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[THE ROLE OF URBAN NIGHTLIFE IN PERCEIVED SOCIAL INTEGRATION]

Perspectives of international students in Nanjing

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The role of urban nightlife in perceived social integration: Perspectives of international students in Nanjing

Key words: Urban nightlife, Social integration, Pluralism, International students, Nanjing

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1.Introduction:

There are roughly 400 thousands international students enrolled in higher education in China, a number that is expected to grow substantially. The growing number of international students contributes to attracting skilled immigrants to China and building mutual trust and understanding between different cultural backgrounds. Besides, there is a notion that it is difficult for international students to integrate domestic students and society, the importance of which have been investigated in several studies in terms of academic performance and social satisfaction (Ward et al., 2009; Rienties et al., 2012; Thomas, 1998; Rui, 2008), but there appears to be a lack of concern on the special spatiotemporal context of integration and interdisciplinary concepts and understanding.

In a study of communication networks of students, Thomas (1998) found that students with larger communication networks reported higher levels of academic and social satisfaction, higher probability re-enrolling. Those students with a greater proportion of ties outside of their group of peers tend to perform better academically (Thomas, 1998). In a more recent and extensive study focused specifically on international students - in Dutch business schools – Rienties et al. found a negative link between higher social integration and academic performance (Rienties et al., 2012: 697). Both studies however overlook the perceived importance to well-being (*why*) of social integration to students, and moreover the spatiotemporal context (*where* and *when*) of integration. In terms of *why*, the importance of social integration and its positive effects on well-being have been stressed in sociology. Social contacts are of importance in understanding behavior, social ties are diverse in nature and intensity, and the more ties and higher intensity of interaction the lower the likelihood of negative wellbeing, behaviours and psychological consequences (Booth, Edwards and Johnson, 1991).

Research and policy has focused on integrating international students through university programs (Ward et al., 2009) – but social interaction is not limited to the campus area and to the daytime. In terms of *where and when*, one can argue that for

students, chances for social interaction exist within the urban nightlife settings. Bars, restaurants, cafes, and other nightlife establishments, functioned as the 'third place', provides pleasant place for informal social activities among strangers and friends (Oldenburg, 1989). Considered to be more relaxed and leisure, nightlife offers students an opportunity to put away the academic work and enjoy the music, alcohol, talks and dancing especially during the weekends. Indeed, students are a growing and principal group in nightlife areas of some inner cities (Liempt, van Aalst and Schwanen, 2015). But, as Liempt et al. (2015: 407) argue, 'academic research tends to overlook what happens when night falls.' In terms of *who*, it matters for who you are and who do you interact during the night as the structural change of youth as an extended phase of life is an important societal transformation which has caused nightlife entertainment to become very important in the construction of young people's identity (Cattan and Vanola, 2013; Chatterton and Hollands, 2003; Hollands, 1996). Besides, nightlife helps students to extend their communication network (Thomas, 1998), since the bonding and bridging social capitals behind nightlife are also strongly related to the nightlife experience (Grazian, 2009).

Research on inclusion and exclusion in urban nightlife has focused primarily on gender and specific ethnicities (Boogaarts-de Bruin, 2011, Kosnick, 2014, Hadfield, 2015; Schwanen et al., 2012), and specifically citizens, residents, or ethnic immigrants. Since international students in China, as 'visitors' and 'strangers' (Simmel, 1950), become the minority group to the mainstream Chinese society, it is interesting to know whether these 'visitors' can integrate domestic students/society through nightlife experiences. This paper will compare western students (mainly from EU and US) and Korean students on their nightlife experiences and level of perceived integration, from which cultural differences could be distinguished.

This study of international students in Nanjing intends to bridge the gap between work on social integration, nightlife and students, bringing education studies and sociology together through geography. The overarching question will therefore be:

What is the role of urban nightlife play on international students' perceived social integration in the Chinese context?

Quantitative methods of short surveys and qualitative methods of interviews and observations are used to investigate this.

The following sections would be presented as: Section 2 outlines the theoretical background; Section 3 provides an overview of the methods used; Section 4 contains the results of the analysis; while The final section highlights the most important findings, conclusions, policy implications and reflection.

2.literature review

2.1Urban nightlife studies and international students

Previous literature on urban nightlife defines this field of study as consumption practices and social activities during the night in certain nightlife establishments, including bars, restaurants, and nightclubs which function as a third place (Brands, Schwanen and Aalst, 2014; Chatterton and Hollands, 2002), where people can enjoy the pleasures of informal public life among strangers and friends (Grazian, 2009). In the Chinese context, nightlife also happens in at least two additional places, KTV (short for Karaoke-television) and cafe bar (or tea pub). KTV refers to the use of relatively private rooms in large clubs, where popular music can be played on televisions upon the request of participants. KTV has become a common nightlife place due to the economic boom in China (Farrer, 2008; Zhou, 2008; Guohua, 2009). At the same time, cafe bar (or tea pub), considered as a place for people who prefer non-alcohol and moderate nightlife activities, is also a nightlife choice in Chinese cities like Nanjing.

Urban nightlife is important in the political and commercial benefits of cities. The expansion of nightlife entertainment is a common strategy for stimulating the local economy (Chatterton and Hollands, 2003; Pratt, 2009; Roberts and Eldridge, 2009a), and promoting global cities as destinations for tourism and investment such as nightlife development in Shanghai has been used to promote it as a cosmopolitan metropolis (Hibbard, 2007; Ren 2008; Farrer, 2008). Due to the transformation from Fordist to post-Fordist mode in the consumption-led city (Ibid), there is a growing needs for the creation of leisure-oriented cluster of nightlife entertainment in city centres with the demands for more ephemeral and spectacular, disposable, lifestyle-based and even 'virtual' goods and services (Chatterton and Hollands, 2003, p.22; Brands et al., 2014). Indeed, bars, clubs, restaurants and theatres do bring consumers and visitors to spend their time and money into city centres (Pratt, 2009), and the modes of nightlife are also being quickly 'updated' to followed up the changing needs among city consumers (Chatterton and Hollands, 2003). Recently, East coast Chinese cities like Shanghai and Nanjing have witnessed a rapid economic reconstruction, so does the changing phrase of urban nightlife entertainment (Ibid). Nanjing, as a sub-centre city in Yangtze River Delta region near Shanghai, has brought itself a cosmopolitan phase through older/historical modes of nightlife of '1912' club district and Shanghai road ('International' street), to show the modernity and openness to global culture.

However, what happens in nightlife is more than just economy, urban nightlife is also of sociological importance. Nightlife is about meeting others, creating identities and having fun (Liempt et al., 2015), as well as seeking out intercultural, interracial and cross-gender sociability in global nightscapes (Farrer, 2008). Oldenburg (1989),

Jacobs (1961), and Putnam (2001) claim that the nightlife economy offers much social benefit, for example through democratic involvement, bonding social capital, and inclusiveness. For foreigners in Shanghai, especially European and American, due to social isolations and removal from original social network and ethnic stratification of daytime activities, nightlife becomes the centre of their social life to reconstruct their social network and identity (Farrer, 2008). Urban nightlife has the potential to allow people to figure out meaningful lifestyles and new identity through new social world (Anderson, 2009; Bennett and Peterson, 2004; Epstein, 1998; Irwin, 1977).

Despite of the potential social benefits of urban nightlife, there is also a growing concern about the social exclusion of specific social groups in urban nightlife. Research on social exclusion in urban nightlife has focused primarily on spatiotemporal difference of class (Bromley et al., 2003; Chatterton and Hollands, 2003) and race/ethnicity (Boogaarts-de Bruin, 2011; Kosnick, 2014; Grazian, 2009, Hadfield, 2014; Schwanen et al., 2012) divisions, gender inequities (Bromley et al., 2003; Grazian, 2009; Schwanen et al., 2012), and other social status (Brands, Schwanen and Aalst, 2014) have also been highlighted. Grazian (2009) claims that the nightlife scene has more exclusivity and exploitation as the racial and class barriers, gender differences and lack of inclusiveness surrounding local nightlife in urban neighbourhood communities. Grazian (2009) thus argues that nightlife scenes function more efficiently as generators of bonding rather than bridging social capital. Chatterton and Hollands (2003) mention that mainstream social groups such as students and young urban professionals occupy the UK city centres and gentrifying suburbs (Measham and Hadfield, 2009), left those lower-class, non-white and non-mainstream population spatiotemporally excluded from mainstream nightlife scene. The exclusion of ethnic minorities from mainstream nightlife can also been explained by the entry requirements and discrimination by club and door staff, drink and entry fees, the use of online registration and members-only strategies, and the programming of 'white' music (see Schwanen et al., 2012; Measham and Hadfield, 2009; Boogaarts, 2011; Hadfield, 2014). A Dutch research also indicate that Dutch-Turkish young girls are only allowed to 'go out' under relatives' supervision (Boogaarts, 2008).

Some studies have explored alternative nightlife with bars and clubs oriented to non-mainstream youth cultures in UK cities and Dutch cities (Chatterton and Hollands, 2003; Boogaarts, 2011; Gallan, 2015). According to Boogaarts (2011), due to the difference between cultures and values, the choices made by young ethnic minorities to participate in the ethno-party scene in the Dutch context are based on complex considerations. Some groups of ethnic young people are more restricted in their nightlife choices (Boogaarts, 2011). For the Asian group, with vast majority of Chinese, partying with friends and co-ethnics is an important reason to go to an Asian party, because they feel more comfortable with their peers and less out of place than in a club with mostly non-Asians. An important notion is that such minority ethnic

groups can gain a strong presence in nightlife activities, such as some British Asian students have become serious stakeholders in nightlife economy and feel less excluded from the white (Kosnick, 2014). Asian students in western context can either be less involved in nightlife space because of culture difference, or become adapted to western nightlife and be accepted by locals.

By comparing Oldenburg (1989), Jacobs (1961), and Putnam (2000)'s claims about the social benefits offered by urban nightlife and Grazian (2009)'s opposite idea that urban nightlife offers more exclusivity and exploitation, Anderson (2009) argues that nightlife economy offers degree of both bright side and dark side, rather than homogenizing urban nightlife into idyllic or gloomy, scholars should focus on how, when, and why the cultural consumption and production happens in nightlife scene.

For students and young people, nightlife entertainment is about meeting others, relaxing and having fun beyond the darkness (Liempt et al., 2015). Students are a growing and principal group in nightlife areas of some inner cities in the western context (Chatterton and Hollands, 2003; Liempt, van Aalst and Schwanen, 2015). The structural change of youth and students as an extended phase of life is an important societal transformation that has caused nightlife entertainment to become also very important in the construction of young people's identity (Cattan and Vanola, 2013; Chatterton and Hollands, 2003; Hollands, 1996). Indeed, nightlife spaces and activities are important for adolescents and young adults to experiencing the city and culture, expanding communication network, and build their identity and explore a lifestyle (Thomas, 2000; Cattan and Vanola, 2014; Chatterton and Hollands, 2003; Hollands,1996; Liempt, van Aalst and Schwanen, 2015).

Nightlife space is constructed by human practices and social relationships (Williams, 2008). Nightlife differs within individuals students in terms of *where*, *when*, *who*, *what* and *why*, as Brands et al. (2014) have examined the geographical location and type of nightlife establishment, the hour of arrival and departure, the companionship and the drinks consuming of university students' latest night out, and also their general patterns of going out, the frequency of going out, the most frequently visited nightlife establishment, etc.

In terms of *where*, for students, chances for social interaction exist differently within different urban nightlife establishment. Bars, restaurants, cafes, and other nightlife venues, provides pleasant place for informal social activities among strangers and friends (Oldenburg, 1989). Different nightlife establishment has its own unique characteristics in regards to the atmosphere, privacy, location, etc. For instance, dance club is generally distinguished from regular bars, pubs by the inclusion of a stage for live music, dance floor and DJ (wikipedia: nightclub), where young students have more chance of body contact. At the same time, the location of visited nightlife establishments also matters (Brands et al., 2014).

In terms of *when*, considered to be more relaxed and leisure, nightlife offers students an opportunity to put away the academic work and enjoy the music, alcohol, talks and dancing especially in the weekends (Bianchini, 1995; Chatterton, 1999; Chatterton and Hollands, 2002; Liempt, van Aalst and Schwanen, 2015). Different nightlife place has its own opening time and students also have the preference on the time and duration of attending different nightlife activities. Thus, the arrival time at the first nightlife establishment visited, the duration of visits and the frequency of going out help to see the different nightlife patterns in temporal dimension (Brands et al., 2014).

In terms of *who*, it matters for the identity to represent and with whom to interact during the nightlife. Nightlife entertainment has become vital in the construction of young people's lifestyle and identity formation (Hollands, 1996; Chatterton and Hollands, 2003; Cattan and Vanola, 2013; Brands et al., 2014). It is thus necessary to figure out how young students express themselves, with whom (gender, ethnicity, etc.) they spend most time and how they interact with whom in the nightlife scenes (Brands et al., 2014). Additionally, these also decide whether and to what extend one has been included or excluded by specific group, as well as the change of one's social network. According to Boogaarts (2011), the choices party pattern and group formation are influenced by one's ethnic background, there exists more group solidarity if young people share ethnic similarities, with special note on a certain type of music (Selfhout et al., 2009).

In terms of *what* and *why*, it matters for the motivation to 'go out' and what one prefer to do. Anderson (2009) mentions that although clubbing or "going out at night" is still imaged by popular culture as sexual courtship, there exists places where music appreciation, dancing and socializing with friends become the main reasons. Difference attitudes towards drinking alcohol (Brands et al., 2014), dancing and music (Boogaarts, 2011;Selfhout et al., 2009) and sexual courtship, bring youth with different culture background, gender and other individual characteristic to choose different nightlife patterns. What individual youth is seeking in nightlife play a key role in one's behaviours in nightlife scene, thus decides one's experiences and feelings.

Studies on urban nightlife economy are mainly focused on the western context, especially the UK, US, and other European countries, there is a lack of work on nightlife consumption in the urban studies literature that draws on empirical materials from Chinese context. To some extent, this is striking because recent China, especially in Yangtze River Delta, is undergoing great economic reconstruction with a more cosmopolitan phrase of urban nightlife economy (Ibid). In the Chinese context, westerners and other foreigner students become the ethnic minority groups, which is the opposite situation from the western literatures of social exclusion or inclusion from the urban nightlife economy. It is interesting to know whether and how foreigners in the Chinese context are involved in the nightlife venues. This is a reason why this thesis reports on nightlife activities in a de-industrialization Chinese city .

At the same time, recent research on inclusion and exclusion within the urban nightlife setting has focused primarily on gender, class and specific ethnicities (Boogaarts, 2011, Grazian, 2009, Hadfield, 2014; Schwanen et al., 2012), and only of citizens, residents, or ethnic immigrants rather than international students/visitors. From the perspective of international students, studying abroad to some extent involves cross-cultural interactions, where they have to deal with their new identities such as foreigners or international students, especially during the nightlife. Nightlife entertainment could become very important part of international students' social life to make friends and reconstruct their identity (Chatterton and Hollands, 2003; Liempt et al., 2015). Meanwhile, choosing different patterns of nightlife decides their nightlife experiences and feelings in a Chinese city, and to what extent they can interact with the different cultures. From the perspective of Chinese students and universities, understanding international students' nightlife consumption patterns also help to integrate international and domestic students.

A final contribution is my effort to undertake comparative research in two main international student groups: Koreans and Western students (mainly EU and US). In comparative study of ethno-party scenes in the Dutch context indicates a big difference in Asian, Turkish and Moroccan party scene from both the consumers and the producers (Boogaarts, 2011). Boogaarts indicates a big difference in gender, ethnicity and age from the consumer's side in each ethno-party scene, however, so far little attention has been paid in urban nightlife studies to differences in nightlife practices and experience of different culture backgrounds, especially in the Chinese context. Thus, the present study investigated whether and to what extent nightlife practice differs with different culture backgrounds (Western culture, Korean culture, Chinese local culture)

2.2 Social integration studies and international students

The concept of social integration first appeared in Durkheim's (1897/1951) seminal book: Suicide, he put forward that a higher level of social integration, which indicates individuals have a close relation with others or the community, could protect one from suicidal tendencies deriving from social causes. Following his idea, scholars did several empirical studies and policy researches in which the concept of social integration or named as social cohesion has been widely used. However, the definition of this concept is still quite fuzzy, contradictory and difficult to operate (Jenson, 2010; Bollen and Hoyle, 1990; Friedkin,2004; Moody and White, 2003).

Sociologists are more likely to use the name of 'social integration' to depict individual's social participations and interactions inside the society or certain group, as well as some common emotions (such as the sense of belonging and identity) generated within the social interactions. More generally, social integration deals with the issue of the individuals' or collective actors' social connections and the range (breath), frequency (intensity) and effects (quality, such as identity) of interactions in

a social unit (Smelser and Baltes, 2001). The concept of social integration can be seen as a dynamic and structured process that be used in different level of groups, social units and associations on different research subjects.

In the meantime, social psychologists like to use the name of 'social cohesion' which is focusing more on whether membership in groups could be maintained for a long time and on the contributing factors or consequences of social cohesion in early researches (Gross and Martin, 1952; Friedkin,2004). Some scholars define social cohesion as the force that keeps members remaining in the social group they belong to (Festinger et al., 1950), while some others focus more on the consequences (Festinger, 1950). However, these contribution factors and consequences vary with the research background and the different objects, thus they cannot be equal to social cohesion itself. Subsequently, scholars attempt to separate the definition of social cohesion from its contribution factors and consequences and distinguish between behaviours and attitudes of social cohesion. Bollen and Hoyle (1990) put perceived cohesion as an important aspect of the concept of social cohesion, in which a sense of belonging and other emotions of membership for certain group has been emphasized. While Moody and White (2004) argue that the social network mode is another dimension of cohesion besides the subjective experiences and feelings. Based on social network method, Moody and White proposed the concept of structural cohesion, which believes the social network structure has important impact on social cohesion.

There exist two different streams of recent studies on social integration or social cohesion, that is, assimilation and pluralism. Assimilation theory has been widely used in the study of international migration. Park (1928) defines that assimilation is a spontaneous process in which disadvantaged groups continue to abandon their original culture and behaviour patterns to gradually fit in the mainstream society and ultimately gain the same opportunities and rights as the mainstream population. It becomes irreversible once it takes place. While from the perspective of pluralism, it is generally accepted that cultures and values are adapted to each other, that is, the interactions and adaptations between different social groups are not at the expense of cultural diversity, thus ultimately all social actors have the equal rights (Kallen and Chapman, 1956; Glazer, 1998). The debates between assimilation and pluralism are quite meaningful for the definition and measurement of social integration. If advocating assimilation theory, researches are more likely to focus on the group that is going to be assimilated, while if standing on pluralism perspective, mutual recognition between different groups are more likely to be measured (Spoonley et al., 2005).

Succeeding scholars then have discussed the domains of social integration and cohesion. For instance, Jenson (1998) depicted 'socially cohesive society' as all groups have a sense of 'belonging, participation, inclusion, recognition and legitimacy', while the absence of cohesion were described as 'isolation, exclusion, non-involvement, rejection and illegitimacy'. Kearns and Forrest (2000) combined social capital and

social network with social cohesion and proposed five dimensions of :

◆ common values and a civic culture, social integration emphasizes the need for shared common values which enable the members to identify and support common aims and objective, and for a shared common set of moral principles and codes of behaviour to conduct their relations with others through.

◆ social order and social control, referring to the absence of general conflict and threats to the existing order, the absence of incivility, effective informal social control and intergroup co-operation.

◆ social solidarity and reductions in wealth disparities; social integration within a society refers to the harmonious economic and social development and its constituent groups towards common economic, social and environmental standards, which can be achieved through the redistribution of public finances and of opportunities.

◆ social networks and social capital; a socially cohesive society includes a high level of interaction within the communities or families and civic engagement and associational activity.

◆ territorial belonging and identity. An interpretation of social integration in regards to cities or neighbourhoods refers to the strong attachment to place and the intertwining of personal and place identity.

Measurements of social integration are highly depended on how the concept is defined, as pointed out by Kearns and Forrest (2000), each of these dimensions could be linked or focused to implicate this concept. For instance, if social networks and social capital is the focus, then attempts will be made to measure the construction and deconstruction of one's social network and policy intervention may imply a strategy that helps to build active social interactions between groups. It can be applied differently according to research objectives and perspectives, since definitional choices have significant impact on what is analysed and what is measured (Kearns and Forrest, 2000; Beauvais and Jenson 2002:6).

The main concern of social integration has typically been vulnerable groups and minorities. For instance, the social integration of international migrants has been studied extensively across multiple social contexts: the socio-economic integration of the Portuguese immigrants in Brazil (Klein, 1991) and the "parallel society" formed by Germany's Turkish immigrants coexistent with the mainstream society (Mueller, 2006). Moreover, there are some studies concentrating on the social integration of the entire society or city. Angell (1947) conducted a comparative study on social integration of some cities in America by examining the macro socio-economic development parameters. Chan (2006) analysed the social integration of Hong Kong from the longitudinal and transverse, subjective and objective dimensions.

Deriving different fields of interest and goals, scholars have from different perspectives, highlighted factors that impact social integration. Aiken and Ferman's

(1966) work showed that job fluctuation and change played a negative role in the social integration of workers. Holtan (2008) found a positive importance for the social integration of the child if foster parents and biological parents, especially their foster mother and biological mother, experience a sense of community and solidarity and have harmonious relations among themselves. One study showed living alone and social integration does not necessarily have a negative correlation, social networks outside the household may have a compensation effect (Alwin et al, 1985). Another study showed housing may be one of an influential factors of social integration (Dorvil et al., 2005). Marissing et al. (2006) through the analysis of a research project of "urban restructuring policies" in the Netherlands, found part of urban governance policies could promote social integration.

In recent years, Increasing scholars realize the importance of the international students and the social integration between domestic and international students. In Zhou and Zhang's (2014) work, the challenges that first year international students faced in the process of their social integration were investigated, which revealed a comprehensive picture of their social integration patterns. Zhou and Zhang pointed out the international students' socialization with domestic students was quite limited. A large amount of international students would communicate with their family via the Internet every week, reflecting their loneliness on Canadian campus.

