Chinese Tertiary Students' Willingness to Communicate in English

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Abstract

With the growing number of students from China who study abroad, many initially struggle to engage with native English speakers due to limited opportunities to develop oral English skills within their homeland (Gu and Maley, 2008). The reasons why Chinese students' may exhibit varied levels of motivation to engage with others when they study abroad is not well understood. This thesis has employed MacIntyre's "Willingness to Communicate" pyramid model (MacIntyre et al., 1998) as a theoretical model to underpin this study. An 18 month longitudinal study was carried out upon a group of 24 tertiary students from China who were undertaking an undergraduate degree in Britain. Qualitative data were gathered by means of carrying out 60 interviews employing a multi-lingual platform. The study sought to understand the factors which may influence the reasons for the changes in students' Willingness to Communicate and Communicative self-confidence as they studied in Britain and also to identify any additional variables influencing them. The results of this research showed there to be a wide range of factors influencing Chinese students' L2 communicative behaviour. Some of these factors were linked to their home and education background in China. Others were linked to how they responded to others in English within differing communicative contexts. This study concluded that Willingness to Communicative within a Chinese context to be a complex phenomena as Chinese students may respond to interlocutors in differing ways. Hence, this study has contributed to our understanding of Chinese learners of English in that a wide range of variables have been identified, which may impact upon Chinese students' communicative behaviour. The model which MacIntyre and his associates formed, was found to be a helpful model in comprehending Chinese student's L2 communicative behaviour. However, this study has developed MacIntyre's model by identifying other culturally specific factors which were not covered. This research has also enhanced our comprehension of Chinese students' communicative behaviour within authentic English speaking environments, with both native and non native English speakers. Finally, this study has highlighted that there are significant cognitive factors which also impact upon Chinese students' Willingness to Communicate, suggesting the need to undertake additional future research in order to further investigate this area.

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1. Introduction

This thesis will focus on Willingness to Communicate in the context of Chinese tertiary students. It highlights the three themes: communicative confidence, communicative competence and communicative anxiety (Clement, 1987). The main research problems investigated are how and for what reasons do these three themes change as Chinese students study abroad. The main findings of this thesis indicate a number of variables; which have social and cultural influences, which may impact upon these three themes. This chapter explains a major part of the underlying rationale for this research through a personal narrative which shows the impact of the willingness (or not) of Chinese learners of English to communicate. The focus of this study will be on Chinese students as participants, first in China where their English learning background and context is considered and then in the UK where the main group of participants are tracked over their first year and a half of study in British universities to see how their willingness to communicate changes and to ascertain the factors leading to any changes.

This narrative is followed by a brief account of a preliminary study in which Chinese students were interviewed to explore their language and learning backgrounds and their willingness to communicate and reasons why many were reticent or reluctant to speak in English to native speakers in Britain. The preliminary study was beneficial to this thesis in that it helped to identify a number of factors influencing Chinese students' communicative behaviour and hence was instrumental in honing the research aim and focus.

The major theoretical construct is 'Willingness to Communicate'. This is important for language learning and the academic study of Chinese students in English, because it helps to define a number of variables which may influence Chinese students' L2 behaviour. The main model (elaborated in Chapter 2) is the L2 Willingness to Communicate (WTC) Heuristic Pyramid Model (MacIntyre et al., 1998). This model has been used in a considerable number of research studies, including some but not many with Chinese learners of English: Wen and Clement (2003), Liu and Jackson (2008), Lu and Hsu (2008), Peng and Woodrow (2010), (see Chapter 2). While this present study uses the model it also investigates areas of spoken interaction and social contexts which are not included in the model; thus the

results of this research not only further apply the model to Chinese learners but also suggest areas which might complement and might be added to an extended model, at least for Chinese students studying abroad.

1.1 Personal Narrative

The following personal account shows how and why the researcher's attention was drawn to Willingness to Communicate and indicates the importance of this topic. This narrative contrasts the experience of many Chinese students with learning spoken English with my own experience of learning oral Chinese.

Whilst living in Taiwan I decided to gain Mandarin Chinese language skills in order to more effectively understand Chinese culture. In order to gain effective communication skills I found that great care needed to be made regarding listening to and the replicating of Chinese words using the correct tones. I also learned many new Chinese sounds (e.g. phonemes like zh, ch, sh & r – Zein, 2008) which are quite distinct from those of most European languages. To develop Chinese communication skills, I practised speaking Chinese with those around me during every appropriate opportunity. I had to overcome the fear of making mistakes, the frustration of not being understood and the embarrassment of saying things which were completely out of context. From this experience I concluded that it was vital that I maintain a willingness to engage in conversations with native Chinese speakers, by continually practising on a daily basis and immersing myself in the Chinese language and in many respects mimicking the speech of native Chinese speakers. As I did this, I gained sufficient confidence to converse with those around me on a wide range of topics. After several years of continual practice I achieved an advanced level of communication skills.

During that period, I taught English to students who sought to enhance their oral English. Even though Chinese people study English for many years within their formal schooling system, few seemed to be able to effectively and confidently communicate in spoken English. The reason for this may be due to their educational system, which, I was informed, focused primarily upon exam preparation and the development of reading and writing skills, as opposed to studying English for oral communicative uses. This produces students who seemed to be extremely cautious and nervous about engaging in a conversation

with others in English, and who seemed to have low levels of English communicational confidence. Hence many Chinese students will seek exposure to a native English speaker by attending English speaking classes, or enlisting the services of a private tutor to strengthen their oral skills, as English is an international language and gaining communicative language skills is often deemed beneficial to one's career prospects.

It was these experiences; both teaching others English and being a learner of Chinese myself, that led to the formation of the aims of a preliminary study. As I reflected upon my language teaching and learner experiences, I concluded that oral communication is vital when learning a new language. From my teaching experiences, I learned that some Chinese students demonstrate reluctance to learn in the way I learned a language. I wanted to understand how Chinese speaking learners of English learn to communicate orally, that is, the reasons why some seemed to be able to speak confidently in English, whilst others struggled to engage verbally (even on the most basic level) in English.

1.2 Preliminary Study

This section reports a preliminary study which indicates the developing research methods and gives further details of the context, leading up to the key concept of Willingness to Communicate.

Having observed the reluctance which many Chinese exhibit in orally communicating in English, I became interested in understanding the reasons for such behaviour. I supposed that one possible reason might be due to their language learning environment; most Chinese learn English in a highly structured classroom setting. In order to comprehend the reasons for the oral language behavioural patterns of Chinese students, I felt it important to gather some preliminary information in order to understand their language learning backgrounds. Similarly, I wanted to use this information as an aid in deciding the direction of my doctoral study, prior to extensive reading of pertinent academic literature. Having acquired a Masters degree in educational research methods, I felt capable in gathering such data. The following subsections will demonstrate how this proved to be a springboard for this doctoral study.

1.3 Focus and Direction

An initial step in this study was a preliminary investigation to explore the topic. Since at that point the focus and methods were not fully defined this is not really a pilot study, because the idea was mainly to explore students' experiences of learning and using English in China and how they thought oral English skills could best be developed during their studies in Britain. The gap between the two sets of experiences was significant.

The focus of the preliminary study was to gather information regarding the English language pedagogical backgrounds of Chinese students, and to understand to what extent their individual language learning backgrounds had prepared them for foreign studies. In order to achieve this, data were gathered through interviewing Chinese university students, which allowed me to understand their educational background and experiences in greater detail, and which helped provide a more detailed focus on the area of specialization to be adopted for this doctoral study. Thus, this initial process helped to provide a springboard for ascertaining a range of pedagogical theoretical concepts which would underpin this study. During October 2008 a convenience sample of thirty tertiary-level Chinese students from mainland China and Taiwan studying in the UK were interviewed in Britain. The interview questions employed were based on my personal experiences with the Chinese and a common sense understanding of educational issues in a Chinese context, before I had read much relevant literature.

The design of the early interviews was to collect data in order to comprehend students' communicative behaviour. The intention was to gain a detailed overview of the differing locations where students learned English, how their oral English skills had developed and what challenges and fears they had faced during this period. The participants were asked to discuss what they considered the most effective methods of gaining oral English skills in their home country and to reflect on what they felt they could have done more to improve their oral skills in China. This interest was based upon the notion that in China developing oral English may be regarded as an educational priority, even though students may not always be highly interested in studying this language. When students are placed in an immersive English language environment where they are expected to speak English, they may realise the importance of developing speaking skills, whereas before this

they may consider that they need to learn English merely in order to pass an exam. Living in an English speaking environment could be a strong motivational factor to encourage them to improve this area of their language proficiency. These broad areas of interest were transposed into the interview questions employed within the preliminary study requiring in-depth information from the participants.

1.4 Results and Discussion

Despite the fourteen different locations from which the Chinese participants had come, a high level of similarity was identified in their early learning experiences. There was for example little difference between the Taiwanese and mainland Chinese students' experiences. The participants had received widely differing levels of exposure to British society and native English speakers as some students had just arrived in Britain and others had lived here for over a year. Similarly, they exhibited widely differing levels of language competence, language confidence and willingness to speak in English, which seemed to be linked to the length of time that they had lived in Britain.

From the interviews it was identified that the students who had only been living in Britain for a few weeks exhibited clear anxiety in speaking in English. This characteristic seemed to be a major contributory factor in their lack of communicative confidence in English, which seemed to be linked to reticence to communicate. It was as if speaking English was deemed by some students as being a chore rather than a pleasure. This stance may have been based upon their early educational experiences within China, as the students who exhibited this predisposition had recently arrived in Britain and had had little (or no) exposure to, or interaction with, native English speakers. This disposition contrasts with the comments of some other Chinese participants who had lived in Britain for many months, who said that they enjoyed speaking in English, and who demonstrated high levels of confidence in speaking in English and lacked observable language anxiety. It is of course possible that these students still possessed high levels of anxiety, yet if such anxiety existed, this was not clearly evident given the demonstrated high levels of confidence.

This suggests that extended exposure to an English speaking environment may cause a considerable change in Chinese students' communicative confidence, demonstrated through

a greater willingness to communicate in English. This conclusion is based upon the accounts of four students who had been living in Britain for a year (see appendix 10 table T1) and who clearly demonstrated higher observed levels of communicative self-confidence and a greater willingness to speak in English than those students who had only been living in Britain for several weeks. This is not to suggest that an extended exposure to a British environment will necessarily result in higher levels of communicative confidence in all Chinese students, but simply that for some Chinese students this could be one contributory factor along the road to developing higher language proficiency.

1.5 Benefits of the Preliminary Study

This early data gathering process provided experience in gaining important and useful research skills: finding research participants, sitting down with them to collect meaningful information by means of interviews, and then transcribing and analysing that data in a constructive manner. Conducting interviews in English with Chinese students enabled the researcher to gauge the participants' English language speaking proficiency. A greater level of spontaneity and depth of information could perhaps have been obtained if the interviews had been conducted in Mandarin Chinese (see Cortazzi et al., 2011).

The preliminary study provided a spotlight on a number of factors influencing Chinese students' communicative behaviour. Hence the preliminary study was instrumental in honing the zone of potential research into a clearer and more definite topic area. Upon the completion of the preliminary study a wide range of academic literature was read which formed a theoretical foundation upon which this study was based. This led to a focus on English learning within a Chinese educational context, and a number of issues linked to communicative self-confidence. This area of focus subsequently led to the formation of the research objectives of this study; to be discussed shortly. From the literature review, it was identified that in order to effectively understand the construct of L2 self-confidence, it was necessary to relate this topic to the area of L2 'Willingness to Communicate', as L2 self-confidence can more appropriately be understood as being closely related to this topic. It was identified that a model existed (discussed in chapter 2) which helped to clearly explain the construct of L2 self-confidence. This model outlines the construct of L2 Willingness to Communicate and demonstrates the relationship between L2 self-confidence and L2

Willingness to Communicate. It also outlines a framework which consists of number of other factors which have an impact upon an individual's Willingness to Communicate.

1.6 Thesis Overview

Data were gathered from 24 Chinese tertiary students by means of interviews, which were conducted initially in Qingdao (north-eastern China) and then with the same individuals over a period of a year and a half as they studied at universities in Britain (see chapter 3). A total of 60 interviews were conducted using a multi-lingual platform (English and/or Chinese), as discussed by Cortazzi et al. (2011). This allowed the participants the freedom and flexibility of expressing their in-depth views regarding their L2 communicative behaviour and the challenges which they encountered, whilst simultaneously maintaining control of the interview structure by adopting Patton's (1987) recommendations. Hence, the students described influences on their communicative behaviour, with differing interlocutors and within varied communicative contexts, which concurred with many of the variables within the WTC pyramid model. They also discussed additional culturally specific variables not covered within the WTC model. The results obtained from these interviews supported the results of the preliminary study and provided a greater depth of insight into the communicative behaviour of the participants, such as addressing the reasons for Chinese students' L2 WTC, which the preliminary study did not address.

This study offers new evidence of the English language learning environment within China and how this may influence learners' motivation to engage in English within their own country. This study also provides knowledge of the impact of learners' early language learning environment, when they are faced with authentic L2 communicative contexts. Likewise, this study contributes insights into the oral development of Chinese students who engage in foreign study. It adds evidence to support the notion that the Willingness to Communicate model effectively describes L2 communicative behaviour and may be considered as being applicable within a Chinese L2 context. The study is therefore of direct interest to English language educators in China and can be applied, with relevant cautions about local contexts and student variations, to Chinese learners of English.

The chapters in this thesis are organised as follows. Chapter 2 reviews the current literature of the learning of English in China and pays particular attention to the some of the language learning problems in China. It also provides a comprehensive overview of the WTC

pyramid model and outlines existing research using the model within Chinese contexts. This is important because a number of lacunas are identified and how this study intends to fill them. Finally chapter 2 identifies the research questions to be covered. Chapter 3 outlines how the research instrument will be addressed. This chapter also pays attention to the details of: data gathering challenges which were encountered, how data were gathered in China and in Britain, a detailed coverage of how the interviews were carried out and the benefits in conducting interviews on a multi-lingual platform. The data analysis and organisation is also clearly covered within chapter 3, whereas chapter 4 presents the results of the study and provides a discussion of relevant implications in addition to a summary of the results. Chapter 5 provides a conclusion for this study and states relevant contributions. Finally chapter 5 outlines potential future research, such as how cognitive frames may impact upon Chinese students' communicative behaviour; understanding their "cognitive reflective state", and how this may be linked to potential emotional outcomes resulting from a communicative exchange.

2. Literature Review

This chapter critically examines some of the teaching and learning practices in China relating to English language learning and discusses the "Willingness to Communicate Model", which provides a major theoretical base for this study and the context for generating the research questions. First, the chapter considers the current English language learning context within China to highlight important issues which may be shown to contribute to the development of Chinese students' oral foreign language skills and how this impacts upon their eagerness to engage verbally with others in English. The speaking proficiency level in English which Chinese students attain in China during their formal schooling is expected to impact upon their communicative competence if they choose to study in a native English speaking environment. This consideration provides an understanding of the causal factors of Chinese students' eagerness to engage verbally with others. This section provides a foundation for addressing the "Willingness to Communicate" construct and seeks to explain why many Chinese students struggle orally when they first arrive in native English language environments. This consideration has further relevance to interpret the rationale for the choice of the research method; how the Willingness to Communicate scales were adapted to answer the research questions and how this was subsequently linked to the data analysis.

2.1 Reasons for Learning English in China

Before discussing education in China, it is vital to recognise that China is geographically a vast country with the highest population and hence the largest educational system in the world. Given also wide socio-economic variations (which may impact, say, the teacher recruitment) it may be difficult to obtain a clear understanding of learning and teaching throughout the entire country. The differing teaching and learning situations within rural and urban areas (also across the 56 differing recognized ethnic groups in China) and between wealthy and the poor districts inevitably affect language learning practices. Despite the widely recognized economic advancements, changes within China's educational culture have not been as swift (Cortazzi and Jin, 1996a; Nunan, 2003).

The Chinese government stresses the vital role of learning English; it is considered by many Chinese as a vehicle to boost international trade and tourism. China's entry into many

world economic, sporting and artistic fora has likewise strengthened predictions about China's position as a super power (Adamson, 2004). Not surprisingly, the learning of English is widely regarded by huge numbers of Chinese people as the key to the nation's modernization and development and to individual career success, as the route to significant economic, social and educational opportunities (Wang and Gao, 2008) both at home and in foreign countries, and to provide individuals with better employment prospects, which can lead to financial wealth and social status (Gao, 2006; Peng, 2012). Many employers in China use English language proficiency as a benchmark for promotions and hence higher salaries (Jiang (2003). Other observers: Ford (1988), Gao (2006) and Yong and Campbell (1995), that in China, English is not necessarily a tool to use to communicate to foreigners, but rather a tool to provide a person with social and economic opportunities. A person who is able to pass the national English language test (CET 4 and 6 – of the College English Test) is deemed by many employers in China as showing competence in English and CET holders may, therefore, be assured of better career prospects, compared to a person who has not passed it (Adamson, 2001). However, Peng has pointed out that "Because oral skills are not compulsory components of these tests, spoken English competence is not a primary concern. In other words, the educational reality may not encourage students to improve their oral skills" (Peng, 2012: 210). Yet high CET scores are still used by many employers to "sift out the wheat from the chaff" within highly competitive employment arenas. However, many managers in multinational companies complain that Chinese university graduates are unable to maintain even a basic English conversation, despite having gained high CET scores (Wen and Clement 2003). Ning (2011) reports that university graduates often still have incompetent oral English skills despite intensive official efforts.

The Chinese educational system is strongly motivated to develop English teaching. In 2001 learning English became part of the national middle school curriculum in China, with many primary school children learning English (Hu, 2003, 2005). Students in China must learn English to obtain a senior middle school graduation certificate, and a test in English is key to the College Entrance exam; although the Times Higher Education (2013) reports that "English has been dropped as a compulsory subject in China's annual independent university entrance exams", this does not affect the vast majority of students. Students have to study English in most universities if they hope to graduate; they are required to pass the national level of CET Band four. Nevertheless, the status of learning English in China is sometimes

controversial: some argue that English is vital to acquire technology in order to advance the nation's commercial aims; others articulate an uncomfortable connection between English and capitalistic imperialism and see the language as a threat to traditional Chinese cultures. Teaching students about western cultures within English classes is thus a complex and sensitive topic. It has been recognized that teaching students about western cultures can benefit them, yet there remains a strong argument that learning about the west may undermine, or adversely influence Chinese national identity (Wang and Gao, 2008). Learning English is sometimes seen to oppose the need to maintain students' own national culture and heritage through their own language. Thus, some culture-specific ideals and beliefs taught within English classes could clash with some of China's values and hence threaten students' cultural identity, if, allegedly, strong cultural ideas are deliberately (or indirectly) transmitted within the English language (Adamson, 2001; Adamson and Morris, 1997; Cortazzi and Jin, 1996a; Hu, 2002). However, current counter-arguments are that the links between culture and identity should not be viewed as binary choices: within current multi-faceted notions of identity, it is recognizably possible to retain and develop national cultural identity, while simultaneously developing knowledge, awareness and cultural identities relating to the west or wider humanity. Still, there are those who promote such binary notions as an argument strategy to resist the west and strengthen a nationalistic stance, claiming the west is a threat to local identity (Lo Bianco et al., 2009). Unsurprisingly, some policy makers still feel it to be important to maintain their national cultural heritage; however, recent studies (Ozturgut, 2012; Wu, 2011) have shown that many Chinese students have an inaccurate understanding of western cultures. Nevertheless, the potential benefits which may be gained through developing English skills, are seen by most to outweigh these other considerations.

2.2 Chinese Learning Context

Lo and Hyland's research (2007) has shown that students in China are given few opportunities to express their own personal ideas and feelings (particularly in foreign language classrooms) throughout their formal schooling. The scarcity of opportunities to engage in self expression while learning English was found to lead to acute in-class language anxiety (Mak, 2011; Ning, 2011). Likewise Wang (2010 citing Liu & Littlewood, 1997), states that due to cultural reasons, "Chinese students prefer less frequent participation and brief responses in class so as to avoid dominating the discussion and to avoid being labelled

as a 'show-off' by their Chinese peers" (Wang, 2010: 208). This may have resulted in the stereotypical perception that the educational processes in China may be responsible for Chinese students being relatively quiet, lacking in creativity and social skills despite institutional claims to have implemented more 'task based' forms of language learning (Crozet and Liddicoat, 1999; Liu, 2002; Shi, 2006). This study aims to explore this notion further to identify factors which may influence their communicative confidence.

However, there are some (Cortazzi and Jin, 1996b; Leedham et al., 2004; Wang and Gao, 2008) who argue against this stance, by asserting that it is an overgeneralization; Chinese students' should not be regarded as being quiet and passive, or lacking their own personal identity. In relation to classroom silence, Li (2012) has argued that in some Chinese learning environments, silence may be viewed as a virtue; some East Asian cultures may hold differing notions of the relationship between silence and not speaking. Likewise Jin and Cortazzi (2002b) argue that whereas Western notions of Chinese students' classroom behaviour may see these students as reluctant to engage in learning activities, such behaviour actually relates to the notion of cognitive-engagement, since Chinese learners themselves argue that despite being less verbal in the classroom, they are still listening carefully and reflecting upon what they being taught (ibid.). Similarly some Chinese students view certain Western students' verbal classroom exchanges as being merely 'empty talk'. Such contrasts challenge some of the prevailing stereotypical notions of the Chinese learner which portray ideas of someone lacking autonomy and who is fully dependent upon the teacher, i.e. the notion that Chinese students are 'empty vessels' waiting to be filled by the knowledge supplied from the teacher (ibid.). Crucially, these stereotypes fail to take into consideration how the Chinese view their individual identity as being intrinsically connected and defined by relationships and affiliations gained from those around them, which has significant implications for an individual's notions of appropriate social behaviour within a given social context (Bond, 1991; Cheung et al., 1996; Gao and Ting-Toomey, 1998). If Chinese students do not actively engage extensively with their teacher and peers in classrooms, this should not, according to Leedham et al. (op. cit.) necessarily mean that they are learning less than other students, who may be engaging more, but who may not necessarily be learning any more than their Chinese counterparts. Likewise, Chanock (2010) has argued that Anglo-western academics may have a limited understanding of Confucian-heritage paradigms, since a common western stance is that silence, or classroom reticence, is seen as undesirable and

silent learners are seen by Anglo-western educators as the "wrong sort of learner" (Chanock, 2010: 548, citing Archer, 2008); Chinese students may believe that silently endeavouring to understand lesson content is a more productive use of their time, rather than prematurely attempting to demonstrate mastery of lesson content through hesitant oral contributions. Similarly, if Chinese students choose not to air their own opinions within the language classroom, this does not necessarily imply that they do not have an opinion. They may merely feel that the classroom is not an appropriate place to share their personal ideas, since the classroom is a place for serious study. Some Chinese students may feel that sharing their own personal views is better conducted within less formal settings; they may feel it more appropriate to share their ideas and feelings within neutral environments, without the belief that they have to express what educators expect of them.

The argument presented so far is that English language teaching and learning in China is problematic if Chinese students do not develop the oral English skills within their educational system to adequately engage orally with others in English. If the language learning environment which students are exposed to does not encourage (for whatever reason which this study will explore) the expression of their ideas and views in English, students may not be able to develop the language skills; effective communication competence and confidence to engage meaningfully with (for example) NES. If the oral exercises which students are required to take part in within the language classroom are somewhat restricted and do not encourage the expression of students' own ideas, but tend to employ monotonous language drills, students may rarely be given the opportunity to share their own ideas. Recent studies (Li and Liu, 2011; Liu and Jackson, 2012) have shown that students in China are resistant to participate orally in classroom English learning activities "due to a wide range of cultural, psychological and linguistic factors" (Liu and Jackson, 2012: 168) and that such reticence can impede student learning. One of the main reasons for this reticence is "communication apprehension". Wang (2010) also linked language reticence to communicative "anxiety, depression, inferiority and loss of confidence" (Wang, 2010: 207). Some of these variables will be explored further within this study.

