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Teaching English with topics of the local culture

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Abstract

The lack of varied topics related to the local culture is a weakness of the books provided by the Chilean Ministry of Education for English teaching. This fact motivated a group of teachers and led to the publication of eight books for language teaching at various levels from 2010 to 2018 in northern Chile. They include stories of the local culture, interviews, short biographies, and selected texts of distinguished authors born and raised in Tarapacá. The complete process was developed by a team of professors from the English Teaching Program at Universidad Arturo Prat in Iquique, as a way to counterbalance a clear deficit regarding the limited number of topics about this matter in books being used in Chile to teach English. The theoretical foundation and methodological work (Díaz-Rico 2008; Kramersch 2014; Celce-Murcia 2014) with their local, intercultural components and an eclectic approach based on communicative instruction are also presented. Finally, it is explained how the books are distributed, used in schools and undergraduate level and the projection of this initiative.

Keywords innovation, culture, intercultural components, English teaching, teaching materials

1. Introduction

Life today is exponentially more complicated and complex than it was 50 or even 25 years ago. The digital age has revolutionized many of our institutions to include how we communicate, the way we interact with our surroundings, and how we access and retrieve information. In the 21st century, citizenship requires levels of information and technological literacy that go far beyond what was needed to navigate our world. We are now living in a global village with opportunities for instantaneous communication across the globe. Given our advances, unacceptable rates of illiteracy still exist in many nations. Those who are impoverished are often those who have inequitable learning

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experiences and/or opportunities. Limited speaking ability also impacts academic achievement and academic success. (CEPAL, 2020)

Social and equitable justice should no longer delineate our humanity based on markers of difference; but should call to the oneness of our condition -the ability to access equitable learning environments and to experience success without barriers to opportunity-. We realize that to improve our economic and social conditions, we must be vigilant in the pursuit and advancement of knowledge. We understand ethnicity, ideology, value, race, gender, and class politics as frameworks and constructs for defining our social culture because they interact with one another in shaping human behavior. We also know these identities are central to how we “see” ourselves and “view” the world.

This paper presents innovative practices and research that teachers and teacher educators are undertaking in northern Chile, led by a team at Universidad Arturo Prat (UNAP) in Iquique, to impact language acquisition, literacy, and intercultural awareness. Here we review eight books written around themes of regional culture. These books were published to be used in primary, secondary schools and undergraduate level. In addition, the paper explores the theoretical bases and the development of the teaching and learning process related to these goals.

1.1 Writing and publishing for Chilean students: An overview

In Chile, the Ministry of Education provides books to public schools, which contributes greatly to many families, especially those with low-income. The country is also highly centralized; thus, most decisions dealing with education are made in the capital, Santiago, located approximately one-third of the distance from the northern border to the southern tip of this 4270 km. “long” nation. Within this context, the textbooks for English teaching are initiated, written, and published in Santiago. (MINEDUC, *Textos Escolares Oficiales*, 2020) Their contents typically follow a global perspective with lessons about Great Britain or other English speaking nations. The focus may have a very limited number of pages about the 16 regions that constitute the country, including the populous capital, Región Metropolitana. Rarely do the lessons focus on topics that include the country’s diverse, rich cultural traditions and lifestyles. Furthermore, most of the very few Chilean-focused lessons are associated with touristic and historical sites for which Chile is well known in the world (Atacama Desert, Easter Island, Santiago, Valparaíso, Concepción, the Mapuches, Torres del Paine, Antarctica, etc.)

In addition, these textbooks typically never explore local or regional areas, traditions, cultures, nor do they focus on local issues. This problematic topic was much discussed in northern Chile, far from Santiago, and with a very different culture than the urban life of the capital. An attempt to solve this curriculum weakness has been to publish books for English teaching and learning that also focus on regional contents and context. A team of university professors and student assistants from Universidad Arturo Prat (UNAP) in Iquique has participated in these various book projects for which the aim is to balance the contents and the presentation of English, in other words, to teach English with a focus on regional topics to which the students could easily relate and to which they could apply what they learn.

Chile is a “long, skinny country,” and it is highly diverse with native people, early and recent immigrants from many countries and their home cultures, a wide variety of skills and work, and a rich and diverse Chilean culture that absorbs and changes but also maintains national traditions. The geology and geography of Chile is also extreme in the Andes, the Atacama Desert, and in Patagonia. Chile has one of the longest coastlines on earth, and the people and cultures adapted differently to the different regions. As a result of this variance, the task of providing materials with which the teachers and students identify, and to build lessons that are truly applicable, needs to be faced locally and regionally. The faculty and students at UNAP determined to write and publish regionally focused supplementary textbooks to be used alongside those provided by the Government.

The literature associated with language teaching, learning, and culture (Chastain 1978; Díaz-Rico 2008; Kramsch 2014; Celce-Murcia 2014) argues that when learning L2 we should learn and appreciate both the foreign and native culture for the benefit of students and in order to promote tolerance, acceptance, and understanding. Thus, for the past 11 years the UNAP publication team has studied, researched, and explored innovative teaching projects that came to include the publication of eight books for English teaching at elementary and secondary school levels, all with themes of the regional culture of northern Chile: *We are Here to Read with You* (2009); *Here and There, Young People in Chile and the USA* (2010); *Read and Rediscover Tarapacá* (2012); *So Far... So Close, Contemporary Writers of Tarapacá and Pennsylvania* (2014); *Let's Read a Story* (2014); *Our Land, Our Stories* (2015); *Voices for Global Communication* (2017); *Learning English with Selected Works of Oscar Hahn and Sergio González* (2018).

The teachers were able to obtain grants to pay for printing; so, these books, in printed and digital format, have been distributed without charge to public schools in the region of Tarapacá and are used as supplementary materials. The teaching team has also presented workshops to regional school teachers to help them develop effective ways to use the materials in their classrooms with their students (location, level, background, age, etc.). At the same time, the publishing project is used at the undergraduate level at Universidad Arturo Prat to help teacher trainees learn about materials and how to develop and use them in their teaching. Each book involves the participation of ten student assistants from the English Teacher Training Program who learn the various ways to think about, initiate, plan, and develop teaching materials with special focus on the “know how” for book publication.

1.2 Local Focus, Local Application, and Global Purpose

English is a foreign language in Chile and part of the national curriculum in which students are taught English throughout the 12 levels of primary and secondary education. According to the Chilean Ministry of Education (2019) “learning English is of paramount importance in the education of globalized citizens. English is the language of travels, tourism, commerce, diplomacy, science and academics, and our students need to command this language to be connected to the world” (p. 1). In addition to having these important goals for English teaching and learning, Chile has been part of the Organization for

Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) since 2010. This is “an international organization that promotes policy coordination and economic freedom among developed nations” (p. 1). The OECD primarily aims to “improve the global economy and promote world trade. It provides an outlet for the governments of different countries to work together to find solutions to common problems” (p. 2). For Chile, being a member of the OECD has led to a national effort to develop and improve the nation in the coming years and meet the organization’s purpose, which is related to helping people of all ages develop the capacities to work productively with dignity in jobs of the future. English language teaching and learning are a major part of the context described above; however, Chile still has a long way to go as a country, one that has already made substantial effort to promote democracy, eliminate poverty, and invest in education. Recently in Chile, an intense debate followed the publication of the Education Quality Agency (2019) report that stated that English teaching in Chile has several weaknesses that need to be urgently strengthened with a cross disciplinary approach. The main conclusions indicated that 85% of students from high income families obtain better results (at the basic and intermediate level schools) than those who belong to low income families; these lower economic level students obtain only 9% of the achievement at the same levels. Although Chile is divided into 16 regions, the regions with best results and scores above the national level (at basic and intermediate levels) are the Metropolitana, Magallanes, and Tarapacá Regions (Iquique, where UNAP is located, belongs to the latter). According to the report, the key factors contributing to the achievement levels include the number of hours for classes, teacher training, use of English in class, teacher’s personal proficiency level in English, student’s exposure to English, and use of English outside class. From our perspective, such conclusions are not optimistic, but they offer areas with opportunities for improvement, which, in our case, means to review our teacher training processes and determine what can be done to overcome any negative aspects.

One of our decisions has included initiating the training of our English pedagogy students in materials: how to find excellent and useful books and other resources, how to develop classroom materials, and how to contribute to the wider frame for tools to teach English as a foreign language, including textbooks that are applicable to the students’ daily lives. Thus, the UNAP book publishing project includes books that are highly associated with local identity. This concept deals with the way people live their reality according to the culture and place where they live and work. According to Flores (2018), “This construction is normally permeated by the economic, educational, and social realities of the context in which people are immersed, and it helps them create a relationship characterized by a set of shared beliefs, traditions, and cultural practices” (p. 196). Further on, the same author states that “local identity is defined as the construct of behaviors, beliefs, and social thoughts that people identify with and which make them part of a community.” (p. 198)

Furthermore, it is important to recognize the cultural context as a rich source of content; materials should be developed to assist teachers and students in obtaining knowledge and insight about the customs, traditions, and lifestyle that are part of their lives, and that they may take for granted. About this

point, Nieto (2018) argues that “teaching and learning practices should aim at evolving from traditional concepts of literacy to include the community as a text that can be explored by teachers and students through pursuing personal and collaborative inquiries” (p. 264). Nieto also explains that future teachers should be social enquirers of local issues and that a social justice perspective can be very useful when addressing local values. Thus, teachers with these perspectives and materials to assist their teaching may provide an opportunity to participate in the transformations of their students’ social reality.