Some other studies uncovered the effects of cultural or ethnic background on international students' social integration. Rienties et al. (2012) found international students with a western ethnic background to be more socially integrated than non-westerners. Collin et al.'s (2014) work showed that information and communication technology (ICT) does not seem to be a central component of social integration for international students, but the cultural backgrounds of international students seem to determine the quality of their interactions with their peers. There are different findings on the relationship between ICT and students' social integration. Compared with Collin et al.'s (2014) work, in the study of Chinese students' stress and integration while abroad, Mikal et al (2014) found media and resources would discourage integration. Moreover, international students' social integration is strongly affected by the social life outside the academic environment. Having enough friends from the same cultural background as well as host-cultural (Bochner et al. 1977; Furnham and Alibhai 1985), whether living alone or sharing houses with other (international or domestic) students (Ward et al. 1998), being a member of a study association, student organization or joining a sports club can influence international students' social integration and may finally affect their academic performance (Bok, 2009; Ozga and Sukhnandan, 1998; Russell et al., 2010; Severiens and Wolff, 2008).

For the purposes of this paper, I am interested in participants' perceived social integration, that is the extent to which students feel they have socially integrated and culturally adapted into Nanjing (or Chinese society), their participation (interactions) and satisfaction with their social life and adaptation to the domestic culture. Since

studying abroad can be seen as a process of cross-cultural communication, social integration here can also be partly explained as 'cross-cultural adaptation'. Moreover, social integration in this paper will be discussed from the perspective of *pluralism*, which means integration without the cost of abandoning original identity and culture. This is because that, Chinese culture itself is considered as multi-level and full of complexity, where 'seeking common ground and reserving differences' has become widely accepted strategies to deal with differences. Therefore, assimilation theory is less fit in the Chinese context.

To understand perceived social integration of international students, it is essential to know the importance of social interactions between newcomers and locals to social integration, which can be traced back to the Georg Simmel's (1950) idea of 'stranger'. It is assumed as one keyword to understand cross cultural communication, cultural adaptation and social integration. Rogers (1999) refers that the idea of 'stranger' is to explain how is the interactions and relations between individuals and the belonged system affect individual behaviours. Simmel (1950) highlights that society is considered as a process where conscious individuals could have interactions and connections, and it is those interactions and connections that make the real society. Every individuals are more or less to be integrated into the social network, as the fate of human life. So, what is 'stranger'? Simmel (1950) conceptualized 'stranger' with his own socio-cultural experiences in his book: *The sociology of georg simmel*.

As Simmel's description of 'stranger', distance decides how close one can keep relations with others. 'Stranger' refers to a kind of relationship that neither too close nor too far away. Otherwise, if too close or too far away, it could not be considered as 'stranger'. 'stranger' becomes stranger in strange space where one feels a sense of strange. 'Stranger' are no longer 'stranger' once they lost this feelings. 'Strange place' refers to people and activities outside a certain boundary of time and space, which brings the idea of 'in-group' and 'out-group' or 'established' and 'outsider' (Kim, 1980). Simmel's (1950) first idea illustrates that individual relations are more or less *community relations*. His second idea is dialectical relations between *freedom* and *restriction*. Individual behaviours are free but constrained by embedded social network (Granovetter, 1973). The identity of 'stranger' is not only decided by one's own characteristics, but also by specific interactions and interrelationships with some other actors or communities. Therefore, understanding the issue of social integration needs to consider individual social network and communities belonged to (Kincaid, 1988; Kim and Gudykunst, 1988; Kincaid, 2002). In this research, international students can be seen as 'stranger' that interact with Chinese society.

Individuals gain social resources through social network by constantly exchanging 'information' and altering mutual relationships. Thus, one's social network can be considered as a social support network that helps solving daily problems and maintaining functional daily life (Stokes, 1983). A good social support network also helps easing stress and pressure and increasing a sense of happiness (Bochner et al.

1977; Furnham and Alibhai 1985; He, 2001). Scholars then discussed whether and how the social network have an impact on strangers' (migrants, international students, etc) social integration.

For international students (visitors), their social network can be classified as fellows and locals, excepting families. Furnham and Alibhai (1985) defines international students' social network with a three-level model: single culture cycle with co-ethnic fellows that provides emotional support; double culture cycle with native students and staffs that provides educational and occupational support; multi-culture cycle with other international students that provides entertainment and leisure support.

Social support from co-ethnic fellows could have both positive and negative effects on the adaptation and integration to the local society. On the one hand, having co-ethnic friends provides newcomers lots of benefits. For instance, staying with old co-ethnic fellows helps to release 'culture shock', to understand local culture and regulations, and to receive emotional support (Adelman, 1988; Hullett and Witte, 2001). At least co-ethnic fellows play a rather positive role in one's adaptation to local life and add a sense of safety, respect and belongings, especially at the beginning of newcomers' life (Lin, 2006). Some studies also investigated the importance of online ethnic social groups on international students' social network (weak ties) and cross-cultural adaptation (Ye, 2006). However, on the other hand, stick too much with co-ethnic fellows can hinder the chance of social interactions with local society. Social integration also needs constant social contacts and communications with locals to help fitting into the local mainstream culture (Kim, 2001). Locals provide international students stable information source, revise their inappropriate behaviours according to the local culture and tell them how to explore the local life. Social relationships with locals have an impact on the satisfaction of both educational and non-educational life, and thus cross-cultural adaptation and social integration (Ward and Kennedy, 1993; Ward and Rana-Deuba, 2000). Previous researches show that international students tend to have a lot co-ethnic friends in their social network and are more likely to seek help and support from co-ethnic fellows rather than other international students and local students (Kim, 2001), especially for eastern Asian students (Trice and Elliott, 1993; Rui, 2008). Rui (2008) mentions that a large amount of South Korean students in Shanghai, China, are separated with local students but stick together with Korean fellows.

International students as the 'stranger' to local society fulfill their individual and social needs through direct and continuous social interactions with other actors in an unfamiliar circumstance (Kim, 2001). Based on social interactions with local society, scholars from assimilation perspective argue that social integration refers to assimilation, combined with the process of acculturation and deculturation (Gudykunst, 1997). International students, despite what heritage culture they belong to, have to abandon the origin culture to integrate local mainstream society. However, since 'stranger' can be 'outsider' of the mainstream local society, they have more

possibilities of how to behave and how to deal with their identities. Strangers can not only transfer their identity from one group to another group, but also stay on the border as junction zone between different groups (Rogers, 1999). Thus, from the pluralism perspective, successful integration path does not necessarily needs giving up original culture, norms, identities and network, rather it depends on whether both sides can set up a new form (structure) of culture. The 'new form' contains culture domains from both sides, as a mutual-fit 'product' (Samovar and Porter, 2015). Sacrifice origin culture to fit in another is more like obedience than integration (Lin, 2006).

Due to different choices by 'strangers', there exists different modes or status of social integration. John Berry (1997) proposes two independent dimensions model to explain cross-cultural communication, that is tendency of maintaining native culture and identities and tendency of communicating with local culture and communities. Applying his idea to social integration in this paper, the two dimensions have broader meanings when considering Kearns and Forrest's (2000) elements of social integration. One dimension contains remaining origin culture, norms and values and keeping touch with fellows from similar cultural background. Another dimension then contains adapting to local culture, norms and values, attending local activities and making local friends. Subsequently, there exist four modes of social integration (see Table 2.1): integration that refers to keeping interactions with both origins and locals; assimilation that refers to abandoning or inhibiting native culture and identity; separation that refers to feeling less connected to the city and local communities; marginalization that refers to feeling weird and strange of one's position and identity.

Table 2.1:Four modes of social integration

	Integration	Separation	Assimilation	Marginalization
Contacts and relationship with Chinese and international (co-ethnic) friends	Have both Chinese and internationals or co-ethnic friends	Almost have no Chinese contacts, and rely on internationals or co-ethnic friends	Prefer to stay with Chinese rather than internationals or co-ethnic friends	Do not have much connection to both side
Perception and satisfaction on Chinese (culture)	Have detailed perception on Chinese (culture) and feel satisfied	Have little understanding about Chinese (culture), feel less satisfied in the Chinese context	Prefer Chinese culture and values rather than original culture	Feel weird in the Chinese culture, and don't know how to behave

In this paper, I examine the role of urban nightlife in international students' social integration in Nanjing, where many studies have demonstrated the social life outside the academic environment has a strong influence on international students' social integration (Bochner et al. 1977; Furnham and Alibhai 1985; Ward et al., 1999; Bok, 2009; Ozga and Sukhnandan 1998; Russell et al. 2010), few studies have examined the role urban nightlife experiences play on social integration outcomes. Therefore,

this research aims to investigate the link between international students' urban nightlife experiences and their social integration. In doing so, I am appreciative of Georg Simmel's (1950) idea of 'stranger' and later pluralism perspective literatures (Samovar and Porter, 2015) that stressed that cultural diversity is becoming increasingly important in understanding social integration. As 'stranger', international students may have both opportunities and constrains in choosing their social life, especially during the nightlife settings. Nightlife is considered as the main part of international students' social life, and it is about meeting others, creating identities and having fun (Liempt et al., 2015), as well as experiencing the city and culture (Thomas, 2000; Cattan and Vanola, 2014). It is thus assumed that nightlife patterns and the inclusion and exclusion of nightlife have an impact on the construction of international students' new social network and their adaptation to local culture, and eventually the modes of social integration (Berry,1997).

Based on previous theories, the conceptual framework is illustrated as fig.2.1 Social integration has various dimensions as highlighted in the previous section, also in relation to socializing in the nightlife settings. Different type of urban nightlife activities and experiences (when, where, with whom, etc.) may exert an influence on international students' perceived social integration through two possible forms: through socializing with friends and strangers (extending social network) and increasing the understanding about domestic culture and people and satisfaction of living in the Chinese context. These two possible forms can also related. Going out is mainly for socializing, fitting this in a dimension of extending social networks and social capital. Moreover, going out can enrich the image of local culture and life and a sense of satisfaction, It is unlikely social order and control play out in the nightlife, moreover reductions in wealth disparities-as this paper is investigating play and consumer spaces, not residential or institutional spaces. It is also less likely that nightlife play much role on territorial belonging and identity since international students are mostly being considered as 'visitor' and 'stranger' to the city. During the design cycle, it was therefore decided to leave these three dimensions out. Therefore, the perceived social integration would be measured in two aspects, that is, perceived contacts and relationship with Chinese and internationals (co-ethnics) as particular focused indicator and satisfaction for living in Nanjing (Chinese culture). Besides, Living condition and original cycle are fundamental to one's social network (contacts) and social life, and indicators such as nationality, gender, language acquisition, ICT and students association are considered to have an impact on international students' social life and integration to the domestic students, thereby incorporated in the framework. As highlighted in the model, some links are recursive, as perceived integration influence future choices and social interactions in the nightlife settings.

Figure 2.1 Conceptual Framework.
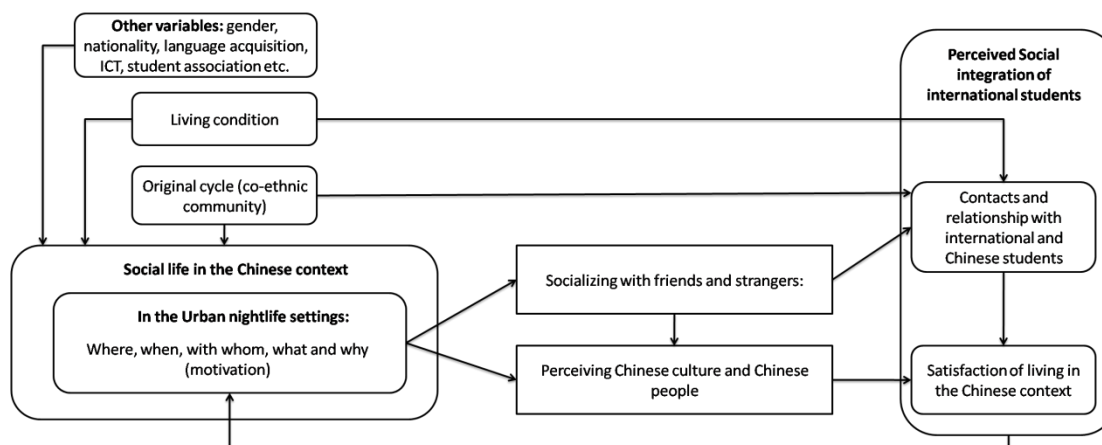
3. Research Design

The primary research method to investigate international students' urban nightlife experiences and the relationship with their perceived social integration was 30 semi-structured in-depth interviews (10 Korean students and 20 Western students). This data was then complemented with participant observation. I also investigated Chinese university students' urban nightlife experiences via short survey. This methodology section will detail the ethnographic cycle of this research project, that is the research instrument, participant recruitment, and data collection, highlighting where inferences were made as well as ethical considerations.

The aim of the analysis is to find out role do urban nightlife experiences play in international students' perceived social integration in Nanjing. In order to fulfill of the aim of this research, a couple of separate research sub-questions have been set up with their own specific methodology:

1. *How do nightlife consumption practices in the city of Nanjing vary between international and Chinese students?*
2. *How do socio-spatial practices (drinking around the table, etc.) differ between international and Chinese students in nightlife venues during a night out?*
3. *How and to what degree do nightlife help international students build and extend their social network? To what extent do nightlife influence connections with friends and strangers?*
4. *How and for what reasons do nightlife affect international students' satisfaction of living in Nanjing and in the Chinese culture?*

Question 1 requires short surveys with Chinese university students and interviews with international students in Nanjing in terms of where, when and with whom they

spend their night out. It intends to know the general context of Chinese students' nightlife experience and chances for international students to meet Chinese students in different nightlife establishments.

Question 2 requires systemic observations (e.g. Hennink, Hutter& Bailey, 2011) on a variety of nightlife places, at cafe (cafe for Language exchange group in Nanjing), bar in normal weekend ('Talking' bar in Jinyin Street near Nanjing University), bar in special holiday ('Clock time' bar in Halloween night) and club (in '1912' club street). The atmosphere and environment, the way people communicate (Talking, dancing, drinking and etc.), physical proximity, physical position and even emotions (complicated) would be observed. Interactions between international and Chinese students will be specially focused. Besides, go-along observations (interviews) an Italy group, a British group and a Korean group (tough) will help to add more knowledge about how these international groups interact with friends and strangers in the nightlife settings.

Question 3-4 will be answered by about 30 semi-structured in-depth interviews with international students as well as the observations above. International students' nightlife experiences as their preference, expectation, frequency, when, where, with whom and why of going out at night and how it is related to social integration will be elaborated through the interviews. Question 3 will be measured by international students' circle of friends in Nanjing and the way of meeting friends and strangers in the nightlife settings. It is assumed that social contacts with both international and domestic students (small talks or friendship) are important to perceived social integration. Question 4 is intended to know whether international students feel comfortable and satisfied for living in Nanjing and in the Chinese culture, as well as the reasons behind it. It supposed that the more comprehension of Chinese people and culture (less misleading), the more satisfaction for living in it, and thus the more integration. Therefore, the level of integration will be evaluated by two dimensions: contacts and relationship with international and Chinese students and satisfaction for living in the Chinese context. The highly integrated group is considered to be those who positively and actively interact with both Chinese (students) and internationals, feel satisfied and at home for living in Nanjing and in the Chinese culture without losing originality.

3.1 Geographical context

The research took place in the city of Nanjing, China. Nanjing is a the capital city of Jiangsu Province and the provincial political and cultural centre. Nanjing is also a sub-central city of the Yangtze Delta Region near Shanghai in eastern China (see Graph 3.1).. The city boasts many of the province's top universities and colleges, such as Nanjing university and Southeast university. Visitors will be impressed by the Nanjing's well-preserved traditional architecture and historical sights, but also abundant nightlife activities, which is why this research took place in the city centre of Nanjing (see Graph 3.2).

Graph 3.1 Simple sketch of Yangtze Delta Region in eastern China
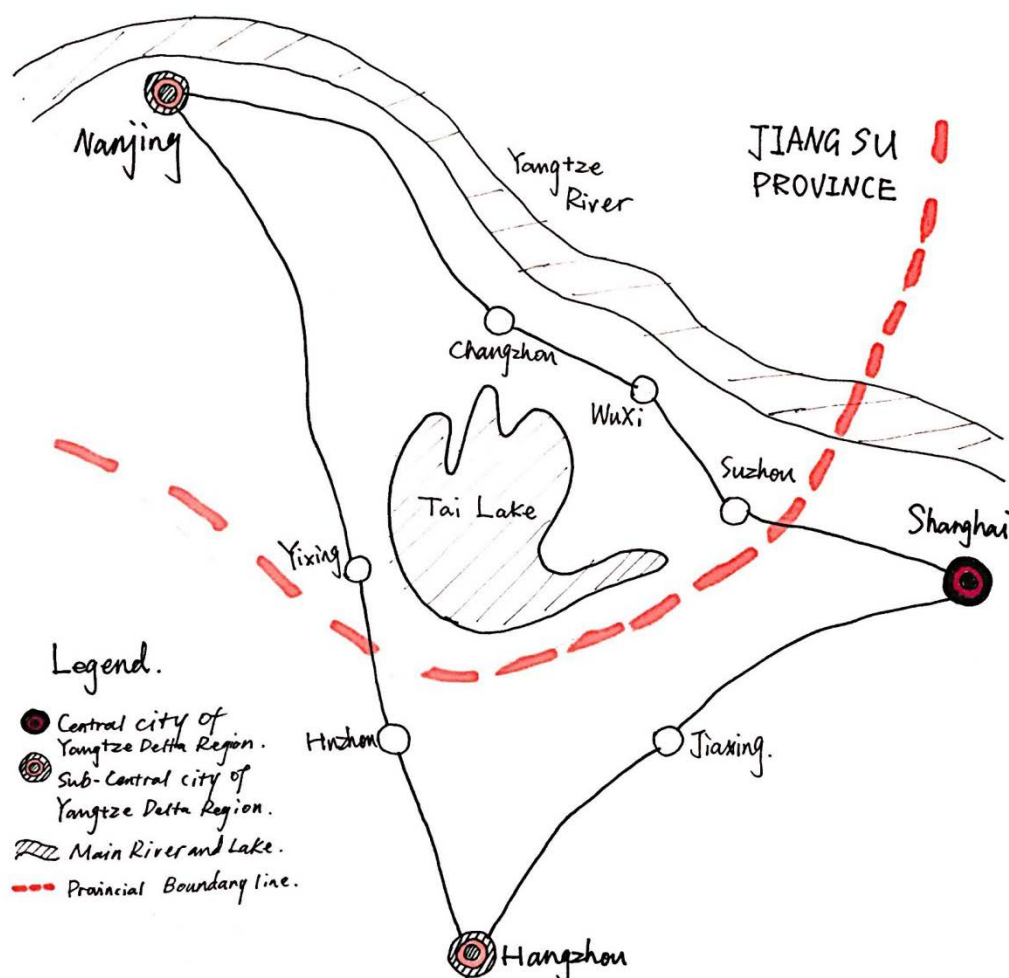
The research investigated nightlife practices in Nanjing for two main reasons. Firstly, Nanjing is under transformation from industrialized city to post-industrialized city with a growing needs for the creation of leisure-oriented cluster of lifestyle-based nightlife entertainment in city centres (Chatterton and Hollands, 2003, p.22; Brands et al., 2014), which makes research on nightlife life entertainment essential. Secondly, Nanjing is a student city with more than 800 thousands university students and more than 20 thousands international students (half degree students and half short-term exchange students) and nightlife is important for young people's social life (Liempt, van Aalst and Schwanen, 2015), which makes it necessary to investigate students' nightlife in Nanjing. The majority of international students in Nanjing come from Europe, US, and Korea and study in Nanjing university, Nanjing Normal university and Southeast university. Besides, Nanjing contains two internationalized areas. One is on Shanghai road that between Nanjing university and Nanjing Normal university, where many international styled restaurants, bars and other entertainments are located. Another is the most famous club district in Nanjing, '1912' which is much closer to Southeast university. A simple sketch of locations above are displayed by Graph 3.2.

