ACADEMIC CULTURAL EXPECTATIONS AND SECOND LANGUAGE USE: CHINESE POSTGRADUATE STUDENTS IN THE U.K. --- A CULTURAL SYNERGY MODEL

Thesis Submitted for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
at the University of Leicester

by

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October 1992
With a rising percentage of overseas students in British universities, it is important to ascertain the nature of any cultural gap in academic expectations between students and tutors. This research investigates the academic cultural orientations of the case of Chinese students and British supervisors through the analysis of 211 samples of questionnaire and interview data. The focus is on examining the influence of the socio-psychological and academic cultural background of Chinese students - as advanced second language learners/users - on their use of English for academic studies in UK universities. This background includes the major features of Confucianism, Taoism and modern Chinese intellectual development. In the context of a review of second language acquisition models, a Cultural Synergy Model for second language acquisition and academic language use is proposed which extends considerably Schumann's Acculturation Model. The findings suggest that the bigger the gap between orientations and expectations of British and Chinese academic cultures, the more difficulties Chinese students have in the use of academic English. This gap is examined in detail under the headings of social, psychological and academic distances. This model is built up inductively from the data and is considered a heuristic model to guide further research on other cultural groups of students. Practical implications and suggestions are discussed in the conclusion.
TO CHINESE STUDENTS IN THE UK AND THEIR
BRITISH SUPERVISORS AND TUTORS
FOR MY FATHER ~ JIN, SHIXIONG ~
WHO EDUCATED ME
DURING THE PERIOD WHEN I WAS DEPRIVED
FROM NORMAL EDUCATION
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This Ph.D. has made me to owe three debts which I will never be able to repay in my present life to those people who have kindly helped me academically, socially and financially.

I would like to give my deepest gratitude to my supervisor, Dr. Martin Cortazzi, who has helped me through all the stages of this research with inspiration, enthusiasm, invaluable guidance and constant encouragement. My thanks are also sent to Mr. Brian Harrison, who supervised me at the initial stages of my Ph.D. and has showed his interests in my research even after his retirement. I am grateful to Mr. John Beckett and other staff in the Computer Centre for their patient guidance and help. Many thanks are due to Prof. Ken Fogelman and Mr. Tom Whiteside for their support and to Mr. Roy Kirk and helpful and friendly staff of the School of Education library who made great efforts to find books on my research topic.

My great appreciation is given to Mr. Eric Adams, the Secretary, and Mrs. Catherine Hickinbotham, the Chairman, of the Barrow & Geraldine S. Cadbury Trust, and to Prof. Bernbaum, the Executive Pro-Vice Chancellor of Leicester University, all of whom made my study in the UK possible with their organization of financial support. My further thanks extend to the following trusts who granted me scholarships:

- The Barrow & Geraldine S. Cadbury Trust
- The Clothworkers' Foundation
- The David Montefiore Trust
- The Eleanor Hamilton Educational & Charitable Trust
- The Faire and Allaway Fund
- The Hickinbotham Charitable Trust
- The Mary Kinross Charitable Trust
- The Mercers' Company
- The National Friendship Fund
- The Radley Trust
- The Rotary Club in Norfolk
- The Universities China Committee
- The Welconstruct Trust
- The W.F. Southall Trust

I offer my warmest thanks to Mrs. Cara Rablen, whom I live with during my stay in Britain. She is a great listener and friend who cares for me, and others; whom I would like to follow as an example in my life.

Many thanks are due to Chinese students and visiting scholars and their British supervisors and fellow students for their interest, participation and support, who have given up much of their valuable time for my research.

Finally, I would like to express my appreciation to my mother, my uncles and aunts and all my friends both in China and in Britain for their moral support.
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INTRODUCTION

With increasing numbers of overseas students coming to study in Britain, the concern for their welfare, English language competence and academic standard has caught more and more attention. At the same time it is becoming clear that the academic environment in British universities is a multicultural one. This means that cross-cultural communication is likely to be significant in the British academic world. Scholars have developed concepts and theories concerning cross-cultural communication in a wide variety of contexts (Kim 1988, Gudykunst & Ting-Toomey 1988, Brislin 1990), however very little attention has been given to cross-cultural orientations and expectations in academic settings. Furthermore, few studies have dealt with the influence of academic culture (i.e. perceptions, orientations, expectations, approaches, logical constructions, methodologies and learning / teaching styles emphasized) on the use of academic English.

Chinese students represent one important group of overseas students in Britain. They are the elite of modern Chinese intellectuals, who will play a significant role in the future of China. A number of recent publications have drawn attention to aspects of interaction with Chinese people. There are studies concerning Western images of China (Mackerras 1991), Chinese images of the West (Wang 1990), socio-cultural
interaction between Chinese and Westerners (Oatey 1987, Deng & Liu 1991, Hu & Grove 1991). There are also detailed social psychological studies of the Chinese which British supervisors would do well to be acquainted with (Bond 1986, 1991). However, there are no detailed studies of Chinese students in Britain, or of Sino-British academic cultural contrasts.

The general purpose of this thesis is to study the relationship between academic culture and second language learning/use. The main focus is on investigating the influence of the socio-psychological, educational, academic and cultural background of Chinese students as advanced second language learners or users on their learning and use of English in the British universities. Questionnaire and interview data are analysed to yield results from which a Cultural Synergy Model is built up.

This model extends Schumann's work (1976, 1978), in which "it is assumed that the more social and psychological distance there is between the second-language learner and the target-language group, the lower the learner's degree of acculturation will be toward that group's and that this distance has an effect on language learning, making it more difficult" (McLaughlin 1987 p.110). Anthropological linguists, EFL/ESL teachers and language programme administrators have been certainly aware of the existence of the cultural barriers to language communication (Smith 1987). If there is such a gap between Chinese students' cultural understanding, educational expectations and that of their British supervisors and tutors, and other British people
encountered, this may influence the students' use of English. The bigger the gap, the greater the problem.

Schumann (1976, 1978, 1986) and Garrett et al. (1989) suggest that culture has a role as a determining variable in second language acquisition. In this research, this hypothesis is taken a stage further: mainland Chinese students have frequently attained a high level of English language competence on arrival to the UK, or shortly thereafter. However, culture, more specifically academic culture in this case, may play a role in their use of English, both orally (in lectures, seminars, tutorials, etc.) and in writing (essays, reports, exams, theses, etc.) and in their learning, research, training, etc. This language acquisition occurs in a natural learning environment, where academic interaction requires a high level of English. If there is evidence supporting this extended version of Schumann's hypothesis this would be important not only for Chinese students, but also for their tutors, lecturers and supervisors. Neither group is likely to be aware of the role that culture may play in these circumstances, yet both groups could be affected. If there are indeed academic cultural problems, as hypothesized, they are likely to be disguised by the high language competence of many mainland Chinese students studying in the UK. This research may also provide some important implications for international students, in general, studying in the UK and for academic staff, in general, who in Britain can now be said to be working in multi-cultural surroundings.

There are four parts with ten chapters in this
thesis. The first two chapters of Part I investigate Chinese traditional cultural concepts which still have a crucial influence on the thinking and behaviour of Chinese people today (Tu 1990 p.136). Chinese academic culture derives from these basic concepts. The intention of these chapters is not only to discuss these concepts from the point of view of historical background, but is chiefly to relate them to current Chinese cultural perceptions and to show common emphases in Chinese culture and society. This can be seen in the sections of discussion and implication of each chapter.

Part II contains three chapters, which attempt to build up concepts of Chinese and British academic cultures and to see the contrasts between them. Chapter Three explores Chinese intellectuals in the aspects of their historical and contemporary characteristics. These serve to trace the development of, and to discuss philosophical, educational, psychological, social and financial features of Chinese academics, a group to which Chinese students in Britain belong. Chapter Four compares and contrasts British and Chinese academic expectations, perceptions and styles of learning and teaching. From these contrasts one can see the consequences, problems and needs for improvement in research supervision, student-tutor relationships, the explicitness of academic expectations of both sides and the necessity for mutual academic acculturation. Chapter Five focuses on the linguistic needs in academic cross-cultural communication. It examines several models of second language acquisition relevant to culture (e.g. Schumann's
acculturation model 1976 & 1978, Gardner's socio-educational model 1985) and theories in cross-cultural communication (e.g. Kim's intercultural identity theory 1988). It also probes different styles of interactions in Chinese and British cultures to see how these may affect the use of English for academic purposes. The findings indicate that there is a need of mutual bidirectional acculturation for the use of English at advanced level in academic milieus.

Part I and II are resources in which the causes and reasons of issues relating to academic cultural differences between British tutors and Chinese students may be traced.

Four chapters in Part III are the presentation and analysis of both quantitative and qualitative data obtained from giving questionnaires to and interviewing 101 Chinese postgraduate students, 37 of their British supervisors and 73 British students and non-academic staff. The findings provide an empirical base to look into aspects of problems and to develop a theoretical model of second language acquisition or academic language use.

The last chapter which forms Part IV proposes a cultural synergy model for second language acquisition and academic language use, which naturally arrives from the discussion, research and findings of previous chapters. This result is an inductive one.

The conclusion inspects the practical use of this model and the research, giving suggestions for pre-sessional and in-sessional courses and staff
development training sessions in British universities and to the courses in the training centres in China for studying abroad. It also evaluates the model relating to future research.
SOCIAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL FEATURES OF CHINESE CULTURE

This part deals with the cultural background of Chinese students. It is believed that this affects their experience and perception of academic culture. Chapter One is concerned with Confucianism and its implications while Chapter Two discusses Taoism. These are the two of the key features of Chinese cultural background. These aspects are analyzed in some detail here because it can be assumed that most British academics will not have extensive knowledge of them, although they may be very familiar to Chinese students. It is hoped that Part I provides the kind of necessary insight to help them understand the thinking and academic behaviour of Chinese students as a particular case of international students coming to British universities.

The most influential philosophical concepts in Chinese culture will be discussed in this part in order to present social and psychological patterns which affect contemporary attitudes and beliefs of Chinese people and, more specifically, to see what cultural predispositions Chinese students or visiting scholars may have brought with them when they come to study in UK universities.

Some of these cultural predispositions give rise to specific Chinese ways of using a foreign language, ways which are different from those of native speakers. These ways may affect Chinese students' academic learning
through the medium of English, when they are used in social interaction with native speakers in lectures, seminars and tutorials. The possible consequences for Chinese students or visiting scholars when their cultural perceptions and behaviour seem to be misaligned with those of their British supervisors or tutors and colleagues will be examined later.

The reason for discussing the cultural background of Chinese students has nothing to do with the issue of whether Chinese culture is 'good' or 'bad'. The researcher has not adopted a judgemental stance towards culture. Every culture has its advantages and disadvantages for those who participate in it. Furthermore, these 'advantages' or 'disadvantages' are conditional and changeable. To take a Chinese example, in Taoism an advantage is equal to a disadvantage because ultimately an advantage taken to its extreme becomes a disadvantage, and vice versa.

When people from two cultures meet, it is important for them to have some awareness of relevant cultural differences. In academic contexts, this is more important since such a difference is likely to be overlooked when participants' main focus is on content issues, rather than on inter-cultural processes. While Chinese students know they have some difficulties in using English, the question of a mismatch of cultural understandings behind the use of English may never occur to them. Culture tends to be taken for granted.

The chapters on Confucianism and Taoism describe the main features which are linked with characters and
cognitive styles of Chinese intellectuals. Comparisons and critical points of these concepts are presented in the section on Discussion and Criticism. In the Implications section, the focus is on possible influences and effects of these Chinese cultural features on Chinese students which may cause misunderstandings with their British supervisors and lecturers in academic and social communication.

Confucianism and Taoism, these traditional philosophical systems of cultural beliefs, are very complex and there are difficulties in deciding what the authentic teachings are, since interpretations have changed over the centuries. Here, the critical feature is how the Chinese understand these traditions and how contemporary students may be influenced by their beliefs about such traditions. As Waley (1938 p.13) comments, there are so many Confuciuses: the historical one; the constructed one, who can be viewed as a moral teacher, a wise man, or an answerer of problems and riddles, a prophet, magician or statesman. Waley's point is also true of Lao Tzu, founder of Taoism, or of Hui-neng, founder of Chinese Buddhism - Chan Zong (Zen Buddhism), or of many of the founding figures of the great Chinese philosophical traditions.

Chinese philosophies present ways of thinking which are quite different from those of Western culture (Watts 1979). They have been a major influence on the social and psychological make-up of the Chinese nation. This distinctive Chinese thinking pattern affects a Chinese person's mind and action. The cultural influence
has been passed on from generation to generation. This cultural continuity has enabled people to receive these cultural influences without necessarily being conscious of the process. This rich and strong cultural continuity also gives Chinese culture a centripetal tendency in which anything coming from outside the culture is adjusted and adapted to the culture, no matter how advanced or modern it may be. Historically, this can be seen in the Buddhist influence from India in ancient times. It achieved a firm position in Chinese culture only when it had adapted itself towards Chinese social and psychological acceptance and became Chinese Buddhism (Fang 1967 p.251, Li 1986 p.198). Another example: when Mongolia conquered China and set up the Qing Dynasty, Chinese people were not Mongolized. In fact, the Mongolian rulers learned the Chinese language, acquired Chinese customs and habits, enjoyed Chinese styles of life and forgot their skills of riding or shooting and their former lifestyle.

In Chinese modern history, there has been a strong belief that Chinese culture and philosophies are the core and essence in receiving any culture or science from outside China. Western thinking or science is only used from its technical and practical points of view. The Communist Party of China believes that it has inherited Marxism, which comes from the West, and kept to Marxist principles, but it insists on developing a Chinese version of Marxism and connecting it with the Chinese situation. Thus, according to Marxism, the Party should have depended on workers, who are more selfless and
determined than peasants, to fight with and overthrow the old China (i.e. the country under Chiang Kai-shek before 1949). But the Party depended on peasants in the countryside and carried out a policy of "liberating first the countryside and then the city" (Mao 1966), because at that time peasants made up over 95% of the Chinese population. The centripetal tendency of adapting external influences to the Chinese context is further shown in the present leadership's concept of China as "a socialist country with Chinese features and specialities" (Deng 1985).

This centripetal tendency of Chinese culture may present dynamic and controversial questions to Chinese students/visiting scholars who study in British universities which offer another educational system and a different intellectual and educational culture. What are the Chinese students' attitudes towards such other cultures and other systems? How much can they learn and how useful is their learning if they insist, following the centripetal principle of Chinese cultural development, that Chinese modes of thinking and behaviour must be the core and that they only come to learn and practise modern and advanced technology and science? How much are they aware of the Western philosophies behind such technology and science?

Although there are identifiable separate traditional philosophical schools, such as Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism, Legalism, Mohism (Koller 1985), in China, they influence each other. They exist and develop by being complementary to each other. Each school absorbs
knowledge and ideas from other schools. Therefore none of the schools is original, each has drawn on and reacted to the insights and developments of the others. But in the Chinese history of philosophy all these schools had the same purpose: they all served the politics and rulers of the country.

The difference between them is that they emphasized different principles for maintaining the country. Confucianism emphasized love towards the blood relationships in a family and family responsibility to society, hierarchies in society, and loyalty and respect to elders and seniors. All these belong to Confucius' concepts of Ren and Li (see Ch.1).

Taoism emphasizes 'doing nothing' in society and in controlling the country, since in Lao Tzu's theory 'doing nothing' is equal to 'doing everything'. People should withdraw themselves from social life, become part of nature and get joy from spiritual satisfaction.

Legalism emphasized setting up social rules in the country and establishing a prosperous society with a legal basis. The society envisaged by the Legalists in ancient China may, in fact, correspond rather closely to modern Western societies which have been based on Roman law. However, in China Legalist concepts were not fully developed and were overtaken by other more influential and more dominating schools, such as Confucianism.

Mohism emphasized the direct relationship between morality and materialism. The moral standard is conditional. It depends on the material benefit (Li 1986, p.58-59).
Buddhism is the only religion or philosophy from outside China which has established an important position in Chinese culture. The attitude of Buddhism towards life is that life is suffering. The only way to forget this suffering is to find the internal force and spiritual happiness from oneself through detachment and self-realization.

In the following chapters the discussion will concentrate on Confucianism and Taoism. The reason for this focus is that these are generally acknowledged as having the major roles in the development of Chinese culture and national character until recent times. For example, Bond and Hwang comment that Confucius commands "the centre stage in almost all approaches to Chinese social behaviour" (1986 p.214). Confucianism has been the dominant religion, or philosophical system of thinking in the history of Chinese culture. Taoism, although it is often considered a mystical or metaphysical view of life, has had a significant influence on Chinese intellectual thinking. Furthermore, Confucianism and Taoism have such different major features that they are sometimes seen to be in opposition. Yet, Chinese intellectuals generally take insights and teachings from both of these traditions in a pragmatic fashion.
1.1. CONCEPTS OF CONFUCIANISM

The teachings of Confucius (551-479 B.C.) have been transmitted for over two thousand years of Chinese civilization. Confucianism has become deeply rooted in Chinese culture, it has "moulded and shaped" Chinese thinking and exerted "a profound influence upon almost one fourth of the human race" (Smith 1985 p.11). Confucian ethics have exerted great influence on schools, so that Confucius "virtually became the patron saint of education" (Tu 1990 p.131). This transmission has largely resulted from continual reference in education and culture to nine key books, the Five Classics and the Four Books. The fundamental theories of Confucianism were drawn from the Five Classics: 1. Book of Poetry (Shi Jing or Shih Ching); 2. Book of History (Shi Ji or Shu Ching); 3. Book of Changes (Yi Jing or I-Ching); 4. Book of Rites (Li Ji or Li Chi); 5. Spring and Autumn Annals (Chun Qiu or Ch’un Ch’iu). They were written between 2000 and 464 BC (Koller 1985, p.250-252). The Four Books -- 1. Analects of Confucius (Lun Yu); 2. The Great Learning (Da Xue or Ta Hsueh); 3. Doctrine of the Mean (Zhong Yong or Chung Yung); 4. Book of Mencius (Meng Zi or Meng Tzu) -- contain the thought and principles of Confucianism synthesized by Confucius and his followers.

These Books have played a key role in forming Chinese philosophies, traditions and culture and have
profoundly influenced daily life and thinking in China for centuries. "They have exerted far greater influence on Chinese life and thought in the last six hundred years than any other works" (Tu 1990 p.131). In ancient China, all the emperors, officials and scholars would know the Five Classics in detail. They memorized the Four Books because these books discuss rules of behaviour in society (the Book of Rites), the skills of governing (The Great Learning), morality, regulation and principles of life (the Analects of Confucius, the Doctrine of the Mean). In modern times, the words and sayings of Confucius are still used in primary, middle and high school textbooks of Chinese language and literature in Taiwan, Hong Kong and other Chinese-speaking societies. In Mainland China, they were used in textbooks before the Cultural Revolution (1966), but later fell into disuse in education because Confucian ideas were seen as supporting a feudal society which the Communist Party wished to transform.

Yet still in day-to-day situations it is common in Mainland China to hear people refer to and quote Confucius' sayings. Such sayings have become deeply imbued in culture and in everyday language and thought. People constantly turn to them for guidance and wisdom in dealing with relationships and in maintaining family harmony. Thus such sayings are likely to be one influential part of Chinese students' thinking although they may not be conscious of the fact. It is almost second nature for them to draw on Confucian ideas, although they have also received education on Marxist
lines. The latter seems to have been added as an extra layer onto traditional ideas, rather than simply replacing them—following the centripetal tendency in Chinese culture. Research on Confucianism still continues in Mainland China. The government media sometimes publish anti-traditional articles which criticize Confucianism and point out its bad influence on modern China, yet sometimes publish pro-Confucian articles such as 'Confucianism and Modernization' (People's Daily: Nov. 1989).

Since Confucianism is primarily aimed at enabling the rulers to control the people and country, authorities would traditionally encourage people to follow these principles and sayings. Confucianism allows a certain level of democracy and emphasizes humanity, meeting the needs of ordinary people. "Confucius did not look for the basis of human goodness and morality outside of human beings. Within humanity itself is to be found the source and structure of human goodness and happiness." (Kollar, 1989 p. 252) Thus, human beings have the responsibility to find goodness and happiness within themselves. Anything else outside human beings should not affect their internal state. So if people are not happy, they should not look for causes for the unhappiness except in themselves. This has two consequences. First, these factors lead to the relative independent stability and continuity of Confucianism. Second, it means that it is likely that students who are influenced by this aspect of Confucian ideas and who are facing difficulties overseas, may well look inside themselves for the cause
-- and solution -- to such problems, rather than looking at the external environment or culture, both of which may be new to them.

Kollar argues that "both Confucianism and Taoism are critical reactions to earlier theories and practices" (ibid. p.250) and that both Confucius and Lao tzu should be seen as reformers. In pre-Confucian times, people had a hard life and few moral principles in society. Confucius "urged social reforms that would allow government to be administered for the benefit of all the people" (ibid. p.252). He hoped that kings, lords and officials of governments would care for the people if they themselves had a high standard of morality.

In contrast, Li (1986) and others (e.g. Luo 1985, Smith 1985) point out that Confucius was a conservative and showed a great respect towards the past by protecting Zhou Li, the Rites of the Zhou Dynasty, which had previously been developed in the Shang Dynasty (1066–771 BC) and by urging people to hark back to the earlier primitive society or the earlier slavery. Confucius viewed those periods as a golden age. He said of himself, "I transmit, and do not create" (Lin 1955 p.292). He criticized the society of his own time, advocating a return to the former social condition. Such conditions had less developed productive forces and a poorer economic situation but had more peace and stability. In the Confucian view this return was preferable to going forward to a different society. It would lead to a relatively better, richer and more peaceful and stable life. However, there were wars and
violence during times of change due to the stronger economic conditions in society. In this sense, Confucius was not a reformer. A reformer would have tried to establish a social and governing system for a more advanced political and economic state and to develop the society of the time, not advocate a return to a system which would suit a more primitive society.

Thus Confucian ideas can be seen as offering three types of stability: the return to pre-Confucian social conditions, the stability of Confucian ideas of family and individuals' inner harmony and the stabilizing effect of the Confucian world-view, once it was established as a major element in Chinese culture.

1.1.1. Zhou Li and Ren

The core of Confucianism may be looked at from two aspects. The first is that Confucius strove to reinstate the Zhou Rites, known as 'Li'. These refer to sets of ceremonies, institutions, regulations, and systems. The second is his concept of 'Ren', the ultimate principle of human action. The relationship between 'Li' and 'Ren' is reciprocal: the purpose of 'Ren' is to restore 'Li'; to be 'Ren' is the way to recover 'Li'. When a person possesses 'Ren' through self-mastery, 'Li' would be restored. Such self-mastery "refers to the self-development that overcomes selfishness and cultivates the inner qualities of humanity that include sincerity and personal rectitude" (Kollar 1985 p.266). 'Li' is the outward form to maintain society; 'Ren' is the inner quality of human beings to follow the 'Li'.
1.1.2. The Zhou Rites

The Zhou Rites were based on the ceremonies and regulations in the earlier primitive clan society, but they were systematized by rulers in the early Zhou Dynasty (c.1122-771 B.C.). Key features of the Zhou Rites are: to respect and offer sacrifices to ancestors; to follow the social estate system strictly, i.e. youngers respect elders, juniors must listen to seniors; etc. The fact that everybody attended the ceremonies and shared what the society could offer had the positive effect of developing universal participation and humanity. Later changes in society destroyed the Zhou Rites.

1.1.3. Ren

Confucius thought the Zhou Rites were the perfect system which could save society. In order to restore and protect the Zhou Rites, Confucius often stressed the need to build up Ren. The word Ren appears over hundred times in the Analects, compiled by his students. With each mention, the word is given a different explanation which enriches and broadens its meaning. Mei (1967 p.152) points out that it has been variously translated into English as "magnanimity, benevolence, love" (James Legge); "moral life, moral character" (Ku Hung-ming); "compassion" (Lin Yutang); "human-heartedness" (Derk Bodde); and concludes "Evidently there is no term in the English language that corresponds exactly to this fundamental Confucian concept"(1967 p.152). The literal interpretations of the word Ren are: friendship and love, kindness, sympathy,
virtue, humanity, benevolence, true manhood, moral character, human goodness. When his students asked what Ren was, Confucius answered, "To control oneself and restore the (Zhou) Rites is Ren"; or "A man who has the quality of Ren would love people". According to Li (1986 p.16), there are four elements which contribute to Ren: 1. blood relationships (consanguinity) and hierarchy within the family and in society; 2. moral and psychological principles; 3. humanitarianism; 4. personal character and morality. Since Ren continues to be a highly influential cultural concept in present Chinese society it is worth exploring these aspects in more detail.

1.1.3.a. Consanguinity and Hierarchy

The Zhou Rites were based on the clan system, characterized by consanguinity and hierarchy within clans and families. The principles of behaviour that Confucius encouraged families to follow are Xiao (filial piety) and Ti (fraternal duty). To show these people respect their parents, elder brothers and sisters. Youngers must obey elders. Doing what parents and elders ask is "morally right and obligatory" (Kollar 1985 p.270). This is because life itself is given by parents, and children are brought up by them. The family is the context of the primary social environment and provides the necessities for the children. In ancient China it was believed that the vertical relation between parents and children was the closest and the most important relationship. In contrast, the love between husband and wife, a horizontal
relationship, was considered much less important. Barriers were purposely created between this horizontal relationship. If a married son came home, he had to see his parents first and had to remain with them as long as they wished before he could ask their permission to see his wife; or in daytime he had to stay in outer rooms, not in the inner rooms where his wife usually stayed. If he wanted to tell his wife something, he had to ask the family servant who waited to serve at the middle door, to pass the message to her. "A wife was an instrument to have children and to do the house work. Parents were the sources of life, thinking, morality, experience and emotions" (Wu 1988 p.46). These examples illustrate the principle that vertical social relationships took priority over horizontal ones. In order to show reverence for parents and the whole family, a child had to do everything according to parental wishes and do it well, in order to bring honour to the family name. This was a part of Chinese morality. Elder brothers and sisters were next in rank in the family. That they were to be respected and obeyed by the youngers was one of the parents' wishes. Elder siblings would take the role of parents after the parents' death. In modern China, the thinking behind this priority of relationships is still widespread, though in a modified form. Filial piety is "the basis of virtue and the source of instruction" (Chai and Chai 1962 p.78); "possibly the very essence of Chinese ethical and social life" (Moore 1967 p.2).

Xiao and Ti are not only encouraged within the family. "Originating in the family, this virtue
influences actions outside the family circle. It becomes, by extension, a moral and social virtue" (Kollar 1985 p.269). Xiao and Ti teach people to care physically, emotionally and spiritually for their parents and others in families without any conditions. A society imbued with this love and respect would be the ideal Confucian social environment. Everyone would know their position within the community; seniors, who represent wisdom and experience, would be obeyed, so harmony and happiness would prevail. Ren is gained by practising Xiao and Ti. In modern times, this relationship has been advocated to support conservative social hierarchies.

1.1.3.b. The Moral and Psychological Principle

To Confucius, respecting, obeying and loving one's parents and elders is an essential part of the Zhou Rites. In this way, he makes the Zhou Rites - the external disciplines of behaviour - into an internal moral demand to show Xiao and Ti. This is no demand for people to worship God, who is held to be an abstract and a holy being far beyond ordinary people and their everyday life, as in other world religions. What Confucius advocates is a firm relationship between the closest members, father and son, parents and children, elder brothers/sisters and younger ones. He "never discussed such questions as the immortality of the soul or the existence of God, nor did he discuss natural science or the origin and nature of the universe" (Smith 1985 p.62). His concern was the behaviour and thinking during a person's life time. "His philosophy was purely
concerned with humanity and human relationships" (ibid.). Confucius' moral and psychological principle can be easily accepted by ordinary people, since the family relationship is the basic foundation of society. Through this relationship, he also gives a positive view of people's daily life. This moral and psychological structure is so powerfully built into the thinking and beliefs of the Chinese that Li concludes that "Confucianism is not a religion, but has all the functions of a religion and plays a role of a religion" (1986 p.21). Arguably, it is more powerful, practical and effective than a religion, because it uses the internal natural human emotions for family relationships to justify and control principles of action, whereas a religion uses external principles given by God to teach people to behave.

1.1.3.c. Humanitarianism

Humanitarianism is clearly emphasized in Confucianism. "To love people is to be Ren" as Confucius said. He strongly opposed wars and violence. He insisted on maintaining the vertical hierarchies of elders to youngers or seniors to juniors within families, clans and society. Everyone ought to know their position, how to behave, and how to deal with others. Youngers and juniors should respect and obey elders and seniors. Rulers, seniors, parents or elders have roles of being active, dominating, guiding, caring, etc. In contrast, juniors, children or youngers should be passive, obedient, diligent listeners who carry out instructions. In this
way they show their respect, modesty, filial piety, fraternal duty, loyalty. All this is part of morality. At the same time Confucius also asked elders to look after and care for their children; rulers to govern by virtue (Ren-Zheng) rather than by law oppression or punishment (Kollar 1985 p.270). He believed that this relationship would create a peaceful and happy situation for family and society.

In the family, parents may physically punish children, but this is regarded as love, as in the Chinese saying, "Beating is being close, cursing is love". If parents do not punish their children when it is necessary, they would feel irresponsible towards their ancestors. Parents are guilty if children make mistakes. Some parents would stir the consciences and feelings of their children and change their behaviour by self-punishment. If a son was drunk and behaved rudely when he arrived home, and his father discovered this he would refuse to eat and drink for a few days. The son would come to apologize, but the father would not accept it until his eldest son came with his younger brother to ask for forgiveness (Wu 1988 p.38). Parents set good examples of being strict to themselves, because they would think it was their duty to educate their children. Parents also aroused the feelings of children such that children knew that they would destroy their parents if they were immoral because such immorality would ruin the family reputation.

Followers of Confucius believed that conflicts between rulers and their people were like a flood. If one
tried to stem a flood, one day it would burst the dams. But if one channeled the water, it could be useful. If conflicts were covered up, one day they would lead to the demise of rulers. Confucian rulers would welcome criticism from officials and people, but the criticism should be for the benefit of the rulers, given in such a way that the critic shows he knows his position in the relationship. In ancient China, 'indirect criticism' was frequently used. That is: "a positive meaning was phrased in a negative manner and vice versa; obvious things were suggested in a vague way; real things were presented in a story form; true things were mentioned as in a dream; serious things were put forward as if in jest; a satire was given like praise; simple things were made complicated; clear things were rendered ambiguous; short messages were made wordy; criticism which was intended for others was communicated by the speaker mentioning his own faults first, or praising others first; etc." (Wu 1988 p.121). This was considered a way of demonstrating respect, consideration and modesty towards seniors. It has heavily influenced present-day Chinese cultural communicative styles.

Confucianism emphasizes very strongly that happiness and peace come from inside a human being rather than from external elements, such as property or wealth. Peace and harmony are put in a more important position than wealth and property. Confucius thought that greed for wealth would destroy the peace and harmony of family or social relationships. He maintained that people would become animals without such relationships as father to
son or ruler to followers (Li 1986 pp.13-24).

1.1.3.d. Personal Character and Morality

In order to achieve humanity from both sides: rulers and people, Confucius urged every member in society to cultivate personal character or personal morality. As well as the concepts of Xiao (filial piety), Ti (fraternal duty), Ren-Zheng (governing by virtue), which have been illustrated above, Confucius asked people to show Zhong (loyalty), Shu (altruism), Yi (righteousness) and Zhong-Yong (the Doctrine of the Mean or the Middle Way).

Zhong (loyalty) was divided into two aspects. The first was loyalty to one's own principle of life, which has overriding importance. If something ordered, even by a senior, is against a person's principle of life, then it is not necessary to keep loyalty to such a senior or to carry out the order. Nevertheless, a person's principle of life should be Ren which requires a person to respect and obey his seniors. Disobeying one's senior is itself against Ren, and is therefore also against one's principle of life. So the second aspect of Zhong, the real loyalty, was that people should "serve with all heart unfeignedly" (Smith 1985 p.74) to seniors and rulers, as in Confucius' saying "Officials should deal with the things, orders, demands and etc. of their monarch by loyalty" (Ba Yi in Lun Yu - the Analects). This vertical loyalty also extends to the horizontal relation between friends and colleagues in the sense of honesty. Such loyalty enlarges the principles of moral
behaviour, such as filial piety and fraternal duty, from within the family relationship to wider social and public life.

By Shu (altruism), Confucius emphasized consideration and forbearance for others. A person should put himself into the position of others to consider and deal with things. "Do not demand of others if you would not ask yourself to do so" (ibid.) is one of his famous sayings about Shu. He believed that Ren would be gained if people would reflect and forgive each other. Kollar (1985 p.266) points out that Zhong (loyalty) "consists in the careful development and manifestation of one's own humanity, while altruism (Shu) consists in extending Ren to others".

Another virtue Confucius and his followers advocated was Yi (righteousness). A noble and upright man (Jun Zi) must have the moral quality of righteousness. Unlike Western ideas of righteousness, this means that one should accept to do anything which is morally right according to the Zhou Rites. "A son should cover up the mistakes or crimes of his father" (Lun Yu - the Analects). For example, if a father stole someone's sheep, his son should protect him with lies or denial in order to preserve the face and harmony of the family (Hua 1988 p.74). This is because peace in the family and keeping the right relationship between father and son are the apex of behaviour approved by the Zhou Rites. Yi applies also to friendships and other relations in society. This particular righteousness still has a very strong influence on Chinese attitudes towards family and
friends today. A friend or relative should do whatever is asked, even committing a crime which would in other circumstances be considered immoral. If a person practises Yi for the public, then society and people will benefit.

Confucius and his followers asked people to behave and judge things according to Zhong-Yong-Zhi-Dao, "the Doctrine of the Mean or the Middle Way", (Fung 1961 pp.172-4; Luo 1985 p.51; Smith 1985 p.85; Li 1986 p.22, p.130; Hua 1988 p.77). This emphasizes that one should avoid extremes, keep options and space open in dealing with matters, choose a decision which would satisfy everyone, be contented with what one has attained and orient oneself towards the Zhou Rites. "Do not look at, nor listen to, not speak about and nor perform on the things which are against the Zhou Rites" (Lun Yu - the Analects). Doing things which have been 'morally' accepted (according to the Zhou Rites and the concepts of Ren) is preferable to trying something new. Significantly, this leads to the contemporary conservative attitude of following tradition or that which has been approved as beneficial by others' experience, rather than risk a mistake through innovation. It imples looking to the past rather than to the future, looking to authorities rather than thinking for oneself.

Confucius held that these virtues of personal character were the basis to build up good relationships, appropriate ranks and social orders, moral obligations, harmony and peace in both family and society. His way of
restoring the Zhou Rites was to make people willingly follow them by gaining those virtues in their personal character. This is considered a more powerful means of maintaining the stability of a social system than by forcing people to follow regulations. Principles of behaviour in society become a personal moral desire from the heart rather than a form or regulation given by an external source.

1.2. DISCUSSION AND CRITICISM

Cultivating and developing one's inner qualities is the key question to life in Confucianism. An ideal society appears if individuals become perfect first, i.e. they should be Ren. A world of harmony is the natural result of people having obtained all the virtues of Ren. Figure 1.1 summarizes the concepts of Confucianism related to the ideal world of a society with the Zhou Rites and the perfect personal character (Ren).

The Concepts of Confucianism

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The ideal society</th>
<th>The Zhou Rites (Zhou-Li)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The perfect human inner qualities which can make that society</td>
<td>Ren</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The major elements in Ren</td>
<td>____________________________</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xiao Ti</td>
<td>Zhong Yi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filial Fraternal Loyalty Justice</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piety Duty</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shu</td>
<td>Ren-Zheng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Altruism Governing The Middle by Virtue Way</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Confucius was a failure politically, but successful culturally and psychologically. It seemed that the purpose of his long struggle was to attain a society with the Zhou Rites. But what Confucianism has achieved is that it has formed a significant part of the cultural and psychological structure of the Chinese people by establishing and developing the concepts of Ren. Ren is a functional and pragmatic ideology. This is because Ren:

- is based on people's emotions and blood relationships -- Xiao (filial piety), Ti (fraternal duty) in the family; Zhong (loyalty), Yi (justice) and Shu (altruism or consideration) in society;
- emphasizes morality, kindness, humanity, non-violence, as shown in Xiao, Ti, Shu, Zhong Yong and Ren-Zheng;
- demands a very high spiritual life, and encourages one to endure and tolerate a hard and poor material life so that the external world does not have much influence on the stability of the ideology itself nor on people's minds;
- emphasizes self-sacrifice in order to maintain one's family or to let others be happy so that the world is not disturbed, as in Yi, Shu.

All of these concepts "have permeated people's thinking, behaviour, habits, customs, beliefs, ways of thinking, emotional status...., and guidance and basic principles which people use consciously and unconsciously to deal with things, relations and everyday life" (Li 1986 p.34). The ideology of Ren impels its own stability and continuity, since the Chinese have been educated by it for two thousand years and it deals with the internal cultural and psychological values rather than with
external questions of the regulations given by society. Yet Ren supports and creates social stability, for society can be maintained well if people's thinking is disciplined, according to Confucius.

That people's thinking is the subject of investigation in Confucian philosophy is presented in the following influential quotation from The Great Learning (Da Xue) (Lin 1939):

"The ancients who wished to preserve the fresh or clear character of the people of the world would first set about ordering their national life. Those who wished to order their national life, would first set about regulating their family life. Those who wished to regulate their family life would set about cultivation their personal life. Those who wished to cultivate their personal lives would first set about setting their hearts right. Those who wished to set their hearts right would first set about making their wills sincere. Those who wished to make their wills sincere would first set about achieving true knowledge. The achieving of true knowledge depends upon the investigation of things. When things are investigated, then true knowledge is achieved; when true knowledge is achieved then the will becomes sincere; when the will is sincere, then the heart is set right; when the heart is set right, then the personal life is cultivated when the personal life is cultivated, then the family is regulated; when the family life is regulated, then the national life is orderly, and when the national life is orderly, then there is peace in this world."

There are two major points which can be discussed. Firstly, the essential element of the world in Confucian
philosophy is people. Their thinking is supposed to have a decisive influence on the world but this is mediated by the family. So each family rather than the individual has the responsibility towards society or 'their national life'. This is shown in figure 1.2.

Indirect Link Between People and society

INDIVIDUALS' THINKING

decides \[\rightarrow\]

INDIVIDUALS' BEHAVIOUR

responsible to \[\rightarrow\]

FAMILY

responsible to \[\rightarrow\]

SOCIETY OR COUNTRY

[figure 1.2]

Because of this indirect personal link with society, family opinions and decisions have an extremely influential and important role on both individuals and society. The thinking and opinions of an individual become secondary and his self-image becomes weak and less defined. What a person cares about is the relationship between himself and other members in the family, and between that family and other families. The same attitudinal pattern extends to community and society in an ever-widening circle of inclusion. Traditional, social and collective opinions are emphasized and are decisive
(Wu, 1988 p.44), because keeping a good relationship with others is crucial.

On the other hand this indirect responsibility to society also makes the Chinese attach great importance to 'private morality' rather than to 'public morality' (He, 1988 pp.91-95). Xiao, Ti, Zhong, Yi, Shu and Zhong-Yong, are all only related to the moral obligation of individuals to other immediately connected individuals within the same community. For example, in ancient China, emperors were symbols and representatives of Heaven. They were not considered as human beings. Chinese loyalty to social groups outside the family was not to an abstract society, country or distant emperors, but to the more immediate officials or seniors directly above them. Chinese people may require themselves to be honest, modest, sincere, serious, etc. when associating with other people (according to private morality), but may not expect themselves to be just, fair, upright, brave, etc. in social life (as in a Western-orientated public morality). How to behave depends on the closeness of one's relationship to another or how it would affect one's family. Justice, fairness, bravery, etc. may be put aside if internal family harmony and the external face a family presents to the outside are adversely affected or if the feelings of seniors will be hurt. Hsu (1981) aptly terms this behaviour as "situation-centred", where the Western perspective is an "individual-centred" one.

Secondly, achieving Ren is vital for restoring the Zhou Rites, according to Confucius. In the quotation, the process of gaining Ren and the Zhou Rites is clearly
explained. But the methods to achieve them are vague and ambiguous. Figure 1.3. gives a clearer picture of the process by resetting the quotation.

The Process of Gaining Ren and the Zhou Rites

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Restoring the Zhou Rites</th>
<th>The Zhou Rites Restored</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ordering national life</td>
<td>national life is orderly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>regulating family life</td>
<td>family life is regular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cultivating personal life</td>
<td>personal life is cultivated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>setting hearts right</td>
<td>hearts are set right</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>making wills sincere</td>
<td>wills become sincere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>achieving true knowledge</td>
<td>true knowledge is achieved</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

by investigation of things

then Ren is achieved → when Ren is achieved

[figure 1.3]

1.3. IMPLICATIONS

1.3.1. Vertical vs Horizontal Relationship

Chinese students normally study very hard and try to be the most successful among their fellow students. They consider this to be the way to show their respect, obedience and gratitude to their parents and supervisors/tutors. In a Chinese saying, your teacher is
your parent. This is explained by Hsieh: "In Confucian ethics, the position of the tutor was particularly respected, ranking next to the father's position in every household... the Chinese respect for the tutor was an extension of filial piety" (1967 p.182). Traditionally, study was not only for the student's interest, but for that of his/her parents, family and teachers. Today Chinese students are educated to study for people and motherland.

Those students who are influenced by this Confucian emphasis on respect and obedience are likely to have quite different expectations from their British supervisors/tutors about relationships. The students will expect to be told, wait to be guided, and hope to get answers from their teachers. The latter expect their students (especially Ph.D. students) to be independent, to organize their study themselves, to search for hypotheses and possible solutions using their own initiative, to be experts on their research topics. With such differences in expectations, it is possible that Chinese students may be confused, frustrated or completely lost, at least at the beginning of their course or research. A possible consequence is that they may blame their own abilities rather than look for other possible external causes of confusions. This self-blame may induce great pressure while they study. But they dare not show their real thinking to their supervisors. They may talk about their feelings and thinking to their close friends, most of whom are Chinese. This would lead to an even tenser situation between the two sides. Some
sensitive supervisors may find it difficult to know the real thinking of their Chinese students. Some would simply believe what students show superficially and assume that their situation is satisfactory. This applies not only to students' thinking about their tutors/supervisors, but also to their thinking about their own research, their course, their own ideas, etc.

The Confucian habit of seeing things in terms of obedience and vertical relationships may put Chinese students into a more uncomfortable position when they deal with horizontal relationships with their peers to exchange ideas or get help in academic settings. In this horizontal relationship it may not be necessary for Chinese students to show respect or to admire to their fellow students, but only to keep harmony among them. They may feel that showing respect to or asking for help from those who have the same rank is lowering themselves. Therefore they would lose face. They expect to be the best and most liked by their supervisors among their fellow students. So their relationship with other students may be more competitive than respectful. But they would not mind offering help to others. This does not mean that Chinese students never ask for help from their fellow students but they may prefer to ask questions from supervisors/tutors or higher ranking people and they would accept answers from such sources. They may not completely trust answers from their peers unless they are approved by an authority. For the Chinese students, the vertical relationship is one they can trust - the horizontal ones are less certain.
This hierarchically oriented approach may lead to two further situations. First, Chinese students may keep all their problems to themselves, worrying and suffering inside without revealing them to anybody except to their supervisors/tutors from whom they may not receive expected answers. Second, they may ask questions of fellow students without really believing the answers and so they may ask the same question again of different people. Some fellow students may get annoyed at this. In turn, the Chinese student may face the loss of harmony, without knowing why. Another possible explanation for their preference not to bother their fellow students could be that they may fear putting their fellow students into an embarrassing situation which would make their fellow students lose face if they are not able to answer questions. So not asking questions from people of the same rank is a way to save others' face or to avoid any embarrassment.

Chinese students are likely to regard their tutors or supervisors in the Confucian family relationship, as parents. Consequently they may believe they have the right to ask for help and that it is the supervisor’s duty to offer it. Secondly, they may think supervisors’ guidance is authoritative, even though British supervisors may give advice explicitly couched in the form of possible choices or suggestions. Thirdly, they believe answers can always be found from authoritative sources. However, a British supervisor/tutor’s perception of this request for help may be different. British tutors may consider their
guidance is only one of many alternatives, all of which should be considered by students, or there may not be any recognized answer so far and they are only expecting their students to find possible answers. Furthermore, the British supervisor/tutor may withhold some guidance, supposing that the Chinese student should take some initiative and have some of his/her own ideas. Moreover, when the Chinese student writes some of the tutor’s ideas, given in guidance, the tutor assessing this writing may consider it to be unoriginal, since it merely gives back the tutor’s own words. Yet to a Chinese student, including such information may be a key way to show his/her respect. In the students’ view, the teacher’s answer is the answer.

1.3.2. Contextual Judgement Based on Age, Seniority, Rank, Role vs. Objective Assessment Based on Ability, Appropriacy

This section examines the polar opposites of authority which is primarily contextual, i.e. the giving of judgements based on age, seniority, rank and role, as opposed to authority from more objective assessment based on ability or appropriacy.

According to Confucianism, senior people’s judgement is correct because they are experienced and because it has been approved by time. Following such judgement is a natural duty of juniors. This may lead to Chinese students’ thinking that there is no doubt about tutors’ guidance, nor necessity for questioning it. A further consequence is the feeling that they can ignore
and give no credit to some possibly valuable suggestions offered by others of the same rank as themselves.

The Confucian notion of respect implies that students, influenced by such ideas, will wish to show respect to lecturers and professors qua teachers and additionally as elders and authorities. To express reservation or disagreement with ideas put forward by lecturers would therefore run counter to this deep-rooted notion of being respectful. In fact, it is extremely difficult for Chinese students to adopt this kind of critical attitude, even in Western academic settings where students are encouraged to develop such critical thinking. Students may disagree with ideas they hear, but will be inclined to follow an explanation from an authority, to understand it and accept it in order to show respect. They will withhold expression of private disagreement, yet will frequently feel uneasy in their minds about any disparity in views. This can only be expressed to fellow Chinese students, never to staff.

On rare occasions, Chinese students may disagree with their colleagues and supervisor when they think it will not offend others. But their judgement about what causes offence may be wrong because of their lack of knowledge and understanding of Westerners' thinking. Their perception of what causes offence is Chinese, not British. They are not necessarily aware of what British academics will tolerate, or of what might cause offence to them.

The Confucian emphasis on showing respect and obedience in socially hierarchical relationships has
great implications for their relation with British tutors/supervisors. Chinese students will, of course, want to show respect to, and obey, academic staff. Such respect and obedience is shown also to books, which have the same authoritative status as teachers do. The book is a teacher. There is therefore a strong cultural tendency to follow a textbook, rather than to be prepared to evaluate or criticize the material it contains. This pattern is reinforced by the fact that the Confucian thinking and cultural outlook is itself mainly founded on the Nine Books, which are repeatedly referred to, followed and obeyed. Few Chinese will be prepared to disagree explicitly with them. This authoritative status may also apply to past or present communist leaders' books.

1.3.3. Past vs Present and Future

"Judging the present may not depend on the present conditions themselves, nor the possible future ones, but on the past, on whether the present is corresponding to the past" (He 1988 p.97). There is a tendency in Confucian thinking to restore a past ideal situation and then keep it. Therefore Chinese students have a negative attitude towards challenging interpretations of the past or changing the present or envisaged future without considering the past. In other words, they may find it very difficult to criticize theories and ideas of their supervisors, authors, etc. who are senior to, and more experienced, than they are. A student’s duty is to learn, to acquire and to inherit
knowledge from his seniors. This is in marked contrast to the Western view that change and reform are a necessary and continual process in social and academic life.

In the Chinese view, a published book is deemed to be correct and therefore should not be criticized. This is heavily reinforced by a Chinese cultural orientation of respect towards the past, so that published previous work or research is worthy of respect and is authoritative. Western outlooks, however, are often orientated towards the present or the future. Western criticism is often made with a view to improving a situation. Thus a Chinese student's report or essay may dwell on the past from which s/he learns, giving relatively little attention to the present or future, in the eyes of a British assessor. This point is in turn reinforced by the Chinese attitude to experience: experience is valued and to be followed. Since a book often reports experience (e.g. in the form of reports of scientific experiments, or the academic distillation of much experience of thinking), the book should be followed and is immune to criticism. In contrast, Western views of experience are more often that experience should be summarized or modified for future improvement, or built into a theory. Should a Chinese student simply follow experience offered by a book or tutor, a British lecturer is likely to consider this as being descriptive, unoriginal, imitative and revealing a lack of critical thinking.

1.3.4. Collective vs Individual
The importance of blood relationships and family hierarchies can be seen in Chinese students' attitudes towards study. They are parted from their family and parents, to whom they owe loyalty and respect. Respect can be shown, however, by hard work leading to academic success, thus realizing the expectations held by family and teachers back home. Since over 90% (1989, a figure given by the Chinese embassy in London) of mainland Chinese students in UK universities are sent and sponsored by the Chinese government or by the joint sponsorship of the Chinese government and the British Council (the latter has no right to select students for UK universities, but has a supportive and caring role for students while they are in the UK), these students may feel that they have responsibility to bring honour to their companies or universities who have sent them abroad. If they are not successful in getting their degrees or achieving academic heights, they would lose face among Chinese when they are abroad by being compared with other overseas Chinese students. This would be even worse when they return home. Some Chinese students also sincerely think, and others are educated to think, that they are representatives of the People's Republic of China. This idea may give them a double pressure that they must do well when they are among British and other overseas students otherwise they would lose the face of their family among Chinese, as well as lose the face of China as a country. This may be one of the reasons for the case of a Chinese student committing suicide when he did not get a first class degree (1985, Loughborough).
The Confucian emphasis on harmony may lead to students emphasizing group ideas, harmony, cooperation and the establishment of good relations with peers and colleagues and, especially, with academic supervisors/tutors. Such good relations will be a source of pride in Chinese student circles. Personal ideas should fall in line with the group's ideas, or if they differ they should be repressed, or at least remain unexpressed. This is in sharp contrast to Western academic practice where the development of individual thinking and expression is often strongly encouraged and valued. In a seminar setting it is highly likely that the Chinese student, wishing to adhere to ideas of group harmony and respect, will not express him/herself if it means expressing views contrary to those previously expressed by others. Furthermore, these students may be puzzled at the attitude of those British students who apparently disrupt group harmony so readily when each expresses his/her individual opinions, many of which differ from those of others. In addition, the Chinese student may often feel a psychological effect of unease at not having had the opportunity, as they see it, of expressing what they think is correct, nor of expressing their discomfort felt in the academic communicative situation, which, of course, would also be disagreement. There is therefore a double feeling of uneasiness. The uneasiness is likely to remain unexpressed because of ideals of self-control. This double bind is especially likely to affect those Chinese students who are in some way bound to Confucian traditions.
1.3.5. Single vs Multiple Views and Answers

Confucianism was established as the dominating philosophy or religion or thinking of China by an emperor in the Western Han Dynasty (206BC-24AC). This powerful position was reinforced by rulers of many dynasties. China is known as a country of Confucian culture. On the whole, Chinese philosophy is based on ethics or moral principles, which are the core of Confucianism, rather than on logical, analytic and rational dialectics as in the West. The reinforcement of the dominating position of Confucianism in Chinese culture had made Chinese culture, which used to contain many schools and different philosophical elements, to become fixed with one major philosophical element. It has been made a dogma, which is similar to the situation when Aristotle's works were used as dogmas in medieval Europe (Feng & Zhou 1986, p.89).

Even in the modern era, "the modern Chinese intelligensia has maintained unacknowledged, sometimes unconscious, continuities with the Confucian tradition at every level of life: behaviour, attitude, belief and commitment. Indeed, Confucianism is still an integral part of the 'psycho-social construct' of the contemporary Chinese intellectual... it remains a defining characteristic of the Chinese mentality" (Tu 1990 p.136).

The results have two dimensions. When a country has a fairly homogenous culture and a single cultural psychology it makes cultural dissemination and transmission easier. This has helped China to establish a stable and remarkable cultural identity which has been recognized for its continuity over many centuries. On the
other hand, Chinese cultural development has been largely within Confucian frameworks. Modes of thought have therefore been relatively narrow and restricted. The implications are: first, people still believe in one single way of thinking. If this way is approved as correct or positive, other alternatives are seen as unnecessary or wrong. Second, there is only one right answer to a question. The purpose of investigation is to look for this right answer or solution. To a Chinese, the doctrine or words of Confucius or of any recognized leaders (including rulers, seniors, scholars, teachers, etc.) are the chief resources from which to find right answers to questions. Third, people have a strong desire that everyone must seek unity of thinking and reach a common understanding and solution to a question.

It can be hypothesized that a Chinese student or visiting scholar comes to his British supervisor or tutor or colleagues for a right answer or solution. But he is confused if he receives a number of alternative suggestions. The person may ask himself which one is the right answer, or question whether his supervisor knows anything about the problem (in this case, he may not trust the supervisor any more), or doubt if he has the ability to understand his supervisor's real meaning, (in this case, he may lose confidence in himself). The Western academic view, in contrast, is that there may be several viable alternatives to solve a problem, all of which ought to be considered.
CHAPTER TWO

TAOISM

Taoism is often thought of as an influential philosophy or mystical, enigmatic approach to life. However, "Taoism is not a school of thought in China, it is a deep fundamental trait of Chinese thinking, and of the Chinese attitude toward life and society" (Lin 1955 p.74).

2.1. THE DEVELOPMENT OF TAOISM

Taoism originated with the book Tao Te Ching written supposedly by Lao Tzu around 476 B.C. (Luo 1985; Li 1986). The book has about five thousand words divided into two parts. The first part is Te Ching. The second is Tao Ching, which discusses the key concepts of Te and Tao. However, there are so many explanations of Te and Tao in the book that so far no one has offered a satisfactory definition for these wide-ranging concepts. This may be one of the reasons why there are at least seventy English translations of this book in the West (Watts 1979, p.10). These translations vary greatly, but some of them have popularized Taoism among Western readers.

The fundamental philosophical concepts of Tao Te Ching have been applied to politics; astrology; the preservation of good health through such methods as Wushu, Tai chi Chuan; traditional Chinese medicine etc. in China. In the West recent accounts of Taoism have made a broader contact with modern science, business and the
arts, as seen in the surge of recent publications on The Tao of Physics (Capra 1975), Taoism and Sex (Chang 1977), Tao and Health (Lao 1978), Taoism and Art (Chang 1978), The Tao of Leadership (Heider 1986), The Tao of Organization (Cleary 1988), The Tao of Management (Messing 1989), The Tao of Politics (Cleary 1990).

One of the most important contributors of Taoism is Chuang Tzu (369-286 B.C.), who developed Lao Tzu's teaching and whose ideas have had a special influence on Chinese intellectuals' thinking patterns (Li 1986 p.216-217) leaving a strong mark on Chinese intellectual culture.

It is very difficult, perhaps impossible, according to Lao Tzu, to give a definition to Te and Tao. Even Lao Tzu's words about Tao or Te are translated in many ways. For example:

"The Tao that can be tao-ed is not the invariable Tao" (Fung, trans. 1961).

"The Way that can be told of is not an Unvarying Way" (Waley, trans. 1987).

"The Tao that can be told of is not the Absolute Tao" (Lin, trans. 1955).

But many scholars of Chinese philosophies agree that Tao is the natural and objective process of the universe (Luo 1985 p.54; Li 1986 p.92; Watts 1979). Li (1986) points out that Tao in Lao Tzu seems to make no references to emotion, for Tao is objective. But it has links with people's everyday activities. Therefore some people argue that Tao is the principle maintaining the world (Luo 1985 p.54; Hua 1988 p.89). Te was originally referred to a set
of social rules in ancient ceremonies and later was understood as skills and methods of governing (Li 1986 p.86-88; Hua 1988 p.89).

Chuang Tzu developed Lao Tzu's teaching about Tao. Tao is the origin of the universe. Everything has its beginning and its end. Each life has its birth and death. Only Tao is exempt from this process. It is Tao which guides this natural movement and process. The movement of a 'death' or 'end' is seen as heading towards the original point of 'birth' or 'start', completing a circle through restoration. All universal movement illustrates such circulation and restoration (Shu 1990 pp.30-34). Chuang Tzu believes that the objective world (Tao) can be united as one with the subjective human world (spirit). That is to say, spirit and nature are combined as one - the human spirit becomes a part of the nature. People should forget themselves and be detached from feelings and senses. They should feel neither alive nor dead, so that their feeling is beyond death and life, and becomes part of nature, not by making a subjective effort to realize anything, but simply by being natural. To Chuang Tzu, Tao "is the only substance and the only thing, for it is the totality of all things whatsoever" (Creel, 1970 p.2). People can use their heart to see Tao by using their intuition, neglecting all subjective effort and being natural (Luo 1985 p.80; Li 1986 pp.183-185).

There are some other major characteristics of Taoism which have had a clearer link and stronger influence on Chinese intellectuals. These include such notions as Wu wei, the use paradox or polarity,
establishing harmony, going back to nature, maintaining a balance between two extremes or in the whole system, and a tendency towards individualism. Each of these will be discussed in turn.

Wu wei is one of these influential philosophical concepts of Taoism. Literally it means 'not doing anything'. Lao Tzu says in Tao Te Ching that Wu wei is the highest Te and therefore it is Tao (Li 1986 p.88). The famous saying of Chuang Tzu, "Doing nothing and nothing is left undone" (Chuang Tzu 7.22b), gives a concise explanation of what is meant by Wu wei in Taoism. It is an attitude towards the whole rather than a part, because the action of 'doing' or 'having' something is limited, but 'not doing' or 'not having' a thing is equal to 'doing' or 'having' everything philosophically. This ambiguity may result in two consequences for people's understanding of Wu wei. Some people may have an attitude of concern for the world as a whole, concerning everything, but not one particular thing. Others may believe that being passive, not putting oneself forward, not joining in any activities, is the essence of Wu wei. Such passivity may have a great effect on people, although Lao Tzu expected people to use this passivity to achieve the utmost.

Paradox or polarity is another major feature of Taoism. Taoist philosophy holds that "all things are relative". 'Right' and 'wrong', 'hard' and 'soft', 'strong' and 'weak', 'proud' and 'humble', etc. are only pairs of words which may mean the same thing, depending on which partial viewpoint they are seen from (Creel 1970 p.3). This leads to a circular, or holistic, style of
thinking which differs from Western linear logic. Wing (1967 p.54) summarizes this approach, "the tendency to combine different and even opposing elements into a synthetic whole is characteristic of Chinese thought". As Lin puts it (1955 p.27), "One should clearly understand...that Chinese logic is both indeterminate and synchronous, instead of determinate, exclusive and sequential, as in the West...(for example,) Cause and effect in Chinese are not sequential, but are parallel aspects of the same truth." A Western view of this perspective is that it is a "difficult-to-understand attitude of 'both-and' --- as contrasted with the Western tendency to think in terms of 'either/or'" (Moore 1967 p.6).

Lao Tzu highlights the inactive and less powerful part of such paradoxes, the part of being soft, weak, humble and so on. Being soft or weak has the result of never being defeated. The well known argument is that a big tree will be knocked down in a storm, but grass will remain safe, although it is common knowledge that a big tree belongs to the 'strong' category and grass belongs to the 'weak' one. Therefore, the person who follows Tao should disguise his/her intelligence, abilities, not compete with others who seem more capable, and should be weak and passive. Then eventually the Taoist will survive and have the highest achievement. Those who seem more capable will be defeated by others who want to compete and who have more abilities. "The bird who flies will be shot first". This Chinese saying applies to human action, that people who act will be challenged and will receive force.
Although Taoism emphasizes the part of 'being weak', the "Taoist view of the world that everything-event is what it is only in relation to all others" (Watts 1979, p.43) also underscores the balance of two opposite parts and the balance of one thing within a circle of other things. The idea of the Movement of Five Elements existed in ancient Chinese philosophy, which was originally described in the Shang Shu (an ancient document) and was developed in the I-Ching (Book of Changes) and the Nei Jing, recognized as the earliest book on theories and philosophy of Chinese traditional medicine (Luo 1985 p.25, p.135). The concept of the Movement of Five Elements has been accepted by both Confucianists and Taoists. According to this concept, things are in the order of mutual rising and mutual conquest. Figure 2.1 shows the relationship among the five essential elements in nature.

'Mutual rising', in Figure 2.1 expresses the following sequence: wood makes fire, fire produces ash/earth, earth contains metal, metal attracts water, water nourishes wood. 'Mutual conquest' draws attention to the complementary sequence: wood (i.e. a plough) ploughs earth, earth dams water, water puts out fire, fire liquifies metal, metal cuts wood.

The same approach applies to: the mutual rise and conquest of directions, the East, South, Middle, West and North; the seasons, Spring, Summer, Long Summer, Autumn and Winter; the physical organs, the liver, heart, spleen, lung and kidney, as defined in Chinese - not western - medicine, etc.
Movement of Five Elements

(adapted from Li 1986, p.163; Feng & Zhou 1986, p.113)

MUTUAL RISING

[figure 2.1]

This theory demonstrates how a Taoist sees the importance of keeping one element in a correct situation, so that it balances the remaining related elements. One is for all, all is for one. Each element is complementary to the rest within the system. This raises the question of how an individual, as one such element, should act and maintain a balance with society, the environment and nature, as other elements.

The 'mutual rising and conquest' diagram shows the Taoist attitude and judgement toward life and nature. It can be seen that a Taoist views life in a circular and
continuous way. A thing starts, but has no ending in the circle. It is continuous. If one of the elements ceases to function the whole circle will collapse. On the other hand, if each element is expected to perform its role properly, then each element, and the whole circle, have to follow certain principles. That is, they must be on Tao, a natural way which is beyond words and human effort. Taoists believe that there is a natural law existing in these relationships. People should not make laws, since such man-made laws may interfere with nature, or with the natural law. Thus interpersonal conflicts should be avoided so that a harmonic situation will prevail.

This manner of keeping harmony reveals the Taoist attitude of respect for individualism. A great deal of Taoist doctrine advocates complete liberty of action for the individual and decries all governmental restraints (Creel 1970 p.37). Li (1986 p.192) points out that the philosophy of Chuang Tzu stresses the value of individualism to the extent that people neglect and throw away their relationships and communication, while Confucianism stresses the value of individualism through people keeping their relationships and communication. In Taoism, individuality, rather than relationships, is the centre of investigation and study. However, this Taoist conception of individualism is not at all the same as current Western ideas of individualism. When individuals have achieved Tao and Te, relationships between the universe and people, and among people, will be easily adjusted. In this view, the world attains the ideal situation when individualism is achieved. The way to
realize this individualism is that each person remains true to himself, keeps all external rules and regulations given by society away from him, has complete mental and physical freedom, emerges from a complicated, concrete and realistic life and enters a complete, unlimited, spiritual life. When people reach this standard, they will attain their real self, or as Taoists think, one becomes selfless when one is on Tao (Creel 1970 p.4; Li 1986 pp.191-195).

In order to become selfless, one should put oneself into nature, follow nature and be part of nature. When one becomes selfless, one gains spiritual liberty and finds real order in life. Problems associated with such things as death, upsets, fame, property, and the like will never bother such a person, who has a freedom which is severed completely from material desire and which is therefore unlimited. Therefore what Taoists wish to gain is this spiritual liberty and mental or psychological satisfaction, rather than to change the objective environment or surrounding society. It is an 'internal' or 'interiorized' individualism, unlike that of the West, which emphasizes external differences.

Such naturalism has implications for resisting change. It is against deviating from the natural way. Subjective change would interfere with the natural order and system. There is no need for education, and it is anti-materialistic. Lao Tzu would prefer to keep people in a situation of not having emotions, or knowledge, or desires for a higher standard of living (Luo 1985 p.56). If people are shown to respect others who have more knowledge, or to admire others who possess valuable
objects, etc. they will compete with each other in order to obtain fame or property. The result will be a society full of conflicts and problems.

2.2. DISCUSSION AND CRITICISM

It seems contradictory to conclude that China is a nation of Confucian culture, in which Taoism has always had a key position and role. Taoism has always developed with the growth of Confucianism. This is because "every Chinese is a Confucianist when he is successful and a Taoist when he is a failure" (Lin 1938 p.111). Taoism has been particularly appreciated by Chinese intellectuals (Dong & Liu 1988 pp. 109-116), whose role, position and fortune have been decided by whether they are in political favour or not. In other words, they are servants of the prevailing political power. Their ideas can be realized only when these ideas are accepted by current rulers. This has generally been the case in the course of Chinese history. In modern China, especially from the mid 1950s to recent years, Chinese intellectuals have been the targets in many political movements, which tried to limit their thinking and change any individual thinking to one 'correct', officially promulgated view. When Chinese intellectuals cannot do or say what they want to, a natural response is that they become modern Taoists, applying Taoism to their own behaviour. From Taoism they derive appropriately valid Chinese cultural rationales to conceal their thinking and not to reveal it to others. They achieve internal equilibrium and obtain solace in situations of being hurt or feeling inferior.
For this reason, it has been argued that Taoism is "rhetorical" (Luo 1985). It develops a passive attitude towards life. It is the ancestor of "Ah Q", a well-known modern literary figure who demonstrates how to achieve spiritual victory in contemporary circumstances (Dong & Liu 1988). Li (1986 p.177) points out the difference between Lao Tzu and Chuang Tzu. The Tao Te Ching, written by Lao Tzu, is a political philosophy which actively involves itself in society, but Chuang Tzu (the title of a well-known book expressing the philosopher-teacher Chuang Tsu's ideas) epitomizes a metaphysical philosophy. Li considers that Chuang Tzu's teachings belong to aesthetics because of his ideas about the returning to nature and not being a slave to the material. In this sense, "Taoism is the romantic school of Chinese thought, as Confucianism is the classic school" (Lin 1938 p.111). As such, several important aspects of Chinese character have been formatively influenced by Taoism. When Chinese people deal in politics; business; research; international, national or personal relationships; etc. They are seen as showing the following characteristics: to remain calm and collected, not to go to extremes, nor to be adventurous, impetuous or fanatical. They are observed as being patient, tolerant, compromising, indifferent, good-tempered, 'old-roguish' (Lin 1938 pp.49-54), circumspect, far-sighted. They are thought to pay great attention to the function, effect and result of a matter and they consider the feasibility of something before it is started (Lin 1938; Li 1986; Hua 1988).
Such a perceived character of being patient, tolerant, compromising and kind does not mean that the Chinese are afraid of offending others or that they are really weak, but it does mean that they may well not bother to argue or compete with others, or they are so pragmatic that they simply leave the matter if they see that nothing will be changed after their effort. They are either completely immersed in a world of their own or they save their strength in order to have the last laugh.