The eight texts published by the team of professors of the English Teaching Program at UNAP are about the concepts discussed previously (See Appendix for the books and links).

These books include stories of the local culture, contemporary and ancient, interviews, recipes, letters, short biographies, testimonies, and selected texts of distinguished authors born and raised in the region. (See Appendix to download and review the textbooks) After all, the Tarapacá Region in northern Chile is usually described as the driest place on Earth; however, rich multicultural topics define the cultural identity of this area in the Atacama Desert located at 1800 kilometers north of the country’s capital, Santiago. Historically, it has received people from neighboring and far away countries. This area in Chile was inhabited about 8000 years ago by people of the Chinchorro culture, which practiced the mummification process using sand, mud, and ashes. After several centuries of evolution (4th to 16th century AD), other nomadic groups settled the high plains that rise to about 12,000 feet above sea level on the western ridge of the Andes, an area now known as the Altiplano. Aymaras and Quechuas, as well as the Changos near the coast, established in small communities that traded through caravans that travelled long distances in the Atacama Desert and that are now still very much alive and well. Later, during the nitrate mining boom in the 19th century, great prosperity in the region attracted European migrants (English, Italians, Spanish, Croatians) along with people from other areas of Chile, Perú, and Bolivia, making the Tarapacá and Iquique area the richest in the world for several years. After the 1970’s a new wave of immigrants arrived, attracted by business opportunities and a copper mining boom. Most came from Asia, the Middle East, the United States, and other parts of South America and gradually acculturated into the local culture but have kept those parts of their traditional culture most dear to their first identity. They also brought their life style and languages, and have made a significant contribution to reshape the ethnic and multicultural identity of Tarapacá. After all, as Yule (2009) points out, “The particular language we learn through the process of cultural transmission provides us, at least initially, with a ready-made system of categorizing the world around us and our experience of it” (p. 216). Many of these immigrants keep and practice their native languages at home and in their private circles. Spanish is the language everyone uses to communicate in public, and English is taught in school, and is increasingly used in commerce, medicine, and international relations, all of which are important in the port city of Iquique.

Activities that appreciate such culture and local identity of a city, region, or country are difficult to find in the government-supplied English texts used in Chile. The size and diversity of the country seem to be the main obstacle. However, research evidence shows that when a foreign language is learned (Brown 2000; Ur 2012; Larsen-Freeman 2016), the native and the foreign cultures must both be taught in a balanced, motivating, and effective manner. Thus, to learn a new language implies the study and appreciation of its culture and, ideally, that process should also include activities that facilitate the appreciation of one's own in order to make that experience integrative and meaningful. And also consider the fact that English is now used as a tool for global communication, which means that students may exchange conversations with non-native English speakers. In the words of McKay (2004, p. 14) "the purpose of an international language is to describe one's own culture and concerns to others."

Therefore, awareness and appreciation of the native culture are relevant aspects to be considered when learning a new language; they facilitate understanding among people and develop flexible attitudes toward different realities and experiences (Gebhard 2000; Brown 2003; Snow, 2007; Díaz-Rico 2008).

Specific needs from local teachers in Iquique and the more rural areas of the region are important factors that were considered when shaping these projects for book publication. Such information was obtained through meetings, brainstorming, group conversation, focus group, among others. In seminars and workshops presented in the past years by UNAP faculty for school teachers, those teachers have noted that, when teaching a foreign language, they want their students to go beyond grammar and vocabulary and to be immersed in the local and regional culture, along with the new language being taught. They had the impression that sometimes an important amount of time is devoted to only teaching cultural aspects of the foreign language (English) and little to no attention was paid to topics from their own culture. The topics for supplementary material included in the eight books mentioned earlier had their origin in the conversations, formal requests, and focus group activities held with teachers of English from Tarapacá. As a result, The UNAP team aimed to provide an innovative solution to a problem: the lack of regional topics in the official textbooks provided by the Ministry of Education.

In addition to the previous aspects, many students who graduate from the English Teaching Program at UNAP stay in northern Chile and work in schools serving low socioeconomic areas, including the mountainous native people's villages. Their pupils have many basic needs, and learning a foreign language as well as appreciating the best of their cultural values is imperative. The UNAP graduates believe the value to be gained is worth their facing challenges. In order to provide assistance for teachers using the books, each contains a methodological guide with an eclectic approach based on Communicative Instruction that in turn is supported by Content-Based Instruction: "an approach to second language teaching in which teaching is organized around the content or subject matter that students will acquire such as history or social studies, rather than around a linguistic or other type of syllabus" (Richards and Rodgers 2014, p. 116), and Task-Based Language Teaching: "an approach to language education in which students are given functional

tasks that invite them to focus primarily on meaning exchange and to use language for real-world, non-linguistic purposes” (Van den Branden 2006 cited in Richards and Rodgers 2014, p. 174). These types of instruction share the essential characteristics of communicative instruction, which is used here as an umbrella term to refer to all those methods and techniques being used for language teaching aimed at communication (rather than simply following rules). The teaching and learning process is then focused on the student and aims at developing linguistic, communicative, and social competence. The foreign language is learned through real-life situations, and authentic material is used for written and oral comprehension. Communicative language teaching and learning aims to help learners acquire new knowledge and the new language. However, this type of instruction has less to do with the linguistic aspects of the language itself than with learning and communicating about learners’ topics of interest and other topics that will help them broaden their vision about themselves, the world, and how to function well in it.

Taking into account all the ideas previously mentioned, the intercultural approach for language teaching was also considered. It states that the good learner of a second or foreign language is not the one who wishes to simply imitate the native speaker of the language s/he is learning. This learner is also aware of her/his own culture and identity and is able to realize how other cultures and identities perceive her/his own. Additionally, this learner knows and acknowledges the culture and identity of the people with whom s/he interacts (Paricio 2004). This intercultural communicative approach is at the heart of every book published at UNAP, and the results of their use have proven not only to engage the learners but to help them gain a fuller understanding of their own culture as they learn English and about other English-speaking cultures of the world. The UNAP books truly integrate language learning with culture.

2. Methodology

The publication of the books mentioned in the previous sections stemmed from a conversation with Dr. Anne Bliss in 2008. She is a former Professor at the University of Colorado and Fulbright Fellow in Chile. In her view, most areas of the country, with their people and culture, are virtually absent in the English curriculum and it would be an opportunity of paramount importance to publish books to fill this gap and therefore, promote language teaching to help students and teachers learn a foreign language and also their own and the foreign culture. Thus, from 2009, a group of teachers at Universidad Arturo Prat, in Chile applied for and obtained innovation and research grants that have enabled the publication of eight books for language teaching that include contents related to the local culture of northern Chile. Each grant and project included the following stages:

- Application for innovation or research grant at UNAP every year. The budget is used to work with a professional designer and cover the printing press cost.

- Call and selection of 10 students from the program to participate as assistants. Oral interviews and grade average were considered to select 10 students in each project.
- Workshop: creation of texts, technical, aesthetic and linguistic aspects. Dr. Anne Bliss presented several workshops to teachers and students about vocabulary, syntax, and style for textbooks and how to choose and use lexicon and knowledge according to age and skill level. Specialists in local culture and history were also invited to meet and talk to the team that worked in each project.
- Reading process and selection of texts to be included in the books have been done in all projects. The student assistants and teachers of the English Teaching Program participated as a team.
- Translation of the selected texts when necessary. Student assistants under the guidance of language teachers of the Program translated several of the texts. Some books include topics of the local culture, history and literature that are accompanied by dialog originally in Spanish from interviews or writing of local people.
- Design of learning activities. Book design and layout have been done by the teachers in charge of each project alongside a professional designer. Photographs were contributed by Hernán Pereira, who is a highly respected local professional photographer in addition to teaching English.
- Validation of the teaching material through experts' judgement. The book drafts were sent to university professors in Chile with expertise in language teaching and material design. They provided feedback and useful observations to be included in the final version.
- Book launch and distribution to schools and libraries. The initiation of each book took place at Universidad Arturo Prat, and copies were sent to the university library for use in undergraduate programs. In addition, copies were sent to all schools in the Tarapacá Region.
- Workshop for teachers of English in schools of the Tarapacá region. When the local network of language teachers meet, the new books are presented, and demonstration on their effective use is shown.
- Writing and sending an article to an academic journal. The three articles Pereira and Ramos (2014), Pereira and Ramos (2016) and Rivera and Espinaza (2019) about the books were published:

3. Conclusions

The UNAP teaching and learning books published between 2009 and 2018 have the following educational value as reported by teachers and students. Based on their reports as well as the experiences of the publication team the following recommendations are presented:

- Facilitate the learning of a foreign language by learning about, understanding and valuing the Chilean culture through the study of English. Such books for Chile necessarily would be very diverse as the country regions include northern, central, and southern Chile with varied lifestyles and traditions. The geography as well as the people who first inhabited Chile (Aymara, Quechua, Chango, Atacameño, Kolla, Diaguita, Rapa Nui, Mapuche, Kawashkar, Selknam, Tehuelche, Yámana) have shaped the national character and cultural identity along with the Spanish ancestors that arrived in the 16th century. The UNAP books have explored the Tarapacá Region; more such books are needed in other regions of Chile.
- Develop integrated skills and cultural knowledge in teachers and students about Chile and English-speaking countries. A balanced approach toward the foreign and local cultures is recommended to enable teachers and students to appreciate both cultures in learning a foreign language.
- Provide a solution about the manifest weakness of some books for language teaching in Chile; these texts have little to no presence of the above discussed topics about the culture of each region. This situation has been almost impossible to solve for the Chilean Ministry of Education in the uniform books they give to schools for language teaching. One solution they have used is to include a few regions of Chile and the best known landmarks such as Torres del Paine, Chiloé, Santiago, Valparaíso, Easter Island and San Pedro de Atacama. However, these notations do not do justice to the rich cultures and lives of Chileans, nor to the varied geography and topography. (See <https://curriculumnacional.mineduc.cl/614/w3-propertyvalue-187786.html>)
- Help teachers and students develop attitudes of understanding, tolerance, and acceptance towards one's own and foreign cultures. Today there is more interdependence as the world is globalized. People also need to learn that the world is very diverse and the more we know how to interact with people who are different from us, the better in our studies, work and lives we can live and perform.
- Train university students in the design and creation of teaching material which includes printed texts and educational video. An additional element added through these projects is that UNAP undergraduates are able to create teaching material that includes their own culture when teaching English in schools. This should have a long term impact in many young boys and girls as well as the teachers in the region who have received the books, participated in workshops and used the eight textbooks published in the past 10 years. The UNAP program is unique in this materials development/publication training for English teachers in Chile, but we recommend that every English Pedagogy program in the country undertake such training.
- Create educational material that integrates theory, multimedia and multicultural issues for learning a foreign language. Chilean teacher training programs should not only develop this material but use it in training future teachers who will enhance English teaching and learning in Chile. The feedback and positive comments received from language teachers of the Tarapacá region about the eight books they were given, class applications, and students' motivation indicate that we are on the right track. ("The books have

been very useful, the teenagers in my class feel motivated.” Yarith Jorrat; “Thank you for sharing these materials; I’ll include some lessons this year.” Anabella Bravo; “It’s very important that our students may know and value young locals from Tarapacá with outstanding accomplishments.” Bryam Vergara.) The next step then will be to evaluate and analyze the impact the teaching material has had and what are the areas that have not been covered in order to include that in future projects. The participation of both UNAP teachers and students has enabled training over a decade of several groups of currently in service teachers who can replicate this innovative way of teaching a foreign language, on campus and in local schools.

The lack of materials about the regional culture in the books delivered by the Chilean Ministry of Education cannot be thoroughly solved through these projects. However, this project has demonstrated over time that it is possible to find a solution when the efforts of language teachers and undergraduate students are joined. After all, in various meetings held with teachers of Iquique, Alto Hospicio, Pica, Huara, Pozo Almonte, all cities in Tarapacá, teachers have thanked the team for their initiative and creativity, and they have provided ideas based on their own experiences and needs for future publications. For example, they offered topics of local cuisine and recipes, touristic landmarks, historical issues, petroglyphs and geoglyphs in Tarapacá, the saltpeter world then and now, among others.

The books and projects mentioned above, with their local, intercultural components and an eclectic approach based on communicative instruction, have come to introduce a significant challenge in our educational work as teacher trainers. We have developed the so called publication “know how” from 2010 until now. The next step should be to invite colleagues from other universities in Chile to collaborate in a network with similar projects and, therefore, help make other regions of the country and the rich lives and cultures of their people more visible when teaching and learning English.

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Appendix

Links to the books under focus:

We are here to Read with You. 2009. Hernán Pereira, Heriberto Watson, Lucía Ramos, Juan Chamorro. Iquique: Universidad Arturo Prat. Stories for young children about lifestyles, traditions and celebrations in northern Chile.

URL <http://bit.ly/readwithyou>

Here and there, Young People in Chile and the USA. 2010. Hernán Pereira, Lucía Ramos, Roger Gee. Iquique: Universidad Arturo Prat and Holy Family University. Video and textbook with stories of remarkable young Chilean and American people. (Artists, college students, a pilot, a skater, a goalkeeper, social project volunteers, a surfer.)

URL <http://bit.ly/herebook>

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The Attitude and Expectations of Turkish Society Concerning Immigrants Residing in Turkey and Their Social and Linguistic Acculturation Patterns

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Abstract

The aim of the present study is to explore the attitude of Turkish society as a host towards immigrants living in Turkey, and Turkish people's expectations about the immigrants' acculturation. The data were collected via questionnaires and interviews from 498 participants recruited with non-probability quota sampling. A sample of 298 participants compatible with the target population was analyzed. The results revealed that Turkish people have a positive attitude towards immigrants in general and expect them to integrate into Turkish society. Nevertheless, the responses are marked with high standard deviation, which points to the role of different socio-demographic factors modulating the attitude of Turkish people towards immigrants.

Keywords immigrants in Turkey; acculturation; attitude towards immigrants; expectations of the host society

1. Introduction

When a group of immigrants settles in a new country for a long term or permanently, they are expected to adapt to the new environment. This process, known as acculturation, is defined as the contact of individuals or groups coming from different sub-cultures of a given society or from different societies, and the emergence of a new blend stemming from their interaction (Berry 1990; 1997). The process of acculturation is not unidirectional but bidirectional (Berry 1997). In other words, acculturation of immigrants is interrelated with the attitude of the host society towards immigrants and is dependent upon the extent to which the host society accepts immigrants. So far, there have been several survey studies conducted in European, Canadian and American contexts on the acculturation of immigrants and the attitude of the host societies towards them. The findings revealed that the host societies do not always have a positive attitude towards immigrants in their countries (e.g. Zick, Ulrich, van Dick, and Petzel 2001, Arends-Tóth

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and Vijver 2003, Kosic and Phalet 2006). However, the current literature is not generally concerned with the expectations of the host societies towards the immigrant groups in terms of the linguistic and cultural adaptation. Turkey, which is the context of this study, has traditionally been an immigrant-sending country for long. However, the country has also become an immigrant-receiving one since the 1980-90s when immigrants from neighboring Balkan and Central Asian countries as well as countries of the former Soviet Union started a migration flow. The recent report of the Turkish Statistical Institute (TSI) (Uluslararası Göç İstatistikleri, 2017) (<http://www.tuik.gov.tr>) indicates that Turkey hosts immigrants from different countries, such as Russia, Germany, the UK, the Netherlands, the USA among many others. Such rich migration flow has led to the formation of various diasporas in Turkey. Additionally, Turkey has also become a refugee-receiving country in the last decade, particularly from Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan. The number of the refugees in Turkey is estimated as more than three million (TSI, 2018). For this reason, several descriptive survey studies have been conducted on the attitude of Turkish society towards refugees in Turkey (especially Syrians) (Altıok and Tosun 2018; Erdoğan and Uyan Semerci 2017 among others). These studies revealed that Turkish people have adopted a relatively negative attitude towards refugees and perceive them as a threat in general. On the other hand, the attitude and expectations of Turkish society regarding immigrants from the European and Post-Soviet countries as well as the USA have not been examined yet, although a considerable number of immigrants from these countries live in Turkey. In this respect, it might be reasonable to hypothesize that the attitudes are likely to differ from those reported towards Syrian refugees. Thus, the current study aims to fill in the gap via examining the attitude and expectations of Turkish people regarding immigrants from European and Post-Soviet countries as well as those from the USA.

1.1. Background to the study

Acculturation is a process by which individuals adopt the practices, culture, norms and values of a particular society while retaining their own culture of origin (Berry 1990; 1997). Acculturation may take place in different forms and result in different outcomes. Four patterns of acculturation are distinguished typically: integration, assimilation, separation and marginalization. Integration occurs when immigrants adapt to cultural values of the host society while preserving their own. Those who integrated into the new society, are considered as bilingual and bicultural. Assimilation occurs when immigrant societies do not tend to preserve their own cultural values during the acculturation process. In this case, assimilated individuals become culturally indistinguishable from the dominant culture. Separation takes place when immigrant societies tend to preserve their own cultural values while rejecting the cultural values of the host society. Finally, marginalization occurs when immigrant societies reject both their own cultural values and the cultural values of the host society. In this case the marginalized individuals are pushed aside or neglected in the rest of the society (Berry et al. 2006).