Graph 3.2 Simple sketch of two most internationalized area in Nanjing.
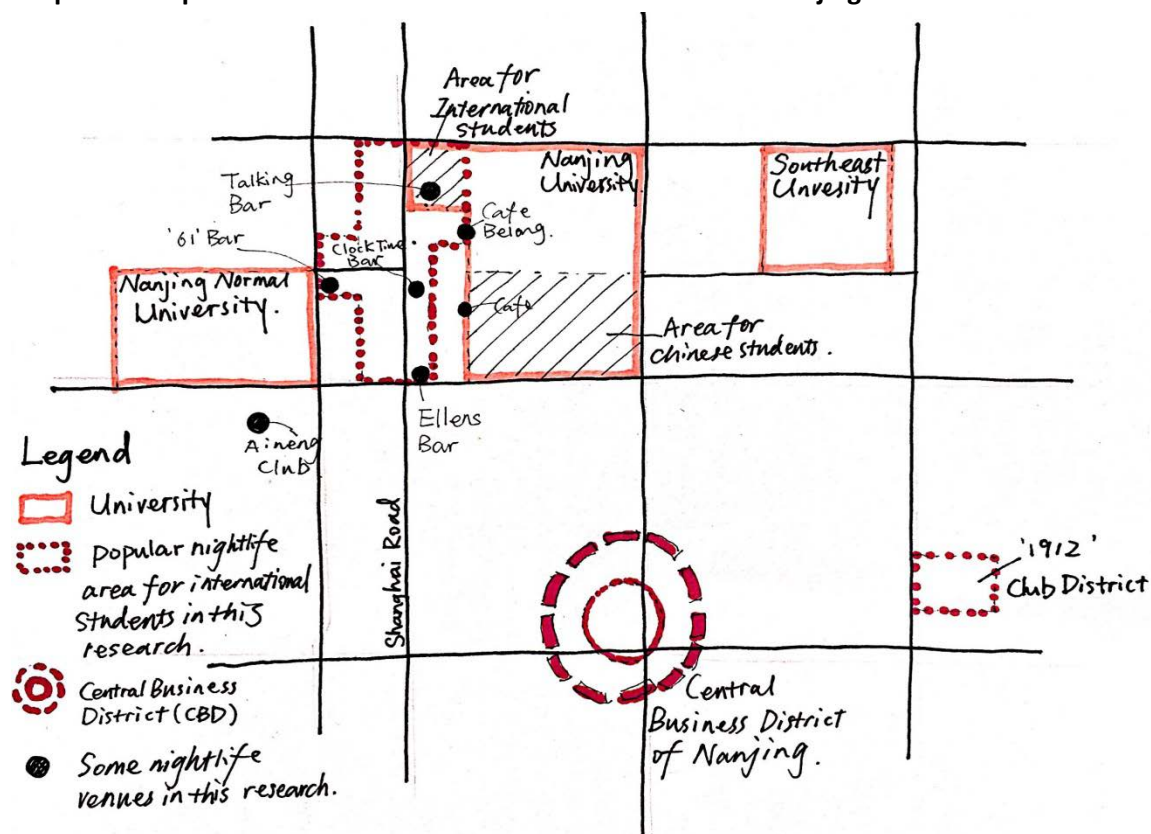
3.2 Participant Recruitment

I defined the study population as international students from western society (European countries, US, Australia, Canada. Etc.) and Korean students studying at Nanjing University and Nanjing Normal University, who participate in urban nightlife activities at least twice a month. I were interested in recruiting typical cases, like the typical international students who regularly go clubbing or not go clubbing, and also international students who go language exchange event. My purposive recruitment entailed identifying a network to direct my participant recruitment through Language exchange Nanjing (LE), the membership of which includes a broad range of international exchange and degree students. Participants were recruited through a combination of this formal network and gatekeepers, two members of this association (one French girl and one Chinese girl) that happen to live with me in the same apartment. These gatekeepers were selected also as they already have a good friendship and rapport with me, hold a prominent position and recognised role in the association and have knowledge about the characteristics of the LE members. In qualitative research the importance of building rapport with the study community is emphasised to establish a relationship of mutual trust. I became a member of LE and was able to establish familiarity and build up trust, additionally, the gatekeepers' respect within the association meant that their encouragement to participate in my study was hugely influential and members' trust in them extended to me as researcher. A drawback of using a gatekeeper can be that they introduce participants they would like you to include in the study, or participants feel pressured to participate to please

the authoritative figure. Neither of these were an issue in this case, predominantly due to the lack of sensitivity around the topic and the gatekeeper only plays a role of introducing me to the group but never select participants for me. Thus eight participants were selected through the LE network by my weekly casual chats with them. Another way to select participants was to meet them by staying at places where international students were most likely to spend daily life. I got to know these participants in cafe, bar, club and even on the street, since international students in Nanjing can be easily identified and targeted as they are a relatively very small group of people with distinct facial features. Some of these participants were introduced by other participants, especially for the Korean students since they are more difficult to approach if I do not win their trust. Language was the main barrier for me to approach Korean students randomly because I don't speak Korean language and a lot of Korean students don't speak Chinese and English well. Thus, two Korean interviewees were recruited through random chats during the nightlife, six eligible interviewees were recruited through friend circles of other interviewees, and one is my friend who used to study in Nanjing university. Participants were double-checked for eligibility, provided more detailed information and once consent was confirmed, interviews were scheduled.

Additionally, Chinese university students' urban nightlife patterns were also taken into account in this research as part of the nightlife context that international students were joined in. Since Chinese students in Nanjing were very broad to catch up, participants joined in the this research were mainly from Nanjing university, Nanjing Normal University, Nanjing university of the Art, Nanjing University of Science and Technology and Southeast University. Another reason to recruitment Chinese students from these university was the location of some universities' main campus are close to the most internationalized area in Nanjing, that is, Shanghai road and '1912' club district.

3.3 Questionnaire

The questionnaire (see Appendix A) was used to collect information on the Chinese university students' previous night out (between Sept 2016 and Dec 2016) on which they visited at least one of the type of nightlife establishments after 8:00 pm (Brands et al., 2014). Participants who do not often go out were also being considered in the analysis, because they also represent the preference activities of Chinese students during the night. Participants were asked to provide information about their most general patterns of going out on:

    Type of nightlife establishment: bar/pub, cafe, club, KTV, restaurant, theatre/cinema, bowling/pull, student society/ school event, other;

    Hour of arrival and departure;

    Frequency of going out and the most frequently visited nightlife establishment;

    Companionship: group composition in terms of ethnicity, social relationship to participant (e.g., boy/girlfriend, close friend, normal friend, classmate);

Activities to do: (drink alcohol, drink non-alcohol, talk, dance, play games) and

Motivation: e.g., making new friends, relax, enjoy time with close friends, seek adventures, sexual benefits.

The questionnaire also included questions about respondents' demographic and socioeconomic situation and their experiences (including nightlife experiences) and feelings with international students. Respondents were asked if their social network contains some international students, if they got to know international students through nightlife experience, if so, where and how, if they got chance to meet international students, where, when and whom (western culture students/ Korean students, without political consideration) they would like to meet most. Persons who never went out (always studying in lab or stay at home) were asked about their reason for not going out. All respondents were asked about their gender, age, the education they were enrolled in, their overseas experience, their language professional competence (oral English and Korean) and their monthly disposable income.

3.4 Interviews

I chose semi-structured in-depth interviews because I sought individual, personal urban nightlife experiences and reflections on social integration. It is imperative to note that in-depth interviewing is a co-construction of knowledge, 'a meaning making partnership' which can be understood as a 'special kind of knowledge-producing conversation' (Hesse-Biber and Leavy, 2006: 128). The purpose was to delve into detail and uncover the emic perspective, which was achieved through using an interview guide (see Appendix B) informed by our topic list, establishing rapport, asking open questions in an empathic way and employing probes to motivate interviewees to tell their story. The interview questions were first piloted on a couple of international students (friends) and refined to ensure clarity.

3.5 Observation

To complement my findings, I sought observational data on the socio-spatial practices that international students engage in during their different nightlife activities. Observation is a valuable addition to interview data because I could get a sense of if what participants say, aligned with what participants do. This research method was selected as observing and recording of people's' behaviours, actions, and interactions is useful for obtaining detailed description of our social setting of interest, nightlife venues, and the events that occur here in order to situate the behaviours discussed in interviews within the socio-cultural context. I chose to observe one typical Friday night in 'Talking' bar because 'Talking' bar is a common venue for international students as the starting point of party and more than half of the interview participants used to attend nightlife there. I also observed one night in 'Belong' cafe which is close to the international students dormitory of Nanjing university (Gulou campus) and Chinese students would like to go to. Furthermore, I observed one weekly language exchange event and one Halloween Party held by LE. The Halloween Party was an event which both international and Chinese students were invited to, and

therefore a number of the interview participants attended. The Halloween party was on Saturday 29th October 2016, organised by LE.

I also chose to use go-along observation (interview) method to experience individual international students' nightlife, because go-along method increased participation of respondent and were more flexible in gaining useful information. With the accompany of community members, I could naturally ask questions, listen and observe in a relatively trustable circumstance and depict the real image of international students' real nightlife experiences from the perspective of a community member. I was invited to the movie night held by a French interviewee (didn't attend), which his Chinese friends were sometimes being invited. Besides, I went along with the Greek interviewee by chance to observe the nightlife of British students community in bar, KTV and club district '1912'. I selected to emphasize this example as it took place at Talking bar, one of Nanjing's most popular bars for international students, KTV, where Chinese students would like to go, and 1912, Nanjing's most famous club district for internationals and also Chinese people. Furthermore, I went along with one Italian group in talking bar, and experienced one night with Korean students in their dormitory. I also got more chances to attend these kinds of activities and to 'live' with international students, hence I could observe if my participants' explanation of experiences and behaviours aligned with what they actually do in practice.

The observation plan contained both average night and night with special event, both scheduled observations and occasional observations. Because there always exists unexpected situation, I should prepare to observe and sense every possible details. But to ensure a systematic and structured approach, an observation plan was constructed. I selected 2-3 stations and monitored the environment every 20-30 minutes for a period of two hours with my friends' help. We were attentive to social behaviours, see appendix C. To remain inconspicuous, I employed a number of tactics including staying in pairs or a group, or texting my observation notes on my phone. We dressed in appropriate attire and chatted amongst ourselves to blend in. If it was occasional observations, I focused on the storylines I experienced with different international students and Chinese students to enrich the sample diversity by adding unexpected situations.

I used observation to be able to understand and describe an example of urban nightlife space, and the social setting it holds and international students' actions and interactions in this context, attentive also to the silent norms and values particular to the setting, which provided a contextual understanding of the findings from the interviews. The synergy between observation and interview data enabled me to zoom in on individual experiences and perspectives and zoom out to consider the wider context and general practices. The observation was participant observation, at the level of moderate participation (Spradley, 1980) where I conducted some participation with observation therefore navigating both 'insider' and 'outsider' positions, that is observing the physical nightlife establishments space and the way different actors

used it, whilst simultaneously 'passing' as actors and using the space in the socially appropriate way myself. The role of researchers in observation has been conceptualised along a continuum with 'complete invisibility' juxtaposed with 'complete participation' (Robson, 1995).

O'Grady (2013) highlights how work/play identities merge in researching urban nightlife. She recognises the importance of embodied participation and the immersed body as a means to grasp novel insights into nightlife experiences, and argues that assuming a player-performer role is a vital research tool enabling the embodied knowledge to be generated regarding how play and performance function on the dance floor. Considering socio-spatial practices in nightlife establishments as performance, I can analyse displays of behaviour which offer insight into the construction, negotiation and shaping of norms and codes. That is, how international students (inter)act with and around one another and others. Observing actual embodied play can reveal more than self-conscious responses to pre-formulated questions. O'Grady (2013) unpacks some epistemological issues arising in relation to fieldwork in spaces of play, namely that play is never straightforward, particularly in the night time and when alcohol is involved. Also, those at play typically do not want disruption of their play and therefore confronting clubbers with questionnaires, cameras or recorders is inappropriate. Interruption for the purposes of reflection undermines and threatens the play. Thus I intentionally situated myself as participant in the nightlife environment. I employed play as research method and focus.

3.6 Analysis

The analysis of the data proceeded in three steps. The first step used descriptive statistics from questionnaire to illustrate different nightlife consumptions among Chinese students and their relationship with international students. Such an analysis is insightful because it provided important background information in terms of the social context in which international students nightlife consumption practices are embedded. Secondly, observation notes were collated, maps constructed and a narrative of events occurring at different nightlife practices attended was made. Given concerns in the literature about social exclusion in night time economy, I focused on if there exists spatial and social separation between different groups of people. The third step used interview case study. Interviews were transcribed verbatim and then coded in Nvivo. Codes were developed both deductively from the interview guide and previous research as well as inductively though noticing repetitive themes, ideas and issues raised by participants.

3.7 Ethical considerations

It is important to establish my positionality, for researcher's inevitably work and generate knowledge in relation to numerous axes of difference, including ethnicity, age, sexuality, gender and class (Bosco and Moreno, 2009). I was a Chinese students in Nanjing university and I am an international students studying in the Netherlands.

Used to being a Chinese student in Nanjing and being an international student myself means I am able to easily build rapport with international students and Chinese students and relate to my participants and blend in during the observation, gaining an emic view was easier because of this. My double identities enable me to explain from the perspective of both international students, as newcomers and visitors, as well as local students. However, my positionality implicates my ability to step back and look at the data from a more etic standpoint as I have nightlife experiences in the Netherlands and opinions and ideas about how this has influenced my own social integration there. Locating my positionality (the researchers) and our sources of data (the researched) highlight that these methodologies facilitate a reflexive, knowingly inter-subjective practice of gaining knowledge and understanding as opposed to an objective, disembodied gathering of information.

In conducting semi-structured interviews, there are potential areas of concern around privacy, harm and trust. In participating in an interview, interviewees are likely to disclose relevant personal opinions, beliefs and experiences and may consequently be concerned about the privacy of their responses. To address this, participants were sufficiently informed about the research and verbal consent of participation was obtained prior to interviews. Anonymity was assured and identifiable information has not been presented in this final report. Such that specific anecdotes and quotes used to exemplify particular experiences are anonymised through pseudonyms. Confidentiality was also assured, only the research team has access to the transcripts and field notes, all of will be destroyed two months after collection, until that time, hard and soft data including electronic files and written material will be securely stored.

Additionally, the research may be mentally harmful to the participants if they perceive the subject to be sensitive which could initiate emotional distress and furthermore lead to them feeling violated following their provision of information. To address this, careful consideration was taken when constructing the questions and structuring the interviews as to avoid sensitive, inappropriate and irrelevant issues. I was reflexive in the interviewing process and ensured questions were sufficiently general and open-ended to allow participants to answer with a direction in which they felt comfortable.

Trust is an important concern in respect to participants' potential to misunderstand, feel deceived, pressured, or taken advantage of. This was mitigated through first and foremost giving participants' full disclosure of my identities (as a Human Geography student and used to study in Nanjing university), affiliation (with the Nanjing University and Utrecht university) and purpose (to collect data for research). It was explained why they were selected to be interviewed and emphasised that participation is purely voluntary and they can opt out at any stage.

In terms of researcher safety, participant observations at the Talking bar, '1912', etc.,

were not an overtly hazardous environment due to my identities as students (young adult) enabling me to blend in. Consideration was taken to ensure I am always in pairs (with friends or strangers' help) during scheduled observation to ensure that people do not direct unnecessary attention to me. I also kept a clear mind during the observation and controlled the amount of alcohol to drink. I used my own mind code to record my observation, and reproduce the situation after finished each observation.

4. Results and Discussion

This section provides an analysis of the research findings, presenting first the context of nightlife practices that international students are embedded in from perspective of Chinese university students in Nanjing. Then an overview of general nightlife practices and experiences of the participants are presented to identity the match or mismatch of nightlife activities between international and Chinese students. These practices are subsequently placed in the context of different nightlife establishments that was attended by Chinese and international students. The findings appear to align with three of the five dimensions of social integration as defined by Kearns and Forrest (2000). These three dimensions are elaborately discussed. First, some general information about the Chinese and international participants :

The interviewees (see Table 4.1) were of American, Australian, British, Canadian, Dutch, French, German, Greek, Italian, Korean, Mexican, Polish, Russian, Swiss (10 Korean students and 20 western students). Mostly western students reporting English as a second but well-understood language, while most Korean students have comparatively lower English level. Four Korean students and five western students possessed advanced Chinese level. Half of the interviewees were male, half were female, ages ranging from 19-28. Most international participants lived at international students dormitory on campus, and the rest also lived near the campus. Western students mostly lived in ethnically mixed dormitory, while Korean students were more likely to live co-ethnic fellows. Enrolment varied from language students, bachelor's to master's students, and one PhD student. As a result, length of stay varied between 6 month and more than 4 years .

Table 4.1 Sample characteristics of international participants

NO	Gender	Age	Ethnicity	University	Degree/exchange student	Chinese Proficiency
1	Female	19	British	NJU	1 year exchange student	Elementary
2	Male	25	Polish	NNU/NJU	2nd year PhD student	Advanced
3	Male	23	Korean	NJU	6 months exchange student	Elementary
4	Female	22	Korean	NJU	6 months exchange student	Elementary

5	Female	22	Korean	NJU	6 months exchange student	Elementary
6	Female	26	American	NJU	6 months exchange student	inter-medium
7	Female	26	Mexican	CPU	4-year degree student	Elementary
8	Male	23	Dutch	NJU	1 year exchange student	Inter-medium
9	Male	23	Korean	NJU	4th year bachelor student	Inter-medium-advanced
10	Male	22	Italian	NJU	6 months exchange student	below inter-medium
11	Male	19	Greek	NJU	1 year exchange student	inter-medium
12	Female	22	Italian (with Chinese parents)	NJU	6 months exchange student	Advanced
13	Female	21	American	NJU	1 year exchange student	Advanced
14	Female	25	Italian	NJU	6 months exchange student	Elementary
15	Male	19	British	NJU	1 year exchange student	Inter-medium
16	Female	23	Polish	NJU	1 year exchange student	Inter-medium
17	Male	23	Korean	NJU	6 months exchange student	Elementary
18	Male	22	Australian	NJU	1 year exchange student	Advanced
19	Male	22	Canadian	NJU	6 months exchange student	Below Elementary
20	Male	25	French	NJU	1 year MBA student	Elementary
21	Female	21	Korean	NJU	4th bachelor student	Advanced
22	Male	26	Swiss	NJU	1 year exchange student	Inter-medium-advanced
23	Male	25	Korean	NJU	Graduated bachelor student	More than Advanced
24	Male	28	French	NNU	2 year language student	Elementary
25	Male	26	French	NNU	1 year language student	Elementary
26	Female	22	German (half Brazilian)	NJU	6 months exchange student	Inter-medium
27	Female	21	Korean	NJU	3rd bachelor student	Advanced

					High school in Nanjing	
28	Female	22	Korean	NNU	1 year exchange student	Elementary
29	Female	25	Korean	NNU	6 months exchange student	Elementary
30	Female	26	Russian	NNU/NJU	1 year language student 1st year master student	Elementary

Note: CPU: China Pharmaceutical University; NJU: Nanjing University; NNU: Nanjing Normal university

The Chinese participants came from night universities in Nanjing, 42 from Nanjing University and 10 from Southeast university as high rank universities, 24 from Nanjing Normal University and 28 from other medium rank universities, and 18 from Nanjing University of Art. 52 of the Chinese participants were male, 70 were female, ages ranging from 18-27 (mainly 20-23).

4.1 Nightlife of Chinese students

All respondents go out regularly with at least one type of nightlife establishment and all have common nightlife experiences in cafe, restaurant and KTV (Table 4.2); but only 31 respondents go to bar and 19 respondents go clubbing. Rather than suggesting that all the Chinese university students go out regularly, these findings would like to emphasize the companionship, involved social behaviour and time of different type of nightlife establishment that Chinese students regularly participate in. From the average arrival and departure time and companionship, one can see that KTV seem to be a good choice for after dinner activities and the extension after bars is possibly go clubbing. Most respondents tend to finish their nightlife before midnight, while those who go clubbing would stay out a bit late. Cafe, KTV, restaurant and cinema provide more opportunities for interactions with close friends and normal friends, while go to bar and club create more encounter with strangers and less close friends. One possible explanation would be students go clubbing is misunderstood by the mainstream Chinese society, which makes some respondents fear to display their identity in bars and clubs to their close friends, since nightlife is important to the construction of young people's identity (Liempt et al., 2015). More than half of the respondents drink alcohol when having dinner together, 13 of 19 participants would dance when go clubbing.

Table 4.2 Nightlife consumption of Chinese students

Type of nightlife establishment	Companionship			Involved social behaviour		Average arrival and departure time	
	With close friends	With normal friends	With strangers	Drinking alcohol	Dancing	Arrival	Departure

Bar/pub(N=31)	54.8%	93.5%	**32.2%**	89.3%	-	8:45 PM	11:11 PM
Cafe/tea bar(N=122	**96.7%**	81.1%	16.4%	-	-	8:17 PM	10:32 PM
Club/disco(N=19)	42.1%	100%	**52.6%**	84.2%	68.40%	11:41PM	**2:38 AM**
KTV(N=122)	**99.2%**	99.2%	13.9%	37.7%	4.90%	9:00 PM	11:36 PM
Restaurant(N=122)	**100%**	100%	11.5%	54.1%	-	6:28 PM	8:38 PM
Theatre/cinema(N=122)	100%	23%	0	-	-	-	-
Pull(N=13)	46.2%	100%	23.1%	7.1%	-	9:17 PM	11:41 PM
School event (N=87)	47.1%	98.9%	55.2%	-	-	-	-

The frequency of going out to bar, cafe and club are different among students from different level of universities. For students from both high and medium rank universities, the frequency of going to cafe is much higher than go to bars and clubs, but students from high rank universities have more experiences in bars and clubs than students from medium rank universities (both p<0.001 for bar, cafe and club, both Chin-square tests). Students in Nanjing university of Art are more frequently attend nightlife in bars and club, but with less regularity and less half at least once every two weeks (Table 4.3)

Table 4.3 Frequency of going out, by university

	Never	Less than once per month	More than once per month	More than once every two weeks	More than once a week	N
Bar						
Students in Nanjing university and Southeast university (high rank)	73.10%	19.20%	5.80%	2%	0	52
Students in Nanjing Normal university and etc. (medium rank)	96.20%	3.80%	0	0	0	52
Students in Nanjing university of Art (low rank)	**16.70%**	16.70%	33.30%	27.80%	5.60%	18
Total	74.59%	12.30%	7.38%	4.92%	0.82%	122
Cafe						
Students in Nanjing university and Southeast university	0	3.85%	40.38%	**44.23%**	**11.54%**	52
Students in Nanjing Normal university and etc.	0	0.00%	63.46%	**36.54%**	0.00%	52

Students in Nanjing university of Art	0	22.22%	66.67%	11.11%	0.00%	18
Total	0	4.92%	54.10%	36.07%	4.92%	122
Club						
Students in Nanjing university and Southeast university	**92.31%**	**7.69%**	0.00%	0.00%	0	52
Students in Nanjing Normal university and etc.	**100%**	0	0	0	0	52
Students in Nanjing university of Art	16.67%	44.44%	**33.33%**	**5.56%**	0	18
Total	84.43%	9.84%	4.92%	0.82%	0	122

Additional finding is that 36.1% and 35.2% of respondents have western students friends and Korean friends, and 38.5% have got to know international students in the nightlife experiences. When asked their preference of going out with internationals students during the night in terms of where, when and with whom, 24.6% and 35.2% prefer meeting at cafe or restaurant, 14.8% and 7.4% would like to go to bars or clubs. 85.2 of participants tend to go home before the midnight, and 91% expect to meet both western and Korean students.