The Chinese, in this widely acknowledged view, are cautious of going to extremes. This is because of their belief that life is circular and that they should follow a natural way. To put excessive human effort into nature and life would be to be off balance or to be far from Tao. Further more, the polarity or paradox "meant not simply that everything has its opposite, but that opposites were necessary and complementary to each other. These opposites tended to merge into each other, and even to become each the opposite of its former self" (Thompson 1969 p.3). From this viewpoint, making an effort is just a waste of time and energy. Everything is supposed to be guided by Tao and the end of one quality is the start of its complementary opposite quality.

Both Taoism and Confucianism give a role to the individual. Taoism advocates individual liberty, free individual development and a natural self. Confucianism does not respect the value of, nor the free development of, individuals. Rather it stresses the duty and responsibilities of individuals towards family, society and nature. It values the unity of individuals with
collective groups and the nation (Feng & Zhou 1986 p.78). The Taoist emphasis on individualism seems more compatible with the Western emphasis on individualism, where each person is seen as being unique, and should develop his/her own self. However, whereas the West stresses active individualism, the Taoist notion is a passive one, because Taoism favours an element of absence from society, isolation, non-communication, or at least non-interference. A Chinese influenced by Taoism might well lock himself into his own ideal spiritual world, within which he can freely think and do as he wishes. He will be regarded as a real Taoist as long as he keeps everything to himself and does not bother others. This is perhaps one of the reasons why Confucians or rulers in the past tolerated the Taoist individualism for so long, since it neither harms them nor threatens them. On the contrary, Taoism balances the seriousness of orthodox Confucian ideas and loosens the tension which might otherwise stem from a single controlling view or policy held by rulers. In contrast, the relatively active individualism of the West values the expression of individual opinions and encourages active involvement in society. In general, Westerners will be less afraid to stand out from among their peers. They will more readily voice opinions and check others' responses to them.

Taoism has many similarities with Chinese Buddhism. Both emphasize the return to nature and a natural way of life. Both contain the belief that nature, not the material world, is the only place where people can purify their spirit and find mental satisfaction and
happiness. But the Taoist attitude towards life has some distinct elements. A Taoist sees the beauty and enjoyment of life as long as his spirit is away from this mortal life, whereas a Buddhist sees that life is suffering and bitter. Provided that real happiness and contentment are gained in their spiritual life, Taoists accept whatever they have in the material world.

Those influenced by Taoism and Buddhism are likely to believe in destiny (Dong & Lin 1988). Taoism sees life as starting from nature and returning to it. Life is a circle. One's life has been decided by Tao. A Taoist accepts what Tao has guided him to do. There is little to change. A Buddhist, on the other hand, divides life into three parts: the past, present and future. The future is decided by past actions and present activities, according to the Buddhist concept of Karma, a preordained fate or law of cause and effect. This may offer a rationale for inactivity in one's present life situation. One should not, or need not, bother to act to change circumstances since fate has been decided either by the past in Buddhism, or by Tao in Taoism. Both philosophical or religious outlooks may encourage those influenced by them to tolerate any situation, suffering or disaster in the material world.

Both Taoism and Buddhism promote direct experience and understanding. A Taoist will be inclined to look at a problem organically, holistically, dynamically and as having systematic relationships (Feng & Zhou 1986). This may lead him to ignore details or a step-by-step solution. A Buddhist is likely to be favourably inclined
to views or intuitions received from 'sudden enlightenment' (Kollar 1985).

It follows from the above that there is likely to be a tendency for the Chinese to see things as a whole, as a system, and to emphasize judgements and decisions relevant to practical aspects and their everyday experience of life. They may be less inclined to, or even despise, judgements and decisions based on logical inference, especially where such conclusions derive from more abstract theoretical systems. It is likely that Chinese judgements will be decided on the basis of perceived quality, in preference to using the basis of replication and quantification current in the West (Feng & Zhou 1986 pp.105-111).

2.3. IMPLICATIONS
2.3.1. A Circular vs. Linear View of Life

It has been claimed that a Chinese person influenced by Taoism sees the development of life, or the progress of any matter, as a circle where things will ultimately return to the same point on the circle. The chief implication which follows from this view is that if a Chinese carefully studies what has happened in the past, he should be able to know which step to take next. Studying the past segment of the circle enables one to feel a degree of certitude about appropriate future action. This meets his main concern, which is to keep a proper balance within the circle. In contrast, common Western thinking in this respect involves a linear model. Looking back on the past with a critical eye, a Westerner
stands in the present where current action is oriented towards the future. What happens now determines the future, which is open to change or is unknown.

These different approaches and attitudes mean that Chinese students about to do research or follow a course in the West may already have certain fixed predictions about what the research or course will do. They may also envisage difficulties and new things to learn, yet some believe, having surveyed the past segment of their particular circle of life - their successful study in China - that they are well prepared to overcome obstacles. However, this may lead to a mental block or inflexible attitude towards the future. If, in the course of study, the situation goes beyond what was expected, a Chinese student may be surprised, puzzled or disappointed, worried and upset (if he is not a thorough Taoist). According to Taoism, or Confucianism, he should not bother others by talking about it. He should hide his thoughts and feelings. Some may become isolated or lonely, yet will not seek help or advice from tutors. Those strongly influenced by Taoism will not worry about 'failure', since their thinking will continue on the same track or circle as the original expectation. In most cases, such attitudes will result from a mixture of influences from Taoism, Confucianism and Buddhism.

2.3.2. Past Experience or Results vs. Present or Future Ones

The circular view leads the conclusion, held by some Chinese, that authoritative summaries of past
experience must be the truth. This is because "the Chinese respect for the scholar is based on a different conception, for they respect that type of education which increases his practical wisdom, his knowledge of world affairs, and his judgement in times of crisis" (Lin 1938 p.73). In their practical life, Chinese believe that Taoist sayings can save them from suffering, while Confucian teaching can help them to be successful. They can get what they expect to get if they follow the 'truth' of past experience, which to the Chinese has practical value in the present, beside helping them to see the future. Taoism and Confucianism give slightly different emphasis here in that to the former the past is a copy of the present and future, while to the latter the past is approved. Both emphasize that the past is authoritative.

In their writing, oral presentations and general approach to doing research, Chinese students pay great attention to the background. (Quite possibly, this present Chinese writer is also doing so in these sections.) The assumption is that readers and listeners will predict the intended meaning from the content of the given background. Being largely unaware that Westerners commonly use other ways of formally presenting information, Chinese students are in effect assuming that Western audiences will have no problem in following Chinese ways of structuring information. Thus Chinese students frequently invest much time and effort in discovering what has been done in their field in the past. They will give detailed descriptions of what they have found out from the past. If they do present critical points, these are likely to be points previously
made by others. They are presented as part of the past. Such points will be presented without the writer or speaker giving his own personal evaluation of them. More often, however, Chinese students will not give any criticism at all, though this is considered to be a vital ingredient of Western academic writing and research.

Lin (1938 p.34) described what he saw as a typical situation. "A Chinese author presents you with one or two arguments and then states his conclusions: in reading him, you seldom see him arriving at the conclusion, for the arguments and evidence are never long, but you see in a flash that he already has it." Since this was written China has had some academic and cultural exchange with the West. Yet considering that there have been several thousand years in which the more traditional mode of presenting information has been the norm it would not be surprising if this style were still the major one today. Chinese people may be too pragmatic. They are mainly interested in the result. How this result is found is not the focus of their interest.

A Chinese student, accustomed to thinking in this way, may put a lot of effort into describing in detail the background to his research. To such a writer or speaker, this is an important step towards a conclusion. It also shows how much he knows about the topic. After giving an extensive background, he may presume that he has said enough to imply the result. While talking about or writing this part, a mental dialectical process may be involved. If there are other Chinese listeners or readers, it is unnecessary to add more. They know what he means and he
knows that they know. But Western audiences may think he has just started. They are waiting for him to get to the point if they are patient enough. But what they receive is a conclusion, without an indication of the process or steps leading to it which are so necessary in the Western approach. They may get frustrated at that point. A British supervisor/tutor may think that the Chinese student has not done much about the actual work and he will doubt the result. If he expresses this to the Chinese student, the latter may feel wronged and not understand why his supervisor does not appreciate his work. The supervisor is likely to explain that this piece of work should be more critical. The Chinese student may not know what the British lecturer means by 'being critical'. If the student does not make an effort to find out, he will be lost in panic. This interpretation is reinforced by the fact that in Chinese the word 'critical' is an ambiguous concept and has relatively negative connotations.

2.3.3. Intuition, Insight and 'Sudden Enlightenment' vs. Rational, Logical and Analytical Dialectics or Approaches

Both Taoists and Buddhists admire intuition and 'sudden enlightenment'. Practitioners trust their direct experience and feelings more than logical approval. Willis (1987 pp.136-153) values greatly the spontaneity and intuition praised by Taoism. He considers industrialization and Western educational systems have swept away creativeness and spontaneity. "The kind of mentality which best served the industrial age was a
strictly left-brain, wholly rational, verbal consciousness whose analytical, logical, objective qualities were apt fuel for the science and technology which was the basis of that age -- and its profits" (ibid. p.137-138). But it is a controversial question whether a Chinese student who has some intuitive ability and is educated culturally by the belief that intuition is important, should insist on his own way or adapt to the Western way, especially if he is studying in the West. The argument does not mean that there are no logical and analytical dialectics in Chinese education or thinking. On the contrary, dialectics have an important position in Chinese ways of thinking, as shown in Taoist paradoxes, for example. But there is a tendency for Chinese rationality to come more from experience or intuition than from abstract thought or dialectics built up on theories and hypotheses (Feng & Zhou 1986 p.105-111). Perhaps they do both, as Lin (1938 p.13) says, "as a Chinese, he not only sees with his mind but he also feels with his heart".

It is possible that a paper written by a Chinese student or a question he asks and discusses in a seminar is full of such phrases as 'I feel; My ideas; I think; Your ideas; You ought to; I don't agree; etc.'. He uses these personal pronouns to write or talk about a research process or result of science or social science. A British supervisor may consider that this is not an academic report. In a seminar or conversation with a British supervisor, this way of using language may cause a misunderstanding. What is intended to be a pure 'objective' argument is taken as a personal attack. The
British person may think the Chinese does not trust what he has said. The Chinese may assume that this British person does not like him personally and that is why he defends himself against contrary opinion expressed by the Chinese person.

A Chinese student simply may not know how to show a rational, logical and step-by-step analysis in speaking and writing, which is a rather Western linear development.

2.3.4. Single Principle vs. Multiplicity of Principles

The difficulty of showing critical points in a Western way leads to another possible problem for Chinese students. A Chinese student may believe that there is only one principle or one 'correct' answer to a question or problem. A Westerner tends to consider more alternative principles or solutions to one question. If a Chinese believes there is only one answer, why should he bother to show any other points, knowing they are wrong? Why not just present the 'right' point? The Chinese presentation may therefore be seen as lacking argument.

When a Chinese student goes to his supervisor for guidance and suggestions for his research, he may feel very disappointed when he receives so many choices. If he insists on getting the 'correct' one from his supervisor, his supervisor may think this person does not work independently on his research. He expects to get everything from his supervisor. In thinking or research, he may rule out all other possible approaches and solutions when he finds out the 'right' one. In a seminar or lecture, he may be puzzled by others' discussion and
always keep in mind the question or ask similar questions, such as 'Which one is right? Which one should be used? Which one should I believe?' etc. To a Western lecturer or tutor, this is a rather passive and unoriginal attitude to learning, which reveals the lack of a critical or evaluative approach.

2.3.5. Paradox and Ambiguity vs. Clarity

As discussed, Chinese people, influenced by the Taoist dialectics, look at matters or problems of the natural world or human society in an organic, holistic, dynamic and systematic way. But they may lack the cognitive ability, or doubt the need, to state every detailed step or process in arriving at conclusions. This way of thinking renders concepts ambiguous and makes people satisfied with only using the law of the unity of opposites to explain the general law of the universe (Feng & Zhou 1986 p.108-109). It is quite likely that in Taoism, the law of the unity of opposites is used to explain almost everything.

This way of thinking is reinforced by the functions of Chinese written characters. A Chinese character may have many meanings. These meanings are not fixed. Their meaning depends on where they are placed in a phrase or a sentence, or with what other characters they are combined in compound words. On the other hand, this ambiguity in meaning is considered to be the strength and the beauty of the Chinese language (Watts 1979). Words have their literal meanings and meanings beyond the words. This flexibility and ambiguity in meaning and concept may
have an effect on people's thinking (Feng & Zhou 1986). Chinese people are educated in the same cultural background. They know what is behind those words. When they listen or read, they automatically catch what is beyond the given words, or between the lines. This process is quite often a conscious one. Westerners have their own ways to show meanings between lines (e.g. by intonation). But they intend to clearly present what they mean, perhaps partly because of the logical and grammatical structure of the language (e.g. English) and partly because of their cultural beliefs and ways of thinking.

In speech or writing, if a Chinese student uses this Chinese way of hinting at information, no matter how excellent his English is, a British reader or listener may find it very difficult to catch the intended meaning. He may get the impression that this Chinese either has no idea about the topic or that his contribution is irrelevant. In the end, both sides become tired and frustrated.

In learning English as a foreign language, Chinese students pay great attention to memorizing the meanings of English words, partly because they transfer the habits which are necessary for learning Chinese characters. They also make effort to learn grammar. But they overlook the importance of pronunciation, intonation, or discourse in expressing meanings.

2.3.6. Detachment and Isolation from Conflicts vs. Group Activity and Acceptance of Conflicts

This section discusses the opposition between a
Chinese tendency towards detachment and isolation in resolving problems and the more Western emphasis on group activity when resolving problems and the Western acceptance of the inevitability of conflicts.

If a Chinese student has a misunderstanding, and feels that he has problems to his research or with his supervisor and colleagues, he may only keep all this to himself if he is influenced by the Taoist idea of non-communication. He may further believe in the Taoist notion that it is a bad behaviour if he brings out conflicts by talking about them. In a Western academic or social context, people would rather discuss problems or conflicts person to person or in a group. This is indeed one of the functions of seminars and regular supervision. But given different cultural attitudes of Chinese and British people towards conflicts, a Chinese may not want to do anything in solving conflicts. He may consider that keeping to himself is the best way to solve the problem. He feels that at least no more conflicts will appear. But a British person would find it strange and hard to understand this way. He may not know that this is a Chinese way to solve problems, but may suppose that there is something else wrong with the Chinese student. Again this is another wrong conclusion or cultural misunderstanding.

2.3.7. Non-interference vs. Activity

In order to avoid conflicts or to avoid showing one's ability, Chinese students are normally quieter than British ones in the classroom, lecture or seminar. It is
likely to be a shock to Chinese students to see British pupils so active in schools. The British students can apparently say whatever they want to say, whenever and wherever they wish. Chinese students recognize that in lectures and seminars the frequency, style and manner of speech of British university students are rather different from their own. They may comment to each other that British students are rude and do not respect lecturers and professors (according to Confucianism), or that they are showing off (according to Taoism). Apart from their possible language problem, the Chinese talk less in public, which includes lectures, seminars and supervisory sessions. The British supervisor or lecturer may think Chinese students are not learning or even not trying: they seem passive, uncreative and slow. If some of the lecturers or supervisors reveal such an opinion, these Chinese students will be hurt. This unhappiness of Chinese students will be kept to themselves. They may comfort themselves by saying that British supervisors will know their actual ability one day.
PART II

ACADEMIC CULTURE AND SECOND LANGUAGE LEARNING

Three chapters in Part II intend to investigate the development and characteristics of modern Chinese intellectuals' culture; to explore the concept of academic culture in Chinese and British higher education including their styles and expectations in learning and teaching in general and specifically of English; and finally look into the recent models of second language learning relating to culture and cross-cultural communication studies to see if there is any link drawn between academic culture and academic/linguistic needs of advanced language learners. The analysis is multi-disciplinary and multidimensional.
CHAPTER THREE

CHINESE INTELLECTUALS' CULTURE

3.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the main characteristics of modern Chinese intellectuals. It examines the link between traditional influences and modern models affected by Western invasions, the peasant uprising, intellectual and political movements, world and civil wars, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP)'s policy and control, political movements since 1949, etc. These events are not illustrated here from their historical point of view. The main feature in the discussion is the effect of these on modern intellectuals and its implications for the present study.

The framework of this chapter is to look at the Chinese intellectuals in two ways: vertical and horizontal. The vertical axis examines the historical events in modern and contemporary China, which influenced the development of Chinese intellectuals. This highlights the factors which have been deposited in the Chinese intellectuals' culture. The horizontal axis demonstrates how these factors affect intellectuals' thinking and their changing roles in society. These features will be examined in philosophical, educational, psychological, social and financial aspects, using recent research evidence wherever possible.

The concept of intellectuals discussed here refers to those who have received higher education,
effectively holders of academic degrees or the equivalent and who have worked in academic and advanced technical professions. In the 'Modern Chinese Dictionary', intellectuals are defined as "having a relatively high educational level; those engaged in mental work, such as scientists, teachers, doctors, journalists, engineers, etc." (1989 p.1481).

Books on Chinese intellectuals, such as Goldman's "China's Intellectuals" (1981), Grieder's "Intellectuals and the State in Modern China" (1981), or Schwarcz's "The Chinese Enlightenment" (1986), give detailed historical descriptions in two ways. Either they survey the twentieth century focusing on the opinions, philosophy and development of intellectuals in each important period or they pick out individual representative intellectuals for discussion. In such works, the essence of Chinese intellectual life is presented between the lines or descriptions of events. The characteristics of intellectuals are not stated in a coherent way; readers have to interpret them with their own analytic logic. This may be because of the long history of Chinese civilization and of intellectual development or because of the track of such development differs from that of the West. It is therefore hard for Western researchers used to Western evaluation to find a format. It is equally difficult for Chinese researchers, following Chinese ways of catching the gist, to illustrate an analysis using a more Western logical presentation. The following short list of characteristics of Chinese intellectuals through the development of
modern generations is only intended to present a general idea of what Chinese intellectuals are like and how they differ from intellectuals of other cultures. The argument is that different intellectual cultures affect the advanced level of second language learning/use in academic contexts. Insight derived from following this argument may help British academic staff, non-Chinese academic staff and even Chinese themselves, to understand this group of Chinese in a more explicit way. The following outline is limited to those aspects considered relevant to the present study.

3.2. THE DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN CHINESE INTELLECTUALS

The process of modernization of a traditional Chinese intellectual reflects the process of China contacting the Western world, widening her view towards the world, accepting Western ideas and technology. This has led to a significant cultural exchange and further steps towards westernization. However, the Chinese criterion for assessing this process is still traditional: the tendency towards an intellectual holistic approach deriving from the employment of a monistic-intellectualistic mode of thinking (Lin 1979). From the late nineteenth century to the present time, this change has frequently reflected the general attitude of "Western learning for technology, Chinese learning for the essentials" as Bond (1991 p.88) translates Zhang Zhidong's famous phrase (c.1898). This attitude has also become a part of a Chinese mode of thinking. But crucial questions remain for later twentieth century generations.
of Chinese intellectuals: whether this is a good principle for China, how to keep a good balance between Chinese learning and Western learning, what to keep from Chinese tradition and what to eliminate from Western learning. The successful use, so far, of "Western learning and Japanese spirit" since the Meiji Restoration in Japan (Seidensticker 1979, Cortazzi 1990) alerts Chinese researchers to the benefits which might result from this situation, yet they are also aware of the danger of being involved with Western economic and political crises if the economy and political situation of China is so closely linked with the Western cycle.

Li suggests (1979 pp.470-471) that Chinese Modern Intellectuals can be divided into seven generations, from the end of the Qing Dynasty to the time when he published his book (1979). Here the idea of seven generations is taken up, but the division will be modified using the criterion that the period for the preparation and cultivation of each generation of Chinese intellectuals is counted rather than Li's use of an important event as the centre point in the period of each generation. The process is more important than the exact cut-off point. The beginning and/or the end of each generation is itself an important event. This will help to describe the formation and development of the characteristics of generations. Important events may be regarded as the results and outcomes. Clearly these generations may overlap one another since people in one generation may have the characteristics of earlier or later generations (Li 1979 p.471). It is more important
to examine outstanding characteristics of each generation than to enter a debate about the precise date of the beginning and end of each generation. The essential aim of this research is to look at possible general patterns and influences on contemporary Chinese academic life.

3.2.1. The First Generation of Chinese Modern Intellectuals

The first generation of Chinese modern intellectuals started when China began her modernization in 1840 (Luo 1985, Jian et al. 1986) and ended in 1911 when the Xinhai Revolution overthrew the last dynasty --- the Qing Dynasty (1616-1911).

This long period for the first generation was a slow and painful process: the beginning of the Chinese intellectual movement to be critical of Chinese tradition and culture and to start the process of Westernization, although it is hard to measure how much they had in fact become critical and Westernized. Whether it is appropriate to lower the value of Chinese tradition and to become Westernized was a continuing debate among Chinese intellectuals. Lin (1979) maintained that the first generation started from the 1890s and the second generation began in the early 1900s. Li (1979) did not specify the dates. He used names of famous and representative intellectuals of the period as a symbol of that generation or used important events to designate the generations.

This generation of intellectuals was educated in the later Qing Dynasty. They had a solid background of
systematic traditional education and a strong sense of loyalty to the nation (anti-Manchu rulers). They felt a responsibility to revive the nation's culture and civilisation. They were the first to receive the impact of Western ideology and materialism, the first to introduce Western ideas to an economically-shaken and psychologically-challenged Chinese society. Some were involved in reform and in the Westernization movement, joining the Xinhai Revolution to overthrow the Qing Dynasty. They believed they were the saviours of the nation by changing China from a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society after the First Opium War in 1840 to a Republic (Jian et al. p.84). Many reverted to traditional beliefs when the Revolution was dissipated in power struggles among warlords.

Before the First Opium War, "China had lived in lofty isolation, with a belief in her superiority" (Chai 1962 p.187). Western encroachment broke the stability and continuity of the traditional culture. China was forced to face the paradox of why 'the most civilized central kingdom' was defeated by 'those foreign barbarians'. Surprisingly, intellectuals changed their attitude and turned to the West for a miraculous cure. "The Chinese were for the first time convinced that they had something to learn from the Western countries" (Chai 1962 p.188). Many Chinese intellectuals were shocked and felt inferior to the West. Some were aroused by Western ideological and economic superiority. Some tried to use Western ideology to change Chinese society. Hong Xiuquan, the leader of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom movement (1851-1864) to
develop Christian ideas of equality, freedom, kindness and love, organized peasants to fight against the social hierarchies of feudalism and Confucianism. Some intellectuals believed that Western modern science and technology could save the country from being beaten by Western military force and economic invasions. In 1872, the first group of Chinese students was sent to the USA to study modern Western knowledge (Chow 1960 p.26). Later, many Chinese students went to Europe. Kang Yiu-wei, a well-known imperial official and a leader of the 1898 Wu Xu reform, which sought to streamline the central administration and modernize China without dismantling the social structure, began to accept the concepts of Western modern science. Kang was confused with the concepts of spirit and materials, regarding spirit as electricity, due to lack of information and misunderstanding of Western science and technology, (Li 1979 pp.104-105). His explanation of the Confucian concept of Ren as combined with Western concepts of 'liberty, equality and fraternity' was meant to liberate people from the feudal regulations (the Li, see Ch.1) and emphasized the spiritual part of humanity. The emphasis on spiritual improvement distracted people's attention from building up a strong and concrete material basis to deal with the competitive world. Yen Fu was among the first to promulgate Western ideological, social and scientific ideas and culture through his own writing and through influential translations of such Western works as T. H. Huxley's *Evolution and Ethics and other Essays* (1893). The introduction of a Western theory of knowledge
and the inductive method of logic opened Chinese intellectuals' eyes and gave them hope for the future.

The Westernization Movement and the Reform Movement may be regarded as the outcome of the push by Western military force and of the effect of Western ideas and theories. One landmark was the abolition of the thirteen hundred year old imperial examination in 1903 offering an opportunity to establish a new educational system. The victory of the Xinhai Revolution, making China a Republic, was the first fruit of a political rather than a cultural revolution. Later, Yen Fu reverted to Confucianism and Taoism and abandoned his former Western ideas as did other intellectuals — Confucianism and Taoism was still deeply rooted in Chinese intellectuals' minds.

3.2.2. The Second Generation of Chinese Modern Intellectuals

The second generation grew from the success of the Xinhai Revolution which caused the abdication of the last Manchu emperor in 1912. The turbulent birth of the Republic led to intellectuals attaining a deeper and more sophisticated understanding of their role in the development and modernization of China. This in turn led to the May Fourth Movement, the first cultural revolution or cultural upheaval (Spence 1990 p.310), launched by students and widely supported by people from different professions and classes. "They stressed primarily Western ideas of science and democracy. Traditional Chinese ethics, customs, literature, history, philosophy,
religion, and social and political institutions were fiercely attacked" (Chou 1960 p.1). This raises the question of whether it is possible for a country to acquire technology and science from other countries without being influenced by their philosophy and culture. Japan, so far, seems to have kept an adequate balance of maintaining her own culture while adopting the best technology and science from others, developing them with her own identity. In Japanese culture one of the most important features is that people are flexible and willing to learn the best things from other countries and to make them become part of their own (Christopher 1984 p.40).

The May Fourth Movement was a turning point for intellectuals. It had a great influence on later generations and on the philosophical, social and material life of people today. To understand how a Chinese modern intellectual is formed, some understanding of the spirit of the May Fourth Movement is indispensable.

Intellectuals in this generation had a very strong attitude of "totalistic iconoclasm" (Lin 1979) and anti-imperialism. The achievement of the Xinhai Revolution was plundered by the warlord Yuan Shikai who used his military power to offer himself as the president of the Republic and had ambitions to become emperor. At the same time, he yielded to pressure from Western countries and Japan and accepted all of the humiliating Twenty-one Demands from Japan in January 1915 in order "to secure Japan’s blessing for his imperial venture" (Purcell 1962 p.77). This political retrogression led
Chinese modern intellectuals to realize that overthrowing an old political system did not necessarily guarantee that people forsook their previous ideology, beliefs and attitudes. Changing people's thinking, their moral values and mentality towards society and the world and setting up a completely new and non-traditional ideology were the most important and fundamental tasks before a successful political and social reform could be carried out. The breakdown of the imperial power led to the total destruction of the system of traditional culture (Lin 1979 pp.10-55). This cultural -- intellectual approach was itself influenced by the traditional cultural predisposition of a monistic mode of thinking which could accept only one institution, i.e. either this or that, in a society or system. Secondly it elaborated "an intellectualistic-holistic mode of thinking, that is, a way of perceiving traditional Chinese society and culture as an organismic entity whose form and nature were affected by its fundamental ideas" (Lin 1979 p.29). This created an attitude of total anti-traditionalism. But the traditional culture (i.e. Confucianism here) was in favour of any ruling class. Since a Chinese ruling class has to adopt a philosophy and a social and moral system to maintain the cohesion of the country, the Confucian system would be reused if there was no other suitable system to hand. This might be the reason why the ceremony for Confucius and the teaching of Confucian sayings and ideas, abandoned after the Xinhai Revolution, were performed again when Yuan Shikai seized power in the Republic in 1913 (Wang 1985 p.235).
As Grieder (1981) comments Chinese intellectuals played the role of "political entrepreneurs" in the first generation and a role of "political amateurs" in the second. They paid more attention to establishing a fundamental change by emphasising reform in education, philosophy and philology. They raised important issues in popular education: the education of children and women, and the equality of women in society. A new educational system was set up, which emphasized Western 'horizontal' principles of freedom, equality and fraternity as opposed to the 'vertical' Confucian hierarchical ideology. Modern courses of philosophy, literature, science, technology, economics, technical skills, physical training, and music, were taught in 'new' schools and universities (Wang 1985 pp. 336-341). The Western course structure and educational philosophy enabled China to narrow the distance from the modern West. Evolution theory was regarded by intellectuals at the time as a general law in both nature and society (Lin 1979. Western democracy, social Darwinism and the Western attitude of controlling the natural world began to enter Chinese intellectuals' thinking. This contrasted with their traditional education which emphasized hierarchy in society and the development of the inner quality of human beings as the essence of living (Confucianism) and that people should be in harmony with nature and follow the law of nature (Taoism).

The May Fourth Movement (1919) was caused by the sacrifice of China in the Shandong settlement to please Japan, decided by Western countries at the Versailles
Conference. Many important cultural and educational issues were worked out by Chinese intellectuals in those days. Cai Yuanpei, the Republic's first minister of education and the President of Peking University (1916 to 1926), advocated ideological and academic freedom, a degree of intellectual and educational autonomy and emphasis on the development of individuals (Goldman 1981 p.8, Wang 1985 pp.346-348). Other well-known intellectuals, Hu Shi, Cheng Duxiu, Lu Xun, stood for educational and social reform and publicized social Darwinism. They criticized Confucianism through new periodicals and newspapers. Many articles and essays introduced and evaluated Western ideas. Lun Xun, a major figure in modern Chinese literature, wrote many essays and fictional works exploring the nature of the Confucian rites and traditions which he saw as having a corrosive effect on society.

Education was considered one essential cure to save China. Day and evening schools were set up to educate ordinary citizens who had had no opportunity under the traditional educational system to study modern science and technology and 'new thinking and ideas'. Children and women were encouraged to go to school and to study courses heavily influenced by the Western syllabuses. Teachers' colleges and universities were founded to give systematic training for this profession. Intellectuals in this generation pioneered modern education. They were teachers and designers of the educational system for later generations.

The national language system was formulated in
1917. The use of Chinese vernacular rhetoric, instead of classical Chinese, was officially permitted in books and newspapers and as a medium for teaching. This contributed significantly to the popularization of public education, to the reduction of illiteracy and to the development of modern China.

3.2.3. The Third Generation of Chinese Modern Intellectuals

This period started in 1920 after the breakout of the May Fourth Movement and ended at the beginning of the Sino-Japanese in 1937.

The major characteristics of this generation are that those who had been partly or mainly educated in the West or Japan returned to China and systematically began to introduce Western ideas, science and technology to Chinese students in the hope of reviving China. Initially they had relatively close contact with changes and developments outside China and a certain degree of intellectual freedom. They opened schools, set up newspapers, published translations from Western books inside China. Other intellectuals in this generation were taught by these Western-educated practitioners. They were eager to find new theories and philosophies to replace Confucianism. The Three Principles - "the People’s Rule or Nationalism, the People’s Authority or Democracy, and the People’s Livelihood or Socialism" (Chai 1962 p.206) - proposed earlier by Dr. Sun Yat-sen (1866-1925) were accepted. Today they are still accepted as a national policy and ideological principle by both the Nationalist
Party in Taiwan and the Communist Party in Mainland China.

The introduction of Marxism and the Communist ideology and the foundation of the Chinese Communist Party in this period opened a new dimension for Chinese intellectuals. The communist ideology presented a new role for them: to unite themselves with workers and peasants. The attitude of combining with, and learning from, the working class contrasted with the traditional role in which Chinese intellectuals ruled uneducated workers and peasants. This trust in a Western ideology --- Marxism --- led to a gradual change in intellectuals' beliefs and behaviour in later generations. Superficially at least, Marxism matched well with the long-standing Chinese traditional expectation of community and concern for the whole society. The Individualism inherent in Western capitalist competition might alarm the Chinese. They might have regarded it as inequitable or immoral, according to either Confucianism or Taoism.

Chinese intellectuals became divided: not only into traditional and modern camps, but also into communist / revolutionary and non-communist / anti-revolutionary ones. The intellectuals' life was deeply involved in political transformation.

3.2.4. The Fourth Generation of Chinese Modern Intellectuals

In this period there were two wars involving China: the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945), a theatre of the Second World War, and the Third Civil War
(1945-1949) between the Communist Party and the Nationalist Party.

The question of the survival of China was brought to the attention of Chinese intellectuals when the Japanese invaded China. China for the first time joined a world political and military union as an ally against the Axis forces (Germany, Italy and Japan). Chinese intellectuals were concerned about this Chinese role in the world circle, but it was forced by the urgent question of the nation’s survival.

This generation of Chinese intellectuals was mostly educated in a Western school system or abroad. The intellectual population had increased due to increased participation in popular education since the May Fourth Movement. They tended to be city-born bourgeois intellectuals who had experienced a more Western-style education than Chinese intellectuals of earlier generations. They were enthusiastic and idealistic, but not realistic (Li 1979 p.470).

Two factors might have influenced this generation: the Japanese colonial enforcement and the American infiltration after the Second World War. Some intellectuals and students were lost in the 'superiority' of Japan and the USA and had little expectation of achieving self-generating modernity (Grieders 1981). On the other hand, Chinese intellectuals were forced to resist Japanese colonial education and to stand for national independence, freedom and democracy from American interference (Wang 1985 pp.406-433). Intellectuals became divided into pro-Japanese,
pro-American and pro-soviet Russian groups, or pro-Nationalist Party and pro-Communist Party ones. Some of these groups overlapped. Chinese intellectuals' life was once again drawn into national and international politics.

The Chinese Communist Party emphasized the policy of cultivating "workers and peasants intellectuals" (gong nong zhishi fenzi) (Wang 1985 p.412). These intellectuals came from worker and peasant stock, they had to serve, unite with and speak for these people. They were asked to study Marxism and to perform physical labour. The Party intended to set up "a national, scientific and popular culture" (Wang 1985 p.410). This was identified as "the culture of the new democracy" defined by Mao Zedong as "the popular, anti-imperialist and anti-feudalist culture under the leadership of the proletariat" (Mao 1966 p.657). In Grieders' analysis (1981 pp.352-353): "It was the New Culture academics, in the course of their scholarly excavations, who disclosed the foundations of this popular culture, barely discernible beneath the debris of the decaying structure of Confucianism, and it was they who sketched the preliminary design for a new culture to rise on the site thus reclaimed. But it was the Chinese Communists who exploited the discovery by turning it to revolutionary purposes. In their understanding, culture is a primary ideological category, as essential in its explanatory significance as are material factors in the shaping of social character". Therefore changing people's ideology, especially that of intellectuals who have their
own ways of thinking and who can influence others, is one of the priorities and fundamental tasks of the Chinese Communist Party. This policy has continued to shape the concept of Chinese intellectuals and students up to the present day.

3.2.5. The Fifth Generation of Chinese Modern Intellectuals

The period of this generation started from the Liberation (in 1949 when the Communist Party founded the People’s Republic of China) and lasted to the beginning of the Proletariat Cultural Revolution in 1966.

Most intellectuals of this generation were educated or partly educated before the Communist Party took over, so their education was influenced by Western styles and systems. Some intellectuals were workers and peasants educated in the schools and universities run by the Communist Party and the People’s Army during the Sino-Japanese War (1937-45) and the Third Civil War (1945-49). They were considered pure revolutionary intellectuals. They were fully trusted by the Party.

Changing people’s ideology, especially that of intellectuals, was the major task of the Party in Chinese superstructure. It was considered important to make sure these intellectuals followed the line and principles of the Party, since they were trusted and respected by most ordinary people and could also influence others’ thinking. On the other hand, these intellectuals were expected to produce creative work for the modernization of China. But there is a paradox. These intellectuals’
concept of modernization in science and social science came from their Western educational background, so they perhaps tended to be individual, critical and independent in dealing with modernization. Developing a new China required them to work creatively and critically. Yet if they had critical views on a policy set by the Party, some Party members might conclude that they were attacking the Party; then they would be labelled anti-revolutionary. This reaction, in fact, is a continuation of traditional beliefs: criticism was allowed only by following the ideas of one’s superior. Modification or reform of the policy was possible but only with the willingness of those at the top, as if the change was originated by the latter. Any opinions which were different from or not approved by those at the top were regarded as a threat and danger to the whole empire. When the leaders felt danger, they would respond to it by controlling and restricting public opinions. The following pattern is adapted from Goldman’s (1981 p.9) description of the cyclical policy toward the intellectuals who receive "periods of repression and briefer periods of relative relaxation" according to "internal political and economic factors and international events" (ibid.).

The Cycle of
Action and Reaction of Intellectuals and the Regime

intellectuals
Stage I
Stage I intellectuals
- being relatively relaxed, enthusiastic, hard-working, creative, becoming critical which is based on the Western style of intellectual development due to their Western educational background

Stage II the regime
- being satisfied, tolerant, forcing orthodoxy and the thought control campaign which follows: partly traditional beliefs of achieving first an upright ideology (e.g. the Ren) as a guarantee of reaching a high standard and stable material world (see Ch.1); partly the Party's understanding of culture, ideology (see 3.2.d) and superstructure which has the function of guiding the infrastructure

Stage III intellectuals
- being attacked, becoming cautious, frightened, routine, passive, hurt, mentally and/or physically destroyed, silently resistant, unproductive ---> affecting the national political atmosphere and economic development

Stage IV the regime
- losing the control, having self-criticism, giving more freedom, praising and stimulating intellectual creativity, which leads back to Stage I
This cycle may be repeated at a different level of repression or relaxation for different lengths of time. In this period, this cycle was repeated at least three times. The first, from 1950–55, ended by 'defeating' the Anti-Party Clique of Hu Feng, a well-known writer and political theorist. The second, from 1955–57, finished in the Antirightist Campaign. Those intellectuals, who on being asked by the Party, gave critical opinions about the Party structure, the government and the country, were regarded as 'rightists'. Thousands of intellectuals suffered mentally and physically. They were punished by being sent to work in fields in rural or remote mountain areas. Members of their families were humiliated in public. Their promotion or higher education was blocked if there was a 'rightist' member in the family. The third cycle, from 1963–66, spanned the nationwide Socialist Education Movement or Siqing Yundong (Four Clean-ups Movement) which referred to reforming politics, the economy, organization and ideology.

Intellectuals during this period can be divided into three strata by their political status, rather than by their academic ability. The first stratum belonged to those who were both 'red and expert', i.e. they followed the Party's opinions and principles closely and were experts in their professions. Most of them were educated in the Party and Army schools and universities and later were sent to study in the Soviet Union. This group of intellectuals was used by the Party to lead other intellectuals and to criticize those who were regarded as
'rightists'. They were trusted by the Party as her 'good sons and daughters'.

The second stratum had a large number of obedient, cautious and hard-working intellectuals. They tried their best to show their loyalty to the Party. Some accepted whatever they were told because of their hierarchical sense. Some perhaps doubted but without questioning in public. They devoted themselves to their work hoping that the results of their hard work would prove their loyalty to the Party and serve the country, thus fulfilling their personal goals too. This illusion suits the images of both a traditional Chinese intellectual and a modern one: i.e. showing their loyalty to the hierarchy and their concern for the country and people by their professional and academic contribution (traditional belief) as well as having a personal academic/professional achievement (comparable to individualistic Western goals) so that some of their individuality and creativity showed.

The third stratum was at the bottom. These intellectuals were the victims of politics. Among these people were some of the best theorists, writers, journalists, social science researchers, artists, scientists. There is a modern saying in China: 'the more knowledge you have, the more anti-revolutionary you become' (Zhishi Yueduo Yuefandong), i.e. the more academic, knowledgable and expert a person is the more suffering he receives from tighter control in order to make sure the 'correct' line is followed. This reflects both the Western belief that knowledge is power and the
Chinese attitude that knowledge is worthy of respect and is authoritative. Many novels and reports about events in 1955–57 showed that some people were labelled 'rightists' simply because they were graduates or had longer schooling than others in their working unit (which refers to an organization, department, division, section; it can be an administrative or production body, such as a school, a company, a factory, an institute, a government office, etc.). Some of them would be further repressed if their class status or family background (Chengfen) was of the bourgeois or landlord class.

The consequence of these political movements towards Chinese intellectuals is that many became withdrawn, scared, or gave up their beliefs, but they remained hard-working; either because they needed the income to live, since they had no choice about where to go and what to do, or through academic and professional conscience. In contrast with the Chinese intellectual tradition, people accord high status to scientific and technological work and prefer it to professional and academic work in social science and arts. Science and technology are believed to be removed from politics and thus safer for a career. Moreover, they have a closer link with material production and a direct effect on the Chinese economic situation so that intellectuals can fulfil their wishes of building up China through their work. In that period, some intellectuals left their social science or arts background for professions which are less sensitive to political ideology and social problems. Either they were afraid of taking political
risks or they had to do what they were told, contrary to their own wishes. For example, Shen Chong-wen, a well-known novelist, stopped writing novels completely to edit a book about styles of Chinese clothes. They also encouraged their children, a likely source of the next generation of intellectuals, to avoid arts and social science. Some of their children had been influenced by the sacrifice of their parents' career for political reasons. Later they intentionally avoided studying courses in arts even if they were talented. Many works of literature revealed this situation in those years.

During this period, the Soviet model was influential in every field of Chinese construction. Intellectuals of the early 50s had to follow Soviet instructions, whether these were correct or not, otherwise they would be considered 'anti-Soviet'. This revealed again the monistic way of thinking. This pattern of one approach, one opinion, one solution and one truth has dominated Chinese thinking throughout history up to present times. Russian experts were the authority. The majority of schools and most universities in China suddenly changed from teaching English to teaching Russian. (In later years, this foreign language policy was reversed when Sino-Soviet relations were severed.) Intellectuals educated in this period received many theories of the day translated from Russian ideologists, scientists, artists, which still influence their academic behaviour and thinking today.

3.2.6. The Sixth Generation of Chinese Modern
Intellectuals

This period covers the duration of the Proletariat Cultural Revolution from 1966-1976. One of the aspects of this decade was that the status, respect and authority given to intellectuals plummeted dramatically, affecting their self-esteem. Many were tortured, their dignity was manipulated and their lives were endangered. The cycle of action and reaction (see section 3.2.5) was repeated many times. After each cycle, people became more cautious and pliable to the Party's requests. In those years, many feared having intellectual discussions and carrying out academic research. They had to do academic study anonymously unless they were required to do a particular research project by the regime. In the social structure as a whole, intellectuals were regarded as occupying the ninth and lowest stratum, after workers, peasants, soldiers. Intellectuals were called "Chou Laojiu" ('Notorious' or 'Stinking Number Nine'). Alternatively, they were categorised into anti-revolutionary and non-revolutionary groups, along with landlords, rightists, renegades. Ironically, the Cultural Revolution can be considered to have been started by Chinese intellectuals themselves in the May Fourth movement, which was intended to enlighten the whole nation and to change the nation's thinking, yet the Cultural Revolution gave intellectuals the highest degree of mental and physical suffering. Their own revolution reversed their position, throwing them from the top of the social hierarchy to the bottom, instead of achieving equality, freedom and democracy in the whole nation.
Since the cultural revolution was intended — in the words of a popular slogan — 'to smash the old world and set up a new world', everybody was affected and suffered, even those who had been regarded as 'red and expert'. Intellectuals during this period were divided into two types, according to their educational and political background.

The majority of intellectuals in this generation had been fully or partly educated before the cultural revolution. The first type could not do any academic or professional work to contribute to the construction of the country. The only permissible activity for them was to have further political education. This included: being sent to do manual labour on farms, in remote villages and mountain areas; studying current political documents; criticizing and denouncing themselves orally and in writing or submitting to criticism and denouncement in public by colleagues, juniors, workers, peasants or 'red guard' students. Workers, peasants and soldiers were sent to urban schools and universities to run the institutions. All schools stopped teaching for between two to five years. All universities were closed for ten years, apart from a few which opened from time to time between 1972-1976 for special students known as Workers, Peasants and Soldiers (WPS) students.

These WPS students formed the second type of intellectuals in this generation. Their entrance to university was normally based on their 'red' or revolutionary family background and fellow workers' recommendation and approval by their leaders. To go to
university was considered a great honour. There was no entrance exam, nor was any particular previous record of schooling necessary, indeed some WPS students were illiterate. They studied very limited academic and professional courses but were given substantial 'revolutionary' ideological training so that they could criticize their professors and lecturers more effectively.

The years 1972-1976 represent a certain irony: this major collective exception to the centuries-old hierarchical approach in Chinese higher education, when students freely adopted a critical approach, was encouraged by the political authorities of the day. But criticisms were political and personal attacks, not criticisms in the style of Western academic critical evaluation.

When WPS students graduated from universities and were appointed to working units, they were highly regarded politically. Some acquired academic and intellectual knowledge; most were engaged in political struggle. After the Cultural Revolution, a small percentage of WPS students seized the opportunity to have further higher education at universities in China or abroad and became competent in their professions. The rest received pressure and humiliation after the Cultural Revolution. In their turn, they were sacrificed in further political changes. Those who could not do the work of their professional training changed to administrative work.

In this generation, people who spoke out their
thoughts were punished. This was also the case in the fifth generation, but in this sixth period almost all intellectuals were affected. They learnt to appear docile and grasp the underlying meaning of a leader's speech, see behind the metaphors in articles in Party newspapers, and understand the intended message of a newly published Mao Tse-tung poem, which superficially might be about such natural features as a mountain or river. Literature was believed to be a form of propaganda.

This traditional indirect way of communicating was not only used by intellectuals, but by ordinary people and by the top political leaders in order to achieve a certain political effect. People acquired the habit of guessing the meaning behind others' talk and behaviour. Rather than trusting another's words they waited to see what would happen next: observation and interpretation became more important than explicit expression; consequences and results were more significant than hypotheses and processes.

Most intellectuals became seemingly insincere and hypocritical by conforming to the general trend as they adapted to changing circumstances and echoed others' words. They lost any individuality, independent intellect and dignity. Not to conform was to risk one's life and the lives of one's family. Although they were forced to be obedient by the political situation, the demand to follow orders from superiors and to conform to others' behaviour coincided with the centuries-old traditional education, in which many generations had been told to follow rules and principles set up by their seniors.
Those in the middle and at the bottom of the hierarchy were educated not to question how and by whom these rules were created. Consequently, they believed in any doctrine proposed by those at the top, without raising queries or doubts, adjusting their behaviour and thinking according to their leader's understanding of current doctrine.

Intellectuals were led to focus on a single theory without considering alternatives or criticisms, especially in matters linked to politics. Their judgement became related solely to absolutes and extremes of 'right' or 'wrong', 'true' or 'false'. Such a way of thinking coheres with the traditional way of regarding things in terms of two extremes (see Chap.2&3). Training in this mode of thinking was perhaps initiated for political purposes during this period, but it affected behaviour, attitudes and perceptions in many other aspects of life. This intensive inculcation in 'the single answer' and obedience may have been branded on their behaviour. This affected later generations in many ways since many members of them were partly or wholly educated in schools during this period.

3.2.7. The Seventh Generation of Chinese Modern Intellectuals

This current generation started from the end of the Cultural Revolution. Chinese intellectuals have benefited from the 'Open Door Policy'. In general, this generation, so far, is still at a stage of relaxation which has embraced various periods of restraint resulting from political and economic change in China and abroad.
Most intellectuals in this generation went to university through the national entrance examination, re-established in 1977 after ten years of inactivity in higher education. As a group, these intellectuals were considered a valuable resource in the construction of Chinese socialism. The position of intellectuals in society being once again recognized has given them confidence and encouragement, since the question of their position in society has been problematic since 1949.

In China the working class is the ruling class. Even today, more than 40 years after Liberation, it is considered that "the majority of the intellectuals have become a part of the working class" (Hu, 1990 p.12) - a sharp contrast to Britain where most academics probably consider themselves to be middle class. In the early 1950s, the policy in China was to "unite, educate and remould" intellectuals (ibid.). In the 1960s and 70s they were treated as the enemy of the working class. Then in the 80s recognition of their contribution to society offered them political, mental and physical relief.

Their passive reaction towards external impositions was influenced by the Confucian tradition from which, in this respect, the mind of modern Chinese intellectuals has hardly moved away. Furthermore, the Confucian concept of the Li, which emphasizes the discipline of individual emotions while cultivating intellect, distinguishes Chinese intellectuals from the intellectuals of other cultural backgrounds. Adherence to this concept means that they are active in controlling their own desires, while developing what is needed by
society and forcing themselves to contribute as much as they can, yet remaining passive in dealing with external injustice and demands. They only obtain their rights if their rights are given to them; they do not demand their rights. This attitude may have been questioned recently by a few intellectuals. Some probably doubted it, but with hesitation and guilt, because of the deeply rooted cultural image of the Chinese intellectual.

The psychological relaxation stimulates their enthusiasm for work, their confidence in their own academic ability and their trust in the Party and government. Their role in tradition and in the May Fourth Movement, where they believed they were the saviours of the nation, has been assumed in the present socialist economic construction and revival of China. Members of this generation work extremely hard. Some middle-aged professionals die young from hard work, poor living conditions and neglect of their health. Chinese society was shocked when a number of famous scientists' deaths from such causes were reported in the media.

In this generation there are two strata among the middle-aged and young intellectuals. In the first stratum are those who passed the national entrance exam and went to university in the years of 1977-1979, WPS students who went on to higher education after the Cultural Revolution and those who graduated before or in the first few years of the Cultural Revolution. The second stratum includes those who graduated from university after 1984. These time divisions are shown in Figure 3.2.
Two strata of intellectuals in the seventh generation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First</th>
<th>Second</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1984, 1985, 1986, ---}</td>
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</table>

[figure 3.2]

The first stratum of intellectuals has a quite different attitude in study and work compared to the second. To university teachers it was as if there were two generations, not because of their ages, but because their mentality and attitudes towards life and society were very different. Yet both have very similar external conditions: political relaxation, opportunities to proceed to higher education in China and abroad, similar social and family expectations and respect. Many intellectuals from the first stratum had experienced great hardship. They had waited for ten years for the chance to go to university. After the competitive exam to get a place, they were very eager to acquire knowledge and skills, like a dry plant wanting to absorb much needed water. Most of them had had long working experience in factories, farms or offices. They had a clear goal in studying: to combine their experience with knowledge. Some of them had their own family. Meeting family expectations and repaying family sacrifice became another motive to study. Since they were chosen from a ten year waiting list, their determination to become highly intellectual gave them a strong base for their contribution to modern Chinese science, technology and other fields.
The education of most people in the second stratum has reverted to the traditional model. They have not had working experience before going to university. With less contact with society, their knowledge was mainly derived from textbooks and a traditional style of teaching. They entered higher education through the normal selection procedure of passing the entrance exam immediately after graduating from high schools. Their competitors were their fellow students from the same year of graduation: an easier entrance than those in the first stratum. Their motivation might be less strong; they would perhaps put their study and work aside when they entered the university in order to make up the leisure which their non-university friends enjoyed. For them, the importance of academic degrees might be devalued when they saw some of their peers dropping out from secondary and high schools to become rich and successful business people – as happened in those years.

This boom of opportunity to acquire wealth affected their belief in higher education: the traditional route to wealth, a good career and the security of a high social position. In this respect, this group of intellectuals may not be so individualized and independent about having a clear goal and reaching it. They were more flexible and easily influenced by the external situation. Dialectically, they could be more open, free and adaptable to new experience and surroundings, having had no previous 'experience' to define them and knowing nothing of the fear experienced by the other stratum in the past.
At the time of economic reform in China, this second stratum of intellectuals was also more conscious of economic factors in their lives than traditional intellectuals. The latter held that getting involved in financial arrangements or dealing with business lowered their dignity as intellectuals, or at least, that it was embarrassing to mention money. The former group of intellectuals has a weaker sense of being responsible for the nation and of contributing to the country - the role played by traditional and modern intellectuals. Those in the second stratum are more aware of their own existence and their own needs besides the expectations from family, society and country. In this aspect, they are more individual, and thus they are closer to the Western expectations of an intellectual.

Both groups are highly selected academically. They have much more freedom than any previous generation, a wider range of opportunities and are more in contact with modern Western science, social science and technology. In particular, there has been a general acceptance and understanding by the Chinese public that it is necessary to learn from, and catch up with, the West. Political relaxation and this general acceptance have created a positive atmosphere for current Chinese intellectuals.

Notwithstanding this, the influence from Chinese traditional culture still plays a key role in contemporary intellectuals' mentality and behaviour, since they are the major carriers and disseminators of these traditions and culture. The two most important
modern cultural revolutions - the May the Fourth Movement and the Cultural Revolution - might have changed their perceptions towards tradition. Their previous position in society had been turned upside down. They could now see more aspects and hold a wider point of view concerning national and social problems.

3.3. **FEATURES OF MODERN CHINESE INTELLECTUALS**

Current Chinese academics have inherited an amalgamation of aspects of the preceding seven generations. The continuity and inherent stability of Chinese culture have enabled Chinese intellectuals to maintain a general character over centuries. Intellectuals in one generation have features overlapping with those of other generations, like a cascade, each lower level takes something of the content of preceding ones, even if broadening it. However, each generation also has its own special and prominent features distinguishing it from others. The following discussion gives the essence of the present interpretation of modern Chinese intellectuals from philosophical, educational, social, psychological and financial aspects.

3.3.1. **The Influence of Philosophies and Chinese Intellectuals**

It is emphasized by the present Chinese authority that Chinese intellectuals should take the Marxist philosophy as a leading principle, which is defined as "an organic unity of dialectical materialism and historical materialism" (Zhu et al., 1989, p.59).
Luo (1985, pp.6-9) summarizes three most important features of Chinese philosophy. The first is that Chinese philosophy expresses its basic problems through the way of thinking of the Chinese nation. The core of this philosophical study is focused on people and their dialectical relationship with nature. The second feature is that there have been five stages in the development of Chinese philosophy, from its original naive materialism to its present Marxist dialectical materialism with Chinese characteristics. The third feature is that the long history of Chinese naive materialism and dialectics leads Chinese to think dialectically in terms of images, not like Europeans whose perception has transcended concrete matters and has become abstract. It deals with philosophical knowledge in all the concrete subjects such as astronomy, agriculture, medicine, etc. as well as in ideology such as politics, ethics, morality, religions. It is used as a practical philosophy of life, which distinguishes itself from analytical Western philosophy.

Chinese intellectuals are obviously influenced by their national philosophical character although they also receive Western philosophical concepts more directly than ordinary Chinese people. There may be a tendency towards two different usages of Chinese and Western philosophies. They may deal with research or an academic project by using Western philosophy, but look at relationships between aspects or projects in a Chinese philosophical way. These usages may offer advantages or disadvantages depending on how they are applied. If the
relationship between one research subject to another is considered, Chinese intellectuals tend to look at every aspect of a whole situation in the process of analysis, e.g. Chinese medical diagnosis examines the status of the whole body rather than only that of one malfunctioning organ. On the other hand, the Chinese philosophical belief in one truth and one solution of a matter may lead a researcher to a narrow-minded conclusion or s/he may find it difficult to accept an alternative solution.

The content of Chinese philosophy with its accentuation on people rather than on nature leaves an important mark on Chinese intellectuals' thinking. Adjusting people's ideology becomes the major task for intellectuals and on intellectuals. This is actually a continuation of Confucianism that the Li will be realized when the Ren is restored (see Ch.1). Their attitude towards philosophy of a practical system of guidance for living can be traced back to Taoism and Buddhism (see Part I). Intellectuals as well as non-intellectuals tend to generalize a conclusion from their experience. In this aspect there is a tendency to be inductive rather than deductive in their approach and way of thinking, especially when they deal with everyday life situations. They emphasize the pragmatic and practical aspects of philosophical theories so that Western philosophies are accepted by Chinese culture only when their values suit Chinese culture and society.

On the whole, Chinese intellectuals inherit consciously or unconsciously Chinese traditional philosophies: Confucianism, Taoism, Buddhism in which
naive materialism and dialectics are revealed. They are also influenced by Western philosophies: Darwinism, Hegelianism, Marxism, etc. of which some aspects are combined with Chinese traditional philosophies. This combination creates a rather complex situation in thinking and usage. It is likely that native Chinese philosophies and Marxism with Chinese characteristics are applied to pragmatic aspects of dealing with relations among people, political and social issues, while Western philosophies, including some theories of Marxism, are used for solving problems in science and social science. Philosophical concepts and ideas in Mao Tse-tung Thought have been regarded as guidance in all fields in Chinese construction since 1949. His expositions on dialectics and on contradictions, which come from Chinese traditions, have been widely applied to people's handling of problems.

3.3.2. The Educational Principles and Chinese Intellectuals

The development of education for Chinese intellectuals has been illustrated and discussed in 3.2. There are two points discussed in this section. The first is that the curriculum of the schooling system has been saturated with modern subjects, especially science and technology, based on Western and/or Soviet syllabuses. Therefore modern intellectuals may have been equipped with Western approaches, at least to solve problems in science and technology. But the second point is that policies and principles of education have hardly changed
in their fundamental nature. A point which distinguishes Chinese education from Western systems is that the educational policies in the past and in modern times have always stressed the cultivation of morality and ethics. This is a quite different emphasis to that of most Western education systems. In China, moral and ethical education is the priority, other educational goals, such as intellectual ones, are less important. It is argued that a person is not qualified if he is morally underdeveloped and intellectually advanced. However, contents and emphases in ethics and morality vary according to the historical and current situation, e.g. in the May Fourth period, it underscored anti-imperialism and anti-feudalism; in the Sino-Japanese War (1937-45), it focused on national spirit, loyalty to the country and anti-Japanese themes. Therefore in China, the ethics and personal morality of an intellectual or a scholar are placed in a very important position as criteria for evaluation.

Chinese intellectuals and scholars normally have a solid background of basic knowledge and theories in science, social science, technology and arts. Their background of learning has involved them in an enormous amount of memorization. This may be because Chinese educational philosophy, throughout a centuries-old tradition, has advocated the transmission and learning of knowledge from ancestors and teachers. It advocates the Wu, enlightenment: learners collect, receive and store their knowledge which will be digested and processed in their own cognitive system and they achieve mastery.
through a comprehensive and coherent study of the subject. Then enlightenment is produced, enabling learners to reach the creative stage. The most obvious example is the apprenticeship-through-imitation learning methodology used in studying Chinese painting (Gardner 1989) and in writing poetry and prose. The saying, 'memorizing three hundred Tang Dynasty poems will enable you to create poems even if you could not write any before', illustrates this way of thinking and teaching. This Chinese approach to learning is rather like an endowment mortgage policy to buy a house. In contrast, a Western way of learning is like a repayment mortgage policy. Chinese learning reveres the payment of a continuous high level of effort during the whole process; it takes a longer time, but the learner receives a huge life benefit when the policy reaches maturity. Western learning reveres payment of effort while the learner receives a measure of instant benefit; the achievement process is considered shorter; but the achievement depends on immediate investment; the more the effort, the sooner the benefit of learning, the quicker the result and creativity. Chapter IV further analyses British and Chinese styles of learning.

3.3.3. The Social Role and Chinese Intellectuals

The role of a Chinese intellectual in society has greatly changed from occupying a traditional ruling position to being a figure used by the rest of society. However both traditional and modern intellectuals have had a supportive role towards the top governor or ruler.
Today, workers as a class have the leading role in terms of their public status in China. In recent years, Chinese intellectuals have been officially considered as part of the workers’ class, unlike British academics, but they are perceived as only having a supportive role within that class. This picture has become more complex since some political, industrial and agricultural leaders have been intellectualized with a political rather than academic emphasis. They are decision takers rather than theory makers. The respect for intellectuals in Chinese society has progressively declined since the Cultural Revolution, partly because of the severe criticism to intellectual ideology and tight control on intellectuals’ thinking and partly because of their weakening financial status compared with other professions – considering the Chinese idea that 'the economic base determines the superstructure'. They are respected and admired in terms of their academic spirit, but not in terms of their everyday life.

The life of modern Chinese intellectuals has been always been linked with politics. They have been either political entrepreneurs, amateurs or victims (Grieder 1981). They have never had an independent role or an individual voice in constructing modern China. They became more influential or, alternatively, they lost their social and professional status, only when they were involved in a political movement. This has led to the phenomenon that a majority of modern Chinese intellectuals try not to show their interest in political, social or national issues even though they
may be able to analyse problems and find solutions. Instead they devote themselves solely to their own professional subjects. They can control their own lives in non-political professions, but may lose them in politics or power struggles. Psychologically they need somewhere to express their talent and ability, so they put all their effort into professional matters and academic research. In this way they show their contribution, love and loyalty to their country (Guo-jia in Chinese: "Country and Family") to which they feel more attachment than to the government (Zheng-fu in Chinese: "Administration House") which is the body that controls them. The British tradition of 'academic freedom' would be quite alien in this Chinese context.

3.3.4. The Psychological Diathesis and Chinese Intellectuals

Bond's edited The Psychology of the Chinese People (1986) is the best survey to date on the topic. It is a condensed review of hundreds of pieces of psychological research done by both Chinese and non-Chinese scholars. A characteristic feature of this research is that it tends to be focused on a very narrow aspect of Chinese psychology, not contrasted with Western psychology, which makes it difficult to construct an overall theory though it has been supplemented by Bond's more general review (1991). However, these works reveal certain aspects of the psychology of the Chinese people in the areas of their perceptual processes, cognition, personality and its change, psychopathology, social
psychology and organizational behaviour.

The research reviewed was almost entirely done by data-based quantitative methodologies. The subjects are, obviously, educated and many of them are students in schools or universities. This would certainly help an analysis of the psychology of Chinese intellectuals. Chinese intellectuals are but one group of Chinese people, yet, in general, their psychology should reflect the psychology of Chinese people as a whole since they are influenced by same cultural models. There may be different emphasis on different aspects of the psychology of different Chinese groups.

Yang (1986 pp.153-159) points out that the psychology of the Chinese people has changed to the direction of Western psychology and this change is attributable to the industrial modernization of the country or areas. This observation is based on data from Taiwan and Hong Kong. Yang maintains that people from these two societies "are diversified enough to provide a fairly representative sample of the overall Chinese population" (ibid. p.107). It is difficult to evaluate this point since there are insufficient data from mainland China. One recent survey on psychological endurance towards economic reform shows that the higher the educational background of respondents, the stronger their ability to endure the reform pressure and the more supportive they are to the reform, even if these intellectuals are not the direct beneficiaries of the reform. They care more about the development of the whole country than their personal benefit (Li 1988 pp.135-144).
However, another survey (ibid. in preface) shows that 81% of middle-aged and young scholars among the respondents think that 'orthodox' education has left a powerful mark on their mind so that they look forward to reform rationally, although emotionally they are attached to the past. Among them, 53% believe that they have rationally accepted new concepts, but their behaviour is based on the old ones; 27% of young enterprisers of the respondents also admit that they have to maintain their work through traditional cultural models in order to win the support of the majority although they rationally want to set up new concepts and models in practice. This survey reveals the effect of traditional culture.

However, the points that mainland Chinese have experienced so many political movements, lived under the closed door policy before 1977 and have faced political, economical, ideological and moral challenges since the open door policy of 1978 should be seriously taken into account when the psychology of mainland Chinese is analysed.

Based on the psychological and socio-psychological aspects of cross-cultural research between Chinese (mainly referring to Chinese people in Taiwan, Hong Kong and overseas) and Westerners (referring to West European and North American people) (Bond 1986), a pattern has been constructed here, which presents the styles and characteristics of Chinese psychology contrasting with Western ones.

CULTURAL BACKGROUND/INFLUENCE
CONSEQUENCE/EFFECTS

produce

STYLES/PROCESS OF BEHAVIOUR

[figure 3.3]

The Triangle in Detail

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CULTURAL BACKGROUND/ INFLUENCE</th>
<th>CHINESE: Confucian ideology: hierarchy, harmony, social conformity, internal cultivation of a man (Ren)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Produce</td>
<td>CULTURAL BACKGROUND/ INFLUENCE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STYLES/PROCESS OF BEHAVIOUR</td>
<td>collective-, social- relation-orientation relational- contextual style intuitive approach practical mind high authoritarian- leadership holistic-proclivity low sociability high-self-restrain harmonious relationship high concern on 'Face' and social expectations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONSEQUENCES/EFFECTS</td>
<td>dependence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obedience</td>
<td>patience</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tolerance</td>
<td>implicitness</td>
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<tr>
<td>----------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introversion</td>
<td>introversion</td>
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<tr>
<td>Intropunitiveness</td>
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<tr>
<td>Non-aggression</td>
<td>aggression</td>
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<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hetero-centricity</td>
<td>ego-centricity</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sensitivity</td>
<td>impulsivity</td>
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<td>---------</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cautiousness</td>
<td>excitability</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

115
reinforce
carefulness
thoughtfulness
(reflectivity,
introceptivity)
realism
pragmatism
conformity
responsiveness
humility
self-abasement
repression
submission
modesty
filial & social
obligation
eclecticism

naturalness
spontaneousness

CULTURAL BACKGROUND/
INFLUENCE
the circle starts again

[figure 3.4]

The words used in the figure above should not be interpreted either positively or negatively, for the concept of each description is dependant on an actual context. For example, the holistic-proclivity can be interpreted positively when its concept is used for a medical examination, especially according to theories of traditional Chinese medicine; but it can be interpreted negatively when its concept is applied to the acceptance of a theory or the change of people's beliefs (Chow 1960).

Chinese intellectuals can be categorized into two types according to their psychological orientation. The first group is those who are successful academics and in favour with current authority. These more likely believe in Confucianism, which encourages intellectual involvement in politics and administration. The kind of intellectualism that Confucius advocated is considered a
mark of success in an intellectual's career and is expected by his/her family. These people are generally more confident in social, interpersonal and professional contexts.