Cheng (2000) has argued that many Chinese students are "reluctant to participate in classroom discourse; they are unwilling to give responses; they do not ask questions; and they are passive and over-dependent on the teacher" (Cheng, 2000: 435). Yet he maintains this is

not due to the Confucian influences as Cortazzi and Jin (1996b) have stated. Despite evidence to support the notion that Chinese learners are reticent and passive learners, Cheng (2000) suggests that this is an extreme over-generalisation; many of the discussions of Confucian heritage in relation to Chinese students usually do not refer to specific sections of Confucian texts, or detailed research in relation to current attitudes and practices, but authors simply make statements confirming or refuting stereotypes without research evidence. Thus Cheng (2000) argues that Chinese student classroom behaviour is due to teaching methodologies employed within China and to the students' level of language proficiency. In seeking to comprehend Chinese language behaviour in relation to Chinese learning cultures, it may be best to avoid a simplistic and dualistic view of language activities, that an individual is either reluctant to speak or conversely fluent, but rather to consider how language, embedded in cultural paradigms, is a multifaceted phenomena which is often dependent upon contextual influences. Hence language behaviour may illustrate apparent paradoxes of not being merely 'either/or', but 'both/and' (Chang, 2010) - notions discussed earlier by Moore (1967). Wang (2010) argues that reticence in Chinese students occurs for two major reasons. The first is due to the hierarchical structure of Chinese society, in which students (held to have low social status) are expected to be subservient to the teacher (who has higher social status). The second is that questions or challenges from a student could potentially result in loss of face. Thus, teachers may seek to protect themselves from the risk of losing face if a question was asked which they were unable to answer and may avoid answering or simply not give students the opportunities to ask; students can fear loss of their own face if a question appears to their peers or to the teacher as out of place or 'stupid'; students can also be reluctant to ask a question which the teacher is unable to answer, since this may not only lead to the teacher's loss of face but to the student's also, as a person who made the teacher lose face in public (Cortazzi and Jin, 1996b).

However, despite this argument, the long held perception persists that reticence to engage orally with others is due to deep rooted Confucian values, which suggests that students need to listen to and obey their teacher; students should not ask the teacher questions, as this could be construed as being a threat to the teacher's authority. Cortazzi and Jin (1996a) along with Cheng (2000) still maintain that such a notion is a deviant distortion of the true teachings of Confucius, since he did not support the notion of students being quiet and passive recipients of knowledge nor that students should not blindly accept everything

that the teacher presented to them without due consideration and discussion. Cortazzi and Jin (1996a) present an example of this by discussing the Chinese word "knowledge" (Xue Wen) which literally means to "study" and to "ask", which supports the intention of students not being passive learners, but that knowledge is gained by studying and by asking questions. If such notions are correct, perhaps it may be important to ask the question "To what extent do Chinese classrooms of today exemplify this condition?" i.e. "Do modern Chinese classrooms present an English learning environment where students may often be observed asking the teacher questions, or are at least encouraged to do so?" It will be shown throughout this thesis, that there continues to be a great deal of evidence to support the notion that many Chinese English language learning contexts (particularly within the public state education system), are very far from this idyllic situation (as Cortazzi and Jin (1996a) suggest) despite token gestures to implement more "task based" communicative teaching measures. Beyond these points, Cortazzi & Jin (2013) have shown from extended references to Confucian classic texts that creativity and criticality can be seen as significant themes within Confucian traditions, but that even many Chinese teachers, let alone students, may be unaware of this. Similarly, the research conducted by Wang (2013), who studied 750 students in China, identified that Chinese students do strongly hold some Confucian-related values; influencing Chinese identity (Gao, 1998), but may also hold neutral or strongly reject some other Confucian values. We cannot simply state that Confucian stereotypes do or do not apply since we need to specify exactly which values we are referring to.

Thus, for a number of reasons it can be argued that a native Chinese teacher in China could tend to dissuade or discourage students from asking questions during an English class, especially those which the teacher may not be able to answer. However, Cortazzi and Jin, (1996b, Jin and Cortazzi, 2008) have observed how some students in China will actively ask questions in the classroom. As teachers in China are in some respects given an almost iconic status, based upon the notion that the teacher is "all knowing", and where students are expected to demonstrate "respect for superiors" (Wang, 2010: 210), some teachers may be unwilling to jeopardise their authoritative position due the potential embarrassment of being asked a question during the language class which they are unable to answer. Some have argued (Anderson, 1993; Wang and Gao, 2008) that most Chinese English language teachers in China are not adequately equipped to teach oral English, because they themselves do not have competent English communication skills, and therefore lack the confidence to speak in

English (Wu, 2011). Likewise, they are strongly influenced by pedagogical structuralism, according to which they employed grammar-translation methods, as opposed to more communicative methods. However, Chen (2008) has argued that non native English teachers are better equipped than native-speaking English teachers because they understand the language problems that Chinese students encounter: they were once English learners themselves. It has been argued by Bond (1991) that students in China have been exposed from a young age to a teacher-centered learning environment where they are required to sit quietly and listen to the teacher "seldom asking questions or joining class discussion voluntarily" (Wang, 2010: 207), and where what the teacher considers as disruptive behaviour is not tolerated. Exposure to such a learning environment may result in Chinese students developing a passive reticent or communicative anxiety; which this study will explore, attitude (towards speaking English). Within such a setting, some teachers consider that it is vital that they maintain order and discipline within the large classes of fifty plus students which are common throughout China, rather than promoting a more relaxed atmosphere in order to reduce communicative reticence, as Liu and Jackson (2009) suggest. Most teachers in China do not have the luxury of teaching classes of fewer than thirty students as is common in many universities in western countries. Also a quiet learning environment may be encouraged and even necessary in China, as trying to learn a foreign language in a noisy classroom with so many students may be extremely difficult. Hence, a strong traditional teaching style may discourage some students from speaking freely and may even result in students' not being able to speak at all during language lessons (Wu, 2011). However, Jin and Cortazzi (1998a) have pointed out how many teachers in China have developed effective language teaching strategies even with very large classes and they can engage a very high proportion of members of a large class in active verbal participation. Within an English language learning environment, lack of verbal participation could be a major obstacle to students to be able to develop effective oral communication skills. If Chinese teachers of other subjects and disciplines are accustomed to teaching in a quiet teacher centered learning environment, students may believe that maintaining silence is a way to show respect for the teacher (Bond, 1991); they may find it awkward and difficult to adjust to a new English teaching environment which may require the use of pedagogies they are unfamiliar with, e.g. employing 'task based' communicative English language teaching methods.

A growing body of research (Wang and Li, 2003; Cortazzi and Jin, 2013; Ryan, 2013; Wang, 2013) provides strong evidence to support the notion that Chinese students (while possessing strong social characteristics) demonstrate strong self identity and personal autonomy in cultures of learning, and also that this self expression may be readily identified outside the classroom where students feel more at ease with personal expression. One common example of this may be observed within a wide range of social gatherings, where many Chinese people of all ages are very eager to express themselves in front of others as they sing along to karaoke music tracks. Within such settings some Chinese are observably willing to sing English songs in front of their friends. This practice hardly shows shyness or a lack of willingness of self expression. Similarly, many universities in China provide an informal 'English speaking corner', an on-campus out-of-class opportunity to practise English language communication skills (Jin and Cortazzi, 2002a). Perhaps it is merely a case of some Chinese demonstrating a willingness to express themselves in a different fashion to western people, or that both eastern and western people are equally willing to express themselves, but in differing cultural settings; i.e. many Chinese may enjoy singing in English in front of others to karaoke music tracks, whereas some Europeans may enjoy singing along with others in the crowds, as they support their local football team.

Yu (1984) has discussed how many Chinese people equate the process of learning with the accumulation of knowledge which is achieved through extensive reading, compared to the more practical process of applying knowledge. Yu (op. cit.) also argues that Chinese students consider that they only feel that they have adequately learned something when they clearly understand the reasoning behind a principle. Within a foreign language learning context, this may suggest that some Chinese may consider that they need to clearly and deeply understand the reasoning for each of the English language grammar principles that they are taught. Cortazzi and Jin (1996a) have discussed the significant role of extensive reading of the textbook in relation to ELT and how this may impact upon the development of oral skills.

To summarise so far: in discussing the Chinese learning context within China it has been shown that many Chinese students exhibit oral English communication difficulties which stem from many factors relating to their educational system, although the interpretation of silence may vary across cultures. Students in China may not be used to

frequent and spontaneous class debate and peer discussion in other curriculum subjects and in English classes, this adds further challenges to them in relation to knowing classroom discussion and debate patterns and expressions even if it is in Chinese, let alone in a foreign language. This may result in some students experiencing language challenges if they come to Britain to study.

2.3 English Learning Problems in China

Despite the extensive size of China, both diversity and similarities exist between provinces and localities in their educational system. Dzau (1990) states that the quality of English teaching can vary considerably, depending geographically upon the level of economic development and the extent to which NES are employed within differing areas. This trend may have been exacerbated due to the widening socio-economic gaps between urban and rural areas. Garrott (1995) has discussed the extreme diversity and complexity of English learning in China and that trying to develop a single language teaching strategy in China may not be possible. This may call for a variety of pedagogies which target specific educational settings according to local conditions. However, there has been enormous consistency in ways of training language teachers in China in the past and this consistency is heavily reinforced by a restricted range of approved textbooks which teachers can use in schools and universities, and only the more recent textbooks encourage a variety of teaching approaches. For example Cortazzi and Jin (1996a, 1996b) show how the New College English Teacher's Books consistently encourage and guide teachers to implement a choice of different and alternative ways of using exercises and activities (Jin and Cortazzi, 2009). Some of the newest textbooks have a specific Teacher Development section in each Unit of the course for teachers to develop a creative variety in their repertoire of methods and techniques. The variety of learning activities covered within each course book show teachers how to promote varied teaching strategies, as diverse pedagogical practices may be uncommon in many classrooms. However, it could be argued that if language learning continues to focus upon text comprehension in preparation to undertake a written test, it may be some time before such textbook materials and the training courses which accompany them are implemented within the classroom to enhance oral English skills.

A prevailing notion been discussed by Hu (1990) is that in China there is a perception amongst many Chinese people that there are few opportunities to converse with NES; hence most people will never be in an environment where they need English to converse. Consequently it seems highly challenging to effectively promote oral English in China (and motivate students to speak in English) amid this widespread perception that despite the considerable time spent learning English, most will never encounter a NES. Consequently many language teachers may hold that students should largely be taught to read and write effectively in English, probably through the use of traditional Chinese pedagogies which emphasize rote learning, with memorisation of vocabulary and grammar in order to prepare for endless tests (Jiang and Smith, 2009; Wang, 2010; Yu, 2013). Despite all this, it should not be taken that all Chinese students are incompetent in communicating orally in English. Some who are interested in developing their oral English can engage comfortably in the language. It should also be noted that the New College English teachers guidelines promoted by the Ministry of Education emphasise a more versatile range of pedagogic practices which include the development of oral English skills and some universities include speaking and listening classes where students are tested on their oral English competency.

Conversely, if Chinese educators employ the use of traditional pedagogical practices in English classes, it may produce students who are skilled in reading and writing, yet who are less competent in oral skills (Dzau, 1990; Lamie, 2006). Thus, students within China's formal educational system may not receive adequate opportunities to practice oral skills, as it is perceived that an effective reading and writing proficiency are adequate to equip their students for many professions in China where an English speaking proficiency is deemed unnecessary: reading and writing in English is considered more important. Nevertheless, although enhanced oral language learning methods are necessary for those students seeking to go abroad, traditional Chinese teaching methods (emphasizing reading and writing proficiency) are considered as adequate for the rest (Burnaby and Sun, 1989). Noticeably, the Ministry of Education in China (particularly since around 2009) have promoted oral English within their curriculum; however, due to vast geographical and socio-economic variations in China, it may take many years before this policy is implemented effectively throughout the whole country.

In China the text book is the primary resource employed by language teachers and learners "and it is not uncommon to have Chinese teachers lecture one hundred percent out of the book" (Wang, 2010: 210). If English teachers do not have solid oral English competence, or feel that they do not, they may conduct much of a class in Chinese and rely on the textbook for the rest. Within different provinces, local authorities decide (perhaps without input from classroom educators) what teaching materials are to be used within their region. However, most language teaching materials in China follow similar pedagogical parameters. A few provinces and cities may decide to use a locally published text book. Some areas in China claim to visiting western academics that they are using a more communicative 'task based' pedagogy, based upon a newer textbook. However, it should be noted that not all provinces in China will follow suit; further, merely having a new set of text books which contain 'task based' learning activities does not mean that all actual classroom practices follow suit. Chinese teachers may still use methods that they feel appropriate for their needs, whatever textbook is chosen. Hence it is crucial to consider not only what textbooks are employed by educators, but how they are actually used: a well designed book can be used poorly within a learning context, thus limiting its effectiveness: a relatively poorly designed book can be used well, even in better ways not imagined by the textbook authors. Hence, there may be mismatch between the text book and actual classroom teaching practice.

According to Reid (1995), within English classrooms both pair settings and small group exercises (for oral activities) are infrequent in China. Reid claims that during language classes pupils are expected to sit erect at individual desks, listening quietly and attentively to their teacher, and not interrupt the teacher who stands in front of them. However, a more recent argument is (Jin and Cortazzi, 2002a; Cortazzi and Jin, 2006) that there is a growing tendency for Chinese teachers to employ some pair and group work. Yet the extent to which such change is occurring throughout China is unclear: pedagogic practices differ between schools and universities, and vary within differing geographical regions. Hence, there are still those who maintain that students in China are not expected to ask questions unless specifically requested by their teacher, and even when they are invited to make comments, most individuals prefer silence to taking the risk of speaking (Zhang and Liu, 2011; Liu et al., 2011). If such observations are generally valid, students have little opportunity to hear or speak English throughout most of their school life. For many students it could be argued that English is fundamentally learned as an academic subject, rather than as a skill for effective

verbal communication. Some teachers are keen to promote the oral English communication skills of their students, which would allow effective social interaction, however, some observers point to a gap between such aspirations and the actual practices within the classroom, due to embedded traditional pedagogical practices (Hui, 1997; Wu, 2011). However, the growing urban trend for individuals to attend private English schools for after-school, evening and weekend classes, some of which focus upon exam preparation, whilst others promote oral English skills may offset this. Likewise, in some wealthier urban areas parents employ a private tutor to bolster their child's oral English proficiency.

Many Chinese may regard language learning as a process of internalization, which often includes learning certain texts which are to be memorized through repetition. The memorising of English vocabulary is seen in China as a vital prerequisite to gain language proficiency (Dzau, 1990; Penner, 1995). This aspect of their language learning process may parallel the pedagogical process whereby most Chinese characters are learned. Arguably they can only be learned through a process of memorizing how each character is spoken and written. If a comparable strategy is employed to learn English vocabulary, this may be a cultural transfer, namely employing a traditional L1 teaching/learning practice within a foreign language teaching/learning context. Some Chinese teachers claim that when students memorise Chinese characters and texts; "without questions, speaking up, or discussion" (Wang, 2010: 211),while they may not fully comprehend what they are learning initially, yet later they will gain an 'inner awareness' which not only allows them to understand texts, but also allows them to be creative in their expression. Hence, educators in China often demonstrate (as Cortazzi and Jin, 2006 have discussed) how English language learning is promoted by apparently traditional pedagogical practices. Employing memorisation as a pedagogical technique may also be found within some native English speaking contexts, where linguistic development (in English) is promoted by means of memorising poetry (Pudewa, 2005). Chinese educators may believe that students may initially not be able to use items in memorized English vocabulary lists; however, in future communicative exchanges, they will be readily available to be used correctly. Watkins (2000) maintains that the process of memorisation in a Chinese context is linked closely to the development of understanding. Similarly, Dahlin and Watkins (2000) have shown the significance of repetition in promoting the creation of 'deeper meaning' (being linked to development of memory) and the discovery of new meaning (being linked to the expansion of understanding). Others have likewise

argued that there is a growing body of research showing that memorisation has been shown to foster 'active' learning (Li and Cutting, 2012). However, Jiang and Smith (2009) point out the effectiveness of using memorisation for language learning is linked to an individual's own learning style.

Despite the progress made in English education it is argued that there are still many serious English language learning problems in China today. These problems constitute considerable constraints on the development of many areas of effective English teaching. Hu (2005) discusses one of these: an extreme shortage of adequately trained English teachers in China, which greatly limits the effectiveness of teaching and learning. This considerable shortfall of teachers has resulted in the use of teachers with little training or experience in an effort to fill the void. Hence, there is still a gulf between national educational policy and language teaching practice in the classroom. With the considerable variation in the proficiency of teachers the quality of language teaching varies in differing geographical areas of China (Hu, 2005). This suggests that despite the economic and social importance of acquiring English skills, the differing levels of availability of gaining such skills may exacerbate the problem of educational inequality. Such an unequal availability of gaining a 'standard English level of proficiency' for all students in China has been viewed by Hu (2005) as a serious limiting factor in China's quest for continued economic progress. One reason for a relative lack of foreign language teachers could be that people with effective English proficiency are enticed by the higher salaries offered in businesses and professions other than teaching. Some English teachers are known to take extra work to supplement their salaries which they perceive as low: some offer students extra private tuition in order to help the students to prepare for an upcoming exam; many parents will be willing to pay for their child to receive such extra tuition if it helps to ensure good exam results.

2.4 How English Language Learning is Undertaken in China

Before addressing issues relating to how English learning is achieved in China, it is very important to note that many Chinese maintain differing interpretations of ideas than those which are held by those who come from a western country. Maley (1983) has argued that there are a number of semantic problems related to different uses of a number of important pedagogical terms and ideas. While this may seem outdated in a rapidly changing

developing country, it will be shown that many problems in English teaching and learning known in the early 1980's still exist today.

The preliminary study showed that many Chinese students arriving in the UK exhibit differing English speaking competence levels. One of the possible causal factors for this could be the educational background of the students. Li (1984) discusses a theoretical model which describes a communication process in a Chinese context which can relate directly to factors which influence a Chinese person's eagerness to speak in English. Within a Chinese context, Li (1984) argues that it may be necessary to analyze the communication process, which requires that two or more parties engage in a meaningful communicative exchange where a number of key conditions exist. This thesis aims to take this notion further by identifying factors which may influence students' willingness to engage in meaningful exchanges with others.

The first condition is that the situation in which the communicative exchange occurs should be as similar as possible to normal everyday occurrences, as would occur between NES (Li, 1984). Similarly Littlewood (1992) stated that classroom experiences should mirror those outside the classroom and should prepare students for a wide range of communicational experiences. Many English language teachers in China seem to believe that as long as a student is speaking and producing grammatically correct sentences, they are demonstrating effective English language communication skills and are, therefore, demonstrating a successful English language competency (Li 1984). Arguably, however, true communicative competence requires more than the ability to engage in grammatically correct dialogue, but rather that a person should be able to engage correctly and appropriately in realistic and lifelike situations (De Bot et al., 2005; Gan et al., 2004). Some language teachers may employ the use of such activities as: games, role play, or drama within the language classroom. Such activities may enrich and motivate language students. However, Chinese students may object to the use of such activities in the classroom if they share Confucian traditional teachings that the teacher should primarily transmit knowledge to enable students to adequately prepare for their school tests (Yu, 2001). Generally, education in China is considered as being "a serious undertaking that is least likely to be associated with light-heartedness but requires deep commitment and painstaking effort" (Hu, 2002: 97). Nevertheless, effective oral competence may require the gaining of experiences in situations

which as far a possible mimic everyday roles and everyday situations as they occur within a given society (Li, 1984). If Chinese students are not provided with opportunities to practice speaking in English, they may well experience high levels of communicative language anxiety (a topic to explored further within this study) if required to engage in a language exchange with a NES.

The second situation according to Li (1984) is the notion that real communication consists of an intention to transmit a specific message or idea to another party. "Empty talk" in classrooms arguably would not be real communication, since students should be encouraged to produce authentic, meaningful responses. Non native English teachers in China have concerns that their students may develop bad habits as they learn English, if every language error is not promptly corrected (Li, 1984). However, a counter-argument is that such teaching styles dampen a student's motivation and willingness to engage in a communicate exchange as they may be afraid to risk errors and subsequent public correction. Accordingly Zhang et al. (2013) show that Chinese students exhibit a "moderate" level of motivation to engage in English; this thesis aims to examine the factors influencing this topic. Similarly, the absence of life-like language learning contexts in class may nurture empty oral communication, which may result in "language being divorced from communication". This is a common situation for many Chinese students (Li, 1984).

Finally Li (1984) shows that during everyday dialogue between NES people are free to answer in any way they desire, which produces a level of unpredictability in any communicative exchange. This echoes Littlewood's (1992) comment that language should be used creatively to express meaning as a person seeks to fathom out the complexities which exist within the unpredictable nature of conversation. However, many English language text books in China are extremely restrictive in how they present answers to questions, which consequently does not take into consideration the broader field of answers which may occur within everyday life (Li, 1984). This can be demonstrated in all but the most recent textbooks in China: older ones have many conversational dialogues and drills which are extremely restrictive, often expecting a single answer or utterance which follows a set pattern (Tian, 2007). Older activities do not elicit personal responses or opinions and do not nurture any degree of freedom to answer, based upon one's own personal views. This notion relates to listening also. It may be argued that an individual who listens during a language exchange

should be free to interpret meaning from the other party, since they may not always be able to predict what will be said next.

English language learners in China should be given the opportunity to develop the ability to struggle with the ambiguous, sometimes contradictory and unpredictable nature of human expression in English. However, many traditional language teachers in China rarely give students an opportunity to develop this skill. If the unpredictable nature of interpreting meanings from text and conversation is filtered out by the teacher, less than authentic language is produced in the classroom. Teachers may explain unfamiliar linguistic concepts to students, however language students also require opportunities to analyse new ideas in order to learn through personal experimentation. However, as a counter argument it is noted that in recent publications such as the *New College English Integrated Course* 4 (Li, 2010), creativity is emphasised and multimedia features include NES conversations. The Teacher's Book encourages educators to use more diverse teaching approaches, where additional and alternative activities are outlined to promote the development of students' oral English skills. These include asking students to "Talk about the picture" or prepare an oral presentation (Jin and Cortazzi, 2009). As there has been a growing trend to disseminate such activities within teacher's manuals, such actions could be seen as a new wave in Chinese college-level ELT. However, such additional activities often appear at the end of each unit and it is not well understood how far educators implement this material within the classroom.

Widdowson (1984) has discussed that knowing a language equates to more than developing the four language skills, but rather to being able to use sentences in order to communicate in an effective manner, which includes being able to form appropriate sentences within meaningful and pertinent dialogue. Arguably, within a Chinese language learning context, students are not taught how to gain high levels of communicative confidence because the English speaking element of meaningful self-expression is minimized in the predominant focus on testing an understanding of vocabulary and grammar rules (Edwards et al., 2007). However, in many universities there is a gradual tendency to promote the development of students' oral skills (in line with recent official College English Guidelines). Yet this same trend may be less common in Chinese schools: none of the high school English exams in the whole of China include an English speaking element (see China High School English Language Exam Papers, 2009). It has been argued (Hu, 2002; Wu, 2011)

that China's National College Entrance Examination (NCEE) has become the most important priority in China. "Hence, examination-orientation teaching has been prevalent" (Hu, 2002: 40). Hu (2002) has also long argued that the NCEE has nurtured a narrow minded focus on testing, resulting in predominantly a rigid textbook memorization style of learning, which does not encourage the creative use of knowledge to solve problems (which would include communicative language problems). However, currently the College English tests now include a listening element (Li, 2010) though not yet a speaking element (which is time and labour-intensive to assess). Chinese students cannot be expected to gain advanced oral speaking skills in English when their educational system in practice focuses insufficiently upon the effective development of English speaking skills. Unsurprisingly, many Chinese students, after having studied English in China for in excess of ten years, may still struggle to maintain a conversation in English despite these years of study.

Reticence to engage with others in the classroom if the teacher asks the class a question may occur if students do not have sufficient communicative confidence (possibly due to a lack of opportunities to develop such confidence) perhaps compounded with a fear of potential embarrassment (i.e. losing face) if they answer the question incorrectly. Chinese students may be less willing to respond within the classroom, due to the Chinese culture of learning which promotes a collectivist paradigm where individuals may seek to avoid standing out, or risk the shame of making mistakes and hence losing face (Cortazzi and Jin, 1996b). This may be contrasted with a western individual orientation where students may be more willing to respond to the teacher's questions. Thus, Chinese cultural values may shape their teaching and learning environment (Wen and Clement, 2003). From this, it is suggested that many Chinese students may not develop a high level of communicative confidence in English; a topic to be explored further within this thesis, largely due to the language learning environment in China to which they are exposed. It could also be argued that those students who attend private English language classes, such as the well known Li Yang's 'Crazy English' which has been found to be very effective (Adamson, 2004 and Lai, 2001), may develop greater confidence and motivation to speak (or shout) in English (Li, 2009). This, however, constructs "an outspoken, individualistic, emotion discharging, or 'crazy' identity that is a part neither of traditional Chinese culture nor of the ordinary communication conventions in English-speaking cultures" (Gao, 2009: 107). Further, private English classes are only available to those students whose families can afford to pay for them, and they are

often attended primarily by those students who plan to go abroad to study (Burnaby and Sun, 1989; Jin and Cortazzi, 2002a).