Therefore, nightlife consumption practices of Chinese students in Nanjing are in general described as calm, ending before midnight, with friends rather than strangers and less alcohol consumption, with the exception of nightlife of some students from Nanjing university of Art, which is more open and wild, staying out late, more interaction with strangers and more alcohol consumption. In terms of *when*, most nightlife activities end up before midnight since student dormitory mostly would be closed between 0-6 am, which means staying out late equalling unable of going back until the early morning. Thus, in terms of *where*, bar and club were less likely being listed as a common choice of nightlife for most students because of the dormitory regulation and also societal stigmatization on student clubbing. While students from Nanjing university of Art seem to be less stuck in these regulation and stigmatization and more frequently go to bars and clubs. This regulated life style prevents Chinese students to break the rules settled by others and choose their own preferred urban nightlife activities. In terms of with *whom* and *why*, most Chinese students consider nightlife as time to stay with friends rather than strangers, which is also the main reason for going out. Nightlife is more about choosing common sense of friends rather than finding out individual uniqueness. So students from the same cycle tend to have more similar nightlife consumption practices and going out together. I terms of *what*, regarding of their choices of nightlife venues, it can be assumed that most Chinese students seek chances to talk and communicate with friends in a clear mind, which makes alcohol consumption less essential in most situations especially for female students.

4.2 Nightlife Practices and experiences of international students

4.2.1 Nightlife destinations

All interviewees had experience with the nightlife scene of Nanjing, which varied between the interviewees. Most interviewees had frequented experience in bars, pubs or clubbing venues especially among western students. Respondents most often frequent places in the city centre of Nanjing, more specifically, mostly are situated in the areas of Shanghai road and '1912'. The most regularly visited bars and clubs were 'Talking' and 'Ellens', two prominent bars that near the main campus of both Nanjing university and Nanjing Normal university on Shanghai road, and the '1912' club district and one club near '1912' called 'Aineng'. Ot her regularly visited venues by western students from Nanjing Normal university were bars and pubs like '61' and 'Laoban' close to NNU campus.

Before clubbing, interviewees often spend time with friends, engaging in leisure activities or socializing at someone's apartment or like eating together or watching movie together. If skipping this pre-clubbing ritual, western students were mostly likely meet at 'Talking' bar, having some drink first. Then they went to 'Ellens' or 'Aineng' or other places, and finally enjoyed their rest of time in '1912'. Therefore, 'Talking' bar was usually the formal start of going out while clubs in '1912' were being considered as the final destinations. This practice of 'nightlife circuit' were very commonly described by large amount of western students.

> "We started out at 'Talking', we had a few drinks, we just talked about things, we had food nearby, really good. then we go to 'Aineng', a big club which is near '1912'...we saw the club to be empty so we went to '1912', about 12 o'clock, we take a taxi and go to '1912'. we went to 'Az', which is a beautiful nightclub in '1912', it's underground, we danced, then for nearly an hour, then since 'Scarlet' is closed, we went to a place nearby called 'Blue mallon', quite similar to 'Scarlet', the music is different, but the environment is very similar, so we danced there for a lit, then we went to 'W…', at time there is less people, so we go the dance floor and dance. By then it's about 3 o'clock in the morning, so people go home, my friends want to go bed, so we all walked back to the taxi, home. we went to 'Haodi' store for some water and we went back home." (Male, one-year exchange student, British, Interviewee 15)

> "Last Saturday, I had a movie night at a friend's house. 8 Germany and I was the only American, we watched movies, then we all went to the 'Beijing Kaoya', eat and drink there, then we go to 'Ellens', then from 'Ellens' we go to 'Aineng', then from 'Aineng' to '1912', then home. It is quite normal *routine*." (Female, 6-month exchange student, American, Interviewee 6)

KTV was not being considered as a very popular destination among western students, some of which did have experience nightlife in KTV, but in most cases, KTV was

regarded as a transition point before clubbing or an occasional adventure. However, Korean students seem to have more experiences in KTV than western students, probably because KTV is also a common nightlife place in South Korea. Eight of the ten Korean participants had already visited KTV in Nanjing, and those two who haven't yet also mentioned their past experiences in KTV back home.

Besides KTV, Korean respondents more frequently spent their night in cafe than western students. It seems that cafe was the last place western students would like to visit during the night, unless there were some social events in cafe. One Polish respondent explained the purpose for him to go to cafe during the night is studying or attending language exchange groups. Another Polish respondent also mention that she would go to cafe to meet her language partner to practice her Chinese. Language exchange groups were mentioned by several western respondents but no Korean students. It is being proved by the observation result that Asian students from Japan, Malaysia and Indonesia but less likely Korean would appear in language exchange events.

> "I usually stay in cafe to study rather than library, because in cafe you can order a drink and relax, and you have more comfortable seat, but in library it is crowded and students just study like this. Besides this I will attend language exchange groups, one is in Thursday and another one in Monday in 'Xuezelu'." (Male, PhD student, Polish, Interviewee 2)

Korean respondents were more likely to go to cafe to study or meet friends, rather than attending activities related to practicing languages. This outcome depends on Korean students' Chinese level and also English level. If Koreans speak quite good Chinese, they are more likely to do other activities with Chinese students rather than attending language exchange groups. While if they still have basic Chinese and English level, since they tend to perceive themselves shy and introverted, they feel uncomfortable to talk in Chinese or English with strangers. However, one can debate that Japanese students are more likely to attend such language activities. I guess it is because Japanese students do not have a large co-ethnic community as Korean students do in Nanjing, which forces them to communicate with other international and Chinese students to ease the potential loneliness.

There were also some western respondents mentioned having a movie night together in friend's house or playing bowling, and some Korean respondents described their drinking night in the dormitory.

4.2.2 Frequency and timing

The frequency and time of going out also differed around participants. The frequency in which nightlife was engaged with was almost evenly distributed between one and three times a week, aside from one respondent going six times a week. A commonly addressed issue was that the amount of going out varied between weeks and was heavily dependent on students' study workload, this was particularly the case for

degree students who push themselves harder in study than short-term students. Students in a short-stay program, such as an six-month or one-year Chinese study program, went out more frequently because of less pressure on study. Usually during the exam week, students who cared about the exam results or struggled in Chinese learning (very basic Chinese level) would reduce their times of going out.

As expected, some of the participants reported going to nightlife events organized by Language Exchange Nanjing (LE), not only weekly language exchange event in cafe, but also special organized activities. Those language exchange weekly event enable some participants to have scheduled going out in particular days.

Special holiday like Halloween might also influence the frequency of going out. For example, one interviewee used to go out once a week, but in the Halloween weekend, she went out every night with different people. As she described, everybody was going crazy about Halloween and social activities was just waiting for them. Besides, Halloween party intended to attract both international students and Chinese students, which provides opportunities for both side to meet each other and increase their desire for going out.

> "So on Friday, I had classes, then I met some people, language partners, someone in the city. then at night, I went to the Halloween party in 'X', which is pretty cool, and actually there are few Chinese people so we drink a lot. On Saturday, I spent most of the day shopping and studying in a cafe, and I went to a party at 'Clock time' bar. and on Sunday, this is on Xianlin, my friend invite me to a Xianlin party, Halloween day, I stayed there few hours, so I experienced how Chinese students party." (Female, one-year exchange student, Polish, Interviewee 16)

When asked the hour of arrival and departure, answers varied because of the opening time of nightlife establishments, participants' own lifestyle and the closing hour of some university dormitory. For example, cafe in Nanjing usually close at 11 o'clock, while bars and clubs open at around 7-8 and close until very late night. Besides, participants who had preference in clubbing would stay out late because clubbing was always after midnight for them. The third thing was the closing time of university dormitory, which most international students did not have to worry about because they lived in open dormitory or rent house. However, few international students had to deal with the inconvenience that dormitory would be closed between 12 pm to 6 am. Therefore, some of those students chose to stay out until the next day morning while the others chose to go back earlier like this Polish participant:

> "Mostly it is absurd, after midnight the dorm is closed, and continue till 6 the next day. so I have two options, one is I stay in club until the next day morning, I can do this but I do not have much interest to do that so far, or I just like normal students to go back at about 10 pm, Usually I do this." (Male, PhD student, Polish, Interviewee 2)

In general, international students started their nightlife between 8pm to 11pm, and went home at around 12pm, around 3am or around 5-6 in the next day morning. In most cases, staying out after midnight means going to bars and clubs, with one exception, that is the drinking night of Korean students in dormitory or KTV would last until around 3-4am.

4.2.3 Companionship

Most participants usually go out with friends, flatmates or neighbours. This is in line with studies arguing for the importance of housemates and neighbours for students' integration (Alwin et al., 1985; Dorvil, 2005). Companionship in nightlife of western students were more diverse than Korean students for living a multi-national circumstance rather than with co-ethnic fellows. As described by several western students, nationality was not as important as the person in the nightlife setting. While the observation results showed that most western students would unconsciously choose to be with western fellows, which means caring less about nationality to some extent still relates to cultural background.

I observed one British and one Italian group. The British group was relatively closed because it was strongly based on few key members that came from same university in UK. Although they didn't always stick together, it was extremely difficult for others to become part of key members. The Italian group would also to some extent stick together, but their attitudes towards 'outsiders' were more open. Which made nice 'outsiders' easier to join in. Of course, it also takes time to really integrate the Italian group, but at least one can enjoy the very pleasant moment with them.

For the Korean participants, who did they go out with was highly depending on their duration of staying, Chinese or English level and expectations. Korean participants mostly had a large co-ethnic community to seek help, which is in line with Kim's (2001) findings. This explained why Korean participants who arrived Nanjing for few months especially short-term language students mostly went out with Korean fellows. While degree Korean participants tended to have more diverse experiences in terms of after staying for more than half year.

> "We enjoyed drinking with each other because we have many things to talk about that happened in Korean. We feel a bit awkward to talk with strangers in club or bars or elsewhere, but we feel comfortable staying together. we can talk in Korean and express our feelings very easily." (Female, six-months exchange student, Korean, Interviewee 5)

> "Many Korean students like to stay with Koreans during the night, they feel it is not interested to stay with Chinese student, Chinese are of less fun. they (Koreans) only seek fun at night, but I seek more. There is more to discuss with Chinese people no matter in nightlife or other places." (Male, Graduated bachelor student, Korean, Interviewee 23)

Besides, it was not common to see western students going out with Korean students. Even say hi to each other was occasionally happened because of language barrier and life style differences. Korean community was perceived quite strong and a kind of between Chinese and Europeans in the nightlife settings by several participants.

"It's weird to hang out with Koreans, because they don't use English very much or they prefer Chinese. But I don't think they enjoyed nightlife the same way we Europeans do. I think the best of bar is you drink and you talk, and they (Koreans) do not like talking much and they laughing all the time, I don't know what they are laughing at which is awkward for me." (Female, one-year exchange student, Polish, Interviewee 16)

"I have only went out with Koreans twice, I went with Korean girls, the community is always in a group, sometimes really nice, sometimes it is difficult to get them, and some of them also don't speak English very well, and my Chinese is not good enough to talk with them. I think they do more like we do in Europe than Chinese, and they really like to drink beer." (Female, six-month exchange student, German, Interviewee 26)

A few participants mentioned interactions with Chinese students in nightlife, which was highly based on knowing each other, friendship and mutual trust. There won't be many deep interactions among strangers. Most Chinese, including students, tended to be more settled rather than fluid, flexible and casual in the nightlife, as described by one participant, which made it difficult for outsiders to break in:

"Chinese would sit together and drink together, that's just during the club. I think westerners are a bit flexible, we might be many different groups, ... we will not always stick as one group. I feel Chinese in the club, they are more connected, I can see that they are really close...I think that is good, I think we can learn from each other. That makes us a little bit harder to break in, I think one bad thing is that, your group is so close, and you are a little bit shy, not as open to other people. " (Male, one-year exchange student, British, Interviewee 15)

Therefore, finding out a proper way to make friends with Chinese, especially Chinese students becomes a firstly vital step for further going out together. From the perspective of Chinese students, a circumstance for deep conversations rather than fleeting pleasure should be provided to build connections with internationals, which bars and club could hardly provide. Some participants mentioned language exchange group in café helped them knowing Chinese and also further going out to other nightlife establishments, like bars, clubs and KTVs. Social activities and interactions in Language exchange event will be further discussed in Section 5.2.5.

"On Saturday night I went to KTV with some friends from Nanjing language

exchange (including Chinese), and we had dinner together, then we sang from 7 to midnight, very fun and drunk a little bit, then me and some friends went to '1912'. " (Male, one-year exchange student, Australian, Interviewee 18)

4.2.4 Feelings and expectations for going out

Main reasons and expectations for going out were socializing with friends or strangers, talking, dancing and drinking, and few for relieving loneliness of being in an unfamiliar country. Going out offers a moment to be with friends, spending time in a different and more careless environment. Few participants mentioned the potential of romantic encounters as a main reason to go out at night. Participants would also mention alcohol to be a catalyst of this environment, making socializing with friends and strangers 'different' or 'easier'. Some participants also mentioned the preference of dancing as the main purpose of clubbing, making the night more exciting and funny. In general, the participants would describe going out as a means of distraction and providing social time:

> "It's a time of getting to know people, relaxing, and being with friend. it's a way to get your mind off whatever is bothering you and talk with your friends about what was happening. It's a really good social moment. It's nice to interact with other people. You know, we are always very welcomed by those nightclubs and Chinese people are really curious about us." (Male, six-months exchange student, Italian, Interviewee 10)

Even though the main reasons of going out were similar, there existed few differences between western students and Korean students, in terms of drinking, dancing and romantic seeking. Firstly, western participants were more likely to have dancing experiences than Korean participants in the nightlife settings. For some European respondents, dancing was just a kind of normal social behaviour after few drinks, like:

> "I don't really like dance, but It is like after several shots, everybody start dancing, you will join. It is also a convenient way of meet someone else, especially you like a girl in the stage. "(Male, 2nd-year PhD student, Polish, Interviewee 2)

While for others especially Italians and Greeks, dancing was a vital important thing that made nightlife meaningful because they could fully express their emotions through dancing. One Greek participant was fully devoted to the club music and atmosphere in club when I went along with him. He danced on the performance floor and kept encouraging me and other friends to join him and seemed to leave everything behind at that moment. When asked why he loves dancing, he explained that firstly dancing was an universal language for social communication and secondly since he felt not really close to his British cycle, dancing became one of the important moment to be himself.

Korean students would drink beer and watch the nightlife scene but were less likely to dance in clubs, especially for Korean girls. However, many Korean participants

mentioned that they preferred to dance in KTV, as a relative private space to be with mostly Korean friends. Firstly it is about the music. In night clubs, the music is mostly western styled, which does not really fit Korean girls' dancing preference as in line with studies on 'white music' and nightlife exclusion (see Schwanen et al., 2012). Secondly, female Koreans usually perceived male Chinese were hunting them in nightclubs which made them a bit scared to dance in nightclub.

> "I feel unsafe in '1912' if I am only with one of my female friends in nightclub or bars, because it seems that men there are hunting us, Chinese men, they hope to have sex with us. Therefore we went there with a big group of girl, or with Korean male friends. We need their protection, even if nothing bad have happened to us. We do not dance in club that much, we just watch it, we would dance in KTV, with Korean friends. There are more privacy in KTV, and you can sing Korean songs and dance with it. " (Female, six-months exchange student, Korean, Interviewee 29)

The second thing was drinking culture, which was quite commonly accepted by both western students and Korean students. Most western respondents perceived drinking alcohol as a rational behaviour in the nightlife, which helped to start chatting with people around. Besides, Russians were being perceived by other western students as 'alcoholics' who always drink a large amount of alcohol during the night.

> "Alcohol is good for, that I think, makes people want to talk to each other more...alcohol makes thing easier for most of people. Just after the sun goes down, people just feel more...themselves, more relaxed and ready to go out. " (Female, one-year exchange student, British, Interviewee 1)

Korean respondents, including female Koreans, mentioned about their preference of drinking alcohol with Korean fellows. However, if going out without Korean (male) fellows, female Koreans would pretend not drinking alcohol and keep their modesty. For example, western participants mostly saw Korean girls as Chinese girls: "they don't go out, they don't drink alcohol". Korean female participants explained that they did go out and drink alcohol with Korean fellows but seldom with other international students. It can thus argue that female Korean students need a sense of security in the nightlife to drink, dance and fully devote themselves:

> "In Korea, I drink with Korean classmate, many students really like drinking, they drink every day. But here, Nanjing university students do not drink alcohol that much. Korean girls here, they seem to not drink, but actually they drink with their male friends, a lot. " (Female, 4th-bachelor student, Korean, Interviewee 21)

The third thing was romantic seeking. Some western students went to bars and clubs to seek sexual relationship. I was also flirted by girls during the observations. Koreans tended be more conservative about sex, at least, they would less likely to let others

know.

> "Some foreigners would have a 'quickie', that you know some people going to party just to find someone to have sex. this fantasy are in both side. some foreigners have these fantasy about Chinese girls and some Chinese girls and guys have fantasy about foreigners. They are open, you know... " (Male, 2nd-year PhD student, Polish, Interviewee 2)

Feelings about nightlife in Nanjing were quite different and mixed among participants. The majority of participants were quite satisfied with their nightlife experience in Nanjing, while there were also few things annoying. In general, their different feelings of nightlife in Nanjing were about the free alcohol for foreigners, smoking, relationship with locals, safety, meanings of going out and so on.

When asked how to think about free drink for foreigners and high price for Chinese in some bars and clubs, answers varied from good for international students, neutral, and very angry about the different treatment. One respondent argued that different price for Chinese and non-Chinese made it weird when being with Chinese friends and ordering the same drinks.

> "I think it's awful, like for example here in 'Talking', as long as I buy a drink, it's one price, but for Chinese the same drink, it is more expensive. That's ridiculous. I think it's awful, I think it's horrible. A lot of times, we go with Chinese friends, they have to pay the price ordered for them for the same drinks. It's like racism. It is more often than we know, I think it's awful. because in lots of time, they want Chinese and foreigners to meet together, but all of the places offer such a higher prices for Chinese than non-Chinese, why not one prices for everyone?" (Female, six-months exchange student, American, Interviewee 6)

Another described how it would hinder the communication between Chinese and foreigners make some foreigners less respectful for Chinese in nightlife places:

> "Some foreigners don't respect Chinese people, because they have free drinks, some people see themselves above everyone and start to not respect Chinese. One night there are a bit fighting, a guy with a Chinese girl, and because he is foreigner, the Chinese girl is kicked out by the guard, and the guy can come back and drink with his friends. I think these make a bad opinion on foreigner for Chinese people. Because it's not our country, we have to respect the people who live here. I think free drinks is bad for communication with Chinese people, because it makes you different with them, you don't pay, so I think, it's good for us because we don't pay, but if we want to meet Chinese, it's better to be like them. For better relationship with Chinese, it is better to stop free drink. " (Male, one-year MBA student, French, Interviewee 20)

Some participants began to rethink about the meaning of their nightlife. Always partying made them feel depressed and meaningless of life:

"A mix of feelings, sometimes drunk, high and love partying, sometimes depressed, lonely and feel partying is pointless." (Male, one-year exchange student, Australian, Interviewee 18)

"Nightlife is about discovering and happy. You came to China, you got free drinks, and you can do free things in free clubs, after few months, you realize you have to come here to study and learn the language, if you always do the same thing, that is boring. " (Male, two-year language student, French, Interviewee 24)

Few participants felt have to go to out because of peer pressure from other international students. A certain pattern of nightlife seemed to become a kind of necessity for their identity of 'international students', which is in line with Liempt et al's (2015) argue about the importance of nightlife in the construction of young people's identity. In the meantime, choices of nightlife will also be constrained in order to maintain the identity of a 'normal' international student.

"At home I can do whatever I want to do in Saturday night. Here there is more pressure, some people would definitely go out and party in 1912, you feel that you shouldn't not stay in, you should go out. Peer pressure, especially at the beginning. " (Female, one-year exchange student, Polish, Interviewee 16)

Several participants mentioned their expectation to meet and interact more with Chinese students, whom they can seldom see in bars and clubs:

"I think if there are more Chinese students in the night club or bars, it would be easier to meet them. It's easier to talk to other foreigner students, they are more open, I think Chinese are more reserved, it's more difficult to engage in conversation with Chinese, but it's person to person, sometimes Chinese are very open, sometimes foreigners are very closed. " (Male, one-year exchange student, Dutch, Interviewee 8)

4.2.5 Nightlife in practices
As mentioned in section 4.2.1, one of the often frequented bars in Nanjing is 'Talking', situated on Shanghai road near Nanjing university and Nanjing normal university. I observed normal nights in bars at 'Talking'. Besides, I observed one language exchange activity in a cafe near Nanjing university on one Thursday and one Halloween party in 'Clock time' bar in Shanghai road. Since '1912' was always too crowded and complex to have scheduled observation, I chose to go along with a British group from bar, to KTV and finally to '1912'. Inspired by the anthropological work of Low (2010) on mapping people in space, visitors of these nightlife scene were mapped in the different areas at different points in time, and the most typical scene of each night were displayed.