The second group is those who have academic abilities but are out of favour of current authority and politics, either because of their critical attitudes or because of their personality, etc.; and these people possibly look for a psychological balance in Taoism which promotes holding oneself aloof from the rest of the world, and does not see value in competing with others. This offers a psychological protection to those who are not so successful according to Chinese expectations. These intellectuals may not bother to contact and compete with others, or more likely there is a passive ambition in their mind, which is hidden and covered by their behaviour and their personal and academic interests. Both of these groups of intellectuals have a strong concern about their country and people. The majority in both groups would be willing to sacrifice themselves for the benefit of the country.

3.3.5. The Financial Status and Chinese Intellectuals

Chinese intellectuals have been dependent on authority financially. Historically, scholar-officials relied on a salary given by the emperor. In modern times, equivalent intellectuals normally receive a salary given by the government from the national budget. This guaranteed salary system leads to the following possible effects:
1. They have a relatively stable, above-average income.
2. Their standard of living is maintained at a certain level which is normally higher than that of the majority of the Chinese population.
3. They lack experience and ability in economic planning, competition and management since they do not need to deal with planning and management because everything is arranged, from their salary to their research budget. Some of them are not efficient at all even in maintaining their everyday personal living expenses.

This 'iron bowl' system is an attraction to those outside this intellectual circle. This official salary is an advantage when the country is stable politically and economically. In unstable conditions, they might lose this guarantee. This occurred in war time and in the Anti-Rightist political movements and the Cultural Revolution. Many intellectuals were given minimal monthly living expenses or nothing at all as a punishment. The change in their finances led to a change of social role. Their status dropped from one of respectability to the lowest status in society. This change affected them and their families psychologically, although they might be able to bear more psychological pressure than less educated people. This was revealed in a survey in China (Li 1988, p.139) about attitudes to economic reform. The economic reform in China did not bring them immediate and direct financial benefit. On the contrary, they suffered more than others financially, because inflation affected their government set salary. But they still supported economic reform because they could see the consequences of modernizing China and of further political and systematic reform. This would
fulfil their wishes for a modern China --- the focus of their sense of national responsibility.

Their financial dependency may also give a false impression that their salary is bestowed on them, since their production is not directly and obviously visible. Therefore it is much harder for Chinese intellectuals to stand out as an independent body politically, administratively and, to some extent, socially, or for them to become autonomous. This contrasts with British academic institutions that tend to be more independent and autonomous than Chinese ones regarding academic research, finance, political involvement or management. The effect of financial dependency on individuals may be that they suffer distress and social pressure when it fails to show its advantage. They fall into a dilemma of either having to choose between what they love to do, yet doing it with financial, social, physical constraints, or doing any work for a living. Most Chinese intellectuals choose the former. This is perhaps a cause of the high death rate among Chinese intellectuals in youth or middle age. In recent years, there has been a trend for intellectuals to leave their professions and start businesses to make money. Students in schools and universities --- the potential future intellectuals leave educational institutions to work in private businesses. This is influenced by the obvious financial success of lesser-educated or uneducated businessmen which change these intellectuals’ attitudes. They may want to prove that the merit of an intellectual can be shown through their financial achievement or that they can do what they
3.4. OVERVIEW

To summarize major characteristics of Chinese intellectuals from historical (vertical) and current (horizontal) viewpoints, key points are now given. Chinese intellectuals are major creators, disseminators, beneficiaries and sufferers of Chinese culture, seen, for example, in the system of hierarchy in Chinese beliefs and society. They are regarded as a means to serve authority from past to present and as an educated group to be respected intellectually and socially by the masses (except during periods of political movements against intellectuals). They have been a part of the system or of the authority. Financially, they receive a salary out of the national budget. Therefore they have never become an autonomous, independent class. A minority of them have been more interested in "transmitting a set of ideas than in practising a profession" (Goldman 1981, p.1). The majority of them engage in their professions dreaming of social progress realized through their contributions in their work (ibid). Their rights are granted from above, not achieved by themselves. But they take responsibilities towards the whole: to their country, authority, and people, including themselves.

Thus Chinese intellectuals have a strong sense of loyalty to their country, authority and society. If they have to choose between themselves and the above, they would tend to put themselves aside and devote themselves to their country and people. They are to some
extent in a position of ideological control of Chinese culture, firstly because they are more capable of accepting new ideas due to their educational background, their ability to analyse, their broader views and knowledge of the world, and secondly because they can influence people who have a traditional attitude and respect for intellectuals. Chinese intellectuals incline to focus on one approach, one opinion, one solution or one truth in decision-making situations; but they emphasize balance between two sides when choosing an approach, opinion or solution. They care more about the effect and result of a decision than about the process of how a decision is formed. This is also due to their holistic way of thinking: one should include all and all should be one - if a part of something has problems, that means the whole is wrong. They tend to have a strong faith in any published work or well-known authority because of their respectful attitude towards the past, under the influence of Confucian culture (see Ch.1). One result is that it is difficult for them to challenge anything they believe is accepted and acknowledged by the public. They may not even know how to raise doubts in public, because raising doubts may be interpreted as showing a lack of respect. This does not mean that they cannot see any mistakes or problems, but they deal with problems with a holistic attitude. If they have a criticism it may be conveyed by hints, indirect words, metaphors, semi-esoteric aphorisms or using a past event to reflect the present. Examples can be seen in Chinese plays, dramas, films, novels, even in poems written by
Mao, the former top leader in China. This also shows their attention to and anxiety about interrelationships in society. They aim to keep at least a superficial harmony between people and to avoid public conflicts.

One consequence of the above is that they are less frank between each other. Each might be more suspicious of others, which may create an unnecessary psychological tension or a misunderstanding between people. This produces another stage of interrelational problems, which may make them even more anxious. Their cautiousness and care for harmony could be interpreted as being weak, hypocritical, dull, or less intelligent by those who cannot see their character from their point of view, or who do not understand, appreciate or approve of this way of thinking and behaviour.

When the Chinese intellectual generations are analysed in a long term historical view, then their development can be regarded as evolutionary rather than revolutionary. It can be seen that they still follow the traditional line and adhere to a traditional framework in their thinking. Chinese intellectuals still accommodate change by assimilating it into a holistic pattern of thinking (Lin 1979). The process of Westernization is a superficial acceptance of technology and scientific ideas and these may influence future directions of change. However, the fundamental intellectual approach of the Chinese to learning, interaction and social change still remains a traditional Chinese one.
CHAPTER FOUR

CHINESE AND BRITISH TEACHING/LEARNING STYLES
AND ACADEMIC EXPECTATIONS

4.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter begins by arguing that there is a difference in academic and educational expectations, teaching/learning styles and approaches between British intellectuals and Chinese ones, although they may both reach the same academic standard and intellectual quality. There may be a Chinese academic culture and a British academic culture, though people commonly believe that intellectual patterns of thinking are universal. If it is the case that being intellectual is a cultural concept, at least in part, then it may happen that intellectual work acknowledged by one culture is not necessarily what another culture expects: it may not be accepted as intellectual in the other culture.

Chinese students with an educational background which is predominantly Chinese coming into a rather different educational environment in Britain are faced with academic difficulties of transferring to a higher level of study: from undergraduate to postgraduate level; from Master degree to Doctoral degree; from a more course-oriented to more research-oriented study. They are also presented with different styles, approaches, evaluation systems, ways of understanding philosophical concepts and the like, which can be regarded as the difference in academic cultures. For the sake of academic
success, to get a British degree, they have to cope with academic pressure as well as the switch from their native academic culture to an alien one. This is a painful process which may include an experience of temporarily putting aside or denying their native intellectual beliefs and acknowledging alien ones as superior.

This process starts before they leave their own country, when they decide to get a degree from an abroad. Native beliefs are likely to be put aside because Chinese are not used to regarding something different as an equally valid alternative; they tend to believe that the change to an alternative is normally from lower to higher or better. (Otherwise why should it be changed?)

They also face possible conflict after the change when they go back home where they have to fit themselves back into their native intellectual culture. This raises a straight but unanswered question (Allen 1988, p.70): What are the purposes or goals of higher education? Is the purpose of higher education to cultivate an intellectually fully-developed person (a 'liberal' education) or is it to train people equipped with skills, technology and knowledge to meet the needs of industry and society (vocational education) illustrated in Newman (1852), Halsey (1971) and Allen (1988)? If it is the latter then differing approaches, styles or academic cultures should not make any difference to obtaining a degree from a foreign academic authority as long as the person reaches the required standard.

In fact, judgements of British academics towards
students are probably partly based on how they approach a problem or research study, according to whatever they understand students to have formed in their mind rather than what the learners have achieved. It can be argued that what learners have achieved depends on how they achieve it. Especially in contemporary education, the training of thinking, of presenting an argument and analysing it - the process - are considered more essential than the result - the product.

Therefore in British higher education, it is accepted that to get a British academic qualification is to systematize ways of thinking according to British intellectual culture, i.e. being critical, having a balanced independent judgement, an analytical approach, being creative and able to communicate with clarity (Allen 1988, Collier 1989). This systematic change of emphasis applies to British students, yet it seems clear that overseas students may have far more numerous difficulties in this respect.

There is a trend towards increasing internationalization in higher education; hence the enrolment of large numbers of Chinese and other international students in the U.K. Perhaps a modern education system, whether British or Chinese, should accept any academic culture, as the world apparently moves towards a global intellectual system with a multicultural clientele bearing features from many intellectual cultures, creating an environment of mutual understanding of different cultures, as long as students reach the required standard. This suggests an inclusive
approach rather than an exclusive one. A first step is to identify differences between intellectual cultures.

4.2. BRITISH AND CHINESE EDUCATIONAL AND ACADEMIC EXPECTATIONS

Educational and academic expectations in China and in Britain will be discussed from three angles: The first concerns the expectations of higher education in general; the second focuses on the expectations of teachers towards students; and the third takes up the expectations of students towards teachers, in both countries.

Chinese traditional ideas of education were mainly those influenced by the Confucian educational philosophy. The purpose of education was to cultivate and train the mind according to the requirement of Ren (see Ch.1) and to let learners to have a full intellectual development based on their initial understanding of Li or any other present authorized requirement. In contrast, the written policy and structure of post-1949 Chinese education has appeared more vocational and technical, because of the need for technical and professional labour to construct a modern China (Hayhoe 1984, Allen 1988). This opinion is based on looking at China from a Western point of view, using Western concepts to look at the country’s structure, but not at its essence influenced by its tradition. It is debatable how far Chinese higher education has moved from its classical or liberal roots to a vocational system. Even the Chinese notions of ‘liberal’ and ‘vocational’ may be quite different from
those of Western classifications (Newman 1852, Allen 1988). The words 'liberal' and 'vocational' education are used only to differentiate the two concepts. The former refers to the purpose of education as cultivating and training the mind; the latter one to education applied to practical purposes.

On the surface, the Chinese modern higher education system intends to build up a link between higher education and productive labour and "to serve a practical purpose" (Hayhoe 1984 p.22). Thus the structure includes large numbers of technically and professionally specialized universities and colleges. But the expectation that higher education should train and cultivate fully-developed intellectuals is seen both in the general policy of education and in society.

The major influence determining the purpose of modern Chinese education has been the policy set by Mao Tse-tung (1966) for the new China: "Our educational policy must enable everyone who receives an education to develop morally, intellectually and physically and become a worker with both socialist consciousness and intellectual knowledge". In practice, this policy is interpreted so that having 'correct' ideological thought and a moral standard are the essential conditions before a person is selected to enter higher education.

Different historical periods have different criteria for correct ideological thought and moral standards: intellectuals in China today are supposed to be loyal to the Communist Party and to the country and believe in the principles of the Party (irrespective of
Party membership). During the Cultural Revolution, those whose family background had been capitalist were not allowed to receive higher education unless their ideological outlook had been re-educated by uneducated workers and peasants. Thus it can be seen that techniques and professional skills are put in second place in modern Chinese education. Getting minds set on the right lines and training people to think according to the required ways are the priority. Otherwise, how can the Chinese Communist Party guarantee that Chinese people educated with modern concepts and technology, which have been mainly transferred from the West, will serve socialist construction in China?

If modern Chinese education were vocational and technical students would be expected to have good practical abilities. But in fact most of them are "strong in abstract thought, but weak in comprehensive application" and they "have good intellectual qualities", but find it difficult to solve real problems (Hayhoe 1984 p.128). This situation also applies to Chinese postgraduate students when they first start their research in British institutions before they acquire relevant practical skills and knowledge. There seem to be two factors involved: their expectations that a receiver of higher education is supposed to become equipped with all knowledge, especially abstract knowledge; and Chinese methods of teaching, learning and examination. The evaluation of learning/teaching is based on examination results which function as a target for the transmission of knowledge: from teachers' lectures and textbooks to
students’ notebooks, then from students’ memory to exam papers.

In Chinese society, higher education is expected to be a source of provision for professions and government organizations. With appropriate qualifications, one becomes a leader of an official organization or changes one's social status, e.g. from a manual worker to clerk, cadre, teacher or doctor. Higher education may guarantee an 'iron bowl', i.e. having an official permanent job and a stable salary assured by the government budget. This leads Hu and Grove to observe that there are conflicting reports of Chinese students' diligence, on the one hand, and of students' lack of motivation since post-graduate employment is guaranteed, on the other (1991 p.75). Further benefits are that one may become an urban citizen - a goal for many originating from rural areas where one has to be self-sufficient in difficult working conditions with a low income. Above all, higher education equips people with knowledge and culture - they come to know more than other people. In higher education the authority of knowledge is recognized and qualifications for knowledge are issued. A graduate will be respected and acknowledged socially and professionally in normal circumstances. This social expectation is still influenced by strong traditions of the past.

Compared with the expectations of Chinese higher education, there are two major trends in the expectations of British higher education. Often these two trends overlap. First, the liberal expectation: higher education
is seen as teaching and learning universal knowledge and letting the individual have full intellectual development (Newman 1852, Allen 1988). Second, vocational expectations: higher education should "serve the needs of society rather than the needs of the individual" (Allen 1988 p.21) or to produce degrees for the requirements of employment (Roizen 1985) and to provide capable and knowledgeable practitioners for industry in order to "lead to rising wealth, cultural progress, and reduced income differentials" (Halsey 1985 p.119).

Liberal expectations held of Chinese and British higher education are similar in that they both intend to generate leaders for society. But there are crucial differences in the particular angles of their liberal expectations and in the limitations of leadership development. The Chinese expectation is to train intellectuals to think from the viewpoint of authority, society and community. The leaders are expected to think for, care for and make arrangements for all who are below them in the social order. It is not expected that individuals will think for themselves, unless they are top leaders. This is predominantly a collective orientation and is supposed to reflect their thought. The British expectation emphasizes training intellectuals to think independently, individually and creatively. Their ideas are supposed to lead the public or to guide policy makers. Their individual orientation and creativity is believed to guarantee the progress of society. Whereas Chinese intellectuals are regarded as leaders only in terms of their professions which are expected to serve
authority and society ('positional' authority in Bernstein's (1975) terms), the leadership of British intellectuals is shown by their ideas being used to lead the development of society ('personal' authority). Leaders are expected to pay some heed to intellectuals' thinking and may well seek such advice from intellectuals. Since British intellectuals are expected to think for themselves, there is no guarantee that they will follow leadership thinking, unless they happen to share it. Chinese intellectuals, in contrast, are strongly aware of the social expectation that they should share leaders' thinking and support it.

These different expectations are highly likely to affect the direction of intellectual development to form different ways of thinking. Chinese intellectuals are more likely to think and research for others because it is their duty and responsibility to meet the needs of community and society and to be concerned about the survival of the nation although decision-makers may not adopt their suggestions. Most of them seem to believe this is how they should behave in Chinese culture. Western intellectuals are apparently more likely to think and research for their own sake, for their own interests and self-motivation to find out something new or valuable. Therefore, in academic research, Chinese intellectuals may seem passive and inactive before what they understand to be the task. When they are clear about the actual task and goal, they can be very determined, persistent and hard-working, even if a given subject was not their choice, in order to fulfil the responsibility
for, and the expectations of, their family, the authorities and society. It is from this that they realize their own satisfaction and personal achievement. This is the result, not necessarily the application, of their research. This faith is an inheritance from the ideal model of Confucian scholars --- Shi. Western intellectuals may experience the same hardship and enjoyment and reach the same goal with different motivation and process, e.g. from the very beginning, they are looking for what they want to do, not what is required of them. This may be a major reason why Chinese students abroad have a period of uncertainty, quite apart from other culture shock. One of the problems for Chinese newcomers studying in the West is that they expect to be told what to do and to be led, not realizing that they are expected to tell Western colleagues or supervisors what they want to do; at the same time, Western academics may misjudge the ability of Chinese students or visiting scholars, misreading uncertainty for lack of academic ability.

Nevertheless, there is an element of vocational expectation in Chinese higher education. Graduates are expected to serve the needs of society. But the essential difference between the vocational concepts in Chinese and British higher education is that there is a vocational psychology in Chinese higher education, part of which comes from Chinese tradition and culture. This is not necessarily the content and training methodology adopted from the West when the liberal idea was stressed. In addition, Chinese education has always stressed the
principle of full development of students, not only intellectually, but also morally and physically. In British vocational education, the content and expectation show more consistency: one comes from the other and far less attention is paid to moral and physical aspects of vocational education. For Chinese students or visiting scholars who come to study at British universities, it is more likely that they intend to learn 'all the knowledge' of the subject if possible, to take the knowledge and skills back home for future development.

Such general social expectations of higher education will undoubtedly affect the working expectations between teachers and students. Teachers and supervisors will tend to work according to Western academic expectations, while Chinese students will tend to operate with Chinese ones.

4.3. INDIVIDUAL AND COLLECTIVE DIMENSIONS

A further general expectation of higher education derives from individualist and collectivist profiles in societies. Broadly speaking, there is a tendency towards individualism in the West and towards collectivism in the East (Triandis 1990). While both British and Chinese societies have both tendencies, the balance between the two seems quite different and this difference is likely to give rise to differing expectations of higher education.

Chinese culture has been analysed as emphasizing the collective orientation (Hofstede 1980; Hofstede and Bond 1984, Hu and Grove 1991). This is parallel to Hsu's
(1981) analysis, according to which the key to Chinese culture is that Chinese are situation-centred. People are seen in terms of relationships and are judged by the extent to which they conform and depend on each other, according to the situation. More individual-centred cultures emphasize personality as a separate entity distinct from society and culture. This itself can be seen as a reflection of Western individualist thinking (Hsu 1981), quite different from Chinese conceptions of Ren (see Ch.1), a human constant including the individual plus the immediate societal and cultural environment which makes existence meaningful. As Keightley concludes, there is a "combative individualism of the West" contrasted with "the harmonious social humanism of China" (1990 p.54).

The two cultural orientations can be further contrasted, drawing on Triandis (1990):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>INDIVIDUALISM</strong></th>
<th><strong>COLLECTIVISM</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Personal goals take priority over group goals.</td>
<td>In-group goals, needs and views take priority over individual goals. Group integrity, obedience and conformity are valued.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Autonomy, self-reliance and independence are stressed.</td>
<td>There is more value in cooperating with in-group members than in maximizing personal benefits. The in-group may be viewed as an extension of the self.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social hierarchies are not emphasized.</td>
<td>Social hierarchies are emphasized.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horizontal relationships often take priority (e.g. friend to friend)</td>
<td>Vertical relationships take priority (e.g. parent to child; boss to junior)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confrontation within in-groups is acceptable and 'clears the air'.</td>
<td>Harmony and saving face are important. Disagreements should not be known to out-groups.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The personal fate and achievement of individuals and their independence from the in-group are emphasized. The fate and achievement of the group and interdependence within the group are emphasized.

Attention is paid to what others do or have done. Attention is paid to who others are, to their family and group.

The same standards of values are applied to all. Different standards apply to members of in-groups and out-groups since the in-group is more significant.

Self-reliance means "I can do my own thing." Self-reliance means "I am not a burden on the in-group."

Communication tends to be explicit and verbal. Speakers rely on the associations a listener can make and pay more attention to the total context of communication. There is sometimes a tendency to rely on an ideological framework as part of communication.

People orient themselves towards the future, People emphasize the present or past: traditions, ancestors, major cultural figures.

Creativity means producing something unique and different, often imaginatively. Creativity means reproducing as perfectly as possible the best of the past, copying masters and teachers first, then producing something better of one's own.

[figure 4.1]

Figure 4.1 shows broad tendencies. However, the word 'individualism' is sometimes employed to discuss concepts in both Western and Chinese philosophies. This may lead to confusion in understanding the concept of the word: Western readers may understand the word used for Chinese philosophical ideas, as having the same meaning implied in Western philosophy and vice versa with Chinese readers. There is a different focus between Taoist
individualism and Western individualism. In the latter, the focus is on the human individual himself/herself. His/her need receives the most attention and how the rest of the world meets this need is the central question. But in Taoist individualism, the focus is on keeping the balance and harmony between individual and the rest of the world. This relationship of balance, harmony and equality can appear within an individual body, i.e. one part of something with another part of the same thing, e.g. in Chinese medicine, the relationship between heart and lung; or one part of the individual, which can stand on its own as an individual unit with something or a part of something outside that individual, e.g. in Chinese medicine, the heart is linked with the function of fire. Since Taoists believe that an individual is a part of nature, any human individual ought to follow the law of nature as other things in the universe do. Probably he/she has the same right as a leaf of grass. This would contrast with some Western ideas that human beings are superior to the rest of nature.

The question of focus also contrasts Taoist with Confucian ideas of individualism. Confucianism puts the centre of attention not on human individualism as in much Western thinking, nor on the equal relationships between individuals within nature as a whole like Taoism, but on how individuals integrate themselves with society to suit the needs of state and society, which is above any individual. As Mei remarks, "The individual achieves his inner stature as well as his social status through his participation in the social process and his contribution
to society" (1967 p.331). This individualism has the movement of the opposite direction from that of the Western individualism. This can be shown in the following figure:

The Directions of Movement of Individualism

Confucius Individualism

{-----------------------------
Society attention given from individual
-----------------------------}

Western Individualism

[figure 4.2]

The need of Confucius individualism is shown in a linear and hierarchical position in contrast with that of Taoist individualism which is in a parallel and horizontal position. This difference is presented in the following figure:

society

the relationship of Confucius individualism

individual nature/society

the relationship of Taoist individualism

[figure 4.3]

There are very different contemporary attitudes towards individualism in China. An influential example is that of Mao Tse-tung for whom individualism is evil. It is manifest in the selfishness and aversion to discipline which is characteristic of the bourgeoisie. In this view,
even placing personal interests above those of the group or devoting too much attention to one's own concerns is to be avoided (Ho 1978). Collectivism does not mean negating the individual's well-being or interest, rather maintaining the group's well-being is the best guarantee for the individual.

4.4. EXPECTATIONS AND RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN TUTORS AND STUDENTS IN CROSS-CULTURAL CONTEXT

The following section considers a number of research projects and reviews which are concerned with postgraduate study and research supervision in Britain. First, there is a particular focus on the academic expectations held by supervisors and home students, highlighting differences of expectation and role where these emerge. Secondly, this is related to overseas students carrying out postgraduate study or research in Britain. They can be considered to be a particular case of postgraduate students in general, perhaps with similar difficulties as home students, but experienced in a more intensified manner because of likely additional problems of language and cultural differences in academic, social and psychological aspects and difficulties stemming from living in another country. Third, these academic expectations are related to studies concerned with students' learning styles and changes in expectations. Such studies were carried out in Sweden and the USA, as well as in Britain, but they are widely cited as being relevant to British higher education (Gibb 1981, Entwistle & Ramsden 1983, Entwistle 1988, Brown and
Atkins 1988). Finally, these discussions will be related to the situation of Chinese students in the UK. It is argued that there are culturally specific norms of academic interaction which can lead to "confused encounters" between Chinese students and British staff in British universities (Thorp 1991).

4.4.1 Research Supervision in Britain

The degree structure in Britain gives several levels of mastery to those who receive first, higher and research degree awards. A Bachelor's degree indicates a good general education with some knowledge of a subject specialism, a Master's degree marks the possession of advanced knowledge or mastery of a specialist field, while a Ph.D. signifies that the holder is an authority in full command of the specialist area able to extend the boundaries of current knowledge and is capable of teaching in a university as a faculty member (Phillips and Pugh 1987 p.17). The Doctoral and Master's level research is focused on the written thesis as a product. Increasingly, taught Master's degree courses, more commonly in social sciences and arts, emphasize an independently written dissertation and written assignments or projects rather than examinations. In both cases, students are expected to take responsibility for managing their own learning and, in general, there is very little induction into the higher degree system or into the role of being a postgraduate student. Finding out and fulfilling this role is an important part of learning in British higher education.
This seems to contrast with the Chinese way of higher education, in which students are led by their teachers step by step in a finely designed pattern. They are explicitly trained to become what the educational system wants them to be. Their assessment depends on examination marks which come from how they answer questions according to what they have been taught. In the Chinese view, original and critical thinking can be established only after one has fully commanded the knowledge of the subject. The final outcome of this training process may be the same result as in British education. This contrast of learning styles has been referred to as an 'endowment policy' (in Chinese education) and a 'repayment policy' (in British education) in Chapter Three where Chinese intellectuals' culture is discussed. However, in Britain, "the necessity for personal academic initiative is the key cultural change that doctoral students will encounter compared with their undergraduate days" (Phillips and Pugh p.10).

Doctoral research supervision can be seen as enabling students to become full professionals "able to carve out a researchable topic, to master the techniques required and put them to appropriate use to communicate findings cogently" (ibid p.18). This does not, however, mean that there is a uniform view of supervision. On the contrary, it is suggested that there are at least two kinds of supervisors: those who encourage students to become autonomous researchers and those who encourage students to become efficient research assistants (ibid p.22). The first kind take an 'intellectual' view and
emphasize the thesis as a work of scholarship, a valued contribution of new knowledge or conceptualization, with original and independent thought; the second kind takes an 'apprenticeship' view which stresses skills training, team membership as part of a collaborative project where the thesis includes work by other group members (McAleese and Welsh 1983 p.21, Brown and Atkins 1988 p.117). Both approaches to supervision are intended to bring about students' socialization into an academic profession. The thesis produces a new worker and a new work.

The key figure in this socialization process is the supervisor (Welsh 1978, 1979, Rudd 1985) and key issues revolve around the nature of the student-supervisor relationship and around the question of supervisory style (McAleese and Welsh 1983 p.14). The supervisor-student relationship can be seen in terms of pairs of complementary roles (Brown and Atkins 1988 p.121). Thus the tutor(T) takes a leading role in determining the topic, and research method for the student(S) to follow. This Director(T) --- Follower(S) role relationship is closely related to a Teacher(T) --- Pupil(S) or Expert(T) --- Novice(S) one, where the tutor teaches specific research techniques. These are complemented by a Guide(T) --- Explorer(S) role relationship when the supervisor suggests a timetable and bibliography or gives feedback on progress. Further role relations include Editor(T) --- Author(S) as the student's writing is checked by the tutor, and Counsellor(T) --- Client(S) if the student brings academic or other problems, about which the supervisor
shows interest and concern. Finally, as the research nears completion and the student has increasing confidence and expertise, the roles may become those of Senior Partner(T) --- Junior Professional(S), Colleague(T) --- Colleague(S) and, socially, Friend(T) --- Friend(S). Thus both may take up different roles at different stages (Welsh 1979) in a pattern of shifting role relations. An experienced supervisor may know this, expect it and guide the process. However, it is in the nature of the student's less experienced position that he or she may not anticipate such a pattern and may expect a single role. Apparently, there is little discussion of this in the literature. Few supervisors seem to outline likely role relations and possible changes in the pattern early in the research process, although this would clearly be beneficial to a new postgraduate student. In fact, the role of the supervisor's and student's expectations of their tutor are high on the list of problems encountered in postgraduate research.

Supervision was singled out as a major problem area in postgraduate study by the Robbins report (Robbins 1963) yet little had been done to improve the situation 20 years later (McAleese and Welsh 1983 p.13). Rudd (1985) found that 20-25 per cent of a nationwide sample of postgraduate students were "seriously dissatisfied" with the supervision they had received, although Delamont (1983 p.24) points out that, among her 85 postgraduate student questionnaire responses, supervisors were not universally nor even frequently condemned --- the typical supervisor was said be "very helpful" in providing
guidance and most respondents "were satisfied with their supervision" (Delamont 1983 p.44). McAleese and Welsh (1983 p.18) found that 34% of research students felt they had the 'wrong' amount of supervision and 40% felt that their supervisor was "less than helpful". A major source of dissatisfaction, where this does occur, lies in the nature of the relationship between the tutor and student (Welsh 1978 p.81). 39 out of the 64 students interviewed by Welsh maintained that for them the existence of good relationships with their supervisors was just as important as the supervisor's possession of qualifications and expertise in their field.

4.4.2. Problems for Research Students and Roles of Tutors

The most common problems for research students identified by Rudd (1985) were: poor planning and management of a project, isolation, writing up, inadequate supervision and personal problems outside the research. Often a combination of such factors will be operating.

From the tutor's point of view (Brown and Atkins 1988 p.128) students who may be at risk of failing may be identified by such warning indications as postponing supervisions, making frequent changes in the topic or method, procrastinating writing or making excuses for unfinished work, filling time with other things, resisting advice or criticism and blaming others (the supervisor?) for shortcomings.

From the students' point of view, lack of
methodological skill, isolation or loneliness and lack of time are the most common difficulties (Delamont 1983 p.27). Among the students' criticisms of supervisors (Delamont 1983 p.27, McAleese and Welsh 1983 p.16, Rudd 1985 p.88, Brown and Atkins 1988 p.127), it is said that supervisors sometimes meet students infrequently, do not tell students how to phase their work, give too little direction and practical help, take too little interest in the student or in the student's research topic, and retain students' written drafts for inordinate lengths of time. Some supervisors are held to lack relevant research experience, skills and knowledge of the student's topic and others are unapproachable or physically absent from the department.

In their three year study of 53 research students McAleese and Welsh (1983 pp.16-17) found that perceptions change over time. The proportion of students complaining about their supervision declined over the three years although student complaints which were made become more severe in the third year. Students' reservations about their supervisor's lack of relevant qualifications, experience or current activity in the student's research area did not seem to be mentioned in the second or third year.

Such information about the tutor's and student's perceptions of difficulties is derived from the analysis of questionnaire responses and replies given in interviews. It can be supposed that these perceptions are influenced by tutor-student relationships and by likely distortions resulting from rationalization and processes.
of memory, on either side. Some of the research conclusions about difficulties may indeed be influenced by a concentration on cases of failure (Rudd 1985) rather than on cases of success. Alternative research methodologies, such as a keeping of journals or ethnographic studies of tutor-student relationships, might throw up very different perspectives but would present their own research problems, especially if carried out on a large enough scale to be considered valid.

Some of the problems may have a positive side. A certain amount of isolation, for example, may be necessary for creative, independent and original thought (Delamont 1983 p.31, Brown and Atkins 1988 p.126). Delamont (1983) found that the chief source of help with problems is the supervisor, followed in rank order by the students themselves, literature, other students and computer staff. Where students received help with methods, this was, in rank order, through taking a course, reading, through the supervisors or through friends. Clearly students are heavily dependent on the supervisor. This emerges most vividly from Delamont’s data (1983 p.36) on the sources of constructive criticism received by research students, where the supervisor is the outstanding source. As Delamont (idem.) remarks "whether supervisors are aware of this dependency is unknown, but it is apparent from comments that students are acutely conscious of it, whether they are receiving criticism or not". The asymmetry of tutor-student perceptions indicated here is confirmed by a picture of
differing views of the 'ideal supervisor'.

McAleese and Welsh (1983 p.14) analysed 110 replies of research students who marked items on a pre-selected list of supervisor characteristics. In rank order, the top items marked show that the ideal supervisor is perceived as being knowledgeable, available, helpful and stimulating. These items account for 63% of the responses and are followed by other ideal characteristics of tutors being critical, enthusiastic, involved, objective, caring and attentive. With reservations, this can be compared to 300 staff responses to an open-ended invitation to describe an ideal supervisor, which McAleese and Welsh (1983 p.20) list in rank order as helpfulness, subject matter expertise, personal experience and availability. Students value knowledge and availability over other factors; staff value helpfulness and knowledge above other factors. This suggests different perceptions of role which could lead to role conflict.

Welsh (1978 p.78) had earlier explored some of these issues in interviews with 64 postgraduate research students and their supervisors. Students expected their supervisor to have professional expertise in both the general and specific area of the student’s topic while tutors only expect the first of these --- some admit that their knowledge of the student’s specific research area may not be extensive (ibid. p.84). Human factors other than subject expertise emerged as major contributors to effective supervision: students expect their supervisor to be interested in and enthusiastic about the student’s
work. They see a need for tutor's help with non-academic matters and look for personal approachability, a willingness for supervisors to spend time with them and to be readily available. They hope for effective tutor-student working relationships based on the tutor's friendship and concern. Supervisors frequently described their own role as a "guide, philosopher and friend" (Elsey 1990 p.55), expecting to give advice and constructive criticism, provide the opportunity for discussion and push students towards their goal.

Tutors identified three methods of supervision: first, to be highly directive in the early stages and gradually diminishing the guidance as the student took responsibility; second, to direct the initial and final stages but to withdraw in the middle period, providing advice only if required; third, to be directive throughout the period of research. Some students, however, identified a fourth method, where a non-directive supervisor was a remote figure giving minimal guidance and having little contact with the student. Welsh (1978 p.82) found that 26 of the 64 students interviewed felt that the type of supervision they received was not the type they wanted. Presumably tutors were not aware of this, or if they were, did not or could not meet students expectations.

Tutors may experience some role conflict. Some difficulties may be a direct consequence of the fact that tutors inevitably have to combine their supervisory role with teaching and administrative commitments besides their need to continue their own research. Full time
research students, on the other hand, are basically only concerned with their own research project. This asymmetry of the roles and commitments of tutors and students can be explored in more detail. As teachers, tutors have the authority of being acknowledged experts who are mainly concerned with transmitting knowledge. As supervisors, however, they are no longer necessarily authorities on students' research. Their knowledge here is not always extensive and therefore they are not in control. Their authority as a teacher is threatened (Welsh 1978 p.84). For supervisors, although they have more experience and a general knowledge of the field, the student’s research project is also a learning situation. Thus they are fellow learners in an area where the student expects their knowledge, expertise and authority.

Students also experience role conflict: no longer undergraduates, they are in a no-man’s land between student and staff; faced with different expectations and the need to take responsibility for their own research, they work in isolation and their progress may depend heavily on their relationship with one person --- the supervisor --- who holds perceptions of their role which differ from their own.

The foregoing considerations were based on research concerning all postgraduate research students in the U.K., i.e. mainly home students. This now needs a sharper focus on overseas students.

4.4.3. Roles and Expectations of Overseas Students and British Tutors
As outlined above, the ability to do postgraduate study or research successfully presents problems for many native speakers working in academic contexts with which they have some familiarity. There is a clear possibility that for overseas students problems may be compounded. Any specific language difficulty is only one of the problems which may arise. Yet clearly overseas students do require a minimum general level of skill in English. Furthermore, language problems affect not only linguistic competence but also have social, cultural and academic implications for students. Davies (quoted in Weir 1982) comments that it would be a mistake to exaggerate the place of language among these possible problems. To do so evades the examination of other problems of learning and living.

The institutional perceptions by academics of overseas students can be said to have shifted in recent years: from being seen as dependents they are now generally seen as clients. However, the full academic, social and cultural implications of this shift of perspective have probably not yet been fully worked out. Such a shift can be seen by contrasting British perceptions of overseas students of the 1960’s with those of the late 1980’s. In the 1960’s these students with problems evoked paternalistic responses from the host institution: 'we' (British academics and others) could help 'them' (overseas students) overcome 'their' problems. "Ownership of the system was largely assumed to rest with the host country" (Elsey and Kinnell 1990 p.2).

Following the fee rises for overseas students of
1976, 1979 and 1980 these students pay full fees for their academic work. After cutbacks resulting in increasing financial precariousness of British higher educational institutions, many universities adopted policies of active recruitment of overseas students as a source of revenue. Meanwhile, the increasing development of education in many countries led to fewer undergraduates and more postgraduates coming to the U.K. often for specific qualifications and courses relevant to their own country rather than for more general aspects of scholarship. By 1990 the overseas students were seen in different metaphorical terms: the result was wide recognition of overseas students as customers paying full costs for 'services' in a competitive open 'market', often to meet their own increasingly specific needs. Dependents had become clients. British universities became aware that if they wished for the revenue, they needed to take steps to satisfy their customers and ensure that what they supplied met overseas students' demands. In this context it is increasingly important, on both sides, to examine in detail the perceptions of overseas postgraduates and their tutors. Mismatches could have long term consequences far beyond the inconvenience or suffering of the immediate people involved.

A recent survey of the learning experiences of overseas students in Britain (Kinnell 1990) analysed the replies to 558 self-report questionnaires given to students at Loughborough and Nottingham universities and transcripts of semi-structured interviews with 23 research students. There were also interviews with
academics (the sample size is not reported). The following discussion of their research focuses first on students' perceptions of staff and teaching-learning methods, second on tutors' views of the experience of having overseas students and the dilemmas and role conflicts this appears to pose. A number of cultural considerations emerge.

The individual tutors are of pivotal importance for overseas students, especially for research students for whom a course programme and a set of fellow course members are not available. Supervisors, often one particular member of staff for each student, are in effect 'gatekeepers' of the academic system --- sometimes also of the social or cultural system. Elsey reports that the Loughborough and Nottingham students said their principal need was for "good quality rapport with their academic tutors, especially for a sympathetic listening ear and personal support in what was for many a difficult learning experience" (1990 p.51). "The most significant factor in the learning experiences of overseas research students was the nature of the relationship with their academic supervisor" (ibid p.55). Many overseas students, conditioned by previous cultural experiences in their own land, had an attitude of reverence for teachers (Channell 1990 p.64). Such occasional excessive deference towards staff is a result of having been taught to venerate teachers and therefore to speak only when addressed directly or to avoid answering questions for fear of losing face. This contrasts markedly with the attitudes of most British students. Chinese students will often
show this kind of respect (see Ch.1). They will also
expect their tutors (laoshi, in Chinese) to combine
knowledge and expertise with a strong interest in the
development of the student as a person, so that "to a
remarkable extent, the laoshi role overlaps that of the
student's parents" (Hu and Grove 1991 p.77).

Thus overseas students may see their tutor as the
best person to turn to for help with everything. This,
in turn, can lead to a feeling of dependence with the
expectation that help will come from the tutor, on the
tutor's initiative, rather than the students'. "In the
minds, but not often in the experiences of overseas
research students, is the image of the ideal supervisor.
This person was seen as taking the initiative, and after
more than meeting the often disoriented student halfway,
setting out to establish a strong bond along the lines of
'guide, philosopher and friend'" (Elsey 1990 p.55).

The telling phrase "more than halfway" reveals the overseas students' expectation that staff will do
more than come to meet them — both literally and
metaphorically. They expect their tutor, a single
gatekeeper on whom so much depends, to establish a
personal relationship "by moving towards the student"
(Channell 1990 p.74). This crucial expectation of a
meeting-more-than-halfway, from tutor towards student,
has several dimensions: academic, personal and cultural.

Academically, tutors are expected to give considerable academic help and structure in the early
days. Although informal lecturing styles are appreciated,
students perceive a lack of direction and do not welcome
the scope for planning self-study. Discussion methods were seen to broaden understanding and develop self-experience, but very few overseas students had experienced this approach before and they expected to be gently eased into it, with sensitive tutor handling (Elsey 1990 p.54). Being aware of language and perhaps needing reassurance, students wanted personal attention and help with written work, with comprehensive, quality feedback on their writing, together with feedback on other performance-based learning activities (ibid. p.51). Personally, students expected a higher level of personal attention and guidance from academic tutors. Because they perhaps feel uncertain of their own knowledge and ability, and probably feel insecure and lost in an academic system which expects self-reliance and self-direction, the quality of the supervisor-student interaction is crucial to their sense of security and motivation to succeed (Elsey 1990 p.56).

Culturally, students felt that a knowledge of their home country was an important asset for supervisors, but in many cases this was missing. Courses made frequent reference to British perspectives and inside knowledge which was outside the overseas students' experience. Worse still, in some areas of study there was "the almost complete absence of anything other than an ethnocentric British view" (Elsey 1990 p.51). Students expected tutors to make the effort to broaden the culturally-specific context of courses. This hoped-for movement by tutors towards students could further include steps to overcome deeper differences in approaches to
concepts of learning, teaching and assessment --- areas in which institutions have not considered the importance of cultural bias (Elsey and Kinnell 1990 p.5). This presents a personal challenge for tutors, almost all of whom have been through the home system in their own education; relatively few have personally experienced what it is like to be an overseas student.

Turning to the tutor's expectations, the view that overseas students should fit in with the British system and not have their own expectations and needs is mainly challenged by the shift to a more client-based mode of recruitment and operation.

Academically, the tutor's experience of overseas students can be seen within this shift of mode, which has its correlates in changes to approaches to university teaching and learning: from teacher-centred to learner-centred; from passive learning to active approaches with emphasis on experiential learning; from a teacher-determined curriculum to a consumer-oriented curriculum which encourages group discussion, active and critical questioning, negotiated and self-directed learning.

The Loughborough and Nottingham research emphasizes the tutors' perception that overseas students are needy and demanding. They take up much tutor time and attention, compared with home students. This is firstly because many overseas students often need help with their English, particularly in writing, but few tutors (outside linguistics or language departments) have the expertise to give the detailed specialist help required. However,
the students may interpret this subject tutor's lack of linguistic expertise as general unhelpfulness --- they want to know exactly what is wrong with their written English and look to their own tutor, as a native speaker, for language help (Channell 1990 p.78). This source of contrary expectations might be solved through a language unit which gives English support courses. Secondly, tutors see overseas students as being time-consuming, because of their dependence on tutors for help. This is partly due to the tutor time given to helping overseas students to become self-reliant and self-directed in their study or research, partly also because tutors see some overseas students as having limited practical expertise in technology which again takes tutor time to remedy (Channell 1990 p.71). Tutors see overseas students as disrupting the balance of their time. They have a triple role of being concerned with research and publications, management and teaching. Teaching has lower priority since the first two are more likely to lead to career promotion and status (Elsey 1990 p.57). Giving too much time to overseas students distorts this balance and may be seen as a career distraction, a conflict which is ultimately a personal one. Tutors can, however, rationalize a minimal contact with overseas students on the grounds that students must learn self-reliance and become independent. Yet simply leaving students to be independent is not teaching them how to become self-reliant, nor giving help which students expect and need.

This last role conflict is compounded by
another: the conflict between burden and opportunity. University policy may be to recruit large numbers of overseas students to generate income. This is an opportunity for the institution but a burden on the individual tutor, who must make additional effort to help such students, yet tutors are given little institutional incentive to help since there is no career advantage in effective teaching. "Departments are rewarded for recruiting overseas students. Individuals in departments are not rewarded for teaching them" (an academic, quoted by Elsey 1990 p.60). In fact, academics may even see themselves as being penalized, because having overseas students will make more demands on them and take more time, which could have been spent elsewhere.

Some tutors will see this burden as being balanced by an opportunity that the presence of overseas students brings: a challenge to develop teaching and learning strategies, an opportunity for staff development, although this is not rewarded by the university system. Notwithstanding this dilemma, many tutors have a sense of duty and professionalism, which is a personal "goodwill factor" (Elsey 1990 p.60), which inclines them to help the students. Students' progress may ultimately depend on this fragile factor.

The students are generally unaware of the triple role of British academics. They see staff as teachers who should be available to meet their needs, especially since they are fee-paying 'clients'. The perceptions of overseas students and staff are again seen as being fundamentally asymmetrical.
Culturally, some tutors do have a knowledge of students’ own countries. This is an important asset for tutors but sometimes it led to wrong expectations due to a cultural stereotyping which glossed over students’ individuality (Channell 1990 p.74).

The considerations in sections above can be summarized in Figure 4.4 (Jin & Cortazzi 1991) which lists differing expectations likely to be held by British supervisors and Chinese students.

**ACADEMIC EXPECTATIONS**

**SUPERVISORS**

Students should develop:
- independence
- individuality
- creativity

openness to alternatives
processes of investigation
critical thinking

Students should:
- think for themselves
- know what to do
- express themselves
- when they need help
- take responsibilities academically and for everyday activities

mix with British

**CHINESE STUDENTS**

Teachers should provide:
- acquisition of knowledge
- guidance
- imitation, models for/of learning
- a single answer
- results and solutions
- new methods to learn, ways to reach advanced technical levels
- be moral leaders
- know everything in their area of expertise
- ask students if they have any problems
- plan for and instruct students
- be sensitive, sympathetic, helpful and know students’ problems
- act as parent supporting children
- no money to go out with British

[figure 4.4]

Chinese students are highly likely to come to
Britain expecting their university teachers to transmit knowledge to them. Hu and Grove in their summary comment that such transmission, in China, "is oriented more toward theory than toward practice and application. The preferred mode of thinking is deductive... A key learning objective is to know and be able to state facts and theories as givens, as wholes. Chinese students are rarely able to employ an analytical conceptual style... The teachers whose classroom style is most admired are those who give clearly structured, information-packed lectures with much information written on the blackboard (which students copy verbatim" (1991 p.81). Figure 4.4 shows that this is not how British tutors expect to teach.

4.5. TEACHING AND LEARNING OF ENGLISH IN CHINA

The styles of learning and teaching of English in China may also influence ways and expectations of study of Chinese students abroad. The following section looks into this aspect of Chinese academic culture.

China is probably the country with the largest number of EFL students in the world and correspondingly the country of the largest number of EFL teachers (Li 1984 p.2). There is an increasing demand for high levels of English in modern China as a result of the Open Door Policy (Xu 1990). Many Chinese students who go abroad will need English for academic language use (ALU). Clearly the development of English language skills is very important for the Chinese educational system; for China to keep in touch with the international community;
and, with anticipated pragmatic results, for Chinese economic construction.

Yet it is widely acknowledged that Chinese students lack the development of certain skills, such as speaking and listening comprehension, academic writing, etc. (Beatty & Chan 1984). There are fundamental reasons for such unbalanced ability in using the English language:

1) the traditional English teaching/learning methods from secondary school to higher education: these rely heavily, even exclusively, on grammar translation, vocabulary work, sentence analysis, intensive reading, memorization and recitation (Scovel 1983 p.85; Sampson 1984 p.27; Harvey 1985 p.183; Maley 1986 p.103; Dzau 1990 pp.47-58; Rodgers 1990 pp.106-144);

2) the influence of learning methods which students have used to develop literacy skills in the Chinese language (L1), which emphasize vocabulary comprehension, memorization and sentence structure (Matalene 1985 p.790, Dzau 1990 p.76);

3) lack of English communicative competence of teachers, "unfamiliar with the current trends in ELT methodology" (Li 1990 p.109);

4) textbooks with few communicative exercises and requests, and political or bureaucratic barriers of using new teaching materials (Dzau 1990 p.78), yet the textbook has central importance as a model for the learner, especially as a source of material to be memorized (Sampson 1984 p.28; Maley 1986 p.103);

5) the strong influence of evaluation procedures, especially exams, e.g. National University Entrance Exam, College English Test (CET) Band 1-6 Exams, stressing merely on grammar, vocabulary, reading comprehension and the like (Scovel 1983 p.88; Burnaby and Sun 1989 p.222);

6) large number of students in one class, making changes
in organization and teaching methods difficult;

7) cultural influences on classroom activities: teacher-centred vs student-centred, knowledge transmission vs questions and spontaneous discussion from students, and relation problems of 'face' and showing off with peers and teachers (Brick 1991 pp.154-160).

8) a confusion over various interpretations of the communicative approach (Allright 1979, Brumfit 1980 pp.110-22, Li 1990 p.110, Sun 1990 p.80);

9) little access to an English-speaking community and very limited contact with native speakers for both EL teachers and students (Scovel 1983 p.83-84; Gui 1990 p.115);

10) teacher training and staff development in China are mainly carried out by Chinese teachers who themselves may well have had no opportunity to study abroad (Gui 1990 p.116) and who lack theoretical knowledge and sometimes experience of teacher training (Utley 1990 p.464);

11) lack of integrated course syllabus for all EL skills (Zuo 1990 pp.472-476).

However, in recent years, the debates about the use of the communicative approach in China (Li 1984, Sun 1990), the role of culture in Chinese ELT (Hu 1990), using student-centred learning strategies (Yu 1990) and developing an integrated course curriculum (Zuo 1990) have stimulated Chinese EFL teachers and researchers to find ways to change current ELT practices in China. Yu (1990) argues for a combined use of both student-centred and teacher-centred approaches in EFL, since she found no statistical significance of the language proficiency achievement between the experimental groups in which only one approach was conducted.

Teaching methodology should be a core subject
for language teacher training course. But the lack of
attention paid to it can be seen in the teaching training
curriculum. Oatey (1984 p.356) points out there are
different interpretations of teacher training between
Chinese and Western teachers. "To the foreign teachers,
teacher training implied methodology and materials
assessment/production, whereas to the average Chinese
teacher it meant quite simply language improvement". Zuo
(1990) calls for an integrated course syllabus, which
might influence or change classroom practice, and
provides a modified model of the present Chinese ELT
training model, but he fails to put methodology as one of
the courses.

Teacher training stresses the need for teachers
to acquire knowledge and emphasizes study in the content
area to be taught, i.e. English (Burnaby and Sun 1989).
Education coursework takes up perhaps 5% of the
programme, method courses 4% (Gumbert 1990). The
practicum in Normal Universities is brief compared to the
time devoted to this aspect in Western teacher training
courses: 4-6 weeks with a total of 4-10 class periods
taught. The practicum focuses on the organization of
materials and teacher performance (Paine 1990). These
practices are heavily supported by the conception that
the teacher and textbook are sources of authority: hence
textual knowledge is crucial to teaching and learning and
class periods are dominated by teacher talk, largely
exposition and explanation, leaving little time for
student talk except to answer review questions (Paine
1990 p.51, 55). This is also partly due to the belief
that the aim of teaching is to convey knowledge and the role of a teacher is a knowledge transmitter (ibid.), therefore the role of the teacher trainer is predominantly to improve students' language skills. "No notion of methodological improvement enters into their calculations" (Maley 1986 p.103). Yet, as increasingly Chinese teacher trainers turn to applied linguistics and communicative approaches, they would do well to heed the comments of Brumfit (1980, 1984, 1986) that language teaching should not only be influenced by applied linguistics, but also by educational perspectives. This is an important notion for ELT in China.
CHAPTER FIVE

SECOND LANGUAGE LEARNING THEORIES AND CROSS-CULTURAL COMMUNICATION

5.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter is about theories of second language learning (L2), the role of culture in L2 learning and use, and the relationship of these theories with the current research. The following sections discuss a number of theoretical models, specifically those related to culture; evaluate Schumann's acculturation model which this research extends; look into Kim's cross-cultural communication study; and finally examine and analyse some cross-cultural communication patterns in ALU.

5.2. THEORETICAL MODELS IN SECOND LANGUAGE LEARNING

Based on studies by Ellis (1985), Gardner (1985), Mclaughlin (1987) and Larsen-Freeman & Long (1991), over 15 models have been developed during the past twenty years. These may be broadly categorized into three groups according to the content or function:

1. Socio-Psychological and Cultural
   e.g. Schumann's Acculturation Model
   Gardner's Socio-educational Model
   Giles et al.'s Intergroup Model

2. Linguistic Universal and cognitive
   e.g. Chomsky's Universal Hypothesis
   Krashen's Monitor Model
Mclaughlin et al.’s Cognitive Theory
Selinker&Lamendellar’s Neurofunctional Theory

3. Multi-dimensional
e.g. Givon’s Functional-Typological Theory
The ZISA’s group’s Multidimensional Model

Yet, a model can be possibly put under another group, e.g. Krashen’s Monitor Model has a socio-psychological aspect when the affective filter is considered. The models which have received comprehensive comments involve the Universal Hypothesis, the Monitor Model, the Acculturation Model and Intergroup Model.

5.2.1. Models Concerning Socio-Psychological & Cultural Influence

This research focuses on the socio-psychological and cultural dimension of SLA & SLL. It considers attitudes, motivations, expectations, orientations, personal and social identifications, interactional competence and the like as important factors in SLA/SLL. This concern is shared with those mentioned previously under the socio-psychological and cultural category in addition to Carroll’s Conscious Reinforcement Model (1981), Bialystok’s Strategy Model (1978), Lambert’s Social Psychological Model (1974), Clement’s Social Context Model (1980), Hatch’s Discourse Theory (1978, 1992) and Ellis’ Variable Competence Model (1984a, 1985). But each of these emphasizes a different aspect of socio-psychological and cultural influence. From the above ten models, three will discussed in more detail, because of their particular relevance to the present
The relation between culture and language has long been debated since the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis suggested that thought might be determined or at least influenced by language and culture (Whorf 1956, Fishman 1973). Hockett by giving semantic examples of Chinese and English, also indicates that there might be a determinable correlation, in which the direction of causality was likely from "philosophy of life" to language, and "the linguistic habit might serve as one of the mechanisms by which the philosophical orientation maintains its existence down through the generations" (1954 p.122).

A resurgence of this debate can be seen in the reception to Bloom's (1981) finding that Chinese speakers were less likely than English speakers to give counterfactual interpretations of counterfactual texts. This finding, if valid, would have important implications for Chinese speakers using EAP in Britain, where texts commonly have examples of counterfactual statements. Since English has distinct counterfactual markers (If it were...it would..., If it had been...it would have...), but Chinese does not, Bloom interpreted his data as evidence supporting a weak form of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis in the sense that absence of the linguistic category leaves Chinese speakers freer to question the validity of adopting a counterfactual standpoint or allows intervening processing variables to distract speakers. Au (1983) and Liu (1985) replicated Bloom's experiments and showed that Chinese speakers had little
difficulty in understanding counterfactuals if the translations used in experiments were idiomatic. The content of texts and presentation format were significant variables. However, much of the debate surrounding these experiments turned on methodological issues (Bloom 1984, Au 1984, Takano 1989) and results are inconclusive, although Bloom's results are suggestive.

If a weak form of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis is valid the involvement of culture in a second language learning becomes more complicated: perhaps both L1 and L2 cultures determine learning and use of L2. It also raises the question of the relationships between the two cultures handled by L2 learners and the proportion of the determination of the cultures on L2.

5.2.2. The Socio-Educational Model

The Socio-Educational Model proposed by Gardner (1985) has been developing since 1960. It argues that the success of learning a second language is, in certain degree, influenced by the attitudes of L2 learners towards the L2 culture, since a second language "is a salient characteristic of another culture" (p.146). It demonstrates stage by stage the influence of cultural beliefs, individual differences and second language acquisition contexts, and finally on the linguistic and non-linguistic outcomes (ibid. 1979). This model focuses on the role of individual differences which contains: intelligence, language aptitude, motivation and situational anxiety. Out of these four variables, the latter two are directly related to the
Apart from the criticism to the methodological validity of the model, Au (1988) points out that "little effort has been expended to define what constitutes a cultural belief" and thus it was difficult to evaluate the model; and it "was found to lack generality" (p.90). Gardner's (1988) reply agrees that "the hypothesis is difficult to evaluate", not because of his lack of the definition of cultural belief, but because of the difficulty of determining "the beliefs generally held in a community" (ibid. p.111). In addition, he claims that he has given many examples about a constitution of cultural beliefs, which he defines as "those existing in the social context in which the individual lives, and though one would expect that the individual might share them, the focus is on the milieu itself, not on the individual" (ibid. p.102). Furthermore, he states that his model is a heuristic one which functions in explaining current data and indicating possible language learning processes and future research direction.

Nevertheless, his key four variables seem to have less availability to the linguistic and non-linguistic outcome of the present research subjects who are advanced L2 learners in L2 culture. This is because relatively these Chinese postgraduate students are all with high intelligence, since they are highly selected professionals and academics; high language aptitude with their qualified and high scores of language proficiency tests and high motivation with their strong desire to learn L2, to achieve and to succeed
academically. The situational anxiety which refers to the difficulty experienced in specific learning contexts has the most relevance to the situation of these subjects. There are easy accesses for them to have both formal language training and informal language experience in British universities. But the outcomes could be less productive than what they should be. This may suggest a different element or a need of expanding the concept in determining these outcomes, which may lie heavily in cultural beliefs and the two non-innate variables: motivation and situational anxiety.

5.2.3. The Intergroup Model

Sharing, but having different emphasis with Gardner, the Intergroup Model proposed by Giles et al. (1982) stresses the importance of relationships between the learner’s social group, i.e. ‘ingroup’ and the target language community, i.e. ‘outgroup’ for SLA. This relationship constantly changes in a process of the learners’ accommodation towards the outgroup as interaction continues between the two. "He considers the level of motivation to be a reflex of how individual learners define themselves in ethnic terms" (Ellis 1985 p.256). The dynamic feature of this model indicates a movement of cultural permeation between the two groups. In their recent revised model they even suggest the possibilities that L2 learning "can actually be an intergroup strategy aimed at preserving ingroup identity", and that "group identity can survive the disappearance of the original language" (Giles & Coupland

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However, this model seems to fail to identify the role of the outgroup defining itself in relationship to the ingroup. That is, the change of attitudes, identity, and motivation of the outgroup towards the ingroup during interaction may also be a crucial step in helping the ingroup's L2 learning. This point has been considered as one of the key notions in Cultural Synergy Model which is discussed in Ch. 10.

Accommodation can be distinguished from acculturation. The former emphasizes identity within ingroups and the need of overcoming fear and assimilation towards outgroups. This is fundamentally a psychological notion. The latter gives prime importance to cultural adjustment and socialization across cultural boundaries. It is primarily a socio-cultural concept.

5.3. THE ACCULTURATION MODEL

Schumann's Acculturation model of Second Language Acquisition (SLA) (Schumann 1978; 1986) is a helpful framework for examining overseas students studying under target culture and language (TL) environment. In Schumann's description, generally his subjects' language levels and cultural levels, in terms of the TL culture, were both low. In the case of the Chinese postgraduate students studying in Britain they come to get a degree or experience for their own profession rather than to learn English. They have high levels of competence in English before starting their study in Britain. By the end of their sojourn these students are expected to complete postgraduate degrees.
Many stay for post-doctoral research.

The Acculturation Model was put forward "to account for SLA under conditions of immigration where learning takes place without instruction" (Schumann 1986 p.395). These Chinese students do not receive formal language instruction. They are in a natural language learning environment, like Schumann's "immigrants". The difference between Schumann's subjects and the Chinese students is that the latter are working in a learning environment, i.e. a university, in which the tutors claim to help them with their English though this is not in a language classroom, nor is the tutor a language instructor. For the students to improve their English language skills is a necessity for their academic achievement during the one to five year period of their sojourn in Britain and in their subsequent career. This situation is similar to that of immigrants since they have to improve their English in order to live and work in the target culture. The Acculturation Model is usually applied to the immigrant situation. Gardner (1985) has suggested, however, that it might be applied to foreign language learning. The Chinese subjects originally learnt English as a foreign language with little or no cultural input. Now, as advanced second language users in Britain, further learning of English on their part is through natural language learning in a Second Language (SL) setting via Academic Language Use (ALU).

In Schumann's view, it is "the social and psychological integration of the learner with the target language group... any learner can be placed on a
continuum that ranges from social and psychological distance to social and psychological proximity with speakers of the TL and ... the learner will acquire the second language only to the degree that he acculturates" (1978 p.29, 1986 p.379).

AN IDEALIZED SCHEMA OF SCHUMANN'S ACCULTURATION MODEL (1978 P.34)

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Schumann's figure "indicates that for each degree of acculturation there is an equal degree of SLA. The real situation is certainly not so neat; there is probably no one-to-one relationship between acculturation and SLA".

In Figure 5.2, firstly there is a change in the presentation of the figure, which puts the SLA line vertical and acculturation line horizontal since language acquisition shows a degree of increase and acculturation points out a direction and enlargement. Secondly, in the case of low acculturation and high language proficiency, like Chinese postgraduate students in the UK, there is no equal degree of SLA for acculturation. But because of their high language proficiency, an expectation of equally high acculturation
may exist in oral and written communication, which may cause mutual misunderstanding.

REAL COMMUNICATION AREA
BETWEEN SLS & TLS

EXPECTED OR ASSUMED
COMMUNICATION AREA
BY TLS WITH SLS

--->

SLA

SLL & SLS
ACCULTURATION
TLS

SLA: Second Language Acquisition
SLL: Second Language Learner
SLS: Second Language Speaker
TLS: Target Language Speaker

[figure 5.2]

Figure 5.2. clearly illustrates that the acculturation is unidirectional from SL learners to TL speakers. This may not be an ideal transmission for the case raised in this research.

Schumann (1978) sees acculturation in terms of the causal variables of social and psychological distance and each of these is made up of a number of factors:

ACCULTURATION MODEL OF SLA
(based on Schumann 1978)

Social Distance

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>social dominance</th>
<th>cohesiveness</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dominance</td>
<td>high/low</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-dominance</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>subordination</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>integration pattern</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>assimilation</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>adaptation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>preservation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>enclosure</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>high/low</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intended length of residence</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>short</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>size</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>large/small</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>congruence</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>similar/dissimilar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>attitude</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hostile</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>neutral</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>positive</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
A number of critical comments have been made of the Acculturation Model (McLaughlin 1987 pp.125-127; Larsen-Freeman and Long 1991 pp.258-265):

- it is difficult to find valid and reliable measures of the affective variables

- little attention is given as to how the variables may change over time: there may be shifts of identity and boundaries of group membership, or there may be variations at different proficiency levels or with different language skills

- there is no indication of how the variables relate to each other or how they might be weighted: they are all relative and it is not clear whether or how positive values on some variables might outweigh negative values on others

- no explanation is provided of how the factors might affect the ultimate level or rate of language acquisition

- Schumann (1986) indicates a chain of causality: acculturation brings about input which causes second language acquisition, but the causality may be bidirectional, since successful acquisition may change subjects' attitudes through positive experience (cf. Gardner 1985 on bi-directionality between motivation and success).
Despite high language competence these Chinese students’ familiarity with British culture and society in general and with British academic culture in particular is low. Their high language competence and low acculturation, in some situations, create problems for their communication with the British. Their use of grammatically correct English without culturally appropriate use makes the British listeners or readers misunderstand their meaning. Often there are situations of mutual misunderstanding.

The learning strategies they developed in China helped them to high academic success there. However, the same strategies used in Britain will not reveal their academic strengths in the context of British academic culture. This reveals not only their problem with the British culture, but also with the British academic culture, which directly affects Chinese students socially, psychologically and academically.

Furthermore, on the British side, few academics claim any great knowledge of Chinese culture and society. Thus, in the present case there is a cultural gap but no question of SLA at basic language levels. This unbalanced cultural understanding and language competence from both sides do not help either side to have an affective communication. On the Chinese students’ side there is high English language competence, low British cultural awareness and understanding; on the British side there is low Chinese cultural awareness and understanding.

The concept of acculturation related to ALU is clearly relevant. However, the evidence is that their
tutors also have cultural problems in their interaction with the students. The element of congruence in the Acculturation Model refers to similarity or otherwise of culture between the SLL and TL culture. This is a one-way concept from the SLL to TL speakers. The acculturation is only considered from the SLL’s point of view. In this research of ALU when students have already had a high language competence, however, there is a need to consider the tutor’s lack of cultural knowledge of the students’ background and how this leads to a measure of misunderstanding which affects ALU.

Naturally the tutors expect the students to move culturally towards them and to learn or fit into the British culture. Yet the Chinese students have some expectation, from their own academic cultural background, that the tutors will move towards them: helping them, instructing them, caring for them, etc. In addition, each side, by knowing the inside view of the other side, may be able to find a good way to introduce their ideas to the other side and help the other to understand them. Therefore if British academic staff wish to get their Chinese or any other overseas students up to the academic standard required by a British university, it would help their teaching and research to understand how and what their students think. The same would apply to these students: their life could be much easier if they find out what is expected from tutors.

The academic and cultural background of overseas students can be a valuable educational resource. However this resource can only be fully developed if academic
staff are aware of the nature of this resource and appreciate its value to the contribution it can make to a British university. Such expectations of mutual or reciprocal cultural movement suggest that a concept of bidirectional acculturation is needed. Acculturation involves culture contact and change: changes in the language and culture of a group occur as a result of interaction with a different linguistic or cultural group. Cultural synergy (Moran & Harris 1991 pp.91-92) should be included in any descriptive framework applied to this case.

5.4. INTERCULTURAL IDENTITY THEORY

The concepts of acculturation, assimilation and adaptation which interest SLA researchers are also the key notions focused on by anthropologists and sociologists in cross-cultural communication studies. These studies concern long-term immigrants as well as short-term sojourners like students and visiting scholars. Kim (1988 p.16-19) contrasts two views of adaptation. Gordon (1964)'s seven subprocesses of assimilation, of which acculturation from immigrant group to host group is the first step towards the final process of complete assimilation. "Assimilation... is a unidirectional process (toward the dominate host culture only) and requires value changes within the assimilating group". This assimilationist view has widely given away to a pluralistic perspective, in which acculturation "is a bidirectional process and does not require changes in values within the acculturating group". She emphasizes an
integrative approach to the research in cross-cultural communication and believes that, without it, "efforts to describe and explain the cross-cultural adaptation process are likely to lack accuracy, clarity, coherence, and comprehensiveness (p.27).

Furthermore, Kim (1988, 1989) presents a theory of intercultural identity. It demonstrates the development of a broader perspective by "strangers grow beyond the psychological parameters of the original culture" (1988 p.144). This broader perspective becomes a third one including either the original and the new cultures.