More families are sending their children to private language schools (some employ NES) in order to improve their child's oral communication language skills, as parents are well aware of the deficiencies in their own educational system (Jin and Cortazzi, 2002a). Hence, private English classes are seen as a way of providing students with opportunities outside the realms of their state schooling to nurture the development of effective oral skills. However, it may be important to consider the question, "How long do such students gain exposure to NES?" As most Chinese students have an extremely full study timetable, they may only be able to attend private classes during late evenings after an already over-burdened day of study. If their parents plan to send them abroad to study, this could mean attending private lessons during their late teens. Could six months or a year of attending private English language classes be sufficient to make up for the many years of lack of practice speaking in English? While this question is extremely difficult to answer, it is evident that many Chinese students do initially struggle to communicate with others when they first arrive in a native English speaking environment.

2.5 Chinese Students in Britain

During recent years more and more students from China have come to Britain to embark on university degrees (Huffington Post, 2013), most of which are at a Masters level. There are two reasons for this (identified within the preliminary study). Firstly, since a British Masters degree program can be completed within a year, rather than two or three years within other English speaking countries or in China. Secondly, a Masters degree obtained from a western university is popularly more highly valued than one gained within China as many believe it may provide the holder with improved career prospects. The immensely competitive challenges in enrolling in a university in China may motivate some individuals to study abroad where enrolment may seem easier, if more costly (Cortazzi and Jin, 2006).

If the learning environment which students experience in Britain encourages students to share their ideas and feelings, some students from China are likely unprepared for such oral expression. This study seeks to identify those factors which may influence their

communicative behaviour as they study in Britain. If Chinese students are used to learning within a quiet environment, there could be a strong tendency for them to remain reticent, or be a "comfortable listener" (Xia, 2009: 145), even if they are studying in a new environment. This could be a reason why many Chinese students are stereotyped in western classrooms as giving the impression of being passive learners (Cheng, 2000; Wang, 2010). Chinese students feel confused, uncomfortable and almost excluded from the learning community when they first come to Britain, due to inadequacies in their communicative ability, as the new learning environment which they experience is not merely a new learning environment, but is a new learning setting which is a great contrast to a Chinese communicative setting (Tian and Lowe 2009). Gu and Maley's (2008) research on Chinese students studying in the U.K. identified that a new unfamiliar educational environment, as would be experienced within Britain, could be viewed by many Chinese as being "highly idiosyncratic, psychologically uncomfortable, and counter-intuitive" (Gu and Maley, 2008: 226). Another possible reason why some Chinese students may find it difficult to share their ideas and feelings within the classroom in Britain, could be that they can't understand major parts of what their teachers or lecturers are saying. This can result (as Xia, 2009 argues) in Chinese students experiencing language anxiety (a topic to be explored further within this study) where they compare their communicative ability with that of NES, which can result in them feeling linguistically subordinate to their peers (Tian and Lowe, 2009). Unaccustomed to hearing a non NES teach and unprepared for authentic listening, some students could initially struggle to understand the wide range of different native speakers' accents they encounter.

In a conference report entitled "Responding to the needs of Chinese learners in Higher Education", Leedham et al. (2004) argued that during the 1980's and 1990's many Chinese students who came to Britain to study represented more of an academic elite. However, during recent years (given a burgeoning middle-class who can afford to send their children abroad) Chinese students with a wider range of academic abilities have come to Britain to study, including some who have been unable to achieve the required scores in the national university entrance examinations (Cortazzi and Jin, 2006). This implies that some less academically able Chinese students are coming to study in Britain, who may be little prepared for life in an English speaking country: their English oral communicative abilities may not have been developed sufficiently to cope with the rigors of international study, despite having passed an English language proficiency exam. In a survey conducted by The

Council for International Education (UKCOSA, 2004), it was identified that social interaction was an important problem encountered by students from China: only 15% of Chinese students reported that they had U.K. friends. One of the gaps in this survey (which this study will address), was that no reasons for this situation were suggested. However, one factor causing this may have been due to Chinese students' lack of an adequate English oral proficiency which would hinder interaction with non-Chinese students in Britain. If Chinese students do not have an adequate level of confidence in their English speaking ability, due to the constraints which they often experience in relation to their communicative fluency and due to a lack of understanding of the target culture (Gu and Maley, 2008; Xia, 2009), they could tend to avoid interacting with NES, which deprives them of further opportunity to develop their English speaking skills. More recent research by Humphries (2011) on Chinese students in Australia has shown that language anxiety can be reduced (and self confidence increased) outside the classroom, when Chinese individuals receive positive encouragement from NES and particularly those considered their friends.

Investigating Chinese students studying a Masters degree in the U.K., Wray (2008) conducted an interview and diary study of a single male Chinese student to examine change of identity within differing situations. Wray (2008) observed that many Chinese students do not participate in many activities outside of the classroom except within the large Chinese-student university population and that many Chinese do not choose to actively communicate with NES because they feel that they do not know how to respond appropriately, hence many do not try. A single participant is hardly representative of all Chinese students living in Britain; however, this study raises interesting points. In the increasing number of universities where there are large numbers of Chinese students, many Chinese observably associate primarily with other Chinese (Tian and Lowe, 2009), particularly if they share accommodation with other Chinese individuals. This is partly due to feelings of loneness or isolation (Wang, 2010); since some are away from home for the first time, this may be counteracted by associating with peers of the same cultural and linguistic background. If such Chinese students do not feel motivated to engage with NES, as Wray (2008) suggests, they are apparently depriving themselves of the very opportunity which they need to improve their communicative skills, with further negative impact (Wen and Clement, 2003; Tian and Lowe, 2009)

In seeking to understand the feelings of Chinese students who study in the U.K., a number of studies (Coverdale-Jones, 2006; Gu and Maley, 2008; Gu and Schweisfurth, 2006) have shown that Chinese students experience anxiety as they seek to adjust to differing educational, communicational and living situations which are different from what they are used to. These studies identified that besides the English language improvements which Chinese students made, they also improved in the management of their own personal, independent lifestyles and learning progress; that is, unsurprisingly, they become more mature as they get older. Within China they may well have had parents who were willing to take care of their daily needs, perhaps due to the one-child policy; this can have the effect of making some children spoiled. However, living away from their parents may lead them to behave in different ways in order to meet the situational requirements to communicate with widely differing people within varying settings and to manage a variety of issues (Gu and Maley, 2008). The wide range of communicational settings which Chinese students have to encounter may include: opening a bank account, registering at the local police station, sorting out accommodation issues, going shopping and tackling a wide range of educational matters. Consequently the numerous communicative settings which students have to experience and negotiate, may leave them struggling to develop quickly the communication level required to effectively communicate with NES. An example of this is where a Chinese student whilst studying in Britain may struggle to use the correct English form, as they lack adequate sociolinguistic awareness. That is, Chinese "students consistently worried about the correctness of their answers and questions" (Xia, 2009: 144). This may result in misunderstanding, offence, or amusing/embarrassing situations occurring when words or phrases are used in incorrect contexts (Yu, 2005), and students may subsequently be reluctant to interact with British people with even less confidence in their communicative ability (Spencer-Oatey and Xiong, 2006; Tian and Lowe, 2009).

Based upon the preliminary study, it is hypothesised here that when Chinese students arrive in Britain there is an immediate change in their language focus. Within their home country English is predominantly learned in an academic process in order to pass an examination, at both high school and university levels (Wu, 2011). Arguably even the private English language classes which some students attend in order to prepare them for the TOEFL (Test of English as a Foreign Language) or IELTS (International English Language Testing System) examination, are also very academic in nature: it is not uncommon for the sizes of

such classes in China to reach a hundred students; they focus on exam skills and test techniques required to pass an English exam (this observation was confirmed by some of the Chinese participants in the preliminary study), so opportunities to practice oral speaking skills within a more relaxed setting are very limited. Many Chinese students who pass either TOEFL or IELTS still do not have adequate communicative language skills to effectively handle university studies within the U.K. and they often struggle orally within academic areas (Edwards et al., 2007). Clearly many Chinese students may benefit from pre/in-session language courses if they are available within the university they attend. When students arrive in Britain they need to use the English language skills that they have gained in the past in new ways within practical real life situations with NES to express novel ideas as they participate in new communities. Some students may find that they need to learn a whole new arsenal of vocabulary (previously untaught) to meet the needs of living abroad (Gao, 2006). This may result in feelings of frustration if they find that they are unable to express themselves effectively when talking to a NES.

Nevertheless many Chinese students receive a high level of support from their teachers and supervisors as they learn English in China (Stephens, 1997). Perhaps this results in differing priorities in relation to achievement (as Salili and Lai, 2003 suggest), i.e. that developing English language speaking skills does not hold the same priority as developing the other skill areas. The paternalistic care and concern from teachers in China, experienced by many Chinese students (Cortazzi et al., 2009) contrasts with the notion that in Britain, Chinese students are expected to develop independence and self-expression (Stephens, 1997). This is not to suggest all Chinese students exhibit major deficiencies within these areas, but stresses that oral self-expression is considered in Britain to be important in the development of communication and thinking skills. Chinese students' communicative confidence is bolstered when their British tutors recognise the challenges which Chinese students face, and put strategies in place to encourage them to engage with others (Tian and Lowe, 2009).

Gu and Schweisfurth (2006) have argued that Chinese young people who study in Britain will often change many of their perceptions of life and study; these changes occur when the students interact (in English) with others within differing learning environments. These factors provide a powerful motivation which results in changes in their perceptions. This suggests that some Chinese may change their viewpoints, despite their previous

exposure to traditional Chinese cultural influences. Significantly, it has been shown (Gu and Maley, 2008; Hsu, 2010) that Chinese students become more willing to engage with others in English, and experience an increase in their self confidence and linguistic competence, the longer they are immersed in a native English language environment.

To summarise so far: this literature review has shown that in China many learners are exposed to a culture of learning which requires them to sit quietly whilst listening to the teacher. Within this environment the expression of one's own ideas or views may not always be appropriate, in the context of traditional teaching habits which have been influenced by a Confucian heritage. The Chinese culture of learning may result in learners being hesitant to respond to the teacher's questions. The Confucian values which learners are encouraged to adhere to promote a high respect for the teacher, as the provider of knowledge. Such a pedagogical environment may impact upon the development of learners' communicative confidence: some individuals may experience heightened language anxiety when required to communicate in English, resulting in feelings of being unable and unwilling to express themselves. They may also feel a lack of confidence in their communicative ability, if they are exposed to shame and potential loss of face when they make public language mistakes. Chinese educators may employ a teaching style which safeguards their authoritative position (and the respect accorded to the teacher), by means of maintaining strict discipline, if their own English language ability falls short of them being able to effectively promote learners' oral skills. China may need to overcome the shortfall of competent English language teachers, if the nation is to be in a position to effectively bolster learners' oral language skills. Learners are accustomed to maintaining a considerable focus upon understanding the text-book for reading and writing, as opposed to more oral interactive applications. Currently the predominant notion continues that English language learners in China focus on the development of reading and writing skills and less upon speaking and listening. This partly stems from the stress placed upon paper-based exam focussed-forms of learning, where most emphasis is placed upon grammar and the comprehension of text materials. The nature of ELT in China is influenced by such factors as how educators understand and interpret the notion of ELT and the constraints which are placed upon them. Likewise, the heavy study program which students encounter in China, which gives them considerable pressure to perform well in frequent tests, may impact upon the development of their oral English skills which are rarely tested. However, many educators and parents now recognise the importance

of developing oral language skills and there have been recent moves in this direction. It has been shown that the English language learning environment often results in students feeling inadequately prepared for foreign study. The high levels of language anxiety which Chinese students experience often results in a lack of willingness to interact with NES: likely this leads to them to choose to engage closely with other Chinese. However, some aspects of the above summary are complex and possibly weakened or rendered problematic by counter-examples and more recent trends; these critical points add interest to the present study to see how they might play out.

In seeking to find a theoretical framework which could adequately explain the reasons why Chinese students may be eager (or not) to engage in an oral communicative exchange with others in English, a well established academic model (which has been employed within differing L2 contexts) was identified. This model is the key model which underpins the rationale for this study; it was chosen as it provides a broad coverage and close connection to many of the language issues discussed so far. The following section will review the conception of the notion of L2 "Willingness to Communicate". This model is important as it directly relates to the research aims of this study.

2.6 Early Work on Willingness to Communicate

The earlier sections addressed two main parameters. The first parameter relates to factors which may have an impact upon an individual's differing levels of willingness to verbally engage in English with another person within varied language contexts. Some of these factors could be regarded as more general in nature, not culturally specific. The second parameter deals with those factors unique to the cultural background of the individual seeking to communicate with another person. The relationship and interplay between these parameters is complex: as individuals may behave differently within a given language context, and since any person may encounter a wide range of communicative environments, it may be challenging to understand the relationship and impact of differing factors and how they may be linked to cultural influences. In order to effectively address the two parameters and thereby evaluate the pertinent factors, it is necessary to structure any investigation around a solid framework which will form the foundation for a study. In seeking a theoretical framework which could potentially explain the reasons why Chinese students may be either

eager (or not) to engage in oral communicative exchanges with others in English, a well established academic model was identified which seemed to provide a broad coverage of this topic. The model provides an appropriate framework within which to investigate individuals' willingness to communicate in English and ascertain and evaluate the factors which underpin any reticence, reluctance and unwillingness to engage with native speakers in English. The following section will provide a historical review of the conception of the notion of "Willingness to Communicate" (WTC) which provides a theoretically-grounded framework to address the variables which may impact upon a person's desire to speak in English to another person in certain contextual settings.

The conception of WTC originated with Burgoon's (1976) work on the notion of "unwillingness to communicate". She formulated her basic construct to produce the "Unwillingness to Communicate Scale" (UCS) which consisted of two sub-factors which she tried to relate to actual communicative behaviour:

(1) "approach-avoidance" – which correlated with the concept of communication apprehension, and

(2) "reward" – which did not correlate to communication apprehension.

The "reward" factor was correlated to the measures of: group satisfaction, attraction to group members and group coordination, which were also uncorrelated to the "approach avoidance" factor (Burgoon, 1976). Her findings demonstrated a strong correlation of willingness (or unwillingness) to communicate in relation to the "approach avoidance" (or communication apprehension) factor, and not to the "reward" factor and so they were unable to provide support for or against the notion of a general predisposition of an individual towards being willing, or un-WTC.

McCroskey and Baer (1985) both refined and built upon Burgoon's early work, and changed the orientation of the construct from a negative to a positive stance. They began the formulation of what came to be known as the "WTC" construct; the notion was proposed as a more or less permanent personality trait, influenced by more temporary and contextual variables. They created a scale to operationalize and measure L1 WTC (see appendix 1). The

construct may be understood as being a personality based, trait like predisposition existing uniformly across receivers and communicative environments. McCroskey and Baer (op. cit.) argue that there is a close relationship between an individual's WTC across differing contexts with differing receivers, yet an individual will not demonstrate equal levels of WTC in all communicative contexts and with all types of receivers. They also argue that the larger the audience and the more formal or public the context and relationship with the individual, the less that person will be WTC.

The WTC scale which identifies situational factors which influence WTC, is based on a two dimensional matrix of how communicative events might make it more or less likely that someone would actually communicate (see Fig. 1). The first dimension relates to the public-private continuum with four divisions (public speaking, talking in meetings, talking in small groups and talking in dyads).The second covers the relationship between speaker and listener with three divisions (strangers, acquaintances and friends).

Private – Public continuum

Speaker-listener relations
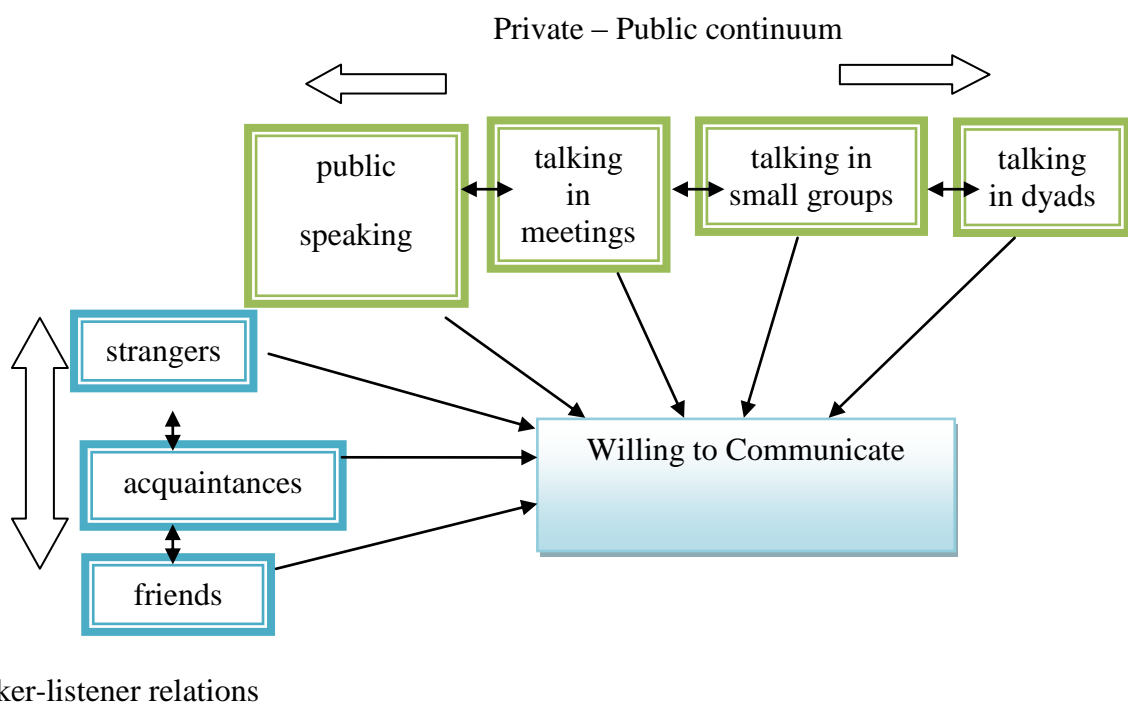
Fig: 1 Dimensions in the WTC Model

This combination gives twelve kinds of communicative events. When they designed their scale they added eight filler items (marked in bold with an asterisk within the WTC scale – appendix 1). The scale allows numerical values to be calculated for each of the seven

subscores and an overall WTC score which is deemed to represent an individual's overall general orientation towards WTC.

The notion of WTC within multi-cultural perspectives was introduced when McCroskey and Richmond (1990) discussed the role of culture in WTC and how cultural factors may influence an individual's WTC. A person may be an excellent communicator in their own country, yet they may find that they have completely inadequate communication skills in a new environment using a different language, unless they have been able to develop the necessary language skills. McCroskey and Richmond used the WTC, Perceived Communicative Competence (PCC) and Communicative Anxiety (CA) scales within multi-cultural contexts (Australia, Micronesia, Puerto Rico, Sweden, and the United Sates) and found that "substantial differences in communication orientation exist among the countries of the world" (McCroskey and Richmond, 1990: 76). However, as their research only employed the scales as a data gathering tool, they were unable to identify what these differences were, or the possible reasons behind them. This study will therefore endeavour to fulfil this lacuna: it will focus specifically upon a Chinese context (Chinese participants speaking English as a foreign language), where the previous study did not; it will seek to identify those factors which influence Chinese individuals' L2 communicational orientation and the rationale for their motivation for their orientation. This research will contribute to enhancing our comprehension of communicational orientation, to increase our understanding of Chinese L2 speakers, and the results may have cross-cultural implications for other foreign language speaking contexts.

MacIntyre (1994) sought to understand the structure underlying WTC by expanding the personality-based variables to include a number of other constructs, namely: communication apprehension, anomie, alienation, introversion and self-esteem. This work led to the formation of a path model which expanded Burgoon's model by adding the concept of "perceived competence" in order to expand McCroskey's WTC scale. After analysing the relations between the variables, MacIntyre (op. cit.) reaffirmed that the two main factors which influence WTC were,

communication apprehension: which would later be referred to as communicational anxiety (CA) and

perceived competence: which would later be known as perceived communicative competence (PCC).

These two factors were regarded by Clement (1980, 1986) as forming the higher order construct "Self-Confidence", known as "Communicative Self-Confidence" (see Fig. 2), which may provide an individual with increased motivation for L2 learning and an increased motivation to engage with the target language community.

This earlier work resulted in the formation of the following WTC model, as discussed by Yashima (2002). This simplistic model formed the foundation for the more advanced L2 WTC model, discussed below.

Fig. 2 Portion of MacIntyre's (1994) Willingness to Communicate Model
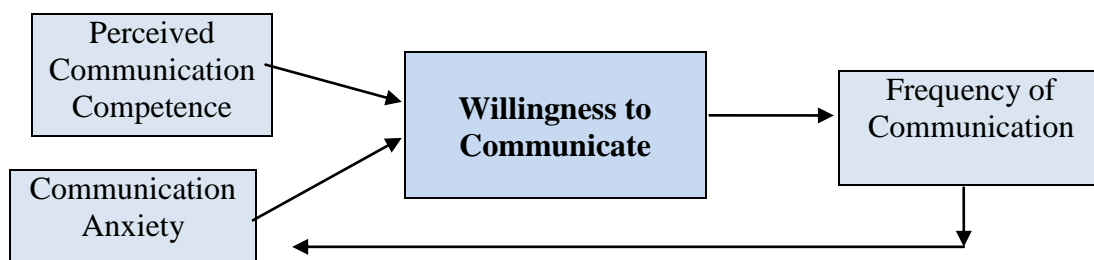
The path which the model outlines represents the notion that the main antecedents of WTC in one's native language (L1) are the combined effect of an increase in PCC and a decrease in CA, both of which are also influenced by introversion and self-esteem. Societal pressures are identified to have an impact upon an individual who experiences feelings of alienation and anomie, which in turn may influence WTC, as Burgoon (1976) had argued earlier. One critique of this model is that it does not address the notion that an increase in frequency in communication may result in a reduction of CA and therefore an increase in PCC; this is expressed as a feedback loop.

2.7 The Willingness to Communicate (WTC) Pyramid Model

In 1998 MacIntyre argued that the results of his empirical study made in 1994 (MacIntyre, 1994) showed that his initial model (Fig. 2) could represent 60% of the causal

influences of L1 WTC (MacIntyre et al., 1998). Thus, his model indicates a major gap in relation to other influences on WTC. Some of these other variables may include the following: who the addressee is, the relationship between the individuals who are communicating, the nature of the communication setting, the topic which is being discussed, etc. Arguably, the most striking variable which may influence an individual's WTC is the language used to communicate, as there are many fundamental differences between L1 and L2 (Unsworth et al., 2006). When a foreign language is used, it may be necessary to take into consideration a wide range of social, cultural and political issues of the community of whose language is being employed. In order to more accurately demonstrate those constructs which may potentially influence L2 WTC, MacIntyre, Dornyei, Clement and Noels (1998) formulated a heuristic model which added over thirty additional variables to the earlier model: they argued these have an impact upon L2 WTC. The new model was expressed in the form of a pyramid structure (see Fig. 3 below). From the model it can be seen that L2 conversation (the point at which an exchange occurs - represented as the capstone of the pyramid) is influenced by both situational specific and enduring factors. The position of each factor within the pyramid (the distance from the capstone) portrays its relevance to the communicative act. Factors of more immediate and situation specific relevance are located closer to the top, whilst factors of a more distal influence are located closer to the bottom. For example, an individual's personality traits are considered as being the broadest factors upon which all other factors are built, hence this factor forms the foundation of the model. Above this foundation platform, there is an ever increasing level of focus upon the causes of L2 communication behaviour and willingness to communicate.

Each element of this pyramid model will now be discussed, with an overview of both those enduring influences (with more stable and long-term properties relating to a situation) and situational influences (with transient but situational specific elements). An overview of the whole of the model will be discussed, because even though a major focus of this study relates to layers two to four of the pyramid model (linked to the three measurement scales), by employing interviews to gather data, it was found during this study that other stable properties (relating to layers five and six of the model) also have direct relevance to this study.