Map 1-Normal night at 'Talking' bar at 22:00
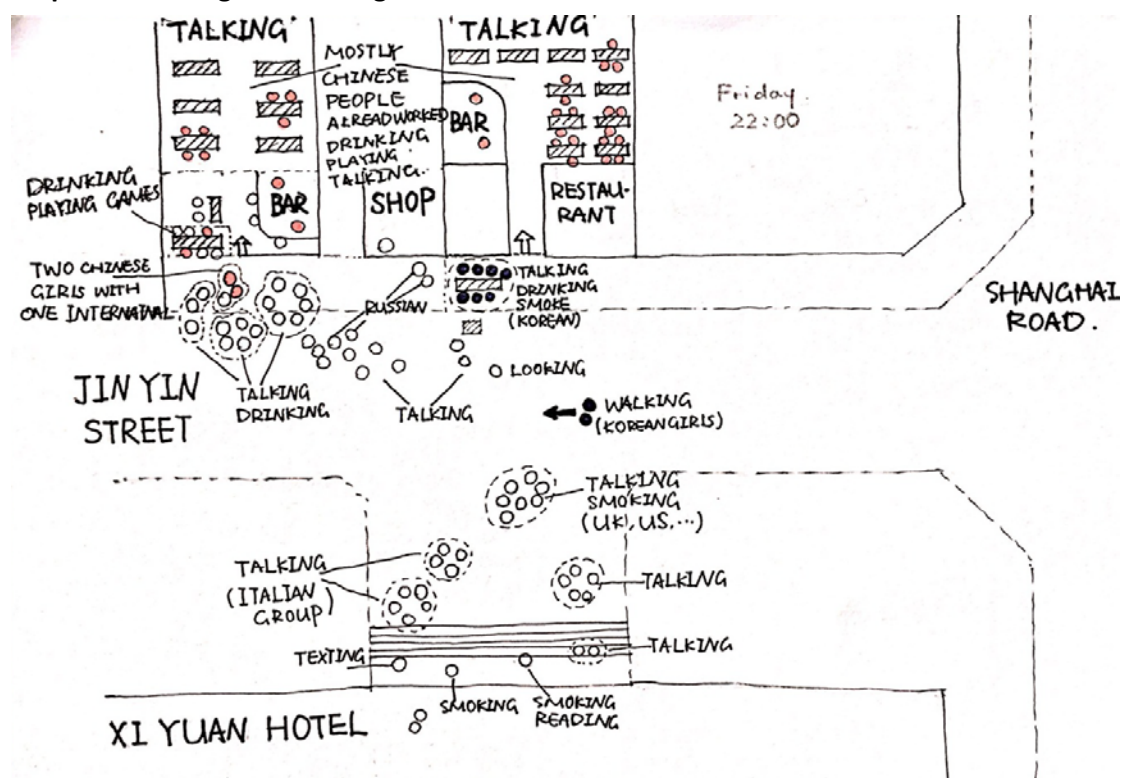
**Normal Friday night in 'Talking' bar**

From 21:00 to 23:00, the number of international students kept increasing with high mobility, which means rather than sit down at a table, most international students would like to move around the open area outside the building. Chinese people, on the country, occupied the inner part, and there were not many Chinese students insider the bar. Friday night seemed to have more excitement than the weekdays, as international students were less settle down and more prepared to have further activities in other places. International students were divided as groups, with usually these groups were not very strong. Seen from the map, two Italian cycle were sticking together and speaking Italian, but still, anyone who want to join in them were quite welcomed. However, the Korean group sitting around the table, always played with their own group with very little interactions with other international students. Also the two Korean girls walking through the street had no interaction with any international students. The fluidity in the open area provided opportunities for groups to divide, move and mix. Chinese students with fluent English can also integrate in this context. At around 23:00-23:30, every groups had decided to stay or explore further in other nightlife establishment, which made the street and bar less crowded. During the weekdays night, the front of 'Talking' bar would always have internationals until 3:00.

Language exchange activities in small cafe

Language exchange events usually start at 20:00 and end at 23:00. Map 2 showed the image of the time at 21:00. About half of the participants were Chinese and another

half were internationals, more particularly, two Japanese, one Korean, two south Asian and other international students mostly from Europe and America. It can be seen that most Chinese and Asian students would like to sit around the table and to have deep conversation with few people, while western students seemed to prefer more mobile circumstance. It's not about exclusion, but a kind of different preference. There still exist many chances for Chinese to join the western group especially when the Australian guy, also as interviewee 18, began to sing or active the atmosphere. Therefore, generally language exchange events provide opportunities for international students to meet Chinese, and possibly have conversations and make friends.

Map 2-Language exchange even in cafe at 21:00
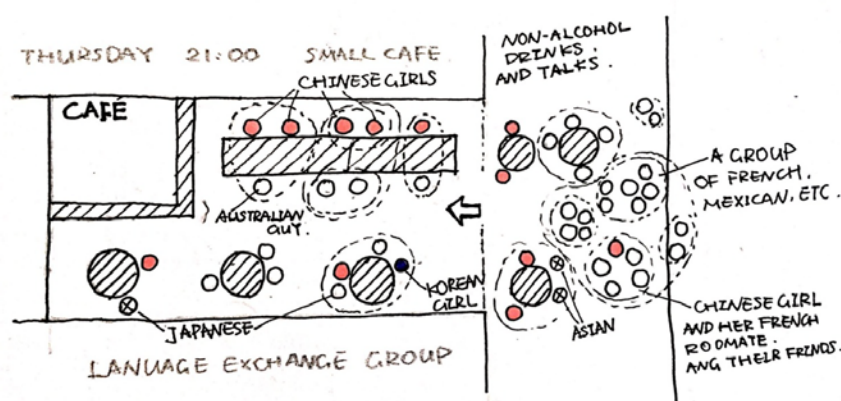
Specially event in 'Clock time' bar

Observation of this Halloween party started at 21:00 and ended at 23:00. Most participants were international students especially western students and Chinese students, but no Korean students. Two Korean girls came at around 23:00, but left in 5 minutes. Some interviewees were recognized in this observation. Map 3 depicts the nightlife image at 22:00. There are two striking findings from this map. Firstly, there still existed a bit separation between Chinese and international students, but it was more mixed than normal situation at bar. A few Chinese, especially female and who speak English confidently, mixed with international students. In general, male Chinese were not confident enough as their female fellows. Secondly, some internationals approach Chinese first like Interviewee2, while some would tend to stay with their 'in-group' friends, like Interview 30. This difference also fits their different level of integration in 4.6.1.

Map 3-Halloween party in 'Clock time' bar at 22:00
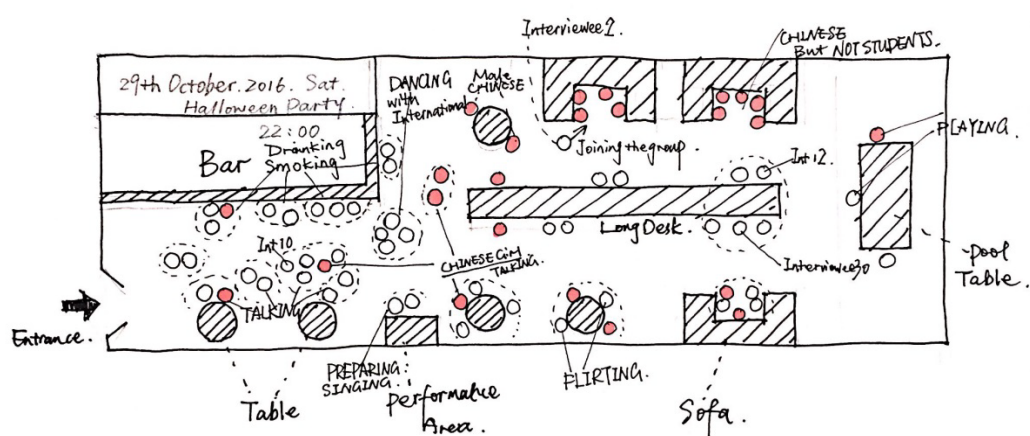
Nightlife routine of one British group

A general nightlife routine of western students were mentioned by several participants. Therefore, I observed one Friday night of a British group with the participation of Interviewee 1,6,11,15. A very brief timeline of this night were described as follow: Firstly, after dinner, international students began to concentrate on the open area in front of 'Talking' bar around 21:30-23:00, talking and drinking. This was the starting point as the whole night. The core group would 'collect' some other friends to join their later nightlife in this preliminary stage. About 23:30, the group took taxi to a KTV, dancing, drinking and singing for about 3 hours. Two Chinese friends joined them in KTV. After that, some people went home (including Interviewee 1&6.)and the rest went to '1912' club district. They visited two dancing clubs, got free alcohol. The group would finally be divided since group members may have different expectation such as romantic encounters when go clubbing. Interviewee 11&15 left with me at around 5:30.

Therefore, evidences can been summarized to answer the first and second research questions:

1. *How do nightlife consumption practices in the city of Nanjing vary between international and Chinese students?*

Evidently, there exists difference in nightlife consumption practices in the city of Nanjing between international and Chinese students, in terms of *when*, *where*, with *whom*, *what* and *why*. Compared to Chinese students, nightlife of international students especially for those from western countries, are in general described as more exciting, open and wild. In terms of *when*, most international students had late night out experiences and went out more frequently than Chinese students due to the different workload and dormitory regulation. In terms of *where*, bar and club are most likely to be listed as a common choice of nightlife for most western students. At the same time, Korean students prefer KTV and café but also go to bars and clubs sometimes. Chinese students go less bars and clubs since the dormitory regulation and

societal stigmatization on student clubbing. In terms of with *whom*, international students with a strong co-ethnic community would have more homogeneous companionship in the nightlife, for instance the British group in this research. In certain situations like language exchange group, international students would go out with Chinese students. However, it is not common to see Korean students hanging out with western students or simultaneously with Chinese and Korean students. In terms of *what* and *why*, drinking and dancing are more commonly accepted by international students in the nightlife settings than most Chinese students. Western students in general have more open attitude towards romantic seeking in the nightlife than most Korean students and Chinese students. At the same time, international students seek less 'formal' talks but more casual and random conversations.

2. How do socio-spatial practices (drinking around the table, etc.) differ between international and Chinese students in nightlife venues during a night out?

In general, western students are more 'fluid' while Korean and Chinese students are more 'stable'. It can be seen from the observation results that most western students even with a strong co-ethnic community, would less likely to always interact with the same people but move around frequently and talk to different internationals and sometimes Chinese. While Koreans and Chinese are mostly sitting around a table and having long conversations with less spatial movement. Moreover, Korean students can be regarded as separated groups in most nightlife venues, since they stick together with Korean fellows and seldom interact with other internationals and Chinese. Besides, interactions between international and Chinese students do not happened much in general nightlife venues, like café, bar, club and etc. A purpose (an event) to bring Chinese and internationals together is needed to make international and Chinese students more mixed in the nightlife settings, such as language exchange group that intending to provide chances for talks and Halloween parties that attracting interests from both sides.

4.3 Social network and social capital

4.3.1 Circle of friends

The social circles of most participants consisted mainly of international friends. They are their neighbours or flatmates and classmates. Participants mentioned the living environment has impacted their circle of friends, which is in line with earlier findings (Alwin et al., 1985; Dorvil, 2005). Most participants lived in the international student dormitory and have classes geographically separated from most Chinese university students. Most international students were put into the very internationalized districts of the city under the consideration by university administration to ease 'culture shock' and reduce interferences that international students would possibly have on Chinese students. One administration member of international students affairs of Nanjing university mentioned that it is much easier to manage international students and domestic students in two different systems because of the different lifestyles and different duration of stay. In general, Chinese students have been asked to return their

dormitory before the midnight since the dorms would be closed between midnight and early morning. This regulation is supposed to guide students a healthy schedule of study and rest, and to avoid distractions from too much urban nightlife. While for international students, the university administration thinks their nightlife culture should be respected and their life schedule should not be restricted by the university. If putting international students and Chinese students together, complex issues may just occur because of the huge cultural differences. To keep away from potential troubles, international students are also distributed by culture and religion. For instance, Korean students all live Koreans, Muslims live with Muslims, and westerners live with westerners. Western students live in a relatively much diverse circumstance than Korean students, because they share abundant tiny differences among countries and regions, while Koreans are almost the same. Therefore, for international students who live in the campus, the homogeneity of dormitory distribution can largely affected the formation of new friend cycle at the beginning. There were very few participants living in rent houses near university campus and one participant living with a host family. Generally, these participants felt less 'peer pressure' and had more freedom to choose 'friends' to interact with. Moreover, one Korean participant bought an apartment near the campus in order to reconstruct his social network by reducing daily interactions with Koreans and having more connections with Chinese students.

Besides living condition, co-ethnic community especially former (co-ethnic) friends before coming to Nanjing were served as another important foundation to make friends. For instance, a few participants from Korea, Italy and UK mentioned that they had communities of their original cities, like Seoul, Busan, Venice and London, which brought their original social relationships into school communities in Nanjing. Based on Simmel (1950)'s idea of 'strangers' that individual relationships are more or less community relations, those who came with a strong community would face more barriers in making new friends. On the one hand, 'culture shock' and belonging to the group make it necessary to stay with temporarily the most homogeneous group. On the other hand, people outside the group would feel stressed and hard to really join in the group, as one Russian participant depicted of her awkward experiences with her Italian friends:

> "The biggest problem is people from one country they stick together. I have friends from Italy, I cannot get close to them because they are always together, sometimes I feel like I shouldn't be with them because I feel like they are Italians, I am like the third person. There are also big groups of Russians here." (Female, one-year language student, 1st-year master student, Russian, Interviewee 30)

Furthermore, social activities that participants are engaged in also matters in making and meeting friends, especially in the nightlife, which is influenced by the recent cycle of friends. A few participants had some Chinese friends from their programmes or through students associations (e.g. Language Exchange Nanjing). But some of

them also point out that these friendships are quite shallow, their Chinese friends are more like acquaintances, and they are not the kind of friends they spend a lot of time with. Only few participants had close Chinese friends which they made through their courses or met at gym or cafe. When asked where to meet their Chinese friends during the night, social event in cafe seem to be more popular than bars and clubs, as one British participant mentioned that he met Chinese mainly through language exchange and social media:

> "We mainly meet them (Chinese) for language exchanges, because even though we were in Nanda (Nanjing university), there is not much interaction. So actually, the two main way I get to know new Chinese people is language exchange, for language exchange, maybe half Chinese and half foreigners, So I met a lot of Chinese people, a lot of them I still keep contact with; and 'Tantan', like Tinder, so just girls. I think they see me as a foreigner, so they can practice their English, and also I can practice my Chinese, we have half English and half Chinese." (Male, one-year exchange student, British, Interviewee 15)

Therefore, socializing can be highly constrained by languages that participants speak. Every individual participants had their own original remarks of culture and values, which limited their choices of whom to interact with, especially because of language barriers. Almost every participant except one Korean mentioned that language is the main barrier that hinders communication with locals and sometimes also international students:

> "I think sometimes, especially at night, sometimes people want to have a deeper conversation but because my Chinese is not that good, and their English is not that good, we cannot truly understand each other. we can try but it is difficult. So that's the barrier, language barrier." (Female, six-months exchange student, American, Interviewee 6)

For westerner students, It is quite commonly accepted and with no difficulties to communicate with English, which served as their native or second language. Few Italians argued that they were more likely to have more Italian friends partly because they tend to speak their native language for their relatively poor of English compared to like German or British students. For Korean students, especially exchange students for language program, language barriers exist on both sides. They either need better Chinese to connect Chinese students or better English to fit in the international student cycle. The unprofessional Chinese level and English, as well as their generally introverted characteristic, leave them very limited options to choose friends.

As can see above, living condition and co-ethnic community, as well as language acquisition largely influence international students' social life and their cycle of friends. Living with international (co-ethnic) students, having large co-ethnic community and language barrier can possibly be constrains to interact with certain

groups of people in certain spatiotemporal context. To overcome these constrains in order to socialize with certain group, for instance Chinese students, international students choose to live outside the campus, leave co-ethnic community, improve Chinese or seek Chinese students who speak English, and thus alter their social life especially during the night.

4.3.2 Expectations and importance of social life

Expectations for career, study and social life when coming to Nanjing ranged widely among participants. A lot of participants explicitly expected to have more contact with Chinese people. They were learning Chinese and wanted to gain a better understanding about the Chinese culture and explore more Chinese cities. Few participants only expected to have contacts with other internationals. The cultural background did not matter much to them, as long as they have friends, which is in line with earlier findings (Bochner et al., 1977; Furnham and Alibhai, 1985). The participants who had these kind of expectations were all exchange students, visiting for a short period which is likely to partly be the reason why they tend to make friends with others in their same situation. While participants who were going to stay for longer duration would seek more connections with Chinese society. Also few participants expected to seek social relations related to career opportunity.

Most participants expressed that their expectations for social-life in Nanjing have been met, they feel very satisfied with the friends they have, or even surprised with what they have now. Interestingly, some mentioned they didn't have as many Chinese friends as they anticipated before coming to Nanjing. Participants have gotten to know many nice people and have a lot of international friends, which seems to have compensated for the lack of Chinese friends as they feel their general expectations have been met. As mentioned one participant from England, although she didn't meet her expectation for making more Chinese friends than western friends, she still felt quite satisfied:

> "It's different with what I meant to, I tend to have more Chinese friends than western friends, but I am happy with the way it did, so I wouldn't say I am disappointed because I could have a big group of friends all over the world." (Female, one-year exchange student, British, Interviewee 1)

For all participants, social life is important in terms of many different aspects. As one participant mentioned that meeting people from different culture has helped her broaden her horizons and enriched her experiences.

> "Here I have the chance to meet a lot of people came from different countries with different experiences, So, I think I can enrich my experience and knowledge by meet new friends." (Female, six-months exchange student, Italian, Interviewee 14)

A lot of participants mentioned new friendship, maintaining contacts with friends,

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sharing interesting stories or different experiences with friends are what they are seeking for in their social relations.

> "I seek friendship and also some kinds of bonds, it's always go to know people. I think it never harm me to know people, network is always the key. I want to have people that I can spend my daily life with, like having fun, also I want to have deep conversation about important things, it's good to know if people have a problem." (Female, six-months exchange student, German, Interviewee 26)

At the same time, everyone has different definitions of friends and friendship, as well as what they hope to get out of friendship. Some participants consider friends or friendship very loose things, just like sharing common interest, keeping companionship, and having fun together. Some other participants consider friends and friendship as more, like deep mutual understanding, intimacy, honest, sense of happiness and taking care of each other, rather than just some benefits.

> "Just someone to have fun with. It's always nice to have someone to talk to and rely on, but maybe just someone you can forget the bad things, have laugh and enjoy yourself in it." (Female, one-year exchange student, British, Interviewee 1)

> "when I see him or her, I feel happy, that is good friends. For those who I met every day, there may still be a sense of distance, they are not close friends." (Female, 4th-bachelor student, Korean, Interviewee 21)

> "When you know somebody as your friend, they will not say something that makes you happy, sometimes you might think that bad but honest, because they care about you, they want you to be the right path." (Male, one-year exchange student, British, Interviewee 15)

> "I think friend is, they know my jokes, like this Chinese girl begins to know my joke. it's like friend knows you and your background, and gives you sense of safety, and make you happy, and benefit each other." (Female, one-year exchange student, American, Interviewee 13)

One participant argued that some international students may seek Chinese friends as a tool to learn Chinese, so do some Chinese students. Thus, these social relationships are based on profits and benefits, rather than mutual understanding, which is much more important in starting relationship with Chinese students.

> "I guess it would be the mutual understanding...I would say more generally like human understanding like you know I am a different person among you, but nevertheless, we are friends, so we can understand each other. The main problem in contacts is that sometimes people used to think social relations as a consumption things, like you meet a person, and there is like 'oh, you can speak

English, so you can teach me some English.' Some foreigners meet some Chinese, they treat them as a tool to learn Chinese. That is not a kind of friendship or social relationship I am seeking." (Male, 2nd-year PhD student, Polish, Interviewee 2)

By comparing two participants from France, their motivation differs on seeking social relationship with Chinese. The former one seeks more social relationships related to job opportunities and romance, while the later cares more about sharing different culture and opinions. These different motivations, to some extent, influenced how they integrate the Chinese society, which would be further discussed in Chapter 4.6.

"I seek to improve my Chinese, I seek to have a connection with my job, I am also single, if I could meet a girl, she become my girlfriend. So friendship, finding love and maybe work relationship." (Male, two-year language student, French, Interviewee 24)

"Knowing more about others, knowing new point of views, also about having a good time together, especially when you are in a new city, you arrive Nanjing the first time, I think it's very nice you can have someone to explore the city together, to share good moments, sharing your culture and your opinion, to know Chinese students, because we are from different background." (Male, one-year language student, French, Interviewee 25)

Besides friends and friendship in social life, quite a few participants also mentioned their particular interest on knowing Chinese culture. They expect to be more sociable in the context of Chinese culture, which means they have to improve their Chinese and find ways to interact with Chinese people properly.

"I want to learn more about China, about Chinese culture, I hope to make Chinese friends because I want to know differences around the world. I really like travelling and going out and exploring." (Female, six-months exchange student, Korean, Interviewee 29)

"At the moment, in Nanjing, I would like be more sociable in Chinese especially, it's not only about learning how to speak, but...more words, and I can understand better, so in that sense, meeting more Chinese people and Chinese friends." (Male, one-year exchange student, British, Interviewee 15)

However, not everyone has been prepared to entering the Chinese local society, especially for those who feel a bit 'culture shock' and seek help from co-ethnic fellows. Two Korean participants mentioned they try to get Korean fellows' companionship and suggestions to help them fit in this city and also stay away from loneliness, which is in line with Kim's (2001) finding:

"We are living in a different circumstance from Korean culture, we hope to feel comfortable living here so, we would try to find out where our Korean fellows are and what they do here. They help us fit in here." (Female, six-months exchange student, Korean, Interviewee 4&5)

Therefore, motivations and expectations on friendship and social life also strongly affect international students' patterns of socializing, especially during the nightlife. Students who have loose definitions of friends and friendship tend to have more fleeting pleasure in the nightlife settings and fast friendship, while students who relate friendship to mutual understanding would spend more time in building and remaining friendship. Besides, students who seek more benefits out of friendship seem to face obstacles in making friends with Chinese students.

4.3.3 Meeting friends and strangers

The main avenues through which participants met their friends included university (courses), student associations (e.g. Language Exchange Nanjing) and other co-curricular activities such as the gym. A couple of participants noted introductory and orientation events were significant for making their initial connections here in Nanjing, but at the same time, those events never included local students. A few students thus expected more introductory and orientation events with the participation of local students. Other avenues included social media (Wechat group), through volunteer work and friends of friends. Usually, going out at night was not an unsolicited answer, however directly asking whether friends were made through going out gleaned mixed responses ranging from 'Yes, but not in KTV, because we all go with our friends to bar or coffee' (Male, one-year MBA student, French, Interviewee 20) to 'Not really. For Koreans, it is also not common to meet new people in bar or club. Maybe because Korean guys are a little bit shy, our Chinese or English is not good. Speaking other language makes us uncomfortable, especially in night clubs or bars.' (Male, six-months exchange student, Korean, Interviewee 3). Anyway, as mentioned by one participant, going out at night helped to break the scheduled lives and create sort of chances to talk and enjoy the very moment:

"The most problem is many people live in a very scheduled lives... But if you are going to a club and you are having a drink or just going to a cafeteria, all sudden they are breaking this rule, for this one very particular moment, they are just talking with you. This make it different because you happen to know the person more, even though they go back to the stable live, nevertheless, you maintain the contact. Okay, from this and that, I have time, let's eat together and that is fine." (Male, 2nd-year PhD student, Polish, Interviewee 2)

There were three key findings that stood out from the response to this question. Firstly, that most participants go out with their friends or new acquaintances, so rather than making new friends, nightlife experiences strengthen their existing relationships, which is in line with Grazian's (2009) findings.