This concept is a step forward to show a bidirectional movement. However, its focus is still on the change of those immigrants or sojourners as adaptors. This bidirection mainly refers to the exchange of attitudes, perspectives and views of these adaptors to their host world. In other words, the adaptors may enrich themselves by keeping their culture yet learning a new culture. But the perspectives in the host culture influenced by those of adaptors are not evaluated. Thus this can be seen as a non-mutual bidirectional view.

None of these models above take academic culture into consideration. Therefore, this research extends some of the concepts of these models and applies them to the field of academic culture (see ch.10).

5.5. CROSS-CULTURAL COMMUNICATION AND ALU

There is a lack of teaching of culture and social use of English in Chinese ELT (Hu 1986 p.2) Many
EFL teachers teach linguistic forms but have ignored the ability to employ these forms in real interaction (Zhang 1990 p.36). The learning styles of Chinese students abroad are likely moulded by their learning styles in China: memorization, recitation, following model examples, giving exam answers in multiple choice format and transmission and reproduction of knowledge, with which they are outstandingly successful in Chinese academic study (see Ch.4). Therefore it is possible that Chinese speakers with a high level of fluency and grammatical accuracy of English will not be able to follow a lecture, present a seminar or write an essay in an acceptable British way. As Gumperz remarks of this kind of situation, where people’s ability to perceive meaningful discourse cues varies, "Their assumptions about what information is to be conveyed, how it is to be ordered and put into words and their ability to fill in the unverbalized information they need to make sense of what transpires may also vary" (1982 p.172). This section illustrates some likely patterns in cross-cultural communication influenced by cultural and academic cultural orientations. A pattern in one culture may cause misinterpretation and misunderstanding when it is used in another culture. These patterns are a rather generalized overview; individual differences should be taken into account.

5.5.1. The Position of Main Point in Writing / Speech

Western thinking with its particular styles of presenting arguments prefers to give a main point or
conclusion first and then later to fill in the background or bring in the facts which support the conclusion (Kaplan 1966, de Bono 1987). In contrast, a preferred Chinese style is to build up a main point by giving a long background and reasons which lead to the inevitable main point. Just as Chinese utterances often show a topic-comment grammatical relationship (Li and Thompson 1976 p.479), a common Chinese discourse pattern is background-main point (Brick 1991 p.106).

The Position of Main Point

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHINESE</th>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BACKGROUND</td>
<td>EXPLANATION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HINT</td>
<td>BACKGROUND</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POINT</td>
<td>INFORMATION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CONFIRMATION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>OF THE POINT</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[figure 5.4]

Young has also analysed this: "Chinese discourse patterns seem to be the inverse of English discourse conventions.... in that definitive summary statements of main arguments are delayed till the end" (1982 p.75). "There is a Chinese preference for the steady unravelling and build-up of information before arriving at the important message" (ibid. p.77) and so the opening lines of Chinese discourse often do not provide a thesis or preview statement which might orient a (Western) listener or reader to the overall direction of the discourse (ibid. p.79). The Chinese expectation is to show 'where
the argument is going', while the English one is to
demonstrate "where the argument is coming from" (ibid.
p.83).

Thus it is possible for either side to miss the
main point because of the different expectations of where
it normally appears. A question may occur to a British
participant while listening or reading: where is the
point? Oh, finally here it is! A Chinese participant,
missing the point, would have wondered what the British
person had been talking or writing about.

5.5.2. Implicitness or Explicitness in Speech / Writing

An ideal or a model teacher for the Chinese over
the ages is Confucius. He said "when I have presented one
corner of a subject to anyone, and he cannot learn from
it the other three, I do not repeat my lesson" (quoted in
Chen 1990 p.468). This indicates a hinted and implied
style of speaking and writing in Chinese, so that a
Chinese request is often implicit rather than spelled out
(Brick 1991 p.118).

The Proportion of Implicitness and Explicitness

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHINESE</th>
<th>BRITISH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EXPLICIT</td>
<td>EXPLICIT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMPLICIT</td>
<td>IMPLICIT</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[figure 5.5]
There is a tendency to hold off, to wait longer before getting to the issue (Matalene 1985 p.800). This contrasts with the more explicit style of 'making your point' in British conversation or writing.

The contrast between guessing and expressing may produce misinterpretations, misunderstandings and even offence in cross-cultural communication. A Chinese hint may not be picked up by a British tutor: the tutor's explicit comment may be overinterpreted for unintended implications by a Chinese student.

5.5.3. Listener or Speaker Responsibility

Following the same reasons, the responsibility of understanding meanings of a message is on listeners or readers in Chinese context, whereas it is the responsibility of speakers or writers to make their point explicit in British context.

The Role of Responsibility

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LISTENER</th>
<th>SPEAKER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| responsible | }
| READER | WRITER |

[figure 5.6]

5.5.4. Circular or Linear Style in Discussion/Seminar and Writing

Chinese formal schemata of non-linear movements and lack of a fixed starting point are reflected in the ESL of Chinese students (Alptekin 1988 pp.112-113). Galtung (1981 p.839) illustrates a contrast between Saxonic non-dialectical thought, which is a linear
development, and Nipponic dialectical thought which has different points directed to the middle core to form a circle. These differences in thinking formats may indicate that there are different patterns and styles in Chinese and English oral and written interactions, as Kaplan (1966) maintains.

Circular/Linear Styles in Interactions

![Diagram]

If participants on either side are unaware of these differences, this may result in misunderstanding in cross-cultural communication contexts. Audiences or readers using the circular pattern may not be able to follow the linear development of points made by those using the latter pattern and may lose interest in the topic or be confused about the points. Those adopting a linear pattern may also be puzzled by the round and round conversation or writing and wonder where the point is (Kaplan 1966). Furthermore, the circular one is influenced by a holistic of view, giving consideration to all aspects of a matter. This originates in the fundamental Chinese conceptions that the whole is not to be severed into units (Chai & Chai 1962 p.116, Ropp 1990 p.xv). However the linear pattern focuses on the forward development of a matter. "Cause and effect in Chinese are
not sequential, but are parallel aspects of the same truth" (Lin 1955 p.27).

5.5.5. Getting a Turn in Seminar or Discussion

If a Chinese student provides a lengthy background as preparation for the hearer to understand an up-coming main point, a British tutor, expecting a discourse-initial point but not hearing it, may 'switch off' and therefore not hear the point when it comes. Alternatively, he may interrupt and thus cut off the student’s embryonic point. Conversely, the Chinese student may not hear the British tutor’s point, however his respect for the tutor could prevent him from indicating a lack of understanding and also prevent him from interrupting the tutor. Therefore the tutor may be unaware that the point has not been understood, not for reasons of inadequate English, as such, but because the student expects a main point to be elsewhere in the discourse.

**Activity & Reaction**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHINESE</th>
<th>BRITISH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BACKGROUND</td>
<td>IMPATIENCE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MENTALLY SWITCHED OFF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>INTERRUPTION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>GIVING THE POINT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FRUSTRATION</td>
<td>FEELING PUZZLED +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REGAINING TURN</td>
<td>FRUSTRATED</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>IGNORING</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>THE NEXT POINT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DISAPPOINTMENT</td>
<td>FEELING INADEQUATE</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[figure 5.8]

From the student’s discourse perspective a point made at
the beginning is not the main one and so the student may continue to listen to subsequent discourse in an attempt to identify a later point as the 'real' main idea since he believes it has not yet been made. The student may also be planning his own point, which, naturally, requires more planning time, especially since from the Chinese point of view it will need to be preceded by a reasoned background which needs to be thought out in advance. Chinese students are likely to have some difficulty in getting a turn at talk as shown in Figure 5.8.

Obviously apart from other problems with turn-taking, such as dominant speakers, turn-taking discourse markers, there is another problem of "culture-specific conventions" (McCarthy 1991 pp.128-129). In some cultures, long silence between turns is acceptable; or turn-takings depend on hierarchical relationships. McCarthy (ibid.) suggests that the cultural differences in turn-taking can be pointed out to learner. In the case of supervisors and students, it would be helpful for both sides to understand the varieties.

5.5.6. Pausing in Seminar or Discussion

Difficulties may arise in interethnic conversation when participants use different turn-taking patterns, length of pause and different discourse conventions (Gumperz 1982, Scollon & Scollon 1981, 1983). These difficulties are also apparent in Chinese-English conversation, reinforced by the Chinese unfamiliarity
with British cultural styles, a lack of confidence and practice in oral skills, and by the Chinese speakers' need, as second language users, for extra planning time before speaking.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Different Pausing Styles and Reactions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHINESE</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LISTENING</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLANNING &amp; ORGANIZING</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABOUT TO SPEAK &amp; LANGUAGE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FOLLOWING &amp; THE POINT</td>
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<tr>
<td>PLANNING &amp; ORGANIZING</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABOUT TO SPEAK</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**REATIONS/COMMENTS:**
- **FRUSTRATION**
- **SPEAKER**
- **TALKING TOO MUCH**

[figure 5.9]

The mutual misunderstanding and frustration which may sometimes result from this is shown in Figure 5.9., where a British tutor probably concludes that the Chinese student has nothing to say, while the Chinese student may believe he has not been given the chance to speak.

These cultural differences in academic language use demonstrate a fact that there is a need of integrated process of cultural awareness/learning and language acquisition/use (Robinson 1988 p.34). This research emphasizes a mutual need for such an integrated process between both sides of cross-cultural communication.
PART THREE

EMPIRICAL RESEARCH

The previous five chapters raise questions for further empirical research. They have set up a theoretical base concerning:

--- resources of Chinese academic culture, i.e. Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism (with relevant discussion) which are the major philosophical factors influencing Chinese thinking (see Ch.1 & 2);

--- the development of Chinese intellectuals from the viewpoints of their history, philosophies, education, social and psychological features and economic status, to analyse their conceptual structure and features of Chinese academic culture (see Ch.3);

--- the comparison of characteristics between Chinese academics and British academics through the values emphasized in their perceptions (see Ch.4).

--- the review of theories and models of culture and language, second language acquisition and cross-cultural communication (see Ch.5).

Such multi-disciplinary analyses and discussions have illustrated at least two key gaps in the research of second language acquisition (SLA) and academic language use (ALU) in cross-cultural contexts. These gaps prompt the main research questions to be addressed in part three.

The first gap is that apparently none of the SLA models discussed have considered the influence of host's and learners' academic cultures on the learners and also
on their teachers/supervisors. The concern of previous models (e.g. Schumann 1978, Gardner 1985) is mainly focused on the social and psychological aspects of learners. They examine the influence of culture in general (see Ch.5). However, none of these models mention academic culture. The discussion from Chapter One to Chapter Four leads to the conclusion that the different values in academic cultures could be an important, hitherto overlooked aspect to be considered when examining the problems and experiences of learners at a higher level of SLA and ALU. The first area identified for research investigation is, therefore, whether there is a gap in academic cultures between Chinese students and their British supervisors. This will relate to the case of academic language use so that the nature of any gaps will be explored with a view to extending Schumann's acculturation model.

The second gap, which is related to the first, is that there have been very few systematic studies on Chinese SL learners concerning their academic cultural background. In the British university context, the question of how Chinese students' cultural background affects their needs as academic learners is, so far, unexamined. A significant element here concerns the expectations between British tutors and Chinese postgraduate students about academic culture. The second main research question is therefore to consider how a Chinese cultural background might affect Chinese postgraduate students' study or research in the UK. This question also looks into students' expectations, values
and beliefs in contrast to those of their British tutors.

These would seem to be important questions, although they are quite general. More specifically, the precise questions to be addressed in this research are as follows:

On the Chinese students' side,

* What is the extent of the Chinese students' English language proficiency and their English language use in British academic and social contexts?
* How much do Chinese students know about British culture, society and education?
* What are the expectations of the Chinese students about their roles and relationships with their tutors in Britain?
* What are the attitudes of the Chinese students towards their British supervisors?
* What are the expectations of the Chinese students regarding British academic culture?

On the British supervisors' side,

* What are the supervisors' perceptions of the English language proficiency and academic language use of their Chinese students?
* What are the supervisors' expectations of their roles and relationships with their Chinese students?
* What are the attitudes of the British supervisors towards their Chinese students?
* What are the expectations of the British supervisors regarding British academic culture?

The empirical research presented in the
following four chapters investigates the general and specific research questions through questionnaires and interviews. This part analyzes both quantitative and qualitative data and the analysis is presented through the framework of Schumann's acculturation model of SLA, in terms of social and psychological distances with detailed subheadings. However, in applying the acculturation model to ALU it was apparent that a new category, academic distance, would have to be added. This gives Schumann's research a substantial new dimension since the new category of academic distance has, in turn, detailed subheadings. A further advance, beyond Schumann's approach, is that the findings in the present research will be related back to the cultural background of parts one and two in order to trace possible causes of differences and difficulties of Chinese students in British academic culture.

In order to examine whether there are social, psychological and academic gaps which may affect the performance of Chinese students in British universities, questionnaires were given to Chinese students and British supervisors. They were designed to investigate:

* attitudes of respondents towards people,
* how they deal with social and academic matters and what they believe about how they should be handled,
* Chinese students' knowledge of British culture, society and education,
* Chinese students' English proficiency, English language use and their study and communication skills in British academic and social contexts

Interviews were conducted on the same subjects. They focused on:

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* expectations of British supervisors and Chinese students towards each other (e.g. independence vs. dependence),
* their roles and relationships in academic and social life,
* differences (e.g. in cultural orientation), difficulties or problems (e.g. writing, academic presentation) of Chinese students in British academic and social life and possible reasons for them (e.g. passiveness vs activeness)


Since there is apparently no well-established study of academic culture and SLA, questions about academic cultures are drawn from several sources: the researcher's observation of the experience of Chinese students in the UK, from numerous informal discussions with Chinese students in the UK and from her study of the topic revealed in the former five chapters. A possible limitation is that such questions might have been subjectively selected and that they may constrain respondents. In order to overcome this, the interview as an important research method has been used to give full opportunity for both Chinese students and British supervisors to expand on their experience in British academic environments, and to share their thinking, perceptions and comments on the topic.

It is important to note that using both methods is necessary for the validity and reliability of this
research, since it concerns perceptions, expectations and styles of British supervisors and Chinese students, and examines the cultural influence on second language learning.

The findings are presented in the framework of Schumann's acculturation model with an addition of the major new section concerning academic distance. Some variables under social and psychological distances are also new in this research, such as individual/collective, racism. The variables in academic distance are entirely new and are derived from the current research data and analysis. These variables have been gradually built up according to the availability of the data. Thus, when the analysis of questionnaires is concluded, only the variables revealed in the questionnaire data are presented, and the analysis of interview data contributes further to the final model from those variables which appear in interview data. However, the same framework is maintained in both analyses. The complete listing of variables is seen following the analysis of questionnaires and interviews, in Chapter Ten, which presents the model of this research.
CHAPTER SIX

THE QUESTIONNAIRES

There are six sections in this chapter. These sections will discuss respondents, and the procedure, administration, design, content and evaluation of the three questionnaires used in this research.

6.1. RESPONDENTS

Three types of questionnaires were devised for this research:

Questionnaire I (Qi) was given to mainland Chinese students and visiting scholars who were studying in the U.K. throughout the 1988-89 academic year and beyond. 98% of these respondents were sent, or arranged to be sent, by the Chinese government through scholarships provided by various Ministries, Sino-British Friendship Scholarship Schemes, Technical Cooperation Scholarships or British Council Scholarships. They all passed the English proficiency test scores on TOEFL (Test of English as a Foreign Language; required scores for admission are 550 or above), ELTS (English Language Test Service; required scores are 6-6.5) and EPT (English Proficiency Test, organized by the Chinese authorities for Chinese students and scholars studying abroad, minimum scores are 110-130). These tests are required by both British institutions and the Chinese government before they leave China. The Chinese government also offers a pre-departure foreign language course for half a
year.

Questionnaire II (Q2) was used for non-academic staff and British students in U.K. institutions, a group with whom the Chinese students might reasonably be expected to interact, including: secretaries of relevant departments, library staff, executives of the Student Union, Union travel agent staff, external relation officers of universities and British Council representatives.

Questionnaire III (Q3) was devised to get the perceptions and views of tutors or supervisors in U.K. institutions. These were tutors who were supervising the Chinese students who had completed Q1.

Questionnaire I and III are given in the Appendix.

6.2. PROCEDURE

A pilot test was conducted with a sample of 20 English and Chinese respondents in order to determine that the questions and instructions were clear and readily understood. This procedure and respondents' comments led to minor modifications of some questions and the addition of a section on personal information in Q2 and Q3. One major suggestion from Chinese respondents in the pilot study was to include a translation into Chinese in Q1. When the final Q1 was administered, a Chinese translation was available to respondents. Many found it quite helpful, especially in the semantic differential section using attributes. The researcher was available to answer queries about the questionnaire and to observe the
respondents when they filled it in so that any possible misunderstanding of the questions could be avoided or corrected.

6.3. ADMINISTRATION

Q1 was completed by 101 Chinese respondents from the People’s Republic of China. Q2 was completed by 73 non-academic staff and British students. Q3 was completed by 37 academic staff. In general the Chinese students had a very encouraging attitude towards the research and were very willing to complete the questionnaire. 101 completed questionnaires were therefore fairly easily obtained in five universities (Birmingham, Cambridge, Leicester, Loughborough, Nottingham) and one Polytechnic (Leicester, now named De Montfort University) where three types of questionnaires were conducted. There were no refusals to complete Q1, nor were any distributed questionnaires not returned. Three major reasons for this 100% response can be suggested:

1) The research was about Chinese students in the UK, who need help when they come to a new and strange place. The students seemed keen to complete the questionnaire because it was about themselves and for the potential future benefit of others in their position.

2) The researcher was not representing an official or governmental organisation, nor sponsored by any government. The research was thus an independent project. Therefore a high degree of trust was built up between the researcher and respondents.

3) The questionnaire was given to individuals in
their normal place of work (library, laboratory, etc.) or place of living. As each questionnaire was completed, it was followed by a tape-recorded interview. This manner of distributing the questionnaire, in contrast to a postal questionnaire, probably showed more commitment, seriousness and enthusiasm and elicited a more responsive attitude from respondents. The Chinese students' willingness was also shown in the fact that they filled in 30 pages with 238 question items; none complained about the length of the questionnaire, some even suggested adding extra sections concerning their opinions on Chinese educational policy, etc.

Some Q2 were given to groups of British students via their tutors. Other Q2 were given individually in laboratories, libraries, offices, etc. In both cases, there was a 100% return, but less enthusiasm than had been shown by the Chinese students (Q1). Furthermore, Q2 with 108 questions of 10 pages was considerably shorter than Q1, yet many Q2 respondents commented that the questionnaire was too long. However, there were also many comments showing the Q2 respondents' interest in the research topic. A few of Q2 respondents were interviewed and tape-recorded.

Q3 was also individually administered and each questionnaire was followed by a tape-recorded interview. With Q3 given to 40 tutors, all supervising Chinese students, it was necessary to make prior appointments. All staff approached agreed to such an appointment. However, there were difficulties with a small minority: there were refusals to fill in the attitude section of
the Q3, or to be interviewed. The reason given was that they were "ideologically opposed" to the use of questionnaires in research. Other staff, including pro-vice chancellors, heads of departments, professors and lecturers, were very keen to share their ideas and experiences about Chinese students. These staff gave up considerable time, in some cases up to three hours, and filled in Q3 with care and thoughtful reflection. In all, 37 questionnaires were completed.

It is also noteworthy that staff in science departments showed more enthusiasm and interest for this project than staff in social science or arts departments. This curious feature of apparent staff response might be explained by the fact that science staff deal with a larger number of Chinese students. It can also be suggested that science staff have less opportunity to talk about some of the issues raised by the research. This impression was borne out by the fact that many interviews, especially with staff in science departments, were two way affairs; respondents asked the interviewer for background information about Chinese students, and about possible solutions and help with problems.

In summary, many staff and all the Chinese students thought that this project was important and worthwhile. They hoped useful suggestions and guidelines would emerge.

6.4. DESIGN

6.4.1. General Outlook

The goal of these questionnaires is to find out
possible differences in social psychological and academic perceptions between Chinese postgraduate students in the UK and their British supervisors. The question items were randomly arranged in order to strengthen validity and reduce the possibility of respondents ticking without reading the items carefully. The themes of these questionnaires are listed in the following figure:

**Social Distance**
- congruence
- cultural orientation
- knowledge of target/source societies & cultures

**Psychological Distance**
- character attribution of target/source cultures
- culture shock
- identity maintenance
- language shock

**Academic Distance**
- academic cultural orientation
- academic culture shock
- academic language use
- tutor-student relationships

[figure 6.1]

Questions in these three questionnaires requested respondents to answer on either a five-point scale or to make a multiple choice. Respondents were asked to give only one answer to each question item. There is an instruction paragraph for each section of the question items. Examples of how a question item might be answered were given, since it was likely that Chinese respondents had had little experience in filling in such a questionnaire. Some aspects of a research theme are repeated in question items from a different angle, appearing in different parts of the questionnaires, to check the reliability of answers given since social and psychological factors, or level of language skills, may affect student respondents' use of English. The selection

Some of the above research projects, e.g. Gardner’s (1985), Oller’s (1977), intended to find out which key factors of attitudes and motivations influenced the learning of a second language. They employed an English proficiency test to investigate possible correlations between language proficiency and different types of attitudes and motivations. Since in this research the Chinese respondents already had a relatively high level of English proficiency, the research focus is on a further problem: the use of English in academic contexts hypothesizing that British tutors and Chinese postgraduate students might have different perceptions to each other. Finding out if there is such a difference in perceptions is one of the main purposes of this research.

Thus the method of using attributes, multiple-choice questions on linguistic, social, psychological and academic facets has been applied here, based on well-established research projects (ibid), to look for the differences in perceptions and attitudes. A further question was asked to get more information from the attributes data e.g. in Q1 C, "Your opinion of how British people probably view the Chinese". This helped to look at respondents’ views from different angles. There were also some specific question items on the academic needs of students, e.g. academic presentation, note-taking, turn-taking, knowledge of the target
There are four parts in QI. They are: Part One -- Personal Information; Part Two -- Chinese Students’ Opinions and Feelings about People; Part Three -- Information about their Academic, Social and Everyday Life; Part Four -- Their Opinions and Their Impressions of Life and Study in the U.K.

In Q2 and Q3, there are only two parts: one is about personal information and the other selects some items relevant for comparison with items in Q1. This part includes question items about the opinions and feelings of Chinese and British people for both Q2 and Q3 respondents; items about everyday life activities when English or other languages might be used; and their opinions of social/psychological attitudes of British and Chinese people for Q2 respondents and items for Q3 respondents about the assessment of Q3 respondents on their Chinese students in study skills and English language ability.

6.4.2. Questionnaire I in Chinese

A Chinese translation of Q1 was provided with the questionnaire. This was to help Chinese respondents to have an accurate comprehension of the instructions, attributes and other question items and to avoid possible cultural misunderstanding which might affect their decision when choosing answers. For instance, the attribute, ‘ambitious’ could be interpreted with a negative meaning by Chinese respondents, who therefore might tend to choose its opposite although the questionnaire designer intended the word to be understood
with a positive meaning. The translation helps to ensure that respondents understand the meanings of attributes in the same way as the questionnaire designer. However the respondents were asked to fill their answers on the English copy. The Chinese copy was simply used for reference.

6.5. QUESTIONNAIRE CONTENT
6.5.1. Questionnaire I
6.5.1.a. Personal Information

In Part One, respondents were asked to answer questions by writing an X in the appropriate block. This information is about sex, age, status, methods of study, the places where respondents had lived and worked before, the number of years they had worked, the locations of their universities where they had received their degree(s), the assumed period of their stay in the U.K., study subjects, the degree they intended to obtain during their study in the U.K., the length of time they had been in the U.K.

For the sake of confidentiality, their names and addresses were not asked for.

Questions such as sex, age, subject of study, status were set to ascertain any different opinions and attitudes between male and female respondents, between older or younger respondents, between respondents who study arts or science and between respondents who came to the U.K. as visiting scholars or as degree students.

The majority of the Chinese who have come to study in the U.K. are sent or arranged to be sent by the
Chinese government. They are divided into two kinds: visiting scholars and degree students. The former are academics who come to U.K. universities for half a year or a year to attend a course or to do research without receiving any degree. They mainly use this year to observe, to read and to carry out research in topics they are interested in with the help of U.K. university facilities and some tutoring. The latter are students who read for a degree. They usually have a clear idea of what they ought to do during their stay and what they want to achieve thereafter. It is assumed that this group would have stronger desire to cope with their study and life in the U.K. and that they would be more sensitive to any problems they face.

Visiting scholars or students for academic degrees who study by course or by research may have different problems in their study. Different methods of study may lead to different attitudes and ways to deal with their academic, social and everyday life. For example, people studying by course will have more opportunities to meet British people as well as other overseas students. The may notice greater differences concerning the educational system, academic process and students' life in the U.K..

The questions about students' place of living and work were asked in order to find out if there is any difference of attitudes about culture between respondents from a coastal city or county or countryside and those from inland city or county or countryside; or differences in attitude between city and county or countryside. In
China people are divided administratively into two kinds: those who have city residence cards and those who do not. This means city residence card holders usually live in cities or county towns; they receive a fixed amount of main food, i.e. rice or flour, which is supplied by the government at a subsidized price; they have the opportunity and right to apply to work in the city or town where they live; they have other benefits such as better educational facilities, health care, etc. Those who do not have city residence cards have to support themselves for food and other necessities. Most of them work on farms. Financially, they have to supply themselves; administratively, they are looked after by district local government and village committees.

In questionnaire items, people from **city** and **county** refers to those who have city residence cards; people from **countryside** refers to those who do not have such cards. This difference is very clear to Chinese people: in the questionnaire there is no need for further explanation.
Figure 6.2 shows the administrative relationship of provinces, cities, counties and countryside in China, since it is different from the system in the U.K..

The key universities referred to in Q1 are those appointed by the state council and administrated directly by the Ministry of Education. Their main characteristics are:

1) These universities usually have a long history and they are well-known in China or abroad, e.g. Beijing University.

2) They receive extremely large financial investment and budgets from the central government, compared with non-key universities.

3) They therefore have better research facilities and academic research and teaching staff with a higher number of professors.

4) They have priority in selecting students who pass the national university entrance exam with a higher marks.

However in China a number of universities are run by ministries other than the Ministry of Education, e.g. Wuhan Tongji Medical Science University is under the Ministry of Public Health; Zhongnan Finance and Economics University is under the Ministry of Finance, and so on. Some of these universities are the key universities appointed by these ministries. They have the same or similar features as those of the key universities in the Ministry of Education, except that they are sponsored by each ministry.
Some universities are directly administered by provincial or city governments. Among them, a few are the key universities appointed by local governments. They are also financially supported by the local government.

The following diagram shows the relationship of government administration to key or non-key universities.

[Figure 6.3]

Questions on where Chinese respondents received their degree(s) were asked in order to look for possible differences between people from coastal city/county and inland city/county and the difference between those who lived in inland places but were educated in coastal places, or vice versa, and those who both lived and were educated in inland places or in coastal places.

The question about their assumed period of stay in the U.K. was asked in order to see if there are any different attitudes between those who will stay in the U.K. for a short period, i.e. one or two year(s) and those who will stay in the U.K. for a longer period, i.e. three years or more. It has been observed by researchers
(Furnham and Bochner 1986) that the eagerness and speed of adaptation to a new culture are related to the length of stay in the host country.

The question on whether they intend to get a degree after their study concerns their motives and expectations of study in the host country. It is believed (Torbiorn 1982, Furnham & Bochner 1986, 1988) that strong motives and high expectations of being accepted in the host society help sojourners to adjust their reactions to their surroundings.

6.5.1.b. Perceptions in Social, Psychological and Academic Aspects

In Parts Two, Three and Four of Q1, questions were asked about Chinese respondents' perceptions of British and Chinese people, by asking them to choose between a set of attributes. These attributes can be approximately summarized for analysis in five groups: cognition, social relationship / behaviour, psychological character / behaviour, moral behaviour and status / appearance. Some overlap in different aspects. The respondents were also requested to assess their knowledge and need in terms of their understanding of social and academic life and systems in the U.K. and their language proficiency of skills and use in their UK social and academic context. Many questions concerned the psychological factors behind their difficulties in both social and academic situations.

(1) Q1 -- A1 to C27

There were 27 attitude attributes in each section A, B or C. The content of each set was the same
in each section, but the attributes were arranged in random order. They were also given under different statements: A is about Chinese respondents' view of British people; B is about their view of Chinese people; and C is about their opinion of how British people probably view the Chinese. A similar arrangement was made in Q2 and Q3 so that the perceptions between British and Chinese respondents may be compared and measured. These attributes in section A are:

--- Cognitive Aspect
A1 (collective-minded / individual-minded), A6 (creative / uninventive), A14 (intelligent / stupid), A15 (open-minded / narrow-minded);

--- Social Relationship / Behaviour
A4 (cooperative / uncooperative), A7 (cold / warm), A9 (friendly / unfriendly), A17 (polite / rude), A26 (well-organized / disorganized);

--- Psychological Character / Behaviour
A2 (active / passive), A8 (confident / fearful), A10 (generous / mean), A11 (happy / depressed), A12 (hard-working / lazy), A16 (proud / humble), A19 (patient / impulsive), A20 (rebellious / obedient), A22 (sympathetic / unsympathetic), A23 (unaspiring / ambitious), A25 (violent / calm);

--- Moral Behaviour
A3 (cruel / kind), A5 (corrupt / virtuous), A13 (hypocritical / sincere), A21 (selfish / unselfish);

--- Status / Appearance
A18 (poor / rich), A24 (ugly / handsome), A27 (well-educated / uneducated).
B1 to B27 and C1 to C27 had the same set of attributes as in A1 to A27, but they were put in different order so as to ensure that respondents paid due attention to each item, bearing in mind the statement at the top of each list of attributes. The randomization of attributes helps to avoid the possibility that respondents might fall into a pattern of repeated similar responses no matter what the key statement at the top was.

(2) Q1 -- D1 to P7

Two sets of question items were asked on study skills which are a part of the academic distance. In the first set of D1 to D10 and D16, respondents were asked to recall how they imagined their academic life in the U.K. might be before they had come here. In the second set of E1 to E10 and E17 to E19, they were asked to give an estimation of their real academic situation when they arrived in the U.K. In these two sets of question items they were also asked about their British social and everyday life in their imagination prior to departure and in reality on arrival. These items are D11 to D15 and D17 as well as E11 to E16 and E20 to E21: about shopping, banking, finding accommodation, travelling, making social friends, accepting invitation and filling forms. These activities relate to their language ability. These two sets of data could be compared to find out the distance between their expectation and their perceptions of reality, and to know their current needs.

In Section F from F1 to F12 (except F6 and F10) questions about the psychological effects of using
English were asked to investigate the language shock respondents might have experienced. F6 and F10 are about turn-taking in discussion and different teaching strategies linked with the academic distance.

In Section G, questions were asked about their knowledge, which they had learned in China, of English language skills (G1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 17), study skills (G15) and of British culture (G4), society (G5), the educational system (G8) and research methods (G9). The same question items were asked in Section H, but under a different section statement, which is how useful they find the above knowledge in their study in the U.K. The purpose of these two sections is to explore the relationship between the knowledge they had learned in China and the usefulness of this knowledge in U.K. academic life, and to investigate what kinds of necessary information and knowledge would be necessary for their academic success.

In Section I, questions were asked on the English language skills which respondents had used in China. Answers can be compared to those from similar questions asked in Q2 for any difference of awareness in the foreign language use between British and Chinese respondents.

There were three parts in Section J on four English language skills: listening, speaking, reading and writing. One part was about the students' expectation for language help from their supervisors/tutors. The second part was about their assessment of any such help which they had received from their supervisors/tutors/language
teachers. The last part asked for their estimation of their own English language competence. Q3 had similar questions asking tutors to make their assessment so that the data could be compared to see if there is a perceptual gap between the two assessments.

There were eight question items in Section K in which questions about the English language skills involved in their everyday life were asked.

Questions in Section L concerned the use of English in psychological circumstances. These questions asked about embarrassment (L1, 2) and avoidance (L3, 4) in conversation with Chinese and English people, difficulty in understanding intonational meaning (L5), caution in choice of words on academic or personal matters (L6, 7). Other questions were about respondents' attitudes towards mixing with British people (L8) and adapting to British society (L9).

Section M covered questions on aspects of respondents' everyday life in the U.K., including English food (M1, 2), weather (M3), weekend activities (M4) and attitudes towards Christian people (M5).

Section N was about motivation for study abroad (N1), getting help in the U.K. (N2, 3), attitudes towards alternative ideas (N4), principles of giving opinions (N5) and which group of British people respondents know the most (N6).

Section O involved social and psychological attitudes to British and Chinese people in academic and social life. They were about working hard and possible reasons for this (O1, 2), standards for judging behaviour
(O3, 4), reactions to unintentional hurt (O5, 6), responses to requests for advice (O7, 8), reactions to possible teacher mistakes (O9) and attitudes to displaying ability and knowledge (O10). This set of questions relates to possible social problems, since Chinese people, possibly influenced by Confucian ethics (see Ch.1), care very much about their relationship with people around them.

The last section (P) mainly concerned attitudes towards learning English: the role of culture (P1), the environment of learning English (P2), purpose of learning English (P3), relationship with other academic subjects (P4), methods of learning English (P5, 6). Finally P7 asked whether they knew how to mix with British people.

6.5.2. Questionnaire II

6.5.2.a. Part one in Q2

Q2 questions in the first part were different from those in Q1. Questions about sex, age and occupation were asked to ascertain the general background information about Q2 respondents. Question items 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8 were designed to see if there was a difference in perception among Q2 respondents between those people who had been to China, who had talked to a mainland Chinese or who had mainland Chinese friends and those people who had not been to China, who had only talked to a non-mainland Chinese or to none, or who only had non-mainland Chinese friends or none. This is because the contrast group (Q1 respondents) is post-graduate students from mainland China and it is assumed that there may be some differences between mainland Chinese students and
Chinese people in the U.K. mainly coming from non-mainland Chinese areas, from whom local British people probably get their impression of Chinese people and culture. Since this point is not the focus of this research, those questions may only have the function of arousing the awareness of Q2 respondents.

6.5.2.b. Part Two in Q2

Part Two of Q2 was composed of Sections A to E. The question items included the set of 27 attributes (A1 to C27), language skills of using both English and other languages involved in everyday life (D1 to D8) and social and psychological attitudes to British and Chinese people in academic and social life, all of which can be compared with the data of Q1.

A1 to B27 in Q2 had the set of attributes in the same orders with the same section statements as in Q1, although the respondents were different. C1 to C27 had the same attributes, but a different section statement which was about Q2 respondents' opinion of how Chinese people probably view the British. The data of A1 to C27 were compared with Q1 data: Q1A with Q2A, Q1A with Q2C; Q1B with Q2B, Q1C with Q2B; and with Q3 data: Q2A to C with Q3A to C.

D1 to D8 of Q2 were about British respondents' involvement in language skills. The intention of this design was to see how much awareness of other languages there is among British staff and students. High awareness may help to reduce language shock and cultural shock received by overseas students, if native speakers of English are more considerate to the language needs of
overseas students. This section was compared with Section K of Q1.

Section E of Q2 was the last section with ten multiple choice question items. These were identical questions to Section O of Q1 about social behaviour and principles and respondents' opinions of Chinese students working hard (see 6.5.1.b.). Since the respondents are different from those of Q1, the comparison of their attitudes and perception is discussed in the analysis.

6.5.3. Questionnaire III

6.5.3.a. Part one in Q3

The first part of Q3 had the same content as Q2 except Question 9, which was only applied to Q3 respondents (supervisors/tutors) to know how many Chinese students they have had in the past. The purpose is to see if there is a difference in perception between tutors who have one or a few and those who have a larger number of Chinese students.

Part One in both Q2 and Q3 was designed to establish basic information in case there is a need for further more detailed investigation on this point. Such further investigation would be worthwhile statistically if the number of Q2 and Q3 respondents were big enough.

6.5.3.b. Part Two in Q3

There were seven sections in Q3, from A to G. Sections A to C had the same format, section statements and comparable functions as those in Q2 (see 6.5.2.b.). The data were compared with Q2 data, and with Q1 data: Q1A with Q3A, Q1A with Q3C; Q1B with Q3B, Q1C with Q3b. Section D from D1 to D10 were about supervisors'/tutors'
assessment of their Chinese students’ study skills (D1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10) and language skills (D8, 9). The data were used to discuss identical question items in Q1 Section E.

Section E of Q3 had four parts, all dealing with tutors’ assessment of: students’ expectations for language help, the actual help tutors thought that they had given directly and indirectly, improvement of their students’ language ability and tutors’ estimation of their language competence. The data of this section were compared with data of J1.1 to J3.4 in Q1 to investigate a possible gap between the perceptions of tutors and their students concerning their expectations of each other and tutors’ judgement of students’ language competence and students’ assessment of such competence.

There were five questions in Section F of Q3, identified with L5 to L9 of Q1, but answered by British tutor respondents, to find out their opinion of their students’ ability to use intonation in listening comprehension, to choose words for academic and personal matters, their wishes to mix with British people and to adapt to British society.

Section G in Q3 was the last one which was mostly identical with some question items in Section 0 of Q1 and with some question items in Section E of Q2 (see 6.5.1.b. and 6.5.2.b.).

6.6. EVALUATION

The main feature of these three questionnaires is that the questions covered a wide range of aspects
relevant to the social, psychological and academic experience and life of Chinese postgraduate students in Britain. This presents a general summary of the questions which concern Chinese students and British staff and facilitates the construction of a theoretical model to analyse possible problems.

Section C in these three questionnaires asking respondents' opinion of how the other side may evaluate them seems a very good way to find out how they actually think about themselves. However, there are cultural differences which may constitute a problem here. Culturally both Chinese and British people are modest and reluctant to give opinions towards certain things in public, but they may express their modesty or caution in a different way. The Chinese tend to tone down any criticism of the whole nation while amplifying individual self-criticism; in contrast, it appears that British people tend to amplify criticism of the whole nation, but tone down criticism of an individual. Thus, if a Chinese person is asked to give a positive comment about himself, he would feel embarrassed to give a high opinion, though to do so might in fact be accurate; instead he would give a humble account of himself. On the other hand, if a Chinese person is asked to criticize himself, he may describe himself as being even worse than is in fact the case, in order to show how much he has realized his problem and how sincerely he is determined to change it. But if he is asked to comment on his nation, generally a Chinese person would give a criticism only if it is publicly accepted; preferably he would make an idealized
comment with more positive than negative aspects.

This can be traced to the Chinese idea of collectivism: that an individual sees the nation as a whole, but any problem belongs to the individual; one individual's problem can not be seen as the whole nation's problem. For the individual, modesty becomes a principle of morality; being modest or humble in general, but being more severe towards one's own shortcomings is a question of being moral. In this sense, self-criticism is a part of humility and moral behaviour for the Chinese.

In contrast, British people tend to avoid giving biased views and try to give 'fair' remarks. Due to this 'being fair and giving justified comments', they are not afraid to point out what they believe they should be proud of, no matter whether it is national or personal; nor are they slow to criticise publicly the country as a whole, or leaders and decision makers (compared to Chinese). This trend may be due to the British individual orientation.

Some of the questions were designed according to the researcher's observation and comments from her fellow students, e.g. Q1 Section L6 and 7 asked if Chinese students chose words carefully to talk to their tutors about their personal requests or academic work. These questions came from a conversation with other Chinese students. Some of them reported their ways of dealing with the above situations: they were very cautious in choosing words when making a personal request to their tutors, but very direct, sometimes casual, when discussing the academic work because they were so much
involved in the content of the topic and forgot the social usage of the language. Some of them reported that they had offended British listeners by overuse of "you", "I", "your opinion", "your data", "you are wrong", "I don't agree with you", etc. in an objective academic discussion where British people prefer to use such impersonal forms as "it is likely that...", "this is confirmed by...", "I would suggest...", "it might be...", "however...", etc.. Both sides may be unaware of their own habits of expressing themselves, which may cause misunderstandings. Chinese may be puzzled by an apparently ambiguous answer given by the British and the latter may feel that they have received a personal attack from a Chinese unwitting use of directness.

With the awareness that closed questionnaires may risk generalized and stereotyped answers, the researcher asked respondents to comment on the questionnaires during interviews. Many of the Q3 respondents are very experienced researchers themselves; many have had more experience of questionnaires or interviews than the present researcher. It can be expected that some might offer critical comments on this research. Further, in educational, linguistic or social science research it is important to recognize that the respondents may have particular attitudes towards the type or style of research method used which may affect their responses. Some of these interview comments are now quoted with dates in bracket. T refers to British tutors and students and C to Chinese students. There were several major points raised in the inquiry:
1) It was very difficult for respondents, especially British ones, to fill in the sections on attributes. Many of them were resistant to the idea of national characteristics and making generalizations.

C I don’t know much about British people. How am I going to fill in these? I don’t have time to contact British people since I have so many books needed to read. (18-11-88)

T I find the five point scale very difficult, very difficult. I find the question about the way people behave in seminars or the way in which they use language much easier than the questions on personality simply because people vary so much. (6-3-89)

T This is very hard. I couldn’t possibly say whether "the British people are intelligent". I couldn’t possibly. ... I’m going to have to go neutral. I can’t cope with it. On some points it is easier to answer about Chinese people because I know fewer of them. I know that the two Chinese people I know have been like this, but I know that if I went to China I would meet people in other categories, whereas in Britain I meet such a range of people that I can’t put labels on them. I’m very uneasy about it. (7-3-89)

T "The British people", I mean, who are the British people? "Cruel or Kind?" Well, I know some who are cruel and some who are kind, so how do I answer that kind of question overall? (15-3-89)

2) British respondents gave very clear statements that they preferred to see people as individuals. This reflects, to certain extent, the way of thinking of
British intellectuals and their emphasis on individualism, although in fact they do generalize and stereotype people.

T It is difficult to generalize. People vary so immensely, don't they? We don't get a cross-section of Chinese here. They are either overseas students or restaurant owners. (15-3-89)

T I object to it slightly because you are forcing me to make a very stereotyped judgement about a whole population when in actual fact I know about half a dozen Chinese people altogether. (15-3-89)

T I do find it difficult to talk about my Chinese students as a group. I tend to see them all as individuals. (16-3-89)

T It's difficult to generalize. I've got so many different individual students. (19-4-89)

T We (British students) were aware that we might have stereotyped views of the British and the Chinese, for example, our contact with Chinese people was only through restaurants and takeaways. (19-4-89)

3) It is noticeable that some supervisors' comments were polarized into extremely positive or negative statements, although the general tendency in British academic culture is not to give extreme comments, but rather to moderate positive and negative statements. Such moderation of comments was evident in British supervisors' answers of Q3. Thus some of their comments on the questionnaire itself seemed to contradict the general tendency of their avoiding extremes in filling in the questionnaire.
In a few cases tutors raised objections to the research even before they had seen the questionnaire. One respondent refused to fill in the questionnaire but was quite happy to answer the questions while the researcher filled it in.

**positive comments:**

C It (Q1) is very good. It's the fruit of your hard work. (16-11-88)

T The questionnaire was fine, the kinds of questions I would have expected. (12-4-89)

T I think the questionnaire is very sound on its basis. I think it covers a lot of areas which are very important. Because questionnaires can only be to a degree superficial the options are insufficient. I think the information you'll get out of it, particularly on the psychological side, is very useful. Above all, it will help to identify how English people see the Chinese. So all in all, I think it is a good questionnaire, I heartily approve. (8-5-89)

**negative comments**

T Questionnaires are just a nuisance. I used to get them at the rate of about one a day so I gave up filling them in. I'm willing to chat to you and answer questions that are roughly the same though. (6-4-89)

T The questionnaire? I think it's rather silly. ... First of all, I don't think much of the validity of these multiple-choice questions, in any context, and when I see it without context, other than that it's about Chinese students, it is, as I see it, just
nonsense. You say you're going to put it in the computer: rubbish in, rubbish out! ... In answering some of those questions the validity is so low because you can't talk about Chinese students generally or British students generally. These concepts of national character are pretty useless. (19-4-89)

4) There were different reactions to the questionnaire between British tutors in Science and those in Social Science and Arts. Science tutors were generally more supportive and showed their interest in the nature and results of the research. They offered relatively more time with the questionnaire and for the interview. Page & Hill (1986) also noticed the difference in a questionnaire survey between Science respondents and those in Social Science and Arts. They confirmed that there were more replies to their survey in Science departments than in Social Science and Arts departments.

The researcher asked the question about this difference to some of the Q3 interviewees since it was such a good opportunity to get some comments from the possible producers of the difference.

T Well, questionnaires are a product of social science and people in Arts faculties are not used to working with them. Social scientists will use them with some reluctance because they know the pitfalls of using them. They know you are being bracketed. They know you are forcing people to answer in a particular way and that they way in which you ask a question often determines the answers that you get. But on the other
had, we know that it is a research tool and it one that we use ourselves quite often. The Arts people will object to this kind of methodology because they don’t believe in quantitative analysis on the whole. I’m stereotyping again here now, but you’ll find the other extreme with natural scientists who believe in nothing other that quantification. Quantification is the only thing they do, more or less, and then you get the social scientists half way between. (15-3-89)

5) Some suggestions concerning these questionnaires appeared in interviews with Q1, Q2 and Q3 respondents. These showed that they gave careful thought to the content of questionnaires and the methodology.

C ... you may ask some questions on our attitudes towards our country, culture and the problems of government policy of sending people abroad to study. (16-11-88)

T It would have been interesting to have had a question on Chinese cultural values and the need to achieve within the Chinese culture, which seems to be very important for Chinese. (15-3-89)

T China is so vast that I think that perhaps if you were being more scientific you might chop the categories up into broad regions of China. (16-3-89)

T In the scale of values in the early part of the questionnaire I wondered if it would be possible to find descriptions for the scale which were not 'good' or 'bad', to find more neutral words. You’ve got a word on either side to represent the extremes. Across the top there’s a scale: good, fairly good, etc. as if
that was applying to all of the items all of the way down. It struck me as odd, the way it was laid out. But it's a thoughtful questionnaire. (20-4-89)

Methodologically, attitude questionnaires always present a problem of how to find out a general answer to the questions being asked in the questionnaires, i.e. respondents, especially British ones, find it difficult to give a general comment on a group of people, knowing that some individuals can vary greatly. This was explicitly pointed out by a number of the British respondents as they completed these items. They showed great reluctance to give an all-around impression of people. This might be partly due to their more individually-oriented way of thinking, which sees from the view of individuals. Chinese respondents rarely showed such a reaction.

Apart from the points raised above, there are five points which need to be considered in future uses of such questionnaires:
1) They were too long and contained too many questions.
2) A column of "I don't know" could be given to some attitude question items. A few respondents requested this, but without such an answer column, they were forced to make choices in the middle of the five point scale to show they did not have a particular opinion of some questions - although the middle column of the five point scale supposedly referred to the more definite opinion of "neither this or that", rather than a lack of definite knowledge. Greater accuracy of measuring responses would be attained by having a
separate column to show a lack of opinion. However, since the researcher was present, she was able to make a mark by the question items when respondents asked for a column "I don’t know". These data were then treated as "missing" in the process of analysis since there were only a few.

3) A classical problem is that a questionnaire cannot present all the questions a researcher wants to ask, nor indicate all the questions a respondent expects to be asked, nor all the choices of answers a respondent may wish for. As a partial solution to such problems, an open-ended interview was carried out so that respondents could more easily express their feelings and opinions. A British respondent commented that "I think that what you're doing, complementing this with an open-ended interview, is the right thing to do as long as you give equal weight to both types of data."

4) A questionnaire or an interview can only get the respondents' opinions by what they put on the form or express in an interview, no matter whether the person believes it or not, or behaves according to the opinion he puts down and expresses (McNeill, 1985, 1990 2nd edition p.47). This researcher was fully aware of such limitations. Therefore, in the analysis there are paragraphs discussing the problems or points which had been predicted in the design of the questionnaires and interviews, but which were not mentioned or confirmed by the majority of the students and their tutors in the survey.

5) The section in Q1 and Q2 concerning foreign language
use or awareness in respondents' everyday life events could be omitted since this set of questions is not essential to this research, although the data help to explain some problems of language use and awareness of the social environment. Some other items of more direct relevance to the core of the research could be asked repeatedly from a different angle, such as questions about 'turn-taking', if space permitted.
CHAPTER SEVEN

QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

This chapter gives an analysis of the data from Questionnaires I, II and III. The content is arranged according to the following sections: the statistical techniques employed; a general analysis of questionnaire respondents and their perceptions; detailed analysis under the headings of social distance, psychological distance and academic distance; and finally an evaluation and suggestions for further quantitative analysis.

This analysis only deals with the main findings, both expected and unexpected ones. Different possible explanations have been given for data which were not predicted or seemed to contradict expectations a Chinese or a British person may have. Other analyses cannot be carried out here: the comparison between Chinese visiting scholars and degree students; between those who study by course and research students; between different age groups and years of stay in the UK; and between those coming from inland cities and coastal cities. This is because the focus of this research is on the perceptions, expectations and distances between the two main groups: Chinese postgraduate students as a whole and British supervisors. Further research could, however, be carried out on the present data if the time and finance permitted.

In the question items where respondents were asked to choose between attributes to describe their view
of themselves and the other side, many respondents, especially the British ones, found it very difficult to answer. Some felt opposed to such sets of attributes to describe people. This problem has been discussed when evaluating the questionnaire design. The researcher was aware of the danger that describing people by attributes may raise stereotypes. This research is designed to ascertain people's perceptions of others, rather than any objective reality. The perceptions may well involve stereotypes. Stereotypes may play a significant part in social, psychological and academic cultural distances. Even if a respondent's impression was based on contact with one Chinese student or one British supervisor, the collection of a reasonable sample of such individually-based answers would provide a valid representation of how people think of each other.

7.1. STATISTICAL TECHNIQUES EMPLOYED

The questionnaire data were processed by SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences). There were two stages of analysis. The first included calculating means, frequencies, standard deviation and valid percentages of variables. The second one used NPAR TESTS, such as Wilcoxon matched-pairs signed-ranks test, Mann-Whitney U test, and discriminant analysis to investigate the validity and stability of the raw data and the implications of the findings.

"Procedure NPAR TESTS is a collection of nonparametric tests which make minimal assumptions about the underlying distributions of data" (SPSS User's Guide
Because of this feature of 'making minimal assumptions', it is more appropriate to use nonparametric tests to deal with linguistic problems than to use parametric ones (Butler 1985 p.75).

Among the nonparametric tests which NPAR TESTS can provide, the Wilcoxon matched-pairs signed-ranks test has been used to find out the two-tailed probability values between pairs of matched questionnaire items within the same questionnaire. "This test analyses the differences between the paired observations, also taking into account the magnitude of the differences" (SPSS User's Guide 1983 p.679). It is the nonparametric equivalent of the t-test for correlated samples. The Mann-Whitney U test has been applied to discover the two-tailed probability values comparing the related questionnaire items between the two questionnaires. This tests whether the two independent groups of data are drawn from the same population as measured by their central location (ibid. p.685).

The probability of differences in the central location of the two groups of data is shown in the test significance levels, starting from p<0.05. In some cases, it is p<0.01 or p<0.001, which has been shown at the beginning of each figure. The lower the number, the higher the significance. In the data presentation for statistical significance, only probability values have been given here; other values such as U, W, Z values have not been quoted.

"Discriminant Analysis is a statistical technique in which linear combinations of variables are
used to distinguish between two or more categories of case. The variables 'discriminate' between groups of cases and predict into which category or group a case falls, based upon the values of these variables" (ibid. p.623). This technique has been employed here to measure the similarities and differences of the choices made by two groups of people for the same set of question items or variables. This is particularly helpful when the perceptions, beliefs, attitudes and expectations of different groups of people are investigated towards the same group of people or subject matter. The test shows if these different groups of people have the same opinion towards other people or matters targeted by giving the numbers and percentages of the predicted group membership against the members in the actual groups.

Concerning the total percentage of correctly 'grouped' classification, the more overlap there is between the two, the lower the percentage shown. The overlap possibly shows congruence and effective communication of perceptions between these two groups. On the other hand, if the percentage is high, it indicates that there is a big gap in perceptions and likely misunderstandings between Chinese postgraduate students and British supervisors.

There are two parts in each of the figures. The cases tested in the first part of the figure are randomly selected by the computer, which gives a percentage of the classification of the cases used. The other part provides a prediction of a percentage from the cases which are not selected.
7.2. A GENERAL ANALYSIS OF QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONDENTS AND THEIR PERCEPTIONS TOWARDS THE SAME GROUPS OF PEOPLE AND TOPICS

This section reports general information of questionnaire respondents and the result of the discriminant analysis based on comparable questionnaire items between Qi Arts/Social Science and Pure/Applied Science respondents, between Qi respondents who studied by research and by course, between Qi respondents who had stayed in the UK for 0-1yr and for 1yr plus and between Qi and Q3 respondents to see if there is any difference in their perceptions or expectations between the two compared groups. The results only present a likely tendency of any similarity or difference.

Information about Qi Chinese Students/Visiting Scholars

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Status</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>male</td>
<td>76.2%</td>
<td>18-35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>female</td>
<td>23.8%</td>
<td>36-77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>pg.students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>62.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>v.scholars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>37.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Study Methods

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Study Method</th>
<th>by course</th>
<th>14.9%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>by research</td>
<td>85.1%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Subjects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Arts/Science</th>
<th>18.8%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pure Science</td>
<td>16.8%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Applied Science</td>
<td>64.4%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Intended Degrees

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intended Degrees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Masters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ph.D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Periods of Stay

| Period of Stay | 0-6 months | 7m-1yr |
|               | 59.4%      |
|               | 13.8%      |
|               | 26.8%      |

Intended Period of Stay

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intended Period of Stay</th>
<th>Years of Working in China</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>one year</td>
<td>0 year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>two years</td>
<td>1-3 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>three years</td>
<td>4-6 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>four years</td>
<td>7-10 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11+ years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>34.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>25.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>19.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[figure 7.1]

These Qi respondents were selected on the basis of being students to whom the researcher had reasonable
access in five universities and one polytechnic. This information seems to present a microview of mainland Chinese postgraduate students in UK institutions; it was known there were around 3,000 Chinese students at the time of this research. The above figures indicate the following points.

1) There were far more male students than female ones, reflecting the proportion sent by the Chinese authorities.

2) There were more young people than middle-aged ones and, interestingly, most of them had one to eleven plus years of working experience, which should help them to cope with British styles of study, since British academics generally place value on the application of theories and learning through practising knowledge.

On the other hand, long working experience of the Chinese may have engrained their own styles of working, which might be different from the ways a British academic would appreciate. Those (14.9%) who did not have any working record, but only a Chinese undergraduate background, might find it more difficult, at least initially, to fit into British higher education, since they lack practical experience. Although they are the most highly selected students from a large population, their past success with textbook knowledge is unlikely to shine so prominently in British academic settings than in China. This may create a double psychological problem for them: losing their advantage yet facing puzzling
aspects in their new situation.

Furthermore, both young and middle-aged students have frequently left their spouse and/or child in China (as well as their parents, equally important in the Chinese immediate family). Feeling homesick and missing family members and friends could be further psychological stresses.

3) There was a high percentage of Chinese students taking degrees in the UK; nearly 4/5 were registered for a Ph.D. Some with visiting scholar status transfer to become degree students, especially in Applied Sciences. Thus the percentage of Ph.D candidates is increasing. Nearly half of Q1 respondents said that they would stay in the UK for three or four years. Many stay on to do post-doctoral research in the UK, the USA or other European countries. It is presumed that they have a long-term plan to be competitive in the Western academic world, which motivates them to have a good command of English and a good cultural understanding of their working environment.

Furnham and Bochner (1986) found a large range of differences in how much and how quickly sojourners adapt to a new culture. These differences will apply to learning the new social and academic skills which are useful for overseas students. The adaptation may partly depend on how long sojourners stay in the host country. For a six month or one year stay students may concentrate on an academic project they have to complete within the planned period. This group may
feel that they need little knowledge about Britain since they will leave the country soon. Those students who will stay for three years or more may feel that they have to learn about and adapt to British society and culture under the pressure of loneliness, difficulties in study and everyday living. As they stay longer, they may become acquainted with, or absorb, major aspects of British culture in their contact with hosts.

Their intention to get a degree strengthens their motives for study here. Torbiorn (1982) and Furnham and Bochner (1986, 1988) believe that motives and expectations help sojourners to adjust their reactions to their surroundings. Degree students obviously have high expectations of being accepted by the host academic society, at least. They are likely to have stronger motivation to learn and to adapt to their surroundings since it is essential for them to learn relevant social and academic skills if they want to be successful.

4) The majority of Q1 respondents were doing Science subjects, reflecting the emphasis given by the Chinese government to Science. It might be assumed that those who studied Arts/Social Science subjects might face more difficulties than those who doing Science subjects since their Chinese background of study, methodology and content are likely to be different from those received by British students. However, the discriminant analysis shown in the following figure indicates that generally there was
little difference in attitudes and expectations between Science and Social Science/Arts' respondents. The Social Science/Arts group tended to glide into the Science group.

The Discriminant Analysis on All the Comparable Items in Q1 Between Science and Social Science/Arts Respondents

Classification Results for Cases Selected for Use in the Analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Actual Group</th>
<th>No. of Cases</th>
<th>Predicted Group Membership</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arts/S.S</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Arts/S.S: 4, Science: 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>40.0%: 60.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Science</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Arts/S.S: 1, Science: 29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3.3%: 96.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Percent of 'Grouped' Cases Correctly Classified: 82.50%

Classification Results for Cases Not Selected for Use in the Analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Actual Group</th>
<th>No. of Cases</th>
<th>Predicted Group Membership</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arts/S.S</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Arts/S.S: 1, Science: 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>20.0%: 80.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Science</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Arts/S.S: 6, Science: 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>21.4%: 78.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Percent of 'Grouped' Cases Correctly Classified: 69.70%

5) The majority of these students were doing research rather than attending a course. Their success or failure is heavily dependant on their understanding of the nature of British research and course styles, since Chinese expectations of research and coursework in the Chinese educational environment are rather different from the British ones (see Ch.4). This could be a vulnerable point for Chinese students if they have an unclear idea of British styles of research and coursework or if they are not prepared to adjust themselves to the new situation. But they
could be successful if they combine the best from these two systems based on an adequate grasp of both. The discriminant analysis shows it is likely that there are differences in perceptions and opinions between research and coursework students.

The Discriminant Analysis on All the Comparable Items in Q1 Between Respondents Studying By Course and By Research

Classification Results for Cases Selected for Use in the Analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Actual Group</th>
<th>No. of Cases</th>
<th>Predicted Group Membership</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Course</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Course 62.5% Research 37.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Research</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Research 12.1% Course 87.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Percent of 'Grouped' Cases Correctly Classified: 82.93%

Classification Results for Cases Not Selected for Use in the Analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Actual Group</th>
<th>No. of Cases</th>
<th>Predicted Group Membership</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Course</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Course 33.3% Research 66.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Research</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Research 24.1% Course 75.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Percent of 'Grouped' Cases Correctly Classified: 71.88%

[figure 7.3]

6) Among Q1 respondents, 73.2% had stayed in the UK under one year at the time of data gathering. Students in the early stages abroad can be expected to have more problems: culture shock may affect their everyday life; academic shock could strike them as soon as they start their research project or course. On the other hand, this opportunity might arouse their curiosity as part of a cross-cultural learning experience (Adler 1975, 1987). If they had a stereotyped idea of British people and society
(Selltiz & Cook 1962 p.12), the new experience might make them change from one extreme to the other: from having an ideal picture of Britain to the opposite extreme of feeling pessimism or disillusionment, or vice versa, experiencing the widely quoted U-curve (Furnham & Bochner 1986). Chinese students who stayed here longer had a different impression from short stay sojourners: many commented that the longer they stayed in the UK, the less they liked the place, although they believed they understood British society and their academic environment better. The following discriminant analysis indicates the tendency towards different attitudes, perceptions and expectations.

The Discriminant Analysis on All the Comparable Items in Q1 Between Respondents Who Stayed Under One Year and More Than One Year

Classification Results for Cases Selected for Use in the Analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Actual Group</th>
<th>No. of Cases</th>
<th>Predicted Group Membership</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>under lyr</td>
<td>lyr-→</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>under lyr</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>90.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1yr-→</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>33.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Percent of 'Grouped' Cases Correctly Classified: 84.62%

Classification Results for Cases Not Selected for Use in the Analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Actual Group</th>
<th>No. of Cases</th>
<th>Predicted Group Membership</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>under lyr</td>
<td>lyr-→</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>under lyr</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>61.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1yr-→</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>40.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Percent of 'Grouped' Cases Correctly Classified: 61.29%

[figure 7.4]
The background information of Q3 respondents - British supervisors of Chinese students - was examined. The main results are illustrated below.

Information about Q3 British Supervisors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Been to China</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>male</td>
<td>91.9% yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>female</td>
<td>8.1% no</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>No. of Chinese Students they had</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>30-40</td>
<td>16.7% 1-3 54.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-50</td>
<td>44.7% 4-6 24.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-&gt;</td>
<td>38.9% 7-&gt; 21.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[figure 7.5]

On average supervisors were older than their Chinese students. This is an advantage: their age helps them to gain a certain amount of respect from their Chinese students, given Chinese attitudes toward older, senior and more authoritative people. However, this might lead to two consequences: first, Chinese students might become more dependent on their British supervisors for instructions and 'correct' answers; or maybe more inclined to agree with their supervisors' opinions even if they doubted or disagreed. (To a British person, agreeing verbally with what one disagrees with in one's heart is hypocritical, but to a Chinese, expressing such agreement is seen as a worthy way of showing one's respect to a senior person and concern about how bad the other would feel about one's disagreement if it were expressed.) The second possible consequence is that Chinese students may become disappointed with, and lose their trust in, their British supervisors if what they receive from their supervisors is different from what
they expect or from what they customarily receive from Chinese supervisors. This might engender disillusionment since these 'well-known' British academics appear to know nothing. Nevertheless, if British supervisors use their age advantage positively, e.g. by expressing their cultural expectations about academic individualism, independence, etc. and requiring students to consider them while doing research or course work, these 'obedient' students would listen with complete attention, and attempt to follow such advice. Supervisors may thus help Chinese students to achieve even more success.

About one third of the supervisors had been to China. One can assume that the knowledge about China of those who had not visited the country mainly came from their Chinese students, books, media, correspondence and communicating with other British people who had been to China. For those who had been to China, their time in China and contact with people there was rather limited. Therefore there are questions about the extent of their knowledge of the cultural background of their Chinese students, and whether there should be briefings about the cultural and academic cultural background of their students. Chinese students sent by their government attend a six months' course in China for English language improvement with some social orientation. There are no courses of a complementary nature for British supervisors. Mentally the Chinese students may have clearer expectations of what they want to achieve in the UK than their British supervisors, although the students' ideas may not be realistic. Students are likely to have a
strong desire to know about the target academic environment as well as about the society around them. Any counterpart desire for supervisors can be assumed to be much less in most cases.

More than half of the Q3 respondents had 1 to 3 mainland Chinese students. A few had had a significant number of mainland Chinese students since the end of the Cultural Revolution in 1976. Clearly the more students they had had the better idea they would be likely to have about Chinese students. But this depends on how much time supervisors spend with students and how eager they are to know about Chinese students.

The Discriminant Analysis on All the Comparable Items in Q1 and Q3

Classification Results for Cases Selected for Use in the Analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Actual Group</th>
<th>No. of Cases</th>
<th>Predicted Group Membership</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Q1</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>Q1: 49, 90.7%; Q3: 5, 9.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Q1: 0, 0%; Q3: 10, 100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Percent of 'Grouped' Cases Correctly Classified: 92.19%

Classification Results for Cases Not Selected for Use in the Analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Actual Group</th>
<th>No. of Cases</th>
<th>Predicted Group Membership</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Q1</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Q1: 35, 77.8%; Q3: 10, 22.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q3</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Q1: 6, 30.0%; Q3: 14, 70.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Percent of 'Grouped' Cases Correctly Classified: 75.38%

[figure 7.6]

Figure 7.6 is an overall test of the Discriminant Analysis result based on the comparable questionnaire items between Q1 and Q3, which include the
set of attributes, the estimation and assessment of the students' language competence, the use of English in social and academic contexts, psychological and social attitudes towards British culture, society and people.

In Figure 7.6, of 54 cases in Q1, 49 (90.7%) were predicted correctly to members of Q1, while 5 (9.3%) were assigned incorrectly to Q3, whereas 10 (100.0%) of the total Q3 cases were identified correctly, and none of them was misclassified. The overall percentage of cases classified correctly is 92.19%. The overall percentage of the 'grouped' cases which were not selected in the analysis is 75.38%. These high percentages clearly indicate a considerable gap in perceptions between the two groups.

7.3. DETAILED ANALYSIS ON SOCIAL, PSYCHOLOGICAL AND ACADEMIC DISTANCES

The following detailed analysis of the questionnaire data from Q1, Q2, Q3 has been arranged generally under the headings of social, psychological and academic distances (see Figure 6.1.), not according to the original sequence in the questionnaires. The data source has been illustrated in the text by using, for example, Q1 meaning Questionnaire One, or Q3 D4 meaning Questionnaire Three Section D (capital letters signify questionnaire sections) Question Item Four. Where data could be put under two or three headings, i.e. the results could be interpreted from different angles, this has been mentioned.