Fig. 3 L2 Willingness to Communicate (WTC) Heuristic Pyramid Model (MacIntyre et al., 1998)
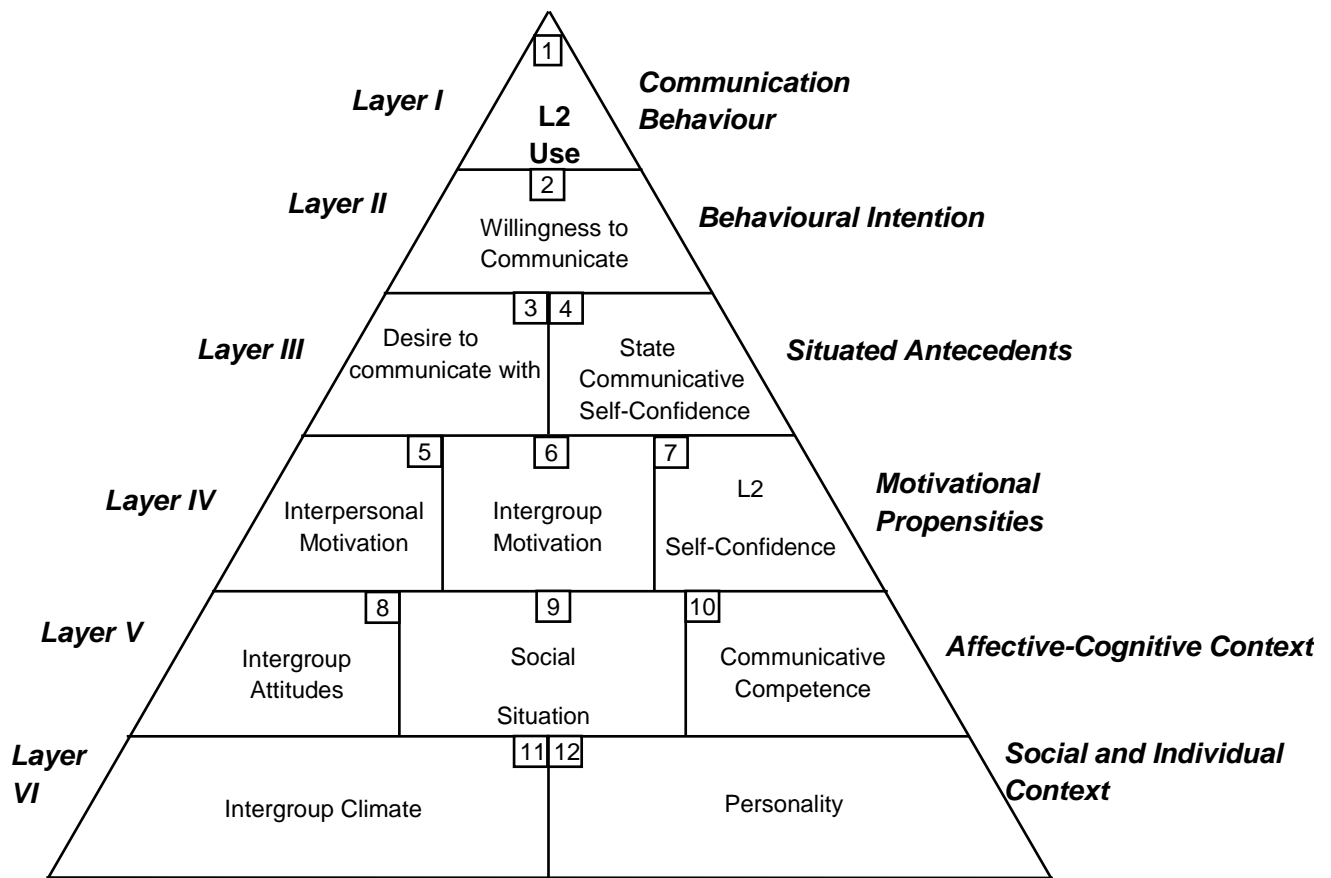
This model is arranged into six categories which are referred to as "layers". These six layers are organised into two differing structural areas. The first three layers (I, II & III) relate to differing situation-specific influences on an individual's WTC. The final three layers (IV, V & VI) represent more lasting influences on a person's WTC. Each of the eleven boxes (2-12) represents a potential influence on L2 WTC. A pyramid structural form was selected for this model in order to represent potential interrelations between constructs, allowing our discussion at the instance of communication (the capstone of the pyramid). From this point, both high priority situational factors (high influence) and less immediate but enduring factors (distal influences) are represented.

2.7.1 Layer I: Communication Behaviour

There are many complex variables which can influence L2 communication. Communication behaviour within the model and may be expressed in general terms of a

broad conceptualisation of a wide range of differing activities. It could be argued that goal of language educators should be to nurture a learning environment which encourages language learners to express themselves (Beckett and Miller, 2006).

2.7.2 Layer II: WTC

Within the model, McCroskey and Baer (1985) defined WTC as,

"a readiness to enter into discourse at a particular time with a specific person or persons, using a L2" (MacIntyre et al., 1998: 547).

WTC relates to the intent to communicate, rather than the actual communicative act. The subsequent parameters within the model are considered as being representative of the possible reasons someone would be WTC in a certain context. For example, a student who understood a question in L2, might feel enough confidence in their linguistic ability to answer it correctly and also feel motivated and comfortable enough to do so (Ellis, 2012; Keller et al., 2012).

The notion of WTC (as argued by MacIntyre et al., 1998) suggests a behavioural intention: "a person desires to speak, if the opportunity arises". Research conducted during the 1980's (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980) relates to the notion that an intention to communicate must be linked to a specific behavioural opportunity. Ajzen (2005) has argued that a behavioural intention to engage in a communicative act with another person does not always invariably guarantee that the communicative exchange will occur; the circumstances may limit a person's intention to engage in a L2 exchange. Similarly (Gabrys-Barker and Bielska, 2013) have asserted that a person who is WTC in L1 may not similarly be WTC in L2, yet situation contexts may strongly influence communicate behaviour.

2.7.3 Layer III: Situated Antecedents of Communication

This layer consists of two precursors of WTC: The desire to communicate with a specific person, and state self-confidence.

Box 3. Desire to Communicate with a Specific Person

The desire which an individual has to communicate with a specific person is produced from both interpersonal motivation (box 5) and intergroup motivation (box 6), which are closely related within the model to their affiliation with another person. Lippa (1994) argues that the desire to communicate with a specific person is influenced by others who are: physically nearby, individuals with whom we frequently come into contact, people who are considered as being attractive and also those people with whom we share one or more similarities. An individual may communicate with a certain person in order to accomplish a specific goal, such as asking for assistance. It could be argued that another influence (not covered within the model) relates to those present and addressed in a language exchange and those present who are not addressed or included ('overhearers'), as Goffman (1975) discusses. For example in certain crowded environments people's WTC could be influenced in different ways (Piatkowska and Koscialkowska-Okonska, 2013).

Box 4. State Communicative Self-Confidence

The pyramid model includes Clement's (1987) two key constructs of communicative self-confidence which are,

perceived communicative competence (PCC) and

a lack of communicational anxiety (CA).

According to Spielberger (1983) stated anxiety may fluctuate in intensity depending upon the communicative context and an increase in state anxiety will result in a reduction in self-confidence and hence will impact upon one's WTC. The two constructs PCC & CA do not appear as easily identifiable within the WTC model: they are not explicitly stated, but they make up state communicative self-confidence. State Communicative Self-Confidence may be understood as being a transitory feeling of confidence occurring at a certain time. This notion has been expressed as follows "the state communication self-confidence can be distinguished

as the trait-like self-confidence and a momentary feeling of confidence" (McIntyre et al., 1998: 549).

2.7.4 Layer IV: Motivational Propensities

MacIntyre et al. (1998) have argued that when an individual makes a decision to communicate with another person, this decision may be influenced by situational specific and enduring influences. Motivational inclinations to communicate may be explained by means of the following three variables:

(i) interpersonal motivation (box 5)

(ii) intergroup motivation (box 6)

(iii) L2 self-confidence (box 7)

These three variables lead to the formation of a "desire to communicate with a specific person" (box 3) and "state communicative self-confidence" (box 4). Within this context it could be argued that WTC is influenced by the situational context and the nature (such as the role, rank and status of the person) and the form of relationship with the receiver. An individual may feel an obligation to respond in a certain way when communicating with a judge in court, when answering a question from a policeman, or responding to a teacher in a classroom, regardless of their actual level of motivation and confidence. Hence a person may realise that within such contexts the impression which is portrayed by means of one's speech may have important and significant implications. Thus the notion of 'impression management' (Goffman, 1959) may impact upon feigning WTC, when an individual may not actually have an intention to communicate. This could have significance amongst Chinese communicators when considering the impact of 'face' upon communicative behaviour.

Box 5. Interpersonal Motivation

MacIntyre et al. (1998) argue that there are many ways to analyze this topic. One way to address it would be to analyse how the differing components of motivation may interactively

contribute towards an interpersonal purpose. The two notions of "control" and "affiliation" (Patterson, 2000) are regarded in the model as being able to adequately explain most communicational situations and form the basic foundations in explaining an individual's communicative needs and motives (Reeves, 2009; Patterson, 1990; Wieman and Giles, 1988). Control as motivational orientation relates to the notion that those who see themselves in a position of power may seek to dominate certain aspects of a communicative exchange; such as a teacher seeking to exercise control over students. Hence, the individual holding the higher hierarchical position may (but not in all cases) be more prone to initiate a communicative exchange. The second aspect "affiliation" relates to the level of interest which an individual may exhibit in order to form a relationship with an interlocutor. The level of interest may be influenced by such characteristics as: physical attractiveness (Dion et al., 1972), similarity (Byrne, 1971), physical proximity (Newcomb, 1961), and repeated interaction (Zajonc, 1968). Affiliation may be influenced by personality; being introverted or extroverted, and the extent to which a person desires (or not) the company of others (Murray, 1938; Eysench and Eysench, 1985).

Box 6. Intergroup Motivation

Intergroup motivation is concerned with the motivation which an individual has to belong to a particular social group. Within an L2 context this can relate to motivation to gain L2 proficiency in order to be able to communicate with other members of a group and thereby form friendships and become an active member of that group (Clement et al., 1994; Clement & Kruidenier, 1983). Control and affiliation are also argued as influencing intergroup motivation, in that control relates to the dynamics of power relationships occurring within group settings; such as the intent to establish or reinforce social hierarchy. Affiliation relates to the intent to form or maintain a level of affinity with members of a social group. Hence, an individual's motivation to engage with NES and participate in the target culture may influence their language learning (Ushioda, 2013). A person's motivation to engage within a given communal context may be linked to their individual group membership and their identity within that social setting. This is rendered much more complex by the current notion that identity is multiple, constantly contested, subject to change: a person may have a differing identity for a given social setting; e.g. within a family, ethnic group, sports club member, church member, work colleague, members of a community (Parekh, 2000;

Kroskrity, 2001). It therefore could be important to consider the question of how an individual's identity may be construed or evoked within a given group membership. Unfortunately, the pyramid model does not seek to address this question.

Box 7. L2 Self-Confidence

Interpersonal motivation (box 5) and Intergroup motivation (box 6) address the social elements of an individual's motivation to communicate with others. These two elements may be combined with the more cognitive notion of L2 Self-confidence. L2 Self-confidence may be understood as being different to the situational specific, state communicative self-confidence (box 4) discussed earlier in that it relates to the relationship between an individual and the target language, addressing the all-encompassing belief which a person has in being able to efficiently and appropriately communicate in the target language. According to MacIntyre et al. (1998), L2 self-confidence consists of the following two important components,

(1) perceived communicate competence and
(2) communicative anxiety,

Perceived Communicative Competence (PCC)

This component is more cognitive in nature as it deals with an individual's self-evaluation of their L2 proficiency, where the individual makes a personal assessment of their own degree of mastery of the target language.

Communicative Anxiety (CA)

This component is more affective in nature and concerns the apprehension and fear which an individual may feel when they use L2. The research conducted by Clement et al. (1994) has clearly demonstrated the significant relationship between PCC and CA and has shown the importance of combining the two variables into a single communicative L2 self-confidence construct.

2.7.5 Layer V: The Affective and Cognitive Context

This layer discusses a number of less situation-specific variables which have a more distant relationship to the specific communicative and language learning areas discussed earlier. However, these variables are still considered as being pertinent to the model in order to effectively describe its nature.

Box 8. Intergroup Attitudes

Integrativeness.

This term is used to define the extent in which an individual may choose to adapt to a specific cultural group. Within an L2 context, this could relate to a desire to learn a foreign language in order to form a closer kinship with a certain community (Gardner and Lambert, 1972). Within some contexts this could mean gaining a positive attitude in relation to the L2 community, but might not include a wish to become a part of that community. Each of these slightly differing connotations suggests an increased level of involvement by means of an increased level of interaction frequency with the L2 community, thereby achieving a closer relationship with it. The notion of integrativeness is not an all-or-nothing phenomenon, but rather a continuum or rather a series of continua at different levels for different aspects of life. For example a person may move to a new environment, such as emigrating abroad, during which time they may integrate into a new culture, perhaps in terms of citizenship and a certain level of social living habits. However, this does not necessarily imply that the person will adapt to all aspects of their new culture. They may maintain many aspects of their home community in relation to diet, dress and marriage customs, etc.

Fear of Assimilation.

This concept relates to the notion that adapting to fit into a certain community could result in a loss of one's cultural identity through extended contact with the target community. This "subtractive bilingualism" (Lambert, 1973) may be particularly poignant for some minority groups who may feel the need to resist communicating in L2, fearing that by

continually using L2, they will be assimilated into the new culture and lose their own language and cultural roots.

The notions of integrativeness and the fear of assimilation may be understood as exhibiting dichotomous influences: one may be more prominent than the other, which may either encourage or discourage L2 communication. An example of this is where an individual who has gained L2 competence believes that assimilation into the L2 community could result in them losing their cultural heritage if they continue to speak solely in the L2, which may impact negatively on L2 communication.

Motivation to Learn the L2.

This concept proposes that the motivational impetus to learn L2 can be influenced by an individual's attitude towards the language (Gardner, 1985). If a person has a positive mental attitude towards the target language, or had enjoyed studying the target language and had been able to apply it within a communicate setting, they could be more inclined to exhibit greater effort to learn. Positive stereotypical perceptions of a language may also help to motivate an individual. For example, if an individual considers that all British men are gentlemen and all British women are ladies, that person may exert effort to study English in a belief that by so doing they will also somehow acquire gentlemanly or ladylike attributes. This extensive topic is linked to the relationship between motivation and language identity as expressed by Dornyei and Ushioda (2009) who describe the notion of the 'ideal self' (those characteristics that a person would like to posses) and the 'ought-to self' (those attributes that an individual considers they should acquire) and which they associate with the L2 learning experience. Their theories on motivation suggest a paradigm of language where learners postulate a dream of their ideal language self, namely as an effective L2 speaker.

Box 9. Social Situation

The model at this point proposes that L2 confidence is directly related to the experiences gained whilst communicating with individuals from the L2 community (Clement, 1980); thus positive experience may result in increased L2 confidence; their confidence levels may vary according to the social situations, due to prior experiences (Bell, 1984; Biber, 1994;

Brown and Fraser, 1979; Ushioda, 2013). However, care needs to be taken in relation to sweeping generalizations, as individuals may react differently to varied social situations. Some argue that the five main factors which influence social situations can be listed as: "the participant, the setting, the purpose, the topic, and the channel of communication" (MacIntyre et al., 1998: 553). Other significant influences may include: the age of the individual, their gender, social status and the relationship between individuals, namely levels of intimacy, the level of knowledge shared between participants and the level of social distance between individuals. Another important influence is the L2 communicative proficiency of both participants; particularly when the interlocutor is a NES (Hatch, 1992) and the extent to which (for example) a NES is willing to simplify their speech to enable a Chinese student to understand them. The topic of conversation may also influence a language exchange, in that familiarity with a particular topic may enhance communicative self-confidence, whereas a lack of familiarity may have an adverse effect. Zuengler (1993) has shown that an individual with certain topic knowledge (such as a Chinese student with knowledge of Chinese culture) may actively initiate a conversation despite their language limitations. The complex nature of the interplay between communicators and social settings "implies that one's communicative experience in one situation may not be transferred automatically to another" (MacIntyre et al., 1998: 554), implying that varied levels of L2 WTC may be experienced with different social contexts.

Box 10. Communication Competence

Within the model it is asserted that the level of L2 competence which an individual has achieved will have a considerable influence upon their WTC. The seminal topic of "communicative competence" was coined by Hymes (1972b). Celce-Murcia et al. (1995) has argued that communicative competence can be understood in terms of five main constituent competences:

(i)   linguistic competence (a basic understanding of communicational elements),

(ii)   discourse competence (competence in forming language based upon the choice, sequencing and arranging of oral or written text),

(ii)   interactional competence (the relationship between the intention to communicate and linguistic form),

(iv)   social competence (an understanding of how to suitably articulate ones ideas within a given context) and

(v)   strategic competence (an understanding of verbal and non-verbal communication approaches which permit an individual to counteract any inadequacies in their communicative competence).

It is argued by McCroskey and Richmond (1991) that the overriding principle which is crucial here is that when identifying communicative competence in relation to WTC, it is the individual's perception of their communicative competence which influences their WTC and not their actual communicative competence: an individual who demonstrates higher levels of WTC will be one who believes he/she can communicate well (even when they may be an ineffective communicator), compared to the person who has little self-confidence in their language ability, even though they may be an effective communicator. Additionally, an individual's self assessment of their intent to communicate has been found to be influenced by their self-esteem: low self-esteem (global or situational) may negatively impact upon a person's communicative performance (Lai, 1994; Oxford and Ehrman, 1993; Tafarodi and Swann, 2001; Wadman et al., 2008).

2.7.6 Layer VI: The Societal and Individual Context

In broadest terms communication can be expressed in relation to the following two factors:

(i) the individual (i.e. those personality characteristics which relate specifically to L2 communication and thus an individual's WTC) and

(ii) social settings (i.e. the wide range of differing social contexts in which communicative exchanges occur).

Box 11. Intergroup Climate

According to Gardner and Clement (1990) intergroup climate may be defined in relation to two complementary parameters, which are:

(i) Structural Characteristics

This relate to what Giles et al. (1977) define as "ethnolinguistic vitality" (the socioeconomic power of differing groups and the level of influence which is exerted); it is suggested that people may be more willing to listen to those who represent a high ethnolinguistic vitality. The second area relates to "personal communication networks" (those with whom we interact with on a regular basis). Within the contexts of this thesis, this could relate to a group of Chinese students who despite being part of a larger L2 community (i.e. members of a university network), choose to form a L1 sub-network consisting of other Chinese students.

(ii) Perceptual and Affective Correlation

The attitudes and values in relation to L2 community and the subsequent motivation to either modify one's communicative behaviour, to adapt to the ethnic communities, or to seek to alienate oneself from that community. Unsurprisingly, holding a positive view of the target social group may lead to higher levels of motivation to engage in L2 communicative exchanges, whereas prejudice or discrimination may have the converse effect. Likewise certain individuals may purposefully choose to assimilate into the host culture (perhaps in some cases giving up some aspects of their home culture) in order to reap the benefits of what may be gained from the host culture; in terms of social acceptance, economic prosperity and psychological adjustment. During such a process language adjustment may be inevitable (Schumann, 1978) in order for the individual to be able to relate to and, therefore, adapt to the host culture (Kim, 1988). Within such a context communication skills become vital in order to function effectively. Thus an individual may need to learn a new L2 in order to adapt to the host culture.

Box 12. Personality

According to Altemeyer (1981, 1988), an individual's personality may influence how they react towards people from differing groups. Some personality traits (according to the model) may be considered to facilitate language learning. Arguably it is extremely difficult to state what these are and how personality traits may facilitate this. Yet it may be argued that

an individual who is aggressive to an ethnic group regarded to be inferior, may be less likely to positively communication with such a group. This may be more prominent when one believes his/her own ethnic group is superior to another, and thus they may regard it to be unproductive to engage with them. Ehrman (1990) asserts that efficient language learners are considered as competent in being flexible to make use of their own language strengths in order to compensate for any weaknesses which they may have, and hence their language strengths may help to contribute to language learning and also provide motivation for L2 WTC. MacIntyre and Charos (1996) have argued that personality characteristics need to be viewed in relation to such areas as intergroup attitudes (or Intergroup Climate – box 11) and L2 self-confidence (box 7). It is also noted that the extent to which personality profiles influences language exchanges may need to be considered within the wider scope of differing social contexts, in that some social groups may be more homogeneous than others in relation to a given personality characteristic; Aida (1994) states that a typical American student is usually more outgoing (and therefore more WTC) than a typical Japanese student. Thus both positive and negative personality characteristics may influence a language exchange between individuals within a given social context.

2.8 Discussion of the Pyramid Model

In this model, the differing sections are considered as factors which are interrelated as they influence L2 WTC and L2 use. The layered structure of the pyramid model illustrates the extreme complex nature of seeking to understand the phenomenon of L2 WTC. The model demonstrates that seeking to understand this topic is no simple task. The complexity means that currently it has not been found possible to measure all of the constructs within the model. Therefore, neither MacIntyre and his associates or others who have used the model, have sought to measure all of the constructs contained within the model, therefore the validity of the complete model remains to be confirmed.

The WTC model has been applied effectively in a number of far eastern contexts. When measuring WTC levels only those constructs which are the most closely related to L2 WTC are measured. It may be impractical to use a single research tool to try to demonstrate that all features of the model could be shown to be applicable to a certain L2 context. It would seem (when seeking to measure WTC levels), therefore, to be more logical to focus on

the more situational specific factors found towards the top of the pyramid model. This approach has been adopted by the extant studies in this area and has been found to produce effective results. This approach should not be considered as selectively choosing those influential factors which seem to fit particular research agendas; rather it is more efficient to investigate those factors and their related scales which have been found to have the greatest influence within the WTC construct.

2.8.1 The Relationship Between the Scales and the Pyramid Model and the Potential Limitations of the Scales

The literature review has already shown that the WTC, PCC and CA scales which were created by McCroskey and his associates in 1985/6, were designed to operationalise the measurement of the WTC construct in L1 contexts. It was not until 1996 that MacIntyre and his associates considered using the scales in an L2 context. This led to the formation of the L2 pyramid model in 1998 which was designed to more fully explain those factors which influence L2 WTC. The formation of the WTC pyramid model did not lead to the modification of the existing scales, or the formation of any new ones. Thus, the scales have a certain level (but not a complete level) of relevance to MacIntyre et al.'s (1998) pyramid model, as the pyramid model was a development of the simplistic MacIntyre (1994) model (Fig. 2). The construct of WTC as demonstrated within the pyramid model is by definition more complex than the scales and, therefore, it would be impractical (and perhaps not even possible) to try to measure the whole of the model within a single study. This may be the reason why such a study has apparently never been carried out.

From 1998 the same scales started to be used in L2 contexts and were argued to be found to be effective in measuring the WTC construct within the contexts in which they were used. For example, one of the earliest pieces of research conducted with East Asian students was performed by Yashima (1998), who used the WTC, PCC and CA scales on a group of Japanese students. Her research found that L2 PCC is an accurate predictor of L2 WTC within a Japanese context. This early research led to similar L2 WTC research in a Japanese context (Yashima et al., 2004) where again the same scales were employed. A more recent study undertaken by Peng and Woodrow (2010) made use of the same scales within a Chinese L2 context and identified that the scales are similarly an accurate prediction of

communicative behaviour. These examples demonstrate that despite the formation of the WTC pyramid model in 1998, the WTC, PCC and CA scales continued to be used within L2 contexts in the last two decades.

Much of the research into L2 WTC over the past decade within multiple L2 contexts has made use of the WTC, PCC and CA scales, but has also employed a wide range of additional research scales to more effectively understand the WTC construct, as currently no single scale has been developed to measure all of the constructs within the pyramid model. Both the scales and the pyramid model do not take into account the cultural differences which may exist within specific L2 contexts. There is also the fact that MacIntyre's early research in Canada (which may have influenced his early notions of L2 contexts) on a group of Canadian Anglophone learners of French as a second language, consists of a learning environment where, given the widespread and significant role of French in Canada, the language learners may well have engaged regularly with fluent French speakers. However, in China the English language is learned as a foreign language (EFL) as a compulsory school/university subject, where language learners in China have minimal opportunities of practicing the target language with NES. Thus, there are fundamental differences between these language learning contexts. Possibly, EFL learning contexts were less considered by MacIntyre et al. when the pyramid model was created.

