macedonia, Male, 18) we cannot conclusively confirm if the students who come to Turkey based on their genuine interest in Turkish culture and/or Turkish language seek contact with host nationals more actively than students motivated by other factors. Notwithstanding, we noticed that the other students from Egypt, Djibouti and Tajikistan were also using Turkish for communication with their best friends of different nationality. Moreover, all members of this group

described their adaptation to life in Turkey in mostly positive terms just like the students who have formed close friendships with Turkish nationals. (See the statements of 5 students motivated primary by their interest in Turkish culture and/or Turkish language and the statements of 3 students having close Turkish friends; the student from Macedonia is a member of both groups):

I feel at home here ... I don't have any difficulties because I am a foreigner. I can say that I have adapted easily. Maybe it was because I always loved Turkey so much. It was my big dream to come here. (Djibouti, Female, 18)

I have adapted here well, I am like this, it is a natural thing for me, I can get used to new country easily. (Tajikistan, Male, 28)

If I have to express how I feel in Turkey, it is not very good but it is not very bad either. I understood that if I want to be successful here, I need to like Turkey and Turkish language. So, I made myself like it here. (Egypt, Male, 21)

I feel good here. I do not want to return back to Ukraine. I would like to find a job and start working here, but...I miss my family... I adapted easily, I did not feel like a stranger here, because I am Turk and I can speak the language... (Ukraine, Female, 18)

I did not have any difficulty to adapt but it was a step by step process. I had to get used to the fact that I am here in Turkey and there are so many Turks around me, but I am fine now... Turkish is my mother language so I haven't experienced any problems with respect to language. I feel very happy and excited that I can solve everything here in my mother language... (Macedonia, Male, 18)

I feel good in Turkey. Probably because I live and eat together with these people who I didn't know before. (Egypt, Female, 19)

I feel here at home because Turkey is not different from the Arab world especially from Syria... we have lots of common things, especially the religion. (Syria, Female, 19)

The foregoing indicates that a genuine interest in Turkish culture and/or Turkish language may actually be a predictor of better socio-cultural adaptation and more willingness to engage in communication in Turkish language. In comparison, 9 out of 10 students, whose main motivation for their study in Turkey was to get a university degree in a certain field (example of the students from Indonesia, Pakistan, Liberia, India, Yemen,) or just to study abroad without Turkey being their main preference (here a received scholarship and country's affordability were the decisive factors) (example of the students from Madagascar, Kenya, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Guatemala, Myanmar) expressed problems, resistance or doubts during their adaptation to life in Turkey. They expressed their feelings as follows:

I don't feel here at home. Not at all. Main reasons are that my parents are not here and my faith is different. (Madagascar, Male, 19)

I don't feel like this is my home. The main reason is that I cannot connect with people that easily. That is probably also the reason why I still cannot speak Turkish very well. (Myanmar, Female, 19) I feel like I fit in but maybe because I am in ULUTÖMER now and everybody is a foreigner... (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Female, 19).

I still don't feel at home here. I miss my family. Back home I used to have a lot of friends, I used to have a girlfriend and I miss them all. The most important people in my life are not here with me. (Liberia, Male, 24)

It is not home but it is not bad... I am getting used to it, I am not constantly calling home crying or talking to my family every other time. So I think those are positive indications that I am getting comfortable here... Because life ... is not hard... if you are comfortable in a place it is easier for you to adapt and... I am more mature I know why I am here. It is for a short time and then I will be back in my country. It makes it much easier for me, it keeps me going. (Kenya, Female, 28)

I do not feel at home in Turkey. I do not know why... (Yemen, Male, 19)

I cannot say that I feel completely comfortable here, I think it is because of the place where I am living [dormitory]... I think I would be more comfortable if I stayed alone in an apartment...(Guatemala, Male, 18)

Istanbul is my home but Bursa is not... Turkey may be better from my country in every way possible but it is still a foreign country for me and I have to find some things to comfort me. I find this comfort in the warmness of my Indonesian friends in Istanbul. Besides, no matter what difficulty I face when I am with my wife, it instantly feels like home. (Indonesia, Male, 28)

I got used to my life here... I just stopped fighting. I knew that have to live here. Because I have to finish this degree. So, I have to make some sacrifices. When you understand that there is no other option you get used to everything. (Pakistan, Female, 28)

The last group of students, who came based on a recommendation of a friend felt also well adjusted (Chad, Afghanistan, Morocco). Only a student from Chad mentioned that he was missing his home. But their situation might have been affected by the fact that they already had a family (Afghanistan) or a friend (Chad) in Bursa when they arrived or came to Turkey with a relative (Morocco).

In conclusion, students' prior genuine interest in Turkish culture and/or Turkish language seems to be a relevant factor but further research is necessary to understand better the link between students' motivations to study in Turkey and formation of their friendship networks.

Further Implications and a Need for Intervention

There are many further implications associated with the limited interaction of international and domestic students.