Immigrants develop insights into the host society and environment and then, adapt to the host society through communication. Thus, communication can be regarded as a fundamental constituent of acculturation (Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz 1982). Research into acculturation has long indicated a positive correlation between immigrants' communication with the host society and their acculturation level (Hsu, Grant, and Huang 1993; Harris 2004; Young and Gardner 1990 among others).

In other words, the potential of acculturation develops as immigrants seek interpersonal relationships with the members of the host society, develop a host network and benefit from the mass media of the host society. These communication channels serve as agents to facilitate adaptation. It is important to note that knowledge of the host language is required for both the interpersonal communication and the use of host media. Thus, knowledge of host language plays a crucial role in acculturation process. Research has demonstrated a positive correlation between proficiency in host language and acculturation process (Young and Gardner 1990). Thus, communication of immigrants with the members of the host society is a mechanism of acculturation but also, its outcome. Accordingly, patterns and extent of communication of immigrants, their communication network and the use of host media can be considered as indicators and predictors of their level of acculturation (Hsu, Grant, and Huang 1993; Harris 2004).

There is abundant research examining the attitude of the host society towards immigrant societies in the immigrant-receiving countries as European countries, the USA, Canada and Australia. The study conducted in Germany (Zick, Wagner, Rolf van Dick, and Petze 2001) demonstrated that while 27 percent of immigrants living in Germany are originated from the European Union countries such as Italy, Greece, Poland and Austria; 24 percent of them are from Turkey and 14 percent of them are from Serbia and Croatia. German society displays different tendencies when immigrants' acculturation is concerned: Certain parts of the society are of the opinion that immigrants are to be assimilated into the German society, while others openly support marginalization. In the Netherlands, it was observed that restrictive immigration policies have consequences on immigrants' acculturation (Arends-Tóth and Vijver 2003). Although the country aims for integration, survey results showed that negative attitudes towards immigrants among the Dutch are on the rise and the immigrant societies are increasingly being assimilated into the Dutch society. Studies in Italy, another country with a large immigrant population, addressed integration of Albanian, Moroccan, Polish, Chinese and Ukrainian immigrants with the Italian society. Kasic and Phalet (2006) characterized the attitude of Italians towards immigrants as "hostile" and "xenophobic". Nevertheless, the Italian society is more lenient and accepting when compared to other European Union societies (Thalhammer, Zucha, Enzenhofer, Salfinger, and Ogris 2001). A study conducted in Canada (Berry and Kalin 1995), which is another immigrant-intensive country, indicated that Canada is in favor of integration and embraces the notion of multiculturalism to a large extent. The results of the questionnaire-based study indicated that 93 percent of Canadians are of the opinion that it is important to accept different cultures

in Canada. As for the USA, where the majority of immigrants are from countries of Latin America, Asia and European Union, most Americans view openness to immigrants as an essential feature of the nation, yet, expect the new comers to the country to be assimilated (Pew Research Centre, 2018, <http://www.pewresearch.org>). Australia, another multilingual and multicultural society, is known to follow a migration policy of multiculturalism (Clyne, Clyne, and Michael 2003). The research indicated that the attitude towards immigrants is affected by the unemployment rates in the country. It was demonstrated that the immigration policy of the government affects attitude of the society towards immigrants in New Zealand and New Zealanders support integration (Colleen, and Masgoret, 2008). All in all, these studies revealed that the majority of the host society members tend to prefer assimilation as the best way to adapt to the host society, even though integration is seen as the ideal pattern of acculturation. These contradicting attitudes are commonly explained in the acculturation research with the Group Threat theory (Blalock 1967; Bobo 1999; Jackson 1993). Group Threat theory suggests that the host society would become less open to integration and prefer assimilation when the host society perceive immigrants as a threat to their political and economic power as well as their wellbeing. Along with it, the threat might increase when the host and immigrant societies do not share common morals, values and beliefs. Finally, individuals who have a vulnerable position in the society (with being unemployed, less educated, possessing a lower socio-economic status etc.) are more likely to perceive immigrants as a threat due to the intergroup competition for scarce resources (Semyonov, Rajzman, and Gorodzeisky 2006; Savelkoul, Gesthuizen, and Scheepers 2011; Rosenstein 2008). The members of the host society would develop a negative attitude towards and prejudices about the immigrants due to these threats.

In contrast to the Group Threat theory, Intergroup Contact theory suggests that increased intergroup contact is likely to reduce prejudices and to result in positive attitudes towards immigrants. The theory puts forwards that equal group status within the situation, common goals, cooperation and authority support are the factors that promote positive attitudes of the host members towards immigrants. Among all the intergroup contact situation, friendship with an immigrant enables gaining knowledge about the immigrant group and contributes to the tolerance towards diversity (Pettigrew 1998; Pettigrew and Tropp 2006).

1.1.1. The Turkish context

People who have come to Turkey from other countries to reside permanently or for a long term can be divided into two main groups as immigrants and refugees. Immigrants can be defined as individuals who migrated to countries or regions different from their own. As opposed to refugees, immigrants are not obliged to leave their countries. They migrate with their own will due to sociocultural or economic reasons. Immigrants are able to continue to enjoy the shelter provided by their native county. On the other hand, refugees are defined as individuals who are forced to leave their country in order to escape war, persecution, or natural disaster. Immigrants in Turkey consist of those coming from European countries (mainly from

Germany, Netherlands and the UK), Post-Soviet countries and the USA (TSI, 2018). They are mostly settled at Aegean and Mediterranean coasts, as well as in the major cities such as İstanbul, Ankara and İzmir. On the other hand, refugees in Turkey come from Syria, Afghanistan and Iraq, and they are settled in the eastern parts of the country (mainly Gaziantep, Maraş, Hatay) and in the big cities (İstanbul and İzmir).

So far, there have been plenty of studies examining the attitude of Turkish society towards refugees, particularly towards those coming from Syria (e.g. Altıok and Tosun 2018; Erdoğan and Uyan Semerci 2017). These studies commonly revealed that the majority of Turkish society is not content with presence of refugees in Turkey and perceive them as a cultural and economic threat. For instance, in a recent survey study (Erdoğan and Uyan Semerci 2017), the majority of the participants considered Syrians as threat in the society since they are taking jobs away from Turkish people, raising crime rates in the country and are damaging moral values and traditions in Turkey.

Studies examining the acculturation of immigrants from European and Post-Soviet countries and the USA are limited and they mostly address the demographic properties of immigrant societies and the reasons for migration. Only a few studies have focused on the acculturation of immigrants. To illustrate, Tamer-Görer, Erdoğanaras, Güzey and Yuksel, (2006) examined German, Netherlandish and British immigrants in Dalyan and Alanya and reported that the participants were unwilling to learn the language as well as to have Turks or other immigrants as their neighbors, although they considered the Turkish language as an important for integration. In another study, Toprak (2009) looked into the integration of European immigrants in various towns of the Mediterranean coast. The participants indicated their intention to integrate into the host society. However, they were not able to do so due to the lack of Turkish language knowledge. Similarly, Antonova-Ünlü, Sağın-Şimşek and Kavanoz (2016) examined the language use, preference and attitudes of British immigrants and reported that though British immigrants were willing to get closer to Turkish people, their lack of Turkish language knowledge prevented them from this. Ozerim (2012) reported that German and Dutch participants of the study appreciated Turkish culture and lifestyle and considered them to be one of the reasons for their immigration to Turkey. Antonova-Ünlü et al. (2015) examined linguistic and cultural adaptation of Russian immigrants in Turkey and revealed that Russian immigrants can be defined as bilingual and bicultural and demonstrated a pure sample of integration.

The abovementioned studies probe into the acculturation of the immigrants via examining their attitude towards the host society and the Turkish language, and immigrants' use of Turkish. However, to our knowledge, there has been no research that specifically aims to examine the attitude of Turkish society towards immigrants living in Turkey, and its expectation about immigrants' acculturation. The present study aims to fill in this gap.

2. Methodology

1.1. Participants

The number of the participants in total were 498 who were recruited with non-probability quote sampling. Gender (female/male), age (20-29, 30-39, 40-49, 50-59 and over 60), educational level (primary, secondary, high school, undergraduate, master's degree and PhD degree), marital status and occupation were identified as demographic parameters. The proportions for the above-mentioned parameters were identified for the target population relying on the available statistics of TSI collected via address-based censuses in 2013, 2015 and 2017 (<http://www.tuik.gov.tr>) as well as Kabalcı and Metin (2011).

A sample was then created compatible with the target population in terms of the defined parameters. The sample included 286 participants (130 females) chosen randomly out of the available 498 participants with the help of the randomize function of R programming language and environment. Table 1 presents the comparison of the descriptive statistics of the sample and the target population. All participants were fully informed about the details of the procedure and gave written consent.