"Definitely yes, I think it is very important to strengthen your relationship with people you already know. It does not has to be like going out at evening to strengthen the relationship, but that is just one way. That is important, because having close friends is important just in case you need have, you can have some people to rely on in this new circumstance. Those who I see in night (new people) are not important, how you get in touch is different. If I am in a cafe study, maybe I can talk to someone else and know each other, you already have link in a different way, but if you meet someone in nightlife it is just a short meet. Meeting people in nightlife will not develop strong ties among stranger if you don't get often to meet them." (Male, one-year exchange student, Swiss, Interviewee 22)

Secondly, some participants did make friends through their nightlife experiences. These friendships range from being quite shallow as described by one participant:

"Yes it helped me meet other international students, but still it's a shallow connection. you know, during the day you have more important conversations and discussions. but bars and clubs, is not really a chance to get to know those things... it is not a kind of important friendship. Chinese people I usually meet through common interest and different activities, so we have a shake connections, if it's meeting them at club or bars, it's just..., I don't know, they have different values and goals of party." (Male, one-year exchange student, Australian, Interviewee 18)

To more meaningful friendships as described by another couple of participants who would then go out again with their new found friends, catch up for coffee or attend other events together. Particularly, events held by Language exchange group seem to be a good way to start meaningful friendships as it provides good opportunities for participants to talk and exchange culture and thoughts. Besides, one participant mentioned that knowing friends from friends is a good way to start friendship:

"When you go out with your close friends, and they might bring someone new to the group, and you will see them one week later, and they bring their friends. So I see my friends and I push them to bring new people. So if my friends are nice, people they bring are more likely to be nice, but people you meet in bar or club would be stupid." (Male, two-year language student, French, Interviewee 24)

Furthermore, making new friends when going out is highly depending on the period of staying in Nanjing and companionship. As described by one participant, she got to know many Chinese students when she began to go out with Chinese friends, but since this going out became a sort of routine, there was less chance to meet new Chinese people. While, when going out with Korean friends, she always attract many male, but never became friends.

"If go out with Chinese friends, to restaurant or KTV, it does not, because all you

go out with you already know...At the beginning I can know many Chinese students, we meet very often, but after one month, we only meet seldom. it helps to keep the friendship, but not to know new people if it turn into a routine. If go out with Korean friends, drinking, I can always know many male, but not friends, Korean male and other foreigner male, they are interested in me or my Korean friends, so they talk to us. so I can know many male, but they are not really friends, they seek sexual relationship with my friends. I don't like this people, because they have other purpose to interact with you, they can never be friends." (Female, 4th-bachelor student, Korean, Interviewee 21)

It also depends on the where to go, as a couple of participants mentioned that go to cafe very frequently or language exchange help to start friendship step by step, however in club or bar, it is difficult to have a deep conversation and to know new friends, especially Chinese (students).

"Go to cafe help me extend my social network, while club or bar do not...Chinese students seldom go club or bar, It is not a good place to really know someone. On the other hand, I usually spend my leisure time in cafe, many students would go there, both internationals and Chinese, sometimes you meet people you have seen before, you then have a short conversation, the next time you may have a deeper conversation. I also learn a lot through these conversations, they become my friends." (Male, 4th-year bachelor student, Korean, Interviewee 9)

"Language exchange or study in a cafe, I would talk to my neighbour, that is the way I meet my Chinese friends. but when we are in bar or in club, I mean, every group is already on their own, so you don't want to bother them, and I think it's even harder for someone to go to the Chinese group of people and meet them, maybe that is something you do in the west, but I don't think that is something you do in China, you don't go other people and bother them." (Male, two-year language student, French, Interviewee 24)

Thirdly, when considering this question, almost all participants raised the topic of meeting and interacting with strangers. Although these interactions were typically fleeting and did not turn into friendships, this is a valued part of international students' nightlife experiences. The background of these strangers did not seem to matter, participants engaged with Chinese or other internationals alike. For one participant such encounters were particularly valuable as it was a space she could have more lively conversation with both Chinese and internationals.

"we will start talking, some of them asked my 'wechat', but I will not write with them much. I don't like always being on my phone, I like more real conversations." (Female, six-months exchange student, German, Interviewee 26)

Even though most participants did not care about the background of strangers, a few

participants would initiatively avoid connections with strangers for diverse reasons, of which the particular concern of safety. For instance, many Korean girls feel Chinese males are hunting them thus they need Korean male friends' protection and stick together. Also describe by one Italian participant, sticking together made them feeling safer, which might also hinder the communication with strangers:

> "We tend to be all together, stay all together and have fun all together, also because safer I think...Maybe if you are alone, it is easier to start communicating, but if you are with a group, it is almost impossible to join them and start talking." (Male, six-months exchange student, Italian, Interviewee 10)

Therefore, evidence has been gathered to answer the third question:

3. *How and to what degree do nightlife help international students build and extend their social network? To what extent do nightlife influence connections with friends and strangers?*

The choices of international students' social life (including nightlife) are largely depending on their recent cycle of friends which is highly based on living condition, co-ethnic community and language acquisition. These choices of social life (nightlife) can further influence the construction of their social network. Those who jump out the 'comfort zone' (for instance, staying with co-ethnic fellows to seek comfort) and have strong motivation to make real Chinese friends and to interact with the Chinese culture tend to have more possibilities in the choices of nightlife in terms of *when*, *where*, with *whom* and *what,* and moreover chances to interact with both internationals and Chinese. In general, nightlife strengthens existing relationship, including existing friendship with local students. Nightlife also provides opportunities to make new friends and interact with strangers, which is highly depending on the visiting nightlife venues and companionship. For international students, a context for (deep) conversations in nightlife are essential to start new friendship, especially with Chinese students. Since there exists a mismatch of nightlife patterns between international and Chinese students, making Chinese friends is particularly difficult in most nightlife settings.

4.4 Common values and civic culture

4.4.1 day versus night

Socialising in Nanjing during the day was described with adjectives such as 'serious', 'formal' and 'calm' whereas night time was the opposite, including 'crazy', 'open' and 'relaxed'. What it comes down to is the agreement that 'people are more open and friendly during the night' (Female, six-months exchange student, American, Interviewee 6), and prefer socialising in the night, which was closely associated with the mention of alcohol. The nightlife setting and alcohol consumption boosts confidence, reduces inhibitions and makes people more likely to approach strangers, as shown by the first and second quote, but also to have deeper conversations with the

friends people go out with, as illustrated by the third quote.

> "I would like to say nightlife here is more relaxed, and with alcohol the barrier would be lower, so maybe it is easier to talk to someone, just have some random talk." (Male, one-year exchange student, Swiss, Interviewee 22)

> "In nightlife you can be more spontaneous, it's not like that, maybe you are less afraid of doing something after drinking some beer in the night, and you don't care what you really want. You appreciate some random people you see somewhere but in daily life you won't do that. It's more easy to socialize during the night. It depends on what you want for the night." (Female, six-months exchange student, Italian, Interviewee 12)

> "At night we can talk about anything, we just talk, we just keep talking, we are more detached at night" (Male, one-year exchange student, British, Interviewee 15)

Interestingly, nightlife images among few Korean participants were a bit different. Socializing during the day is much easier than the night for the formality of daytime activities as illustrated by one Korean girl on the first quote. Nightlife is less crazy among Korean students when compared with western students, as shown on the second quote.

> "Daytime is easier for socializing because we have more time together, we can spend the whole day together. But the company during the night-time is very short, it is only a time to drink alcohol and talk with friends. Daytime you could have more serious conversations." (Female, 4th-bachelor student, Korean, Interviewee 21)

> "Night time is more lively, we see people are very crazy during the night, those westerner students. For us Koreans, we are not crazy as they do. It is good time to staying with friends, just drink and talk, to make us feel comfortable." (Female, six-months exchange student, Korean, Interviewee 5)

Therefore, one can see that Korean students do not perceive nightlife as crazy as most western students, which relates to their less likely going out with western students and cultural differences. To some extent, Korean students perceive socializing during the night similarly with Chinese students, more calm and less crazy.

4.4.2 Feelings about Chinese culture and Chinese students

Perceptions of Chinese students in Nanjing were generally positive, described as 'nice', 'really friendly', 'polite', 'simple', 'respectful', but also 'shy' and 'conservative'. Chinese people in general were seen as poor English speakers, who are helpful, approachable and have an overall 'positive impression' on participants. As mentioned by one participant, Chinese people he met were very willing to offer helps and expect nothing

in return:

> "For the most part Chinese people have always been very open to me, very willing to help me, when I need help. I think a big difference between western students and Chinese students is that when they helped you Chinese students usually not expect you to help them in return. In the western, it's like, oh I helped you, so when you will help me, when you will do something for me. So in that sense I can really appreciate. It's a bit about Chinese culture, it's focusing on giving rather than taking, so Chinese students or people as a whole, I can see that emotion, I appreciate that." (Male, one-year exchange student, British, Interviewee 15)

And by another participant, Chinese people took more time to engage in friendship and reserved friendship in a long time, which fit participants who consider friendship more of mutual understandings rather than merely fleeting pleasures. Chinese's attitude towards friendship explains why Chinese students tend to go out with friends to restaurant, café and KTV as evident in Section 4.1.1 and why a trigger for deep conversations is needed to bring international and Chinese students together in the nightlife settings as shown in Section 4.2.5.

> "I think all of all compared to western people or Dutch people, they are more 'reserved', they take more time to engage in friendship, but in the Netherlands it is very loose, people become friends or drop friends quite easily and quite fast. I think in China it takes more time to become friends, they are more loyal I would say." (Male, one-year exchange student, Dutch, Interviewee 8)

But a couple of participants described middle aged Chinese people less positive than younger Chinese, because of some improper behaviour like spilt on the ground. A few of participants commented on their tendency to stick to their own social circles but the majority described Chinese people to be friendly, interested in international students and willing to converse, however that they don't typically make the first move. On the other hand, international students would also less likely to approach Chinese people first. Western students perceived themselves and their peers, to be more open to meeting new people and motivated to make friendships when out at night and to follow up with new contacts, and also like 'westerner do not really trust people' (Male, one-year exchange student, Greek, Interviewee 11). Korean participants perceived themselves and their peers to be more between westerners and Chinese, but in general, they perceived themselves very similar to Chinese people.

> "Chinese are very different to western students...Western students are pretty much the same, we have very similar culture, I think American people are very loud when they out." (Female, one-year exchange student, British, Interviewee 1)

> Chinese and Korean are similar, there are not many differences. And I have

Korean friends here. Chinese people are nice to me. (Male, six-months exchange student, Korean, Interviewee 3)

Besides, one Korean participant emphasized the exclusiveness of part of Korean students that Koreans tend to stick together and avoid others to join in, which was confirmed and explained by a few western participants and other Korean participants, as well as the observation result in Chapter 4.2.5.

"Koreans are not inclusive as Chinese do. they hardly accept others to join in them." (Male, Graduated bachelor student, Korean, Interviewee 23)

"We came together from Korea, we had close relationship, then we divided into several smaller groups of Koreans….We feel uncomfortable to be with other foreigners because we feel hard to communicate in English. Chinese are fond of Koreans, they respect us when we talk, but still many Koreans tend to stick with their own group." (Male, six-months exchange student, Korean, Interviewee 17)

Perceptions of Chinese students in Nanjing's nightlife were obscured because a lot of participants did not see many Chinese students in bars and clubs they visited or they failed to distinguish them. The majority of participants felt that Chinese students have different ways to spend the nightlife as they do and did not figure out yet. A few Korean participant mentioned that Chinese students prefer staying in a cafe rather than go clubbing.

"I think there are not many Chinese students in Nanjing's nightlife...from what I understand, most of Chinese students, they don't really go out…I never hear from Chinese people saying that, oh yeah this weekend we can drink and dance in this or that place." (Male, two-year language student, French, Interviewee 24)

"I see many Chinese students in cafe, but in club there are not many Chinese students, or I cannot distinguish them. I think students from Nanjing university seldom go club, they seem to stay in dorm or cafe like us." (Female, six-months exchange student, Korean, Interviewee 4)

Nevertheless, one participant noted that Chinese students have quite different attitudes towards nightlife and nightlife patterns based on their backgrounds:

"Some Chinese students, they are working, they are locals, ummmm, they will have very different attitudes from others. Basically, some students will go crazy during the night like party until the next day. But some students you will see they go with groups of people, and much organized, after certain time we just say byebye and go back to our dorms." (Male, 2nd-year PhD student, Polish, Interviewee 2)

Chinese people in general in the nightlife scene were seen as a group of people who have different ways to have fun, which made a few participants confused about it. "They are more likely sit down, and do not dance very much." (Female, one-year exchange student, British, Interviewee 1) "In clubs, they don't dance, so I don't know why they go there, just for drinking and watching foreigners." (Female, one-year language student, Russian, Interviewee 30) Besides, sort of Chinese were perceived negatively by few participants as 'drink a lot and get drunk too fast', 'noisy', 'boring' and 'fight when drunk'.

In terms of feelings about Chinese culture, most participants perceived it as neutral and positive, described as 'conservative' and 'inclusive', while few participants mentioned the part of Chinese culture that they dislike. To Korean participants, firstly, Chinese culture shares more similarities than difference with Korean culture; secondly, Chinese culture is broader than Korean culture for multiple reasons while everywhere in Korea is almost the same as illustrated by the first quote; and thirdly, Chinese culture is more conservative about love and sex than Korean culture as described by the second quote:

> "Korean as a very small country, so everywhere looks the same. Our culture is deeply rooted on origin and slightly affected by western culture, I mean, collectivism culture, reflecting on cloths, behaviours, norms and thoughts, all of which are Korean style. This is quite different with Chinese since you have multi-level of culture. Each region or ethnic has its own subculture. Your Chinese are more adapt to this multi-cultural circumstance, since you are familiar with it since very young. When one Korean comes to China, firstly you have to learn Chinese, however, even you have learned a lot of Chinese, you only know a little about Chinese culture. Chinese culture is so broad and vivid. Thus, Koreans would rather play with Koreans." (Male, Graduated bachelor student, Korean, Interviewee 23)

> "I think Chinese culture is more conservative, more conservative about love, about sex. I am more conservative, so I like Chinese students." (Female, 4th-bachelor student, Korean, Interviewee 21)

To western participants, Chinese culture is of huge difference with their own culture, but still share some common goods in terms of good manner and some other universal values. When facing these huge differences, the majority of western students participants succeeded to settle down and adapt to their new life very soon. Furthermore, a few of western students felt quite surprised that they could fit in a totally different culture in few weeks, although not really integrate into the Chinese society. Generally, western participants like these culture differences, rather than feeling annoyed and confused.

> "I think it's not that difficult to settle in the Chinese culture. Even though I can't

understand the language well, I can understand the culture. I feel it's quite different with English culture, but at the same time there are a lot of similarities, in terms of politeness, in that sense it is not difficult to integrate with Chinese culture, you can understand it and you can appreciate it what it is." (Male, one-year exchange student, British, Interviewee 15)

4.4.3 Satisfaction for living in Chinese context

Integration would seemingly entail mixing cross-culturally with the host society, but as I found, a lot of international students especially western students had predominantly international friends and perceived themselves well fit in Nanjing and happy with their social-life, and feel a bit at home like 'Now, it's my university, it's my life, it's my city and now it's becoming my own home' (Female, six-months exchange student, German, Interviewee 26). This is unsurprising as the main avenues and most amount of time participants spent was with other international students (Korean students) - that is at university, international organisations and their living situations. This for the most part was not perceived as an issue, more just accepted and common sense, and furthermore not specific to international students, typical of Chinese students also. Besides, a few international students, especially degree students lived in suburb campus, would have most time with Chinese students, that also reflected high level of satisfaction of life in Nanjing.

Therefore, it is essential to look at the reasons behind this (dis)satisfaction and feeling (not) at home. The companionship of friends or family largely impacted their feelings of (not) at home. Few participants mentioned that the absence of family made them feel less at home in Nanjing. While the majority argued that the companionship of fellow international students, as well as Chinese students, reduced their loneliness and made them feel Nanjing is a home. However, some international students faced the issue of losing connections with friends when new semester came. As described by one participant who used to feel very at home in Nanjing, the changing friends cycle made him feel great lose as most international friends in short-term program had ended their study in Nanjing. Therefore, reconstructing friends cycle in the second half-year becomes a tough issue for a few international students. On the one hand, one could feel less passionate to make new friends and feel depressed for the loss of connections. On the other hand, the familiarity of Nanjing could help them easier to guide newcomers and make new friends. However, it depends much on the person.

"One thing I really love is living with fellow international students, being able to have so much freedom to go out, there is no excuse to be lonely. Last July when I went back to Melbourne, I feel so lonely, living at home with my parents who went out work all the time and all of friend were in university. Then I feel, oh Nanjing is my home, I lost sense of community here, If I am not participating in university or work, I lost my sense of community at home, so Nanjing becomes the place I was really looking forward to come back to. But when I do came back, I found it all changed, I don't have the same friendship groups, I had different classes, ...so because of that, I don't feel sense of belonging and at home of my

university, I feel like a little puppy there..." (Male, one-year exchange student, Australian, Interviewee 18)

Interestingly, connections with good Chinese friends seem to relieve the depressed feeling of the collapse of former friends cycle. As one participant mentioned that one good Chinese friend, with whom went out very frequently to have deep conversations, had helped her know more about Chinese culture and go through the beginning of the second half-year. Her 'wechat' poses also proved that one good Chinese friend made her very connected to Chinese society.

"I feel very happy when going out with the Chinese friend, the girl, we won't drink a lot, so we can have deep conversation and know more about each other's culture, she is quite easy-going." (Female, one-year exchange student, American, Interviewee 13)

Also confirmed by one Korean participant that Chinese students helped him fit in and get a sense of home in Nanjing: "Friends, Chinese students, they changed me a lot. I feel I already fit in the Chinese culture. " (Male, 4th-year bachelor student, Korean, Interviewee 9) Besides, Chinese close friends in the network are vital to a sense of connections to the Chinese society and satisfaction of life in Nanjing. Even one Chinese friend with good relationship can enable international students to better experience the city and Chinese culture, as well as in the nightlife settings.

The forth question then could be answered as follow:

4. *How and for what reasons do nightlife affect international students' satisfaction of living in Nanjing and in the Chinese culture?*

Generally, social network and socializing influence international students' perceptions of Chinese culture and Chinese people, and satisfaction of living in the Chinese context. Different preferences toward socializing during the day and night enable international students to have different perceptions on Chinese people, Chinese students and Chinese culture. Choosing different social life especially in the nightlife settings can largely affect the dimensions of Chinese society and people they can see and interact. Most international students perceive Chinese and Chinese students quite positive in general, but do not have much perception on Chinese students in the nightlife settings for the mismatch of nightlife consumption practices between international and Chinese students. Thus, the more diverse social life (nightlife) international students have experienced, the more abundant perceptions and feelings about the city, people and culture international students would have. Besides, most international students perceive Chinese culture neutrally or positively as 'conservative' and 'inclusive', which influences their general satisfaction of living in the Chinese context.

4.5 Nightlife patterns and modes of social integration

Based on social network and satisfaction of living in the Chinese context that perceived by participants, the modes of their social integration are evaluated as flowing part, details see Appendix D. Social network with international students/Korean students and Chinese students are the key in the evaluation with their perception on Chinese (students) and culture and their satisfaction of lives in Nanjing. A brief graph of all 30 participants' social network are displayed as below. As one can see, those who were identified as 'integrated' tend to have more connections with both Chinese and internationals, while those separated were more likely to have a strong group of friends to rely on, such as the Korean, Italian and British cycle in Graph 4.1. Besides, participants who attended language exchange event seem to perceive themselves more integrated. Korean community among degree Korean participants tends to be smaller and more divided than short-term Korean students, as showed at the left bottom, which enables them   to be less separated from the Chinese students.