First of all, limited contact with host nationals deprives international students of an important source of culture learning. As a consequence, students with limited contact with host nationals may fail to acquire the social skills appropriate to a new culture. In our case, the international students' main (and in some cases the only) source of information about the Turkish culture was the *Turkish Preparatory Course*. The problem here is that the *culture learning in class* usually puts more emphasis on the strange and/or exotic of the target culture and the interpersonal aspects of the sojourn are often overlooked (Furnham & Bochner, 1982, p. 194). In comparison, the contact with host nationals provides direct insights into minds and behaviors of local people and put the new and unexplained behaviors into context what makes their interpretation and understanding much easier for a foreigner (Kim, 2001).

Secondly, there is a risk that international students will fail to acquire Turkish proficiency what can significantly influence their academic performance. Brown's model of *optimal distance* (1980) for language learning therefore recommends synchronization of linguistic and cultural development. If the linguistic and cultural development is not synchronized and if the learners achieve adjustment to a new culture via nonlinguistic means of communication or fossilized forms of the language (i. e. relatively permanent incorporation of incorrect linguistic forms) they may lose motivation to master the language (Brown, 2000, p. 188). Indeed, numerous studies have confirmed that the lack of language proficiency is one of the most challenging problems of international students in Turkey (see e.g. Kumcağız, et al., 2016; Özçetin, 2013, p. 81; Özoğlu et al., 2015). To remedy this situation, the period of international students' initial adjustment to a new environment should be full of stimulus forcing them to use the language in new and different situations on a regular basis. Again, this cannot be achieved if the contact with host nationals is limited.

Moreover, the lack of meaningful interaction among domestic and international students also represents a missed opportunity and a potential source of problems for students and/or institutions. As we stated at the beginning, the student diversity and a cross-cultural contact can have many benefit, but the potential benefits "are not self-evident and self-fulfilling" (Kimmel & Volet, 2012, as cited in Dunne, 2013, p. 569). In other words, if the student diversity is not properly managed it may have the opposite effect and instead of increased cross-cultural sensitivity it may contribute to stereotyping, hardening of prejudicial attitudes and intergroup hostility (see e.g. Asmar, 2005; Henderson-King & Kaleta, 2000; Lerner & Nagai, 2001; Rothman, Lipset, & Nevitte, 2003; Wood & Sherman, 2001 as cited in Dunne, 2013, p. 568). Considering the conflicts and the cases of jealousy reported by our participants, it is obvious that the presence of international students has not been always perceived positively. The key point here is that the responsible institutions should take proper steps to

facilitate and maintain the meaningful interaction among international and domestic students if they want to secure the benefits of a multicultural environment (Kimmel & Volet, 2012; Ujitani, 2006). The need for an appropriate intervention beginning from students' arrival to Turkey seems even more pressing considering the fact that once established, students' social networks do not necessarily become more integrated over time (Rienties, & Nolan, 2014).

The detailed analyses of possible interventions facilitating the contact between domestic and international students goes beyond the scope of this article. However, our research encouraged us to design a photography and storytelling project as a tool to raise awareness about the problems of international students and their limited contact with Turkish nationals. Thus, based on our interviews, we created an exhibition called *Sojourners* (*Misafirler*) inspired by the concept of *homophily* (Lazarsfeld & Merton, 1954), which may be also seen as one of the barriers of intercultural contact. The *homophily principle* represents the hypotheses that given a free choice to interact with anyone of a variety of people, an individual will typically opt for a person whom they perceive to be similar to themselves (Rogers & Bhowmik, 1970, p. 528). The exhibition contained the narratives of 20 international students explaining their family backgrounds, reasons why they came to Turkey and their adaptation to their new life. The narratives were accompanied by participants portraits and a picture of their personal objects reflecting different aspects of their identities (see the example below). The exhibition was displayed on the campus of Uludağ University from 8 - 15 December 2017. The goal was to show different cultural perspectives of international students, as well as the fact, that they had many things in common also with Turkish students even though they came from different countries.



Indonesia, Male, 28

Conclusion

Our findings have shown that the interaction among international and domestic students in Turkey is generally limited and international students prefer friendships with their co-nationals or the other foreigners. International students are aware that the frequent contact with Turkish nationals could help them to understand the local culture better but the lack of Turkish proficiency and in some cases different cultural backgrounds (especially different religious background) make it difficult for them to form some closer bonds. The lack of meaningful contact persists even though most of the international students are being placed in dormitories together with Turkish students. The later confirms that a mere presence of students from different cultures does not guarantee

meaningful cross-cultural contact and potential benefits of a multicultural environment. Therefore, it is important that educators, as well as the institutions involved, recognize the problem and intervene where possible to encourage cross-cultural contact and interaction between both groups.

Finally, as was pointed out above, this article has covered only the first stage of a longitudinal study evaluating the quality of contact and friendship networks between international students and Turkish nationals. In following stages, the questionnaires were distributed also among Turkish students and the second-round interviews with international students were conducted. Longitudinal aspect of the final study should help us to understand better how the friendship networks of international students develop during different stages of their studies and their impact on students' adaptation and academic performance. The results from our research will be used as a guide for future intervention projects in similar situations and serve as a valuable source of information for future policies dealing with international students in Turkey.

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