Table 1

Comparison of the sample with the population of Turkey

Gender	Sample (%)	Population (%)
Female	45.07	49.80
Male	54.93	50.20
Status		
Married	60.56	63.76
Single	39.44	36.24
Education level		
Primary school	32.87	40.20
Secondary school	9.79	7.58
High school	30.77	32.40
University	17.48	17.98
Master	5.24	1.43
PhD	3.85	0.41

* All values are in percentages.

1.2. Instrument and Procedure

A questionnaire and interviews were administered to investigate the attitude of Turkish society towards immigrants and its expectations. The questionnaire was developed via adopting questions used in the previous similar studies (Arends-Tóth and Vijver 2003; Kosic and Phalet 2006; Thalhammer et. al. 2001; Yagmur and Akinci 2003; Zick et.al. 2001). Pilot tests were administrated to ensure the content validity of the questionnaire. Four experts in sociolinguistics and ten laymen were asked to fill in the questionnaire and provide their comments. The questionnaire was revised in the light of their feedback.

The questionnaire included four sections: (1) demographic information, (2) attitude towards immigrants, (3) the preferred patterns of acculturation, (4) sociolinguistic factors affecting acculturation. The language of the questionnaire was Turkish. Demographic information was obtained in section one. In section two, the participants were asked questions related to their attitude towards immigrants from European, Post-Soviet countries and the USA, and their opinion about the immigrants' contribution to economy, culture, education and intellectual vision of Turkish people. Along with it, the participants were asked to express their ideas about the extent to which immigrants may threaten the society from different aspects: economy and job opportunities, religion, culture, education, unity of family, and criminal activities. In section three, the participants were asked which acculturation patterns they think immigrants should follow. In section four, the role of Turkish language knowledge in acculturation was examined. In this respect, the participants were asked whether immigrants require a higher proficiency in Turkish and to what extent Turkish is important for a happy and safe life in Turkey. Finally, the participants were requested to provide their opinions about the obstacles that may hinder the integration of immigrants from European and Post-Soviet countries.

The data were collected between 2017 and 2019 in the major cities of Turkey (İstanbul, Ankara, İzmir and Antalya) and in provinces and districts of the Aegean and Mediterranean coasts (Bodrum, Kuşadası, Çesme, Marmaris, Fethiye, Dalyan and Alanya). The choice of the regions was determined by the geo-demographic profile of the immigrants in Turkey. The researchers themselves visited the abovementioned provinces and their districts for data collection. The data were collected via face-to-face interactions with participants in places where Turkish people of various socio-economic backgrounds to be encountered, such as markets, post-offices, airports, restaurants, bars, educational institutions, hospitals and alike. Before the filling in the questionnaire, the participants were explained that the focus of the research was on immigrants but not refugees, and they were provided with clarification regarding differences between the two groups.

The interviews, including eight semi-structured questions, were conducted with 12 participants who volunteered to participate in the study. The interviews were audio-recorded, transcribed, translated into English and used in the study with the consent of the participants. Quantitative data were analyzed and visualized in R programming language and environment (R Core Team 2019).

3. Findings

The findings are presented in four parts corresponding to the sections of the questionnaire. The responses obtained via interviews were categorized and integrated as quotations in relevant sections.

3.1. Demographic information

The participants were 286 Turkish adults. Table 2 presents distributional characteristics of the sample (gender, age, education).

Table 2
Distribution of the participants according to the socio-demographic parameters

Gender	Number	Percent
Female	130	45.45
Male	156	54.55
Age groups		
20-29	69	24.21
30-39	97	34.03
40-49	65	22.81
50-59	32	10.88
60+	23	8.07
Education		
Primary school	94	32.87
Secondary school	28	9.79
High school	88	30.77
University	50	17.48
Master	15	5.24
PhD	11	3.85

The data analysis revealed that the participants represent Turkish society in terms of their variety regarding age, education, occupation, knowledge of foreign languages and the degree of the contact with immigrants residing in Turkey.

In particular, the participants have a variety of 58 occupations such as engineers, academics, policemen, medical staff, concierge, taxi drivers, shop assistants, farmers, waiters, tailors, janitors and housewives among others. 151 participants (52.80 percent) reported to know a foreign language at different levels. English (141), German (35) and French (19) were the most common languages. The participants stated that they obtained information about immigrants from multiple sources: immigrant friends (22), school classes (15), TV (26), books (19), Internet (35), friends who know immigrants (16) and others (e.g., clients and employers) (17). More than half of the participants (188 – 65.73 percent) reported that they have immigrant friend(s) and/or acquaintance(s) in their close environment. The frequency of communication between the participants and their immigrant friends/acquaintances varied from always (14 – 6.54 percent) and often (56 – 26.17 percent) to sometimes (88 – 41.12 percent) and rarely (35 – 16.36 percent). Those who have immigrant friends/acquaintances listed 48 countries from where their immigrant friends/acquaintances come from. The most frequently mentioned countries were Russia, Germany, the UK, Bulgaria, Azerbaijan and the USA. 113 participants stated that the immigrants they know are their friends, 60 stated that they are neighbors, 32 stated that they are colleagues, 26 stated that they are relatives. Along with that, eight participants indicated that they have immigrants among their clients.

3.2. Attitude towards immigrants

The attitude towards immigrants was investigated with 18 questions of section two. The questions in section two, three and four were close-ended questions with the use of Likert scale from 1 (totally disagree) to 7 (totally agree). The thresholds to interpret the descriptive results were determined as 1-3: negative, 3-4: neutral and 4-7: positive. In the first part of section two, the participants were asked about their attitude towards immigrants and their perception of immigrants' contribution to different socioeconomic domains (Table 3).

Table 3

Attitude towards immigrants and perception of immigrants' contribution to socioeconomic domains

No	Question	Mean	SD
16	I have an overall positive attitude towards immigrants in Turkey	5.31	1.88
17	I admire the personal characteristics of immigrants in Turkey	4.19	1.98
18	Immigrants significantly contribute to Turkish economy	4.20	2.02
19	Immigrants significantly contribute to culture development of Turkish people	4.42	2.08
20	Immigrants significantly contribute to Turkish educational system	3.70	1.98
21	The education is better in schools where immigrants teach or study	3.74	2.06
22	Immigrants significantly contribute to vision of Turkish society	4.42	2.11
23	Immigrants significantly broaden the intellectual horizon of Turkish society	4.35	2.06

It can be stated that the participants have a positive attitude towards immigrants residing in Turkey ($M = 5.31$, $SD = 1.88$). The participants also noted that immigrants contribute to the cultural and intellectual development of Turkish society. The responses to 16, 19, 22 and 23 with means between 4.21 – 5.31 support this inference. However, as it can be seen in Table 2, the mean scores appear with a pretty high standard deviation, which indicates that the data are not homogenous. This suggests that there might be underlying sociocultural and demographic factors that influence the responses of the participants. For this reason, multiple linear regression analysis is conducted to reveal the explanatory variables predicting the participants' responses. Multiple linear regression analysis regarding the attitude of Turkish society towards immigrants indicated that having immigrant friends/acquaintances is the most crucial predictor of the attitude (Figure 1). The participants who have immigrant friends/acquaintances have significantly more positive attitude towards immigrants ($\beta = 2.24$, $t = 11.81$, $p < .0001$). Another factor modulating the attitude was educational level. The results showed that the high-school graduates have significantly more negative attitudes compared to the

graduates of primary school ($\beta = 1.24$, $t = 4.31$, $p < .0001$) and secondary school ($\beta = 1.21$, $t = 3.57$, $p = .0004$) and the PhD holders ($\beta = 1.56$, $t = 3.19$, $p = .002$).

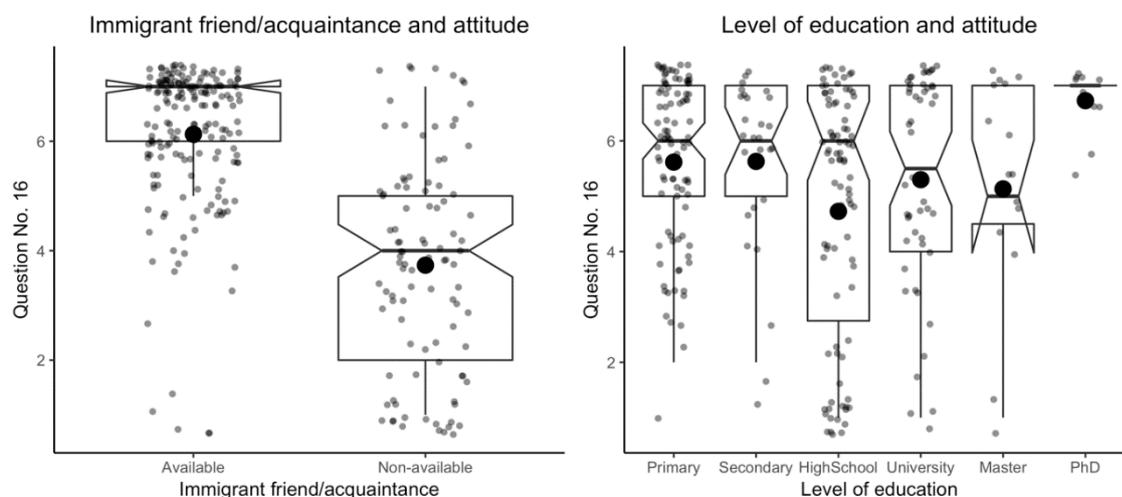


Figure 1. Values on the y axis correspond to responses to Question No. 16. Large black dot indicates the mean and grey dots represent data points.