7.3.1. SOCIAL DISTANCE
7.3.1.1. congruence

7.3.1.1.a. similar/dissimilar

The aspect of similarity and dissimilarity can be seen from various angles, including peoples' subjective perception of reality rather than what the 'objective truth' is. The following items from the data of questionnaires (Q1A, B, C and Q3A, B, C) are those attributes on which the British tutors and their Chinese post-graduate students showed significantly different preferences (p<0.05) on a five-point scale. The following four figures present the percentages and the content of their differences in perceptions with statistical significance within five broad categories. These categories were arranged according to the meanings of the attributes, although in some cases there are some overlaps in meaning. The percentages in the following figures refers to the percentage of attributes with statistically significant differences between Q1 and Q3 out of the total number of attributes in each category.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Significance Level (p&lt;0.05):</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>View of British People by British tutors and their Chinese Post-graduate Students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>cognitive social psychological moral status/relationship/character appearance behaviour</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0% 80% 27% 25% 67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cold/warm confident/ corrupt/ ugly/ well-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>friendly/ fearful virtuous handsome organized/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unfriendly/ generous/ well- rude mean educated/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>polite/rude mean educated/ well- uneducated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>disorganized/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[figure 7.7]

These outstanding attributes have been listed in the
figures. For example, the 80% in the Category of Social Relationship/Behaviour of Figure 7.7 refers to the listed attributes with statistically significant differences covering 80% of the attributes in this category; the 20% attributes of this category, which have not be listed, are statistically insignificant in differences of perceptions between Q1 and Q3.

**View of Chinese People by British Tutors and their Chinese Post-graduate Students**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>cognitive</th>
<th>social relationship/ character</th>
<th>psych. behaviour</th>
<th>moral appearance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>collective-minded/</td>
<td>cooperative/ 80%</td>
<td>active/ 55%</td>
<td>hypocri- poor/ 67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>individual-minded/</td>
<td>uncooperative</td>
<td>passive</td>
<td>tical/ rich</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>open-minded/</td>
<td>friendly/</td>
<td>generous/</td>
<td>sincere well-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>narrow-minded/</td>
<td>well-</td>
<td>mean</td>
<td>selfish/ educated/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>creative/</td>
<td>organized/</td>
<td>depressed</td>
<td>hard-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uninventive</td>
<td>polite/rude</td>
<td>working/</td>
<td>lazy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>proud/humble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ambitious/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>unaspiring</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[figure 7.8]

**Chinese Students' View of British People and British Tutors' Opinion of How Chinese People Probably View the British**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>cognitive</th>
<th>social relationship/ character</th>
<th>psych. moral</th>
<th>status/ appearance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>collective-minded/</td>
<td>cold/warm 25%</td>
<td>patient/ 45%</td>
<td>cruel/ 75% poor/rich</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>individual-minded/</td>
<td>friendly/</td>
<td>impulsive</td>
<td>kind ugly/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>organized/</td>
<td>rebellious/</td>
<td>corrupted</td>
<td>handsome</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>well-</td>
<td>obedient</td>
<td>virtuous</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dis-</td>
<td>sympathetic/</td>
<td>hypocritical/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>organized</td>
<td>un-</td>
<td>sincere</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[figure 7.9]

**British Tutors' View of Chinese People and Chinese Students' Opinion of How British People Probably View the Chinese**

241
There are a few points embodied in the above figures which should be noted:

1) The figures seem to indicate that Chinese students had a closer idea of how the British tutors saw themselves than British tutors saw the Chinese. Q1 respondents also seemed to have a better idea of how British tutors thought of Chinese people than British tutors' ideas about how Chinese people thought of the British. The evidence for this is that there are fewer differences in the percentages above on the view of British people by both respondents (Figure 7.7), but more differences on the view of Chinese people by the same respondents (Figure 7.8). The same situation occurs when the British tutors' view of Chinese people and Chinese students' opinion of how British people probably view the Chinese, which shows fewer differences (Figure 7.10), is compared with Chinese students' view of British people and British tutors' opinion of how Chinese people probably view the British, which shows more differences (Figure 7.9).
2) The greatest statistically significant difference in percentage among these categories is the social relationship and behaviour category. This may show a difference in behavioral perceptions and social expectations of relationships between the two groups and suggest tension and problems in this area; it may affect the tutor-student relationship in academic contexts.

3) Although the percentage in the psychological character category is relatively low, this does not mean that problems there can be ignored. Part of the reason for this low percentage is that the number of attributes in categories like morality and status/appearance is far less than that in the psychological character category. The attributes listed in the psychological character category clearly present problem areas. Listing these items avoids a misinterpretation of the crude percentage.

7.3.1.1.b. social familiarity/isolation

In the same question item 11.9% (Q1 02c) respondents said that they worked hard because they had nothing else to do in their spare time. This seems a somewhat sad motivation for study and further demonstrates a high degree of social isolation experienced by some Chinese students. This situation was reflected in further data:

Q1 M4: how do Chinese students spend their weekends or holiday?

- a. staying in their room/house 34.0%
- d. visiting Chinese friends 27.0%
- e. continuing work in the lab./library 28.0%
- c. visiting British friends 6.0%
- b. travelling in the UK or abroad 5.0%
Adding up the percentages of a, d and e, which is 89.0%, one sees that most Chinese students still stay within their own circle and are very isolated socially, although in answers to other questions, Q1 respondents expressed a desire to mix with British people (Q1 L8: 67.3%). Others claimed that they would like to mix with British people, but did not know how to (Q1 P7: 37.6%). These data may indicate a social gap. More obvious reasons for this include the supposed passivity and shyness of the Chinese or that they do not really want to be with British people. The Chinese perceptions of the British being remote, cold or unhelpful may put them off, although British people may think they are respecting Chinese privacy by not showing too much interest in the students. On the other hand, British Christians showed some interest in Chinese students: 47.5% Q1 respondents felt that these Christians were nice, but they did not have time to know them better; 8.9% Q1 respondents felt they were bothered by their uninvited visits.

It seems that Chinese students do not get, or do not take, the opportunity to meet British people. This is bound to affect their cultural perception of British people and restricts their access to native speakers for improving their English.

The Chinese daily contact with members of British society is apparently limited to academic contact with supervisors and British students. The Chinese perception of this is that they did not have a chance to really get to know British people, or they did not want
to intrude on others uninvited or cause embarrassment.

Concerning their social life in Britain, Q1 respondents were asked about making friends (Q1 E15, 20, 16),

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>easy</th>
<th>difficult</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>making friends with the Chinese</td>
<td>72.0%</td>
<td>10.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>accepting British friends’ invitation</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
<td>23.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in contrast with; making friends with the British</td>
<td>25.0%</td>
<td>38.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[figure 7.12]

This can be compared with their confidence about their everyday skills and the use of English to conduct their everyday life (Q1 E11, 12, 13, 14, 21):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>easy</th>
<th>difficult</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>shopping</td>
<td>83.0%</td>
<td>3.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>finding accommodation</td>
<td>58.6%</td>
<td>20.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>banking</td>
<td>76.0%</td>
<td>11.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>travelling</td>
<td>66.0%</td>
<td>6.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>filling forms</td>
<td>67.0%</td>
<td>6.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[figure 7.13]

The percentages above show that language problems can prevent Chinese students from communicating with the British effectively, although most Q1 respondents felt capable of dealing with everyday life. Yet being unable to mix with the British is another problem added to that of developing language skills, which includes knowing British social styles of using English in daily life. This problem is linked with the limited knowledge Chinese students have about British culture and society.

7.3.1.2. cultural orientation
7.3.1.2.a. individual/collective
Both British tutors (Q3 G1: 97.1%) and Chinese students (Q1 G1: 95.0%) agreed that most Chinese students worked hard and devoted most of their time to study. When the reason was given, only 7.9% Q1 respondents said they wanted to bring honour to their families and meet parental expectations, whereas 23.8% Q1 respondents and 29.4% Q3 respondents believed that the students worked hard because they considered themselves representatives of their nation which would be judged by their success or failure. These were the predicted reasons for their behaviour.

However, most British supervisors (Q3 G2f: 52.9%) and Chinese students (Q1 O2f: 44.6%) interviewed believed that Chinese students wanted to achieve their personal goals, which seems to contradict the Chinese collective thinking and family loyalty. There are three possible explanations for this. First, they understood that studying for the sake of their family and parents had a negative connotation in British culture, so they did not want to admit this as it might devalue their motivation. The researcher's clear impression is that if the acknowledgements written by Chinese students and British ones in the opening pages of theses and dissertations are compared, Chinese students frequently acknowledge parental support and family encouragement, whereas UK students rarely do so. In interviews, some Chinese students clearly indicated that they considered themselves representatives of China in Britain. This idea pushed them to work hard and prove they were better than British students or other overseas students. Second,
Chinese students were actually more individual-thinking than their colleagues in China, so they expressed their personal wishes. Third, if the Chinese concept of personal goals is analysed, it may be seen as neither the opposite of being collective, nor the same as the British individualism. A feature of Chinese intellectuals influenced by Confucian thinking is that cultivating oneself is the first step to care for the family and for the world (see Ch.1). Hence this becomes a personal duty. Therefore this Chinese individual thinking is actually part of their collectivism. If a British student is motivated by personal goals, this is a more individual motive which is quite different from that of a Chinese student or, at least, the starting point and the intended goal are different. Further research is needed to ascertain exactly what each side means by personal goals.

This individual/collective aspect was shown in the opinions of giving advice:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>say what they think</th>
<th>avoid giving advice</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>British</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q1</td>
<td>47.0%</td>
<td>70.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q2</td>
<td>52.2%</td>
<td>56.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>say what questioners want to hear</th>
<th>say most people would advise</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>British</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q1</td>
<td>14.1%</td>
<td>12.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q2</td>
<td>15.9%</td>
<td>18.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[figure 7.14]

Obviously, Q1 respondents predominantly believed that British people are more straight-forward in giving advice by sharing their personal opinion. A significant number of British respondents believed that Chinese
people avoid giving advice whereas Chinese respondents thought that the Chinese often say what most people would advise. This seems to indicate that Chinese people have a more collective attitude towards opinion giving: they care about how people around them think. In Chinese eyes British people seem to behave more individually and are more willing to speak out.

In other questionnaire results, there is some evidence that the Chinese students see themselves in terms which readily fit the collective description. Asked from whom they would seek help if they needed help in the U.K., 45% maintained that they would keep the problem to themselves, 44% said that they would ask other Chinese for help, but only 10% said that they would ask a British person. When all the Chinese subjects were asked why they might not ask for help in such circumstances, 77.1% confirmed that the reason was that they would not want to bother people, leaving 9.4% who said that they would not know who to ask, 7.3% who felt that they would need to repay the helper and 6.3% who were afraid that potential helpers would look down upon them if they asked for help. It seems that they either thought from others' points of view by not giving their own problems to others - a collective way of thinking - or they have a strong sense of identity maintenance to solve the problem within themselves, not letting 'outsiders' find out that they had any problems. Some Chinese students with a strong sense of self-respect seem to believe that admitting problems means that they are seen to have low ability. In consequence they are very reluctant to approach tutors.
about academic problems since this conflicts with their perception of their high ability.

7.3.1.2.b. asking for help/keeping problems to oneself
respect for privacy/initiating help

Developing the above-mentioned point of the British respect for privacy, the data show there is a gap between the two sides, related to psychological distance about identity maintenance. When Q1 respondents were asked from whom they asked for help if they needed it, 44.0% (Q1 N2b) said they would get it from Chinese people and 45.0% (Q1 N2d) would keep the problem to themselves. These percentages suggest that it is hard for British tutors to know if there is any problem and what the problem is: Chinese students clearly do not turn to non-Chinese 'outsiders'. This demonstrates the strength of in-group identity among Chinese students. Academic staff and peers were the two British groups Chinese students would know most (Q1 N6a,b). If Chinese students do not reveal their problems to these people (Q3: 56.6%; Q2: 46.5%), who believe the Chinese are happy, they could not ask for help from anyone, except themselves. When they were asked the reason for their unwillingness to seek external help, 77.1% (Q1 N3b) respondents said that they did not want to bother people. Furthermore, if the Chinese do ask for help from 'outsiders' it affects their identity maintenance since they may feel they lose face by showing their problems to others, thus letting down their own group.

There is, however, a tension because in Chinese culture, it is the duty of an observer of a problem to
offer help to the problem holder. Even if the latter intends to keep the problem to himself, the former still has a responsibility to intervene; this would not normally offend the problem holder, because it is considered a well-motivated intervention. In contrast, British tutors are cautious in initiating help if this is not requested, because of their respect for others' 'privacy' and their expectation that if there is a problem students will come to them about it. Thus while Chinese students expect their tutors to find out if they have a problem and expect tutors to spontaneously offer help, their British tutors are often unaware of the students' problems and, if aware, are reluctant to offer help spontaneously since this flouts British cultural norms of students' independence and personal privacy.

7.3.1.3 knowledge of target/source

7.3.1.3.a. society and culture

In Q1, questions were asked about the extent of pre-departure knowledge Chinese students had gained about British culture and society and how useful they found it when they arrived in Britain (Q1 G4H4, G5H5). When the knowledge gained and its usefulness were compared the results were statistically highly significant (p=0.000).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>knowledge:</th>
<th>gained N</th>
<th>gained Useful</th>
<th>Useless</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>G/H4 British Culture</td>
<td>24.8% 40.6% 49.5% 21.8%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G/H5 British Society</td>
<td>19.8% 51.5% 57.4% 15.9%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[figure 7.15]

These data reveal at least two problems: first, that Chinese students lacked necessary knowledge of British culture and society. Nearly half of the
respondents knew little about Britain before arrival and probably it did not occur to them that such knowledge could be crucial for their study in Britain. Secondly, there is clearly a strong implied demand to obtain such knowledge not acquired in China.

Many British universities offer pre-sessional and in-sessional courses to help overseas students and a cultural orientation course may be included in some courses. This is a positive step to meet overseas students' needs. But the problem of understanding British culture and society is not only at the superficial level of knowing about British everyday life skills (e.g. shopping, travelling, sightseeing, visiting pubs) but also to develop a deeper level of knowing how the British handle people and matters, how they think. Such philosophical and psychological levels are rarely dealt with explicitly in pre-sessional courses.

The following figure also shows that Q1 respondents had a positive attitude towards understanding British culture, society and people. The high percentage reflects their eagerness to know more.

Q1

F1: necessary to know about English culture and customs in order to speak better English: confirm 86.2%

P3: like to learn English so that I can get to know British people better: 62.4%

[figure 7.16]

7.3.2. PSYCHOLOGICAL DISTANCE

7.3.2.1 character attribution of source/target cultures

7.3.2.1.a. positive/negative
The following figures are the percentage of aggregate responses of attributes on a five point scale in Q1 and Q3, according to the order of 'positive' attributes, fairly 'positive', neutral, fairly 'negative' and 'negative' ones. In most cases it is clear whether an attribute is 'positive' or 'negative'. However, the attributes of active, proud, rebellious and individual-minded are probably considered favourable in British culture, whereas they are discouraged in Chinese culture. Therefore these four attributes are placed under 'positive' or 'negative' headings according to cultural value: they are regarded as 'positive' for British people and as 'negative' for Chinese people.

View of British People by Chinese Post-graduate Students (Q1), their British Tutors (Q3) and British University Non-academic Staff/Students (Q2)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Questionnaire</th>
<th>positive</th>
<th>fairly positive</th>
<th>neutral</th>
<th>fairly negative</th>
<th>neg.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Q1</td>
<td>16.1%</td>
<td>33.2%</td>
<td>36.8%</td>
<td>10.8%</td>
<td>3.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q2</td>
<td>5.5%</td>
<td>31.3%</td>
<td>44.3%</td>
<td>16.9%</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q3</td>
<td>4.7%</td>
<td>36.6%</td>
<td>41.8%</td>
<td>16.3%</td>
<td>0.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[figure 7.17]

Chinese Students' View of British People (Q1), British Non-academic staff/Students' (Q2) and British Tutors' Opinion of How Chinese People Probably View the British (Q3)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Questionnaire</th>
<th>positive</th>
<th>fairly positive</th>
<th>neutral</th>
<th>fairly negative</th>
<th>neg.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Q1</td>
<td>16.1%</td>
<td>33.2%</td>
<td>36.8%</td>
<td>10.8%</td>
<td>3.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q2</td>
<td>6.2%</td>
<td>25.6%</td>
<td>41.5%</td>
<td>23.3%</td>
<td>3.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q3</td>
<td>6.9%</td>
<td>36.4%</td>
<td>31.1%</td>
<td>21.2%</td>
<td>4.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[figure 7.18]

The above figures show a cultural pattern in
filling in the questionnaire. Chinese respondents tend to give greater credit to British people than the British gave to themselves when expressing their view of the British, i.e. the total percentage given by the Chinese (Q1:16.1%) at the positive end is considerably more than the British respondents (Q2:5.5%, Q3:4.7%) gave to themselves. Again, British respondents (Q2:1.9%, Q3:0.7%) at the extreme negative end gave a much smaller percentage than the Chinese (Q1:3.0%) gave to the British. But when the British estimated how the Chinese probably view the British, they became more critical and stricter (Q2:3.4%, Q3:4.4%) than they actually commented about themselves (Q2:1.9%, Q3:0.7%) at the negative end. This could be due to the British tendency to be modest and slightly self-critical about themselves (see in Q2 and Q3's 16% 'fairly negative' replies). Figures 7.19 and 7.20 confirm these tendencies.

The Chinese opinions are more 'black and white' than the British ones. The British respondents show a more 'neutral' and 'cautious' way to present their opinions, avoiding extremes of attribute choices, keeping their replies rather more in the middle. The Chinese tend to see problems and questions in terms of polarized categories, choosing the 'positive' and 'negative' ends. This is an interesting result in terms of cultural responses to research. Such differences in character attribution might lead to psychological distance.

70.1% (Q1 08a) of the Chinese respondents believe that British people say what they really think, but only 56.9% (Q2 E8a) of the British respondents
confirm this. Culturally, British people believe that a 'fair' picture should be given when they express their opinions, leading to caution when they state their comments. This may give an impression to people who do not understand the British way of giving comments that the British do not give their real opinion.

In contrast, when respondents were interviewed, both groups gave rather critical and 'negative' comments about the opposite group. Particularly when Chinese students were interviewed, there were complaints, sarcasm or anger about the British, which did not appear in the British interviews about the Chinese.

A possible reason for this is the ethnic origin of the interviewer. It is known that interviewer characteristics can make a difference to interview outcomes (Powney and Watts 1987 p.7). If an interviewer is Chinese this can make a difference when interviewing Chinese subjects (Pierson and Bond 1982) since they may feel suspicion towards Westerners (Scott 1981 p.178). The interviewer here is a Chinese student who is, in a sense, one of the Chinese subjects experiencing what they have been through, a person of no official background with whom to share their feelings. Thus Chinese interviewees said, "Finally we've got you to ask about our experience here, to show some concern about our study and life here. We need to talk to somebody like you to do research on us and to help us with our problems" (interview data).

In Figure 7.19, British tutors (Q3:18.3%) commented on Chinese people more favourably than the British non-academic staff/students (Q2:10.9%) and the
Chinese students themselves (Q1:13.9%) did. This may be because British tutors have more social and academic contact with their Chinese students than the British non-academic staff/students do. Q2 respondents had limited contact with Chinese people. Only 6.8% of Q2 respondents had been to China, 69.9% had talked to a mainland Chinese (often only once) and 71.6% had talked to a non-mainland Chinese. Probably their view of Chinese people came from visits to local Chinese restaurants and takeaways. In contrast, 33.3% of Q3 respondents had been to China and 54% had one to three mainland Chinese students, 24.3% had four to six and 21.6% had seven to nine or more.

Figures 7.20 and 7.21 show that Chinese respondents expected the British to give a much higher opinion about the Chinese than the British actually gave and higher than they gave to themselves. Culturally, when a Chinese makes a positive comment on himself, he would normally give a lower public estimation than his self evaluation. This is influenced by the traditional values of modesty and humility when talking about oneself.

View of Chinese People by Chinese Post-graduate Students (Q1), their British Tutors (Q3) and British University Non-academic Staff/Students (Q2)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Questionnaire names</th>
<th>positive</th>
<th>fairly positive</th>
<th>neutral</th>
<th>fairly negative</th>
<th>neg.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Q1</td>
<td>13.9%</td>
<td>27.6%</td>
<td>35.0%</td>
<td>16.8%</td>
<td>6.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q2</td>
<td>10.9%</td>
<td>30.1%</td>
<td>44.2%</td>
<td>12.0%</td>
<td>2.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q3</td>
<td>18.3%</td>
<td>40.5%</td>
<td>28.8%</td>
<td>9.4%</td>
<td>3.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[figure 7.19]
of How British People Probably View the Chinese (Q1)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Questionnaire</th>
<th>positive</th>
<th>fairly positive</th>
<th>neutral</th>
<th>fairly neutral</th>
<th>negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Q1</td>
<td>20.3%</td>
<td>31.2%</td>
<td>33.0%</td>
<td>10.9%</td>
<td>4.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q2</td>
<td>10.9%</td>
<td>30.1%</td>
<td>44.2%</td>
<td>12.0%</td>
<td>2.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q3</td>
<td>18.3%</td>
<td>40.5%</td>
<td>28.8%</td>
<td>9.4%</td>
<td>3.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[figure 7.20]

Chinese Students' View of the Chinese (Q1b) and their Opinion of How the British Probably View the Chinese (Q1c)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Questionnaire</th>
<th>positive</th>
<th>fairly positive</th>
<th>neutral</th>
<th>fairly neutral</th>
<th>negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Q1b</td>
<td>13.9%</td>
<td>27.6%</td>
<td>35.0%</td>
<td>16.8%</td>
<td>6.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q1c</td>
<td>20.3%</td>
<td>31.2%</td>
<td>33.0%</td>
<td>10.9%</td>
<td>4.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[figure 7.21]

7.3.2.1.b. *stereotyped/realistic*

The question of having stereotyped ideas towards people or matters has been previously raised in the social distance section. Stereotype and reality from a psychological point of view are a pair of complementary concepts here. Many of the interviewees, especially the British academics clearly expressed their beliefs against making generalizations and stereotyping people. But when they were asked about their main impressions of the British or the Chinese, British respondents tended to give immediate, mostly positive, generalizations about their students working hard and being intelligent, etc. The Chinese tended to give an either-or description such as the British being very polite or lazy, kind or arrogant. Thus, the fact of people having stereotyped ideas about people and matters seems unavoidable. This may temporarily affect how people see each other.
Initially.

British respondents were more aware of the problem of stereotyping people than Chinese respondents: there is a cultural emphasis on individualism in British thinking which is more likely to lead them to judge people on an individual basis. The recent promulgation of concepts of equal opportunities in British education has raised the consciousness of British tutors and students alike about stereotypes and bias in education. This is a much less prominent issue in Chinese education.

View of Chinese People

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attributes</th>
<th>Q1 (%)</th>
<th>Q2 (%)</th>
<th>Q3 (%)</th>
<th>Q1's guess of British view of the Chinese (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>calm</td>
<td>62.0</td>
<td>74.7</td>
<td>81.4</td>
<td>74.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sympathetic</td>
<td>51.0</td>
<td></td>
<td>57.1</td>
<td>55.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>patient</td>
<td>53.0</td>
<td>64.8</td>
<td>71.9</td>
<td>77.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poor</td>
<td>95.1</td>
<td>60.0</td>
<td>78.1</td>
<td>91.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>humble</td>
<td>58.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intelligent</td>
<td>78.0</td>
<td></td>
<td>78.2</td>
<td>76.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hard-working</td>
<td>74.7</td>
<td>71.2</td>
<td>96.9</td>
<td>87.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>friendly</td>
<td>67.0</td>
<td>60.6</td>
<td>87.6</td>
<td>81.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>warm</td>
<td>65.0</td>
<td></td>
<td>58.0</td>
<td>66.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kind</td>
<td>64.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>76.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>passive</td>
<td>57.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>54.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obedient</td>
<td></td>
<td>71.8</td>
<td>84.4</td>
<td>72.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>polite</td>
<td></td>
<td>66.2</td>
<td>90.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>collective-minded</td>
<td></td>
<td>59.2</td>
<td>53.1</td>
<td>53.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>well-organized</td>
<td></td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>81.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ambitious</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>75.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>happy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>56.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>generous</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>54.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>creative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>68.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cooperative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>86.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sincere</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>74.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>active</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>50.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>virtuous</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>53.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[figure 7.22]

Figures 7.22 and 7.23 show the different sets of stereotyped attributes British and Chinese respondents have chosen. These differences may affect their relationships and attitudes socially and psychologically.
The attributes in Q1, Q2 and Q3 presented here are those of which the percentage is 50.0% or above, i.e. half or more than half of questionnaire respondents chose the attributes to describe themselves or others. The symbol '/' means the figure was below 50.0%.

There are 17 attributes with a statistically significant difference (p<0.03) in the view of Chinese people between British and Chinese respondents. These are ambitious / unaspiring, unselfish / selfish, poor / rich, polite / rude, humble / arrogant, narrow-minded / open-minded, hard-working / lazy, depressed / happy, generous / mean, friendly / unfriendly, creative / uninventive, passive / active, uncooperative / cooperative, individual-minded / collective-minded, disorganized / well-organized, well-educated / uneducated and sincere / hypocritical.

Comments could be made about nearly all the percentages given above. But only a few prominent ones are picked out for discussion here. Chinese respondents thought the Chinese were poor, passive and not very polite; whereas fewer British respondents thought so. In contrast, a high percentage of the British believed that Chinese people were calm, active, friendly, cooperative and polite. An astonishing 96.9% of Q3 respondents regarded Chinese people as hard-working, whereas only 74.7% Chinese respondents agreed. This might be because British tutors used Chinese students as reference points while giving answers, generalizing to all Chinese people based on their experience of Chinese students in the UK; whereas Chinese respondents had a relatively broader
picture including all Chinese people abroad and at home to give their judgement.

When Q1 respondents were asked to give an opinion of how British people may view the Chinese, they more or less confirmed the opinion Q1 respondents had given in their view of Chinese people, only overestimating the British tutors’ perception of the students’ poverty ('poor'). They added a few items like 'collective-minded', 'cooperative' and 'virtuous'. Thus, Chinese students believed that their British tutors had an accurate idea of the Chinese. In fact, the figures show that this Chinese view of British tutors' understanding is not quite accurate. The British tutors’ perceptions of the Chinese is not very similar to the way Chinese students see themselves.

**View of British People**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attributes</th>
<th>Q1</th>
<th>Q2</th>
<th>Q3</th>
<th>Q3's guess of Chinese view of the British</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>individual-minded</td>
<td>53.5%</td>
<td>51.4%</td>
<td>79.4%</td>
<td>86.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kind</td>
<td>65.4%</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>56.3%</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>virtuous</td>
<td>63.0%</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>confident</td>
<td>64.4%</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>86.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>friendly</td>
<td>56.5%</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arrogant/proud</td>
<td>73.3%</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>81.3%</td>
<td>70.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>polite</td>
<td>86.2%</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>56.3%</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rich</td>
<td>50.5%</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>50.1%</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>patient</td>
<td>51.5%</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sympathetic</td>
<td>53.4%</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>handsome</td>
<td>53.5%</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>calm</td>
<td>67.3%</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>well-organized</td>
<td>63.4%</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>well-educated</td>
<td>84.1%</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>70.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>creative</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>58.0%</td>
<td>66.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>active</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>63.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cold</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>63.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lazy</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>55.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>open-minded</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>56.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>selfish</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>64.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ambitious</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>66.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[figure 7.23]
Figure 7.23 shows an interesting pattern of complementary views. The Chinese and British views of the British rarely coincide. However, with only ten of the above attributes are the percentages statistically significant (p<0.05). These are 'virtuous/corrupt, cold/warm, confident/fearful, friendly/unfriendly, generous/mean, polite/rude, ugly/handsome, violent/calm, well-organized/disorganized and well-educated/uneducated.

When Q3 respondents were asked to give their opinion of how the Chinese might view the British, they only confirmed 5 items out of 14 with the opinion given by Q1 respondents, including a large overestimation of the Chinese assessment of British individual-mindedness. Instead, they gave another 7 items, three of which are negative in meaning, to comment about themselves. This supports the notion that British people are self-critical.

7.3.2.2. identity maintenance

Figure 7.24 suggests that Chinese students had a positive attitude towards British people yet were less willing to adapt to British society (p=0.0245); a significant percentage wished to maintain their own identity. British tutors gave less credit to their Chinese students in terms of their attitude towards British people (p=0.3503) and their willingness to adapt to British society (p=0.0263). This might create a social and psychological problem for Chinese students when they try to contact the British. They meet less enthusiastic British expectations about their adaptability. This could be a reason why Chinese students felt that 'British people are
cold, unfriendly and apathetic’ (interview data).

Chinese Students Would like to:  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Confirm</th>
<th>Q1</th>
<th>Q3</th>
<th>p-value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>L8: mix with British people:</td>
<td>67.3%</td>
<td>55.5%</td>
<td>0.3503</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L9: adapt to British society:</td>
<td>54.5%</td>
<td>32.4%</td>
<td>0.0263</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[figure 7.24]

7.3.2.2.a. **tolerance/aggression** and **self-respect**

Q1 and Q2 respondents were asked how they dealt with unintentional hurt (Q1 O5,6; Q2 E5,6). The results show an unexpected amount of aggression which contradicts the generally accepted opinion that Chinese people are normally gentle and obedient.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>show hurt</th>
<th>bear hurt</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Q1: a British hurt a Chinese</td>
<td>41.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a Chinese hurt a Chinese</td>
<td>38.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q2: a non-Bri. hurt a Bri.</td>
<td>31.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a British hurt a British</td>
<td>33.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[figure 7.25]

Figure 7.25 shows that Chinese respondents are less tolerant than British ones when they are hurt by people not from their own group. This seems not to match the general description of Chinese character. This unanticipated answer was also reflected in the result of the Q1 O9 variable that 32.7% Q1 respondents thought a student or subordinate should directly point out a mistake made by his teacher or superior. Possible explanations are that: First, they were more aggressive in order to keep their self-respect in a foreign country. Historical events in China between nineteen and early twenty centuries may affect their attitudes and feelings.
towards Westerners in unpleasant incidents. Second, these respondents were generally more rebellious and out-spoken than ordinary Chinese people; they had a considerable amount of self-respect and self-confidence since they had been academically and socially successful in China. Third, they found that it is acceptable to show feelings in Britain, whether to British people or to Chinese. Yet, if they are more aggressive than others expect in real life, this may lead to some unpleasant reactions.

7.3.2.3. language shock

7.3.2.3.a. attitudes towards language learning

Figure 7.26 reflects a positive attitude of Q1 respondents towards language and language learning. This may help them to reduce language shock on arrival in the UK. However, Chinese postgraduate students arriving here already had a good command of English, since they had achieved high scores on pre-departure language tests. However, language shock may be revealed in other aspects relating to the use of language in an appropriate cultural context.

Q1 P1: best to learn English in an English-speaking country: 97.0%

P4: language learning is different from learning other academic subjects: 88.1%

P5: disagree that learning English is learning how to translate from and to Chinese: 64.4%

[figure 7.26]

7.3.2.3.b. balance of language competence/acculturation

Most Q1 respondents had rather little experience of using English communicatively in China, especially in
authentic situations or with native speakers. Figure 7.27 demonstrates this problem.

English Language Use and Acculturation in China

when Q1 respondents were in China: occasionally/hardly

I2: talking to English native speakers: 75.0%
I4: reading English newspapers: 61.0%
I5: writing papers/reports in English: 78.0%
I6: writing letters in English: 64.0%

[figure 7.27]

These students already had high competence in English, particularly in reading, on arrival in the UK. It normally takes them a relatively short period of time to adjust to British accents and they quickly began to communicate with people in academic and social life. This gave them a confidence shown in figure 7.28 which compares Q1 respondents' imagination of what their academic and everyday life in the UK would be like prior to departure with their feelings about their ability to deal with their present life in the UK. The results present a significant difference between their remembered imagination and the real present situation: Q1 respondents found that their life in the UK was easier than they had imagined in China. This might give them more confidence and reduce language shock.

This high initial competence of language might have helped them in many ways, but it also left them with some problems of misunderstanding caused by their low acculturation. They might use English correctly in terms of grammar, but not necessarily in ways appropriate to British cultural contexts.

D=Q1's imagination of their situations in the UK when they were in China
E-Q1's opinion of their situations in real life in the UK

comment: referring to what they felt in the UK

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>academically</th>
<th>p-value</th>
<th>comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D/E1 discussing research topics/ course with tutors</td>
<td>0.0095</td>
<td>easier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D/E9 taking notes</td>
<td>0.0016</td>
<td>easier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D/E10 writing paper</td>
<td>0.0030</td>
<td>easier</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>everyday life &amp; use of English</th>
<th>p-value</th>
<th>comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D/E11 shopping</td>
<td>0.0005</td>
<td>easier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D/E12 finding accommodation</td>
<td>0.0008</td>
<td>easier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D/E13 banking</td>
<td>0.0000</td>
<td>easier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D/E14 travelling</td>
<td>0.0007</td>
<td>easier</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[figure 7.28]

7.3.2.3.c. confidence/lack of confidence

language fatigue

The researcher had previously heard Chinese students expressing the comments listed in Figure 7.29. This was a reason to include these questions. However, the statistical result contradicted such opinions picked up in informal conversation. Instead, the majority of the respondents denied the situations described in the questions. This might be because: first, the situation was as respondents replied; or second, the denial was influenced by the Chinese idea of 'losing face' if they were to admit that they were lacking confidence in using English or socially not getting on well with people.

Q1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>deny</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>L1 feel people laugh at you when you speak English:</td>
<td>96.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L2 find embarrassed to ask question in English:</td>
<td>94.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L3 tend to avoid conversing with Chinese people:</td>
<td>83.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L4 tend to avoid conversing with British people:</td>
<td>83.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[figure 7.29]

In fact, the data in Figure 7.30 seem to confirm the second explanation above. When questions were asked
using 'subjective' words like "I'm" and words to show willingness in a negative way like "reluctant", "too shy", "afraid of", more Q1 respondents gave denials. In contrast, when the questions were asked using relatively 'objective' words like "language mistake ..." and words having fairly neutral meanings to show a 'fact' like "not good at", "not bother", "not know", then a higher proportion of affirmative answers appeared.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q1</th>
<th>Chinese students:</th>
<th>confirm</th>
<th>deny</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>F1: reluctant to talk to British people:</td>
<td>13.9%</td>
<td>60.4%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F2: too shy to talk to people:</td>
<td>18.8%</td>
<td>56.5%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F3: afraid of making language mistakes:</td>
<td>13.9%</td>
<td>54.5%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F4: afraid of people looking down on me for my language mistakes:</td>
<td>13.9%</td>
<td>59.4%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F8: reluctant to speak in English:</td>
<td>16.0%</td>
<td>63.0%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

in contrast with

| F9: do not bother to ask questions or talk to people in English: | 30.0% | 48.0% |
| F12: language mistakes slip out of my tongue: | 40.4% | 31.3% |
| F5: not good at expressing my ideas in English: | 33.3% | 37.3% |
| F11: not knowing what British people are interested in talking about: | 37.0% | 34.0% |

[figure 7.30]

65.7% Q1 respondents believed that showing one's own ability and knowledge before others was acceptable. This unpredicted answer looks as if it contravenes Chinese modesty. This might be because this group of Chinese (highly educated, very capable and academically successful) truly believed in themselves and they were confident, or they believed that they could show their ability in a British context, so the modesty which would have been shown in China does not restrain them here.

7.3.3. ACADEMIC DISTANCE
7.3.3.1. academic language use

7.3.3.1.a. listening, speaking

intonation, vocabulary
academic writing, note-taking

The students were asked about their knowledge of English obtained from their language teachers in China. Since the questionnaires were administered in the U.K. this reveals their retrospective reflections rather than their observations at that time. They were asked how confident they felt then about their knowledge of English grammar, pronunciation, vocabulary and the four language skills. They were further asked about how useful or otherwise knowledge of these aspects was, now that they were in British higher education. Figure 7.31 does not include neutral responses. The figures for students' confidence in Q1 G compared with the usefulness of this knowledge in Q1 H are all statistically significant by the Wilcoxon matched-pairs signed-ranks test. The significance for all items is P<0.0019.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>confident</th>
<th>little/no</th>
<th>useful</th>
<th>useless</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grammar</td>
<td>80.2%</td>
<td>9.9%</td>
<td>45.5%</td>
<td>14.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pronunciation</td>
<td>51.5%</td>
<td>13.9%</td>
<td>71.3%</td>
<td>6.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intonation</td>
<td>29.0%</td>
<td>27.0%</td>
<td>60.4%</td>
<td>10.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocabulary</td>
<td>39.6%</td>
<td>16.8%</td>
<td>90.1%</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Listening</td>
<td>42.6%</td>
<td>27.7%</td>
<td>95.1%</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notetaking</td>
<td>13.9%</td>
<td>65.3%</td>
<td>72.3%</td>
<td>5.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speaking</td>
<td>36.6%</td>
<td>36.6%</td>
<td>95.1%</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Int. Reading</td>
<td>37.0%</td>
<td>36.6%</td>
<td>72.0%</td>
<td>7.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skimming</td>
<td>39.0%</td>
<td>29.0%</td>
<td>85.0%</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scanning</td>
<td>37.6%</td>
<td>27.7%</td>
<td>86.2%</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Academic writing</td>
<td>24.8%</td>
<td>54.4%</td>
<td>86.1%</td>
<td>3.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[figure 7.31]

Clearly, Figure 7.31 illustrates great changes in perceptions of language knowledge. Vocabulary,
pronunciation and intonation are perceived as being overwhelmingly more useful than knowledge of grammar, which most had previously felt confident about, but which turned out to be not so useful. In the same way, the specific language skills of listening, notetaking, speaking, skimming, scanning and writing research papers became more important than intensive reading (which is given some emphasis in English classes in China).

In general, there is a clear lack of confidence about these skills, especially compared with the students' confidence about grammar (80.2%), yet they are overwhelmingly held to be useful. Given this, it might be supposed that the Chinese students would need some language help. Such help would be particularly appropriate with writing, where the students' need - in terms of the difference between confidence and usefulness - is greatest. They were asked about how much help they expected, and how much they help thought they had actually received, from their tutors (not from a language centre or from specialist language support staff).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>STUDENTS VIEW</th>
<th>TUTOR'S VIEW</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>help expected</td>
<td>help received</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>English language skills:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Listening</td>
<td>59.4%</td>
<td>53.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speaking</td>
<td>61.3%</td>
<td>49.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading</td>
<td>48.5%</td>
<td>42.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Writing</td>
<td>68.3%</td>
<td>42.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[figure 7.32]

The data in Figure 7.32 are compared with data elicited from tutors, who were asked how much help they thought their Chinese students expected and how much help
they had, in fact, given them directly. The figures shown are all in the category of 'some' or 'a lot' of help on the questionnaire and ignore figures for 'a little' or 'no help'.

In general, more tutors thought that students would need help than the students did. There is a significant difference (p=0.0490) with reading: 48.5% of the students expected help with reading, but 60% of the tutors had expected to give them help with this skill. Similarly, there are different perceptions regarding the help actually given - more tutors claim to have given direct help than students believe they received. The significant differences are with writing (p=0.0021) and listening (p=0.00476): 75.0% of the tutors maintained that they had given help with writing, while only 42.6% of the students said that they had received such help, although writing was their greatest need; 72.9% of the tutors said they had given help with listening compared with 53.5% of the students who had received it, although listening was the highest rated skill in terms of their confidence.

Figure 7.32 reported students' prior perceptions of confidence and present perceptions of usefulness and how many students expected and received help. Students were also asked about their current language competence for the four skills and their tutors were asked to estimate the students' current competence. Figure 7.33 shows replies in the category of 'no problems at all' or 'quite competent' on the questionnaire, as opposed to 'not very good' and 'needing more help and practice'.

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STUDENTS' VIEW | TUTORS' VIEW
---|---
English language skills: | competent | competent
listening | 53.4% | 75.7%
speaking | 46.0% | 73.0%
reading | 83.1% | 86.5%
writing | 46.5% | 67.7%

[figure 7.33]

Writing is the skill with which the lowest number of students feel confident, together (surprisingly) with speaking. Writing is also the skill on which fewer tutors rate the students as being competent. Again, there is a contrast between tutors' and students' estimations, with significant differences emerging between the estimations of the two groups for listening (p=0.0216) and speaking (p=0.0147).

The major needs highlighted here are for the Chinese students to receive help with vocabulary expansion and to practise pronunciation, speaking skills and academic writing. It is useful for pre-sessional course organizers, language support teachers, and subject tutors to know this. This comparison also underlines a necessity for narrowing the gap of expectations about language help, based on understanding students' needs.

7.3.3.1.b. turn-taking

Getting a turn in discussion or conversation was said to be a problem for Chinese students. In the Q1 data, about one third confirmed this, one third kept neutral and one third denied not being able to get a turn in discussions. Statistically there is no significant difference.

Chinese students: confirm deny
F6: not know how to get a turn in seminars or in discussions: 29.0% 38.0%
F7: when I feel it is appropriate to speak, it is too late: 34.7% 32.6%

[figure 7.34]

However when answers to F6 and F7 are compared, there is a difference, although F6 and F7 actually ask similar questions, expressed differently. F6 is more 'subjective': respondents had to admit that they lacked the ability to get a turn. F7 is more 'objective': it looks as if it is a problem of time, rather than of people. More Q1 respondents confirmed the difficulty of turn-taking in F7. If they are not conscious of this problem or not willing to face it, they could become more nervous and frustrated in discussion and seminars when they want to speak yet cannot get a turn.

7.3.3.2. tutor-student relationships
7.3.3.2.a. personal, social, academic

Both questionnaire and interview data show that relationship is the problem which most concerns Chinese students. This anxiety appears in the questionnaire items of attributes answered by the Chinese students (Q1) and by their British tutors/supervisors (Q3), which showed significantly different preferences (p<0.05) on a five-point scale. The four figures (Figures 7.7, 7.8, 7.9, 7.10) shown in discussing Social Distance reveal this problem of relationship.

Most Chinese students worry about their relationships with their tutors. It is natural for them to think this way, since in Chinese culture the relationship with others is emphasized for the sake of
harmony, respect, and peace. This is highly valued in Confucianism. The question items in Figure 7.35 were intended to find out if there was any difference in using words carefully in personal matters or academic work. Some Chinese students had told the researcher informally that they had a good personal relationship with supervisors but said they found supervisors became hurt or annoyed when they discussed academic matters.

A possible explanation is that the students normally prepare in advance what to tell their supervisors about personal matters. With academic matters, they might use the same approach: preparing the language, but ignoring that academic discussion is more two way communication in which they would receive unexpected input and they have to follow the conversation and prepare their language at the same time. Also the way a British tutor talks about academic matters is more 'objective' than when talking about personal matters. This means British academics tend to express their thinking more impersonally. Chinese students may tend to use the same style to join in an academic discussion as they do for a personal discussion, e.g. "I don’t think you are right. Your data are false." To a British ear, this sounds like a personal attack rather than a discussion about data. A British person might feel the need to defend himself by arguing strongly. The result may lead to an unpleasant feeling between the two. In fact, the quantitative data in Figure 7.35 show that there is no great difference noticed by either Q1 or Q3 respondents.
L6: choose words carefully to talk to tutor about personal matters: 47.0% 60.0%
L7: choose words carefully to talk to tutor about academic work: 45.0% 56.7%

The data only confirm that in both circumstances Chinese students pay attention about how to talk about a matter. This is noticed by Q3 respondents. Perhaps neither party was aware of the points discussed above.

7.3.3.3. academic culture shock

7.3.3.3.a. knowledge of education system

Chinese students were asked about their knowledge of the British educational system and research methods. The figures for students' confidence compared with the usefulness of this knowledge are statistically significant by the Wilcoxon matched-pairs signed-ranks test. The significance for the following items is P=0.0000. Figure 7.36 shows a clear need for students to be given information about the British education system and, more pressingly, about research methods.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>confident</th>
<th>little/no</th>
<th>useful</th>
<th>useless</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>British:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education system</td>
<td>21.8%</td>
<td>53.4%</td>
<td>42.6%</td>
<td>23.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research Methods</td>
<td>17.9%</td>
<td>60.4%</td>
<td>70.3%</td>
<td>8.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.3.3.3.b. academic presentation

expectations and motivation for study

teaching-learning strategies

Chinese students felt very strongly that the emphasis and value in academic activities in Britain were
different from those in China. Figures 7.37 and 7.38 confirm this and give an idea of which aspects they found more difficult. Only the answers from the two ends of the five point scale are picked out here; answers given in the neutral column was not quoted.

Chinese students: confirm deny
F10: the way of lecturing here is different from the way in China: 60.0% 26.3%

[figure 7.37]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Easy</th>
<th>Difficult</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>E1</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
<td>19.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E3</td>
<td>63.7%</td>
<td>9.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E4</td>
<td>58.4%</td>
<td>10.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E5</td>
<td>55.2%</td>
<td>3.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E6</td>
<td>82.0%</td>
<td>5.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E7</td>
<td>73.0%</td>
<td>5.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E17</td>
<td>56.7%</td>
<td>18.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E18</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
<td>19.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Comparatively, those activities shown in E8, E9, E10 and E19 were more difficult for Chinese students than other academic activities like reading, (but not reading under the pressure of time, comparing E7 and E18) or literature search (E6), asking questions of the tutor, etc. all of which require high language competence. The difficulties are not simply a question of language competence as such since they have more confidence in some activities and less assurance in others. Evidently it is the way of conducting these activities that is
different from those in China. Strong points in a Chinese academic environment (e.g. presenting an oral or verbal contribution showing how much one has memorized reading and absorbed the lectures) may turn out to be weak points in British academic settings, where forming individual opinions and presenting an argument or giving a critical viewpoint of others' comments are important.

Also noteworthy is the outstanding difficulty with notetaking, which can be linked with listening and notetaking in Figure 7.31 and with perceptions of British lecturing styles in Figure 7.37. Again, this is useful information for pre-sessional course organizers.

The question of Chinese students' motivations to study abroad was asked of both Q1 and Q3 respondents. There is a statistically significant difference between the views of the two sides (p=0.0046).

Motivations of Chinese Students Studying Abroad

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Q1 N1 with Q3 G4</th>
<th>Q1</th>
<th>Q3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. to get a degree</td>
<td>21.0%</td>
<td>36.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. to gain academic experience</td>
<td>28.0%</td>
<td>41.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. to become a more capable person</td>
<td>37.0%</td>
<td>22.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(figure 7.39)

In the tutors' view these Chinese students mainly come to the UK for degrees and to gain academic experience. But in the Chinese students' view, more of them hope to become capable people. This seems to fit, consciously or unconsciously, with Chinese traditional and current educational ideals: the purpose of education is to train a person to be fully developed ideologically and intellectually. A few respondents chose "learning culture" (Q1 N1c) as their motivation. One of them was
asked to give a reason: unexpectedly, he answered that he had nothing new or advanced to learn in his science department in Britain, so he had turned his interest to culture (interview data).

7.3.3.4. academic cultural orientation
7.3.3.4.a. alternatives/single solution

In the question of dealing with alternative ideas, 52.5% (Q1 N4a) Q1 respondents claimed they are willing to accept an alternative if it seems useful. 42.9% (Q3 G7Aa) Q3 respondents confirmed this answer given by Chinese students. However, there were still 22.2% (Q1 N4b) Chinese students who said that they would listen but without wanting to change, in contrast with only 5.7% (Q3 G7Ac) British supervisors who believed that Chinese students would do this. This shows a certain degree of resistance to alternative ideas, although openness to alternatives is highly encouraged in British academic culture. This situation was revealed more explicitly in interview data: some supervisors were aware of the students' 'stubbornness', 'narrow-mindedness' or 'single-mindedness' for research methods or explanation of results. Supervisors were puzzled; why did somebody who was very intelligent exclude other possibilities, stick to one particular interpretation and believe that it was the truth? 31.4% (Q3 G7Ab) Q3 respondents also believed that Chinese students accepted an alternative idea because it was suggested by their tutors. Both supervisors (Q3 G4Ad: 20.0%) and Chinese students (Q1 N4c: 21.2%) noted that Chinese students would defend their idea if they thought they were right and a
surprisingly high 80.2% (Q1 N5a) said that they would give their own ideas in a seminar even if they knew others might disagree. This seems to contradict traditional ideas that Chinese students would do things according to the social hierarchy. One explanation is that these students might feel that they had attained an authoritative position by the time they expressed their ideas. After all, they may have had important positions in China and they had been chosen to come abroad, confirming their academic ability and strengthening their confidence. Yet interview data reveal that the Chinese traditional idea of the truth instead of a truth also affects their thinking.

On the British side, 54.3% (Q3 G7Bc) respondents said that they would not mind if Chinese students insisted on their ideas. This attitude may help Chinese students with freedom, independence and creativity. But it might encourage them to seek a single solution if the value of alternative ideas is not explained. On this point, 42.9% (Q3 G7Bb) British supervisors in Q3 agreed that they would explain more about their ideas in order to let Chinese students understand more. This explanation concerned a particular suggested idea, not necessarily the concept and value of alternative ideas as such, which might remain unexplained.

This presentation of quantitative data outlines a distinct picture of where the gap in student-tutor perceptions exists. This same framework for presentation will be used in the analysis of interview data in the next chapters so that information can be put under the
same headings to reinforce a growing model. Contradictions can be also discussed in a clearly presented framework.

7.4. EVALUATION ON QUESTIONNAIRE ANALYSIS

This section will discuss issues of reliability and validity of the questionnaire data and cultural influences.

7.4.1. Reliability and Validity

It is very difficult to collect reliable and valid data for research in Social Science. Subjects can change their thinking under subjective and objective conditions which influences their answers. They may deliberately give answers which they do not believe themselves. These problems are an abiding concern in Social Science (Dean & Whyte 1958, Moser & Kalton (1971), Dillon 1990, McNeill 1990).


The data in the attitudinal questionnaires for this research were collected from a reasonable sample
(N=211) with 240 variables in Q1, 107 in Q2 and 135 in Q3, figures which reinforce the reliability of the data. These data give a collective picture of attitudes and perceptions of both British and Chinese sides.

Two important aims of this research are to find out: 1) respondents' perceptions towards the same or different groups of people and matters and 2) if there is any gap in perceptions between the British and Chinese groups. Therefore the validity of the data does not depend on whether respondents' answers are facts, but rather on whether they reflect their thinking towards people or matters. Their perceptions of people and matters may not be grounded in reality and people can have different perceptions towards the same facts. This is one of the causes of in-cultural and cross-cultural misunderstandings. So respondents' replies in this data, especially those with a high percentage of confirmation or disagreement do reflect certain perceptions towards the topics involved. Even if all or some of the respondents gave a false answer to the questions, the data, nonetheless, present an interesting phenomenon which reflects respondents' presentation of self (Goffman 1956) and their perception of how others see them. Ultimately, this kind of conception is very likely to affect people's behaviour and so is worth analysing.

However, Luppescu and Day argued that they "can neither say that the students' scores on the questionnaire were valid, nor that the questionnaire accurately measured the attitudes of the students toward learning English in Japan" (1990 p.130) when they found
that "students tended to agree or disagree with all items regardless of the orientation of the items" and "the students' scores were strongly opposite to the expected pattern" (ibid.). This is not simply a question of dismissing the validity of data when they were not expected, but a further analysis on the cultural influence on giving answers should be taken into account. It is possible that Japanese students found it difficult to disagree with opinions they disliked or that they genuinely believed that they should not exclude other methods of language learning since Japanese culture has shown a tendency to absorb and assimilate from other cultures. If so, the attitudes of students revealed in their data were of value in discussion and consideration of their language learning.

The questionnaire data have been tested by different statistical techniques described in Section 7.1, which offered results with statistical significance. The further use of discriminant analysis also confirmed the results from other tests. The repetition of the same or similar results by different statistical techniques has given a rather high standard of reliability in this statistical analysis.

7.4.2. The Cultural Influence on Questionnaire Data

In the course of analysing the results some cultural influences on the data emerged: differences between the British and Chinese ways of expressing opinions. The questionnaire asked respondents to choose between a wide variety of paired attributes on a five
point scale. On the whole, British subjects tended to bunch their choices around the middle more than the Chinese did. This can be compared by looking at percentages of 'fairly positive, neutral and fairly negative' given by Q1, Q2, Q3 in Figures 7.17, 7.18, 7.19, 7.20, 7.21. However, both groups tended to be more critical of themselves than of the other group. This can be seen in the total percentages of 'fairly negative and negative' for Q1 versus Q2 and Q3 in Figures 7.17 and 7.19. Yet in the interviews both groups were more critical of the other group. This tendency was particularly noticeable among the Chinese.

In the questionnaire data, when the British respondents estimated how the Chinese might see them they apparently suppose that the Chinese are critical of them: there is a higher percentage of negative responses and a lower percentage of positive ones than the Chinese respondents in fact gave to the British. The British respondents gave a consistent answer to their view of themselves and their opinion of how the Chinese probably view them (see Figure 7.18). This is possibly because of the British expectation of criticism. It may even reflect the critical element in British academic culture.

When the Chinese subjects estimated how the British might see them they seemed to expect the British to have more favourable attitudes towards them: there is a higher percentage of positive responses and a lower percentage of negative ones in their opinion of how British people probably view the Chinese than in the Chinese students' view of the Chinese (see Figure 7.21).
This is quite likely due to the Chinese expression of modesty. If a person directly praises him/herself in public, it is likely that this might be devalued by others and it leaves the person open to 'attacks' from others because he or she stands above them and this is against equality on the same horizontal level, i.e. if one person gets this credit, then all in the same community should get it, since he would not have been successful without support from others. It is possible that the responses Q1 respondents gave in Q1C were the real reflection of how they saw themselves as Chinese, which was expressed in their guess of the British opinion. The answer they gave in Q1b, which should be direct, was expressed with certain reservation.

Comparing the questionnaire responses with the interview data, the British seem to be more consistent between the two than the Chinese respondents as will be seen in the next chapter. Clearly researchers using interviews and questionnaires need to be aware that these kinds of cultural differences in perception and expression may arise.

In summary, there is a need for both qualitative and quantitative methods in researching second language acquisition/use, especially when the role of culture is significantly involved. The present research uses both methods with questionnaires and interviews. The latter are analysed in the next chapter.
CHAPTER EIGHT

INTERVIEW DESIGN AND METHODS OF ANALYSIS

In Social Science research it is generally acknowledged that there are advantages and disadvantages to both quantitative and qualitative methods (Cohen and Manion 1989). The combination of using both methods becomes particularly important when cultural background as an influential factor is involved in second language acquisition/use and in attitudes and perceptions to target and source cultures. It is hoped that the use of both interviews and questionnaires as complementary approaches avoids the shortcomings of either, strengthens the validity and reliability of the data and enables exploration of cultural influences.

8.1. THE DESIGN OF INTERVIEWS

8.1.1 The Subjects and Procedure of Interviews

The subjects of interviews were the respondents of Q1, Q2 and Q3. Q1 respondents were interviewed in Chinese - a more natural and relaxing conversation between native Chinese interviewer and interviewees. Interviews took place after subjects had filled in the questionnaire (Q1). Sometimes there were several interviewees together in an office, common room or Chinese students' centre discussing the interview questions. At times this led to a collective answer confirmed by others present. At other times there were contrasting views when interviewees were involved in
reasoning and convincing others. On other occasions, the interviewer went to a student's laboratory, residential room or flat. Often the interviewer had to stay in the guest-room of the Chinese students' centre overnight in order to catch the respondents in their spare time. In all cases interviews were tape-recorded, with agreement. Chinese respondents had a very positive attitude towards this research.

Only some Q2 respondents were interviewed, in groups or individually. Interview were carried out when Q2 was delivered to British students and notes or a summary of oral comments were taken down. With some non-academic staff and the British Council representatives individual contact was made and these interviews were tape-recorded.

Nearly all Q3 respondents agreed to be interviewed and tape-recorded. The interviewer normally made an appointment with them in advance. Most Q3 respondents were supportive, enthusiastic and helpful. Interviews lasted from half an hour to three hours. One or two respondents initially agreed to give only "two minutes", but spoke for 15 to 20 minutes.

Chinese respondents seemed to be more aware of their own difficulties and problems and, in contrast to the British students and supervisors, who were more concerned with the differences in educational systems and the way of thinking between the two cultures and the style, value and procedures of British higher education.

8.1.2 Interview Questions and Characteristics

The interview was a semi-structured one with
open questions, to contrast with the closed questionnaire. Interviews with Chinese respondents started with the question, "What has impressed you most since you came to the UK?". Interviews with British supervisors began with the question, "What's your impression of Chinese students or visiting scholars?". These questions gave an opportunity to both groups of respondents to relate personal experiences so that they could speak at ease. Other questions were asked during the interviews, where possible following the principle that questions should be a natural consequence of the previous answers given by respondents.

Questions to Chinese Respondents:

1. What has impressed you most since you came to the UK?
2. Is there any particular problem or difficulty you have faced since you came to the UK?
3. Do you live with British students or Chinese students?
4. Have you made any British friends socially?
5. Have you talked to your supervisor about your work?
6. Do you prepare what you want to say before you go to see your supervisor?
7. Is it easy for you to have social contact with the British?
8. Do you have any opinions about academic aspects of studying in Britain?
9. Do you have any comments or feelings about other aspects of your life in Britain?
10. Do you think that our Chinese traditional culture which influences our thinking would affect our understanding and behaviour here?
11. Do you have any comments on this questionnaire (Q1)?

Questions to British supervisors:

1. What's your impression of Chinese students or visiting scholars?
2. Do they (Chinese students) have any difficulties in expressing their opinions and ideas?
3. Can you easily understand the points they make in talking or writing?
4. Have you noticed any differences in style of presenting ideas and argument between Chinese students and British academics?
5. Have you noticed any other things about the style of doing research from your mainland Chinese students?
6. Do you find that the research pattern or tutorials in Social Science are different from those in Science?
7. Which aspect of English proficiency do they find most difficult?
8. What do you think about this questionnaire (Q3)?

Not all questions were asked in every interview, nor did questions follow a set order. It depended on whether an interviewee's previous answer covered the content of the planned questions, whether there was a natural circumstance for the interviewer to ask those questions, or if the interviewee felt relaxed to talk about his/her experience or ideas. The interviewer was cautious about not putting pressure on interviewees so that they could talk freely and be at ease.

There are three main features in these interviews. The first is that the interview is semi-structured rather than completely open. This means that all the interviews with the same group of interviewees started with the same question. The intention was to let them say anything unexpressed in the questionnaire, especially about their feelings, attitudes, experiences, evaluations of social psychological, linguistic and academic aspects.

The second feature is that the interviews
contained dialogues to exchange ideas between British supervisors and Chinese students via the interviewer: the interviewer tried to convey Chinese points of view to British supervisors and to explain British viewpoints to Chinese students. Thus interviews were partly two-way affairs: the interviewer provided background information to interviewees, instead of the interviewees providing answers or information. In this case, the interviewees generally clearly confirmed or refuted the interviewer's remarks. A discussion was developed to identify problems or to look for possible solutions.

The third feature is that the interview became a resource for suggestions. Interviewees naturally provided some suggestions to problems posed or sought advice and suggestions to problems which concerned them. This was another kind of two-way communication. Many interviewees, especially Chinese ones, expressed a wish for more opportunity for this kind of discussion.

8.2. THE METHODS OF PRESENTING AND ANALYSING THE QUALITATIVE DATA

8.2.1. The Process of Selecting from the Interview Data

A large quantity of interview data provides a problem for analysis. Some data are not significant for the purpose of this research and space for reporting useful data in one place is limited.

There were two stages in analysing the interview data. At the first stage, two interview recordings each with British supervisors and Chinese students were fully transcribed, the Chinese one being translated into
English. From these written data, a pattern of certain questions, remarks and ideas emerged, revealing the major interests or the discussion focus in the interview. From these, the researcher listed nine topic headings to examine the remaining interview data. These headings are:

1) Differences in cultures and ways of thinking;
2) Ways of working, research or study;
3) Comments on Chinese people or Chinese students;
4) Comments on British academics, people and Britain;
5) Comments, worries, feelings about relationships;
6) The role of Chinese students in British universities;
7) Comments on the English proficiency of Chinese students;
8) Financial difficulties and their psychological/social consequences;
9) Comments on questionnaires and general suggestions.

At the second stage, the researcher did not transcribe every word of an interview, but selected remarks, anecdotes and comments related to the nine topic headings. This had the advantage of saving time and the data were systematically grouped for analysis. The disadvantage is that some valuable data might be overlooked if they did not fall within the nine categories. However, the researcher kept in mind the possibility of finding something relevant in an interview, which could not be put under existing headings, and for which a new category would be created. In fact, this kind of revision did not occur, although the researcher was fully aware of the possibility.
8.2.2. Methods Used for Presenting and Analysing Qualitative Data

Three ways were used to present and analyse the qualitative data which had been selected: narrative analysis; a dialogue format; quotation of key words/sentences with comments.

The data presented in these three ways are grouped under topic headings according to the content although there are overlaps. These topic headings are those used in the analysis of questionnaire data (see Ch.7) with the addition of a few headings which emerged from the qualitative data.

8.2.2.a. Narrative Analysis

This method was initially developed by Labov et al. (Labov and Waletsky 1967; Labov et al. 1968, Labov 1972), who used it to elicit informal speech styles with a view to analysing them for speech variables correlated with age, social class and other factors. His work with Black English vernacular narratives was largely linked to study of speech style variation with some implications for teaching (1972). However, Labov did not analyse a collection of narratives in order to understand the cultural perceptions of the tellers.

Cortazzi (1991, 1993) has taken Labov's approach to narrative analysis further to develop it as an investigative tool for analysing cultural perceptions of narrators about their profession, crucial events and social phenomena. In this method of narrative analysis, a full narrative seen as having a number of structures (Cortazzi ibid. pp.15-19):
* Abstract: a summary or a general proposition of the major point of a narrative;

* Orientation: a setting of WH (when, who, where, what) information;

* Complication: the main sequence of events, generally referring a problem, a conflict or difficulty;

* Resolution: the outcome or solution to a problem or conflict presented in complication;

* Evaluation: speaker’s attitude, comment and orientation to the event;

* Coda: a conclusion of the narrative.

The above structures do not necessarily follow this canonical order; additional information for an orientation or a complication may come later in a narrative or at several points. Not all elements necessarily occur in a narrative.

The key to this current model of narrative analysis is that in the evaluation the speaker highlights the meaning of the narrative and the reason for telling it. The evaluation is the speaker’s interpretation of the personal experience reported in the narrative. Therefore, if a number of narratives on similar topics are collected from speakers of the same occupation or social group, the evaluation sections of the narratives can be analysed in order to distil the tellers’ cultural perceptions on the incidents reported. In this way, Cortazzi (1991) analysed one thousand narratives of British primary teachers and was able to present a picture of their cultural perceptions of key aspects of their work. Following this
example, the present researcher analysed narratives of British supervisors and Chinese students which appeared in the interview data in order to examine their cultural orientations to each other and their perceptions of British and Chinese academic culture.

Examples of analysing narratives in the interview data of this research by using the method of narrative analysis follow:

A. ... Chinese students can put up much better with loneliness, being away from home and not having their girlfriend with them or family there.

O. I mean, I had one Chinese research student, he was a very good student

C. and he came over and left his girlfriend for three years and I found this very hard how he would cope with it

R. but he managed.

E. But again he had this tremendous ... he wanted the Ph.D., he wanted to get the training and he was willing to sacrifice. Now not many other races in my experience will do that.

There are at least two points revealed in the Abstract and Evaluation of this supervisor's narrative to show the speaker's attitude and comments on Chinese students. One is that he could see that Chinese students had the social and psychological problem of loneliness, being homesick and lacking family life or the girl/boy friendship which most other students would normally have. The other is that he understood that they coped very well with such difficulties and were willing to make sacrifices for their degrees, training or career, as others might not do. This demonstrates their strong motivation and determination, which reflects the impact
of traditional Chinese values of study and academic achievement, even though this means sacrificing, for a time, the traditional closeness of the family. Such study is considered a very respectable activity, as shown in popular traditional saying: "Thousands of professions and activities are at the lower level while only study is considered to be at the highest".

The following example illustrates a perception of British academic culture.

A. I got trapped into virtually writing the essays of some of the students.
B. They would say would I look at it
C. and I had such difficulty in making sense with what they had written that I ended up writing it myself in between the lines
D. but I stopped doing that.... My style is to say "Well, I’m not going to give you a title because I don’t know what is going on in your mind and in your professional and personal experience...
E. It is a Master’s degree course, after all, and if that doesn’t include personal autonomy then what’s the point.

In this narrative, the British tutor explicitly states in the Evaluation that a student who is going to get a higher degree ought to develop personal autonomy. All the stages before the Evaluation are building up to support this point and belief. That is, in his perception, one of the qualities a higher degree receiver should develop through his study is this personal autonomy. Giving too much help prevents students acquiring academic independence. Such autonomy is not necessarily required or emphasized in other academic cultures.
Another narrative was given by a Chinese postgraduate student. It shows her awareness of different social styles in the West and China.

O. Last time I went to a party, organized by an American girl. She lived in a house with eight students.
C. Nobody knew anybody.
R. She called everybody to join the party and then everybody began to know each other.
E. This way is very different from Chinese ways of social life.

This narrative depicts an event and hints at culture shock experienced by this Chinese student in Britain. If this way of social life had been the same as in China, the event would not have been remembered nor used as an example to demonstrate differences in social styles. It would not be difficult for a British person to mix with others who have similar ways of social life. But a Chinese person who has a different social style (a more withdrawn, passive, quiet, courteous manner) may find it awkward or embarrassing to initiate social contacts in this way, even if s/he is very willing to mix with British people or other overseas students.

The last example quoted here illustrates a Chinese student’s worry about relationships with authority, in this case a British Dean in his department.