In order to obtain a greater understanding of the WTC model, I personally contacted Peter MacIntyre asked him why there had been no attempt to operationalise the rest of the model and why WTC is only sought in these three scales. However, no response was forthcoming, although I had previously received the CA scale personally from him.

The scales are arguably a usable means to measure WTC levels, in the absence of a tool to measure the whole of the pyramid model. The scales are quite straightforward and easy to understand. The results of this study is to provide evidence to draw more light on the suitability of using the scales in a Chinese context and also to evaluate the utility of the pyramid construct.

The following discussion will seek to present a coherent overview of how the scales may relate to a number of constructs within the model. Initially it should be noted that the

scales do not seek to measure all of the influences on L2 WTC, as this is not what they were designed to achieve. Likewise, the relationship between the different parts of the model (i.e. the links between the differing constructs) is unclear. This may complicate our understanding of the relationship between the model and the scales.

2.9 Existing Research Using the L2 WTC model

The WTC model has been widely employed (as both a theoretical developmental model and in empirical studies); however, only a small number of pertinent studies have been carried out in a Chinese context to measure WTC in English. A brief overview of these studies will now be discussed and where appropriate will be related to the aims of my study. The studies will be reviewed one by one after which an overall final comment will be made.

2.9.1 Wen and Clement (2003) – A Chinese Conceptualisation of Willingness to Communicate in ESL

The WTC model was designed for a western context; perhaps requiring a modified model in order to more clearly demonstrate links between constructs and make it more closely applicable for an L2 Chinese perspective. Based upon the notion that WTC within a Chinese context is complex due to cultural differences, many Chinese may be less WTC with others due to (a) their fear of losing face if they are unable to say something correctly and (b) the insider/outsider phenomenon, i.e. English is classed as a foreign language and is, therefore, for them an outsider's language. There is also the notion that some Chinese (due to the traditional authoritative position of the teacher) may be unwilling to actively seek to engage with the teacher, if they believe they shouldn't challenge the teacher's position or authority by asking questions (Cortazzi and Jin, 1996b).

It could be argued that there is a difference between a desire to communicate and a WTC; an individual may have a desire to communicate, but may still be unwilling to do so: they may feel unprepared to do so, they may feel high levels of anxiety, or feel uncomfortable in the atmosphere in which the language exchange is to take place. Chinese cultural values may expect individuals to exhibit a rather quiet and reserved temperament (compared with westerners). However, it should not be taken that all Chinese are naturally communicatively

inhibited and therefore, portray an inherent un-WTC with others in all contexts. Most Chinese may be just as eager to converse with others in their mother tongue (in a wide range of social settings) as any other groups. Yet an individual who may have a clear desire to communicate may have to cognitively negotiate a number of cultural hurdles before they are ready to actually engage orally in interaction in English.

One way to explain "Desire to Communicate" and "WTC" (as Wen and Clement, 2003 suggest) could be to employ a single line continuum; with "desire to communicate" at one end and "WTC" at the other. In between these two points are a number of variables which influence WTC: Societal context, Personality Factors, Motivational Orientation & Affective Perceptions. These variables (which may have links to the L2 WTC model) are then considered from a Chinese perspective. Some of the main ideas which they have addressed will now be discussed.

Societal context

Wen and Clement suggest a link between "Societal context" and "Intergroup Climate" (Fig. 3 - Layer VI – box 11). The notion of "Intergroup Climate" is conceptualised in relation to the classroom setting and may be understood in relation to the two aspects: (a) Group cohesiveness and (b) Teacher support. This thesis (unlike Wen and Clement's study), will not be limited to oral classroom exchanges but will cover a wider range of communication settings which Chinese students may experience both inside and outside the classroom. Thus, this thesis provides a broader coverage of the communication environments which Chinese students may experience.

Based upon the work of Barker et al. (1991) and Shaw (1981), "group cohesiveness" may be understood to vary between high group cohesiveness (active engagement due to pleasurable communicative experiences resulting in high levels of WTC), and low group cohesiveness (a lack of intention to engage verbally due to heightened language anxiety resulting in an un-WTC). Within a Chinese language learning context group cohesiveness may be linked to class size. However, Jin and Cortazzi (1998a) observe how some students in large classes China are in fact provided with opportunities to practice their oral English skills,

using differing classroom teaching methods (different from those employed by western educators) thus overcoming constraints which teachers encounter.

The topic of "teacher support" in relation to the role of the teacher in influencing students' classroom engagement, may be akin to the attitude which a teacher exhibits within their teaching style which may have a powerful influence to encourage or discourage student engagement. This may be linked to the quality of the interpersonal relationship between the teacher and student, namely the extent to which students' emotional learning needs are met by the teacher; how the teacher demonstrates affection, care and sympathy for students. Thus, when students feel emotionally secure as they learn, they may demonstrate high levels of enthusiasm. Within a Chinese language learning context, an important role of the teacher is to maintain a position of classroom authority, which may influence language learning and students' WTC in English. Arguably, it may be difficult for teachers in China to demonstrate close teacher support in all contexts, when the role of the teacher and the associated behavioural expectations may require the teacher to demonstrate an authoritarian position in order to maintain order and discipline within the classroom. However, (Cortazzi and Jin, 2006; Cortazzi et al., 2009) have argued that even in large classes Chinese students perceive teachers as exhibiting strong roles of nurturing and showing care and concern. This they maintain is noticeably not simply authoritarianism or teacher-centeredness, but rather that the teacher demonstrates a parental role on account of the felt teacher-student closeness. Yet this educational phenomenon is largely unnoticed by many Western observers and researchers.

Personality factors

Within MacIntyre et al.'s (1998) model "Personality" (Fig. 3 - Layer VI – box 12) is considered as representing a more lasting influence on a person's L2 WTC and is also strongly influenced by the "social context, situations and environment". When these three areas are considered within a Chinese language learning context, "risk-taking" and the "tolerance of ambiguity" may be deemed as being of paramount importance. These will now be discussed.

Risk taking in an L2 context may be understood to relate to the possibility of an individual experiencing social embarrassment from peers (Ely 1986). Successful L2 language

learners should be willing to regularly take risks (e.g. by guessing or attempting to express difficult notions) even if they consequently experience embarrassing situations as they try to experiment using new language terms which they may be unsure how to use properly (Beebe, 1983; Naiman et al., 1975; Rubin, 1975). Before language students have gained confidence in speaking in the target language, many may experience nervousness and hence be unwilling to take risks. Within a Chinese English language context (as Hu, 1944 has discussed) many students, in order to avoid the possible embarrassment of losing face, may adopt a defence strategy of avoiding taking risks. Cortazzi and Jin, 1996a, 1996b; Jin and Cortazzi, 1998 have expressed similar notion in relation to students in China being unwilling to answer teacher's questions and showing reticence to ask their own questions, although notions of face are merely one aspect of reticence. Thus, students may choose not to actively communicate in class. For example, by asking the language teacher a question in class, a student runs the high risk of saying something which if grammatically incorrect, which could result in them having to be corrected by the teacher. This public correction in turn could result in them feeling embarrassed in class and, therefore, this could cause them to lose face in front of their peers, as Chinese students do not like to be seen as being inadequate in front of their teachers and peers (Wu, 2009; Xia, 2009). Hence, many Chinese students avoid language risks unless they are extremely confident in their language ability.

Therefore, traditionally many Chinese language learners choose the safer option of speaking little during their language classes. One of the main reasons for Chinese students to be so concerned with correctness is arguably due to the use of traditional pedagogies in which teachers often handle classroom interaction and student responses based upon ELT textbooks which are heavily exam-preparation orientated. Despite the potential fear of losing face, Chinese students who demonstrate a more extrovert or impulsive personality trait may be more willing to take risks as they speak English. Still, currently, for many Chinese people, saving face may exhibit a strong influence on the interplay between an individual's desire and WTC in English.

The notion of "tolerance of ambiguity" may be considered as another important personality factor. This relates to the view that language learners may maintain differing behaviour when faced with ambiguous language situations. Language learners may exhibit reluctance to engage in ambiguity when they use traditional ELT materials which favour a

single-answer approach to classroom activities. Some may consider ambiguity as being inevitable (when learning a new language) and therefore regard it as being a challenge for them to overcome. Others, however, may consider language ambiguity as being problematic and therefore something which should be avoided. Chinese students may be intolerant of ambiguity, due to a predisposition towards saving face and also the notion that language learning should be organised around clear language rules. For some Chinese, language ambiguity may be seen as inconsistent within the scope of clearly defined grammatical rules and single correct answers in exams. For them, having clear and understandable language rules removes guesswork from language learning and therefore promotes feelings of language security and clarity. Thus, Chinese students may not choose to engage verbally with others until they are perfectly sure that what they are going to say is grammatically correct, or unless they are using more modern ELT materials which place students under less pressure to produce error-free language.

Motivational orientation

Within a Chinese context it could be argued that "affiliation" and "task orientation" more appropriately explain an individual's motivational tendencies within a classroom language setting, as opposed to MacIntyre et al.'s (1998) model which stresses "control" and "affiliation" related to "interpersonal and intergroup motivation" (Layer IV – boxes 5 and 6).

The instinctive desire which people have to associate with others (Schachter, 1976) may be understood within a Chinese context to relate to a dominant collectivistic tendency within Chinese culture. It has been argued (Cortazzi and Jin, 1996b; Wen and Clement, 2003) that the notion of self may (within Chinese cultures) be understood as being subsumed within the relationship which is maintained within a more collective group identity. This may result in a lack of motivation to excel, in that an individual's ideal self could conflict with their social identity (Dornyei and Ushioda, 2009). Some Chinese may be said to receive emotional warmth and support from the group with which they are affiliated: association with such members may bring strong feelings of comfort; separation may lead to feelings of discomfort. This strong attractive force may drive some Chinese to actively seek out association with other "ingroup members", i.e. fellow Chinese people. This predisposition may have critical ramifications for Chinese students within some L2 contexts: this tendency may lead Chinese

students studying abroad to prefer to associate predominantly with fellow Chinese. Within such in-group settings individuals who predominantly speak in Chinese may be depriving themselves of opportunities to a richer level of communicative interaction as may occur with NES. Hence, any tendency to actively seek out association with fellow Chinese may impact upon their willingness to communicate in English with others.

The acquisition of oral English skills may be more effectively achieved when the student is able to engage in meaningful interaction in English (Wang, 2010). "Task orientation" within a Chinese contexts relates to the notion that some Chinese may be prone to only undertake communication tasks for which they feel highly confident that they are able to accomplish well, thus allowing them to "look good or smart in the presence of others" (Wen and Clement, 2003: 32). Thus, language tasks for which they do not feel confident that they have the ability of carry out successfully are shunned or engagement is minimized in order to avoid the potential risk of losing face through mistakes.

Affective perceptions

Within MacIntyre et al.'s (1998) model the "Affective-Cognitive Context" is positioned at Layer V of the pyramid, thus signifying a more distant influence upon L2 language use. However, this area is of greater relevance in relation to L2 WTC within a Chinese context, as many Chinese may pay considerable attention to the opinions of others, particularly in relation to language use. This may lead to heightened levels of communicative anxiety as language learners may feel that they need to be on guard whenever they engage in interaction. The two components which may be directly associated with communicative anxiety are an "inhibited monitor" and the "expectation of a positive evaluation" (Wen and Clement, 2003)

The notion of "monitoring" may be traced to the work of Krashen (1982) and the "Krashen Monitor Model" where an individual who monitors will exhibit a tendency to self-correct their own language output in accordance with a set of language rules. The notion of monitoring may have a close kinship to Chinese language learning with the traditional focus upon very structured learning of language rules which students are expected to demonstrate that they have "mastered". This very structured learning of grammar principles encourages

students to believe that they are expected to show that they are able to understand every language item. When this is linked to the cultural notion of saving face, Chinese students may consider it vital that language structure and form be understood and used correctly in order to avoid any possible language mistakes which could lead to embarrassment. It is only when Chinese language learners are confidently sure of their language skills that they will venture away from a defensive stance to produce language which they are certain is correct. It could be argued that L2 communicative self confidence is closely "linked to lower levels of stress and higher levels of satisfaction with the self" (Wen and Clement, 2003: 33), or perceived communicative confidence. Such a notion may be linked to this thesis where communicative anxiety in English and self-perceived communicative confidence in English are important measures of Chinese students' willingness to communicate in English.

The concept of "expectation of a positive evaluation" may arguably be linked to notion of "face" within the Chinese culture, i.e. "face is not what one thinks of oneself, but what one thinks others should think of one's worth" (Lim, 1994: 210). Thus, the notion of "face" may be associated with an individual's self esteem, which is based upon the positive comments which are received from others. The notion of face (which may be both gained and lost) - defined as having its origin in Confucian teaching in relation to communicative behaviour - is evoked to promote self respect and social harmony and to maintain the Chinese hierarchy (Gao and Ting-Toomey, 1998; Hwang and Han, 1996; Jia, 2001). When an individual receives the praise of others their ego is boosted and they are said to "have face". Within a Chinese L2 language learning context students are extremely susceptible to the feedback of significant others, especially teachers, which could lead to them either gaining or losing face. According to Yu (1990) this may lead to them being placed under considerable pressure, as the potential fear of being ridiculed (for example after making mistakes in English) could cause them to be less WTC in English.

To conclude this section: many of the ideas which Wen and Clement (2003) discuss are extremely pertinent to a Chinese WTC context, demonstrating that additional considerations may need to be made when seeking to use the WTC model within a Chinese context. However, their study relies heavily upon the claims of other academics from a variety of contextual disciplines, thus not all of the arguments may relate to all areas of a Chinese learning/teaching context.

2.9.2 Liu and Jackson (2008) – An Exploration of Chinese EFL Learners' Unwillingness to Communicate and Foreign Language Anxiety

This study focused upon Chinese EFL students' predispositions to communicate in English where un-WTC English (and English language anxiety) was measured by means of the following scales:

Name of Scale	Source	Comment
Unwillingness-to-communicate scale (UCS)	Burgoon (1976)	They consider this (as McCroskey, 1992 argues) as being a "much more fully developed conceptualization of an overall orientation towards communication" (Liu and Jackson, 2008: 4).
Language Class Risk-Taking Scale (LCR)	Ely (1986)	This relates to the extent to which language learners are willing to "risk" using L2 within the classroom. In order to adapt the scales to make them more pertinent to language learners from China rather than the original Spanish context, the word "Spanish" was modified to "English".
Language Class Sociability Scale (LCS)	Ely (1986)	This measures the extent to which subjects are willing to use L2 as they interact with others within the classroom. Again the word "Spanish" was modified to "English".
Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety Scale (FLCAS)	Horwitz et al. (1986)	The words "foreign language" were replaced with "English".

Table T2 Scales employed by Liu and Jackson (2008)

Based upon this study it may be argued that there is significant correlation between un-WTC and English language anxiety (within a Chinese L2 context). Likewise, communicative self-confidence may be calculated by measuring participants' CA and self-PCC in English according to the WTC model. Subsequently Liu and Jackson (2012) have undertaken a case study to understand the sources and impact of reticence and CA in oral English classes in China.

This 2008 study was designed to focus upon the views of students in China as they studied English within the classroom environment. As students in China are predominantly expected to only speak English within the language classroom, the scales employed may be said to be pertinent to the language learning context. Liu and Jackson (2008) have

acknowledged that one of the limitations of their study is that it fails to seek to understand any additional factors which may influence participants' WTC in English, such as additional cultural factors, which are outside their scales. Likewise their study was limited to a classroom language learning environment and thus was unable to address language learning within other contexts, as would occur for Chinese students studying abroad. However, this thesis will seek to fill this lacuna by investigating the experiences Chinese students within a wider range of language contexts. This may promote a greater comprehension of their language behaviour within more authentic L2 settings in addition to the classroom environment. Hence this thesis will contribute to our comprehension of the WTC construct and the extent to which the WTC model may be helpful in understanding Chinese students' communication problems while studying in Britain.

2.9.3 Lu and Hsu (2008) – Willingness to Communicate in Intercultural Interactions between Chinese and Americans

Fundamental differing styles of communication may be seen to exist within western and eastern cultures, namely

1. "Eurocentrism" (relating to American communicative contexts) – which encourages communicative expression of an individual's own personal ideas, feelings and thoughts and

2. "Asiacentrism" (relating to a Chinese communicative contexts) – which encourages individuals to exhibit less of a confrontational intent towards others where the notion of the belief that "silence is golden", is deemed a virtue.

This argument suggests that some Chinese may be considered as being less WTC which may be linked to traditional Chinese notions of the concept of "face" (discussed earlier) and the influence which it exhibits on certain individuals (Ho, 1976). For the 30+ variables contained within the pyramid model, it could be argue that the four most significant antecedents of WTC are: self-PCC, language competence, motivation and communicative apprehension. Lu and Hsu (2008) also regard the variable "immersion" within the L2 culture, as another important antecedent. Their study examined these five factors on WTC in English within both Chinese and American environments, employing the following scales:

Scale Used	Source
Willingness to Communicate	(McCroskey and Baer, 1985)
Personal Report of Intercultural Communication Apprehension	(McCroskey & Neuliep, 1997)
Self-Perceived Communication Competence	(McCroskey and McCroskey, 1986)
Motivation	This scale was formed by Lu and Hsu (2008) and was designed "to measure people's desire to learn about a different culture, to learn a new language, and to make friends" (Lu and Hsu, 2008: 81).
Self-Perceived Language Competence	This scale was developed by Lu and Hsu (2008) and was designed to understand the participants' perceptions of their own language ability.

Table T3 Scales employed by Lu and Hsu (2008)

This study has shown that Chinese students may be more WTC with Americans in the US than with Chinese in China. This could be due to the idea that whilst in China, Chinese students "tend to remain silent rather than taking the risk of saying wrong things and appearing foolish" (Lu and Hsu, 2008: 85), as related to their cultural roots. This might suggest the idea that it is only within an immersive native English language speaking environment that many Chinese feel it appropriate to demonstrate their English language speaking skills. This echoes MacIntyre et al. (2003) that when people are immersed within a culture with which they are unfamiliar, they may tend to be more WTC in L2. Based upon the results of their study it may be deduced that around 30-50% of the causal reasons of WTC must be attributed to other factors not covered within their study.

2.9.4 Peng and Woodrow (2010) - Willingness to Communicate in English: A Model in the Chinese EFL Classroom Context

Another method to address the WTC construct could be to consider a five variable model, consisting of: L2 WTC, L2 communicative confidence, motivation, learners' beliefs and the classroom environment, being measured by employing the following scales:

Scale	Source
L2 WTC	Adapted from Weaver's (2005) WTC scale.
L2 Communicative anxiety	Adapted from scales produced by Woodrow (2006) and

	Horwitz, Horwitz and Cope (1986).
L2 Perceived Communicative Competence	Adapting scales produced by MacIntyre and Charos (1996) and Yashima (2002).
Motivation to learn English	Adapted from the scales produced by Noels (2001).
Learners Beliefs	Adapted from scales produced by Sakui and Gaies (1999) and Peng (2007).
Classroom Environment	Scales were adapted from a number of sources (Clement et; al., 1994; Fraser et al., 1986; Fraser et al., 1996; Zhang & Oetzel, 2006.

Table T4 Scales employed by Peng and Woodrow (2010)

In a Chinese context it has been argued that communicative self-confidence is the dominant variable influencing WTC and that this variable is directly influenced by motivation, where the motivation to study English is to undertake a test, as opposed to studying English to communicate with others. Hence English language learners may believe that classroom learning time is more efficiently spent listening to grammar-centred lectures, rather than engaging in oral communication. Communicative confidence within the classroom may also be influenced by the Chinese culture of learning, in relation to what many Chinese regard as appropriate classroom behaviour: students are expected to demonstrate homogenous behaviour (resulting in cohesive influencing classroom environment) compared to more individual behaviour.

WTC may be enhanced when students gain positive communicative language experiences (during classroom language learning), which similarly bolsters motivation to communicate. It was likewise argued that the measured variables accounted for 62% of the influences on WTC within a Chinese context. This again suggests that there are other variables influencing WTC, some of which may be additional factors outside the classroom which may also influence WTC, which requires further investigation. This thesis aims to identify what these other variables are; focusing on Chinese learners' notions of WTC within a wider ecological field of language contexts.

2.9.5 Cao (2011) - Investigating Situational Willingness to Communicate Within Second Language Classroom from an Ecological Perspective.

Another way to address the WTC construct could be to explore environmental, individual and linguistic factors influencing L2 WTC, being categorised into three main dimensions:

Dimension	Explanation
Environmental	This dimension relates to environmental factors which the participants experienced within the classroom.
Individual	This dimension relates to personal characteristics which influence an individual's L2 WTC.
Linguistic	This dimension relates to an individual's actual and perceived ability to effectively express themselves in the target language.

Table T5 Scales employed by Cao (2011)

The topic of conversation and the extent to which participants were familiar with this topic may have a significant influence on their WTC: individuals who were familiar with a classroom topic could experience a boost in their linguistic self-confidence, whereas communication could be inhibited when individuals were unfamiliar with or not interested in a certain topic. Some individuals may prefer being involved (and would therefore be more WTC) in group tasks, rather than teacher-centred activities. Likewise, some may prefer engaging with interlocutors who were linguistically more competent than they were and who demonstrated outgoing and friendly behaviour. Similarly, language speakers may be more WTC in the classroom if they felt that they had a good rapport with their university tutor.

Despite identifying the variable of "personality" as significant to an individual's L2 WTC, what is often unclear is (a) what personality characteristics (positive and negative) could influence WTC and (b) distinguish between the personality of the speaker or the interlocutor; these areas are more closely addressed in this thesis. Further, in recognising that communicative self-confidence was an important variable; and may increase the more familiar the subject was with the interlocutor, it may also be important to consider how communicative self-confidence may be influenced by differing interlocutors and within differing language contextual settings.

2.9.6 Peng (2012) - Towards an Ecological Understanding of Willingness to Communicate in EFL Classrooms in China.

The L2 WTC construct may also be addressed by examining the individual and contextual factors influencing L2 WTC within classrooms in China. Some of the main factors influencing L2 WTC could be categorised as:

Factor	Explanation
Cognitive	This included reasoning skills (being liked to topic knowledge influencing motivation) and the ability to think critically.
Linguistic	This included language comprehension, inadequate arsenal of vocabulary and linguistic terms.
Affective	This included communicative anxiety (which was found to increase during group discussions), a fear of being ridiculed and individuals' notions of the importance of communicating.

Table T6 Scales employed by Peng (2012)

Other significant factors may be: the classroom environment, the teaching style of the teacher and the particular learning task. Peng (2012) identified that participants' views often did not represent a consensus; that the factors which influenced WTC were not isolated, but were synergistically related to each other and that WTC may be linked to factors outside the classroom and past learning experiences.

2.10 Summary of Identified Lacunas in the Literature Review

It has been shown from the literature review that there are a wide range of antecedents influencing Chinese individuals L2 communicative behaviour. One theoretical framework which has attempted to conceptualise an individuals' L2 communicative behaviour in order to provide a greater understanding of this phenomena is the L2 WTC pyramid model (MacIntyre et al., 1998). This model is based upon the collective combination of both trait and state characteristics. Trait L2 WTC relates to a stable predisposition towards communication, whereas state L2 WTC reflects communication within specific contextual settings. This suggests that there are a wide range of variables which jointly influence L2 WTC. These variables could be understood as characteristics which form the underlying influences of WTC and which are integrated within social, psychological and linguistic parameters.

The WTC model fails to make a distinction between L2 contexts and EFL contexts; however, it is important to distinguish these. A second language has been defined as,

"one that is learned in a location where that language is typically used as the main vehicle of everyday communication for most people" (Oxford and Shearin, 1994: 14).

Conversely, a foreign language has been defined as,

"one that is learned in a place where that language is not typically used as the medium of ordinary communication" (Oxford and Shearin, 1994: 14).

Language learners in China may be classed as foreign language learners as English is not spoken frequently within their society and hence many learners lack regular input from NES. Thus, it is within the classroom that students' receive structured foreign language instruction which is delivered by a non NES.