During the interviews, when the informants were asked about their attitude towards immigrants and about the characteristics of immigrants that appeal to them, the following responses were received:

“I have had a chance to work with foreigners for many years. I can say that they are very hard-working and trustworthy.” (Retired engineer)

“I have a friend who is an immigrant and she is also my neighbor. She has a golden heart and she’s so trustworthy. I would not exchange her for a Turkish person.” (Housewife)

“I have several immigrant friends. We have been staying in the same dormitory. I can say that they’re very respectful towards our culture and they are very tolerant.” (Student)

“I think it would be incorrect to define immigrants as a whole as being good or bad people. I think a person from any country can be good or bad.” (Teacher)

“In fact, I don’t have any immigrant friends. But in general, to my mind, they are very arrogant and tend to look down to Turkish people.” (Interior designer)

When the participants were asked about immigrants’ contribution to Turkish education, they seem not to have any strong stance, though some of them indicated that they would like to have foreign teachers for their children. Some of the responses were as follows:

“Since the level of education is higher in Europe, foreign teachers tend to be more knowledgeable in their subject.” (Pharmacist)

“There is a German teacher in my son’s school. He treats the kids with perfect German discipline. All parents are very pleased with his educational approach.” (Engineer)

“I can’t say anything definite on this topic. I don’t think that immigrants might contribute to the educational system of Turkey. How can it be possible?” (Interior designer)

In the second part of section two, the participants were asked about their perception of threats that can originate from immigrants for different socio-economic domains (Table 4).

Table 4

Perception of immigrants as a threat to different socio-economic domains

No	Question	Mean	SD
24	The more I know about immigrants, the less I like them	2.45	1.93
25	Immigrants take jobs of Turkish people away	3.27	2.14
26	The unity of Turkey weakens because of immigrants with different ethic/cultural backgrounds	2.85	2.22
27	Immigrants threaten Turkish economy	2.93	2.17
28	Immigrants threaten employment opportunities	3.54	2.27
29	Immigrants threaten religious stability	2.35	1.99
30	Immigrants threaten culture	2.77	2.14
31	Immigrants threaten the family unity	2.90	2.19
32	Immigrants threaten education	2.38	1.93
33	Immigrants increase the crime level	2.51	1.94

It can be stated that Turkish people do not consider immigrants as a threat to the family ($M = 2.90$, $SD = 2.19$), education ($M = 2.38$, $SD = 1.93$), cultural unity ($M = 2.77$, $SD = 2.14$) and religious stability ($M = 2.35$, $SD = 1.99$) of Turkish society. However, the responses might be interpreted that some of the participants may be concerned about their employment and may perceive immigrants as a threat for finding a job ($M = 3.54$, $SD = 2.27$) and being employed ($M = 3.27$, $SD = 2.14$), since the means for these questions are the highest in the section.

Multiple linear regression analysis regarding the perception of threat demonstrated that the major factor modulating the perception of threat for employment (Question 25) is the availability of immigrant friends/acquaintances in the participant’s environment (Figure 2). The participants who do not have immigrant friends/acquaintances are more likely to consider immigrants as a threat for finding a job ($\beta = 1.48$, $t = 5.39$, $p < .0001$). Educational level stands out as another factor predicting the perception of threat. The high school graduates are more likely to consider immigrants as a threat for finding a job compared to the primary school ($\beta = 0.97$, $t = 2.32$, $p = .02$), secondary school ($\beta = 1.06$, $t = 2.22$, $p = .03$) and PhD holders ($\beta = 2.24$, $t = 3.16$, $p = .002$). Lastly, the males perceive more threat for the employment ($\beta = 0.50$, $t = 1.98$, $p = .05$). Age, marital status or knowledge of a foreign language do not predict the perception of threat.

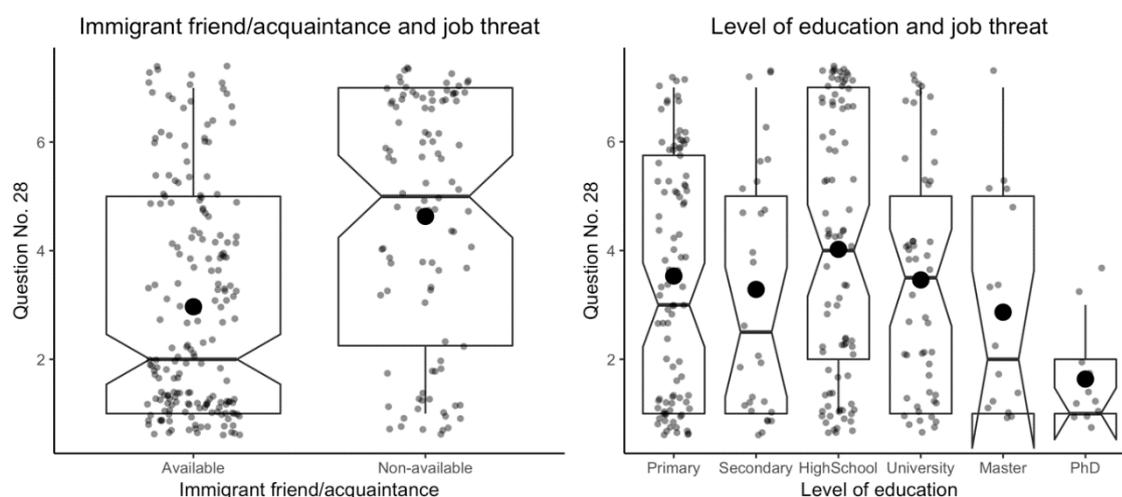


Figure 2. Values on the y axis correspond to responses to Question No. 28. Large black dot indicates the mean and grey dots represent data points.

The responses obtained from the interviews are consistent with the statistical analyses:

“Education level is important to find a good job. But Turkish people have an advantage here because we know Turkish as a native language, while immigrants cannot communicate with Turkish people the way we can do.” (Pharmacist)

“There are already so many unemployed people in Turkey. I don’t understand why they are recruiting immigrants. This makes me really angry.” (Coach)

“Many clients prefer immigrants just because they are foreigners. However, we do the same job.” (Beauty specialist)

3.3. Expectations related to immigrants’ acculturation

To examine the expectation of Turkish people about acculturation, the participants were asked which acculturation pattern they would like immigrants to follow (Table 5).

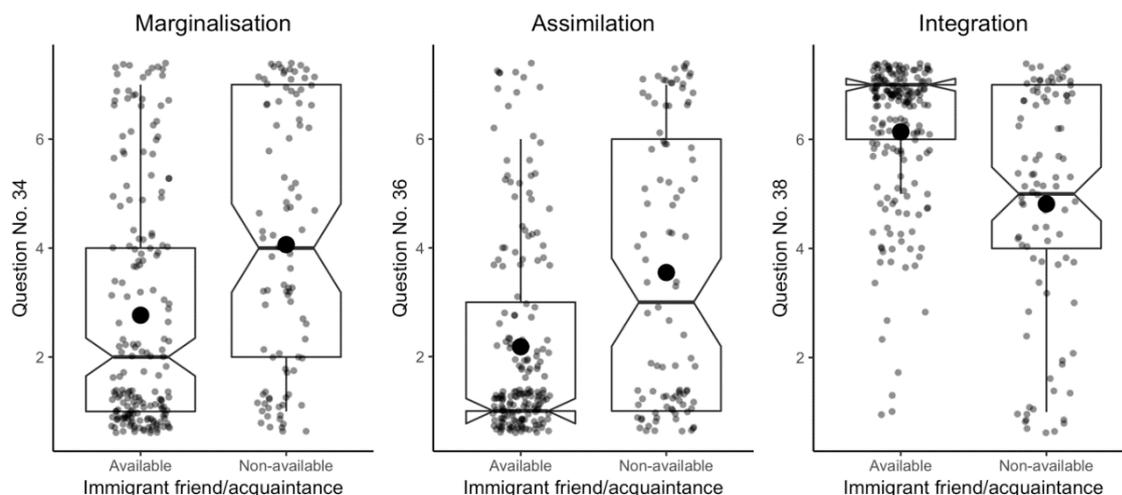
Table 5

Expectations of Turkish people as to immigrants’ acculturation

No	Question	Mean	SD
34	Immigrants should neither preserve their own culture nor acquire the host culture	3.20	2.33
35	Immigrants should preserve their own culture and reject the host culture	3.33	2.29
36	Immigrants should adapt the host culture and abandon their own culture	2.64	2.16
37	Immigrants should preserve key features of their culture while orienting themselves to the host culture	5.70	1.74

The participants expect immigrants to orient themselves to Turkish culture along with preserving the key features of their own culture ($M = 5.70$, $SD = 1.74$), that is Turkish people, by and large, for the integration of immigrants living in Turkish society.