A. I spoke out what I thought.
C. But it was awkward when I came here at the beginning.
O. I wanted to change the research direction, so I had to change supervisor. When I talked to the Dean,
C. he vaguely suggested that I shouldn’t change. But he also said he could allow me to change if I insisted on it.
R. Eventually I decided to transfer here.
E. Now this Dean is obviously not happy and offended. He
doesn't greet me when he sees me, ignoring me completely.

The Complication of this narrative illustrates a cultural difficulty: the question of where the main emphasis lies. It is likely that the Dean’s main idea was expressed first, that the student shouldn’t change supervisors. His second quoted statement may well have been a 'softener' or let-out clause. The student seems to have interpreted it otherwise, that the Dean’s main point is that he can change and that the opening statement is merely a polite preliminary to saying so (see 5.5.1).

There are several possible explanations for the lack of greeting, which seems to worry the teller. It could be, as the narrator felt, that changing research direction and supervisor caused a bad relationship with the departmental authority. It could be his misjudgement and misinterpretation of the Dean’s social manner and approach. It could be that the Dean simply did not see him and therefore did not greet him, although the student believed he was seen by the Dean and felt ignored. To a British person this might have no particular significance. In China, a leader showing his awareness and recognition of the existence of a junior person is an important signal of security and honour to the latter, and withholding recognition could be demeaning, especially to a visiting scholar or a researcher, who might be quite senior in his own country.

A more likely interpretation -- for the speaker -- is the Chinese assumption that going against the wishes of an authority might cause a bad relationship (as
in a Chinese context), for the leader might think the student's action had disturbed the harmony of the original team and that he disobeyed what a senior person had suggested. However, in a British academic context, even if a Dean had been unhappy with the change, it is normal and acceptable for a request for such a change to be granted if there are valid reasons. It is unlikely that a British Dean would be involved personally and emotionally in the matter, nor would he be likely to interpret the event in terms of destabilizing harmonic relationships.

Furthermore, this Chinese student seems to blame this bad relationship on his outspoken manner, which, he probably believed, was acceptable in Britain. Yet he was disappointed by what he thought he experienced by speaking out. This might make him believe that this kind of offence, as it might be taken in China, would occur in Britain as well. This may give him extra worries about relationships, which Chinese people care for enormously, apart from the normal concerns about learning how to express their wishes in a style appropriate to British academic culture.

The narrative examples shown above demonstrate thinking or perceptions of British tutors and Chinese students on various aspects of academic and social life. These perceptions can be seen particularly in the stages of Abstract and Evaluation of a narrative. The rest of a narrative is the story of personal experience chosen by the narrator to lead to or build up to the points s/he wants to make. In the case of this analysis, the
Orientation, Complication and Resolution play a supportive role to the Abstract and Evaluation, where the thinking of the speaker on a matter is revealed. Narrative analysis seems a useful method in qualitative research using interview data where accounts of personal experience frequently occur but are often deleted from data prior to analysis, being dismissed as 'anecdotal'.

8.2.2.b. 'Dialogue' Format

Some interview data are presented in a style of 'dialogues' which did not happen in real life. This 'dialogue' is made via the interviewer who intended to find out views from British supervisors and those from Chinese postgraduate students on the same problems. The 'dialogue' is made by juxtaposing Chinese and British comments on the same topic, though originally they were independently given in individual interviews. This is to see: the nature of possible problems; how each side perceives the same problem or topic; any gap between the thinking of the two sides; how much each side is aware of the needs and thinking of the other.

An investigation of such points is important and useful for building up a communication bridge between both sides, which is a vital condition for the academic success of Chinese students. There is a sense in which the dialogues should have taken place; they represent a kind of cultural synergy (see Ch.10).

The following 'dialogue' example shows that there is a difference in expectations about writing between British tutors and Chinese students. (T: refers to British tutors and CS: refers to Chinese postgraduate
students. The numbers in brackets refer to the date of the interview. This system is used throughout.)

discourse patterns
T: ... the style we encourage: main point at the beginning, then try to build up the paragraph, later to prove the main point or hypothesis, then give a summary or conclusion at the end. (13-4-89)
CS: I think the Chinese style of writing is helpful to deal with problems. The initial part is a foundation which is the reason for a request.... (17-11-88)
CS: ... The Chinese style of writing is constructed with reasons and feelings. The conclusion comes from step by step reasoning. From Confucius' time, we have been told we must present a source and origin, otherwise the reasoning cannot be made clearly. There is no present without the past and origin. Therefore we should report from the root. (4-5-89)

These two contrasted views on the style of writing may indicate reasons for some of the difficulties and problems in Chinese students' academic writing found by British tutors. It is hard for British tutors to understand the points made in the writing of Chinese students and for Chinese students to produce writing conveying what they mean in a style appreciated by British readers. While this Chinese style, emphasizes the background information to establish common ground and then describes what has been done to reach the conclusion, a more favoured British style starts by stating what is going to be discussed (the hypothesis or the topic) followed by critical reviews and evaluation and then gives a conclusion (see Ch.5). These different discourse patterns existing in writing may cause confusion and comprehension problems. A British tutor
reading typical Chinese writing unaware of such a difference may find it difficult to grasp the main points the Chinese writer tries to convey in Chinese way; subsequently, a Chinese student may not be able to know why his/her writing is not appreciated by the British supervisor, as it probably would be by a Chinese supervisor. Unaware of the differences, a Chinese student may well list facts or opinions of others and then point towards one particular answer as the solution or conclusion, rather than presenting different points of view or criticism or solutions in the paragraph of building up towards a balanced conclusion or evaluation.

The analysis of interview data (Ch.9) adopts this 'dialogue' format with commentary.

8.2.2.c. Key Word/sentence Quotation with Comments

In the interview data, a large number of comments were made about Chinese students, British tutors, their roles and relationships, cultural differences, financial problems and consequences, academic language use and comments about different perceptions in academic cultures.

Following the same principle used in narrative analysis, the concentration is on the words and sentences which have the value of an Abstract or Evaluation: they epitomize the attitudes and perceptions of speakers. In this analysis, quotations from the interview data are used to consolidate the questionnaire data using the same headings (and some new ones) with comments. This is shown in the following example.

Academic cultural orientation
individual/collective

This topic was discussed in Chapter Seven concerning the quantitative data. The following key words/phrases/sentences quoted from interview data show that there is a strong emphasis towards a collective orientation among the Chinese students and an individual orientation among British tutors.

The British emphasis on individual and personal interest and motivation contrasts with the Chinese expectation where individual contributions should serve collective needs as a priority with or without personal interest. A British student is expected to choose what interests him as the most important criterion; a Chinese one is expected to choose what suits others, the society or the authority. This general cultural difference is brought into academic matters, showing the importance of understanding how different cultures have different styles of gaining academic achievement.

Some Chinese students notice that "there are cultural differences in thinking between the Chinese and the British" (CS:6-11-88) when carrying out research.

CS I want to do some research. So I told him (the supervisor), but he said I should choose whatever I wanted. But from a Chinese way of considering the matter, I think I should obey whatever they need. If they have some project which I can contribute to, or if they see if any project that suits me... I'm so used to this way of working, that is, I'm told what to do, to do the research according to the need of the authority. So now I feel very passive about choosing a research topic. ...I feel very embarrassed to ask, because perhaps they don't need this aspect of research. (6-11-88)
The barrier for him to choose a research topic according to the British style is perhaps partly because it was not easy for him to get out of a Chinese cultural pattern of dealing with things and partly because he did not understand the reason for the British way. In a British academic culture, personal interest and individual motivation towards a research topic are highly valued for success: "I have to rely ... and I choose to rely ... on their sense of motivation, what interests them and what is important for them, not what is important to me". (T:7-3-89) One could conclude that if someone had clearly explained the way of doing things in Britain to the Chinese student, it would have helped him to get on with his work much faster.

Chapter Nine is based on the principles and methodology proposed in this chapter to carry out a detailed analysis of the interview data.
CHAPTER NINE

QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

This analysis will be conducted under the topic headings of social, psychological and academic distances, presented by the methods of narrative analysis, 'dialogue' format and key word/sentence quotations with comments.

9.1. SOCIAL DISTANCE

9.1.1 congruence
9.1.1.a. social familiarity/isolation

Many Chinese students complained about their isolated life in Britain. Their supervisors found that this was one of the few problems they had noticed about their students. Chinese students emphasized that they wanted very much to mix with British people, but they couldn't "make friends with British people" (17-11-88) even when they lived in the same house. A Chinese described his contact with a British student: "He just stands at his door and speaks to you. After a few sentences, then he says 'OK'. You know why it's difficult to mix with British people" (17-11-88). In China, people visit others' homes very easily, dropping in without needing an appointment. There is a low degree of privacy in this respect. In the West, there are different ways of making friends so Chinese students find it difficult to be sociable. They concluded that British people were "cold and unfriendly" (15-11-88) and withdrew into their
own community where the familiar style of socialization obtains. One student (17-11-88) said he had "not felt anything difficult to adapt to", because "I still cook Chinese food, I hardly have any chance to contact the British ... the person I contact most is my housemate who is a Chinese". This is a rather sad and ironic reason for not having difficulty in adapting. The following narrative illustrates another aspect of isolation.

A This chap is cut off culturally from the rest of the department. He is isolated in many ways. He doesn't have any English friends.

O We took him to a pub one day. It was just before Christmas, the last working day before Christmas and we said, "Right, we'll all go down to the pub and have a sandwich and talk together away from the department."

C Now he had been in Britain for three months and he'd never seen the inside of a pub. I asked him if there were any good Chinese restaurants in Leicester. He said he didn't know, he'd never been to any of them. I said, "Well can you recommend a good Chinese restaurant?" thinking that he'd be a very good source of information. But this guy had never seen the inside of a pub and he told me he'd never been to a Chinese restaurant. (6-3-89)

For Chinese students, it is important to be shown what is expected and valued in British social life, how to establish relationships and what the major differences are between British and Chinese ways of being sociable.

9.1.2. cultural orientation
9.1.2.a. individual/collective

British students and supervisors have an impression that Chinese students always stick together. A
supervisor commented that they "come often in groups, ... live together... and they don't like English food so they cook together..., and they talk together all the time in Chinese and they read Chinese newspapers together...." (24-4-89). A Chinese interviewee also made a comment showing this strong collective orientation:

CS: Chinese students here don't know many things, we know more or less the same amount of information. Among the Chinese, if I know something, everyone else knows it. If I don't, none of us does. (15-11-88)

This illustrates how Chinese students readily share information within their community, the in-group. Often Chinese students use the term "foreigners" to refer to local British people, the out-group. Interviewees also commented that it was very easy to get along with Chinese students (23-4-89), probably because they care about their community and feel responsible towards it.

Compared with the Chinese, British people show a much more individual attitude towards such matters. Chinese students were aware of this more independent way of thinking (18-3-89). Some Chinese students see this negatively, thinking British people are more selfish than the Chinese and that the British only considered things from their own point of view (17-12-88).

9.1.2.b. asking for help/expecting the offer of help, respect for privacy/initiating help

A society which emphasizes a collective attitude, such as the Chinese one, encourages people to be sensitive and care for the needs of others; while a society which favours a higher degree of individuality would expect individuals to express their own wishes and
requests. These ideas need not be mutually exclusive but they do encapsulate a problem with two aspects.

Chinese people expect others to show initiative in expressing concern and offer help when they are in need. They tend not to ask for help in case the other person cannot give it. This would cause the other’s embarrassment since he would then be put in a position of having to agree, since his refusal would embarrass the asker. Even in trouble, they still think from others’ point of view, following a collective orientation. In contrast, British people may believe that a person should ask for help when he needs it; that person should show initiative. Otherwise they should respect his personal privacy and independence by not interfering in his life. To offer unsolicited help risks the embarrassment of rebuff if the other person refuses it. These differences can be seen in the following 'dialogues':

CS: You don’t know anything when you’ve just arrived. I was thrown here. I didn’t know what to do. ... he (the supervisor) never asked me if I needed any help. Maybe they don’t know what to do with us because of the differences between cultures and ways of thinking. So at the beginning period, I felt it was very difficult. (6-11-88)

T: It is difficult, given the apparently casual and informal nature of things. They can get access to people, they can knock on the door. There isn’t such a gap between the tutor and the student. That’s good for those students who realize that they can get help. But the others, why don’t they ask for help? Those who don’t realize it, they never in fact ask for help. (15-3-89)

***

CS: I feel it is difficult and embarrassing to ask
questions, e.g. in a shop, if they don't put the price on the goods, I dare not ask for the price. (17-11-88)

T: Chinese students are also withdrawn, not willing to express the problems and going away without expressing their thoughts. (20-3-89)

***

CS British people are very polite. They don't interfere with your personal life. You look after yourself and your problems. (16-9-88)

T The British are well aware of privacy and afraid of making fools of themselves and asking too much or exposing feelings might mean being exposed to too much knowledge, or ridicule. There's a self-consciousness which is particularly British which is covered by reasonably good manners in public. They tend not to push and shove. They tend not to shout. They open doors, courteously. They want to be the same as everybody else within what they think of as their own group, and inconspicuous. You might make a fool of yourself if you stand out. (20-3-89)

When both sides understand the point of view of the other, a proposal to go half-way can be made: Chinese people should go towards the direction of asking for help and not worry about refusal, because there may not be any embarrassment if the British are unable to help. British people should show more sensitivity to put their offer of help in the form of a request and be more forthcoming with Chinese students, understanding that Chinese students are expecting this style of help.

9.1.3. racism

Both British staff and Chinese students stated that "Britain is in many ways a racist society" (T.6-4-89), British people do "not trust overseas
students" in academic, and social activities (CS.18-11-88) and the institution "doesn't have any view on what staff training should look like to model useful ways of integrating ourselves and our own racial attitudes, let alone any opportunity to offer students full-blown ways to do that on courses" (T.7-3-89). In recent years there has been an increase in awareness of this issue yet this is still something which Chinese students felt was very hurtful when they faced it.

A But a British academic circle is quite racist.
O For example my work is considered good in my department.
C If they arrange somebody to join a research project, they wouldn't consider me.
C/R When I had some good results the other day, or a new discovery, they just took them away from me and let others continue the further research.
E It's quite impossible to expect them to let me do something valuable. (6-4-89)

9.1.3.a. superiority/inferiority

Another dimension of racism as seen by Chinese students, is that they feel inferior to the British and believe they put the British in a superior position (16-11-88, 17-11-88): "our government treats some Westerners who are not very experienced, nor academic, as experts.... We always worship Westerners." (9-11-88) and "British students have a superior attitude". One painful example was given as follows:

CS Whenever there is something wrong, for example equipment is out of order, those technicians or British students would blame overseas students first. Many times it was proved that it was done by British students, but they still first connect problems with us. They are very rude and wrote bad language on the
A report about using the equipment. (6-4-89)

Many Chinese students studying in Britain are highly selected. They have had important academic positions and high social status in China. When they come here their position changes from being a leading academic figure to a student at the bottom of the academic ladder. This can be a shock, but it disappears since they are very eager to learn. If they experience racist attitudes, this may reawaken the shock and perhaps make their experience of study a negative one:

CS I myself feel that the British look down upon us. But fundamentally I look down upon this country. It’s a declining and conservative country. It’s lifeless. ... "It’s a rubbish country". (laughs) (16-11-88)

9.1.3.b. inverted racism

Showing too much enthusiasm, even done with a good intention, can be seen as another aspect of racism:

T There’s a lot of politeness-trading, people kind of smile a lot at Chinese and are patronizing towards them and I don’t think that’s useful, ultimately. I can think of colleagues who have gone overboard to help Chinese students, who have virtually gone line by line through their essays to write them. I don’t think that’s useful. I think that’s consolidating an unhelpful attitude towards study and towards relationships and I see that as a kind of inverted racism. It assumes that Chinese students can’t actually solve their own problems and we’ve got to help them out. (7-3-89)

CS When British people are very enthusiastic to explain something to me, I also find it embarrassing. I also feel I owe something to these people. (17-11-88)

The question of racism is very sensitive and complicated. It requires people to have a finely
balanced, but positive attitude towards other races. Enlarging the cross-cultural communication areas between British and Chinese should be a helpful step.

9.2. PSYCHOLOGICAL DISTANCE

9.2.1. character attribution of source/target cultures

9.2.1.a. stereotyped/realistic

positive/negative

The following characterizations of Chinese students were given by British tutors/supervisors in interviews. These descriptions give a picture of British tutors’ expectations of Chinese students from their previous experiences. This could be stereotyped. But if these stereotypes exist in people’s minds in academic contexts, they probably exert an influence on academic interaction between participants.

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<tr>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>tremendously hard-working</td>
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<tr>
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<td>the best working group</td>
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307
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<th>Frequency</th>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>very keen to please</td>
<td>[1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>relatively happy</td>
<td>[1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>very deferential</td>
<td>[1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>more family-orientated</td>
<td>[1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>much more collective-minded</td>
<td>[1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>very collective-minded</td>
<td>[1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>generous</td>
<td>[1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grateful for the help they get</td>
<td>[1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>undersell themselves</td>
<td>[1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>very observant</td>
<td>[1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>positive</td>
<td>[1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wouldn’t speak out</td>
<td>[1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quite quiet</td>
<td>[1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a little reticent</td>
<td>[1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shy</td>
<td>[1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>very shy</td>
<td>[1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stay quite aloof from others</td>
<td>[1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>want to keep to themselves</td>
<td>[1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>don’t want to integrate with people</td>
<td>[1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>working/learning style &amp; orientation</td>
<td>[1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>extremely easy to work with</td>
<td>[1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>very open to ideas</td>
<td>[1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>very independent minded</td>
<td>[1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cooperative</td>
<td>[2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>more cooperative than other students</td>
<td>[1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>very quick to respond to ideas</td>
<td>[1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a tremendous respect for learning</td>
<td>[1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>for its own sake</td>
<td>[1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>philosophical</td>
<td>[1]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>logical</td>
<td>[3]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>very logical</td>
<td>[2]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>have a good logical mind</td>
<td>[1]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
very systematic  [2]
very organized     [1]
very passive in tutorials [3]
not active in tutorials  [2]
not the most forthcoming in asking for help [1]
lack of confidence     [2]
less active in participating in discussion [1]
work in isolation     [1]
little less independent [1]
less initiative      [1]
too subservient      [1]

psychological / financial strain
worry a lot           [1]
very homesick         [1]
very lonely and isolated [1]
overworry            [1]
very poor            [1]
live fairly cheaply   [1]

In the interviews, Chinese students revealed their comments on British students and other British people. Some of these views apply to both groups.

British people

social manner/personality

arrogant             [4]
friendly            [4]
hypocritical        [4]
polite              [2]
very polite          [2]
conservative        [2]
cold                 [1]
apathetic           [1]
serious             [1]
very mean           [1]
reserved            [1]
sincere to friends  [1]
proud               [1]
helpful             [1]

working attitude / manner

very hard-working  [1]
not working hard   [1]
bureaucratic       [1]
lazy               [1]

British students

social manner / personality

dirty                [4]
messy               [4]
only care about themselves [2]
mean                [2]
have a superior attitude [1]
selfish             [1]
don't care for others  [1]
have a thin and superficial relationship with others [1]
not that honest     [1]
have bad habits [1]
racist [1]
working/studying manner & attitude

lazy [3]
quite lazy [1]
disordered [2]
disorganized [1]

quite efficient in working hours [2]

very independent [2]
independent [1]

have so much freedom [1]
rather relaxed [1]
have a broad interest [1]

Chinese students seem to have a rather negative view of the British. In contrast, British supervisors have a much more positive view of Chinese students. A possible danger is that the impression of both sides derives from limited contact with members of the other group. This is transferred to determine their opinion of the whole population. Overgeneralization may lead either group to ignore individual differences on the other side.

9.2.2 culture shock

This problem can be seen in many aspects of academic and social life (Furnham and Bochner 1986). In interviews Chinese students mention the cleanness in British public places (e.g. toilets), the quietness (contrasted to the noise in China), the space, the style of parks, the speed of cars, etc. (16-11-88, 5-12-88, 26-4-89) as sources of culture shock. The following example can be more difficult to overcome:

O He has found it very hard to settle in in Britain.
C He was very homesick for China and for his fiance. He was pining for her very much. The circle of friends he developed consisted only of Chinese,
R which is usually very good, provided there are enough of them
C and there were only five or so around, and not always of his own age group and I felt he was quite lost, he
was not able talk about his own problem with anyone very much and he felt very lonely and isolated.

O He comes from a rural area in China and spent 4 years in university then came here

E so maybe it is a big culture shock for him. (8-5-89)

9.2.3. finance

The problem of finance was frequently pointed out by both Chinese students and British supervisors. This problem presents at least two consequences: psychological and social. It affects the academic, social and everyday life of Chinese students in Britain.

9.2.3.a. psychological consequence

Psychologically, lack of money may affect the confidence of Chinese students so that they feel they are inferior to other students who are better off financially. This creates worries and anxieties, even causing mental or physical illness (Babiker et al. 1980).

O When I was a research student at Imperial College we had Indian research students

A and I suddenly realized that one of the difficulties they had was the enormous differences in levels of wealth between India and London.

O One came from Southern India and he was well supported financially

C but he knew that by the standards of his family he was spending enormous sums of money. He told me that the amount of money he got in a month would support his entire family for a year.

E And that does produce a certain psychological strain and think that’s still true of Chinese students and I understand that Chinese scholars coming over here when they receive their first month’s salary are told that it’s the sort of money that most Chinese politicians live on for a year. (7-3-89)

Some Chinese students have a resigned attitude
towards the problem:

CS I work about 16 to 17 hours a day. Actually we have nothing else to enjoy, we don't have money to have enjoyment. (16-11-88)

This student may achieve a lot in his research, but it is at the cost of psychological pain. Apparently he faces the problem positively by spending all his time working. But in a long run, his work may not be so productive and he is likely to become depressed since there is no balance for enjoyment in his social life.

9.2.3.b. social consequence

The financial problem also prevents Chinese students from involvement in many activities: from mixing with British people or other students since they must ''all live together in order to save money'' (9-11-88); from understanding and adapting to British culture for ''cheap solutions to housing, like multiple renting, which pulls them together'' (16-3-89); from improving their English, because ''now our English has deteriorated..., we are mixed with Chinese people more than with English people in England'' (15-11-88); from ''very good social and academic activity'' and ''meeting and talking to famous scientists all over the world'', since they cannot afford to go to pubs or restaurants with these people after a seminar (6-4-89); from joining the British custom of having an informal chat in a pub or tea-room about their academic interests, progress and development (18-11-89).

O Last time there was a gathering occasion asking overseas students to have a meal.

C All the Chinese avoided it, because we don't have much money.

O It was organized by the church. There was a Chinese
flag there, French, German, British students, etc.

C But Chinese students didn’t go, because you sat there, chatting, buying something to drink, a bottle of wine is very expensive there.

E A Chinese would think twice before they pay £10 for anything. That could be used to pay a whole week’s food. Under these circumstances, it’s very difficult to mix with other nations. (5-12-88)

Apart from affecting their life in Britain, small stipends trouble them when they go back home:

CS The government only gives us so little money. When you go back, you are expected to give some presents since you’ve stayed abroad! (15-11-88)

To take presents home is a social obligation which shows their thought and concern for family members and relatives. Giving presents to them is very important for keeping harmony, displaying respect, love and being filial. So many Chinese students live fairly cheaply in Britain in order to save some money for this purpose.

9.2.4. identity maintenance

A student coming to the West to study new developments and knowledge is admired by colleagues and friends in China. However there is a conflict between learning from Westerners and feeling inferior to them, which might relate to the Western invasion and semi-colonisation of China in modern history. Chinese intellectuals have, consciously or unconsciously, a sense of duty and loyalty to their motherland (see Ch.3). On the one hand, they want to learn. On the other hand, they have an ambition to be the best to demonstrate that they are not inferior to others, although their imagined
competitors in fact think the opposite (see 9.2).

T Chinese students are under constant pressures. Certainly they have a lot of fear about not succeeding. Many have been sponsored by organizations that expect them to do well. That's a pressure. There are pressures to adjust to a culture, to try to relate to it but at the same time try not to get totally taken over. Pressures of forming an identity, ... you have another problem in another country of your identity which is most important to you. So questions of identity are a pressure. (15-3-89)

9.2.4.a. self-respect
losing face

These two sub-headings show ideas of self-image and identity maintenance from different angles. Self-respect is necessary to gain confidence and live in a society. But being afraid of losing face can be a counterpart to this. It may have positive or negative consequences. It may encourage people to achieve the maximum or to limit their success for the sake of keeping face. A Chinese student wanted to get funding to do a Ph.D. His performance was excellent and the department needed someone like him. But he thought:

CS If I initiate the talk, it looks as if I am inferior to them (British supervisors). I don't owe them anything because my government pays me to study here. But if I ask them to sponsor me, then I'll feel I owe them something. (18-11-88)

It is difficult to say if his reluctance to talk is because of his ideas of self-respect or of losing face. But certainly in Britain it is acceptable for him to ask about the possibility. The following narrative is another example of someone being afraid of losing face:
The Chinese don't like to admit that they are having these difficulties.

I mean one of my students graduated here, got his Ph.D. then left and went to the States and when he was here he was a very sociable sort of chap, you know, talk to anybody, mixed in, had lots of friends. No problem.

He went to the States and was very unhappy, which really surprised me. I would have thought he was the sort of chap who would mix with other people and that would be fine. But he just wasn't happy there. He said he was very lonely there.

So he went back home.

and that really shocked me, that surprised me because I always thought he was one I would have least expected to have difficulties. (9-3-89)

It is possible that this Chinese student had similar problems in Britain, but he did not show them to his British supervisor for the sake of face. Once he was away, he could afford to expose his real thinking to a person with whom he no longer had a direct connection. Then telling his true feelings did not affect his dignity, so he did not lose face. The researcher heard many similar experiences recounted by Chinese students. They may tell their Chinese friends their problems or talk about their current problems to previous supervisors and British colleagues, sometimes to seek advice.

This problem of losing-face may be a reason for silence in seminars and lectures, because "they are afraid of making language mistakes, or afraid of saying something wrong" (15-3-89), although this was denied by many Chinese students in the questionnaires (see Ch.7). But a worse situation could be:
There is the problem of face, which is compounded because not only can a Chinese not admit that he didn't understand but the English tutor doesn't really care. He gives his lecture and that's it. He doesn't care enough about the recipient. (8-5-89)

As a result Chinese students may feel increasingly dissatisfied and unhappy with their study. But British tutors may only see their 'passiveness'.

9.2.5. language shock

On most linguistic levels the Chinese language is generally considered different from English. When Chinese students come to an English-speaking environment, the change of language affects them in various ways.

Most Chinese students are eager to improve their English. This is particularly relevant before they come abroad, since passing an English proficiency test is a prerequisite for studying abroad. Yet some seem to lose their enthusiasm when they are actually surrounded by English speakers. Perhaps they realize that the actual requirement for their research is for even higher English proficiency which shakes their language confidence. Many may suddenly feel that their bookish knowledge of English is socially and culturally inadequate for everyday use. Others may feel the fatigue which can result from continuous second language use.

9.2.5.a. attitudes towards language learning

Despite the general Chinese keenness for English language improvement in Britain, some science students seem to have changed their attitude while here.

CS Most of us now don't care about English. We don't need a high level like you, doing linguistics. As
long as we can communicate, it’s enough. Another reason is that the standard of English is not so important in our thesis as in yours. We are doing engineering subjects. Without knowing much English we can still carry out our work. When we reach the stage of having a viva, after three years of reading and research, we can almost recite everything. (15-11-88)

This thinking illustrates a problem of expectation about high English proficiency. British supervisors expect their students to have a high standard, especially in written English, because these students "are going to be judged by what they write, it’s not just the English but as people" (14-4-89). Some Chinese students believed that they would be accepted as long as they could do competent research.

9.2.5.b. balance of language competence/acculturation

This represents a key point in this research. Most Chinese students in Britain have a relatively high English proficiency standard, having obtained high scores in English tests before coming. However, apart from the validity of tests themselves, they have had very limited experience of using English in English-speaking countries and have little knowledge of British society or culture. Such environmental factors would affect the use of the second language (Schumann 1976, 1978).

Their language proficiency might be very high but frequently it does not include an ability to pick up what is going on a nonverbal level and a lot of that tends to get lost because they don’t have the same cultural background. (27-4-89)

This raises the issue of how to keep a balance
between high language proficiency and low acculturation in foreign and second language teaching and learning.

9.2.5.c. confidence/lack of confidence

The lack of confidence to use language in culturally appropriate ways affects Chinese students in their social and academic life. This creates a vicious circle: the less they use the language, the less they get to know the culture and people and in turn, the less they are able to gain confidence. Probably this is why:

O/A Chinese students who have been here for three years still sat in the seminar without saying a word. We don't have that language confidence.

C I thought they didn't understand the discussion. So after the seminar, I asked them.

R Actually they knew the topic and discussion very well.

C I said, "Why didn't you talk about your ideas just now? How was it possible that you didn't have any question to ask?"

R You know our brain is thinking all the time.

E But they said they had nothing to say in public. (CS:10-4-89)

The lack of language confidence also affects their academic performance, as a Chinese narrative shows:

A The limitation of our English ability prevented us from showing our academic ability.

O For example, recently they bought a signal system. In fact I know this kind of instrument very well.

C But the professor wouldn't dare to let me adjust it.

R They just put it there.

E I think for things like this I should initiate an offer of help.

R I plan to talk to him in a few days. To me, it's such a small piece of work.

C But he may not dare to let me touch it,
E because he doesn't know my ability and I don't know how to convince him of my ability in English. (7-12-88)

From these narratives, superficially it seems that they believed their standard of English is not good enough. The same feeling is expressed in this quotation:

CS I think language is a big problem. It's not that I don't want to speak out, nor that I don't know the stuff, but I just feel that my English is not good enough to express what I mean. I feel that I'll never catch up with their standard of expression. Those students from Western European countries make me feel that I'll never be at their standard either. Their culture is closer to the British culture. (28-11-88)

But it is more likely that language confidence and knowing how to present themselves in public in Britain prevent them from speaking out, rather than this being simply a question of language level alone. The problem of acculturation is hidden behind the more obvious language issue. Some British supervisors believed that "perhaps it's a lack of confidence, but it is not a problem of performance" (19-3-89) and "the Chinese students really need a lot of steering, especially early on, but, once they've got going and they've got some confidence, then they're excellent, they really are" (20-4-89).

9.2.5.d. language fatigue

The point of language fatigue was not much discussed in interviews with Chinese students. Some students mentioned that they felt very tired after lectures because they had to concentrate so much (9-11-88). Some British supervisors noticed this:

T I think they want to mix with English people. On the
other hand, it's very tiring talking English all the time and they can relax among Chinese people. (10-4-89)

Talking in one's native language is common among overseas students of the same group. Of the many factors behind it, second language fatigue is one likely reason.

9.2.5.e. social-emotional interaction/
cognitive processing

The question of socio-emotional and cognitive involvement in language use was raised in interviews. When Chinese students first learned English in China, they were generally taught in a very traditional way, emphasizing accuracy and correctness rather than communication functions. Learning grammar rules was stressed rather than using language in interaction. This may lead to the following situation:

They may know every word you are speaking but they still don't necessarily understand. It feels to me like relating at an affective or feeling level, picking up emotional nuances rather than figures of speech or idiosyncratic phrases. It's more the emotional mood of the group, let's say, and my guess is that someone for whom English is a second language is thinking a lot in their head with sort of cognitive processes, processing the language at a head level, while the feeling level gets left out of account very often. (7-3-89)

Still, this question needs further research. There is, however, some consideration about the need to develop a communicative methodology and to improve the language learning efficiency in China (see Ch.4).

9.3. ACADEMIC DISTANCE

320
9.3.1. academic language use

Most Chinese students in Britain have received English language training in the four skills before they come abroad. But they hardly had any specific training to use academic English. Some British universities offer relevant sessions in pre-sessional courses. If such a course is tuition-free, Chinese students will attend it. Otherwise most cannot afford to go, even if they need it.

Academic English is clearly important for their success. But as one Chinese visiting scholar pointed out:

CS There are problems in the language syllabus set by the Ministry of Education. They never ask us to know all the four skills, reading, speaking, listening and writing. So we are weak at understanding and speaking abilities. We learned deaf and dumb English. (9-11-88)

The present quantitative and qualitative data reveal that reading is not a big problem for Chinese students, but there are problems with speaking and listening initially and longer-lasting problems with understanding and expressing meanings through appropriate intonation and in writing, including appropriate use of discourse patterns. This situation was summarized by a British supervisor:

T At the beginning they can write better than they can speak, because they are not used to speaking but in the end they get used to speaking and used to listening but their writing doesn’t improve at the same rate. It is the last thing to improve but ultimately more important because finally they’ve got to write a thesis. (10-4-89)

Nevertheless, other skills like note-taking in
English, turn-taking and pausing in discussion and quoting in writing are new to Chinese students. These skills require not only language ability, but also use of a style which suits British academic culture.

9.3.1.a. listening

Difficulties with listening are exemplified in this tutor's narrative:

O In fact, I just overheard a conversation with a colleague down the corridor yesterday in which he was talking to this Chinese and he was saying,

C "Well, the difficulty here is that you don't understand what is really meant",

E and he'd obviously misunderstood something and that must make extra difficulties for Chinese students working in Britain, I'm sure. (7-3-89)

Cases such as this are very common in the academic and social life of Chinese students. Fortunately in this case, his supervisor pointed it out to him. It must often happen that a student misunderstands something and nobody realizes it and helps him to correct it. This may affect their work and relationship.

9.3.1.b. intonation

Intonation is a very subtle element in English, which indicates the intended meaning of a sentence and the speaker's attitude. It is very difficult for Chinese students (and other non-English native speakers) to catch the delicateness of intonation in English. When they learned English in China, many students related the learning of intonation to reading aloud rather than to oral interaction or comprehension. Many would have found it difficult to learn the appropriate use of intonation in the typical large class in China with little or no
access to native speakers. Therefore, "English in this respect is very difficult" (24-4-89).

There are two major problems: one is that students speak with a Chinese accent and may even apply the Chinese tone system to English intonation, which is heard differently by a British speaker. "Their intonation I find rather difficult" (24-4-89). The other is that they cannot understand the meaning intended by native English speakers, who naturally use intonation to convey meanings, because "it's not only the words but the way in which they are said, the inflections, the way in which the voice rises and the expression on someone's face when they are speaking, are all other factors" (27-4-89).

9.3.1.c. speaking
O When I first came, I went to a language school. When they taught grammar, I found it was too easy for me.
C But if we practised speaking, I was behind others, e.g. Spanish or Chilean students. But if it was about grammar, they were behind me.
R Now I don't go that school. I just stay at home watching T.V.
O The other day I just went to a shop to buy a bar of chocolate in order to chat with that shop assistant.
R I talked with that old man for a long time.
O Whenever we had a British friend to our home, R I would try to catch the conversation first in order to practise my oral English.
O There was an English lady, whom I used to work with.
R She was always very patient to listen to me.
C When I finished, she turned to others, saying that she hadn't understood a word (laughs).
E Oh What a disappointment! (5-12-88)

From this narrative, one can see that the
interviewee had strong motivation to improve her speaking. It also gives a picture of how difficult it is for her to learn to speak English, even in England. Others also expressed this problem of having learning opportunities. "There is little time for talking and chatting in English. In the lab, it is impossible to talk often with the English staff, unless there is something which needs to be talked about. Well, we have quite a lot of listening practice, but it is passive" (15-11-88).

One Chinese student believed that his speaking English depended on his ability to think in English:

A "Often many of us used to outline our thinking in Chinese first and then translate it into English.

O/C I normally wrote down those key words in English on a piece of paper and then with that I went to see my supervisor.

R Now I have been here for quite a long time, I don’t need to use Chinese for thinking. I can think directly in English.

E I think it is a matter of thinking process. Thinking in English is different from thinking in Chinese. I feel that sometimes I can only think in Chinese. If I think in English, I can’t think, I can’t get an idea" (17-11-88).

He raises the question of how cognitive processes are determined by language, a huge question requiring further investigation, where narrative accounts may help.

9.3.1.d. vocabulary

Many Chinese students have realized that it is more difficult to learn the usage of a word rather than the meaning of a word. As one Chinese student said:
How to use a word appropriately is quite difficult. You see why the thing written in English by a Chinese and by a British person is different. I think knowing what words to use and how to cluster them are very important. (5-12-88)

The following narrative shows a problem of word usage from everyday life. But if similar events occur in research or technical discussion, it may cause problems.

O Today I went shopping. I wanted to buy some meat. I asked which meat was nice, he said the kidney was nice. So I said I would have some. The man went on telling me how nice it was and how to cook it, etc.,

C so I said "I never eat it before". He stared at me and then said "You’ve never tried it before".

R I meant that, but I didn’t know that way of expressing it. So in fact he taught me a correct expression. But I understood what he said. What I had said made others think that I didn’t like eating kidney. But I didn’t mean that. I meant I hadn’t tasted it before. So I found that that was my difficulty.

E It’s not that I don’t know the expression, but that I don’t know in what situation I should use it. (5-12-88)

9.3.1.e. writing

The following British tutor’s narrative demonstrates how difficult writing could be for a Chinese student who was intelligent and productive in both academic work and publications. One can imagine what would happen to a less intelligent student.

O But then, there are still problems with writing... I mean, there was one guy who produced some technical work which was really outstanding and he stayed on with some company finance to make a commercial product from what he was doing,
but his writing!

You know, he has produced about 17 papers, and his Ph.D. thesis, and I've been very fortunate to work with him because I stick my name on his publications -- we work together quite closely, I give direction, but he does all the work,

but the point is, it must have taken me, I would say on average, when he was writing up his Ph.D. at least one full day's work a week for about six months or seven months, in order to help him, get him through his Ph.D. I'm using that as an example but it was that bad! (15-3-89)

Given such problems with writing, seen in both quantitative and qualitative data, the question of what reasons lie behind it needs to be asked. One possible reason is that the discourse patterns Chinese students use in their writing are different. When British tutors read through the writing, they sometimes cannot find the points in the places where they expect them from a British writer. This gives problems of comprehension to a British reader. One British tutor said that those different patterns of writing made it very hard physically and mentally for her to read on (16-5-89).

9.3.1.f. discourse patterns

Five differences relating to discourse patterns were mentioned in the interviews:

1) where to make the main point of an argument,

They have difficulty expressing the point, they only give half of it, they don’t fully explain things, that’s the most common thing. ... Chinese students tend to give the main point at the end of the paragraph, while British students tend to give it at the beginning, the first sentence of the paragraph. I think it happens a lot, but not just Chinese
students. (9-3-89)

But some Chinese students disagree with the Western style of putting the main point at the beginning.

CS If we write according to the Western style, that is to put the request at the beginning, for instance, applying for financial help, if the person doesn’t have money, then he wouldn’t bother to read on. If you put reasons first, after reading all of them, he is perhaps moved. He will try and make an effort to find money for you. (17-11-88)

O I went to chat with a professor, just a chat.
C But actually I meant to borrow a book.
R By the time I left his place, I just casually mentioned it and immediately I got the book.
E If I had asked to borrow the book as soon as I entered the room, perhaps he would have thought I was very rude and I would have felt very embarrassed to ask for it anyway. (4-5-89)

They believed that there was a useful rhetorical effect and pragmatic result to be obtained by leading up to the main point. This may puzzle British people, but when the Chinese got what they wanted using a Chinese style, they were encouraged in their use of the discourse pattern without realizing that it might not be so appropriate in other British contexts.

Furthermore, many British tutors do not have knowledge of alternative positions of where a main point may appear in different cultures. When they cannot see the point where they expect it to be, they may evaluate the writing negatively: a Chinese student reported failing in one of her essays but she was later helped by
a British student to realize that she had not put the main points at the expected places. So by cutting up the paragraphs, rearranging them and photocopying the essay, she received a significant rise in her marks without really altering the content (7-12-88). A similar event was recalled by another Chinese student:

CS There was a famous Chinese scholar. When he wrote in English, because he thought in a Chinese way, he often cut his last paragraph and put it in the beginning of the article. When he translated English stuff into Chinese, he normally put the first paragraph to the end to help Chinese readers understand easily. (8-5-89)

Obviously there are many aspects worthy of further research in this area. This could help Chinese and other overseas students who have similar problems to write effectively in English and encourage British lecturers to consider alternative styles of writing (see Ch. 5).

2) how to be precise in academic English writing.

A British tutor recounted:

A They have difficulty in making things precise.

O I’ve got one next door, from Malaysia or Singapore, just writing his thesis. He’s just written the draft of a paper and even after three or four years, he was educated here, he was our undergraduate,

C he still has difficulty, making things precise.

E I’m not saying that English students don’t have the same difficulties, but I think it’s exaggerated in Chinese students. (10-4-89)

It is likely that this precision refers to the style rather than choosing exact words. "They’ve got to be precise and technical... And the problem is, it’s not
only the technical things that must be precise, the equations and things like that, but it’s also the fact that there must not be inferences..."(14-4-89).

3) logical styles in English writing

Some tutors use the expression "logic" to describe the problem in writing.

He can think logically when he does his work. But he hasn’t got time to work out the logic, really, in English. ... And yet his work was excellent and his ability to express himself in normal conversation is fine, and he can read and comprehend properly. His problem ... I still don’t have my finger on it, quite what is wrong, but it’s the way his sentences just do not come out like the English like.... (14-4-89)

There are two broad patterns in logical argument: one is inductive and the other is deductive. Often people mix them in use. A general tendency, according to the previous discussion of the place of a main point, is that British styles of writing are more deductive, i.e. starting from a main point and then expanding the argument; whereas Chinese styles of writing are more inductive, i.e. description supporting reasons and then reaching a generalization. Perhaps in British academic writing, deduction is preferred to induction and vice versa in Chinese. Again further study is needed to analyse actual writings.

4) the use of discourse markers and the order of sentences,

At the syntactic level there is a problem with using the language. All the words are correct but they sometimes come in the wrong order or crucial words are missed out.... Sometimes there’s the standard
problem of using the wrong word in a context.

(15-3-89)

5) rhetoric in writing

In Chinese science writing it is perhaps acceptable to use proverbs or sentences in a poem or famous sayings by ancestors to refer to a technical description or solution. If a Chinese scientist can include these, it is considered good style. This may be a result of the influence of classical ideas of an ideal intellectual who should be fully developed in literature, music, painting, calligraphy, etc.. "To achieve Social Harmony and to express the views of the group by referring to tradition and relying on accepted patterns of expression were the central purposes and practices of Chinese rhetoric" (Matalene 1985 p.795).

However, in British technical writing, this is unacceptable. Western sense of rhetoric "as an exploratory technique for approaching the truth, as an arena for combatants, as a means of acting upon an audience to inspire action and change, as an avenue for the individual to achieve control by saying something new in a new way is only a Western sense of rhetoric, and its emphasis on originality and individuality is post-Romantic" (ibid.).

Writing is certainly jumbled up in some ways. I've read so much of the things my students have produced and yet I still can't see a pattern.... You can have, on one extreme, almost total Chinese proverb, in a technical pieces of writing.... you can see the chap suddenly revert to a Chinese proverb to prove his point! It's rather nice, but you can't do that in a
technical report, that's the trouble. (21-3-89)

Some British tutors maintained that these problems in the writing of Chinese students are partly because they think in Chinese, perhaps implying that they use Chinese discourse patterns to write academic English. T ... it's not just finding the right word, ... They have a few grammatical mistakes.... It is a conceptual problem of moving from one language system to another, ... I get the feeling that sometimes what they do is think in Chinese and then translate into English, in writing particularly. (16-3-89)

Apart from some Chinese students not recognizing different discourse patterns, another possible reason is that they resist the British style of writing even if they do know the difference.

CS In the science reports written by Westerners, they normally give an introduction which reviews this research done by others, very wordily. When they discuss the new techniques or new methodology, they put in quite a lot of irrelevant quotations from others and their previous writing. In the end, they, again, give reviews and prospects and implications of this research. So their papers are quite long with a lot of work mentioned. But our Chinese writing is different. We don't have their introduction part. We just introduce this new method or technique, our thinking on this research, how it is used or processed, what effect it has to this project and to the whole technical world, how it can solve the problem. This is because people who read this journal have already known about the history of the research and where the problem is. What they need to know is how to solve this problem. They won't read those review parts. They just jump to the new part they want to know. So our way would save readers' time and
the space of the journal. When I talked about this to my British colleagues, some just smiled, some just said "No, no!" I always argue that "Your British government documents or rules are normally short and concise". But my professors always said that "Your Chinese government report or commentary is always long and wordy". I said "You're right, your government just tells you that you must do this or you mustn't do that. They don't tell you why. That's why it is concise. But our government has to explain why we can't do this, why we can do that. That's why it becomes long". Our writing styles are just opposite to British ones. About politics, we often quote ancestors' and important persons' words, review what has happened now and give a prospect of the future. But these do not exist so often in our science writings. (5-5-89)

Clearly, this interviewee believed that a Chinese style is better in a science report or even in a political commentary. This leaves a task to British tutors or colleagues either to convince him of the British style or to take his point by accepting the Chinese style in British academic contexts.

9.3.1.g. note-taking

It is a skill to take notes systematically in English, especially if there are differences in the presentation of lectures in Britain. Many Chinese students lack notetaking skills compounded by the problem of understanding the British style of presentation:

T They need more help with making notes. That is often a big problem because they are often used to reading only one big textbook, so they have some problems reading a range of things and putting them in a pattern. ... It's just that they very often have never been asked to do that before, to read, say five
different things, and to summarize them. Normally, I think, they would have read a textbook which already had a summary in it, so they don't read anything that's not in the textbook. That's almost a universal problem among Chinese students. (18-4-89)

9.3.1.h. turn-taking
pausing

Some Chinese students complained that they were not given a chance to express themselves in discussions, "nobody will wait to listen to you, unless your view is excellent" (17-3-89). First, seminars and discussions are hardly used in undergraduate study in China. The first experience of a seminar for many Chinese students is when they arrive in Britain. Secondly, there may be a problem of speaking and listening in English in the early period of their stay. Thirdly, there may be different patterns of taking turns in different cultures (Ch.4). Finally, the timing of pauses can be different in different cultures, a point which is further complicated by the fact that speaking in a second language - and planning what to say - can take a longer time than native speakers might need to express the same thing.

T There are three things: it's personal, cultural and, of course, linguistic. I mean, somebody may have something to say but may feel that their language is not good enough to express it and they feel inhibited, or by the time they've composed what they want to say, the moment has passed and it's too late, so they just drop it. (16-3-89)

In a British context, people may feel that they must fill in the gap in conversations. Silence might mean something has gone wrong. The following quotation is such
an example:

T ... with this Chinese guy there are long silences and I don't know whether they are silences of understanding, "Please continue, I'll interrupt when I don't understand" or whether they are silences of misunderstanding that he can't make a voice to show that he understands, because he doesn't. There are these long pauses and I break these pauses by saying, "I'll say that again, just so I can be sure you've understood and if you don't understand, please tell me". So I will say it again and then there'll be another long pause and I'll say "Did you understand that?" and he never replies "Yes" or "No", never. So I say again "Did you understand?" and the reply is always a repetition of something I've just said. He never says he doesn't understand and he never says he does. ... I know he understands more than I think he does, and everybody in my lab says that. He clearly understands more than we realize, but nobody is quite sure how much. (20-4-89)

In this case, the Chinese obviously could not fully understand what his supervisor had said and he was perhaps trying to work it out while his supervisor, with good intention, broke the pauses and silences the student may have needed for comprehension. Probably the more pauses were broken, the more frustrated the student would be and the less he could work out the meaning.

9.3.1.i. quoting

Chinese and some other overseas students hold a view that they cannot write as well as the expressions in a book and therefore the best solution is to copy it in their own writing, sometimes without acknowledgement. This is described in the following quotation:

T We reckon it takes a year to get them to start to
think independently, to get their own answers to questions and initially they'll go and get the nearest they can from a book and if you’re not careful they’ll actually copy it out. They'll tell you their English isn’t very good and that the book expresses it so well that they can’t improve on it, but it is only an excuse. (20-4-89)

Probably in some academic cultures, it is acceptable not to give the recognition of the author, since the book is published, assuming that everyone knows where the quote comes from. This situation is particularly true of famous sayings and writings in a Chinese context. People regard them as collective property (a further example of collectivism, see Ch.4). In many published Chinese books and academic papers, there is no bibliography or list of references. At most they are in the footnotes without full information. Similarly, the writer often does not give the source of an idea when it is paraphrased in current writing. In Western academic culture this is considered deception, dishonesty or plagiarism. In Chinese academic culture, this may not be taken so seriously. The important point for the Chinese is that the idea is used and publicized. However with the influence of academic writing styles from the West, Chinese academic writing may have begun to recognize the importance of quoting sources and authors. This is seen in the recent publication of research writing and in the requirement of conference papers that a bibliography is included.

9.3.2. tutor & student relationships/roles

There is a large quantity of interview data
discussing relationships and roles of British tutors and Chinese students. So, apart from other academic problems, such as:

T: problems in going and listening to a lecture and trying to understand, difficulties about asking questions in class, there are also, difficulties about relating to a supervisor or a tutor, they think tutors are up here (gestures above head) and they probably have difficulty in arguing with a tutor in the way that most English students would more readily. (5-4-89)

Clearly, the problem of relationships bothers Chinese students a great deal, since they always naturally care about relationships with people around them in China since Chinese culture emphasizes harmony, hierarchical respect, etc. (see Ch.1 & 2). But in Britain, people have a different sense of relationships. Given this contrast Chinese students are uneasy about behaving appropriately in British academic or non-academic groups.

CS: Well, in China, you have to care about personal relationships with colleagues, whether I am going to offend others, etc. (6-4-89)

T: One advantage about England is that relationships are relatively informal. There is no elaborate etiquette to follow. We rely on informality rather than on structure, so it is an environment which requires confidence, self-confidence, and initially it must be difficult because it hasn’t got structure. (16-3-89)

Not only is the informal relationship loose without a structure, but to a Chinese who is used to close relationships in society, he finds that he lives outside or on the surface of British society, because he cannot
establish the relationships as closely as he expects. Nevertheless, students also find it easier to deal with relationships when they realize the differences between Chinese ways and British ways.

Chinese students seem to have fairly negative feelings about their roles in British universities. They felt they were treated as cheap labour (16-11-88) and that they were not respected (6-4-89).

9.3.2.a. personal

According to both British tutors and Chinese students, Chinese students are very careful about their personal relationship with others. Chinese students worried that it was very difficult for them to have good friendships with the British at a deeper level (5-12-88).

Some British tutors found that Chinese students prepared their language very carefully before they talked about their personal matters; perhaps they needed to convince or persuade their supervisor or request help:

If they're coming to talk to me about personal matters then I have the distinct feeling that they think through what they want to discuss with me before they come into the room and if they have any doubts about what is exactly the right word or expression then they will pause and think for the right word, they are not embarrassed. Very often they choose words very carefully. (8-5-89)

In contrast, some Chinese students mentioned that they had offended their British colleagues in academic discussions because of spontaneous argument over a technical or academic matter. There might be at least two reasons leading to such offence:
One is that they carefully prepared in advance what they had to say before talking about any personal matters, but their academic discussion is spontaneous, without much consideration of choosing words; the intention being to 'argue the matter'.

The other is that, in general, British academics try to use impersonal words and sentence structures to talk about academic or technical matters in order to appear more objective. Pragmatically, the purpose is in fact the same as in a personal talk: to incline the listener towards the opinion of the speaker. But the technique used in academic discussion may be the opposite to that used in personal talk, which employs impersonal words to express a personal view. It seems unlikely that Chinese students are alerted to possible differences in British personal and academic discussion styles or trained to use different techniques of presentation. When they discuss an academic matter, they often use personal words and sentence structures, such as 'I think...', 'I'm right, you're wrong', which could be taken as a personal attack by a British addressee, when the Chinese students are simply thinking 'your opinion is wrong and my opinion is right'. It takes greater verbal sophistication to develop Academic Language Use to be able to express this in British impersonal terms.

One British tutor commented that his relationship with Chinese students had developed into a family one, which sounds very promising, for that is what Chinese students long for:

T When you work with someone for three or four years it
is more like a family relationship. They are encouraged to say what they want. There is a fairly relaxed atmosphere. (15-3-89)

The intention of such a relationship is positive and helpful to Chinese students. However, a British family relationship can be contrasted with a Chinese one. The interesting point is that this "family relationship" is more likely in a British style, which emphasizes equality, fairness, individualism and freedom. This is different to the Chinese idea of a family relationship, which values filial respect, obedience, harmony and caring (see Ch.1).

9.3.2.b. social

Most Chinese students' social life is very limited: it centres round their supervisor, students in the lab or on the course, people in their accommodation. Ph.D. students in Social Science and Arts are even more isolated since the element of personal study is usually greater than in sciences. From the questionnaire data, it is clear that Chinese students thought that their relationship with British supervisors was closer than most other possible relationships (see Ch.7). Some British tutors like to be among students, "I'm a fairly easy going person. I mix with students. Those Chinese students often invite me to go to their place for a meal" (15-3-89). Others have other academic or family commitments and limited time, "I only know about him in the lab. Outside the lab, I've hardly seen him. I don't know what he does in his spare time" (29-4-89). This Chinese student may have felt he had been neglected among
the British.

CS It's not that I'm not willing to contact the British. It's that I don't have chance although I'm among the British. The more the British around you, the plainer and shorter relationship I have with them. Everyday I meet them here, the only thing we say is "How are you?". (16-11-88)

They also argue that people in Britain do care about relationships like in China.

CS In Britain, the absolute respect for teachers is not as strict as in China; but it does exist. On one hand, those seniors keep a certain amount of authority over you. On the other hand, they appear quite friendly and easy going with you, e.g. with my supervisor, after he talks to me formally and seriously, he always makes a joke to relax the atmosphere, patting me on the shoulder, winking, etc. British people also care for relationship, a good relationship. (17-11-88)

So if Chinese students feel that they do not have a 'good and close' relationship with colleagues and their supervisor as they would expect in China, they would sense that something has gone seriously wrong. Such anxieties may give them extra unnecessary pressure.

9.3.2.c. academic

In China, a supervisor would have a very close personal, social and academic relationship with his students. A good teacher is a parent, a guide, a care-taker, a resource of knowledge and a key to problem solving (see Ch.4). In Britain, when they face an unexpected style of relationship they feel disappointed.

T: I see my role as pushing responsibility back onto students. Your Chinese students look after your own
interests. You work very much through your own sense of motivation. (7-3-89)

CS: It's impossible to talk to my supervisor about my research topic properly. I only met him once. It's impossible to talk.... It's not a discussion if you talk to him. They don't have a carefully planned project for you. He only accepts you to come and study here. He organizes your coming. (17-11-88)

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O When I first came here, I wanted to talk to my supervisor about my research,
C my supervisor said there was nothing to talk about. "You've just arrived."
E The problem is that they didn't know my ability. But with British students, their relationships would be good from the beginning. (6-4-89)

From the above 'dialogue' and narrative there are evidently problems of expectations and roles of students and supervisors in the two cultures. Since personal care is not seen as being shown in the beginning — or perhaps all the way through the period of study — Chinese students may conclude that:

CS In fact he is like a manager. Here the name of a supervisor is, in fact, a manager. ... this management is in charge of money. (17-11-88)

CS If I change to another university, it doesn't mean that the situation in that university will be better, probably they treat me as labour again. (15-11-88)

CS Actually we become cheap labour for British universities.... Here almost all the hard, most difficult and major projects are carried out by the Chinese. (16-11-88)

Yet, some supervisors and students observed that the relationships between and roles of the two sides in Science rather than in Social Science and Arts were more
similar to those expected in China.

In these mathematical areas there is much more of a master-student relationship. ... It’s much less equal, than it is in the Social Science. (13-4-89)

It is important to have a mutual understanding of expectations - that both sides know what they intend to do. If a British supervisor prefers Chinese students to follow the British way because he believes that this is a way to train them to be independent, individual and creative, then it is better for Chinese students to understand his intention. They and he can also meet each other half way and take the merits from each side.

9.3.3. academic cultural orientation

Previously, general cultural orientation has been discussed in the section on Social Distance. Under the topic heading of academic cultural orientation, special reference is made to the different emphasis and styles of thinking in Chinese and British academic cultures.

When we talk about superficial things, it’s fine. But when we discuss something at a deeper level, then the thinking becomes different. Their ways of thinking are absolutely different from ours. We look at things from this angle, they look at the same thing from a completely different angle. They have to show their politeness to talk to us. But we can’t go on talking to a deeper level. (17-11-88)

Obviously, academic matters are included in the things discussed at a deeper level. Yet an overlap between the general and the specific cannot be avoided. It is likely that the specific is derived from the general, but is
more subtle and particularized. Although British culture is widely regarded as difficult to pin down, the following is an attempt to look for the different emphasis and expectations in academic cultures.

9.3.3.a. **active involvement/passive participation**

British tutors have an impression that Chinese students are passive and quiet in tutorials, seminars and lectures, but that they work very hard and produce good results. It seems the students remain something of an enigma to British tutors, because it is very hard for them to know what Chinese students really think. This can be seen from the following narrative and quotations.

**O** We had one other one in the past. He also worked very hard.

**C** They tend to work very much in isolation

**R** and it would be better if they took part in the lecture programmes that are available to them.

**C** They spent their time just doing their own work.

**E** They ought to participate more. (12-4-89)

***

**T** I can think of a lot of Chinese students who have sat there week after week, week after week, without speaking and you don't really know a) whether they're understanding what you are saying and b) whether they agree maybe with something contentious that you've said and it is very difficult to penetrate inside what they're thinking. (16-3-89)

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**T** They ought to participate more than they do. They tend to get very involved in their work and perhaps not say enough in tutorials. They will sit very passively in tutorials. (12-4-89)

Chinese students have a high expectation to learn and acquire knowledge in Britain so that they can become
more capable people equipped with knowledge and skills when they finish their British education (see Ch. 7). Their ideas about obtaining knowledge are likely to derive from their Chinese experience, i.e. learning from their teachers' direct instruction, studying textbooks, doing textbook exercises, and developing a retentive memory for all this material (see Ch. 4, 4.4.2). This traditional way has some advantage and is necessary in certain areas of learning. However, in Britain, the emphasis is given to practical ability in applying knowledge. A student’s work is valued when he can produce things by using the knowledge available to him. He is expected to find out for himself the relevant knowledge for what he wants to do, because this process itself is considered learning.

Only when they understand the British emphasis in learning, will Chinese students be able to change. This can be traced in the following observation:

T At first when Chinese students come they are much too subservient because that’s the way things are in the Chinese academic world. At the beginning they are not willing to give me their opinions. They just keep silent or agree with me. Later on they feel they can give me their opinions. Again, at the beginning they are slow to ask questions. They want a lot of instruction at the beginning instead of creative work, but after a while they improve as they do very good work. (6-4-89)

Other than their expectation of learning, there are further reasons which may lead to passivity and silence in discussions: a lack of confidence, less language ability and the psychological strain of not
wanting to be seen as showing off.

O Lao Huang is a professor. He prepared a speech for the reading as requested. He had looked up in the dictionary and found out all the words he wanted to know.

C I said "Why don't you say something. You've prepared for it."

R But he didn't say a word.

E None of us had prepared for it. (21-11-88)

In this narrative, language should not be a problem for the professor, because he had prepared for the speech. Possibly, he felt he should not stand out, especially when other Chinese had not done the homework.

T: A lot of the advantage of coming here is not only to read books and to use the computer but to sit in the coffee bar and talk to people about what they are doing and how they are doing it, exchanging ideas. At least, this is a British view of such things. You learn a lot about what people are doing through interaction. This is half of the point of going to conferences, not the lectures you go to but the people you talk to in the bar. (24-4-89)

CS: I'm willing to join in the seminar, but I can't, because I can't speak as fluently as others. If you speak very slowly, people will think it's dull and can't pick up the ideas. They don't want to discuss with you, unless your opinion is very impressive. Some Westerners think Chinese students are not active in discussion, but I think Chinese students are very, very active in their mental discussion inside their heads. Language is a key problem. (28-11-88)

In this 'dialogue', Chinese students have a positive attitude, but their low language confidence puts them off. They point out why sometimes they cannot join in the conversation even if they want to. The British
tutors can see the problem from the surface: their Chinese students do not participate actively. But they may not realize how hard it is for them, at first, to cross their cultural boundary; secondly, to be confident with themselves academically and thirdly, to be fluent and sensitive in expressing themselves.

9.3.3.b. alternatives/single solution

Chinese students tend to believe in one solution to one problem. It is as if they wanted to find a unique key to open a treasure door. But British academics prefer to think there are probably several ways to solve a problem: students ought to have an open mind, not to declare the answer, but an answer and evaluate critically one solution against another. This scepticism relates to academic modesty and open-mindedness. These differences of emphasis in the academic cultures are revealed in the following narratives and quotations.

O My main connection was with him in his first year when he worked with me on a topic that I gave him and he did that quite well.

C During that initial exercise there was this initial period when he was beavering away quite effectively but in a very blinkered manner.

R The end product that came out in the second year was much broader, I mean, it was actually quite good. Now that was a result of a process where I and a colleague were talking to him regularly, discussing drafts and graphs of his thesis and I suppose this feedback must eventually have an effect.

E If you say several times, "You have got to qualify this claim", you know, explain how it isn't written absolutely in tablets of stone, there may be ifs and buts and caveats... and these were done.

C The only thing I'm not certain about is how fully he
accepts that,
but I've no reason to believe that he doesn't, than that should now be his new way of doing things.

My colleague now finds that he has a more relaxed, broad-minded approach to research. (27-4-89)

Another narrative given in an interview concerned a Chinese student who was unable to see his supervisor for an 'authoritative' answer and was puzzled when he was given three answers on the topic by three British students in the lab. His action upset the British. They each had to stop their own experiment to talk to him, but then saw him interrupting the next person. It seems that he would only trust the answer from a person higher in the academic hierarchy. One said "And this is driving us crazy, because it is inevitably the case that there is more than one way of doing something and the second person will perhaps emphasize some aspect of the protocol which the first person did not emphasize or maybe even suggest doing something slightly different" (12-4-89).

Others examples given by British tutors show their emphasis on alternatives in both course study and research.

... and he would do a competent analysis and come up with an answer and then declare that it was the answer, whereas a bit more experience, or even a bit more modesty, would have led him to say, "Well, this is a possible answer, but, of course, there are other alternative or possibilities". So it's a very narrow approach, I suppose. (27-4-89)

I think they have lot of problems initially coping with choice, so when they say, you know, "What is the theory about this?" and you say, "Well, there are
five theories about that and here they are and you must decide which you prefer", and they find it very difficult to begin with because they are not sure if you are sincere or if it’s a trick and it takes them some time to realize that it doesn’t matter which one you choose. In China, everything is white and black. That’s the biggest cultural difference, that there is this problem which Chinese students have when they are faced with a choice which has no clear backing from authority, where what the authority -- the teacher -- is saying is "I want you to make a choice for yourself and I want you to justify it to me and I don’t mind which one you pick. That they find very difficult. They gradually learn how to do that. Their first reaction is to try to find out what your choice would be, so they might go to find something you’ve written to see what your position would be, so then they will find the thing that is closest to your position and say that that is their choice, when actually it isn’t. (16-3-89)

This tutor evidently has a very clear idea of the causes of the problem Chinese students face and the consequences after they understand the British academic perception towards choices.

Chinese students, as observed by some British tutors, learned and appreciated the different British approach in academic culture.

T My Chinese student is quite perceptive and he quite soon explained that our ideas were totally different and he was telling me that we are teaching the students to think, which is quite a different approach, and there is probably more than one answer, depending on the circumstances which vary from case to case. You have to think everything out from first principles every time. This is part of the cultural difference, particularly in economics where
alternatives are something we emphasize right from the beginning. (20-4-89)

Yet the following quotation records one unhappy result of presenting alternatives to a Chinese student.

I think that's a fair reflection of the difficulty this student has with his head of department, because he couldn't understand why the head of department was giving him all these alternatives to choose from rather than giving him clear directives. The head of department opened up more problems for him by giving him choices instead of solving them! (17-3-89)

It would be helpful if Chinese students are given a certain period of gliding from receiving instructions to facing and looking for alternatives. British tutors need to be informed of Chinese attitudes and perceptions about alternatives and single solution, as seen in the figure below.

[figure 9.1]

9.3.3.c. critical evaluation/uncritical acceptance

There are many reasons for Chinese students difficulty in being critical in a British way. This does not mean there is no criticism in Chinese academic culture. Criticism is a complicated matter in the Chinese
context. For example, a technical mistake, idea or matter (the import of old and unsuitable equipment from Japan by the Bao-shan Iron and Steel Company), a political ideal (The Great Leap Forward in 1958, The Proletarian Cultural Revolution in 1966) can be criticized. But this criticism can only be expressed publicly after the approval of the hierarchy and their recognition of terrible results. Nevertheless, there are cases like The Three Gorges Dam Project which has been discussed and critically evaluated since the 1950s, yet the decision was made in 1992 by the hierarchy. Criticism can take place between horizontal relationships (between those occupying relatively equal positions in society,) over academic, professional and technical matters. Therefore, one of the key problems for Chinese students is how to deal with vertical criticism in British academic culture, e.g. where a lecturer may openly invite or expect academic criticism from students as an academic procedure.

T: There is also the difference of freedom of speech and I know that when Chinese students come here they are horrified at the sort of language the British use, and the criticisms. They criticize everybody and that is very difficult for the Chinese to understand. It horrifies them. It is almost a trauma. And it works the other way round because the English lecturers have little understanding of what goes on in the Chinese mind and they won't give opportunity for the Chinese thoughts to come forward slowly and be expressed. They want an instant answer. No answer, no problem. The students cannot bring themselves to criticize the lecturer and if the lecturer criticizes them that is awful. To be criticized openly is terrible. These are all things that should be shown and explained and rarely are. (8-5-89)
CS: I think that generally Chinese students wouldn't disagree with our supervisor's words or instructions. Even if they don't agree, they just keep silent or if they say something, they just hint a little bit, very implicitly. The majority are like this. even the minority who are more straightforward, they wouldn't say something back straight, they say it round about. (17-11-88)

Not only is it difficult for Chinese students to criticize in public, because they care for the face of the person receiving criticism and "avoid causing offence" (8-5-89), but also they have an attitude of accepting anything published.