The design of the pyramid model was based upon western notions of communicative behaviour (Wen and Clement, 2003). Similarly, according to McCroskey and Richmond (1990) an individual's cultural surroundings may have a significant influence upon a person's WTC. Likewise the nature of the L2 behaviour (and the associated rationale) of individuals from differing cultural backgrounds is an area not well understood. This may be due to differences in communicative orientation of those from varied cultures; it is plausible that there will be similarities also. This study will endeavour to fill this gap by focusing upon a Chinese L2 context; the results of this study may be transferable to other cultural L2 settings. Thus this study will spotlight the nature and rationale of those factors influencing Chinese students' L2 orientation. By adopting the pyramid model as a theoretical framework for this study, an important question worth considering is, "Is the pyramid model applicable to a Chinese L2 context? And, if so, to what extent?"

From the overview of the model it has been shown that there are; despite the extensive coverage of related variables, other unmentioned variables which may influence an individual's L2 orientation (MacIntyre et al., 1998). Hence the pyramid model may be

defined as a more generic model for a wide range of communicative contexts. A number of studies have employed the theoretical framework of the model, leading to the scales which were created to address the communicative behaviour of Chinese students. These studies may evidence how the model is suitable for comprehending (as least to a certain degree) the L2 oral behaviour of Chinese individuals (Lu and Hsu, 2008; Wen and Clement, 2003) and suggest that the model only accounts for a limited coverage of the factors influencing L2 WTC; estimated at 50-70% (Lu and Hsu, 2008) or 62% (Peng and Woodrow, 2010).

However, existing research predominantly focuses upon just some of the key variables of the model (willingness to communicate, perceived communicative competence, and communicative anxiety) which are seen to exhibit a significant influence upon communicative behaviour. This limiting focus may avoid the challenges of measuring all of the variables in the pyramid model by using quantitative data gathering tools. Therefore, the existing research does not provide a more holistic approach to address the second half of the question above, but rather either preemptively suggests additional variables and then correlates their relevance, or suggests the use of a new theoretical model to more accurately analyse the communicative behaviour of Chinese L2 speakers (Wen and Clement, 2003; Lu and Hsu, 2008; Peng and Woodrow, 2010; Cao, 2011). Hence the impact of the other variables within a Chinese L2 context has received less attention and therefore it remains challenging to ascertain how closely the model describes Chinese L2 behaviour. Few studies have explored the possibilities of identifying other significant variables either contained within the model or as additional variables which are relevant to a Chinese context and thus further research is needed to more effectively comprehend the communicative habits of Chinese English language speakers.

MacIntyre et al. (1998) stated that within an L2 context, "WTC varies considerably over time and across situations" (MacIntyre et al., 1998: 545), however, measuring temporal changes in WTC levels in any contexts including Chinese contexts is not an area which has received adequate attention since the notion of WTC was first conceived. No academic studies have sought to measure temporal changes and the reasons for such changes in WTC over a more extended period of time within any contexts (Baker and MacIntyre, 2000; Liu and Jackson, 2008; Lu and Hsu, 2008; MacIntyre et al., 1999; Yashima, 2002; Yashima et al., 2004). This gap may be due to how much of the existing research has focused upon gaining a

snap-shot comprehension of classroom L2 interaction (Wen and Clement, 2003; Liu and Jackson, 2008; Peng and Woodrow, 2010; Cao, 2011; Peng, 2012). One way to measure changes in L2 WTC would be when language learners are experiencing the greatest change in their communicative proficiency, as may occur when individuals are exposed to more authentic communicative context with NES. Such a setting would be particularly influential when individuals are immersed in an English speaking environment, as when students study abroad. Much of the recent L2 WTC research in a Chinese context has focused upon classroom English language speaking in China (Peng and Woodrow, 2010; Peng, 2012) rather than NES contexts. Therefore, this study aims to fill this lacuna, thereby enhancing our understanding of the pyramid model within an as yet unexplored area, namely a longitudinal study of L2 WTC.

2.10.1 The Focus of This Study

In seeking to achieve a more holistic comprehension of the applicability of the pyramid model within a Chinese context, my study will begin by assessing the extent to which some of the variables - those which are considered to have the greatest influence upon an individual's L2 WTC - may explain the behaviour of the target research population. This study will be exploratory, seeking to identify additional antecedents which influence the participants' L2 WTC, thereby filling the identified gap related to factors not covered within the pyramid which nonetheless may influence an individual's L2 communicative behaviour. Hence this study will be more holistic in nature, by ascertaining the extent to which the pyramid is (or is not) a suitable model to explain the WTC of Chinese participants' English language behaviour in authentic language settings, rather than merely focussing upon classroom English language behaviour.

Based upon the results of the preliminary study of Chinese students' communicative confidence in English and my previous language experiences in the East Asian, three aims were formulated.

1. This study will measure a group of tertiary Chinese students' willingness to converse orally with others in English within an EFL context, after they have undertaken a foundation year of study in China.

2. This study will explore changes (over a period of time) in the same students' willingness to converse orally in English with others, as they undertake an undergraduate degree in Britain.

3. This study will seek to gain an in-depth understanding of those factors which influence their predispositional orientation to orally engage in English with others in China and in Britain.

When gathering data from Chinese individuals it may be more challenging for them to express their ideas and experiences in English, especially if they initially do not feel confidence in their communicative ability. In order to gather data which will uncover the participants' communicative language experiences over an extended period of time, to explore underlying influential factors, one important consideration may be the language which is used to gather data from the students (Cortazzi et al., 2011). This study will gather data specific to the L2 WTC construct from Chinese participants by allowing them to express their views in their national language (Mandarin Chinese), or in English if they wish. The term 'national language' or 'common language' (pǔtōnghuà) was chosen rather than the term 'mother tongue', because in China many provinces have their own spoken dialects, all of which employ the same simplified written Chinese characters, but Mandarin Chinese, as the national language, is taught to all school children throughout China. Where the term 'speaking in Chinese' is employed here, the term denotes speaking in Mandarin Chinese.

Very few studies have sought to gather information about L2 WTC within a Chinese context from Chinese students in their national language (Liu and Jackson, 2008; Lu and Hsu, 2008). This study was designed to fill this lacuna, thereby increasing our understanding of the usefulness of the pyramid model within a Chinese L2 context. Previous WTC data obtained from Chinese students have often focused upon quantitative data by means of employing questionnaires, typically employing Likert scales to gather information (Liu and Jackson, 2008; Lu and Hsu, 2008; Peng and Woodrow, 2010). However, such techniques may be less appropriate to gain a deeper understanding of participants' mindsets. By collecting qualitative data this study sought to gain an in-depth understanding of the participants' personal views and experiences, in relation to the variables influencing their communicative behaviour: some

associated with the variables within the pyramid model, others not. Therefore, at the design stage, careful consideration was given to the means required to collect appropriate data and also to the implications of language choice during data gathering, since there may be qualitative differences in the data gathered in Chinese rather than in English as Cortazzi et al. (2011) have demonstrated.

2.10.2 How this Study Was Projected to Provide a Greater Understanding of the WTC Construct

The reasons for Chinese students' L2 WTC is not a well understood topic. This study was designed to build upon existing research (Lu and Hsu, 2008; Peng and Woodrow, 2010) which has argued that around 50-60% of the causal reasons of L2 WTC in a Chinese context are attributed to other culturally specific factors not covered within other studies. This study seeks to identify some of these factors, thereby enhancing our comprehension of the WTC model and its relationship to a Chinese contextual environment.

Another potential contribution of this study is that it may help to validate the WTC model, or the areas relating to PCC and CA. Conversely, help to support the counter-notion that L2 WTC in a Chinese context is a far more complex phenomenon than the model indicates. Similarly, this study may show that there are additional antecedents (not covered within the pyramid model) but which have a marked influence upon the communicative behaviour of Chinese people, as Wen and Clement (2003) suggest. If such is the case, the results of this study may help to provide a greater understanding for future research to investigate further,

(a) a new L2 WTC model which is "Chinese specific", or

(b) the need to modify MacIntyre et al.'s (1998) model so that it relates more directly to a Chinese context.

2.10.3 Research Questions

This study seeks to measure communicative self-confidence in tertiary level Chinese students as they study in Britain. This area of interest sprang from earlier experiences and the author's preliminary study with Chinese students. It was identified that this topic could be understood as being one variable within a much broader and comprehensive structure of the WTC construct. It was from extensive reading and my own experiences that the following research questions were formulated.

1. What factors influence Chinese tertiary students' Willingness to Communicate in English and how does it change after they have left China and study in a university in Britain?

2. What factors influence Chinese tertiary students' Communicative Self-Confidence in English and how does it change after they have left China and study in a university in Britain?

3. What are the reasons for changes in Perceived Communicative Competence, Communicative Anxiety and WTC?

4. What additional factors (which are not covered within the scales of the WTC model) may influence Chinese students' Willingness to Communicate in English?

5. To what extent is the construct of WTC in English helpful in understanding Chinese students' communication problems while studying in Britain?

2.10.4 The Projected Contribution of this Study

The following section will outline the areas in which this study may contribute to the current body of knowledge relating to the WTC in Chinese construct.

(a) Experiences of Chinese Students in Britain

This study focuses upon the experiences of Chinese students who were studying in Britain. From previous academic research, it is apparent that young Chinese people often demonstrate many communicative language difficulties in relation to oral skills in English when they first begin studying abroad. By gathering data from the same cohort of Chinese students as they study within Britain, the possibility was envisaged of categorizing the main language challenges that they encounter, how these areas may influence them and impact upon their lives and how they may overcome them. The depth of information obtained by regularly collecting qualitative data over a period is expected to allow a quasi case study approach to longitudinal levels of information gathered. In gathering data over a period of time it is envisaged that a wide range of communicative English language issues will be uncovered which relate specifically to participants' lives in a NES environment.

(b) Financial Implications

This study may also benefit those who desire to understand the learning habits of Chinese students who study abroad. Currently many Chinese students engage in study in NES countries, however, very few studies (as Spencer-Oatey and Xiong, 2006 confirm) have explored in detail the experiences of Chinese students as they study in British universities. If it is accurate, as has been reported by the Higher Education Statistics Agency (HESA, 2013), that there are 78,715 Chinese students currently in the U.K., such a presence constitutes a considerable financial contribution to the British economy. Clearly, it is important to understand the experiences of Chinese students who are studying in Britain.

(c) Experiences of Chinese Students in China

This study also sought to identify some of the early language learning experiences and problems which students had encountered within China. Some of these problems were believed to be linked to some areas of language teaching, particularly in relation to how traditional language teaching styles have influenced their language learning. Some of the L2 language problems which students experience as they study English in China were considered as an important possible influence on their L2 communicative self-confidence: specifically,

an increase in L2 CA and a decrease in L2 communicative confidence (Cortazzi and Jin, 1996b; Li, 2006; Shi, 2006; Spencer-Oatey and Xiong, 2006). Thus, this study may provide a greater insight into language teaching and learning contexts in China. This may be of particular interest to educators in China, as China is known to have the highest number of English language learners in the world (Cheng, 2008) and there is a growing popular demand for Chinese people to develop English language competency (Wu, 2001). Currently there is insufficient research to understand the variables which influence WTC within a Chinese EFL context (Wen and Clement, 2003). Therefore, this research is believed to help promote greater insight into enhancing language teaching and learning in China and perhaps in similar EFL contexts.

3. Research Methodology

The overall purpose of this study is to understand the communicative English language behaviour of Chinese students as they study abroad. The research questions of this study may be briefly reviewed as follows: identify what factors may influence Chinese students' L2 WTC, L2 communicative self-confidence; and therefore PCC and CA, and how such factors may change as the students undertake undergraduate study in Britain. This chapter outlines the research methodology employed to collect data. The choice of the research instrument was influenced by the nature of the data required to answer the research questions and also a number of significant data gathering challenges encountered, being linked to access to the research population. A rationale for the use of the instrument will be discussed and how it relates to the research instrument related variables, which are linked to; but which also expand upon (due to their potential limitations), the pyramid model's measurement scales and hence the differing interlocutors and contextual settings.

3.1 Design of Research Instrument

There are a number of differing ways to measure WTC which include:

(a) observation - observing students within differing communicative contexts,
(b) diaries - asking students to record their communicative experiences,
(c) interviews - exploring students' experiences related WTC and
(d) questionnaires - asking students to report WTC levels.

These research methodologies each have their own merits, which have been discussed extensively by researchers (Cohen et al., 2000; Dornyei, 2007; McDonough and McDonough, 1997; McQueen and Knussen, 2002; Robson, 1993). Within this study, method (c), employing interviews, was chosen to gather data, as they allowed the gathering of a large quantity of in-depth, detailed and new information. Interviews also provide an accurate and detailed account of participants' views and experiences (Silverman, 2011); which were often influenced by their cultural background, regarding their WTC (Bogdan and Biklen, 1982). Interviews also allow the researcher to expand an idea discussed by the participants' and also provide a means to carry out a verification of a respondents answer (Rothe, 2000). Other data

gathering tools may be less effective in gathering the quantity and depth of data required and thus they were deemed less practical for this study; it would not be practical or feasible to observe a group of Chinese students' language experiences each day. Trying to gather data by means of diaries would also have its own challenges since it is difficult to ensure that diaries are kept up by a group and continuously focused on relevant topics and they would likely be less effective than conducting interviews because of the tendency for student diary writers not to give details or depth in their reports. Likewise gathering data by means of questionnaires would also not provide the depth of data required to answer the research questions and would also not allow the facility to clarify questions or answers, or provide a means to probe for new and unique insights (Bartholomew et al., 2000). Interviews may allow the students an opportunity of relating their personal experiences in English or Chinese, thereby promoting a more comfortable data gathering environment (Poindexter et al., 1999). Interviews also "provide an opportunity for subjects to speak their minds about issues they cannot adequately express in questionnaires" (Rothe, 2000: 98). Hence interviews were employed as they were considered as the most effective, appropriate and valid means to answer the research questions. It is also noted that considerable research has been undertaken were only a single data gathering instrument has been employed to collect data; which include Chinese communicative contexts, particularly when longitudinal studies are being undertaken (Gao, 2006; Littlewood, 2000; Nunan, 1987; Reid, 1987; Salini and Lai, 2003; Shi, 2006; Yu, 2005). Despite the limitations in employing other data gathering tools (as discussed), using another research tool (such as a questionnaire) was not employed. It would have been difficult to prove that the results of analysis on a small data set of 24 students would have indicated any statistically significant results which would have provided any marked contribution to the study.

Surprisingly most of the existing research which seeks to measure WTC does not employ in-depth interviews to gain a deeper understanding of this topic. Therefore, this study may fill this lacuna, as the research participants were given freedom of expressing their views, which should enhance this study.

3.2 Research Instrument

In order to measure changes in Chinese students WTC in English, it is necessary to measure the WTC construct (box 2 of the pyramid model see Fig. 3) and the 'State Communicative Self-Confidence' construct (box 4) which is measured through the use of measuring PCC and CA. The parameters of the 'Desire to communicate with a specific person' construct (box 3) may also be considered as being linked to L2 WTC. When measuring L2 WTC, the following measures were employed within the design of this study:

1. WTC in English.
2. PCC in English.
3. English language CA.

These measures have been used within several L2 studies (Barraclough et al., 1988; MacIntyre et al., 1999; MacIntyre et al., 2003) to measure WTC and have been found to be effective measures of these constructs (McCroskey, 1992) within some L2 contexts. The measures have also been used by Hashimoto (2002), Yashima (1998, 2002) and Yashima et al. (2004) within a Japanese EFL context to measure WTC and have been identified as being applicable within Japan. The WTC measure has also been used in a number of other studies within a Chinese context (Cao and Philip, 2006; Lu and Hsu, 2008; Peng and Woodrow, 2010) and has been found to be an effective tool in measuring this construct.

As the research questions in this study focus upon understanding the reasons for changes in WTC, PCC and CA (in English) in Chinese students whilst studying in Britain, the data needed to address these questions require the participants to relate their communicative language experiences and their personal views. Interviews were adopted as a means to achieve this aid. However, the L2 WTC scales; which have been shown within existing studies to address the WTC construct, merely employ a questionnaire form of data analysis and do not allow in-depth data to be gathering in relation to participants' views. Thus, in order to maintain the use of the pyramid model; and the scales which address the WTC construct, the scale items were transposed into questions which could be used within an interview. Hence, the integrity of the scales was not violated, but rather the scales items were used in a more flexible manner allowing a broad range of data collection. Thus, the

framework which the scales provide was not violated, but in essence the scales were used in a new way to collect data.

In ordered to measure the reasons for changes in participants' L2 WTC data were collected on a regular basis from the same group of students. In order to maintain uniformity the same data gathering tool was employed throughout data collection. Data were initially collected from students in China (before they had been exposed to a NES environment) and then in Britain as the students were engaged in undergraduate study.

There are a number of contextual differences in the differing data gathering locations. Data were initially collected in a Chinese environment when for the participants English is a foreign language. Within this context the Chinese subjects' WTC (in China) in English with NES was to be measured. The subjects' WTC levels in English would be based upon their limited exposure to NES, which was almost entirely consisted on the interaction with their NES teachers, as they undertook their foundation year of study in China. Subsequent L2 WTC levels were measured after the students had arrived in Britain and were therefore in an environment where they could engage in English with people in Britain and be in an environment where they may gain a high level of exposure to the English language from both native and non NES.

3.3 Why Data were collected in China

Even though the focus of this study was to understand Chinese students WTC whilst studying in Britain, in order to effectively undertake this study, it was necessary to travel to China to begin data collection there, and then continue data collection in Britain with the same students now studying here. The rationale for this follows.

4. Measurement of Change

Existing academic studies to measure L2 WTC levels have not sought to measure changes in WTC over time; his study seeks to do so since understanding Chinese students WTC in English in mainland China is a significant but largely unexplored topic. In order to accurately measure such change, it is necessary to gather data from several reference points. It is argued

that one reference point is obtained by gathering data prior to any changes in WTC. As students in China are considered to have gained minimal exposure to NES, their language proficiency levels are predicted to be based upon their earlier schooling experiences, which are believed to have resulted in low levels of WTC in English. When the participants arrive in Britain they will be exposed to a language environment which is likely to significantly influence them in many ways. Within this environment the students WTC levels are predicted to change as they are forced to use whichever language skills gained in China. Therefore, change is predicted to occur as the students arrive in Britain, since the new environment may provide a strong motivational force for them to engage in English. Consequently it was necessary to measure WTC levels before this change begins, i.e. measuring WTC levels while the students are still in China.

5. Access to the Research Population

From the preliminary study it was identified that there can be challenges in gaining research access to Chinese university students in Britain; predictably it would be problematic gaining access to a research population in a short period of time. This point turned out to be a significant issue and led to considerable challenges in this study. Consequently this study would have been considerably more difficult to undertake had it not been for the trip to China to meet the research participants in their homeland.

6. Greater Depth if Insight through Familiarity with the Subjects

By meeting the research students within China it would be easier to obtain higher levels of commitment from them to participate in subsequent data gathering periods when they arrive in Britain. By getting to know them in China, a relationship of trust could be built, thereby promoting an enhanced access to their views and experiences. The students were believed to be more willing to engage with the researcher if they had already met him in China.

When gathering data from the participants, the same population of students would be invited to take part. Their L2 WTC, PCC and CA levels would be measured using the same scale models, for reasons of consistency. As the students live in Britain and have been

exposed to a NES environment, it was predicted that higher levels of L2 WTC, PCC and CA over time. This notion is supported by Lu and Hsu (2008) who identified increased levels of WTC in Chinese students, related to immersion time in a native English language environment. They state that,

"it is likely that people will become more willing to communicate with native language speakers as their time staying in that country increases" (Lu and Hsu, 2008: 77).

3.4 Research Instrument Related Variables

The measurement scales which were significant to this study are listed below:

Scale	Source	Comment
WTC in English	McCroskey and Baer, 1985	See appendix 1 Chinese scales - appendix 4
PCC in English	McCroskey and McCroskey, 1986	See appendix 2 Chinese scales - appendix 5
CA in English	This scale was provided to me personally by Prof. Peter MacIntyre, as I had been unable to obtain the scale after extensive searching from all of the published materials which discussed WTC	See appendix 3 Chinese scales - appendix 6

The scales which measure WTC, PCC and CA levels, may be said to demonstrate a simplistic yet practical way of homing in on key areas of the WTC model. However, they do not represent all of the interlocutors, or situational settings which an individual may encounter within a communicative exchange. Nor do they cover the whole of the WTC model. However, currently the scales may be said to be one method of measuring the WTC construct. The scales may contain a number of weaknesses in that they do not directly seek to measure how each feature within the model influences WTC, however, they could be considered a good starting point for an investigation. Nevertheless, the scales (used in a questionnaire format) cannot be employed to understand WTC in a deeper sense. This can only be achieved through using other qualitative methods such as interviewing.

3.5 The WTC Scale

McCroskey (1992) used a number of differing L2 contexts to demonstrate the reliability and validity of the WTC scale. It cannot be assumed that such results would entirely assure the reliability and validity of the scale within a Chinese context; however, Peng and Woodrow (2010) have demonstrated that the WTC scale is suitable for use within a Chinese EFL context. It is noted at this point that the WTC scales may be understood as potentially being a useful tool (rather than a completely accurate reflection of reality) to,

(i) assist in understanding the WTC construct,

(ii) address the research aims of this study.

(a) The three receivers/interlocutors.

Note: The scales employ the term 'receivers' to represent those individuals whom an individual may engage with. This term could be viewed as demonstrating a more passive role during a language exchange. The term 'interlocutor' may symbolize an individual who demonstrates a more active role. Therefore, both terms are used here.

An overview of the scales (or measures) which helped to form the basic structure to gather data will now be presented. The scales have been organised to cover three types of interlocutors which represent a broad and effective coverage of the main interlocutors that a person will encounter within a communicative exchange.

The three types of interlocutors represent a gradient of relationships with other interactants: a person is predicted to have the closest relationship with a 'friend' and no (or minimal) relationship with a 'stranger'; 'acquaintance' is positioned somewhere in the middle. It is predicted that this varied level of relationship with different interlocutors will be reflected in differing measured WTC levels. A person may demonstrate a high measured level of WTC and PCC (with a low level of CA) with a friend and the lowest level of measured WTC, PCC (with a high level of CA) with a stranger.

The graded levels of WTC, PCC and CA assigned by each participant to certain interlocutors may be dependent upon many factors which may change over time. For example, a teacher or tutor may initially be regarded by a Chinese student as a stranger. As the student becomes more familiar with the teacher, they may be considered as being more of an acquaintance rather than a stranger or over an extended period of time a teacher could be considered as being a friend. Hence, over time WTC, PCC and CA levels may change as a result.

(b) The Four Communicative Contexts

The scales which cover four types of communicational contexts represent a broad coverage of the main communicative contexts that a person will encounter within a communicative exchange with others. They also represent a gradient quantity in terms of the number of people of contextual settings: a 'public' setting relates to an individual being exposed to the largest quantity of people: a 'meeting' setting relates to a slightly smaller quantity of people; a 'group' setting represents an even smaller quantity of people, and a 'dyad' setting relates to a communicative exchange with only one person.

In relation to the 'dyad' receiver within the scales, the contextual setting associated with the communicative exchange relates to a situation where a person converses with another person 'while standing in a line' (a situation specified in the scales). Within this communicative context it could be argued that a person may not necessarily only converse with a single person within such a setting. This may depend upon the particular situation. Conversely, it could be argued that it is more likely that a person would encounter a single person within such a context. Thus in order to be more specific in relation to the communicative setting, additional information needs to be provided, such as: the nature of the line, the location and environment in which it was situated, or the type of service for which people queue. Such possibilities would considerably lengthen the text employed to define the language context and likewise add time to answering the questionnaire items. Arguably a simple distinction of four contextual situations is sufficient without elaboration. On the whole, the choice of the communicative settings may be considered an effective means to examine this phenomenon, as they provide an effective coverage of a broad range of communicative contexts which a person would expect to encounter when they speak to others.

One of the important points which McCroskey (1992) argues is that the three interlocutors and four communicative contexts which the scales employ are not meant to be regarded as an exhaustive coverage of all of the possible receiver/contexts which an individual may encounter. The items within the scales are held to provide a "cross-section of communicational situations with which an individual might come in contact" (McCroskey, 1992: 21). Hence the scales may be regarded as a springboard for further in-depth data gathering such as through interviewing.

3.6 WTC in the Pyramid Model and the Scales

The WTC scale may be linked to the WTC construct, as identified within the section of the pyramid model (box 2) as shown below, in that the WTC construct is measured by means of the WTC scale.