Regression analyses regarding the expectations towards immigrants' acculturation pattern indicated that having immigrant friends/acquaintances, gender, age, educational level and being able to speak another language are predictive factors of acculturation preferences (Figure 3). The participants who do not have immigrant friends/acquaintances are more inclined to prefer marginalization ($\beta = 1.13$, $t = 3.89$, $p = .0001$) and assimilation ($\beta = 1.07$, $t = 4.40$, $p < .0001$) and less inclined to prefer integration ($\beta = -1.35$, $t = 6.27$, $p < .0001$). As for gender variable, the males prefer assimilation ($\beta = 1.47$, $t = 6.47$, $p < .000$) and separation ($\beta = 0.55$, $t = 2.04$, $p = .04$) more, while the females are more likely to think that immigrants are free to adopt either their own culture or the host culture ($\beta = 0.62$, $t = 2.87$, $p = .004$), which is the pattern of integration. Age was found to another factor predicting acculturation preference. The participants aged between 40-49 ($\beta = 1.25$, $t = 2.60$, $p = .01$) and 50-59 ($\beta = 1.37$, $t = 2.42$, $p = .02$) are more likely to prefer marginalization than the participants between 20-29. The participants over 60 are more likely to prefer separation than the participants between 20-29 ($\beta = 1.55$, $t = 2.39$, $p = .02$). Lastly, knowledge of a foreign language appeared as a factor affecting the acculturation preference. The Turkish monolinguals are more inclined to prefer assimilation compared to the bilinguals ($\beta = 1.05$, $t = 2.92$, $p = .004$).



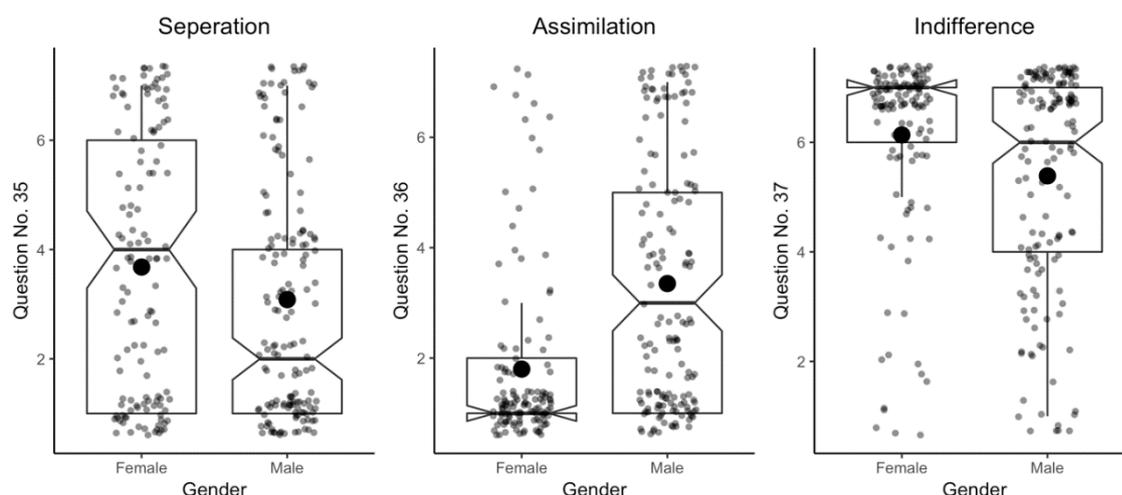


Figure 3. Values on the y axis correspond to responses to Question No. 34, 35, 36, 37 and 38. Large black dot indicates the mean and grey dots represent data points.

3.4. Perception of linguistic factors affecting immigrants' acculturation

Assuming that knowledge of the host language is an important predictor of acculturation to the host society (Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz 1982), the participants were asked what they think about the Turkish language knowledge of immigrants and to what extent the proficiency in Turkish may affect immigrants' communication efficiency and life standards (Table 6).

Table 6

Perception of linguistic factors affecting immigrants' acculturation

No	Question	Mean	SD
39	Immigrants have difficulties in comprehending and expressing themselves in Turkish	4.94	1.98
40	Immigrants need to know Turkish better	5.37	1.93
41	Turkish is an obstacle for immigrants to communicate efficiently	5.19	1.88
42	Turkish is an obstacle for immigrants to reach higher life standards	4.78	2.01

The participants think that immigrants residing in Turkey have difficulties to communicate in Turkish ($M = 4.94$, $SD = 1.98$) and they would like immigrants to be able to speak Turkish better ($M = 5.37$, $SD = 1.93$). Along with it, the participants stated that the limited proficiency is a serious obstacle for efficient communication ($M = 5.19$, $SD = 1.88$) and a better life quality in Turkey ($M = 4.78$, $SD = 2.01$). Further, the participants were presented with 13 social situations and were requested to evaluate the importance of Turkish knowledge in each of them (Table 7).

Table 7
The importance of Turkish for various social situations

No	Social situation	Mean	SD
43_a	Making friends	5.75	1.79
43_b	Earning money	5.83	1.64
43_c	Getting education	6.11	1.40
43_d	Finding a job	5.95	1.56
43_e	Living safely	5.23	1.99
43_f	Having a say	5.91	1.74
43_g	Bringing up children	4.27	2.29
43_h	Being a part of Turkish society	5.22	2.05
43_i	Communicating with Turkish friends	5.59	1.69
43_j	Communicating with Turkish colleagues	5.75	1.67
43_k	Travelling in Turkey	4.64	2.12
43_l	Shopping in Turkey	4.80	2.04

As it is evident in Table 7, participants consider the knowledge of Turkish as especially important for getting education ($M = 6.11$, $SD = 1.40$), finding a job ($M = 5.95$, $SD = 1.56$), having a say in the society ($M = 5.91$, $SD = 1.74$), earning money ($M = 5.83$, $SD = 1.64$), communicate with Turkish colleagues ($M = 5.75$, $SD = 1.67$), making friends ($M = 5.75$, $SD = 1.79$) and communicating with them ($M = 5.59$, $SD = 1.69$). The participants think that knowledge of Turkish is not that important for bringing up a child ($M = 4.27$, $SD = 2.29$), travelling ($M = 4.64$, $SD = 2.12$) and shopping ($M = 4.80$, $SD = 2.04$).

Regression analyses regarding the importance of Turkish knowledge revealed that being able to speak another language and age are critical predictors of the importance attached to knowledge of Turkish in general (Figure 4). The monolingual participants compared to the bilinguals are more likely to think that Turkish knowledge is highly important in all situations ($\beta = 0.52$, $t = 2.27$, $p = .02$). The participants aged between 40-49 ($\beta = 0.57$, $t = 2.20$, $p = .03$), 50-59 ($\beta = 0.94$, $t = 3.12$, $p = .002$) and over 60 ($\beta = 1.05$, $t = 2.98$, $p = .003$) attach significantly higher importance to the knowledge of Turkish compared to the youngest group (participants between 20-29). The participants who do not have immigrant friends/acquaintances are more likely to think that Turkish knowledge is important ($\beta = 0.83$, $t = 5.25$, $p < .0001$). Lastly, the primary school graduates attach more importance to knowledge of Turkish compared to the high school graduates ($\beta = 0.64$, $t = 2.71$, $p = .007$).

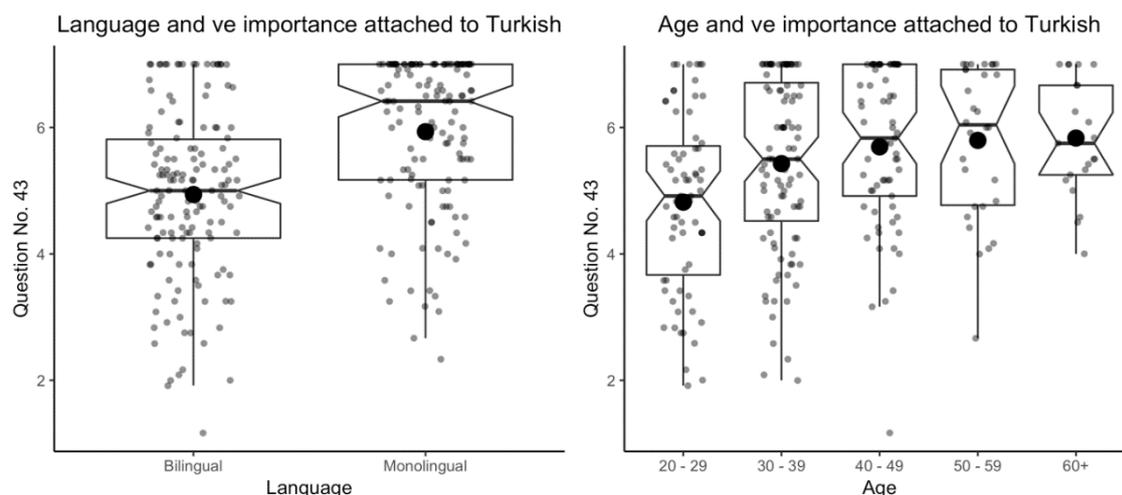


Figure 4. Values on the y axis correspond to responses to Question No. 43. Large black dot indicates the mean and grey dots represent data points.