Table 4.1 nightlife and modes of social integration

N=30	Nightlife patterns	Social network (Contacts and relationship with Chinese and international (co-ethnic) friends)	Common Values and civic culture (Perception and satisfaction on Chinese people and culture)	I/A/S/M
12 (11 We and 1 Kr)	Have diverse nightlife experiences with internationals and Chinese in different venues	Do not have a strong co-ethnic community; have both international and at least one Chinese friend with good relationship	Have detailed perception on Chinese people and culture; adapt to the differences; feel satisfied for living in Nanjing	Integration
10 (5 We and 5 Kr)	Have very settled patterns of nightlife in terms of visited venues and companionship	Tend to have a strong group of friends or co-ethnic community; only have few contacts with Chinese but no deep friendship	Have little understanding about Chinese people and culture ; feel less satisfied in the Chinese context; western students feel more satisfied than Korean students for the westernized nightlife	Separation
2 (0 We and 2 Kr)	Mostly go out with Chinese students rather than co-ethnic fellows and other internationals	Have mostly Chinese friends and prefer to stay with Chinese rather than internationals or co-ethnic fellows	Have deep understanding about Chinese people and Chinese; feel satisfied of life in Nanjing but lost their originality.	Assimilation
6 (4 We and 2 Kr)	Sometimes feel confused about what nightlife to choose	Fail to build connection s with certain group as expected or fail to have deep connections with both internationals (co-ethnic fellows) and Chinese	Sometimes not really feel satisfied of life in Nanjing; feel a bit confused about Chinese people and culture	Marginalization

We: students from generally western countries (mainly in Europe and America)

Kr: students from South Korea

Graph 4.1 social network of participants
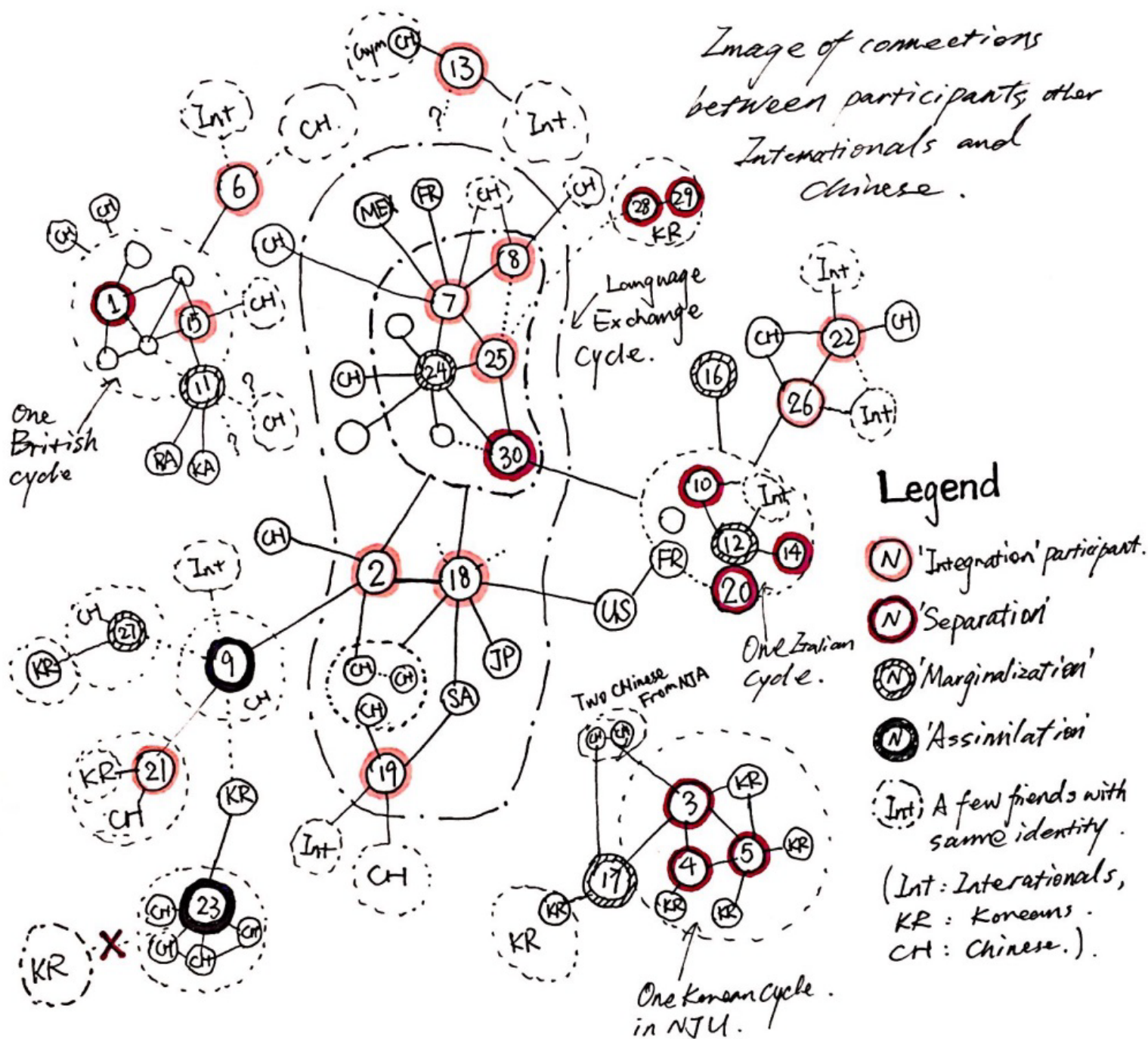
4.5.1 Integration

Twelve of thirty participants were evaluated as 'integration' (see Table 4.1). They are one Polish, two Americans, one Dutch, one Mexican, one British, one Australian, one Canadian, one Swiss, one French, one German and one Korean. Interestingly, all five participants from American and Oceania countries were identified as 'integration' and none of participants from South European were listed in and only one Korean was integrated. Most of them were going to stay in Nanjing for at least one year, which influenced their expectations to have more meaningful interactions with the Chinese

society. In general, integrated participants interacted more actively with both internationals and Chinese, and did not always stick together with international students or co-ethnic fellows in the nightlife settings. They were more open-minded with the cultural differences between internationals and Chinese.

Additionally, three key findings were found. Firstly, integrated participants did not have a strong co-ethnic group to belong to, which can be explained by living outside the campus, lacking original cycle or overcoming language barriers. Based on Simmel's (1950) idea that individual relations are more or less community relations, with less pressure from international and co-ethnic peers (community), making friends became less related to community relations. Therefore, participants could choose certain type of social life including nightlife with less consideration of international fellows' preference.

Secondly, integrated participants were more likely to have very diverse nightlife experiences with both international s and Chinese people rather sticking to certain patterns of nightlife in terms of *where*, *when*, *with whom* and *what*. For integrated participants, settled elements of nightlife, such as clubbing or going out with co-ethnic fellows, were not always necessary to be part of their nightlife in order to maintain their originality. Therefore, integrated participants had more freedom rather than constrains to choose their social life.

Thirdly, integrated participants were more likely to have at least one Chinese friend with good relationship. The Chinese friends helped participants to connect to the Chinese society, which is especially proved by one participant from the US that her only Chinese close friend enable her more explorations and feeling emotionally connected to the city. Therefore, it does not necessary to have large amount of Chinese contacts in social network to feel integrated and friendship seems to be vital important which is based on more deep conversations. Since most nightlife activities do not provide many opportunities to deeply communicate with strangers, and strengthen more existing relationships, which is in line with Grazian's (2009) findings, generally nightlife do not help international students to make new Chinese friends, except certain events with the purpose to culturally mix, like Halloween party and language exchange. It was particularly noted that participants who usually attend Language Exchange group events tended to feel more integrated, for the opportunities of cultural communication with both Chinese and internationals that language exchange group brought.

4.5.2 Separation

Ten of thirty participants were evaluated as 'separation'. They are two Italians, one British, one Russian, one French and five Koreans (see Table 4.1). This type of participants mostly had a very strong belonged community of international or co-ethnic friends and almost did not have close relationship with Chinese. For separated participants, when facing 'culture shock' they failed to find a proper position as a 'visitor' and 'stranger' in a new circumstance. To ease stress and pressure, they

tended to conservatively maintain social life (nightlife) they felt comfortable and familiar, which reflected differently on Korean and western participants.

Separated individual Koreans were more likely to represent the whole Korean group they belonged to. This group consciousness forced them always socializing with the companionship of Korean fellows. Therefore, separated Korean participants had very homogeneous nightlife patterns in terms of *who* did they go out with. The main reasons for their stickiness were a sense of loneliness, stress and anxiety. Some participants also mentioned that the broadness of Chinese culture compared to Korean culture made them quite upset and confused. On the one hand, separated Korean participants seek information and emotional support from Korean community, which is in line with Kim's (2001) finding on seeking help and support from co-ethnic fellows, and seek identity recognition through going out with fellows. On the other hand, when holding very high level of loneliness, stress and anxiety, they failed to start interactions with Chinese and other internationals and explore Chinese cities and culture . Korean participants also argued that most Korean students tend to stay in a comfort zone and less challenge themselves:

> "I think for those Korean students, most of them, they rely too much on each other, they would not like to improve their Chinese by studying harder themselves or find Chinese friends to help them. Human beings are lazy animals. Humans tend to stay in their comfort zones. Those Koreans tend to use the language with which they can easily express themselves...Other Korean students are afraid of this unfamiliar circumstance, but they actually can fit in this circumstance and they will feel quite enjoyable." (Male, Graduated bachelor student, Korean, Interviewee 23)

Western participants revealed more individual uniqueness rather than group consciousness, but still differences between 'in-group' and 'out-group' exist obviously in socializing. Separated western participants went out frequently to bars and clubs (*where*) until late (*when*) with mostly international students, drinking and dancing (*what*), to maintain their former lifestyle and to display their identity as international students and foreigners. Living in an internationalized zone where facilities were designed for internationals with other international students, rather than being upset and stress, separated western participants felt more satisfied than Koreans. The living circumstance constantly reminded them that they can maintain their lifestyle and identity, which hindered a reconstruction of identity. The 'free drink' for internationals in some bars and clubs further strengthened this feelings. Besides, a strong (co-ethnic) group and language barrier also influenced their choices of nightlife activities and embedded interactions.

4.5.3 Assimilation

Only two participants were evaluated as 'assimilation' and both were Korean male students. The only one Korean participant listed as 'integration' was also at risks to be assimilated. The assimilated participants would spend most time with Chinese

students, have mostly Chinese friends, feel quite integrated to the Chinese society, but also largely lose their original identity and heritage culture:

"I especially love Chinese culture and Chinese people. I do not like Korean culture...I almost do not have Korean friend. I like to stay with Chinese friends...I do not want to go back to Korea, I feel happy living here. Returning home is no matter important." (Male, 4th-year bachelor student, Korean, Interviewee 9)

"Here in Nanjing is different, especially the lovely Nanjing university, I love here, I feel I am in really China and live as a Chinese...If you ask which country I like most, I would say, China. It is not about politics and culture. I just like here, like the people here, their norms, their values are so good, people are nicer than Koreans...I belong to the Chinese student group, my relationship with Koreans are just so-so, not bad but not so close...I can pretend to be friendly with those Koreans... I also do not have many foreign friends, Perhaps people from European countries and US are more exclusive with me..." (Male, Graduated bachelor student, Korean, Interviewee 23)

The particular interesting question then would be: why Koreans would be assimilated but not western students?

Firstly, Koreans usually had very a strong co-ethnic community to be bonded with. These powerful connections enticed Koreans to stay with fellows, which especially hindered communication with Chinese students. Therefore, to socialize more with Chinese students, Korean students have to have strong motivations to escape the Korean community. These two participants did have strong motivation to reduce interactions with Korean fellows in order to improve their Chinese and make more Chinese friends. However, leaving the Korean community would have an influence on their relationship with Korean friends, as shown on the quotes above, they failed to restore relationship with the Korean friends. Therefore, their social network were reconstructed, which changed the companionship of their nightlife activities, and further strengthened the assimilation.

Secondly, the homogeneity and embeddedness between Chinese culture and Korean culture can be an explanation. Participants perceived Chinese culture similar with but broader than Korean culture, which made some Koreans upset and stressed. An increasing understanding about Chinese culture arises more confusions about their own culture, norms and values. Korean students do not have specific ways to maintain their originality as western students do especially during the nightlife, for instance , the appearance, western music, clubbing and dancing. The only way to feel like living as Korean is to stay with Korean fellows, which on the contrary makes them separated.

Nevertheless, one participant provided useful information about how Korean students

make Chinese friends. That is approaching Chinese students more initiatively and going out with Chinese students. As we can see, Korean students may have more advantages to interact with Chinese students than other international students for the similar culture background, similar lifestyle and Chinese students' specific interests on Korean culture. Going out with Chinese students during the night can be very constructive to the formation of friendship.

"Since a lot of Chinese young people like Korean culture, in general, Chinese students are very kind and friendly with Koreans...In a peaceful and friendly context, if you (Korean) take one step closer to Chinese students, those Chinese students would take two steps closer to you. Even if you just standing there, Chinese students would friendly approach you. But if you (Korean) also make efforts, things (become friends) become much easier…With my 'Korean' identity, I get more chance to be approached by Chinese because of their curiosity, which is a good beginning for further talks and being friends."

"If you want to make Chinese friends just try to know how they spend their leisure time and it is not that difficult. Koreans should be more acceptable about other possibilities of lifestyle. Chinese friends would also care about your feelings to make events more multi-cultural if foreign students join in them. Thus the next step is, one has to make efforts to join the Chinese group, improve Chinese language, learn Chinese norm, etc. It is not so difficult, because we still have a lot in common, compared to other culture." (Male, Graduated bachelor student, Korean, Interviewee 23)

4.5.4 Marginalization

Six participants were evaluated as 'marginalization' and they were one Greek, one Italian, one Polish, one French and two Koreans. This type of participants were more likely to felt confused about the way of socializing in Nanjing. Reasons for marginalization ranger among participants, some of which were related to nightlife activities.

The Italian participant was a second generation of Chinese immigrants in Italy. She experienced a tough childhood to integrate the Italian community and had confusions about her Chinese parents. After coming to China for study, she had quite complex feelings about Chinese culture and her identity. On the one hand, she felt belonged to the Italian community and should play with Italians. On the other hand, she felt close with Chinese surroundings. She then questioned herself about what position she should stand on in this seemingly familiar society.

The Greek was identified as 'marginalization' because of the inconsistency between his expectations and action. He mentioned his strong expectations on making Chinese friends and understanding more about Chinese culture. While he actually chose to always be with other international students and engaged nightlife in bars and clubs every weekends with internationals. Besides, he also not felt very close to the British

group of friends, which made him confused about what kind of life he should have in Nanjing.

The French 'marginalization' participant expected more of career opportunities from social life with Chinese in Nanjing. This specific motivation to seek career-related support from locals is good (Furnham and Alibhai, 1985), however, it doesn't help much to start deep friendship with Chinese, which is essential to feel belonged and integrated. Failing to meet his expectation of making much Chinese close friends, he became to feel a bit confused about the way of socializing (during the night).

5. Conclusion

5.1 Key conclusion

Considering that worldwide the amount of international students will grow dramatically (Rienties et al., 2012; Ward et al., 2009) as well as international students enrolled in higher education in China, and that it is important to integrate international students (Ward et al., 2009; Rienties et al., 2012; Thomas, 1998), this case study on international students and their nightlife experiences in Nanjing intended to bridge gaps between work on social integration, nightlife and students, bringing education studies and sociology together through geography. Through a short survey, a series of interviews and several evenings of observations, evidence was gathered on the role urban nightlife experiences play in international students' social integration.

1. *How do nightlife consumption practices in the city of Nanjing vary between international and Chinese students?*

Evidently, there exists some mismatches in nightlife consumption practices in the city of Nanjing between international and Chinese students, in terms of *when*, *where*, with *whom*, *what* and *why* (Brands et al., 2014; Boogaarts, 2011; Selfhout et al., 2009). In general, nightlife of international students especially western students in Nanjing, are perceived as more exciting, open, alcohol-induced and wild, while nightlife of Chinese students are more calm and stable. In terms of *when*, most international students had late night out experiences and went out more frequently than Chinese students due to less workload and free of dormitory regulation. In terms of *where*, bar and club are commonly visited by most western students and some Korean students, meanwhile, KTV and café are more commonly visited by Korean students, as in line with Boogaarts's (2011) finding that culture difference enable ethnic minority youth to have different nightlife choices. Chinese students go less bars and clubs since the dormitory regulation and societal stigmatization on student clubbing especially for female students, as in line with earlier findings on nightlife exclusion of gender and specific groups (Bromley et al., 2003; Grazian, 2009; Schwanen et al., 2012; Brands,

Schwanen and Aalst, 2014). In terms of with *whom*, international students with a strong co-ethnic community would have more homogeneous companionship in the nightlife, as in line with Boogaarts (2011). In certain situations like language exchange group, which contains both educational and entertainment purpose (Furnham and Alibhai, 1985), international students would go out with Chinese students. However, it is not common to see Korean students hanging out with western students or simultaneously with Chinese and Korean students, which can been explained by lacking educational or entertainment needs between these groups. In terms of *what* and *why*, students from different culture background have different attitudes towards drinking and dancing and romantic seeking in the nightlife settings, as in line with earlier findings (Brands et al., 2014; Boogaart, 2011; Selfhout et al., 2009; Anderson, 2009).

2. *How do socio-spatial practices (drinking around the table, etc.) differ between international and Chinese students in nightlife venues during a night out?*

In general, western students are more 'fluid' while Korean and Chinese students are more 'stable'. Most western students would move around frequently and talk with different internationals and sometimes Chinese, while Koreans and Chinese are mostly sitting around a table and having long conversations with less spatial movement, in line with Boogaarts's (2011) of the culture difference in nightlife. Moreover, Korean students can be regarded as separated groups in most nightlife venues for sticking together and lacking interactions with other groups, which can be considered as self-excluded as in line with Kim (2001) and Rui (2008). Besides, interactions between international and Chinese students do not happened much in general nightlife venues, like café, bar, club and etc. A purpose (an event) is needed to make international and Chinese students more mixed in the nightlife settings, such as language exchange group that providing chances for educational but entertainment talks and Halloween parties that attracting interests from both internationals (mostly western students) and Chinese.

3. *How and to what degree do nightlife help international students build and extend their social network? To what extent do nightlife influence connections with friends and strangers?*

The choices of international students' social life (including nightlife) are largely depending on their recent cycle of friends which is highly based on living condition, co-ethnic community and language acquisition, as in line with earlier findings (Simmel, 1950; Ward et al., 1998; Lin, 2006; Kim, 2001; Rui, 2008). These choices of social life (nightlife) can further influence the construction of their social network. Those who jump out the 'comfort zone'[1] and have strong motivation to make real Chinese friends and to interact with the Chinese culture tend to have more possibilities in the choices of nightlife in terms of *when*, *where*, with *whom* and *what,* and moreover chances to interact with both internationals and Chinese, of which the

importance has been emphasized by Bochner et al., (1977). In general, nightlife strengthens existing relationship, including existing friendship with local students, as in line with Grazian (2009). Nightlife also provides opportunities to make new friends and interact with strangers, which is highly depending on the visiting nightlife venues and companionship, as more in line with Oldenburg (1989), Jacobs (1961), and Putnam (2001).

4. *How and for what reasons do nightlife affect international students' satisfaction of living in Nanjing and in the Chinese culture?*

Generally, social network and socializing influence international students' perceptions

[1]Comfort zone: a psychological state in which things feel familiar to a person and they are at ease and in control of their environment, experiencing low levels of anxiety and stress. (see Wikipedia: comfort zone)

Liempt, van Aalst and Schwanen, 2015). Choosing different social life especially in the nightlife settings can largely affect the dimensions of Chinese society one can see and interact. Thus, the more diverse social life (nightlife) international students have experienced, the more abundant perceptions and feelings about the city, people and culture they would have. Most international students perceive Chinese and Chinese students quite positive in general, but do not have much perception on Chinese students in the nightlife settings for the mismatch of nightlife consumption practices between international and Chinese students. In fact, having some Chinese friends can help international students to have more diverse nightlife experiences as locals, as in line with earlier findings (Kim, 2001; Ward and Kennedy, 1993; Ward and Rona-Deuba, 2000)

As was inductively derived from the data, the nightlife setting has many elements that fit into two dimensions of social integration as proposed by Kearns and Forrest (2000). The findings show that the role of nightlife is that it offers a space for socializing, which is different and more informal than social settings during the day. Nightlife provides a space which enables the strengthening and deepening of bonds between people and groups who go out together, as in line with Grazian (2009). Usually these people are friends, classmates, or have met before, and particularly flatmates and co-ethnic fellows, and the nightlife experiences for the most part do not lead to new deep connections. This does not discount the importance of meeting strangers, as meeting strangers is part of the thrill of going out, and participants expressed this experience or part of going out was important to them. Such fleeting encounters add to familiarization with the place where people study, moreover its people, culture and habits, as line with earlier findings (Anderson, 2009; Farrer, 2008; Thomas, 2000; Liempt, van Aalst and Schwanen, 2015). A few respondents could tell stories, descriptions or information about Chinese people but less likely specifically Chinese students, that came from a nightlife experience. Most participants mentioned the nightlife as a good aspect of the city.

[Argument 1] It can therefore be firstly argued that the nightlife offers a space where

encounters with, or even being around, different people can create a sense of satisfaction across people from different backgrounds or co-ethnic community. An added layer compared to daytime social settings is the freer and often alcohol-induced reduction of inhibitions which facilitates such encounters with strangers as well as deepening of existing relationships.

However, since there exists a mismatch of nightlife activities between Chinese students and international students in terms of *where*, *when*, with *whom*, *what* and *why* (Brands et al., 2014; Boogaarts, 2011; Selfhout et al., 2009), interactions between international and domestic students are quite rare and shallow. Perceptions on Chinese people and Chinese culture in the nightlife settings thus can be quite limited by certain nightlife they are attending. Therefore, the nightlife does play an important role in intercultural and interracial socialization between international students, as is in line with earlier findings (Cattan and Vanola, 2013; Chatterton and Hollands, 2003; Farrer, 2008; Hollands, 1996; Liempt et al., 2015), but not much with domestic students. From the perspective of Chinese students, dormitory regulation and the stigmatization on students clubbing especial for female students makes them excluded in most late night clubbing scene, which is in line with earlier findings on social exclusion in urban nightlife (Bromley et al., 2003; Grazian, 2009; Schwanen et al., 2012). From the perspective of western students, the priority for free drink and entrance fee, with western styled bars and clubs can lead to separation, which is a bit different from earlier findings that focus on discrimination on minority groups and exclusion (Schwanen et al., 2012; Measham and Hadfield, 2009; Boogaarts, 2011; Hadfield, 2014). For Korean students, over sticking with co-ethnic fellows in the nightlife settings leads to self-exclusion to both international and Chinese students, as in line with Boogaarts (2011).

[**Argument 2**] Therefore, one can then argue that international students' nightlife in Nanjing reveals multiple layers rather than homogenized scene since international students are mostly satisfied with their nightlife but separated with Chinese students. The phrase of different nightlife preference fails to bring much interactions between Chinese and international students.

As reflected in the literature review, social integration is a broad concept with various meanings, making it hard to measure with quantitative methods if researchers do not make many presumptions or distinctions. By looking at perceived social integration, and using qualitative methods, a more flexible view of social integration was found. This is important, as self-addressed happiness with social life, friendships and the place of residence seem more important indicators of successful integration than common (quantitative) indicators such as frequency of social contact and amount of social ties, as is in line with Booth et al. (1991). Few participants complained about their social life or integration for various reasons such as losing contacts, loneliness for having few friends and failing to meet expectation on making friends.

[Argument 3] It can therefore be argued that once a certain threshold of deep and floating social contact is reached, international students are generally satisfied – regardless of these contact's backgrounds or where they met them.

While it is noted that having Chinese close friends, even if very few, can largely increase a sense of connection to local society and deepen understanding of Chinese culture and norms, as in line with earlier findings (Kim, 2001; Ward and Kennedy, 1993; Ward and Rona-Deuba, 2000). Besides, having a strong co-ethnic community do play a positive role in one's adaptation to local life and releasing 'culture shock' (Lin, 2006), but sticking too much with co-ethnic fellows, hinders communication as well as integration with other international students and Chinese students, especially for Korean students, as in line with Kim's (2001) finding. Indeed, western students are more integrated than Korean students in this research, as in line with Rienties et al. (2012).