There is a tendency for Chinese students to accept too readily what other scientists have said or have written, particularly if they are rather important, whereas over here we have a much more critical attitude to everything and everybody. Basically, here, everybody is an idiot unless it is proved otherwise! Whereas they will treat an important person as a god unless it is proved otherwise! ... So because someone says something in a paper they are apt to quote him without considering whether it is wrong or why it takes a particular direction. There is this tendency to accept what people have written. It is common for the Chinese to say, "Oh, you are the Professor. I want to come and work with you". (24-4-89)

This links with the previous problem of choosing between alternatives and a single solution,

At a different level, there's also the problem of dealing with contradictory arguments. So when you're reviewing the literature for your research you'll come across some people arguing for one line and other people arguing for another line. There's quite
often a difficulty there in knowing what to do with contradictory arguments in the sense that, because of the authority-orientation of Chinese students you're not allowed to criticize and you're not allowed to take sides and therefore that creates a problem in writing. The purpose of writing a literature review, from a British educational point of view, would normally be to try to find out where you want to position yourself within the existing literature in your area and to criticize what you see as wrong, or bad, research and perhaps promote what you see as the right line of enquiry. But for Chinese, I think, because there is this feeling that anything that has been written in a book is correct and you're not allowed to criticize it, that creates immense problems for many students. (15-3-89)

The following suggestion is helpful for newly arrived Chinese students to guide them all the way through their period of study in Britain in order to achieve their potential.

The Chinese obviously have a slightly different way of expressing themselves. We send out a style paper to tell them what to do and one of the things we have to emphasize with some students is that they mustn't just repeat our notes or what we say. They have to argue it and enter into a dialogue. (19-4-89)

9.3.3.d. independence/dependence

Academic independence is stressed in British education. It includes the relative freedom of academic research and planning course content as well as the ability to be independent to be in carrying out academic activities (see Ch.4). Chinese academic independence is expected to take place only when a student has mastered the required knowledge of a subject and climbed up to the
top of the academic hierarchy (see Ch. 3 & 4).

T: Study is independent. You're not just doing what someone tells you. You want to be creative. (10-4-89)

CS: British ways and Chinese ways of doing a Ph.D. are different. Here we have to learn how to do things on our own. Our supervisors won't bother to tell us. But in China, our supervisors would accompany us to start the research and help us all the way through. (3-4-89)

The 'dialogue' above reflects the different expectations in British and Chinese educational systems. But many British tutors admit that all their graduate students, particularly overseas ones, are very dependent initially (6-3-89, 13-4-89). One of the British tutors interviewed pointed out:

T This independence makes a vital difference. Because I work in department of education I see that difference as having an effect on the classroom too. You know, that if a teacher is encouraging students to be independent then it probably because he or she, the teacher, has learnt independence himself. Teaching is a process of encouraging students away from that sort of dependency to the point where they can take on some sort of independent research. (6-3-89)

This could be seen as one of the solutions to solve the problem of dependency which Chinese students experience while studying in Britain. They need to be told explicitly what is expected from them in a British education.

9.3.3.e. speaker & writer's responsibility/ listener & reader's responsibility

This difference is related to many aspects of academic and social life, such as passiveness and
activeness, collectivism and individualism, expression styles of criticism, discourse patterns, etc (see Ch. 4 & 5). In a Chinese context, the listener or reader takes responsibility to find out what is said. Thus the speaker or writer shows his concern for not causing embarrassment and difficulty over a matter or a requirement if a reader or listener cannot fulfil it (see Ch. 5, 5.5.3).

British tutors find that Chinese students often do not express what they really think; the tutors expect them to express their opinions explicitly. "They may expect, or hope for, quite a lot, but not put in a request as such" (T:15-3-89). But the Chinese emphasis is for listeners or readers to find the meaning. It is enough if the speaker or writer has said sufficient to lead them to a place where they can discover the point, to lead them to the brink. He does not believe in the relevance of making his opinion clear for various reasons (embarrassment, discourtesy). The following 'dialogue' shows the two views:

T: They wouldn't speak out. You've got to try very hard to find out what they think because they don't tell you. They never say what they mean but they don't avoid it. I mean, it's there if you think about it. They say it in a roundabout way and it takes a long time for them to say it and you have to think about it afterwards to understand what they're trying to say and sometimes you have to go back to them afterwards and say. "Did you mean this?" and they say, "Yes". (8-5-89)

CS: ... sometimes you don't want to give a reason. You know Chinese people, sometimes, don't give a clear explanation. For example, for the change of this research topic, the reason is that it may not be
suitable when I go back to China. But it was me who chose this topic. So I felt embarrassed to talk about this reason. I am afraid they would ask me why I chose this current topic. (6-11-88)

When a person carries many anxieties, psychologically it may be very hard to make any opinion explicit. The problem is that apparently only some British tutors realize the reasons behind the silence or hints. When Chinese students are convinced they should speak and write what they think in academic discussion, this situation will improve.

A Sometimes I've had to ask several times the same question about what they want and they wouldn't tell me. Sometimes they even go away and they come back two or three days later and we go through the same conversation again.

O/C On one occasion, with a particularly difficult problem, the student just gave up. He said, "No. I don't want to talk about it", and he began to leave.

R and I prevented him from leaving and I said, "Please try to explain it"

E and finally it emerged.

O/C One student would never tell me straight, to begin with,

R but after a period of time he found it much easier.

E Of course, that was with plenty of encouragement. (24-4-89)

Chinese students need encouragement, reassurance and guidance to integrate into the British academic culture in order to show their academic strength. This does not mean they have to abandon their original academic cultural orientation, which has supported them successfully all the way through Chinese universities.
The question of integration also challenges British academic staff, who may need to become explicitly conscious of their own academic orientation in order to understand overseas learners. Since it is already part of British academic culture to look for alternatives and the Chinese orientation to value harmony and collective needs, both sides should be able to make effort for academic cultural synergy.

9.3.4. academic culture shock

Apart from experiencing general culture shock in a strange country, enrolling into another academic world in an unfamiliar educational system could be another shock for Chinese and overseas students.

O I remember during my first year here taking an M.A. course, it was very hard, always trying to make up the time, I couldn't have time to think, only later was I able to reflect back on the whole year. For example, if I did an assignment I got the marks back and wasn't satisfied with the mark, I wouldn't blame myself. Why? I thought I had done quite good work... now, when I look back,

C

R I realized the problems:

E the way of writing is different, it's a different education system, a different research style, a different relationship between supervisors and students, maybe I used Chinese ways to do my British research or course. But then the supervisors here are used to the Western system and they wouldn't recognize other styles, or they'd prefer the English way, which, if you want to get a British degree, is fair enough. But it's better to let us understand their way. (16-11-88)

Some British tutors envisage this shock in some aspects, such as, "seeing students disagreeing with the
tutor, often in very informal language, it must be very shocking coming from a culture where there is this certain distance between students and tutors" (15-3-89). The following sections attempt to identify various aspects of this academic culture shock from the interview data, most of which coincide with the quantitative data results (in Ch.7).

9.3.4.a. academic expectations

The difference in academic expectations is a key thread for many academic problems of Chinese students.

CS: In Chinese universities, the professor tells people what to do. (10-4-89)

T: ... You can't tell students, or anybody, what the experience of going through a Ph.D. is. You can't relate it, because it is something that happens to you. (14-4-89)

These opposite views reveal some explanations: Chinese students expect to be told but British academics believe in personal experience --- each individual must ultimately learn independently. When Chinese students expect to be shown answers, they may not get them from their British tutors, consequently they may devalue their learning experience in Britain.

T: There's a fine balance to be found there and I feel that sometimes there's a bit of a feeling it's, you know, "Tutor, come here, give me, tell me what to do." I don't know whether it's a question of independence or of believing too much in authority, that the tutor has the answer but that he's just not willing to give it to the student, whereas in actual fact the case is that the tutor hasn't got the answer. He might have some ideas about how to arrive at an answer, but he hasn't got the answers hidden in
a drawer somewhere. I suspect that it has got a lot to do with educational traditions. (15-3-89)

CS: I had a much higher expectation of British education and research. I thought the conditions here would be very good and at a very high standard. But now I feel it's average. It's very similar to Chinese academic conditions or research or study. Maybe this is because I haven't stayed here long enough to judge. (5-12-88)

CS: Actually their academic ability is not as good as that in our country. But the management in this country is better.... The equipment is not much better either. ... in the aspects of academics, it seems that nothing can be learned. (15-11-88)

Perhaps the academic standard in the British universities referred in the interview is not high. But the high expectations of British universities and the style of supervision they admired or at least are familiar with in China affect their opinion of British academic life and perhaps their performance.

In interviews, both Chinese students and British supervisors gave suggestions. They expressed some of their expectations of each other fairly explicitly.

T: There might sometimes be a problem for Chinese students in deciding the difference between the extent of help that you should be expecting from your tutor and, on the other hand, the kind of input that you should put into it yourself as a student. There is sometimes a tendency to assume that their tutor has got to give all the ideas and perhaps it would be nice if there was more of an attitude that the tutor has an advisory role, but at the end of the day, at that research level, it is up to the individual student to come up with the creative ideas, to put in a lot of work. (15-3-89)

CS: There are two points about understanding British
lectures. One is that I would understand it better if I had some knowledge about the background content. The other is that it makes a difference to me if the lecturer speaks standard English, i.e. if he comes from England. But if he speaks with a Scottish accent, or is a non-native speaker, I find it very difficult to understand him. ... Another thing is that their teaching is very much localized with British economic cases. But I don’t have the background knowledge. I’m not familiar with their historical events. But the major difficulty is still about the culture, e.g. their jokes, humour, the historical cases which are used a lot in lectures. I can’t follow those. If he only used mathematical models or abstract theories, etc. it would be easier for me. (5-12-88)

These are positive suggestions. The task is for both sides to see each other's point of view and improve the situation.

9.3.4.b. academic presentation

Academic presentation refers to both oral and written, both verbal and nonverbal, expression given in academic activities. Academic writing includes project assignments, essays, reviews, reports, dissertations and theses; oral activities include presenting conference papers, seminar/workshop presentations and discussions; classroom activities. All of these require presentation skills. There may be different requirements of styles in different academic cultures.

Some British tutors found that Chinese students "are not up-front stating the ideas and then proving the points they're making. But you tell people to do that and it still doesn't come out right" (10-4-89). They point
out that a British way of writing would be: "giving the hypothesis first, state what the problem is, then present the data in an unbiased way, then a section on interpretation, then a conclusion which follows" (24-4-89). More specifically, they have found that:

A standard practice for Chinese geology journals is to publish an article in Chinese with an English abstract. They're nebulous. It is very difficult to pick out the main conclusions. They say what has been done rather than giving the conclusions. ... whereas normally in a British abstract you'd expect to be able to pick it out immediately -- that's the whole point. (21-4-89)

I suppose the bits and pieces of Chinese students' writing that I have read have been predominantly of the kind where the argument is built up from the base and then built up to the main point at the end, but the main point isn't made at the beginning.... Thinking about discussion, my experience is that frequently the point is made first and then the argument is made afterwards, rather than building up to a crescendo and making the point at the end. Perhaps this is one of the things that seems to present a difficulty in discussion. Because you are presented with what seems to be a fait accompli, a ready made conclusion. There as a tutor you're bound to say, "Well, how did you arrive at that conclusion?" ... "Give me some reasons". (15-3-89)

These quotations illustrate very clearly the contrast of the styles of reports or arguments in Chinese and British academic written presentations. When Chinese scientists write in English, the process of thinking is still according to a Chinese way. Therefore the outcome is the same as they would have written in Chinese.

Other presentation activities in seminars and
classroom discussions become more difficult for students, because they hardly know the functions and styles of seminars until they come to Britain. This has two consequences: one is not knowing how to present their own point of view; the other is not following the arguments and ideas of other presenters using a British way.

CS: Presenting papers in seminars and joining in discussion are very difficult for us, because our education system is not like theirs, we were not trained for that kind of discussion. (28-11-88)

T: The kinds of things you get: not knowing how to present an argument, not realizing you have to present evidence, not understanding that just giving your opinion is not enough in an academic essay, not realizing that you need to refer to books you've read, just simply not realizing what kind of thing we call an essay. (19-3-89)

This 'dialogue' demonstrates that Chinese students realize the cause of their difficulty although they may not be clear of what the problems are, nor how to deal with them. It shows that British tutors had a list of problems, but they may not be aware of the reasons recognized by Chinese students.

Furthermore, it can be difficult for British tutors to accept another style of presentation.

T: Getting a student to produce an argument, not just an opinion but an argument of their own supported by facts and evidence. Some people tell us this is a peculiarly Western way of approaching it and it's an unreasonable expectation and I think that at that point one has to say "Well, I'm sorry, I don't know any other way of thinking. I have been bred in a Western philosophical way of thinking which has certain notions of what the presentation of an
argument is and that we cannot escape from. So it may be an insurmountable objective, but I'm not conscious that it's any greater for Chinese than anyone else, though it is a problem for them. (19-3-89)

One can imagine that a student bred in another academic culture or philosophical way of thinking would have equal difficulty to adapt to a British one. However, the following suggestion seems an effective one:

T I give all students a handout on how to write a scientific paper, which helps them. They have written things for presentation at conferences and I haven't had to alter them very much at all. (19-4-89)

9.3.4.c knowledge of education systems

Education systems vary in their requirements and emphases in academic cultures (Ch.3 & 4). There are also differences in enrolment requirements, years of study, syllabus, the content of each subject, stages of doing a course or research, or the requirement for each course. This means that Chinese and other overseas students may not have appropriate expectations of the British system.

British tutors commented that Chinese students "are not really sure about what a Ph.D. means, and they're not really sure about the subject area, ... 'what is a Ph.D.?' I think that worries Chinese students more that it does English students" (14-4-89). Presumably this refers to a British Ph.D. and, of course, Chinese students have not even experienced a Chinese Ph.D., let alone faced completing a British one.

CS: I didn't know anything when I just arrived here. I didn't know the condition of work so that I didn't know how to start, where to start my research
independently. It's impossible.

T: I think there is sometimes a cultural problem there in the sense that your education system is perhaps more authority-oriented so it is assumed that the tutors have the right to determine what the students should do whereas I think that what we, to some extent, hope to develop is the students' own ability to answer the right questions. (15-3-89)

There is difference in their views towards how to study in Britain, even if this tutor seems to understand the authority-oriented Chinese education system. Therefore it is very important to equip overseas students with knowledge of the requirements of the British education system.

9.3.4.d. motivation for study

The interview data about Chinese students' motivation for study confirm the result from the quantitative survey. Chinese students are said to be highly motivated in their study in Britain. They work hard for long hours, are determined and eager to learning. However, in the following 'dialogue' quotation, different emphasis in motivation is given by a British tutor and a Chinese student.

T They come here to get experience, to interface with modern technology, in some cases to get a British degree, but experience primarily. (10-4-89)

CS People like me won't have many chances to come abroad. I should work hard and successfully so that I can report to my working unit at home when I finish this visit. This is my wish. (17-11-88)

Both descriptions give a positive evaluation to the Chinese students' motivation. But the British one
sees motivation as coming from the individual and the Chinese one looks for it based on collective thinking.

9.3.4.e. research process

The interview data show that the students initially go through a stage of being dependent on their supervisors. The difference between Chinese and British research processes is that the Chinese dependent period is much longer than the British one and a Chinese supervisor maintains a tight control on students whereas the British one expects a more equal discussion.

T: I give them a project on which to start work, to get their teeth into but after that the particular area of their research is a matter of discussion. I listen to them as much as they should be listening to me, ideally. (12-4-89)

CS:
A I was quite free in China.
O When I was doing research in China, I had to listen to my supervisor for most of my work.
C He didn't understand my research work. But he always asked me questions and limited my action. If I wanted to carry out something, he sometimes said "Stop it, let's finish it now".
E However generally I had quite a lot of freedom. (6-4-89)

This narrative shows how this Chinese student felt he was already quite free under the circumstance that his supervisor could say 'stop' to him any time. In the British situation, a Chinese student can easily feel too free, lost in fact.

T: ... So we establish the guidelines right at the beginning. On the other hand, I do delegate other people to be close at hand particularly in the early months of their time with us. (8-5-89)
CS: There is a process of knowing the surroundings here and knowing the working criterion used here. You need an English person to work with you for a while. I personally prefer that we, he and I, work together, cooperate. I follow him to do whatever he does. I prefer to have a period of being his assistant. After this period, I can do something independently. I think this would benefit me most. (6-11-88)

It seems that Chinese students demand more than guidelines. They need to work with somebody very closely for a short period of time until they know their working environment and experience how the British do research. To offer the Chinese newcomers the opportunity to be apprenticed to a more experienced researcher could be a good procedure for a British department to adopt, for the initial stages. This may help both sides, with time and experience.

A number of British tutors summarized their experience with the Ph.D. research process and there seems to be an agreed pattern illustrated in the data.

Stage One: the first six months or one year, a dependent or preparation period, to specify a research hypothesis, to do literature research about the topic, to get to know the subject area and to be familiar with the technical skills like computing.

T Right at the beginning I supervise them very closely. I’ll see them every week. I’ll tell them exactly what to do because people are in no position to know what to do, they haven’t a clue, for the first six months they come to me and I tell them what to do next and they do it, and go on short courses, use the library, learning computing. (9-3-89)
so I always accept that in the first year I put him or her through a sequence of exercises which are developing an understanding of the theoretical structures and the techniques and so on, and then I let them go and they take off. (13-4-89)

... I try to explain that it's the ability to generalize, as opposed to thinking of specific things, and you are definitely in for a learning process for 6 or 9 months, and become an expert in your field and assess the literature, (14-4-89)

In the initial stages they are very dependant on the supervisor. I give them options of various problems. In the nature of applied mechanics they are unlikely to bring a problem with them, so it is a question of working in current areas and they choose a problem and the problem is then defined, (13-4-89)

Stage Two: after sixth months until the second year, an expanding and semi-independent period, to develop the research topic, methodology and skills, to collect data, to start the theoretical analysis or the building up of theoretical models.

and then what you are going to do is extend the literature in some way, and you'll continue to assess the literature, but in general you'll extend it. (14-4-89)

I work in the theoretical area where there is quite a long preparation period of bringing together all the problems the student is going to solve. It's a fairly frustrating area and you don't expect to come out with material, the process of synthesis doesn't begin to occur until the second year, (13-4-89)

Then after six months they actually start doing the work and as they proceed in the second year they get more confident (9-3-89)

then there's a process of reading the background literature, solving the problem in its simplest form and then building up various levels of complexity
Stage Three: after 18 months, an equal and confident period, to consolidate the theoretical analysis with current research data, to gather research results.

T In the end everybody believes you, but it takes them 18 months to believe you... some know they can do it even though they don't know what it is. (14-4-89)

T and then it becomes much more of a two-way system, the student will come with ideas and I'll suggest something and it becomes much more of a dialogue. (9-3-89)

T till eventually the student knows "I now know how to solve the problem" (13-4-89)

Stage Four: the last period of successful Ph.D. research, to write up and to become authoritative in one's own field.

T of course, right at the end it's the student instructing me. In successful research, that's how it goes. (9-3-89)

T and then they go away and write it. (13-4-89)

These four Ph.D. research periods are only a summary of the interview data about the research process. The periods may overlap, there might be the same cycle in each stage or perhaps some researchers do not go through these stages although this is appears unlikely.

Furthermore, a very experienced British supervisor warned about a difficult situation in the process of research. He emphasized that being a good supervisor meant knowing the art of research:

T In research what happens is you go down a particular road, trying different things and you get to a point where you've got to say "Forget it, stop it. Back to
the beginning and let’s try some other route”. One art of research is to know when to stop. The danger is that an inexperienced and easily discouraged person stops too soon and gives up and ends up trying endless different things and getting nowhere. You’ve got to go down the road long enough to be sure there isn’t anything there. So in that sense I have to guide them. ... The thing, really, to teach them is how to cope when nothing works, at the heart of it that’s the art of research. (9-3-89)

9.3.4.f. teaching-learning strategies

Both Chinese students and British tutors find that there are differences in teaching and learning strategies. The study in China "is highly traditional, highly didactic” (T:21-4-89); and "students expect a very didactic style where the teacher talks and, you know, slices off the tops of their heads and pours the knowledge in and the students see the teacher as the all-knower, the giver, who fills students up with knowledge... where now in Britain the focus is much more on the learner. The teachers sets up tasks and learning experiences which really put the responsibility on the student to contribute to their own learning. There’s the old Chinese proverb: 'Tell me and I forget. Show me and I remember. Involve me and I understand.'"(T:15-3-89).

In lectures, there is a certain style adopted and valued in the British postgraduate system:

T The British lecturing style of summarizing the argument in a debate and saying "Some people look at it their way, some that way, there are the advantages and disadvantages of these approaches. Some students find that very disturbing because they want to be told which is right. "What is the answer?" and we are
resisting that old saying "No, that's for you to discuss. We would like you to work through in your own mind what you think the arguments are". Students sometimes feel that our job as teachers is to provide the answer and that there really is one answer. I'm not conscious that this affects Chinese students, though certainly they have problems presenting papers in that style. One of the most difficult things we find to communicate to students is the notion that they should have a perspective and argument of their own rather than simply mimicking ours. There is nothing more depressing than getting an essay which is simply a summary of your lecture notes. (19-3-89)

The description of a British lecturing style leaves an impression that the staff cultivate creative, individual and critical qualities in students. If this idea is made explicit to students from the beginning of the course, they may appreciate it more easily and be able to adjust to the British expectation.

Some tutors noticed that more experienced Chinese students had a more flexible and confident approach towards the British style of study.

The older Chinese students are more willing to put their point of view, they are more willing to argue, because they feel more confident about their own area and they feel more confident about themselves, whereas the students who come almost straight from university are very deferential and they have great fear that they will offend you if you say something that you will disagree with. They find it very difficult to adjust to our style of teaching, which is very informal and much less hierarchical and there is no one intellectual position which is the one that it is considered that everyone must obey. (16-3-89)
This observation may suggest that it would be more productive and fruitful for studying abroad if the Chinese government sends out those who have had working or research experience and who already have some specific ideas of their study or research subjects.

9.3.4.g. **reverse culture shock (language & academic matters)**

Questions about reverse culture shock were not asked in questionnaires. In interviews, this question appeared naturally and both sides showed strong concern.

_T_ After they’ve been here three or four years they become Westernized, and you know the problem! So the question of adjustment or integration depends on whether you’re taking the view of how much they are getting out of their stay in England or the state of mind in which they go back to China. (15-3-89)

Obviously reverse culture shock is associated with the degree to which Chinese students have integrated into the British culture and its academic culture, although they have a high motivation to achieve academically while studying in Britain.

_T_ The other most noticeable thing when students come out of China, I was quite surprised that students in China don’t seem to work very hard, in my opinion, but once they leave China they feel they have much more scope to study. Of course, the other problem they have is with changing back when they’ve finished their studies here. (21-4-89)

Reverse culture shock is also concerned with the extent to which British ways adopted by Chinese students can be accepted in the Chinese context when they go back.

_CS_: How much should we, as overseas students, adapt to
the Western culture? ... How much of the Western culture can we take home? (17-11-88)

T: Lots of Chinese students sent by the government only stay here for one year, so just as they begin to know life here they have to go back to their own pattern culturally. They may find it difficult in some ways. (27-4-89)

How to keep a fair balance of increasing integration and yet reducing predicted reverse culture shock needs further study, for example by tracing back to those who got their degrees in Britain and have now returned to their home countries.

9.4. EVALUATION OF INTERVIEW DATA ANALYSIS

In interview analysis, coding and decoding of questions and answers given by both interviewer and respondents are problems for researchers, especially for cross-cultural study (Pareek & Rao 1980).

In the present case, the interview questions were explicit but open, allowing respondents to be clear about the question and to have space to express and explain their experiences or to ask the interviewer for clarification. The interview had a conversational quality, since it was valuable for both interviewer and respondent to understand each other’s point of view (---in a sense that is exactly what this research is about). All respondents knew the interviewer was herself a Chinese student who had been thinking about the issues for some time, hence both Chinese and British respondents had their own questions. By giving brief answers to such questions, the interviewer found respondents more
forthcoming about their experiences and respondents also frequently gave explicit confirmation to her suggestions.

However the analysis becomes rather complicated when further explanation for interview answers is sought. Sometimes only one or two possible reasons could be given, because of space. But often there is more than one reason or cause for a particular phenomenon. For example, about Chinese students not asking for help, the reasons could be: 1) being afraid of losing face, because asking for help shows that the person is incapable; 2) not wanting to bother others, because bothering others might be seen as selfish, not caring for others; 3) not wanting to feel he owes a favour to others, for Chinese people would try to return and repay others' favours; 4) lacking language confidence to speak out for help; 5) not being aware that he can ask for help and that he probably has to ask for help in order to get help in British context. But in a Chinese context, if he is seen to be in need of help, he normally waits for others to offer it, otherwise he would be considered too 'pushy', not leaving choices for others, etc. Therefore all these reasons - and more - can be the causes of the 'Chinese silence' in an obviously difficult situation. More likely there is a combination of these reasons. These possible reasons can be traced in the chapters discussing Chinese traditional philosophies and their implications. These background cultural reasons are the warp, whose threads are interwoven by the weft of problematic phenomena emerging in academic, social and everyday life of Chinese students in Britain.
When British and Chinese respondents were interviewed, they both gave rather critical and 'negative' comments about the opposite group. This is shown most clearly when Chinese students were interviewed. There were 'complaints', 'sarcasm' or 'anger' about British people and academics in the conversation which did not appear in the British interviews.

Generalizing and stereotyping can be another kind of problem in the analysis. The researcher is aware of the danger and therefore different and contrasted views made by respondents have been presented. As previously discussed, any comments and perceptions are worthy of being presented even if they are stereotyped, because they show what is in the mind of respondents.
This part proposes a cultural synergy model for Second Language Acquisition and Academic Language Use. The discussion is organized as follows: some general considerations of the nature of the model are presented below, then in Chapter 10 Galtung's work on academic cultures - one of the few cross-cultural considerations of academic cultural differences - is summarized, before the cultural synergy model is presented under the major headings of social, psychological and academic distances.

The cultural synergy model is based on the present research concerning Chinese and British philosophical, psychological, social, ethnographic and educational aspects (which are foundations of academic cultures), on recent environmental linguistic theories and on the analysis of both quantitative and qualitative research data. It synthesizes the research findings and thus attempts to fill the gaps in current models of SLA identified in the introduction to Part 3. The model greatly extends Schumann's acculturation model for SLA. As previously noted (see section 5.3), Schumann's model has two major categories of Social Distance and Psychological Distance, which are seen as the causal variables of acculturation in SLA (see Fig.5.3). The major extension in the present research is that a category of Academic Distance is developed with four sections each with its own sub-divisions. The extent of
this innovation can be seen by comparing Figure 5.3 with Figure 10.4, which is introduced with relevant discussion and reference to the empirical data in this chapter.

Like all models, this cultural synergy model of SLA/ALU is a representation which attempts to incorporate essential features of a situation, in this case incorporating essential features of acculturation in SLA applied to the ALU of Chinese students studying at British universities. There are two key characteristics of such a model: first, that the proposed structure of the model shows correspondence with the situation which is focused upon; and secondly, that the model's structure should show interrelationships between variables (Kaplan 1985 p.4298; Keeves 1985 p.3382). A model in this sense is a simplified statement of relationships and may thus lead to predictions and "will desirably reveal something of the causal mechanisms which are involved" (Keeves, ibid) and contribute to explanation.

The cultural synergy model attempts to meet these criteria: first, by systematic reference to the empirical data presented in chapters 7 and 9 (indicated in brackets throughout this chapter), and, second, by showing the interrelationships between variables in the form of charts (Figures 10.4 - 10.7). Furthermore, Figures 10.5 and 10.6 attempt to show likely causal relationships between key aspects of Chinese culture and the variables shown to be important for Chinese students studying in British universities. Those Figures thus draw together aspects of the first two parts of this work (which examined the social and psychological features of
Chinese culture and identified features of Chinese academic culture) and the results of the analysis of the data (reported in Part 3).

The Cultural Synergy Model is organized under three major headings: Social, Psychological and Academic Distances. Attempts have been made in Chapters One, Two, Four, Seven and Nine to identify and explain possible causal relationships between perceptions in Chinese cultural and educational background and problems or differences in values and emphasis of Chinese students as SL learners/users. The model presented in this chapter is designed to manifest which causal variables will lead to various consequences within the model. This is admittedly somewhat speculative and inductively based on the data. However it seems to accord with the intuitions and experiences of British tutors and Chinese students who have discussed the model.

Within SLA, Gardner (1985 p.124, 143) distinguishes descriptive models from predictive ones. The former attempt to organize and interpret data but without comprising formal axioms or generalizing unequivocal predictions as predictive ones do. Gardner (ibid. p.143) review seven current models of SLA and concludes that all of them are descriptive. Each accounts for various empirical findings but has not been developed to a point where they could make unequivocal predictions or have their validity clearly tested. Gardner contends that "this is not a criticism of the models. It is simply a statement of where we are" (ibid pp.143-144).

A description can become predictive. In the
present case, the model is built up primarily through inductive means and can, therefore, be considered a description of the Chinese case of academic culture and academic language use in British universities. This in itself seems a worthwhile result since there is no such description at present. However, a descriptive model such as this may well have predictive power for other Chinese students from the People’s Republic, Taiwan or Hong Kong, and indeed for other groups of overseas students. Some variables may have different contents, e.g. under Finance, instead of psychological anxiety and inferiority for mainland Chinese students, it might be pride and extravagance for Taiwan and Hong Kong students, which might lead to other consequences in other variables. If the model does have the power to predict some cultural gaps and differences in academic language use for other groups, then it is likely that the causes may be distinct from those leading to the gap between Chinese students and British tutors; that is, while many diverse overseas student groups do have problems and difficulties in common, this present research traces some of the problems of Chinese students to specifically Chinese cultural sources (see Ch.1 & 2).

It is beyond the scope of the present research to speculate on the causes of any difficulties of other non-Chinese groups. Rather, the analyses of quantitative and qualitative data in Chapters Seven and Nine have made an attempt to trace the causes and sources of current difficulties of Chinese students and of different values between Chinese and British academic cultures. Chapter
Ten will further indicate specific connections between the variables in the proposed model and Chinese cultural sources and at the same time the chapter will suggest where these variables may not be traced to Chinese sources and where they may apply in general to many other overseas students. Finally this chapter will show relationships between variables under three major headings of social, psychological and academic distances. The section on academic distance may be considered a new concept in SLA and ALU.
A CULTURAL SYNERGY MODEL

10.1. INTRODUCTION

This cultural synergy model is built up inductively from the present data, for "the inductive approach progresses from the accumulation of sets of facts and sets of laws to theory" (McLaughlin 1987, p.8). It is thought of as a heuristic model.

Some important factors which would obviously be considered candidates for inclusion in the model have not been listed here because they are not problems for Chinese students, according to the present data. For example, knowledge of grammar and reading skills would be important language factors for many groups of learners but are not priorities for Chinese studying in Britain. If the cultural synergy model were extended to other groups such factors might well need to be added in.

This chapter first summarizes Galtung’s (1981) description of academic cultures, which is a consideration cross-cultural intellectual styles, though Galtung writes at a very general level and does not consider SLA or ALU. The chapter then discusses cultural synergy in terms of social, psychological and academic distances. Each of these is presented with detailed subheadings and the whole model is finally summarized in Figures 10.4 - 10.7, and the accompanying discussion, to show the relationships between variables with some consideration of causes and consequences and which
variables seem to have specifically Chinese roots, according to the present research.

10.2. CULTURE AND ACADEMIC CULTURE

Culture is necessarily subjective and involves assumptions, ideas and beliefs which are often not articulated. Participants may not be explicitly aware of them. Culture is "a set - perhaps a system - of principles of interpretation, together with the products of that system" (Moerman 1988 p.4). "Every culture is also a structure of expectancies" (Kluckhohn and Kelley 1968 p.209). It cannot be assumed that principles of interpretation and expectancies of academic culture are necessarily the same for all those involved in ALU, most especially among overseas students. This research demonstrates that both sides misunderstand each other and that interpretations and expectations of Chinese students are, in many ways, contrasted with those of their tutors. Furthermore, both groups seem to have a lack of explicit cultural awareness of their own and the other culture. They tend to see the other's academic and social behaviour in their own terms.

Apparently most people in the academic world assume that the way they do things academically is logical, scientific, true and appropriate. Yet different countries may have different academic styles, each with its own emphasis, orientations, values and expectations. More specifically, Becher (1989 p.150) has claimed that each discipline, in the British university context, has its own culture. His basic assumption is "that there are
identifiable patterns to be found within the relationship
between knowledge forms and their associated knowledge
communities" (ibid.). Academic culture, then, refers to
this taken-for-granted system for carrying out academic
matters. It involves patterns of expectations which are
rarely made explicit, but which operate at a deep level
and affect people's behaviour, values, thinking,
attitudes and beliefs.

Galtung (1981) attempted to describe his
impression of four academic cultures in terms of a
profile of tendencies as dimensions. Figures 10.1 & 10.2
are adapted from his ideas of these approaches.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>APPROACH</th>
<th>SAXONIC</th>
<th>TEUTONIC</th>
<th>GALLIC</th>
<th>NIPPONIC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CENTRE</td>
<td>Oxbridge</td>
<td>Classical Universities</td>
<td>Paris</td>
<td>Todai-J</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Key US Universities</td>
<td>in Germany:</td>
<td></td>
<td>Kyodai:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Munster</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tokyo &amp;</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Marburg</td>
<td></td>
<td>Kyoto Uni-</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Heidelberg</td>
<td></td>
<td>versities</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tubingen</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERIPHERY</td>
<td></td>
<td>Soviet Union</td>
<td>Latin</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Eastern</td>
<td>America</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Europe</td>
<td>Romania</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[figure 10.1]

The countries and areas listed in Figure 10.1
are only those mentioned by Galtung. Obviously, Soviet
Union refers now to Russia and the new republics.
However, countries like China, India, Egypt with long
civilizations and intellectual histories are not referred to, nor are African countries.

**CHARACTERISTICS OF INTELLECTUAL STYLES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>APPROACH</th>
<th>DISCUSSION STYLE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SAXONIC</td>
<td>fosters &amp; encourages debate to bring togetherness of differences/ to produce something more than the sum of the parts; start: positive/complimentary comments, core: extensive 'but' clause with a cutting edge and biting points; end: a complimentary/congratulatory point; UK-version: much longer extension of 'buts' and less generous in giving credit to others; US-version: try to find a positive nugget; more generous in giving hopes and credit to others;</td>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TEUTONIC &amp; GALLIC</td>
<td>less diversity of opinion in one single debate; no complimentary introduction, discussants go straight for the weakest point, so speakers may have to play a safe game by presenting their points according to authorities with an element of subservience in their speech; intellectual activity has at its very centre theory-formation, which is stringing-together-of-words; require a high standard of verbal ability;</td>
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</tbody>
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| NIPPONIC | debate is a social act, rather than an intellectual one; the encyclopaedia/dictionary approach to intellectual commentary; not very skillful at debating, not trained in that direction; |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>APPROACH</th>
<th>STRUCTURE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SAXONIC</td>
<td>relatively horizontal &amp; individualist &amp; non-dialectical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TEUTONIC</td>
<td>highly individual; a master-disciple pyramidal relationship;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GALLIC</td>
<td>horizontal, individualist &amp; polarized; more elitist;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NIPPONIC</td>
<td>vertical, collective &amp; non-polarized; high value placed on pre-established social relations; general respect for authority; sense of collectivism &amp; of organic solidarity;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPROACH</td>
<td>THEORY FORMATION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAXONIC</td>
<td>proposition production; empirical; data-gathering;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TEUTONIC</td>
<td>deductive; rigorously; following logical implications;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GALLIC</td>
<td>non-deductive; artistic with elegant words carrying conviction and persuasion;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NIPPONIC</td>
<td>dialectical proposition production</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Galtung (1981) states that his study of academic cultures is based on his experience and impressions. This mode of investigation is rather similar to Confucian academic culture, part of which adopts intuitive and empirical approaches and which still influences current Chinese intellectuals and their way of thinking and doing research (see Parts I & II).

It is arguable that a Chinese approach (Sinic in Galtung’s terms) rather than the Nipponic one, could be an academic cultural centre in the Far East and that the Nipponic one is a sub-centre like the cases of UK and US in Saxonic culture. This is because Japanese academic culture by and large is still under the influence of Confucianism, Taoism and Zen Buddhism which originated and developed in Chinese intellectual culture. This influence has been inherited and developed in Japan for more than one thousand years (Watts 1968). Therefore the
Chinese approach can be seen as a centre including diversions of Japanese, Singaporese, Korean and other academic cultures.

It would also be helpful if Galtung's study on academic cultures had contained the philosophical, psychological, social and educational sources and development of each approach. This would offer readers opportunities to understand the deeper meanings and implications of the styles. In this current research an effort has been made to investigate such sources behind Chinese academic culture.

This research shows that British academic ideals are characterized by: individualism, critical evaluation, originality, academic freedom and independent thinking. Thus, Becher (1989 p.97) quotes Kleinman's conclusion that academic professional development of doctoral students is synonymous with increasing individualities. This is contrasted with a Chinese academic orientation which values: a collective approach, descriptive and prescriptive styles, emphasis on mastering the best of the past, respect for academic authority and expecting seniors' guidance to lead thinking and discussion.

This contrast raises the question of whether the academic community is heading for a world intellectual style. Galtung's answer is negative, considering cultural variety and structural diversity in the world (Galtung 1981 p.848). Going beyond this, Bernstein (1989) believes "that first-class educational institutions cannot be first class unless they reflect the larger population of society or unless they prepare students for a
multi-ethnic, multi-cultural world". Along the same line, but in the aspect of language learning, Brumfit (1980) argues against "the view that foreigners should be expected to 'think like' native speakers" (p.85). He suggests that 'English as a world language' should have a greater capacity to include its constituent international varieties, which are the cultural products of motivated foreign users, since "English is to be a language used by the world rather than imposed on the world" (p.96). If this is the case in current and future educational and linguistic environments, it is vital for academics and non-academics to understand more about academic language use and about the other cultures and academic cultures encountered through it.

10.3. A CULTURAL SYNERGY MODEL

This research suggests the need for mutual understanding of different academic cultures. This does not mean that diversity and variety will be merged into one, but that natural divisions exist in academic life world-wide and that different academic cultural practitioners should have an open mind to be aware of the operation of other styles and appreciate their emphasis. The proposal for mutual understanding is crystallized in the model of cultural synergy for second language learning and academic language use, using British and Chinese academic cultures as a case study.

The term 'Synergy', from the Greek 'to work together', implies that there is an additional benefit from collaboration which is greater than the single
benefit for each side. In management contexts cultural synergy has been analysed as a dynamic process involving two often opposing views, where each side will adapt and learn through combined action and working together, creating an integrated solution (Moran & Harris 1991 p.91). This involves understanding the other culture and one's own. It does not mean compromise, since in true synergy nothing is given up or lost. It exists in relation to a practical set of circumstances. In the present model this notion is used in relation to academic culture, an innovative use of the term, to build up a model of ALU.

Cultural synergy means here that people from two or more cultures, working in an academic environment, interact systematically, cooperating for a common purpose with an attitude of being willing to learn, understand and appreciate the other's culture without loss of their own status, role or cultural identity. In this concept, conscious adaptation, rather than assimilation, is emphasized, otherwise it is likely that learners will fear that their original culture will be downgraded, which may create a psychological barrier to understanding and learning the target culture and language. Clement (1980) suggests a pair of opposing forces: integrativeness and fear of assimilation. The former refers to the desire to become a member of TLC and the latter concerns the fear of the loss of L1 language and culture. He "assumes that second language acquisition includes not only the learning of language skills but also the adoption of other patterns of behaviour of the
second language community. Language acquisition is seen to involve changes in self-identity" (Gardner 1985, p.137). Since the adaptation in this cultural synergy indicates the action conducted with a mutual understanding and thus a choice of willingness, those who have different expectations and interpretations of life may be able to face their differences positively and may be offered an opportunity to understand and appreciate others’ points of view.

It is suggested that the need for cultural synergy is required not only by the students who want to get a British higher degree for their career and academic achievement, but also by British academics, giving the concept a mutual bidirectional dimension not found in other related models (see Ch.5). This is for two main reasons. Firstly, in general people are increasingly aware of the multicultural nature of British society. Perhaps it could be part of the British traditional liberal idea of fairness to know something about non-indigenous groups, which include Chinese, even sojourners who study here. The wish for mutual understanding and congruence has been expressed in the interview data, showing that some subjects were aware of the need for something like cultural synergy:

"If some Chinese come here for one year with the knowledge of social, cultural, academic differences, they can make the most of it and if British university staff realise about these differences, they can help Chinese students, for example, when one sees that a Chinese student seems narrow-minded in the British academic
context, then one can point out to him that there is usually more than one answer to a problem with demonstration and examples" (27-4-89).

"... what you need to do, to benefit from the experience, is to try to pick out the best parts of the British way of doing things and at the same time resort to or retain the best ways from the Chinese, and then you might actually be benefiting in a way that no one who hasn't experienced both systems could do" (27-4-89).

"We have tried to change the way we teach and what we teach to meet the needs of our students, because most are not from Britain. But at the end of the day this is a British university offering a British degree and we can't run away from that entirely. We don't have to relax the standard, but the content and style of the teaching ought to meet the students half way. It would be pointless not to. For us just to deliver traditional English lectures and say, 'Well if you didn't understand it that's your fault' would be arrogant and absolutely pointless" (19-3-89).

Secondly a certain proportion of university jobs depend on the fees of overseas students, which are nearly double those paid by home students. Keeping overseas students interested in their course or research can help academics retain teaching posts and can support research projects. The researcher conducted a small survey in 1991 to investigate the percentage of full-time overseas postgraduate students compared with the total number of full-time postgraduate students in UK universities. The percentage ranges between 10% to 60% in 33 UK
universities which supplied their statistics: the average percentage is 31%. Some courses have 100% overseas students. A strong view was expressed at a British Association of Lecturers in English for Academic Purposes conference (BALEAP 1991) that British academic staff ought to have a professional conscience to help overseas students for the sake of the students' intellectual development, educational purpose, and academic achievement to enable them to reach their full potential, as well as for the sake of home students. British education should train overseas students to be self-sufficient and should provide them with a good service, giving value for money. Many university staff also expressed their wish to understand overseas students in order to help them and thereby to enrich staff themselves with the knowledge and information brought in by overseas students.

To a certain extent Chinese students achieve successful communication, learning and attainment of their study and research aims. Therefore it must be recognized that there are elements of common understanding, otherwise few students would complete their course or research project. However it is clear from this research that Chinese students' achievements are accomplished through a measure of difficulty and endurance; some of these difficulties are unnecessarily caused by the academic cultural misunderstanding.

Often, when the British tutors and Chinese students attempt to communicate, linguistically and culturally, they seem to follow parallel paths. For the
Chinese this often means a period of at least several months of academic and personal difficulty which they overcome by hard work but without, perhaps, understanding what the problem was. It may well be that many of the problems evident in the research data could have been avoided by cultural knowledge on both sides. Mutual cultural awareness would enable participants to know what to expect. It is highly likely that the practice of cultural synergy between tutors and students would benefit students' ALU.

This cultural synergy model involves the following key notions.

1. **Movement towards mutual congruence**

   Congruence needs to be thought of as mutual cultural congruence or a dynamic synergetic process. The emphasis is on a two-way acculturation, instead of a one-way version (see Ch.5) as suggested in Schumann's acculturation model (1978 p.34, also see Figure 5.2) or Giles et al's intergroup model (1991) or implied in Kim's model of intercultural adaptation (Kim 1989). This would mean that participants develop a mutual awareness and understanding of each other's culture: from second language learner (SLL) to target language speaker (TLS) and vice versa. Cultural contact in the academic context should enable both sides to be aware of cultural differences and offer them opportunities to avoid shortcomings and learn the best from each other. Therefore an idealized pattern of this mutual movement of a cultural synergy model is given in figure 10.3.
Because of this two-way mutual acculturation, the actual effective communication area is increased and there are more possibilities for both sides to avoid mutual misunderstandings.

Therefore this congruence not only refers to the existing similarity between the two cultures, but also to a movement from both sides to enlarge the area of overlap between them. Seeking interpretations and explanations may well bring insight to participants' own as well as the other’s culture. A progressive movement from both sides can be envisaged bringing gradual mutual congruence. This movement can be achieved when participants become conscious of the differences in order to minimize the gap and increase the congruence between them. This is a product of the process of synergy. The larger the area of cultural congruence — understanding of the other culture — between SLS and TLS the more
effective the ALU. Cultural synergy in this context is a tool for learning - this is the major cultural role of second language use in higher education.

2. Collective / Individual Tendencies

In individualist cultures people focus on "I" for their identity, while in collectivist cultures they focus much more on "we". In individualist cultures people look after themselves and their immediate family only, whereas in collectivist cultures, people belong to ingroups or collectivities which look after them in exchange for loyalty (Hofstede & Bond 1984 p.419). Collectively-oriented cultures have been called "high synergy societies" by the anthropologist Ruth Benedict and psychologist Abraham Maslow (quoted in Moran & Harris 1982 p.110, 1991 p.313) because they emphasize group consciousness, cooperation and mutual reciprocity.

From the questionnaire results, 47.4% of the Chinese subjects affirmed that a Chinese person judges his/her behaviour mostly according to what people around expect, whereas only 19.7% of the British subjects thought that the Chinese would behave in this way. 91.8% of the Chinese subjects thought that a British person judges behaviour according to his/her personal values, while only 65.8% of the British subjects themselves believed this about the British.

Cultures emphasizing the collective orientation focus more on 'in-groups', though individualist cultures also have such groups. Individualist cultures have many specific in-groups and these exert less influence on individuals than the in-groups of collectivist cultures.
Members of collectivist cultures tend to draw sharper distinctions between members of in-groups and out-groups: in-group relationships are seen as being more intimate and more important. When they are in the U.K., Chinese students often relate to their home country or the Chinese student community as the major relevant in-group. They see themselves as a homogenous group, sharply distinguished from other groups: being Chinese above all, belonging to the same group, even having the same level of knowledge. "Chinese don't know many things, we know more or less the same. Among the Chinese, if I know everyone knows. If I don't, none of us does"

3. SLA / ALU and Academic Culture

The model is relevant to SLA and ALU, especially in instances of high language competence and low acculturation. This includes the lack of knowledge of the L2 culture and the L2 academic culture, as is the case with these Chinese students in the UK. For these students second language acquisition continues to higher levels through ALU. Apart from general psychological and social factors, other elements in academic culture like tutor-student relationships, academic cultural orientation and academic culture shock affect their use of English in academic contexts.

This model has possible application to research about other professions or social groups such as, international business interaction, mass communication studies, etc. However, logically when it is applied to other groups the significant notions, needs and perceptions of the group would form the content of
professional language use, their own values of relationships, professional cultural orientations and professional culture shock, etc.

4. Identity Maintenance

This concept of synergy does not mean the merging of two cultures into one or that individuals from one culture should assimilate to another. Rather it means understanding the other culture, behaving appropriately in the other cultural environment, without losing one's original cultural identity. This is particularly important for avoiding the anxiety experienced by Chinese students with a strong background of professional experience who "find themselves in a highly insecure position ... faced with a remarkable drop in status and an extreme loss of face" (Bourne 1975 p.271) when British academics do not appreciate their academic and professional background. The intergroup model proposed by Giles et al. (Giles & Byrne 1982; Garrett et al. 1989) also emphasizes the development of a positive self-concept and an individual's self-knowledge of his/her own ethnic group in second language acquisition. The identity maintenance in this cultural synergy model has both personal and social aspects. It also contains a consideration of behaviour and ways of communication of second language learners in a target culture by seeking a mutual understanding with TL speakers.

Figure 10.4 presents variables of the Cultural Synergy Model in detail:
THE CULTURAL SYNERGY MODEL OF SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION AND ACADEMIC LANGUAGE USE

SOCIAL DISTANCE
Congruence
Similar / Dissimilar
Social Familiarity / Isolation

Cultural Orientation
Individual / Collective
Asking for Help / Expecting Offer of Help
Respect for Privacy / Offering Help

Knowledge of Target / Source Society and Culture

Racism
Superiority / Inferiority
Inverted Racism

PSYCHOLOGICAL DISTANCE
Character Attribution of Source / Target Cultures
Stereotyped / Realistic
Positive / Negative

Culture Shock

Finance
Anxiety
Social Consequences

Identify Maintenance
Tolerance / Aggression
Self-respect
Losing Face

Language Shock
Attitudes Towards - Language Learning
Balance of Language - Competence / Acculturation
Confidence / Lack of Confidence
Language Fatigue
Social-emotional Interaction / Cognitive Processing

ACADEMIC DISTANCE
Academic Language Use
Listening, Speaking, Intonation
Vocabulary, Writing, Discourse
Patterns, Note-taking, Turn-taking, Pausing, Quoting

Tutor-student Relationships
Personal, Social, Academic

Academic Cultural Orientation
Active Involvement / Passive Participation
Alternatives / Single Solution
Critical Evaluation / Uncritical Acceptance
Individual / Collective
Independence / Dependence
Speaker & Writer's Responsibility / Listener & Reader's Responsibility

Academic Culture Shock
Academic Expectations
Academic Presentation
Knowledge of Education System
Motivation for Study
Research Process
Research Methods
Teaching-learning Strategies
Reverse Culture Shock

Figure 10.4
Each variable in Figure 10.4 will be discussed below. Numbers in bracket refer to sections in previous chapters, e.g. (9.1) means Chapter Nine, Section One. The chapters referred to in this way either present data in the research in Chapters Seven and Nine or relate to key concepts discussed in Parts I & II.

10.4. SOCIAL, PSYCHOLOGICAL AND ACADEMIC DISTANCES

The word 'distance' employed here refers to the distance which comes about as a result of differences in emphasis and preference for key concepts in cultures and the understanding of such concepts in cross-cultural situations. It does not refer to comparison of the quality and value of these concepts in two cultures. A culture may have all kinds of concepts as cultural resources, e.g. both individualism and collectivism are present in Chinese culture, but in a particular culture, one is more emphasized than the other, e.g. generally Chinese culture is seen as being collective and British culture is seen as being individual.

However such differences do not necessarily imply that one culture is better than the other. The researcher believes that each culture has its own value systems with its own rules and internal consistency. To make simple judgements of 'good' or 'bad' about the beliefs of different cultures is difficult or impossible. It is difficult to evaluate concepts and beliefs of different cultures impartially, unless a common value system is understood, recognized and appreciated by people in both cultures. This model is a step to identify
influential emphases and orientations of British supervisors and Chinese students towards their social, psychological and academic matters.

10.4.1. Social Distance

Factors of congruence, cultural orientation, knowledge of target/source society and culture and racism are comprehended in the data under the category of Social Distance.

The concept of CONGRUENCE embodies two aspects: SIMILARITY and FAMILIARITY. Similarity refers to the same or nearly same social elements which exist in both cultures, it "affects the degree of contact between the two groups" (Schumann 1978). According to Schumann, the greater the number of similar elements between two cultures, the more effective the learning of a second language and the better the understanding of both cultures. Similarity can be also examined through subjective perception or views given by people from different cultures to each other or to matters. In some sense, this is more important for communication in higher education, since one of the ways to attain academic achievement is to have effective interactions. Similar views, attitudes and perceptions held between two culturally distinct groups would certainly help with general and specific communication. This research shows that there are considerable gaps in perceptions between British and Chinese respondents, which were demonstrated in the statistical results of attributes categorized into the aspects of cognitive, social relationship/behaviour,
psychological character, moral and status/appearance (see 7.3.1.1.a. & Figures 7.7, 7.8, 7.9, 7.10).

Familiarity is a step beyond similarity which can be achieved by being informed about the second culture (SC) and language (SL) before arriving in the target country and by acquiring knowledge, understanding and experience while in the target country. This is a new variable in the current model under the category of Social Distance. The greater the degree of familiarity with the SC, the better a second language learner/user can use the SL. Such familiarity is very important to those SL learners whose original cultural background is remote from that of TL speakers, such as between the Chinese and the British. The research data show Chinese students had little input about British culture and society before they arrived in the UK. This partly causes the situation that 89.0% Chinese respondents' weekends or holiday were spent by staying in their room/house (34.0%), visiting Chinese friends (27.0%) and continuing work in the lab/library (28.0%). More than one third of the Chinese respondents (38.0%) felt that it was difficult to make friends with the British. In interviews, both Chinese students and British tutors noticed such problems of social unfamiliarity and the isolation of Chinese students from everyday social life with British people.

Certainly this familiarity requires learners to show initiative and a positive attitude towards learning a language and culture. However, similar problems can also be observed from other overseas student groups, such
as Turkish, Malaysian, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Israeli students, etc., although the causes might be different. It is likely that ways of dealing with such problems needs to be varied according to causes (see 7.3.1.1.b. & 9.1.1.a.).

The CULTURAL ORIENTATION refers to preferences and emphases in different cultures. At a general level it is useful to consider language and interaction in relation to the cultural dimension of INDIVIDUALISM versus COLLECTIVISM. This dimension - a cluster of attitudes, values and types of behaviour - has implications for students' learning strategies and for their use of language skills.

The research shows that the individual / collective dimension is an important notion in cultural studies. This is based on Hofstede's dimensions (Hofstede 1980; Triandis 1990), according to which members of individual cultures focus on "I", personal goals, autonomy, greater social equality and more explicit verbal communication, whereas members of collective cultures orient themselves to "we", group goals, cooperation and reciprocity, conformity and social hierarchies, and communication using hints and associations. Collective-oriented cultures have been called "high synergy societies" by Benedict and Maslow (quoted in Moran & Harris 1991 p.313). Chinese culture has been identified as collective in orientation (Hofstede & Bond 1984), while British academic culture is oriented more towards the individual. Both sections 7.3.1.2.a. and 9.1.2.a. have illustrated data and
examples of such a tendency. This is one of the fundamental causes for some other variables discovered in the research (see Figure 10.6 in Section 10.5). It is suggested here that these dimensions are important in academic culture, particularly in the Chinese-British case, which will be discussed in the section on academic cultural orientation.

**ASKING FOR HELP/EXPECTING AN OFFER OF HELP and RESPECT FOR PRIVACY/OFFERING HELP TO OTHERS** (see 7.3.1.2.b. & 9.1.2.b.) are examples under the dimension of individualism/collectivism rather than independent notions. The facet of asking for help/expecting an offer of help displays an expectation of independence/dependence; while the facet of respect for privacy/offering help to others shows aspects of egoism/altruism. Both independence/dependence and egoism/altruism can be considered as outcomes of the dimension of individualism/collectivism although there may be other possible causes.

The research data illustrate that there is a demand for **KNOWLEDGE OF TARGET/SOURCE SOCIETY AND CULTURE** by both Chinese and British respondents respectively (see 7.3.1.3.a.). It is vital for SL learners and TL speakers to acquire such knowledge in order to achieve two-way acculturation. Generally there is strong motivation and a positive attitude for advanced SL learners to seek such knowledge. It seems that there is no need for TL speakers to make an effort to know SL learners' culture and society. However, in this research, British respondents showed great interest in discussing and understanding both cultures and societies (see 10.3.).
The problem of **RACISM** was evident in the interview data. Two aspects — **SUPERIORITY/INFERIORITY** and **INVERTED RACISM** — were mentioned in spontaneous discussions (see 9.1.3.a. & 9.1.3.b.). It is difficult to trace such a problem to any specific cultural background. However, experiencing racism may be new to Chinese students abroad and it is a topic which needs further investigation. Superiority/Inferiority refers to the change of social status in different societies and academic cultural environments, from senior to junior, and the psychological effect of this social change. Some Chinese students feel they are treated as a group as being racially inferior, while they may believe themselves as individuals to be superior, given their social status in China. This may affect their attitude towards general learning in the British context and their performance in English language learning.

Some Chinese and British consider some tutors to be inverted racists, giving an impression of enthusiasm and kindness to students and helping them, but leaving them with a deep feeling that they are incapable of dealing with their own problems. This is a question of how to handle the balance between being helpful and being seen as an inverted racist in the minds of students receiving help. It is likely that British tutors who give necessary help with good intentions are sometimes misinterpreted as being inverted racists. There may be innocent racists or innocent racist victims. The movement of cultural synergy can be one of the solutions to avoid such conflict.
10.4.2. Psychological Distance

Factors of character attribution of source/target cultures, culture shock, finance, identity maintenance and language shock are revealed in the data and are grouped here under the heading of Psychological Distance.

**CHARACTER ATTRIBUTION OF SOURCE/TARGET CULTURES** (see 7.3.2.1. & 9.2.1.) involves TL speakers' and SL learners attitudes and reactions to each other, revealed by the attributes they chose to describe each other intuitively. These descriptions may be STEREOTYPED or REALISTIC (see 7.3.2.1.b. & 9.2.1.a.) or a mixture of both. But whatever they are, the results are considered important in the analysis because of the existence of attributions in respondents' minds, which may be an attitudinal factor which influences behaviour of TL speakers and SL learners in cross-cultural communication.

The same effect applies to the aspect of POSITIVE/NEGATIVE (see 7.3.2.1.a. & 9.2.1.a.) responses. Chinese respondents had a tendency to see things in terms of 'black or white' while British respondents made an effort to avoid extremes and chose rather neutral expressions. However, in interviews, both groups gave rather critical and negative comments about the opposite group. This criticism is seen more obviously in the comments given by Chinese respondents than in those of the British. These differences in judging matters and expressing opinions may cause problems in social interaction and academic communication.

*Adler (1987) outlines four models of CULTURE*
SHOCK. The first three regard culture shock as a limited and negative experience, which has been defined as "anxiety resulting from the disorientation encountered upon entering a new culture" (Schumann 1978 p.32). It "is most often related to the adjustment and readjustment crises that are experienced during the initial and concluding phases of the individual's experience abroad" (Adler 1987 p.27). The fourth model given by Adler is a positive one where culture shock is a core cross-cultural learning experience. Furnham and Bochner (1986) have reviewed many models and theories of culture shock from the aspect of psychological reactions. It seems that culture shock is more often interpreted negatively. Yet in Chinese dialectical thinking, a good side can be discovered from a bad result and vice versa. Very often something apparently negative may result in a positive outcome. A narrative quoted in Chapter Eight (see 8.2.2.a) about a Chinese student observing an American girl's way of socialization is an example in which the narrator did not take the incident as a negative experience, but something which aroused her attention and interest.

In the present data, only a small amount of information concerns the general culture shock (see 9.2.2.) experienced by Chinese students. But a large quantity of data revealed anxiety from both British and Chinese respondents about the academic culture shock (see 7.3.3.3. & 9.3.4.) experienced by Chinese postgraduate students. Most Chinese students, especially Chinese government-sponsored students, would have a half year
pre-departure training session for target language improvement and general information. This may offer the opportunity to prepare for and to expect differences in everyday life in the target culture, and thus reduce any general culture shock when they arrive in the target country. Still, academic culture shock is a very personal and individual experience. It involves relationships not only with the target academic world, but in particular with the supervisor(s). Any academic culture shock in the tutor student relationship is likely to be more salient and anxiety provoking. Academic culture shock will be discussed below.

FINANCE (see 9.2.3.) is problem recognized by both British and Chinese respondents. This refers to the low maintenance received by government-sponsored students and to the hardship faced by self-sponsored students. This mainly results in two consequences: PSYCHOLOGICAL and SOCIAL. The psychological consequence (see 9.2.3.a.) involves pressure, upsets, worries, and inferiority feelings. The social consequence (see 9.3.2.b.) results in Chinese students having limited social contact with British people in British social styles, e.g. going to pubs, living in students' accommodation or mixing with British students. Instead, the Chinese tend to stay together in cheap accommodation sharing with other Chinese students and socializing only with the Chinese in Chinese ways. Once entrenched in such a life pattern in Britain, it is difficult for them to emerge later to mix with British people, especially when they find that they can survive in Britain in this way.

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However, the problem of finance is not a unique one for Chinese students. Other students, overseas or British, may face the same problem. Yet they may have different reactions. It is also difficult to trace a direct causal relationship of this problem with Chinese culture.

IDENTITY MAINTENANCE (see 7.3.2.2. & 9.2.4.) is another important notion in this cultural synergy model. This may affect confidence and trust in social or tutor-student academic communication. Three aspects emerged from the research data: TOLERANCE/AGGRESSION (see 7.3.2.2.a.), SELF-RESPECT and LOSING FACE (see 9.2.4.a.).

Chinese people are regarded calm (Q1: 62.0%, Q2:74.7%, Q3:81.4%), friendly (Q1:67.0%, Q2:60.0%, Q3:87.6%) and obedient (Q2:71.8%, Q3:90.7%) in Figure 7.22. A certain part of such impressions may be drawn from respondents' contact with Chinese students in the UK. The percentages of these attributes to Chinese people are relatively higher than the same attributes to the British. This is probably interpreted that Chinese people are more tolerant than British people. But passive 'aggression' has been expressed by the Chinese respondents towards British 'offenders' when these Chinese are in the UK (see Figure 7.25). This may well be linked with their psychological need for self-respect and self-defence in an unfamiliar environment.

Being afraid of Losing Face in front of Westerners can be another reason for Chinese students wanting to show more aggression. However the concept of losing face is not always negative in a Chinese context
It contains the element of caring for others by not creating a possible face losing situation for them. But a likely consequence is that losing face becomes the cause of cautious passive behaviour in Chinese students' academic and social life. These variables may be traced to Chinese cultural roots, which emphasize harmony, avoiding conflict and collective consciousness (see Ch.1&2). Being afraid of losing face or caring for face is seen as a typical Chinese product (Hsu 1980 p.230, Seligman 1990 pp.47-51, Brick 1991 pp.129-130, Hu & Grove 1991 pp.111-124), which Chinese students may naturally bring into their life in the UK. Thus this variable may be considered specifically applicable to Chinese students in the research, though it is not exclusive to other Chinese groups.

LANGUAGE SHOCK (see 7.3.2.3. & 9.2.5.) is described as learners' fear of making mistakes and having doubts about accuracy when adults learn to speak a second language (Schumann 1978 p.31-32). Here it refers to a psychological and physical condition when language learners transfer from their familiar first language environment to a strange environment involving second language acquisition and ALU. Their proficiency is likely to be influenced by other factors found in the research data: ATTITUDES TOWARDS LANGUAGE LEARNING (see 7.3.2.3.a. & 9.2.5.a.); BALANCE OF LANGUAGE COMPETENCE/ACCULTURATION (see 7.3.2.3.b. & 9.2.5.b.); CONFIDENCE/LACK OF CONFIDENCE (see 7.3.2.3.c. & 9.2.5.c.); LANGUAGE FATIGUE (see 9.2.5.d.); SOCIAL-EMOTIONAL INTERACTION/COGNITIVE PROCESSING (see
9.2.5.e). These variables may apply to problems experienced by other international students. Therefore these may not be applicable to only Chinese students.

Clearly having high motivation and a positive attitude can help them with learners' language learning. Here the data show that native speakers' positive attitudes and an encouraging environment for second language learning are equally important for second language learners. This factor is especially significant to learners who value collective orientation, for an encouraging social environment is familiar support mechanism for them to depend on to overcome difficulties.

A relative Balance between Language Proficiency and Acculturation would be the ideal situation for a second language learner. But the Chinese case of high language ability/low acculturation (see Figure 7.27) can be more frustrating and may cause more cross-cultural communication problems than the opposite case of low language ability / relatively high acculturation. Therefore, in some ways understanding of the target culture should be put in more prominent position in English teaching and learning. Low acculturation also affects the confidence of students' second language performance, even if their language ability is high, when they experience interactional difficulties or pragmatic failure.

It is likely that extra effort and intensive concentration are required in conditions of constant second language interaction in a new cultural environment. This may produce Language Fatigue, physical
and mental tiredness from using a second language without respite, so that learners may become less fluent and accurate in second language communication. Yet this variable needs further research.

SOCIAL-EMOTIONAL INTERACTION/COGNITIVE PROCESSING (see 9.2.5.e) is a new variable raised by interviewees. COGNITIVE PROCESSING indicates that a second language learner may 1) think initially in his first language in order to organize his second language; 2) think about grammatical rules while using the second language. Yet while he/she focuses on the accuracy of individual words or sentences, other linguistic and non-linguistic features of interaction may be ignored.

SOCIAL-EMOTIONAL INTERACTION refers to a speaker who has combined cognitive and emotional abilities in language use. S/He can express meaning appropriately with a natural combination of linguistic and non-linguistic elements without thinking about the grammatical rules while using the language. When this automaticity is achieved, it appears that the interaction is only at the social-emotional level. Appropriate grammar and other linguistic features are not noticed in the use of language. The research data reveal that some Chinese students are still at the level of cognitive processing while using English. However, further research is needed to obtain detailed descriptions and definitions of these two levels; to determine the influential factors at the two levels and how a second language learner can be helped to achieve Social-Emotional Interactional competence.
10.4.3. Academic Distance

This section extends Schumann's acculturation theory to a new dimension of academic language use and cultural orientation. The necessity for cultural synergy is reflected in the detailed description of the content of ACADEMIC CULTURAL ORIENTATION, ACADEMIC CULTURE SHOCK, ACADEMIC LANGUAGE USE AND TUTOR & STUDENT RELATIONSHIPS/ROLES.