During the interviews, the participants expressed their opinion about immigrants’ knowledge of Turkish and its importance as follows:

“Many immigrants from European countries do not even try to learn Turkish. They tend to survive with English or German.” (Shop assistant)

“You may not be able to find someone speaking a foreign language. Actually, not all immigrants can speak English either. That’s why it’s very important to learn Turkish for them to live in comfort in Turkey.” (Teacher)

“It is a must to speak Turkish if you want to be accepted by Turkish society. This is especially important in public spaces.” (Engineer)

“You may not need Turkish when shopping or travelling. There is always someone who can speak English more or less. But you definitely need Turkish if you want to be hired.” (University student)

3.5. Perception of social factors affecting immigrants’ acculturation

In the last section, the participants were asked about the effect of religious, cultural and behavioral differences between Turkish society and immigrants for immigrants’ acculturation (Table 8).

Table 8
Social factors that affect immigrants’ acculturation in Turkey

No	Question	Mean	SD
44	Religious differences between Turkish and immigrant societies are an obstacle for efficient communication and high life standards	2.90	2.07
45	Cultural differences between Turkish and immigrant societies are an obstacle for efficient communication and high life standards	3.33	2.07
46	Behavioral differences between Turkish and immigrant societies are an obstacle for efficient communication and high life standards	3.41	2.01

47	Political issues are an obstacle for efficient communication and high life standards	3.53	2.08
48	Turkish people need to be more flexible in cultural issues to contribute to the integration of immigrants	4.60	2.17
49	Turkish people need to be more flexible in cultural issues to contribute to cultural unity with immigrants	4.50	2.17

The data analysis revealed that the participants do not consider religious ($M = 2.90$, $SD = 2.07$), cultural ($M = 3.33$, $SD = 2.07$), and behavioral differences ($M = 3.41$, $SD = 2.01$) as crucial factors. They moderately agree that Turkish people should be more flexible in cultural issues to contribute to immigrants' integration ($M = 4.60$, $SD = 2.17$) and cultural unity ($M = 4.50$, $SD = 2.17$).

Regression analysis revealed that availability of immigrant friends/acquaintances, education, being able to speak a foreign language, marital status and gender moderate the participants' perception of the differences as an obstacle for acculturation. The high school graduates compared to the primary school graduates ($\beta = 1.98$, $t = 6.16$, $p < .0001$), the monolinguals ($\beta = 0.87$, $t = 2.77$, $p = .006$), the unmarried ($\beta = 0.72$, $t = 2.74$, $p = .007$) and the males ($\beta = 0.45$, $t = 2.26$, $p = .02$) are more likely to think that religious, cultural and behavioral differences between Turkish and immigrant societies are obstacles for efficient communication and high life standards. On the other hand, education, gender, knowledge of another language, availability of immigrant friends/acquaintances and age predict the responses related to the tolerance of Turkish people towards immigrants. The primary school ($\beta = 2.07$, $t = 5.54$, $p < .0001$) and secondary school graduates ($\beta = 1.01$, $t = 2.37$, $p = .02$) compared to the high school graduates, the females ($\beta = 1.01$, $t = 4.40$, $p < .0001$), the bilinguals ($\beta = 1.54$, $t = 4.21$, $p < .0001$), the participants who have immigrant friends/acquaintances ($\beta = 1.03$, $t = 4.20$, $p < .0001$), the participants aged between 20-29 compared to the participants between 50-59 ($\beta = 0.96$, $t = 2.02$, $p = .04$) are more likely to think that Turkish people need to be more flexible to contribute to immigrants' integration and cultural unity with them.

4. Discussion

The aim of the study was to investigate the attitude and expectations of Turkish society as host concerning immigrants and their acculturation patterns in Turkey. The findings revealed that Turkish people have a positive attitude toward immigrants coming from European, Post-Soviet countries and the USA. The participants acknowledged that immigrants contribute to the cultural and intellectual development of Turkish people and broaden their vision. Results demonstrated that the most important factor that has an impact on the attitude of Turkish people is the availability of immigrant friends/acquaintances in their close environments. In this respect, the findings showed that if a participant has immigrant friends/acquaintances, his/her attitude is significantly more positive towards immigrants in general. Our findings can be regarded as supporting

Contact Theory in sociolinguistics suggesting that the intergroup contact typically reduces intergroup prejudice and contributes to the positive dynamics in the relationship (Cook 1984; Harrington and Miller 1992; Jackson 1993; Patchen 1999; Pettigrew 1998; 1971; 1986). The study also indicated that the participants do not consider the existence of immigrants as a threat towards culture, religion, family unity and education. However, they perceive some threat from immigrants when their employment is considered. High school graduates and males were found to perceive significantly more threat from immigrants in this respect. These findings can be explained referring to Group Threat Theory according to which the threat may occur due to the competition for scarce resources. Even though the current study did not examine the causes of threat, it is highly likely that high unemployment rates in Turkey, especially among high school and university graduates, might be a plausible reason for the threat perception. High school graduates may feel economically more insecure compared to other educational level groups: primary, secondary school graduates and PhD holders. PhD holders are likely to have less concerns about their employment due to their high level of education and qualifications. Primary and secondary school graduates do not perceive immigrants as a threat for their employment because immigrants in Turkey, especially those from European countries, are perceived to possess a high social and economic profiles and, thus, are unlikely to apply for unqualified jobs, typically undertaken by primary and secondary school graduates. On the other hand, that males perceive more threat for employment than females can be related to the fact that in Turkey, men are mainly money earners and income providers (Koç 2002).

Concerning the expectations of Turkish society regarding the acculturation patterns of immigrants, the results showed that Turkish people would like immigrants to integrate into their society. This suggests that Turkish people expect immigrants to acquire characteristics of Turkish culture, but they are also not disturbed by the fact that immigrants may preserve their own culture.

The data analysis showed that gender, age and knowledge of another language affect Turkish people's preference for acculturation pattern. Firstly, people above forty are more in favor of marginalization and separation, which might suggest that older generations are more conservative in comparison with young ones. Secondly, monolinguals prefer assimilation more than bi-/multilinguals. This might indicate that monolinguals are less open to different cultures and languages in their environment, most probably, because their linguistic knowledge and cultural vision may be insufficient for apprehending cultural diversity and multilingualism.

As for linguistic and social factors, the results revealed that the most important factor affecting immigrants' acculturation is immigrants' knowledge of the host language, which allows immigrants to communicate, learn about the host society and its culture, and adapt to it. The participants stated that immigrants should know Turkish better since limited proficiency in Turkish is a serious obstacle for immigrants' efficient

communication with the host society, and comfortable and safe life. Turkish people acknowledged the importance of Turkish in various social situations. If to compare the expectations of Turkish society with acculturation tendencies of immigrant diasporas in Turkey, it can be put forward that immigrants are not homogenous in this respect: while immigrants from certain countries (e.g., Russia) were reported to be integrated into Turkish society (Antonova-Unlu et al. 2015), others (West European diasporas) were observed to reject Turkish culture and language following separation (e.g. Tamer-Görer et.al. 2006; Toprak 2009; Antonova-Unlu et. al. 2016). These differences among immigrants can be attributed to several sociocultural factors (age of immigration, marital status and social prestige of languages). All in all, our findings allow us to suggest that Turkish people seem to be more tolerant to European, Post-Soviet and the USA immigrants residing in their country, and they have more positive attitude towards them in comparison to the commonly reported attitudes towards immigrants in the European context. In this respect, Turkish society seems to be more similar to such immigrant-intensive countries as Canada and New Zealand, which were reported to be open to other cultures and in favor of immigrants' integration.

In this respect, it is necessary to mark that the profile of minorities seems to be a critical factor determining the attitude of the host society. For this reason, the findings of the present study focusing on immigrants from Europe, Post-Soviet countries and the USA contradict the findings of the studies focusing on refugees, mainly from Syria, and reporting a negative attitude, a huge perceived threat and unwillingness to host them in Turkish society (e.g. Altıok and Tosun 2018; Erdoğan and Uyan Semerci 2017).

5. Conclusions (or Conclusions and Discussion)

As more societies grow multicultural and multilingual nowadays due to the presence of immigrants, it is becoming more and more essential to know what host societies think about the immigrants in their country and expect from them. The present study provides descriptive findings regarding the attitudes and expectation of the host Turkish society concerning immigrants residing in Turkey. Though our results identify main predictors affecting the attitude and acculturation expectations of Turkish society, they do not allow to draw conclusions about causal relations.

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