Fig. 4 - A Section of the L2 WTC Pyramid Model (with additional text boxes which relate to the scales)
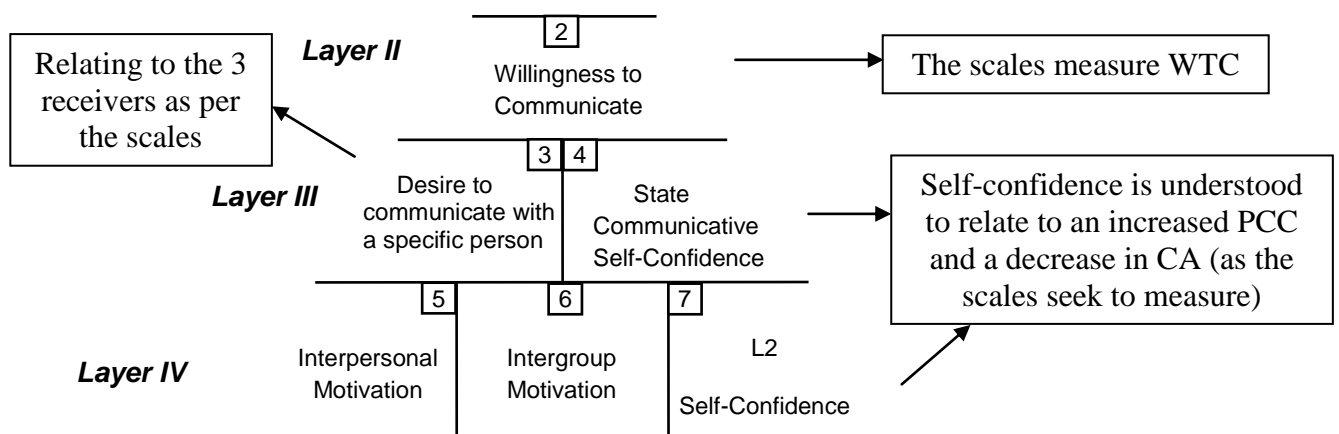
The two constructs which the model shows to have the closest influence on WTC are:

    (a) "Desire to communicate with a specific person" (box 3) and

    (b) "State Communicate Self-Confidence" (box 4).

3.6.1 Self-Confidence is measured by means of measuring PCC and CA in the Scales

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The 'State Communicative Confidence' (box 4), construct and also the 'L2 Self-Confidence' (box 7) construct within the pyramid model, consist of (a) PCC and (b) CA, are each measured by means of the PCC scale and the CA scale. It may be difficult to relate the PCC and CA scales to the model, because these combined scales (which form the communicative self-confidence construct) are loosely covered within the explanation of the model, but PCC and CA are not in their own right identifiable within the model, as they may be considered as sub-elements of the communicative self-confidence construct, perhaps this signifies they are less important elements within the model. However, MacIntyre et al. (2001) in discussing PCC and CA have stated that these two factors are of "major immediate influence" (MacIntyre et al., 2001: 371) and are thus considered as being significant within the WTC model.

3.6.2 Desire to Communicate with a Specific Person is Related to all Three Scales

The 'Desire to communicate with a specific person' construct may be partially measured within the three scales, as a person wishing to communicate with another person would choose to engage in a communicative act (depending upon the person, the time and place in which the exchange may occur) with one or more of the three interlocutors which the scales cover.

3.7 Design of the Research Instrument/Tool - Qualitative Research Instrument

During earlier sections of this thesis, the reasons why interviews were chosen (as opposed to other research instruments) have been outlined. Thus, the information required to answer the research questions was gathered by means of asking participants a wide range of questions: descriptive, personal experiences, the providing of examples and probing for further information (Spradley, 1979; Patton, 1980; Kvale, 1996). Semi-structured interviews were employed "where topics and open-ended questions are written but the exact sequence and wording does not have to be followed with each respondent" (Cohen, 2000: 278). Interviews were conducted on a month by month basis, thus the data collected provided an insight into the participants views and their communicative behaviour over a period of 18

months; it would not have been realistically suitable to expect the same group of students to complete the same (or a similar) questionnaire regularly for 18 months. Similarly collecting questionnaire data from 24 students is quite small. Employing interviews as a research method to understand L2 WTC has been undertaken by Kang (2005) on a group of Korean subjects and also by Peng (2012) in a Chinese context.

The scales (in their original form) provide a means to measure L2 WTC, PCC and CA (see appendix 1-3). The interviews (which were produced from the scales) also provide a means to measure L2 WTC, PCC and CA levels; e.g. a student is asked to relate when he / she would be more / less WTC (based upon the criteria of a specific communicative contexts - mapped from the scales). The student's response will indicate their WTC/PCC/CA within the parameters of the communicative context. When the same or similar questions are posed to the same individual over a period of time, changes in the respondents' L2 WTC/PCC/CA can be measured over time. When the same strategy is employed upon a group of Chinese students, their collective WTC/PCC/CA can be examined over time.

Employing interviews using open-ended questions ensured a high level of flexibility and allowed the researcher to "probe" into the participants L2 communicative behaviour in order to gather a greater depth of information regarding the participants views (Cohen et al., 2000) concerning the differing communicative contexts (and interlocutors) which they experienced. Thus, information was collected in relation to the factors (variables) which influenced their communicative behaviour; Gao, 2006 employed such measures to understand the communicative behaviour of Chinese students in Britain. As participants may discuss many factors which may influence their L2 WTC/PCC/CA; situation-specific influences which the pyramid model argues influences an individual's WTC, and also other factors (variables) which the pyramid model asserts represent more lasting influences on a person's WTC. In identifying other factors (through interview data collection), some of these were found to relate directly to the variables outlines in the pyramid model; thus allowing the researcher to confirm that the identified variables related to a Chinese communicative context. Other variables were identified (not covered within the pyramid model) which supports the notion that there are many other variables (as MacIntyre et al., 1998 states) not covered within the pyramid model which may influence L2 WTC. Thus this research instrument

provided an increased understanding of the WTC constructs, whilst also addressing the research questions.

Likewise, the interviews were designed and implemented to gather data in relation to a specific coverage of the actual L2 language experiences which the participants encountered and subsequent relationships (or not) to the scope of the scales and the WTC model. The students' views may be linked to how they understand and interpret the differing contextual settings through their personal language experiences gained and also how they perceive other contextual settings which they may not have experienced, e.g. being asking to state how willing they would be to give a talk in a 'public' setting, although they have not had any public speaking experience. The interviews were also aimed at understanding their views regarding their conceptualisation of more lasting influences on L2 WTC (i.e. layers IV, V and VI of the model) and other cultural phenomena.

It was considered that after 18 months of studying in Britain, the students should feel more confident in their use of English and thus be more WTC within a wide range of contextual settings. Therefore, in the research design data was gathered on an almost month by month basis over a period of 18 months. Other researchers who sought to measure WTC have not gathered data over a comparable period of time. Even Lu and Hsu (2008), who measured WTC in English on a group of Chinese students in America, only gathered data from participants' who had been living in America for five months, and their data were only gathered once from the students; data were not gathered at periodic intervals. Similarly Peng (2012) who undertook research in relation to WTC only interviewed four Chinese students once in China. By gathering data on regular basis on the same group of participants, this study sought not only to obtain a clearer understanding of the changes in the subjects WTC, PCC and CA, but also ascertain the reasons for changes. Data were gathered for an extended period of time in order to obtain a more holistic understanding of changes in WTC as the students were immersed in a native English speaking environment.

Other research instruments (say questionnaires) were not employed as a secondary form of data gathering during this study (for validation purposes), due to the extreme data-gathering challenges which were experienced shortly before the data gathering process was to commence (see chapter 5).

3.8 Research Population

Based upon the findings of the initial study, it was identified that many Chinese students who study in Britain undertake diverse academic courses of study (e.g. undergraduate or postgraduate) and may have lived in Britain for differing periods of time; appendix 10 table T1. Securing a research population with similar educational backgrounds and levels of exposure to NES within authentic English speaking environments, could more likely ensure a greater uniformity in the students' language experiences; if all the students had just arrived in Britain they would more likely all discuss their language challenges within a new language environment, as opposed to students who had already been living in Britain for say six months, who in having already gained many language experiences may hold a differing view to those individuals who had just arrived in Britain. Likewise, as British universities are unwilling (for reasons of confidentiality) to provide researchers with access to lists of students (such as Chinese students) who could be contacted and asked to take part in academic research, it can be challenging to gain access to a research population with similar characteristics. A solution to this problem was identified during the preliminary study, where some of the participants stated that they had just arrived in Britain, after having previously undertaken a foundation year of study in China to prepare them for foreign study; all of the afore mentioned students had similar English language learning backgrounds, they had all never travelled to an English speaking country and they all were enrolled on undergraduate degree programs in Britain. The syllabus for the foundation year of study was supplied to the student's schools by Northern Consortium United Kingdom (NCUK). Since several schools in China employ their syllabus, it was believed that data could be gathered from participants in multiple locations in China. However, this did not occur due to a number of challenges which will be discussed shortly. When the participants were first met they had all completed their foundation courses in China and were planning to study at a university in Britain. The plan was to gather data from a number of locations in China: Qingdao, Wuhan & Chengdu, however this was not achieved in practice.

T7 Profile of Students and Data Collection

No. of participating students	24
Age of students	17-18
Gender of students	Male 11 / Female 13 (see T8 Table of No. of Interviews Conducted on a Monthly Basis (Gender Specific)
Location of interviews in China	Qingdao (Shan Dong province)
Study undertaken in China	International foundation Year (IFY) - 1 year program
Location of interviews in Britain	Four university in the north on Britain (see T9 Breakdown of Students Interviews by Location)
Study undertaken in Britain	Undergraduate degree programs
No. of interviews conducted face to face	51 (Aug 2010-Apr 2011)
No. of interviews conducted online	9 (Jan-Feb 2012)
Total number of interviews	60
How the students were invited to take part in the study (convenience sample)	In China - students were contacted by their school and asked to take part in an interview. In Britain - all the students were contacted by e-mail (e-mail addresses were supplied by the school) and were invited to take part in an interview; those who agreed to take part were interviewed.

3.9 Interview Structure

The scales formed from the WTC model formed a basic interview framework for this study. This was done as follows.

The scales were designed to gather data specific to WTC, PCC and CA in relation to three types of receivers (friends/acquaintances/strangers) and four contextual settings (speaking in: public/a meeting/in a group and dyadic settings). An early set of research questions (see appendix 7) were formulated to ascertain the participants' WTC, PCC and CA

levels with the three differing types of interlocutors, and within the four differing settings. The questions also sought to understand the reasons for participants' views. Students were asked where pertinent to relate actual experiences which they had gained in order to support and explain their views. This information proved to be vital in providing many different contextual settings which enriched this study. This produced a greater understanding of how they had reached their conclusions and what additional variables had impacted upon their views. By asking open-ended questions in a semi-structured interview format, students were encouraged to share their own personal language experiences; they were given the freedom to share in-depth information. This had the impact of,

(a) throwing greater light onto the WTC model and hence helped to demonstrate its relevance to a Chinese context,

(b) providing a view of other variables not covered with the pyramid model, but which were significant to a Chinese context.

Rather than merely transposing the scale items into an interview form, which could result in the interview questions taking on a more 'clinical' nature, e.g. questions one to four were worded thus:

How willing would you be to presenting a talk to a group of foreign people in English? Why?
How willing would you be to talk in English to a large meeting of foreign people? Why?
How willing would you be to talk to a small group of foreign people in English? Why?
How willing would you be to talk in English to only one foreign person? Why?

The questions were linked together e.g.

Q1 How willing would you be to present a talk to: a group / a large meeting / a small group / only one foreign person in English? Why?

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Photographs were also incorporated into the interviews in order to clearly demonstrate the meaning of each of the differing contextual settings. Also the questions were discussed with the participants in a manner designed to make them feel more at ease. In order to avoid any feeling of 'interrogation', questions were posed flexibly to ensure that the required information was gathered. To minimize possible frustration or loss of interest, the topic areas were initially discussed with the students in a general and relaxed manner, i.e. the 'Interview Question Framework' (Appendix 7) includes clear topic headings (main prompts) which precede the more detailed questions (secondary prompts). This allowed a broader and deeper coverage of the topic areas being discussed, including coverage of areas within the bottom half of the WTC model which the scales do not cover.

The interview questions employed within this study were all translated from English to Chinese by a native Chinese speaker so that questions could be asked in either English or Chinese, whichever participants preferred.

3.10 Role and Scope of the Interviews

The interviews had a multi-faceted role. The broader and more general goal of the interviews was to seek to gain a deeper understanding of those influences which impact upon Chinese students' WTC in English. The pyramid model, the theoretical base for this study, forms a framework in order to provide an insight into this topic, thereby helping address the research aims of this study. The questions were structured around a number of areas, as below.

3.10.1 Area 1 – General questions regarding the subjects WTC

Before posing specific questions, the students were asked to share some of their more general viewpoints and experiences regarding their English language speaking. This was achieved by asking them:

"How have your English language speaking skills changed since we met last?" and

"What do you think has influenced these changes to your English language speaking skills?"

These more general questions helped students to tune into the topic of their WTC in English. These questions also provide participants with a great degree of freedom to express their own ideas. Such a form of questioning was aimed at shedding light upon new areas of interest which could be of benefit to this study.

3.10.2 Area 2 – In depth questions regarding the four contexts and three receivers

One of the aims of the study is to gather specific information in relation to the participants' WTC, PCC & CA, within four contextual settings and with three interlocutors. The interview questions were designed to gather qualitative data which are not easily obtained by using other research tools. The interviews sought to understand the student's views, experiences and perceptions in relation to specific areas. The interviews were intended to provide a greater depth of information regarding each contextual setting (and interlocutors). This information was gathered in a warm and friendly manner, by first discussing the topic area in a more general and open fashion with more specific questions later.

An example of how this was achieved follows. A picture entitled 'Four Communicative Contexts' contains four photographs (Fig. 5) entitled 'public/meeting/group/a single person' was given to the students to provide a visual focus during the first interview. This identified the differences between each contextual setting to be discussed during the interview. This ensured each student was clear about the difference between a 'public' and a 'meeting' setting. Hence, possible misunderstandings regarding the contextual setting were avoided through the use of pictures.

Fig 5. Four Communicative Contexts

Four communicative contexts

public

meeting

group
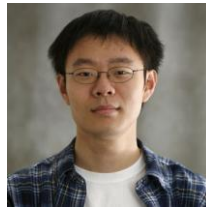
a single person

As individuals may mentally process information differently or have different learning styles [e.g. visual, auditory or kinaesthetic] (see Reid, 1987), some participants may find it helpful to see or handle a visual aid to discuss a topic. The photographs chosen to demonstrate the differing contextual settings all featured Chinese people in order to promote familiarity and identification, even though the contextual setting being discussed related to speaking in English with NES. The form of questioning was structured as shown in this example

"Sometimes individuals have to give a talk in English to different groups of people. This could include giving a talk in: a public place, or in a meeting, to a small group of people or just to a single person, as you can see from the picture. How willing do you think you would be to talk in English to foreigners within each of these settings?"

Based upon the student's response to the first question they could then be asked (for example),

"Why do you think you would prefer to speak in English to a single person rather than in a meeting?"

The participants responses were listen to carefully in order to potentially identify whether additional questions could be asked (as Bogdan and Biklen, 1982 discuss) in order to gain a

greater depth of understanding of the participants' views. This line of questioning relates to question one of the 'Interview Question Framework'.

3.10.3 Area 3 – Additional contexts and receivers.

Another focus of the interviews was to identify additional contextual settings (and interlocutors) where the students may be either willing or un-WTC in English, but not contained within the scope of the variables covered within the scales and identify any other factors influencing their communicative behaviour. For example Q2 asks,

"What situations could influence your willingness to talk to foreigners in English?"

This question could be rephrased as follows,

"At what times do you think it would be easier for you to talk to a foreigner in English?"

The students were asked to expand on their answer. This exploratory line of questioning is important, because the scales were not designed to provide an exhaustive coverage of all of the communicative contextual settings (and interlocutors) which an individual would encounter during a communicative exchange with others. Chinese people may favour some settings more than others. For example, some may consider that a disco is not a favourable place to visit. Therefore, they may be reluctant to go to such a place, whereas a restaurant could be considered as being a more appropriate place to engage verbally with others. Clearly, the students' initial views regarding which type of contextual setting may be considered as being an appropriate environment to communicate with others may be influenced by their cultural background. For example, many young Chinese people could be taught in their homeland that a pub/club is not an appropriate place to spend time, due to the possible association with the distribution of drugs. However, their views may change as they live in a foreign country (which may have differing cultural patterns), or if they are influenced by others. Thus, over time, their WTC, PCC and CA could change. By encouraging the participants to talk about a wider range of communicative settings in which they engage over a period of time and who they choose to associate with (i.e. their social

networking patterns), it was possible to gain an in-depth understanding of changes in Chinese students' communicative habits.

3.10.4 Area 4 – Additional influences on the subjects WTC.

Another aim of the interviews is to identify additional influences on students'L2 WTC. Some influences may be covered within the pyramid model (perhaps relating to lower half of the model), whilst others may not be covered at all due to the cultural position of the Chinese people. An in-depth discussion into how the construct of WTC relates intimately to Chinese settings was effectively addressed as the researcher has a sound understanding of the Chinese people and their cultural contexts. The discussion of WTC within a Chinese context may relate to such issues as: the notion of saving face, the insider/outsider phenomenon, the Chinese traditional notions of learning, or the multiple challenges which the participants encounter within a foreign country, as discussed in the literature review. Such insights may be shared when participants have the freedom to express themselves without language constraints, i.e. when they can express their ideas in Chinese (if they so wish) or in English, and when students feel comfortable speaking with the researcher.

An example of how the students were encouraged to discuss their WTC; which could lead to the identification of influences not covered within the scales, is by asking the following question.

"What is your biggest fear about speaking in English?" or

"Who would you feel the most nervous speaking in English to? Why?"

The participants may respond by saying that they feel the most nervous speaking to their teacher in English. There could be many reasons why a student feels in this way, leading to interesting insights. Hence, such a question may lead to the identification of opinions which are linked to their cultural background.

3.11 WTC Framework

The operationalization of measuring L2 WTC within academic research has been achieved by means of the three WTC scales: L2 WTC, L2 PCC and L2 CA. These three scales which jointly address the WTC construct have been employed within several Chinese contexts (Lu and Hsu, 2008, Peng and Woodrow 2010) and have been found to be valid and reliable measures of the WTC construct. The framework of the interviews (within this study) were structured around these three scales, in that questionnaire items were transcribed into interview questions. As the scales have already been employed within Chinese contexts; their validity and reliability has already been verified, it was deemed unnecessary to pilot the WTC framework. It could, however, also be argued that the first data gathering phase (Aug, 2010) when data were gathered from students in Qingdao, could be regarded as being a pilot study of sorts, in that it allowed the researched the opportunity to experiment with the interview questions, as the students who took part in these early interviews were encouraged to describe their experiences of being WTC (and answer questions relating to how WTC they believed they would be when they were in Britain) even though they were still in China. The data gathered during this phase was transcribed and coded soon after it was gathered, which allowed a check on the effectiveness of the data gathering and data analysis processes.

3.12 Ethical Considerations

Informed consent to collect data from the Qingdao students was first gained from the school as follows. The data gathering format and how the student's anonymity and confidentiality would be safeguarded, was presented to their management staff. After gaining their consent I was invited to the school, whereupon students were contacted by the school and interview appointments were set up. Before the interviews were carried out the students informed consent was also gained. Namely, they were informed of the purpose of the study and what they would be required to do in order to participate in it. They were informed that the information that they provided would be kept confidential and would only be used for the purposes of this study. They were asked if they were willing to take part and informed that they would be free to withdraw from the research process at any time and that they would not be asked to explain the reason for any withdrawal from the study. All students who agreed to

take part in the interviews were asked if they were willing to have the interview conversation recorded with a digital audio recorder.

Anonymity was achieved within the context of the management of the research data by using the student's initial/s to represent them on the interview transcripts. Finally, the students who took part in each of the data gathering stages were also thanked for their participation in the study and were asked if they would be willing to take part in follow-up interviews in Britain.

3.13 Data Gathering Challenges in England

The following section provides an outline of the data gathering process employed during this study, the challenges encountered and how they were overcome. The data for this study were collected firstly in China and then later at multiple locations in the north of England.

In order to secure ease of access to the students' in China, NCUK were contacted over a year before any data were to be collected - Jan 2009, to ascertain their intent to support the study in terms of introductions at the schools in China where their syllabus was being employed. However, during Mar 2010, NCUK changed their mind and stated that they were not willing to support this study. Consequently a number of schools in China were contact without their assistance. Of those contacted, three of the schools, in Qingdao, Chengdu and Wuhan, agreed to allowed access to their students', whereupon a mutually agreed time schedule was set up to visit each of the schools during August 2011.

3.14 Data Gathering in China

There were time constraints to visit the schools in China: the schools were happy for me to visit, but only after the students' had completed all of their IFY examinations. This left a relatively narrow window of opportunity; there would only be time to visit the schools between the time of exam-completion and their departure for UK studies. Therefore, a clear schedule of a one-week visit to each school was set up (and confirmed by each school), in Qingdao, Chengdu & Wuhan: however despite this plan to visit three schools, it was only possible to gather data from a single school in Qingdao.

3.14.1 Visit to Qingdao

After having explained to the school the purpose of this study and what data gathering instruments were to be employed, they requested written confirmation from the British university where I was registered at that time. Once this had been provided, the school agreed to support this study. The staff were extremely supportive in providing access to their students': they contacted some of the students' to invite them to take part in this study. With their support, a number of interviews were carried out where data were collected on the school's campus.

The eight students' interviewed in Qingdao (see T2) had all completed their examinations and had finished school. As the prior arrangement was to visit the school for only a week, it was not possible to meet all of the students' who were planning to study in Britain, because many of them had returned home after their exams. Likewise it was not possible to interview a large number of students', even when all of the interviews were arranged by a member of staff from the school. The interviews with the students' were arranged by the school, as the staff knew the students' well and therefore were in a position to arrange a quiet classroom in the school for the interviews to be held.

Arguably if the visit to Qingdao had been for a longer period of time, it may have been possible to conduct more interviews and become more familiar with the students' to encourage them to share further views. However, they had an extremely busy academic schedule, which parents and school expected them to focus on, and therefore to meet them on a frequent basis in a relaxed environment may not have been feasible. Trying to schedule my trip earlier would have conflicted with their academic studies, and hence the school would not have been willing to facilitate the visit.

3.14.2 Data Gathering Challenges in Wuhan and Chengdu (China)

Despite being invited to visit schools in Wuhan and Chengdu, it was not possible to gather data from these schools. Two weeks before visiting China (July 2010), the principal of the school in Wuhan (a NES), changed his mind and refused to allow access to students (despite previous positive verbal and written confirmation).

One week before travelling to Chengdu, the principal of the school (a NES) re-confirmed the details of the trip to Chengdu. However, upon arriving there it was not possible to gain access to the school. The security guards did not know anything about the scheduled visit and the principal's secretary was also unaware of it. It was also not possible to get in touch with him on his mobile phone, or through the school. Several telephone messages were left which were never answered.

Thus, due to these difficulties in gathering data in China, I was only able to collect data from eight students' in Qingdao. Consequently a re-evaluation of the research procedures had to be made: it was not beneficial to employ other research instruments (namely questionnaires) as had initially been planned as the very small dataset would not have produced any statistically significant data; data could only be gathered by means of carrying out interviews.

3.15 Data Gathering in Britain

Before returning to Britain the school in Qingdao provided a full student list in order allow easy of contacting the students. After the students' arrived in Britain, interviews were conducted at four different universities (see the tables below) to collect data both from the students' previously interviewed in China and also from other foundation year undergraduate students' who had been initially contacted via e-mail. Data were regularly collected from September 2010 to Feb 2012: interviews were mostly conducted within the students' accommodation building. A gap in data collection occurred after April 2011, as the students' were preparing for their June examinations and therefore did not have the time to take part in this study. Following their examinations, many participants travelled back to China for the summer.

Additional interview data were also collected from some participants after they had been living in Britain for approximately eighteen months. These data were collected by electronically digitally recording the interviews which were conducted over the Internet by using "qq" (a chat room medium commonly used in China which is similar to Skype). The following two tables show a breakdown of the number of participants interviewed per month and which universities they were attending.