ACADEMIC CULTURAL ORIENTATION (see 7.3.3.4 & 9.3.3) involves expectations and ideological preferences or emphases in different academic cultures. There are six pairs of contrastive phenomena revealed in the research data:

ACTIVE INVOLVEMENT/PASSIVE PARTICIPATION (9.3.3.a)
ALTERNATIVES/SINGLE SOLUTION (7.3.3.4.a & 9.3.3.b)
CRITICAL EVALUATION/UNCritical ACCEPTANCE (9.3.3.c)
INDIVIDUAL/COLLECTIVE (7.3.1.2.a & 9.1.2.a)
INDEPENDENCE/DEPENDENCE (9.3.3.d)
SPEAKER & WRITER'S RESPONSIBILITY/
LISTENER & READER'S RESPONSIBILITY (9.3.3.e)

There is no positive or negative evaluation of either members of a pair although readers from different cultures may interpret them positively or negatively according to their own cultural values. However the contrastive views shown in these pairs may demonstrate a cause of cross-cultural communication problems in academic matters.

British academic culture is broadly based on the notion (see Ch.4) that students will develop independence and individuality. Individuals are believed to have their
own talents and abilities and these are developed in a system of higher education in which independent thinking and self-expression are emphasized. Alternatives should be considered to reach a balanced judgement and critical evaluations of alternative arguments are expected, often resulting in differing individual conclusions. This is acceptable because many concepts turn out to be relative, especially in arts and social sciences, and because originality and creativity are valued - like independence, these are individualistic qualities. A fair degree of equality is expected in academic social interaction, such that students may express disagreement with academic staff, are expected to develop their own opinions and offer their own ideas. Given all this, staff see themselves as often learning from students, especially at postgraduate level. They acknowledge that they do not know everything in a particular area and may believe that it is not possible to do so.

A Chinese interpretation of academic culture is somewhat different (see Ch.3&4). As might be expected from a collective perspective, social dimensions and relationships are key features. Students come to acquire knowledge and have very high academic expectations of supervisors, who may have international reputations. They seek guidance from their teachers, who are expected to be moral and social leaders, experts who know everything in their specific area and who can plan for and instruct students. The crucial relationship is that between teacher and student, which is seen in paternalistic terms. The teacher should tell students what is what and
how to proceed. S/He should be one who is worthy of imitation. The teacher should be sensitive to any student problems and should be helpful in social and everyday issues arising out of living in another country. The teacher as a parent should care for students academically and socially.

In oral and written interactions, it is likely that the responsibility for transmitting explicit meanings is on speakers and writers in British culture, but is on listeners and readers in Chinese culture. The former stresses an expressing approach and the latter a guessing one. Students from a guessing culture communicating with a tutor from an expressing culture may be constantly looking for extra meanings beyond the explicit intended one or may be disappointed that their hints fail to be picked up by a tutor who expects things to be more directly expressed.

Variables referred to above may be traced to the Chinese cultural influences of Confucianism and Taoism (see Ch.1&2, sections on Implications and Ch.10.5). Thus these variables are likely to be relevant to Chinese specifically. However, other international students, e.g. students from Arabic countries may appear to have the same academic preferences such as passive participation or dependence. This does not necessarily mean that they have the same cultural influences. It is more likely for an Arab student to be influenced by Koran rather than by Confucius. It can be argued that while diverse groups of overseas students may share some common features in academic performance (like apparent passivity) the causes
of such common effects may be culturally specific. In this research, an attempt has been made to interpret data so as to attribute some causes of the academic cultural behaviour and perceptions of Chinese students to speciality Chinese cultural sources.

Furthermore, the extent to which a British tutor understands the cultural and academic cultural background of his students and uses culturally appropriate ways to approach international students are questions worthy of further study for the benefit of both sides. This is because it may be important for tutors to be able to handle an apparently common problem among overseas students in different ways for different groups according to cultural sources of the problem. This may require enhanced knowledge and skills on the part of tutors and this would be a practice of cultural synergy.

**ACADEMIC CULTURE SHOCK** indicates the experience students have when they meet something different from their previous expectations, experience, familiar methods and systems of learning in academic settings. This experience of encountering different approaches may make them puzzled, upset, challenged and/or excited. They may find it useful, essential, worrying, valuable, and disappointing. Figure 4.4 is an example of different **ACADEMIC EXPECTATIONS** (also see 7.3.3.3.b & 9.3.4.a) between British supervisors and Chinese students to each other. Interview data also reveal such a gap of academic expectations between Chinese students and British tutors. Given this contrast, Chinese students coming to Britain often experience two shocks: a general
culture shock and an academic culture shock.

ACADEMIC PRESENTATION (see 7.3.3.3.b & 9.3.4.b) refers to patterns and styles of oral or written presentations which differ between Chinese students and British academics. This study suggests that Chinese students lack KNOWLEDGE OF THE BRITISH EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM (see 7.3.3.3.a & 9.3.4.c), RESEARCH PROCESS (see 9.3.4.e), RESEARCH METHODS (see 7.3.3.3.a), TEACHING-LEARNING STRATEGIES (see 7.3.3.3.b & 9.3.4.d). This is also true of British staff about their knowledge of Chinese expectations, styles, methods, values and students’ MOTIVATION FOR STUDY. Any mismatch or misunderstanding in the above areas may create barriers and difficulties for the students’ success and more work for tutors.

The necessity to acquire British academic culture in order to obtain a British degree gives Chinese students a dilemma concerning how much to adapt to an alien academic culture and whether they anticipate a Reverse Culture Shock when they go back home. This involves their academic language use, research and teaching styles, about which further research is needed.

Apart from variables of Knowledge of Education System and Reverse Culture Shock which may be considered not directly attributable to Chinese cultural influences, other variables in the section of Academic Culture Shock may be tracked to their Chinese cultural sources. Section 10.5 will discuss the relationship between Chinese cultural influences and variables in further detail.

This research reveals that the most serious
problematic areas of students with high language proficiency and low acculturation are their academic language use (see 7.3.3.1 & 9.3.1.) in listening (9.3.1.a), speaking (9.3.1.c), intonation (9.3.1.b), vocabulary (9.3.1.d), writing (9.3.1.e), discourse patterns (9.3.1.f), note-taking (9.3.1.g), quoting (9.3.1.i), turn-taking and pausing (9.3.1.h). Chapter Seven (7.3.3.1.a & b) also presents the analytical results of quantitative data about the variables in academic language use of Chinese students.

Chinese students have a certain amount of knowledge about the second language, but lack the experience of using it appropriately in the second academic context. This result implies that the aspect of academic distance is not simply a matter of students developing language skills for ALU, but signifies a gap in tutors' and students' perceptions of students' language needs and abilities.

In ALU, writing is most often used for longer stretches of discourse, in which cultural differences are seen to be important; students' assessment is predominantly or entirely based on their written output. Note-taking is also related to discourse patterns used by lecturers. The better the note-taker understands the discourse patterns of lecturers, the easier and more accurate the note-taking is likely to be. Quoting may have different rules and usages in different academic cultures: British academic culture emphasizes the use of quotation and references when reviewing the literature and giving critical commentary concerning the study.
involved; Chinese academic culture has a tendency to summarize the sources of knowledge and information in the literature to show how well the writer has mastered them but giving less attention to crediting or discussing references. Turn-taking and pausing are language skills and techniques in cross-cultural communication. Problems with knowing or using British patterns of these may affect students' confidence and participation in tutor-student relationships.

Variables discussed under the section of Academic Language Use may be common to other international students whose native language is not English. But variables such as Discourse Patterns, Turn-taking, Pausing and Quoting may be culturally bounded, i.e. the academic cultural background of students may be the causes of these variables. The current research data show that these variables may be attributable to Chinese cultural influences when they are applicable to Chinese students.

In academic distance, the variable of TUTOR-STUDENT RELATIONSHIPS (see 7.3.3.2 & 9.3.2) has PERSONAL (9.3.2.a), SOCIAL (9.3.2.b) and ACADEMIC (9.3.2.c) aspects. Ultimately, it refers to the understanding of one's own role in the other's mind. When both sides have similar expectations of each other, this helps SL users to use language more naturally and effectively. In the data there is a gap in expectations of roles, stemming from both parties' lack of acculturation.

Galtung (1981) sees that the Nipponic
intellectual style as embodying a dimension of social relation, which should not be harmed, and respect for authority should be given. This collective approach contrasts with the Saxonic one which features individualism. This expectation of the Nipponic style about relationships is also true in Chinese academic culture. Both questionnaire and interview data show that the area of relationships is the problem Chinese students are most concerned about (see 7.3.3.2 & 8.2.2.a & 9.3.2).

This particular relationship is consequential because of the crucial gatekeeping role of the supervisor - often the only academic with whom the Chinese student in Britain has close contact. The cultural expectations and interpretations which the two groups have of each other are the key for their mutual acculturation.

The anxiety of tutor and student relationships may not be a unique one applying only to Chinese students. But that which Chinese students have experienced may be caused by Chinese cultural influences and concerns they have brought with them. In this sense, these variables are attributable to Chinese academic cultural influences in relation to Chinese students. Other international students may have the same problems in appearance, still they may have different cultural causes, which is beyond the current research.

10.5. Causal Relationships of Variables in this Model

This section attempts to present links between Chinese cultural influences and variables and relations among variables in the cultural synergy model. It also
indicates which variables are specifically attributable to Chinese cultural influences. Other variables which are not attributable to Chinese culture may have indirect causal relationships with it, but there is no evidence in the current research data.

The causal relationships of variables given in this section have been presented in the discussions, implications and analysis of the theoretical Parts I & II of this thesis and in the empirical data analysis in Part III. To highlight the cohesive and coherent links between Chinese culture and variables (see Figures 10.5 & 10.6) and relationships among variables (see Figure 10.7) goes a step beyond the presentation of problems in SLA of Chinese postgraduate students to identify causes of these problems. Some Chinese students may not be aware of such causes, nor of the differences in British academic culture. British tutors may be able to identify difficulties and problems of Chinese students without knowing reasons and causes. Knowing some of the reasons may be helpful towards finding solutions to the problems and difficulties. These situations show not only social, psychological and academic gaps between Chinese and British sides, but also show a lack of understanding of the causes of problems. Both of these issues are involved in the current research.

Some causal relationships are explicitly expressed in the research data. This can be seen in the following example.

Discourse Patterns
CS: ... The Chinese style of writing is constructed with reasons and feelings. The conclusion comes from step by step reasoning. From Confucius' time, we have been told we must present a source and origin, otherwise the reasoning cannot be made clearly. There is no present without the past and origin. Therefore we should report from the root. (4-5-89)

This example shows a clear causal relationship between Confucius' influence and current Chinese discourse patterns.

Figures 10.5, 10.6 and 10.7 are built up partly from empirical data and partly from the implications of the theoretical chapters (Ch.1 to Ch.5) of the thesis. Apparent indications of causal relationships can be seen from the implication sections (see 1.3 & 2.3.) of Chinese cultural features and phenomena presented in the research data (Ch.7 & 9). Yet these causes of variables may be considered as only one kind of such causal relationships. There may be other non-Chinese cultural causes for the same variables, but examination of this is beyond the extent of the current research. Since the model itself is regarded a heuristic one, the causal relationships of variables are also relevant to further development of research.

Figures 10.5 and 10.6 present causal relationships from Chinese traditional cultural implications to some problems or differences experienced by Chinese students in the UK. Research data and analysis supporting such causal relationships and variables of this model are referred to in the numbers with brackets indicating the previous sections in the thesis.
FIGURE 10.5
The following paragraphs briefly summarize the causal relationships as expressed in the cultural synergy model. The reader will find it helpful to refer to Figure 10.5 in conjunction with these paragraphs. In Figure 10.5 relevant references to preceding theoretical and empirical parts are given in brackets for each of the variables discussed.

Chinese students who value Vertical relations (see 1.3.1) may have problems dealing with British tutor-student relationships in which there is a much larger element of horizontal relations. They may find it difficult to disagree with their tutors or with published books and articles. They may expect their tutors to tell them what to do and how to do their research.

Those who put more trust in people because of their older ages and higher ranks may assess their tutors and their comments according to their seniority rather than their relevance. They may accept any comments from a person simply because of his fame without considering the context or appropriateness to their needs.

Those who are influenced by the notion that the past is proven as correct and successful (see 1.3.3 & 2.3.2) may find that this affects their Teaching-Learning strategies in UK universities which may value a critical view towards past work. This may influence their views on solutions to a problem, their academic expectations and discourse patterns in the sense that they see the past and older as better and therefore only need to follow such guaranteed success. This may be reflected in their writing where a lengthy background is prominently placed.
in the beginning of the text, because they may believe that the background part fulfils the task of indicating the direction of present and future work.

Academic Presentation, Research Process and Methods and Discourse Patterns may be affected by the notion of Chinese students that a single view, principle or solution is sufficient for a matter, while in British academic culture, alternatives and multiple views are worthy of examination. A lack of presenting different views or of looking into alternative ways may be seen in Chinese students' research or studies.

Chinese students may believe in a circular view of life, while British students and tutors may express themselves in a linear way (see 2.3.1. & 5.5.4). This may influence Chinese students presenting viewpoints in oral and written discussions in British contexts. This may cause misunderstanding and difficulty in getting a turn in conversation.

Research Processes and Methods obtained by Chinese students may be affected their views of research approaches. They may put more value on sudden enlightenment rather than rational reasoning and more on results rather than process (see 2.3.3).

Chinese students who emphasize results more than process may think that it is unimportant to present process clearly as long as the result is right. Their Academic Presentation and Discourse Patterns may be influenced by the belief that ambiguity is perhaps able to include everything unsaid (see 2.3.5). So further clarity is unnecessary, because it would limit the
context. This may be due to an orientation to readers and listeners in which scope is designedly left for their interpretation.

Avoiding conflicts is held to be an important value in Chinese culture (see 2.3.6). When Chinese students are influenced by this value, they may find it difficult to give critical evaluations. Some consequences are that they may experience difficulties in Turn-taking, Pausing or being active in academic activities. In contrast, they tend to be tolerant of others’ opinions or accept them uncritically in order to keep harmony.

Related to this is Non-interference (see 2.3.7). This Chinese cultural value may affect students’ performance in Academic Presentation and Participation since ‘showing off’ is regarded as uneducated and the academic participation of British students (asking questions, interrupting or disagreeing) might be seen by the Chinese as a lack of respect for teachers.

The following paragraphs relate to Figure 10.6, in which the key notion of Collectivism/Individualism in the cultural synergy model is presented as a causal variable of other variables under the headings of Social, Psychological and Academic distances. This key notion has been discussed in previous sections (1.3.4, 4.3, 7.3.1.2.a, 9.1.2.a). References to discussions in previous chapters for each variable are given in brackets in Figure 10.6.
CULTURAL ORIENTATION
Collective / Individual
(1.3.4, 4.3, 7.3.1.2.a, 9.1.2.a)

SOCIAL DISTANCE
Expecting an Offer of Help
/ Asking for Help (7.3.1.2.b)
Offering Help to Others /
Respect for Privacy (9.1.2.b)

PSYCHOLOGICAL DISTANCE
Tolerance / Aggression
(7.3.2.2.a)
Caring for Face (9.2.4.a) /
Not Afraid of Losing Face

ACADEMIC DISTANCE
Passive / Active Participation
(9.3.3.a)
Single / Alternative Solutions
(7.3.3.4.a & 9.3.3.b)
Uncritical Acceptance / Critical
Evaluation (9.3.3.c)
Dependence / Independence
(9.3.3.d)
Listener & Reader's / Speaker
& Writer's Responsibility (9.3.3.e)
Motivation for Study
(7.3.3.3.b & 9.3.4.d)
Quoting (9.3.1.i)

FIGURE 10.6
Under the influence of the value of collectivism, Chinese students tend to expect an offer of help from others (see 7.3.1.2.b) instead of taking the initiative of asking for it, as British students might do. On the other hand, Chinese students would offer help to others when they see there is a need (see 9.1.2.b), whereas in such circumstances British students might be more cautious in order to show respect for others' privacy. Both of these tendencies affect the Social Distance between the British and the Chinese. Neither of these variables are considered in Schumann’s acculturation model.

The collective orientation of Chinese students has further implications for Psychological Distance. In order to keep harmony of a group or a community, Chinese students tend to be more tolerant of others and not to assert opinions or ideas which may upset others in the group (see 7.3.2.2.a). Similarly, they may avoid situations which may cause anybody (both themselves and others) to lose face, whereas British students and tutors are likely to give much less importance to the idea of face (see 9.2.4.a).

Variables under the heading of Academic Distance may also be influenced by this key notion in which Chinese students emphasize the side of collectivism. Because of their consciousness of the group, they tend to participate much less as individuals than British students might and consequently they are seen as 'passive' by British tutors and students (see 9.3.3.a). In their academic work, they might emphasize one answer
or solution to a debate since it is easy for the group to follow a single agreed path (see 7.3.3.4.a & 9.3.3.b). Associated with this is the tendency of Uncritical Acceptance of authoritative books and comments, because a British value of Critical Evaluation may be seen by the Chinese students as creating problems for the collective (see 9.3.3.c). Dependence within a group has positive value under the collective orientation, while the individual orientation which the British tend to value gives much greater importance to independence in education (see 9.3.3.d). According to the collective value in communication situations, the responsibility for clarity of interpretation of a message rests to a significant extent with listeners or readers, since they are the group addressed and the speaker or writer is only a part of the group (see 9.3.3.e). One consequence of this approach is that the listener or reader is expected to work out conclusions from what is presented; the speaker or writer only has a duty to report information and to indicate what follows. The research data illustrate a tendency for Chinese students to be motivated by collective values (see 7.3.3.3.b & 9.3.4.d). Thus the Chinese motivation for study commonly emphasizes duty to fulfil national and family expectations. Even when Chinese students talk about their own individual motivation for study, this is usually seen as a way to meet the collective aim (see Figure 1.3). The consciousness of collectivism influences ALU in Quoting and giving references in academic writing (see 9.3.1.i). There is an inclination for Chinese students not to
attribute quoted words to their source or even not to acknowledge that something is being quoted. A reason for this is the collectivist assumption that published authoritative works are part of a collective foundation of knowledge which is well-known to all and are in a sense public property. However not all cases of the absence of attribution of sources can be traced to this cause.

The variables illustrated in Figures 10.5 and 10.6 may be considered attributable to Chinese cultural influences. Thus problems or difficulties concerning these variables observed by British tutors and experienced by Chinese students are specifically applicable to Chinese students. If the same difficulties are experienced by some other overseas students, this may have different cultural sources. These different cultural causes may lead to different solutions to problems. Variables in Figure 10.4 which have not been included in Figures 10.5 and 10.6 do not seem to have direct causes attributable to Chinese cultural influences. They may well be applicable to overseas students in general. They are the following:

**SOCIAL DISTANCE**
- congruence
  - similar/dissimilar
  - social familiarity/isolation
- knowledge of target/source
  - society and culture
- racism
  - superiority/inferiority
  - inverted racism

**PSYCHOLOGICAL DISTANCE**
character attribution of source/target cultures
  stereotyped/realistic
  positive/negative

finance
  anxiety
  social consequence

language shock
  attitudes towards language learning
  balance of language competence/acculturation
  confidence/lack of confidence
  language fatigue
  social-emotional interaction/
  cognitive processing

ACADEMIC DISTANCE
  academic culture shock
    knowledge of education system
    reverse culture shock
  academic language use
    listening, speaking, intonation,
    vocabulary, writing, note-taking

A further summary of mutual causal relations of variables in the cultural synergy model is presented in Figure 10.7. As with Figures 10.5 and 10.6, Figure 10.7 shows interrelationships between variables, thus meeting a major criterion for a model (Kaplan 1985 p.4298; Keeves 1985 p.3382). The variables are grouped under the three main headings of Social, Psychological and Academic Distances. Only the sub-headings of variables are given in the figure, the details of these variables have been presented in Figure 10.4.
THE CULTURAL SYNERGY MODEL OF SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION AND ACADEMIC LANGUAGE USE

Character Attribution of
Source/Target Cultures

Culture Shock

Finance

Identity Maintenance

Language Shock

SLA
ALU

DIRECT MUTUAL RELATIONS
OF VARIABLES

Social Distance

Congruence

Cultural Orientation

Knowledge of Target/Source Society and Culture

Racism

Academic Distance

Academic Language Use

Tutor-student Relationships

Academic Cultural Orientation

Academic Culture Shock

FIGURE 10.7
In Figure 10.7, the connecting lines between the variables indicate direct mutual causal relations. For example, Academic Language Use may in part be affected by Language Shock, since general competence and confidence about the use of English would influence ALU, while difficulties with Language Shock may in part be overcome by increased ability in ALU. An understanding of Target/Source Society and Culture would enhance students' performance in ALU, especially in Arts and Social Sciences, while higher ability in ALU will enable students to develop their knowledge of the target society and culture.

Since Figure 10.7 is visual summary of variables which have already been discussed extensively, further comment is not given here.

In conclusion, the Cultural Synergy Model seems to fit both the British tutors' academic cultural context and the Chinese collectivist orientation. From the British point of view, it is a part of academic culture to consider alternative interpretations, perspectives and ways of thinking and this is exactly what many international students at advanced post-graduate levels may have to offer - varying and diverse perceptions of academic culture. Especially in social sciences, Chinese (or other groups), may thus constitute a human and intellectual resource which could be drawn on as part of the academic cultural process for the benefit of tutors (and other students). Teachers are also learners, after all. To ignore such a potential resource would seem to be at variance with British academic culture.
From the Chinese side, cultural synergy may be seen to accord with a collective orientation, involving as it does, deeply held ideas about group harmony, cooperation, reciprocal relations and learning. In a group of students, each one is potentially a teacher; as Confucius said, "Where three people are gathered, there must be one who could be my teacher." Coming from a high synergy society, it would therefore seem to be a natural step to be involved in cultural synergy for ALU. To take this step would involve some reconsiderations of in-group and out-group boundaries.
THE MAJOR CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTION

A conclusion to a piece of research can be thought of as the end, the distillation of results or the final outcome. In one important sense the major conclusion here is the Cultural Synergy model, since it has been built up from the analysis of relevant quantitative and qualitative data, informed by the investigation into the Chinese intellectual cultural background and designed to extend Schumann's Acculturation model. A holistic view of the model highlighting significant features is given later.

This conclusion is not final, since it is conceived as a heuristic model which includes a taxonomy of factors seen to be important for the case of Chinese students' advanced language acquisition and academic language use. Under the headings of social, psychological and academic distance there are 13 sub-categories with a total of 47 sub-variables. These are guidelines for further research. The major suggestion, then, is that research should be carried out on other cultural groups of international students or supervisors. With other groups it is likely that the sub-variables will need adjusting to suit each specific case since each group has its own cultural background factors with different influences in different situations. The model may, however, be a useful guide for such later research.
PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THIS RESEARCH

Other suggestions which arise out of this research can be grouped under four headings, relating to pre-departure training courses in China, pre-sessional courses and language support courses in the U.K., guidelines for British supervisors and tutors in Britain, and staff development workshops:

1. Suggestions for Chinese Pre-departure Training Centres for Studying Abroad

It is usual for Chinese students and visiting scholars to attend six month courses for language improvement before going abroad. These courses include a few sessions giving social information about living in target countries. In the light of the outcome of this research, it is clear that there should be a cultural element in these courses to raise participants awareness of cultural issues and social interactions in the target country. These cultural sessions should include, as a major theme, the topic of academic culture. This theme could in fact systematically cover the categories presented in the Cultural Synergy model.

It is important to involve a training programme of cross-cultural communication skills in these centres, since these participants will soon join a cross-cultural environment when they go abroad. A number of general cross-cultural communication skills suggested by Ruben (1977) include:

1. the capacity to communicate respect,
2. the capacity to be nonjudgmental,
3. the capacity of accept the relativity of one's own knowledge and perceptions,
4. the capacity of display empathy,
5. the capacity to be flexible,
6. the capacity for turn-taking (letting everyone take turns in discussions), and
7. tolerance for ambiguity.

Other suggestions for cross-cultural training programmes which might be included could be taken from Furnham and Bochner (1986), Robinson (1988) or Pedersen (1988), in general, and more specifically from Brislin and Pedersen (1976), Casse (1979) or Brislin et al. (1986). Further ideas and concepts related to living and working in Britain might be taken from Roberts et al. (1992), though all of these sources would need to be supplemented with concepts and details of academic culture from the present research.

In fact, examples, instances and details arising from the research data could be used as the basis for discussion and problem-solving tasks with the aim of providing some information about and insight into British academic culture and Chinese reactions to it.

For such a programme to be successful, it would be necessary to involve staff with sufficient knowledge and experience. At present this is a problem since there are very few teachers in Chinese training centres with the appropriate experience and academic background. Therefore, a first step would be to set up a training course for these trainers, which might best be arranged in conjunction with such agencies as the British Council.
2. Course Programmes for Pre-sessional and Language Support Courses for Overseas Students in the U.K.

Many British universities now organize pre-sessional courses for newly arriving overseas students. These courses usually concentrate on English language improvement and the social uses of English. Some have a focus on study skills. Such courses normally continue throughout the academic year as language support courses, often paying particular attention to the development of students' speaking and writing skills. One outcome of this research has been the development of a course element about academic culture in the University of Leicester pre-sessional course (1990-1992). This took the form of lectures and workshops to discuss British academic culture compared with the previous experience and current expectations of overseas students.

As a specific example of this, figures 4.1. (Individualism and Collectivism) and 4.4. (Academic Expectations) were used as worksheets for discussion. The figures were presented to groups of international students as a platform for discussion. It is much easier to bring up personal experiences or discuss such issues with a list in hand. Before the discussion, individual items copied onto cards were given to students to group into categories, which highlighted the complementary nature of these tendencies and expectations.

Groups of students attempted to formulate advice for interacting with members of a culture of the opposite tendency e.g. for individualists: 'Don’t expect everything to be explicit - be prepared to work out what
people mean from hints and clues'; for collectivists: 'Be prepared to be explicit, even if this means saying what seems to be obvious'.

### OVERSEAS STUDENTS STUDYING IN BRITAIN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>GAINS</em></th>
<th><em>POSSIBLE PROBLEMS</em></th>
<th>POSITIVE STRATEGIES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New academic experiences &amp; role</td>
<td>Different learning/teaching techniques</td>
<td>Open mind towards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enhanced status at home</td>
<td>Change of role</td>
<td>Considering others'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Excitement</td>
<td>Obligation to succeed</td>
<td>Points of view</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Challenge</td>
<td>Loss of identity &amp; certainty &amp;</td>
<td>Expressing your</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New values</td>
<td>Confidence</td>
<td>own thinking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New language 'Autonomy'</td>
<td>Lack of cultural &amp; language knowledge &amp;</td>
<td>Willingness to adapt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New degree(s) 'Individual freedom'</td>
<td>Family support</td>
<td>Asking for help</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Academic</td>
<td>Isolation/Loneliness</td>
<td>Contacting your peers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Health</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Food</td>
<td>Relaxing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Accommodation</td>
<td>Learning to be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Climate</td>
<td>adventurous &amp; flexible</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The points in these two columns are partly adapted from Morris, R. & Christopoulos, M. (1987) Helping Overseas Students to Succeed, Nottingham: UKCOSA; the rest is proposed by Lixian Jin based on her research.

[figure 11.1]

Some of the narratives and quotations from the interview data were given as part of a problem-solving task. The fact that this element of the pre-sessional
course was presented by the researcher, herself an overseas student, seemed to have a strong impact on new arrivals.

Further materials were adapted from relevant publications (e.g. figure 11.1) so that students analysed problems of an academic cultural nature and discussed strategies for tackling them. A course evaluation revealed that 76% of participants found these activities extremely useful and stimulating.

3. Guidelines for British Supervisors/Tutors and Others concerned with Chinese Students in the U.K.

It is apparent from this research that some tutors have had good insight and knowledge of Chinese students and their background. Nevertheless many tutors confessed to a lack of such knowledge and were eager to ask the researcher about it. This suggests that guidelines for tutors and supervisors who deal with Chinese students should be developed and circulated. A starting point for these guidelines is the comments in the data made by experienced British supervisors. Sets of such guidelines would ultimately relate to all major groups of overseas students. The present data and research results using Chinese students would be a framework to develop guidelines for other groups.

The guidelines might usefully make points from all the variables in the cultural synergy, illustrated by examples from the research data. They would also give a brief outline of Chinese cultural and educational background as it affects the academic orientations of the
4. Workshops for Staff Development Sessions in British Universities Relating to Overseas Students

There is an increasing interest in staff development sessions in British universities. These generally cover a range of issues dealing with lecturing, organizing seminars, tutorials, research and management. In recent years, staff development sessions focusing on the needs of overseas students have been included in the programme, e.g. at Leicester and Nottingham. Some sessions about the needs of Chinese students have been given (1991-2), based on this research. These took place in the Schools of Education at Nottingham and Leicester, at an annual British Council seminar in Nottingham for the Midland area universities (video-recorded for staff training purposes) and in the University of Leicester for neighbouring universities. These presentations took the form of an extended 'dialogue' between a British supervisor and a Chinese student, using information and insights from this research (Ch.7-9 & 10). The very positive responses to these seminars and requests for others indicate that such workshops have a useful function, especially if they are based on a detailed analysis of students' expectations, experiences and needs. Future workshops, seminars and presentations for British university staff and others working with overseas students should be developed. They should include general cross-cultural training elements (see Suggestion 1).
A HOLISTIC VIEW OF THIS MODEL

This research is done inductively, following a Chinese academic style: tracing causes, explanations and reasons from the past and looking for a solution to a problem in all surrounding aspects; but the presentation of the research is relatively British in terms of its general discourse patterns.

The researcher sees this model as a hub supported by spokes of philosophical, psychological, social, educational and intellectual background information; of linguistic and cross-cultural theories and of the quantitative and qualitative data, linked by the rim of their mutual relations.

This is shown in Figure 11.2, a view which may speculatively recall the Taoist and Buddhist symbol of the wheel, in this case a wheel of academic cultural life. The movement of the wheel further suggests that the model is dynamic.
A Holistic View of the Culture Synergy Model

[figure 11.2]

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There are several significant features developed in this research:

The first is a review of outstanding influences from Chinese tradition and intellectual development. These influences are generally acknowledged to have had a profound impact on current Chinese thinking and academic culture (Tu 1990 p.136).

The second is the discussion and development of the concept of academic culture. It would help international students a great deal if they were enabled to understand British academic culture while experiencing it. Furthermore, this is also relevant to the needs of British students studying for their higher degrees. They too may be helped to attain a conscious awareness of this aspect of knowledge for them to complete higher degrees successfully in British universities. Yet it is relatively easy for British students to learn their academic culture, because it stems from the general cultural background these British students have already acquired. For international students, they may have to come out partly or completely of their original general cultural and academic cultural frameworks and to get into, understand and work freely within the new general cultural environment and the new academic culture for their academic success and cultural comfort in this country.

The third is using quantitative and qualitative approaches to complement each other. Both receive equal weight in the analysis. The quantitative approach can be seen in the statistical analysis and the qualitative
approach is used in the interview analysis. The cultural influence on data has been taken into account. This is particularly important since the focus of this research is on cultural issues.

The fourth is the theoretical construction of a cultural synergy model for second academic language use, extended from Schumann's acculturation model for second language acquisition. It develops and enriches the concepts raised in Schumann's model to the extent that some same terms employed in Schumann's have been reinterpreted in the current model from different angles and viewpoints which give those terms fuller meanings; and that a set of new terms, under the heading of academic distance, has been introduced in the Cultural Synergy model with detailed sub-variables directly supported by the research data. This current model emphasizes a mutual bidirectional acculturation for TL speakers and SL learners/users in academic environments. Of these features the second and the fourth are the new contributions in this research.

The main findings indicate:

1) There is a difference in orientations and perceptions between British and Chinese academic cultures. Therefore, in effect there is an academic cultural gap between British tutors and Chinese students. If either side is aware of this gap, it diminishes; if both sides are aware of it, it closes.

2) Both groups have a lack of explicit cultural and academic cultural awareness of their own and the other's and see the other's academic and social
behaviour in their own terms. It is likely that the practice of cultural synergy between tutors and students would benefit students' academic language use and broaden the knowledge of tutors.

3) There is a lack of explicitness on the part of teachers about cultural assumptions underlying the learning process in both British and Chinese academic cultures, which academics involved take for granted. This seems more obvious in British academic culture, which paradoxically values explicitness. Yet such assumptions and expectations might be made clear in the form of circulated statements. It would be inevitably helpful to make them explicit for those who need to know, although prescriptiveness should be avoided for the sake of creativity, development and process of learning.

4) The higher the competence in the target language but without understanding the target cultural discourse patterns, the more difficulties and communication problems SL students have in the use of the target language.

5) Different expectations are seen between British tutors and Chinese students in the aspects of relationships, roles and styles. A gap is shown between the language needs of students and the language help they believe they have received; and between the help they have received and the help their tutors believe they have given.

6) There is a need to set up courses, seminars and workshops to bridge the gap in academic cultural
understanding, study skills, research methodology and language skills.

EVALUATION OF THIS RESEARCH

There is a long background review for Chinese intellectuals, but not for British ones, a limitation due to time, space and similar constraints. Yet this is also because it is not only background information, which, in the British style of academic writing, is normally a necessary part, but also it serves as a reference point to trace back the possible causes of current problems of Chinese students in the UK, which is a Chinese way to look for a solution to a problem. If a problem not described in this thesis is found concerning a Chinese student, a reader could always look into the background chapters to find some possible explanations for such a problem.

The researcher is also aware of a contrast between British and Chinese styles to approach a problem. It seems that there is a tendency for the British to focus on an analysis of an immediate problem with a view to finding a solution; whereas there is a Chinese tendency to see the problem in its surrounding environment and track it back to its origin, based on the idea that an effective analysis or a solution is not possible without a good understanding of the background causes.

In a Chinese view, to understand such background causes is itself a step in analysing a problem; whereas in British eyes, it may seem an unnecessarily extended
background which is separate from and possibly irrelevant for a solution. Since this research focus is on Chinese students, an extended background context has been given about Chinese intellectual development and comparatively less detailed information about the corresponding British context of intellectual development has been given. Clearly some limitations on detailed British intellectual background context must be imposed for reasons of time, length and feasibility, but the present emphasis also reflects a Chinese approach. Such an approach seems appropriate to analyse a problem concerning Chinese students in the first instance. However, sufficient British background, interspersed throughout, has been provided for a fair comparison of Chinese and British cultural orientation to academic life.

The Cultural Synergy Model proposed in this research is also a Chinese approach to solving problems: 'Zhong Yong Zhi Dao', a well-known Chinese saying, 'seeking the middle and eternally stable way and avoiding the extremes'. This model emphasizes a mutual bidirectional understanding between British and Chinese sides. It intends to look for explanations and causes of problems in SLA and ALU. But this is not a final model. It is regarded as a useful framework in which contents may be modified according to the comparison and contrast of different academic cultures.

This model stresses the role of academic culture in second language learning. It specifically deals with advanced learners of which a high level of SLA/SLL occurs in ALU. However other models should be extensively
considered for explaining the language-learning process, because a model is not the model.

A special concern should also be shown to individual differences in order to avoid stereotypes and generalizations. Six (1989 pp.42-62) points out that stereotypes and prejudices are not only the products of everyday information processing within a social context, but also determinants of it. Prejudices influence cognition via processes of information storage and memory which in turn are likely to influence subsequent perception — a kind of self-fulfilling prophecy where experience seems to reinforce prejudices. They "may appear as a special kind of cultural elements and factors and also as individual factors influencing the individual approach to, and the success of, cross-cultural understanding" (p.51). Thus, it is crucial to know about Chinese or British stereotypes in relation to any academic cultural gap as a first step to bridge the gap of understanding.

This research attempts to link theories with practice. It has a practical function which has been demonstrated in the Suggestions. Still, a research project collecting detailed linguistic data of the four skills relating to study skills and learning and research methodologies is needed in order: 1) to investigate the development of cultural understanding and cognitive process of L1 and L2 users; 2) and to examine how the mutual understanding of academic cultural orientations help the development of language skills and study skills.

In the course of this research, as Chapter Nine
has shown, many tutors' perceptions have been distilled in a way in which, perhaps, few of them could themselves give the composite picture. Similarly students' experiences have been pooled; it is unlikely that any single one is aware of this whole picture. The research has, thus, been an exercise in cultural synergy by continually viewing academic culture from two sides in order to present a mutually beneficial whole which goes beyond the constituent parts.
APPENDIX

QUESTIONNAIRE I

QUESTIONNAIRE III

QUESTIONNAIRE I

The purpose of the research is to study:
1) the relationship between culture and second language learning;
2) the influence of Chinese learners’ socio-psychological and cultural background on their use of the target language (English) and on their perception of study skills in the UK universities.

It would be very helpful if you answer every question and respond according to your immediate reaction. There is no right or wrong answer. Your answers are confidential. They are only used for research purposes. Thank you very much for your cooperation.
PART ONE  PERSONAL INFORMATION

YOU ARE ASKED TO WRITE AN X IN THE BLOCK WHICH MATCHES YOUR STATUS OR EXPERIENCE.
EXAMPLE:
IF YOU ARE A TEACHER, YOU WOULD WRITE AN X IN THE BLOCK FOR 'TEACHER' AS SHOWN IN THE EXAMPLE BELOW.

|TEACHER | X |
|WORKER  |   |
|STUDENT |   |

1. Sex: Male         Female  

2. Age  
   18--25  
   26--30  
   31--35  
   36--40  
   41--45  
   46-->  

3. Status: Visiting scholar  
            Student for degree  

4. Methods of study  
   by course  
   by research  

5. The place(s) in China you lived in before you entered the university:  
   Beijing (Capital)  
   Shanghai  
   Tianjin  
   coastal city  
   inland city  
   coastal county  
   inland county  
   coastal countryside  
   inland countryside  

6. The place(s) in China you worked before you came to the UK:  
   Beijing (Capital)  
   Shanghai  
   Tianjin  
   coastal city  
   inland city  
   coastal county  
   inland county  
   coastal countryside  
   inland countryside  

7. Year(s) for which you worked before you came to the UK.
8. The place(s) in China where your universities for your first, second, or third degree are located:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Degree</th>
<th>Key University</th>
<th>Non-Key University</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st degree:</td>
<td>Beijing</td>
<td>Shanghai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tianjin</td>
<td>coastal city</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>inland city</td>
<td>coastal county</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>inland county</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd degree:</td>
<td>Beijing</td>
<td>Shanghai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tianjin</td>
<td>coastal city</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>inland city</td>
<td>coastal county</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>inland county</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd degree:</td>
<td>Beijing</td>
<td>Shanghai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tianjin</td>
<td>coastal city</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>inland city</td>
<td>coastal county</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>inland county</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9. Assumed period of stay in the U.K.:
   year(s):
   one
   two
   three
   four
   five
   more

10. What is your subject?
    Arts
    Pure Science
    Applied Science

11. What degree(s) do you intend to get after study?
    M.A.
    M.Ed.
    M.Phil.
    M.Sc.
Ph.D. ______

12. How long have you been in the U.K.?
   0--6 months _____
   7m-1 year _____
   1y-2 years _____
   2y-3 years _____
   3y-> years _____

13. Name and department of your supervisor or tutor.

PART TWO    YOUR OPINIONS AND FEELINGS OF PEOPLE

The following is a questionnaire with a five point scale. You are asked to write an X in the block which matches your experience.

A. YOUR VIEW OF BRITISH PEOPLE IS:
   If you think British people are good, you write an X in the block for 'good' as shown in the example below.

   e.g. good _ X _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ bad
         fairly _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ neutral
         fairly _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ good
         bad _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _

1. collective-minded
2. active
3. cruel
4. cooperative
5. corrupt
6. creative
7. cold
8. confident
9. friendly
10. generous
11. happy
12. hard-working
13. hypocritical
14. intelligent
15. open-minded
16. proud
17. polite
18. poor
19. patient
20. rebellious
21. selfish
22. sympathetic
23. unassuming
24. ugly
25. violent
26. well-organized
27. well-educated

individual-minded
passive
kind
uncooperative
virtuous
uninventive
warm
fearful
unfriendly
mean
depressed
lazy
sincere
stupid
narrow-minded
humble
rude
rich
impulsive
obedient
unselfish
unsympathetic
ambitious
handsome
calm
disorganized
uneducated

B. YOUR VIEW OF CHINESE PEOPLE IS:

If you think Chinese people are good, you write an X in
block for 'good' as shown in the example below.

e.g. good X | fairly neutral | fairly | bad

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>good</th>
<th>neutral</th>
<th>bad</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>calm</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ambitious</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unsympathetic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unselfish</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>impulsive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>disorganized</td>
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<td>well-educated</td>
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<td>hypocritical</td>
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C. YOUR OPINION OF HOW BRITISH PEOPLE PROBABLY VIEW THE CHINESE IS:

If you believe that British people think Chinese people are good, you write an X in the block for 'good' as shown in the example below.

e.g. good X | fairly neutral | fairly | bad

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>good</th>
<th>neutral</th>
<th>bad</th>
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<td>active</td>
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<td>collective-minded</td>
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<td>cruel</td>
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<td>cooperative</td>
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<td>corrupt</td>
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<td>creative</td>
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<td>cold</td>
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<tr>
<td>intelligent</td>
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PART THREE YOUR ACADEMIC, SOCIAL AND EVERYDAY LIFE INFORMATION

The following is a five point scale and you are asked to write X in the block which matches your experience.

D. BEFORE YOU CAME TO THE U.K., HOW DID YOU IMAGINE YOUR ACADEMIC, SOCIAL AND EVERYDAY LIFE IN THE U.K.?

E.g. speaking in English;

X easy fairly neutral fairly difficult difficult

If you think speaking in English is easy for you, you write an X in the block for "easy" as shown in the example above.

1. discussing your research topic(s) or course with your tutor(s);

2. discussing your research topic(s) or course with other students on the course or in the lab;

3. asking questions of the tutor;

4. asking questions of other students;

5. following instructions of experimental procedure;
   (only applies to science students)

6. looking for the relevant books or materials in the library;

7. reading books or course materials relevant to your study;

8. understanding lectures;

9. taking notes (in English);

10. writing papers (in English);
11. shopping; ______________________
12. finding accommodation; ______________________
13. banking; ______________________
14. travelling; ______________________
15. making friends; ______________________
16. using computers; ______________________
17. filling all kinds of forms, such as application forms; ______________________

E. NOW THAT YOU ARE IN THE U.K., WHAT IS IT REALLY LIKE IN THE U.K. AS FAR AS ACADEMIC, SOCIAL AND DAILY LIFE ARE CONCERNED?

e.g. speaking in English;

<table>
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<tr>
<th>easy</th>
<th>fairly</th>
<th>neutral</th>
<th>fairly</th>
<th>difficult</th>
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</thead>
</table>

If you think speaking in English is easy for you, you write an X in the block for "easy" as shown in the example above.

1. discussing your research topic(s) or course with your tutor(s);

2. discussing your research topic(s) or course with other students on the course or in the lab;

3. asking questions of the tutor;

4. asking questions of other students;

5. following instructions of experimental procedure; (only applies to science students)

6. looking for the relevant books or materials in the library;

7. reading books or course materials relevant to your study;

8. understanding lectures;

9. taking notes (in English);

10. writing papers (in English);

11. shopping;

12. finding accommodation;

13. banking;
F. MOST PEOPLE WHO STUDY IN ANOTHER COUNTRY MAY HAVE DIFFICULTIES OR PROBLEMS AT DIFFERENT TIMES DURING THEIR STAY AND STUDY. YOU MIGHT HAVE PROBLEMS NOW OR IN THE FUTURE IN DEALING WITH YOUR ACADEMIC, SOCIAL AND EVERYDAY LIFE. HOW LIKELY IS IT THAT THE FOLLOWING ARE THE CAUSES OF THE PROBLEMS?

e.g. I am unwilling to speak in English.

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<tr>
<th>very likely</th>
<th>fairly likely</th>
<th>fairly neutral</th>
<th>unlikely</th>
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<tr>
<td>X</td>
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If you think it is very likely that unwilling to speak in English is the cause of your problems, you write an X in the block " very likely" as shown in the example above.

1. I am reluctant to talk to British people.

2. I am too shy to talk to people.

3. I am afraid of making language mistakes.

4. I am afraid of people looking down on me if I make language mistakes.

5. I am not good at expressing my ideas in English.

6. I do not know how to get a turn in seminars or in discussions.

7. When I feel it is appropriate to speak, it is too late.

8. I am reluctant to speak in English.

9. I do not bother to ask questions or to talk to people in English.

10. The way of lecturing here is different from the way in...
11. I do not know what British people are interested in talking about.

12. When I want to avoid my language mistakes, they just slip out of my tongue.

G. HOW MUCH KNOWLEDGE OR COMPETENCE OF THE FOLLOWING DID YOU GAIN FROM YOUR TEACHERS OF ENGLISH IN CHINA?

e.g. English history

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<th>a lot</th>
<th>quite</th>
<th>neutral</th>
<th>almost</th>
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If you think you learned a lot from your English teachers in China, you write an X in the block "a lot" as shown in the example above.

1. English grammar
2. English vocabulary
3. English literature
4. British culture
5. British society
6. English pronunciation
7. English intonation
8. British educational system
9. British research methods
10. intensive reading in English
11. speaking in English
12. listening in English
13. writing letters in English
14. writing research reports or papers in English
15. taking notes in English
16. scanning in English
17. skimming in English

H. HOW USEFUL DO YOU FIND THE FOLLOWING RELATED TO YOUR PRESENT STUDY IN THE U.K.?
If you think English history is useful to your present study in the UK, you write an X in the block "useful" as shown in the example above.

1. English grammar
2. English vocabulary
3. English literature
4. British culture
5. British society
6. English pronunciation
7. English intonation
8. British educational system
9. British research methods
10. Intensive reading in English
11. Speaking in English
12. Listening in English
13. Writing letters in English
14. Writing research reports or papers in English
15. Taking notes in English
16. Scanning in English
17. Skimming in English

I. THE FOLLOWING ARE MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS ABOUT YOUR USE OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE. PLEASE CHOOSE ONE ANSWER ONLY AND WRITE AN X IN BLOCK a. b. c. OR d. WHICH YOU DECIDE TO CHOOSE.

E.G. HOW OFTEN DO YOU GO TO THE CINEMA?

| a. very often | b. quite often | c. occasionally | d. hardly ever |

If you go to the cinema very often, you write an X in block a. as shown in the example.

When you were in China, 1. how often did you listen to broadcasting in English?
2. How often did you talk to English native speakers?
   a. _____ b. _____ c. _____ d. _____

3. How often did you read textbooks, scientific reports or stories and novels in English?
   a. _____ b. _____ c. _____ d. _____

4. How often did you read newspapers in English?
   a. _____ b. _____ c. _____ d. _____

5. How often did you write your research papers or reports in English?
   a. _____ b. _____ c. _____ d. _____

6. How often did you write letters in English?
   a. _____ b. _____ c. _____ d. _____

J. The following are multiple choice questions. Please choose one answer only and write an X in block a. b. c. or d. which you decide to choose.

E.G. How often do you go to the cinema?
   a. X b. _____ c. _____ d. _____
   If you go to the cinema very often, you write an X in block a. as shown in the example above.

1. How much help with your English do you expect your tutors/supervisors to give to you?
   a. a lot b. some c. a little d. none at all

1). Listening a. _____ b. _____ c. _____ d. _____
2). Speaking a. _____ b. _____ c. _____ d. _____
3). Reading a. _____ b. _____ c. _____ d. _____
4). Writing a. _____ b. _____ c. _____ d. _____

2. How much help with your English have you received from your tutors/supervisors or language teachers?
   a. a lot b. some c. a little d. none at all

1). Listening a. _____ b. _____ c. _____ d. _____
2). Speaking a. _____ b. _____ c. _____ d. _____
3). Reading a. _____ b. _____ c. _____ d. _____
4). Writing a. _____ b. _____ c. _____ d. _____

3. Please think about your English language and estimate your competence in these aspects:
   a. no problems at all  b. quite competent
   c. not very good  d. I need more help and practice

1). Listening a. _____ b. _____ c. _____ d. _____
2). Speaking a. _____ b. _____ c. _____ d. _____
3). Reading a. _____ b. _____ c. _____ d. _____
4). Writing a. _____ b. _____ c. _____ d. _____

Part Four Your opinions and your impressions of life and study in the U.K.

K. The following are multiple choice questions. Please choose one answer only and write an X in block a. b. c. or d. which you decide to choose.

E.G. How often do you go to the cinema?
a. **X** b. c. d. IF YOU GO TO THE CINEMA VERY OFTEN, YOU WRITE AN X IN BLOCK a. AS SHOWN IN THE EXAMPLE ABOVE.

a. very often  b. quite often  c. occasionally  d. hardly ever

1. How often do you watch T.V. in the UK?
   a._____ b._____ c._____ d._____  
2. How often do you listen to the radio in the UK?
   a._____ b._____ c._____ d._____  
3. How often do you listen to records/cassettes in English in the UK?
   a._____ b._____ c._____ d._____  
4. How often do you listen to records/cassettes in Chinese in the UK?
   a._____ b._____ c._____ d._____  
5. How often do you watch video in English in the UK?
   a._____ b._____ c._____ d._____  
6. How often do you watch video in Chinese in the UK?
   a._____ b._____ c._____ d._____  
7. How often do you read English newspapers/magazines in the UK?
   a._____ b._____ c._____ d._____  
8. How often do you read Chinese newspapers/magazines in the UK?
   a._____ b._____ c._____ d._____  

L. MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS:

a. very often  b. quite often  c. occasionally  d. hardly ever

1. How often do you feel that people might laugh at you when you speak English?
   a._____ b._____ c._____ d._____  
2. How often do you feel embarrassed to ask questions in English?
   a._____ b._____ c._____ d._____  
3. How often do you find that you tend to avoid conversing with Chinese people?
   a._____ b._____ c._____ d._____  
4. How often do you find that you tend to avoid conversing with British people?
   a._____ b._____ c._____ d._____  
5. English speakers often use intonation to convey their meaning. How often do you find it difficult to understand the meaning when it is conveyed by intonation?
   a._____ b._____ c._____ d._____  
6. How often do you choose words carefully to talk to your tutor or friend about your personal matters?
   a._____ b._____ c._____ d._____  
7. How often do you choose words carefully to talk to your tutor or friend about your academic work?
   a._____ b._____ c._____ d._____  

a. very much  b. quite a lot  c. not much  d. not at all
8. How much would you like to mix with British people while you are in the UK?
   a. _____ b. _____ c. _____ d. _____

9. How much would you like to adapt yourself to British society?
   a. _____ b. _____ c. _____ d. _____

M. THE FOLLOWING ARE MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS. PLEASE MAKE ONLY ONE CHOICE FOR EACH QUESTION OR STATEMENT.

E.G. MY UNIVERSITY a
   a. I LIKE IT VERY MUCH.
   b. I QUITE LIKE IT.
   c. I ONLY LIKE SOME OF THE PEOPLE THERE.
   d. I DON'T LIKE IT.

If you like your university very much, you should choose "a" for your answer and write an "a" in the answer block shown in the example above.

1. English food _____
   a. I eat it a lot.
   b. I sometimes eat it.
   c. I rarely eat it.
   d. I hardly ever eat it.

2. How do you like English food? _____
   a. I like it very much.
   b. It's OK.
   c. I like only some of it.
   d. I don't like it at all.

3. How do you like English weather? _____
   a. I like it. It suits me.
   b. It does not affect me no matter what it is like.
   c. Sometimes I like it. Sometimes I don't.
   d. I do not like it. It does not suit me at all.

4. I spend most of my weekends or holidays by _____
   a. staying in my room/house.
   b. travelling in the country or abroad.
   c. visiting my British friends.
   d. visiting my Chinese friends.
   e. continuing my work in the lab./library.

5. What do you think of Christian people in the UK? _____
   a. They are very nice people. I like them.
   b. They are nice people, but I do not have time to know them better.
   c. I feel they bother me a little if they often come to talk to me.
   d. I do not know them.

N. MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS. PLEASE MAKE ONLY ONE CHOICE WHICH YOU THINK IS MOST IMPORTANT, OR MOST RELEVANT, TO YOU.

E.G. A French person judges his behaviour mostly according to a
1. What do you hope most to get out of the experience of studying abroad?
   a. To get a degree.
   b. To gain academic experience.
   c. To learn culture.
   d. To become a more capable person.
   e. To find myself

2. If you need help in the UK, you will first ask for help
   a. from British people
   b. from Chinese people
   c. by writing home to China
   d. by keeping the problem to yourself and trying to solve it

3. If you feel unwilling to ask for help in the UK, probably it is because
   a. I’m afraid of people looking down on me.
   b. I don’t want to bother people.
   c. If I ask people for help, I feel I should repay them.
   d. I don’t know who to ask.

4. If you think you are right about your ideas or approach to a problem and someone offers a strong alternative idea, you
   a. listen and are willing to accept the alternative if it seems useful.
   b. listen but without wanting to change.
   c. defend your idea because you think you are right.
   d. talk about something else.

5. The main principle you have to adhere to while discussing problems in a meeting or seminar is
   a. give your own ideas even if you know others may disagree.
   b. cover shortcomings and praise merits, so as to preserve peaceful relations.
   c. say what you suppose most of the other in the group believe.
   d. avoid expressing any opinion.

6. Which group of British people do you know most?
   First read the following carefully and then write numbers from 1 to 6. No.1 = most. No.6 = least.
   a. students
   b. academic staff
   c. workers
   d. shop assistants
   e. landlord/landlady
e.g. A French person judges his behaviour mostly according to ____________

a. his personal values.
b. what his parents expect.
c. what people around him expect.
d. what the government expects.

If you think a French person judges his behaviour mostly according to his personal values, you should choose "a" for your answer and write an "a" in the answer block shown in the example above.

1. Most Chinese students work hard and devote most of their time to study.
   a. I agree.
   b. I disagree.

2. If "a", this is because Chinese students __________;
   a. want to bring honour to their families and meet their parental expectations.
b. think they are representatives of their country and that Chinese people as a whole will be judged by their success or failure.
c. have nothing else to do in their spare time.
d. want to please their tutors and universities.
e. are not as intelligent as other students to cope with studies.
f. want to realise their personal goals.

3. A Chinese person judges his behaviour mostly according to ____________
   a. his personal values.
b. what his parents expect.
c. what people around him expect.
d. what the government expects.

4. A British person judges his behaviour mostly according to ____________
   a. his personal values.
b. what his parents expect.
c. what people around him expect.
d. what the government expects.

5. If a British friend or colleague hurts a Chinese person unintentionally, this Chinese person would ______
   a. show he is hurt.
b. bear the hurt because he does not want to make the relation worse.
c. not care about the hurt.
d. fight back in self-defence.

6. If a Chinese friend or colleague hurts another Chinese unintentionally, that Chinese would ______
a. show he is hurt.
b. bear the hurt because he does not want to make the relation worse.
c. not care about the hurt.
d. fight back in self-defence

7. When Chinese people are asked to give advice, they will ____________
a. say what they really think.
b. avoid giving any advice.
c. answer according to what they believe the questioner wants to hear.
d. say what they believe most people would advise.

8. When British people are asked to give advice, they will ____________
a. say what they really think.
b. avoid giving any advice.
c. answer according to what they believe the questioner wants to hear.
d. say what they believe most people would advise.

9. If one's teacher or superior has done something wrong, the student or subordinate should ______
a. point out the mistake directly.
b. point out the mistake indirectly with hints.
c. not disclose it to anybody and tolerate it.
d. not point out to the teacher or superior but complain about it or make a joke about it to others.
e. not mention it for the sake of respect.

10. To display one's own ability and knowledge before others is considered being ______
a. acceptable.
b. a little too proud of oneself.
c. boasting and showing off.
d. the best way to show one's ability.

P. THE FOLLOWING ARE MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS. PLEASE CHOOSE ONE ANSWER ONLY TO EACH STATEMENT AND WRITE AN X IN BLOCK a. b. c. d. OR e. WHICH YOU DECIDE TO CHOOSE.

E.G. ENGLISH IS A USEFUL LANGUAGE.
a. X b. c. d. e.

IF YOU STRONGLY AGREE WITH THE STATEMENT, YOU WRITE AN X IN BLOCK a. AS SHOWN IN THE EXAMPLE ABOVE.

a. strongly agree  b. agree  c. neither agree nor disagree  d. disagree  e. strongly disagree

1. It is necessary to know about British culture and customs in order to speak English.

   a. b. c. d. e.

2. It is best to learn English in an English-speaking country.

   a. b. c. d. e.

3. I would like to learn English so that I can get to know British people better.

   a. b. c. d. e.
4. Learning a foreign language is different from learning other academic subjects.
   a. _____ b. _____ c. _____ d. _____ e. _____

5. The most important part of learning English is learning how to translate from and to Chinese.
   a. _____ b. _____ c. _____ d. _____ e. _____

6. It is easier to read and write English than to speak and understand it.
   a. _____ b. _____ c. _____ d. _____ e. _____

7. I would like to contact or mix with British people, but I do not know how to.
   a. _____ b. _____ c. _____ d. _____ e. _____

*****THE END*****
THANK YOU VERY MUCH !
The purpose of the research is to study:
1) the relationship between culture and second language learning;
2) the influence of Chinese learners' socio-psychological and cultural background on their use of the target language (English) and on their perception of study skills in the UK universities.

Please answer every question and respond according to your immediate reaction. There is no right or wrong answer. Thank you for your cooperation.

The following is a questionnaire with a five space scale. You are asked to write X in the block which matches your experience.

A. YOUR VIEW OF BRITISH PEOPLE IS:
If you think British people are good, you write an X in the block for 'good' as shown in the example below.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>good</td>
<td>fairly good</td>
<td>neutral</td>
<td>fairly bad</td>
<td>bad</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. collective-minded
2. active
3. cruel
4. cooperative
5. corrupt
6. creative
7. cold
8. confident
9. friendly
10. generous
11. happy
12. hard-working
13. hypocritical
14. intelligent
15. open-minded
16. proud
17. polite
18. poor
19. patient
20. rebellious
21. selfish
22. sympathetic
23. unassuming
24. ugly
25. violent
26. well-organized
27. well-educated

individual-minded
passive
kind
uncooperative
virtuous
uninventive
warm
fearful
unfriendly
mean
depressed
lazy
sincere
stupid
narrow-minded
humble
rude
rich
impulsive
obedient
unselfish
unsympathetic
ambitious
handsome
calm
disorganized
uneducated
B. YOUR VIEW OF CHINESE PEOPLE IS:

If you think Chinese people are good, you write an X in the block for 'good' as shown in the example below.

e.g. good____|____|____|____|____|____|____|____|____|____|____|bad
good fairly neutral fairly bad

1. calm
2. ambitious
3. unsympathetic
4. unselfish
5. impulsive
6. obedient
7. rich
8. rude
9. humble
10. narrow-minded
11. stupid
12. lazy
13. depressed
14. mean
15. unfriendly
16. uninventive
17. warm
18. virtuous
19. uncooperative
20. kind
21. individual-minded
22. passive
23. confident
24. handsome
25. disorganized
26. well-educated
27. hypocritical

C. YOUR OPINION OF HOW CHINESE PEOPLE PROBABLY VIEW THE BRITISH IS:

If you believe that Chinese people think British people are good, you write an X in the block for 'good' as shown in the example below.

1. active
2. collective-minded
3. cruel
4. cooperative
5. corrupt
6. creative
7. cold
8. confident
9. friendly
10. generous
11. happy
12. hypocritical
13. handsome
14. hard-working
15. intelligent

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16. open-minded  
17. proud  
18. polite  
19. patient  
20. rebellious  
21. selfish  
22. sympathetic  
23. uneducated  
24. unorganized  
25. unhumble  
26. rude  
27. calm  
28. impulsive  
29. unselfish  
30. unsympathetic  
31. well-educated  
32. ambitious  
33. well-organized  

D. From your observation of your Chinese students, do you think that they find 
   speaking in English easy? fairly neutral fairly difficult
easy
difficult

If you think speaking in English is easy for your Chinese student, you write an X in the block for easy' as shown in the example.

YOUR CHINESE STUDENTS:
1. discussing research topic(s) or course work with you;
2. asking you questions; (i.e. How easy is it for you to understand their questions?)
3. answering your questions in lectures or seminars;
4. presenting paper(s) in seminars;
5. getting a turn in seminars or in discussions;
6. understanding your lectures or your tutoring;
7. expressing their ideas well in their papers, reports or other written course work;
8. speaking with appropriate intonation;
9. speaking with good pronunciation;
10. finishing the books you ask them to read within a certain period of time;

E. THE FOLLOWING ARE MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS. PLEASE 
   CHOOSE ONE ANSWER ONLY AND WRITE AN X IN BLOCK a. b. c. OR d. WHICH YOU DECIDE TO CHOOSE.

1. How much help do you think your Chinese students would expect to get from you?
a. a lot b. some c. a little d. none at all
   1). Listening a.____ b.____ c.____ d.____
   2). Speaking a.____ b.____ c.____ d.____
2. How much help have you been able to give to your Chinese students?
   a. a lot  b. some  c. a little  d. none at all

   Directly:
   1). Listening a.____ b.____ c.____ d.____
   2). Speaking a.____ b.____ c.____ d.____
   3). Reading a.____ b.____ c.____ d.____
   4). Writing a.____ b.____ c.____ d.____

   Indirectly: (i.e. you have arranged other teachers to help them)
   1). Listening a.____ b.____ c.____ d.____
   2). Speaking a.____ b.____ c.____ d.____
   3). Reading a.____ b.____ c.____ d.____
   4). Writing a.____ b.____ c.____ d.____

3. How much improvement of the following have you noticed with your Chinese students?
   a. a lot  b. some  c. a little  d. none at all

   1). Listening a.____ b.____ c.____ d.____
   2). Speaking a.____ b.____ c.____ d.____
   3). Reading a.____ b.____ c.____ d.____
   4). Writing a.____ b.____ c.____ d.____
   5). Study skills a.____ b.____ c.____ d.____

4. Please think about your Chinese students' language proficiency and estimate their competence in these aspects:
   a. no problems at all  b. quite competent
   c. not very good  d. they need more help

   1). Listening a.____ b.____ c.____ d.____
   2). Speaking a.____ b.____ c.____ d.____
   3). Reading a.____ b.____ c.____ d.____
   4). Writing a.____ b.____ c.____ d.____

F. MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS:

   a. very often  b. quite often  c. occasionally  d. hardly ever

1. English speakers often use intonation to convey their meaning. How often do you find it difficult for your Chinese students to understand meaning when it is conveyed by intonation?
   a.____ b.____ c.____ d.____

2. How often do you find your Chinese students choose words carefully to talk to you about their personal affairs?
   a.____ b.____ c.____ d.____

3. How often do you find your Chinese students choose words carefully to talk to you about their academic work?
   a.____ b.____ c.____ d.____

   a. very much  b. quite a lot  c. not much  d. not at all
to mix with British people?
a._____ b._____ c._____ d._____ 

5. How much do you think your Chinese students would like to adapt themselves to British society? 
  a._____ b._____ c._____ d._____ 

G. MULTIPLE CHOICE QUESTIONS. PLEASE MAKE ONLY ONE CHOICE WHICH YOU THINK IS MOST IMPORTANT, OR MOST RELEVANT, TO YOU.

  e.g. A French person judges his behaviour mostly according to a
      a. his personal values.
      b. what his parents expect.
      c. what people around him expect.
      d. what the government expects.

If you think a French person judges his behaviour mostly according to his personal values, you should choose "a" for your answer and write an "a" in the answer block shown in the example above.

1. Most Chinese students work hard and devote most of their time to study.
   a. I agree.
   b. I disagree.

2. If "a", this is because Chinese students
   a. want to bring honour to their families and meet their parental expectations.
   b. think they are representatives of their country and that Chinese people as a whole will be judged by their success or failure.
   c. have nothing else to do in their spare time.
   d. want to please their tutors and universities.
   e. are not as intelligent as other students to cope with studies.
   f. want to realise their personal goals.

3. A Chinese person judges his behaviour mostly according to
   a. his personal values.
   b. what his parents expect.
   c. what people around him expect.
   d. what the government expects.

4. What do you think your Chinese students hope most to get out of the experience of studying abroad?
   a. To get a degree.
   b. To gain academic experience.
   c. To learn culture.
   d. To become a more capable person.
   e. To find themselves.

5. If a British friend or colleague hurts a Chinese person unintentionally, this Chinese person would
a. show he is hurt.
b. bear the hurt because he does not want to make the relation worse.
c. not care about the hurt.
d. fight back in self-defence.

6. While discussing problems in a meeting or seminar, your Chinese students will _____
a. say what they really think.
b. avoid giving any opinions.
c. answer according to what they believe the questioner wants to hear.
d. say what they believe most people would say.

7. If your Chinese students think they are right about their ideas or approach to a problem and you offer an alternative idea,
A) your Chinese students would _____
a. listen and be willing to accept the alternative if it seems useful.
b. accept your alternative idea because you are their tutor.
c. listen but without wanting to change.
d. defend their ideas because they think they are right.
e. talk about something else.
B) you _____
a. would like them to accept your ideas.
b. would explain more about your ideas in order to let them understand more.
c. would not mind if they insist on their ideas.
d. would feel disappointed or offended if they defend their ideas.
e. would change the topic of the conversation if you find they would not accept your ideas.

8. If you did or said something which did not meet the expectation of your Chinese students, they would _____
a. show their feelings directly.
b. show their feelings indirectly with hints.
c. keep it to themselves.
d. talk about it to somebody else.

9. You would judge your Chinese students' language proficiency and their competence in study skills by
_____

a. comparing them with British students.
b. comparing them with other overseas students.
c. comparing them with Chinese students supervised by others.

*****THE END*****
THANK YOU VERY MUCH!
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