Based on Furnham and Alibhai's (1985) three-level model of international students' social network and Simmel's (1950) idea of 'stranger', the trade-off between domestic students and international students can be explained as follow. For Korean students, on the one hand, seeking both emotional and entertainment support from co-ethnic fellows especially in the nightlife settings leads to their separation to other international students and Chinese students. High level of stress, loneliness and a sense of unsafety forces Korean students to stick together with Korean fellows to seek comfort. Therefore, socializing in the nightlife setting faces more constrains from the belonged community (Simmel, 1950). On the other hand, leaving Korean community means a necessity for seeking emotional and entertainment support elsewhere – mostly from Chinese students, which will put them at risks to be assimilated, as in line with Gudykunst (1997). For western students, sticking to a strong co-ethnic community in nightlife also leads to more separation. At the same time, those without a strong group have more freedom on socializing and making friends, especially during the nightlife – do not have to sticking on certain nightlife patterns. Besides, students who attend language exchange group or other student organization at night perceive more integrated to domestic students, as in line with Bok (2009).

[Argument 4] Therefore, it can be argued that separated students are more likely to over seeking entertainment and emotional support from co-ethnic fellows in the nightlife settings, assimilated students tend to over seeking emotional support from domestic students, while more integrated students would seek both entertainment and educational rather than emotional support from domestic students.

To bring internationals and Chinese together, first it is important to geographically distract the strong bonding between co-ethnic students, especially for Korean students, which brings international students more freedom in socializing and making friends (Simmel, 1950). Second, it is essential to break a spatio-temporal restriction and to diminish discrimination of Chinese student clubbing, which avoid Chinese students to

mix with international students and attend late night activities. Actually, an important societal transformation which has caused nightlife entertainment to become very important in the construction of young people's identity and social network (Cattan and Vanola, 2013; Chatterton and Hollands, 2003; Hollands, 1996; Thomas, 1998; Liempt, van Aalst and Schwanen, 2015) as well as seeking out intercultural, interracial and cross-gender sociability in global nightscapes (Farrer, 2008), therefore it is essential to let young have more freedom to explore themselves in the nightlife settings. Third, a combination of entertainment and educational purposes should be found in the nightlife settings, which language exchange group and special event for cross cultural communication could provide. Merely educational purpose or entertainment purpose can hardly bring deep interactions and friendship among international and Chinese students.

5.2 Reflection on methods

A number of reflections and implication for further studies can be made. First in regards to the interviews, I found interviewing particularly participants quite challenging especially for Koreans. Perhaps participants felt like they could not express themselves fully or were not able to provide more detail or extensive answers because they were not responding in their native tongue. therefore care was taken in interpreting such results and acknowledging their agreement or disagreement but not claiming that this was an unsolicited response.

Second reflecting on the observation, the setting became a lot more chaotic when large amount of students were highly fluid, and it was harder to catch all details and keep track of the international students. Recording with video might have to catch up more detailed information and being more accurate. It was hard to talk sometimes because of the loud music and hard to move due to the large number of (intoxicated) people in some nightlife venues. I engaged in different levels of participant observation, from moderate to active. Being recognized by other international or Chinese friends, I had to participate in the international circle to behave in a socially acceptable way. This enabled the researcher to casually ask specific questions but also meant I was influencing and part of the unfolding situation and observation. I did not tell all the international students I was observing their behaviour, only those who were interviewed knew and gave consent. I did not tell the others to avoid the Hawthorne effect. Because in this circumstance I did not have time to let people get used to the fact that I was researcher and therefore act in a normal way around us. Instead I identified the cultural norms and rhythm of activity and did the best to engage in this flow as to not disturb the natural behaviour of those observed.

Thirdly, perceived social integration is of a dynamic process that can change through time, as well as international students' social network and satisfaction of living in the Chinese context. The recent conclusion is based on the status participants were in, but not a series of tracking investigation. Therefore, further studies could look into the procedure of one's integration and key indicators, for example the formation and

collapse of one's social network, the changing phrase of nightlife activities and the variation of the satisfaction of living abroad. A series of journals (dairies) and interviews can help to evaluate the variation of nightlife experiences and perceived social integration.

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Appendix A

Questionnaire: For Chinese students

Please fill in this form about your common urban nightlife experience (after 8 pm.)

	How often do you go these places during the night?						Hour of arrival and departure	Who do you usually go out with?			what do you prefer to do?				
	More than twice a week	More than once a week	More than twice a month	More than once a month	less than once a month	I never go	Between 8pm and 6am	Close friends (including boy/girlfriend)	Normal friends (including classmates)	Strangers	Drinking alcohol	Dancing	Singing	Playing games	Others
Bar/pub	○	○	○	○	○	○		❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Cafe	○	○	○	○	○	○		❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Club	○	○	○	○	○	○		❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
KTV	○	○	○	○	○	○		❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Restaurant	○	○	○	○	○	○		❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Theatre/cinema	○	○	○	○	○	○		❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Bowling/pull	○	○	○	○	○	○		❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
student Society/ school event	○	○	○	○	○	○		❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑
Others	○	○	○	○	○	○		❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑	❑

■   What is your motivation of going out?

■   Do you have any international student friend from Western countries or Korea?

■   Have you ever get to know any international student in your nightlife experience?

■   If you have chance to go out with international students during the night, where, when and with whom you would most like to go?

Please fill in your basic information
Age_____ Gender_____ University_____
Monthly income_____
Residential situation_____
Oversea experiences (Yes/No)_____
Oral English professional_____
Korean professional_____

Appendix B

Interview Schedule: For international students

Introduction to the study:

I am interested in understanding how international students experience urban nightlife in Nanjing and how it is related to making friends and settling into social life here. I am specifically interested in personal experiences and stories. I will ask you about 30 questions, and the interview is going to last about 40-60 minutes. Please feel free to elaborate anywhere you want. For the purpose of the interview, when I speak of nightlife I mean going out and activities after 9 pm in commercial spaces like restaurant, cafe, pub, bar, club and KTV, etc. Or if you have other nighttime activities like visiting friend's home, etc, you can also mention that.

I would like to record the interview. All information you provide me with will remain confidential, shared only with my tutor. It will also be kept anonymous in my findings. Can I confirm your consent to me recording this interview?

General introduction questions:

1. How has life generally in Nanjing been so far?

2. Can you simply introduce yourself?

    a. Where do you come from?

    b. How old are you?

    c. What languages do you speak? (How is your Chinese so far? elementary, inter-medium, advanced)

    d. Your personality? How do you describe yourself?

3. How long are you staying in Nanjing and how long have you already been here for?

    a. Erasmus, degree (masters/bachelor etc.)

    b. What are you study here in Nanjing

4. What were your expectations when coming to Nanjing/China? for study, career, social life, etc.

Social Network and Chinese Culture

5. Where do you currently live in Nanjing?

    a. Can you describe your housing situation? How many roommates? International students?

6. Can you describe your circle of friends here in Nanjing?

    a. predominantly international? Come from the same country as you? Speak the same languages? Do you have any Chinese friends? If not, why? If yes, where did you meet them? How do you usually contact your different friends?

    b. How do you define friends and friendship

7. What are you seeking in your social relations/ what do you get out of friendships?

8. How do you feel about settling in to the Chinese Culture? Does the culture here differ from your own? How do you think of the Chinese people/students?

Nightlife experiences

9. Can you fill this form about your common nightlife experience in Nanjing?

Where do you usually go?			
What time do you go and how often?			
Who do you go with?			
What do you do in the nightlife experience?			
Your feelings and expectations			
The difference with your own country			

10. Can you describe your last weekend out in Nanjing?
a. Was this a typical night out or what was different?
b. How do you feel about it?
11. Do you feel comfortable in your different nightlife experience?
a. when the majority in the pub are domestic students or international students?
b. the atmosphere and the way of communication
c. Is there something that makes you feel annoyed or confused in your nightlife experience?

Social integration and nightlife experience
■ **Social network**
12. Do you meet new people when you go out at night(club, bar, KTV, cafe)?
a. What kinds of people do you meet when you go out?
b. Have you met any / many Chinese people/students when you go out? How do you think of them in the nightlife scene?
c. Have you seen this persons after you met them in the nightlife?
13. How does socializing when you're out at night differ from socializing during the day?
a. Do you think it is easier or harder? why? alcohol? darkness?...
14. Do you feel going out at night has helped you build and extend your social network?
a. How important do you feel of these part of friends?
15. Do you think there are barriers between you and Chinese students for communication? how about in the nightlife scene? Do you feel you(international students) are separated by Chinese students (in the nightlife)?
■ **Satisfaction for living in Nanjing (Chinese culture)**
16. What do you think about Nanjing/China? Are you satisfied/happy for living here in Nanjing?
17. Do you feel at home here in Nanjing? What makes you feel at home or not at home? Do you feel more at home in the club or pubs during the night than the daytime? why?
18. What do you think about Chinese people/students in Nanjing's nightlife scene/ environment? How about International students from other culture?.

Closing questions

19. In reflection, have your expectations been met for making friends in Nanjing?

20. Is there something you feel that needs to be changed to Nanjing's nightlife in order to feel more at home? Or to meet new people/Chinese students?

21. Are you going to staying Nanjing after your study here or do you wish to?

Thank you for participating in this interview, I really appreciate your perspectives and the time you have given me. Once again, I'd like to assure you that all the information you have provided will be kept confidential and remain anonymous in my findings. If you would like a copy of our final report, please give me your email address. Please feel free to contact me if you have any further questions.

Appendix C

Observation Plan and Coding

Social behaviour-observation scheme		
Item	Code	Description
Talking to international (Korean) students	Tis (Tks)	Having a conversation with a fellow international student (Korean)
Talking to Chinese (students)	Tc(s)	Having a conversation with a Chinese (student)
Dancing with international ...	Dwi	Spending time on the dance floor with internationals
Dancing with Chinese ...	Dwc	Spending time on the dance floor with Chinese students
Singing	Sin	Singing songs with some/alone
Drinking	Dri	Having a conversation over a drink with someone
Smoking	Smo	Having a smoke with some/alone
Texting	Tex	Form of disengagement with the surrounding
Flirting	Fli	Expressing flirtatious/romantic behaviour
Looking	Lok	Making eye-contact with someone/ glancing around the area

Appendix D

Nightlife patterns and modes of social integration: international students

NO.	Ethnicity	Nightlife patterns	Social network (Contacts and relationship with Chinese and international (co-ethnic) friends)	Common Values and civic culture (Perception and satisfaction on Chinese and Chinese culture)	Mode of social integration
1	British	Going to bars and clubs quite frequently with international friends, drinking and dancing, having most interactions within in-group and few interactions with Chinese	Have a strong in-group that came from the same university in England and meet them during the night	Feel satisfied about the Nanjing because of the friendly social environment and urban nightlife, feel more at home during the nightlife with friends; having superficial understanding about Chinese culture	Separation
2	Polish	not always stick together with international fellows or going to bar and club, also stay in cafe during the night, study and meet people; prefer meeting Chinese friends in the day	Have many international friends but also some Chinese friends, students and teachers from university; seek more pure friendship than merely benefit; use at least three Chinese mainstream social media	Find great balance between Chinese culture and original culture; have critical thinking and understanding about Chinese culture; have few confusion about Chinese culture; feel at home in Nanjing but feel less at home in bar and club	Integration
3	Korean	Stick together with Korean fellows in dorm, bars, clubs and KTV and sometimes with few Chinese; only dancing in KTV once a week; consider nightlife as opportunity to play with mostly Koreans	Have mostly Korean friends, few other international students and also few Chinese friends from Nanjing Arts Institute	Feel Chinese students are nice to him; but language barrier limits deep conversation with Chinese friends; consider Koreans and Chinese are similar in many ways	Separation
4	Korean	Drink with Korean friends in the dorm; more often stay in cafe with Koreans; sometimes go nightclub with Koreans; needs Korean male's protection in nightclub	Have two Chinese friends but no other international friend; Use more Korean social media, than 'Wechat' to keep in touch with friends	Feel Chinese are polite and nice to her; feel a little bit at home because of the Korean cycle the companionship of Koreans in nightlife ; feel Chinese drinking too much and being noisy in nightclub	Separation
5	Korean	Drink with Korean friends in the dorm; more often stay in cafe with Koreans; sometimes go nightclub with Koreans; needs Korean male's protection in nightclub	Korean cycle is very small in Nanjing, and most Korean's English level and Chinese level hindered interaction with Chinese and other international students	Feel there are more similarity than difference between Chinese and Korean culture; feel Chinese culture are much broader than Korean culture	Separation
6	American	Have calm night with both international and Chinese friends in	Have both work friends, school friends(international) and Chinese	Like most part of the Chinese culture, have some deep understanding about	Integration

		friends' house or cafe, eat drink and talk; have wild night in club and bar with internationals and some Chinese students, drink and dance until late	friends, consider many Chinese friends as lifelong friends; seeking seeking for soul mate, excitement, excitement, positive man; use wechat quite often	Chinese culture like 'losing face'; like being with Chinese people	
7	Mexican	Go out with close international friends and Chinese friends to bars, clubs, KTV, usually during the weekend; drinking, playing games, dancing; Chinese friends usually pay everything so she feel she should behave well	Have many Chinese good friends and other international friends, have a diverse friends cycle; use wechat frequently	Feel Chinese are polite and nice to her; notice the huge difference between Chinese culture and her own but the differences are not big issues; feel Chinese culture are different with what was descripted by western media; feel comfortable, safe and welcomed in Nanjing	Integration
8	Dutch	Prefer go to bars once a week with classmates and friends, drink and talk with new people, sometimes go clubbing afterwards	Have international classmates (friends) and few Chinese friends in Shanghai and Nanjing, but trying to seek more Chinese friend or others who do not speak English; use wechat to keep in touch with Chinese friends	Feel Chinese are friendly and hospitality and feel Chinese are more 'resert', who take more time to engage in friendship; but in general he enjoyed life in Nanjing; feel at home and good for living on his own rather than with parents	integration
9	Korean	Stay alone in cafe until 10, or go to KTV after 11 with Chinese friends or alone, or 2 years ago seldom go clubbing with Korean friends	Have many Chinese friends and other international friends because of a community 'isaac', almost do not have Korean friends; use two Chinese social media and seldom use 'kakaotalk'	Have a very good impression on Chinese students, feel quite happy and at home for living in Nanjing and do not want to go back to Korean; feel fit in Chinese culture; feel less at home in club and bar	Assimilation
10	Italian	Go to bars and clubs with Italian friends and international students; do not like go clubbing but go with friends	Have close friends of Italians, some other internationals, and few Chinese contacts; use wechat but prefer 'whatsapp'	There are difference between Chinese culture and Italian culture, but it is easy to live in the Chinese culture, feel Chinese people are polite and nice to him, but a little shy and not open to new situations	Separation
11	Greek	Go to bars, nightclubs and KTV after 11 or go for dinner around 8-9 pm. Usually with classmates, international friends, chat, drink and dance	Have a group of people coming from the same university in England, but not feel really close to most of them; expect to meet more Chinese but feel quite difficult; make friends very fast; have close friends from Pakistan and Kazakhstan. Have few	Really like China and Chinese culture because he was learning that; Greek culture share some similar values with Chinese culture like family value; also feel confused in many aspects of Chinese culture; feel Chinese people are shy, hospital and friendly; feel satisfied living in Nanjing, cannot feel	Marginalization

			Chinese 'friends' with shallow relationship	at home if not have Chinese friends	
12	Italian (with Chinese parents)	Go to bars and clubs every weekends with roommate and normally Italians and other internationals, talk, drink and dance	Have many friends and hi friend, but only few close friends or good friends, do not have Chinese friends and do not know how to approach Chinese	Like Nanjing and feel at home, get used to live in Nanjing, feel more at home in clubs and bars during the night; feel Chinese should attach more importance to traditional Chinese culture	Marginalization
13	American	Go clubbing usually with western friends and sometimes but less with Chinese friends, drink and dance and make new friends; seldom go to bar and club with foreigners since moving out from the dorm	Meet most Chinese friends at the gym, have one Chinese close friend and always go out together; prefer to meet internationals in cafe and restaurant	know more things than other internationals about Chinese culture, which helps to make more Chinese friends; try to become an American that knows Chinese culture and understand Chinese ways of doing things and adapt to it	Integration
14	Italian	Go to bars, clubs and friends' house after 10 pm. With international students, drink and dance	Have mostly Italian friends and classmates, used to spend time with western people; do not have Chinese friends	See the huge culture difference in many aspects, feel Chinese are shy while Italians are more open, feel a bit confused about the differences; feel satisfied live in Nanjing but not at home	Separation
15	British	Go to bars and clubs with classmates, roommate and people met in the nightlife, drink, talk and play games; attend language exchange group	Have a very broad friends cycle, friends from UK, other international students and a few Chinese friends met in language exchange group and social media 'Tantan'	Feel not difficult to understand Chinese culture, see both the differences and similarities between English culture and Chinese culture; feel Nanjing is a great city to live and study; rather adapted than feel at home because it is still not England, feel more at home during the nightlife	Integration
16	Polish	Go to bar once a week with friend's friends, go to cafe or restaurant with language partner, go to private house with international students; feel peer pressure of have to go out	Have Chinese language partners but not friends, do not have very close relationship with other international students	Have mixed feelings for living in a district designed for international students in the city centre, good but confused for not being in the really Chinese life; like Chinese culture; feel at home because of free from parents	Marginalization
17	Korean	Walk or run around the campus with girlfriend, go to cinema with Korean friend, do some reading in cafe	Friends cycle is highly related with girlfriend's friends cycle, do not have other international friends, have very few Chinese friends	Like Chinese culture, feel being respected by Chinese people; do not know happy or not happy for living in Nanjing, coming China is a escape; missing family; feel more at home	Marginalization

	83			during the night because of the companionship of friends	
18	Australian	Have quite diverse nightlife, go to KTV, social events, club, bars and cafe with different people in different situation	Have very broad friend cycle, have very close friends from Czech Republic and Slovenia, America and China; have more than 300 wechat contacts	After the 'culture shock', try to interact more with Chinese people and Chinese culture; good Chinese level help to learn more; enjoy living in Nanjing and feel at home	Integration
19	Canadian	Go to bars and clubs with other exchange students and Chinese friends	Have quite a lot Chinese friends and international friends, have more than 150 wechat contacts of both Chinese and internationals	Feel Canadians are very open to other culture, differ from the US; really like Nanjing and feel at home in Nanjing, but not because of the nightlife	Integration
20	French	Go to bars, clubs and KTV with close friends until late	Have many international friends but not Chinese friends yet, Chinese classmates are familiar with European culture	Feel Chinese are less friendly than Europeans because Chinese talk less, feel adapted to life in Nanjing, feel at home because of friends	Separation
21	Korean	Go to bars with Korean fellows last year, now stay more in library or go to restaurant and KTV with Chinese students; most interactions are with Chinese	Have many Chinese friends(classmates), play with Chinese and internationals. Use wechat, and also Kakaotalk to keep in touch with friends in Korea	think Chinese culture is more conservative about love, about sex; more like Chinese students rather than Korean; feel satisfied and at home, but feel a bit lonely since classmates moved to city centre	Integration
22	Swiss	Go to bars and clubs with internationals, go to KTV with internationals and sometimes Chinese, once a week	Have very wild cycle of communication, internationals and Chinese, seek lifelong friends	Get used to the culture difference, feel Chinese students are focusing on their study and a bit shy, but also see open Chinese students that can interact with very easily	Integration
23	Korean	Used to go clubbing with Koreans the first half year, now go more to restaurant, cafe and KTV with Chinese friends and girlfriend	Friends cycle changed from main Koreans to mainly Chinese students; pretend to be friends with Koreans	Feel Chinese culture are much broader than Korean culture; feel it is meaningless for Koreans to stick with Korean fellows; feel Chinese values and norms are better than Korean	Assimilation
24	French	Used to go to nightclubs but now only go to bars, restaurant and party house with friends, organize a movie party every week and invite both Chinese and internationals, also attend language exchange group	Have roughly 2/3 foreigner friends, 1/3 Chinese friends; only use wechat to contact people, calling is only emergency; seek more job opportunities and romance in some social relationships	Chinese culture is harder to adapt, feel confused in many aspects; feel a bit sad about living in Nanjing because the city didn't provide much opportunities as expected, do not feel at home because knowing will be gone oneday	Marginalization

25	French	Have very broad kind of nightlife experiences with different kind of people in different places; attend language exchange group	Have both Chinese friends and international friends; seek different point of views from different friends	Feel good and a bit at home in Nanjing because of friends	Integration
26	German (half Brazilian)	Go to the restaurant, cinema and cafe with the Chinese friend and international friends, also go to bars, ktv and clubs with international friends	Have mostly international friends, only have one good Chinese friends, also have some Chinese wechat contacts but never go out	Quite happy and satisfied with living in the Chinese context; interested with the old Chinese culture; do not have problems with the differences	Integration
27	Korean	Go to bars and KTV and drink alcohol with Korean friends, go to cafe with Chinese friends; go to the restaurant with both Chinese and Korean; go back before midnight	Have mostly Chinese friends and some Korean friends, feel less connected with friends in Korea because the lack of mutual understanding	Feel Chinese classify clearly the 'in-group' and the 'out-group', be aware of the culture difference; feel Chinese culture are broader than Korean culture, which makes many Koreans upset	Marginalization
28	Korean	Go clubbing every weekend until 1-2 am. With Korean friends, make new friends and drink alcohol; also go to cafe sometimes	Have mostly Korean friends and some other international friends, do not have Chinese friends	Do not experience much of Chinese culture, sometimes feel like living in Korea as surrounded by many Korean fellows	Separation
29	Korean	Go clubbing twice a week until 3-4 am. With Korean friends, drink, talk and dance; see nightlife as a way to get rid of stress	Have mostly Korean friends and international classmates, do not have Chinese friends and do not know how to make Chinese friends	Do not explore Chinese culture much, because the city is too urbanized and Korean students live together	Separation
30	Russian	Go to bars, clubs, restaurant, bowling and friend's house with friends, mostly French and Italians, never go out with Russians	Lost many close friends since moving from NNU to NJU, still have some good friends in NNU, lost one good Chinese friend, now have one Chinese friend; have many hi friends	Not a big distance for the culture difference for learning Chinese culture at the university; do not feel real happy because of losing friends, sometimes feel a bit at home	Separation