T8 Table of No. of Interviews Conducted on a Monthly Basis (Gender Specific)

Date of Interview	No. of students' interviewed	Male	Female
Aug 2010	8	2	6
Sep 2010	0	0	0
Oct 2010	7	2	5
Nov 2010	9	6	3
Dec 2010	8	4	4
Jan 2011	3	3	0
Feb 2011	9	5	4
Mar 2011	0	0	0
Apr 2011	7	3	4
Jan 2012	4	1	3
Feb 2012	5	3	2
Total	60	29 (48%)	31 (52%)

T9 Breakdown of Student Interviews by Location

Location	No. of Males Interviewed	No. of Females Interviewed	Total	No. of Males Interviewed using qq	No. of Females Interviewed using qq	Total Interviewed using qq
University A	0	1	1	0	0	0
University B	7	4	11	3	2	5
University C	2	6	9	1	2	3
University D	2	2	4	0	1	1
Total	11	13	24	4	6	9

Of the 24 students' who took part in the data collection in Britain, 14 were willing to take part in follow up interviews, whereas nine (three male / six female) where only willing to take part in one data collection exercise and chose not to take part in subsequent data gathering activities. This resulted in a 58% follow up rate (14/24=58.3). Collecting data from a total of 24 Chinese students' (11 male and 13 female) where a total of 60 interviews was conducted, was argued by Britten (1995) as providing a satisfactory quantity for a qualitative study. This quantity of data may be contrasted with the study of (Kang, 2004) who only

interviewed four Korean students', and Peng's (2012) who interviewed four Chinese students'; both studies addressed L2 WTC issues.

3.16 Conducting the Interviews

Before interviews were conducted, students' were (as Broom, 2005 recommends) fully informed of the purpose of the study, about how data would be gathered and how they would be required to participate. Permission was also requested to electronically digitally record the conversations and participants were informed that confidentiality would be maintained in relation to the information that they supplied; ethical approval was gained for the university to employ such a technique to gather data. Before the interviews began the students' were informed that they were free to either speak in English, Chinese or a mixture of both. The decision to allow the participants this language choice was based upon the results of the preliminary interviews and notions discussed by Cortazzi et al. (2011) who quote Burnett (2003), Durkin (2004) and Skyrme (2007) that many Chinese students' encounter difficulties when endeavouring to express themselves in English in relation to certain topics. The interviews were designed to last for approximately one to one and a half hours, in order to maintain a high level of motivation and interest in taking part in the study. It was observed that if an interview lasted for more than this time this was usually because participants described their language experiences in great depth and they would show signs of fatigue. When this occurred the interview was terminated and a future date was scheduled to reconvene the session.

The participants came from different areas in China: from Xinjiang Province in the North-West of China, to Shandong Province in the North-East of China down to Guangdong Province in the south of China. Thus one of the data-gathering challenges (when the students' spoke in Chinese), was for the researcher to understand the students' differing Chinese accents. All spoke in Mandarin Chinese whose standard accent is regarded as that spoken in Beijing (Putonghua), however the participants often spoke with a non standard accent, which at times made it more challenging to understand what was said. Similarly the wide geographical areas from which the students' came, meant that occasionally participants would employ differing speech styles. Hence, some individuals were asked to repeat, or explain what they had said (Britten, 1995), in order to ensure that the interviewee's meaning was clearly understood, and to ensure the accuracy of the translation and analysis of the data.

During the interviews, the researcher interacted extensively with participants in order to build a rapport with them (as Kvale, 1996, discusses) whilst also being sensitive to their individual ideas. A flexible agenda was maintained during data gathering, by reflecting upon their remarks and encouraging them to share reflections of their own personal experiences and thereby probing and exploring their views in greater depth (Britten, 1995; Broom, 2005; Whyte, 1982). New ideas and topics of discussion were identified, which had not been anticipated. Thus the interviews were flexible in terms of modifying and adding questions as pertinent in order to implement a 'constructivist' form (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005) which encouraged deeper insight into the participants' meaning (Holstein and Gubrium, 1999; Silverman, 2011). Employing such techniques to gather data from Chinese participants is by no means an uncommon practice (Pilcher et al., 2012). This is not to suggest that there was no structure to the interviews. Control of the interviews were maintained by employing Patton's (1987) recommendation to,

(a) stay focussed upon the purpose of the interviews,

(b) ask the most appropriate question to obtain the desire response, and

(c) regularly provide appropriate feedback (both verbal and non verbal).

As some of the students' agreed to take part in follow up interviews, the researcher was able to get to know them over an extended period of time. It was observed that the more familiar they were with the researcher, the more comfortable they seemed to be in sharing their views and the more willing they were to discuss such topics as, (a) their dissatisfaction with their language learning background in China and (b) how they felt about interacting (or not) with British people. They stated that they felt comfortable discussing their views regarding life in Britain with me, without the fear of offending me if they said something negative about British people. The data collected over a period of many months provided insight into their lives and helped to provide understanding of the language challenges which they encountered. However, not all of the individuals who took part in a first interview were willing to take part in follow up interviews. In comparing their behaviour with those participants who agreed to take part in follow up interviews, it was evident that predominantly students' with a higher L2 WTC levels were willing to take part in follow up interviews; their WTC in English was reflected in their willingness to engage in follow-up

interviews. As the Chinese students' gradually gained a greater understanding of the British culture and lifestyle through residence and study in the UK, some of them would contrast the differing cultural environments (of Britain and China). Such views were often of benefit to this study, as they allowed many of the interviewees the opportunity to describe how some Chinese individual's behaviour within different communicational contexts could be linked to their cultural background, hence providing a greater depth of understanding which enriched this study.

During each interview, every effort was made, as Patton (1987) recommends, to ask the interviewees questions which were clear, open ended (to allow them greater flexibility in responding) and sensitive to their cultural background. As the aim of the study was to identify the reasons for the changes in the participants' L2 WTC, CA and PCC whilst also endeavouring to find new culturally specific variables, two strategies were juxtaposed in order to meet these aims. Firstly, data were gathered which related specifically to the existing L2 WTC pyramid model variables. For example, the interviewees were asked #18 "How nervous would you be to talk to a foreign stranger in English?" (see "Interview Question Framework" - appendix 7). This question was formed from the WTC scales and related to understanding their CA; box 7 - 'L2 Self-Confidence' of the pyramid model.

Secondly, new undiscovered themes were explored which were factors influencing Chinese individuals' L2 WTC. This was achieved by employing two measures. First, in order to identify the changes in the participants L2 WTC, CA and PCC, some of the interview questions were rephrased during subsequent interviews. Every effort was made to word each question in a slightly different manner (whilst maintaining the same meaning) to endeavour to ensure that the students' would not think that they were answering the same questions that they had answered previously. However, some of the participants did realise that some of the questions were similar to previous ones, however they were nonetheless happy to answer each one. By adopting such a strategy it was possible to gain an understanding of changes in the participants L2 WTC, CA and PCC in addition to other variables contained within the WTC pyramid model.

The second way to identify Chinese culturally specific WTC variables, was when the participants described their language experiences, or their views regarding communication in

English with others, new ideas and themes were often identified. For example, after being asked #5 "How willing would you be to talk to a foreign stranger in English?" the individual may respond that they are not willing, because they regard western people as being too 'open'. Thus, the participants were subsequently encouraged to expand upon their views in order to gain a deeper understanding of culturally specific paradigms. Likewise, when a noteworthy topic or theme was identified, other participants were also asked to comment on such a topic or theme. Hence, this often led to new additional questions being formed which were added to the existing set of interview questions. This grounded theory style of data collection let new ideas emerge during data gathering, thus providing a greater insight into the study and to potentially identify new areas of interest relating to the study. Examples of such areas include the topics of:

(i) the Chinese notion of western people being 'open',
(ii) the participants' educational background in China and
(iii) the notion of Chinese being afraid of making language mistakes when they speak in English.

Hence, these topic areas were among those which were identified as influencing Chinese participants' L2 WTC.

3.17 Benefits in Conducting Interviews on a Multi-Lingual Platform

The researcher, a white British NES, had gained a high level of oral Chinese proficiency having lived in East Asia for many years; this allowed him the ability to engage comfortably and effectively with the participants in Chinese. This was found to be of significant benefit during the data gathering and is worthy of detailed comments as offering relatively new insights into multilingual interviewing. It provided them with an extra communicative option which contrasted with many interviews with western people, which are generally expected to be in English. This study was unlike other such studies: participants were given the freedom to speak in the language of their choice (either English, or Chinese).

Each interview question was first presented in English. If an individual identified that he/she was uncertain of the meaning of a question, the researcher translated the question into Chinese and provided an explanation in Chinese if the meaning of the term was still unclear.

Thus the researcher was able to have a higher level of assurance that participants understood each question clearly. A recent study conducted by Cortazzi et al. (2011), which investigated interviews with Chinese students' in multi-lingual contexts suggested the use of the above mentioned technique as employed within this study, namely, to "integrate the use of translation devices such as bilingual dictionaries in interviews" (Cortazzi et al., 2011: 529). For example, at the beginning of the study the meaning of the word 'acquaintance' needed to be clearly defined to some participants, in order to differentiate it from the word 'friend' and thereby avoid a misunderstanding. Even after certain words had been accurately translated from English into Chinese, some participants had not fully understood the meaning; such as the difference between communicative 'confidence' and communicative 'competence', and required additional clarification.

A reverse situation was found to occur when the participants spoke in Chinese, where some Chinese terms may be more difficult to translate from Chinese into English, as some participants would have been required to do if the researcher had not been fluent in Chinese. For example, the Chinese term 'filial' (孝), which could be synonymous with 'honour', has different Confucian connotations and requires an explanation in order for an English speaker to understand its intended meaning. Using both languages with the participants helped to increase the effectiveness and efficiency of the data gathering process. Participants would apparently think in Chinese and then translate their ideas into English to verbally express their ideas. In so doing, they would often use inappropriate English terms, or struggle to translate a word into English. Here, the researcher was in a position to understand their intended meaning and therefore assist them if necessary. This strategy helped to strengthen the communicative bond between the researcher and participants: respondents were found to be more relaxed during the interviews, as they felt confident that they could completely understand each interview question, which helped to alleviate this feature of any potential communicative anxiety.

Similarly, knowing that they could speak to the researcher in Chinese provided participants with a greater level of freedom in expressing their views; they could easily express themselves and did not have to simplify their speech in Chinese, which could occur if the person who they were speaking to, did not have an advanced oral Chinese proficiency. They could thereby maintain the flow of their thoughts and speech, without having to

continually explain themselves. The researcher was able to identify linguistic nuances and meanings, reading between the lines of what participants were saying to identify a greater level of understanding of the participants' inside experiences. They could use expressions which only other NCS (or those with a highly advanced level of Chinese language) would be able to appreciate and understand. For instance, some participants during the course of the interview discussed the complex Chinese notion of losing face: the researcher could clearly understand the meaning of such terms and the reason for their use. Some of the students' requested to answer questions in Chinese and others preferred to respond in English. Those who requested to speak in English did so in order to practice their oral English skills, as Cortazzi et al. (2011) identified. Those who chose to speak in English felt a greater level of assurance that there would be less chance of a communication breakdown during the course of the interviews since if they suddenly chose to revert to Chinese, the researcher would be able to understand and it would not impact upon the flow of the interview, after which the participant would continue in English.. They could feel more relaxed and less anxious about speaking in English during the interviews since any potential inability in being able understand or use a term in English, did not form a linguistic stumbling block to the smooth flow of the interviews.

Some participants' reasons for responding in Chinese (particularly for those who had not been living in Britain for very long) were that they did not feel confident enough in their communicative ability to speak in English; they stated that they felt more relaxed responding in Chinese. Some, despite having lived in Britain for over a year, chose to speak in Chinese rather than in English.

Having a solid understanding of Chinese culture, allowed the researcher to form links between the differing topic variables when they were discussed and to know how the topics could relate to the Chinese culture more broadly. Links were identified as existing between some of the participants L2 WTC (or a lack of it) and their educational and family background in their homeland. Similarly, the researcher could employ the use of terms which Chinese often use and this would be more effective than using a less familiar term. An example was that during the interviews the term 'foreigner' was often used (by the researcher) to represent a NES, or British person; this is not to say that the latter terms were not employed in order to form a closer link to terms commonly used by the Chinese: many

Chinese will refer to non-Chinese as 'foreigners'. Even Chinese who live in Britain and as such are living in 'a foreign country' and are strictly speaking themselves 'foreigners', will nevertheless still refer to British people as 'foreigners'. Thus when describing a language situation, if a participant chose to use the 'foreigner label' to describe their interlocutor when asking them to explain the context in greater detail, the researcher would reciprocally use the word 'foreigner' rather than correcting them. This achieved a better 'flow' of ideas rather than seeking to correct the stereotype.

3.18 Data Analysis and Organisation

This section will describe the process by which the research data were analysed and organised. An inductive approach was employed to analyse the data within this study: the procedure used was regarded as being more appropriate than other methods. Thomas (2006) has clearly demonstrated that such an approach is a common means to evaluate qualitative data in the social sciences. The analysis consisted of being immersed in the data in order to search for patterns and identify new concepts (new variables influencing WTC) as Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) discuss. An overview of the approach employed is described as follows,

(i) the raw data were coded to single word, or phrase terms; a process which has been described as the "categorizing and sorting (of) data" (Charmaz, 1983:111), in order to more effectively manage the analysis of the main key variables / themes,

(ii) similar variables / themes and identifying variable patterns and relationships (as Lofland, 1971 had discussed) were linked before expanding them to form explanations of the topics identified from the data, and finally

(iii) a model was formulated to express the results, whilst linking the results to the theoretical model which informed this study.

A more comprehensive coverage of the stages employed to analyse and organise the data (relating specifically to items (i) and (ii) as above) is structured within the following seven steps:

7. Interview Translation and Transcription.

8. Full Listing of Participants' Responses.

9. Inductive Coding of the Data.

10. Tabulation of Coded Data.

11. The Formation of Labels (Variables/Themes) from the Tabulated Data.

12. Organising the Resultant Variables/Themes - Topic Areas Listed by Months.

13. Summary of Categories.

The numbered steps (1-7) represent the stages which were implemented. Here the term 'variable' is used to denote a main participant matter item (later forming one of the items within the 'Summary Model' - see fig. 36). The term 'theme' is used to signify other sub-variables, or participant matter areas, which are appendages to the variables. Item (iii) above, will be covered within section 13.

3.18.1 Interview, Translation and Transcription

This section gives an overview of the translation and transcription process, in order to present an open and transparent coverage of the protocol employed, as Wellard and McKenna (2001) suggest. All the interviews which contained English and/or Chinese dialogues were electronically audio-recorded using a portable digital recording device. After each recording had been made, multiple copies of the electronic file were made and stored on different hard drives, as LeCompte and Schensul (1999) suggest. All of the Chinese dialogue was very carefully translated to English and was transcribed into English. Translating dialogue from Chinese to English is a complex process requiring an understanding of both cultures (Cortazzi et al., 2011). All English dialogue was transcribed from the electronic digital recordings. Each interview took six to eight hours to completely translate and transcribe. Britten (1995) regards this as a usual length of time to transcribe each hour of interview data. The length of transcription depended upon such factors as:

(i) The quantity of Chinese dialogue contained within each interview. Whilst translating from Chinese to English, extreme care was taken to ensure that what participants said was accurately translated without losing any of the intended meaning.

(ii) The complexity of Chinese employed: e.g. translating complex Chinese idioms required a greater length of time.

(iii) The speed with which the individual spoke: it was more difficult to translate and transcribing interviews where the participant spoke extremely quickly.

(iv) The participants' accent and pronunciation. Some participants had a strong local Chinese accent. Some did not use clear standard Chinese pronunciation, which made it more challenging to understand what they had said.

(v) When the participants were discussing a topic which they enjoyed talking about, some had a tendency to speak for a considerable time. It could be argued that this demonstrated how they felt comfortable speaking to the researcher and were thus happy to freely and smoothly share their ideas. Consequently careful attention had to be made to listen carefully to the content: some sections of dialogue on topics unrelated to the project were not translated or transcribed, as it was deemed unnecessary to do so (McLellan et al., 2003).

Whilst transcribing the interviews (where students' spoke in English), in order to preserve the integrity of the data (McLellan et al., 2003), the oral dialogue was transcribed without correcting any grammar errors. As Kvale (2007) suggests, all of the translation and transcription was performed by the researcher which allowed a secure control of the details of the data, whilst also providing the researcher with a greater understanding of his own interviewing style. In order to achieve confidentiality during the study (not compromising the identity of the interviewee), whilst at the same time allowing participant identification, a speaker label (which McLellan et al., 2003, name 'a source ID') was employed: the first letter, or first few letters of each person's name was used to identify each participant instead of using their actual Chinese name. The transcriptions also included the researcher's questions, comments and responses, as expressed during the interviews. Quotation marks were added to the transcribed data to clearly identify the participants' speech. Any sections of dialogue which were not preceded by quotation marks and an identification letter, represented talk from the researcher. A time marker (signifying when each question was asked) was placed after each main question, as Maloney and Paolisso (2001) suggest, in order to facilitate a returning to a particular section of the recording, if necessary. However, it was later

concluded that time markers were unnecessary as they did not provide any significant benefit. After each interview had been transcribed, the data transcripts were reviewed for accuracy (data cleaning) to improve the quality of the data (McLellan et al., 2003; Rahm and Do, 2000).

Example of interview transcription.

The following short section of interview data was gathered on 14th October 2010 from a male participant (J.) who was studying at University B. See appendix 16 - Example of Interview Transcription – A.

3.18.2 Full Listing of Participants Responses

As data were gathered monthly, all the responses (for data for a given month) were organised in a sequential fashion after each interview question, thus forming a collection of differing responses (obtained from each participant) to each question. Thus for each data collection period every interview question listed was followed by all of interviewees' responses obtained that month.

Example of interview transcription

The example below presents a short section of interview dialogue collected from three participants (De, C and Da) studying at University B during November 2010.

See appendix 17 - Example of Interview Transcription – B.

3.18.3 Inductive Coding of the Data

Inductive coding (commonly employed within qualitative research) as was carried out within this study "refers to approaches that primarily use detailed readings of raw data to derive concepts, themes, or a model through interpretations made from the raw data by an evaluator or researcher" (Thomas, 2006: 238). This "bottom up" approach to data analysis was employed in order to generate new theory (i.e. identifying new factors influencing

Chinese students L2 WTC) from the data. Thus once the data had been cleaned it was coded employing the methods Thomas (2006) describes. Many researchers employ computer coding software to manage and organise the coding of qualitative data. However, computer coding software (such as NVivo) was not employed during this study, as using more traditional hard copy underlining methods provided a greater level of flexibility to identify and note links between the variables identified. Computer coding software was not used when analysing the data gathered during a similar study (Kang, 2005) where interviews were employed to understand Korean's WTC in English.

Each of the interviewees' responses was carefully examined in order to identify underlying and significant concepts, phrases or meanings. Pertinent key segments of text (as were found to relate to the research questions of the study) were subsequently underlined on a hard copy of the transcripts. This process of "open coding" has been defined as "essentially inductive … means that the ethnographer is open to surprise, to discover new ideas or fresh insight, to … take the ethnographer in new directions (Ezzy, 2002:37). Additional notes or memos were also added: these were written along the sides of each page of coded data for the following reasons (as described by Ezzy, 2002:36; Bryman and Burgess, (1994).

(a) Whilst the participant responded to the interview questions, some would use simple terms to express perhaps deep and complex phenomena (e.g. the Chinese notion of the phenomenon of 'face') which called for additional notes and comments to be added to clarify and expand upon various linguistic meanings and nuances related to the data.

(b) During the translation and transcription processes, at times the researcher would gain flashes of inspiration (content related information), or ideas which were deemed as being of significant importance to the study, and which were noted on transcripts as McLellan et al. (2003) discuss.

Thus, adding supplementary notes to the hard copy transcripts helped to expand the content of the analysis, and aided in forming links between the variables within the WTC model. Once a range of themes were found, the data were examined in order to identify related, similar or contradictory themes, as Broom (2005) discusses.

3.18.4 Tabulation of Coded Data

A range of qualitative data coding measures were employed in order to identify themes from the data, as Ryan and Bernard (2003) have discussed. These included:

1. key-words-in-contexts: identifying key words from the data, e.g. where the key word 'personality' was employed within the data,

2. compare-and-contrast analysis: comparing the data with variables contained within the WTC pyramid model to identify themes which are both similar and different from the model,

3. social science queries: seeking to identify themes which relate to their experiences, e.g. the reasons for L2 WTC with differing interlocutors.

4. trawling the data: reading through the data to identify key themes and sub-themes, e.g. looking for dialogue which relates to communicative anxiety experienced when speaking to strangers.

In order to code the data into a more manageable format, double column tables were formed to tabulate the themes identified during the data analysis process. These were inserted into the left hand column of the table, below the main interview questions. Such a method is described by Kvale (2007) as "Meaning Condensation"; this approach has been defined as "an abridgement of the meaning expressed by the interviewees into shorter formulation" (Kvale, 2007:106). The right hand column contained the interviewees' verbatim quotations, so as to identify the source of each theme. Quotation marks were employed to clearly identify the exact phrases used by the participants, along with a clear coding identification. In some instances some of the researcher's comments/questions were also added, identified without quotation marks. By employing these measures, coded data tables (entitled 'Summary of Data') were formed for each month of data gathering.

T15 Example of Tabulated Data (Summary of Data)

See appendix 18 for an example of a table of data gathered during an interview conducted at University B in November 2010.

3.18.5 The Formation of Labels (Variables/Themes) from the Tabulated Data.

Each summarised main theme (contained within the individual tables of coded data) was given a label (a single word, or short phrase) which represented the main notion, being expressed within each box (left hand column) in the table. Each label was created to help organise the data into a structured yet simplified overview of the main themes identified. This was achieved in practice by writing the label on the hard copy of tabulated data (alongside each box of the table).

3.18.5.1 Managing the Labels (Variables/Themes).

Once labels had been written next to the data tables, it was possible to quickly and easily glance over the data, in order to identify all of the major topic themes as they appeared within the data. Similarly, theme frequency were identified: were a theme (or variable) which was found to be discussed more often than others, potentially denoting a theme of greater significance. For example, some participants related that "the topic of conversation" was an important factor influencing their WTC with NES. Hence, the label 'topic' was used to represent "the topic of conversation". Alongside the table of coded data, the label 'topic' was written each time that it had been discussed during the interviews. By organising the data in this manner a succinct collective of labels were formed which related to the variables and themes contained within the study which made the data more manageable and easier to analyse. Labelling is an important stage as labelled items are grouped together to further analyse the data.

By managing the data thus, a coherent body of information was produced to answer the research questions of this study. In a general sense it was possible to rate a participant's underlying WTC, PCC and CA with varied interlocutors and within differing contextual settings and also understand the participants' viewpoints, specifically related to their own

experiences. Many of the points raised by participants in relation to their L2 WTC were found to be linked to differing sections of the WTC model, demonstrating the usefulness of the pyramid model as a theoretical model within a Chinese L2 context, as had been predicted at the beginning of this study. However, it was identified that the data could not be linked to all areas of the WTC model. Thus, inductive approaches allowed new concepts to emerge from the raw data. A detailed analysis of those areas in which the research data were found to be closely linked to the WTC model will be presented shortly.

3.18.6 Organising the Result Variables/Themes - Topic Areas Listed by Months.

After the research data had been collected over a period of eighteen months, key topic variables relating to the study were identified and were organised in preparation to answer the research questions, discussed below. A complete variable/theme table consisting of all of the topic variables/themes (gathered from the "Summary of Data" tables) covered during the interviews were listed on a month by month basis to form a table (see "Topic Areas Covered within the Study" - appendix 8). This comprised of a number of main columns (text columns), representing data variables gathered between Aug 2010 and Jan 2012. Smaller additional columns, one for each month, (i.e. the numeral columns) were added to the table, to identify the location of each variable (relating to the source of the variable's content from the "Summary of Data"). The following example will illustrate this.

From the 'Topic Areas Covered within the Study' table (appendix 8), the first and second columns depict the following:

Aug 10	Location
Personality of the respondent	1-2

From this example, the left hand column under the date identified describes the variable/theme 'Personality of the respondent'. The right hand column (under the title 'Location' shows '1-2'. The '1' relates to data collected during Aug 2010, and the '2' relates to the second page of the 'Summary of Data' table for data collected during August 2010. From this table each variable/theme is easily tracked to its corresponding location within the 'Summary of data' table. The first digit the '1' in the '1-2' denotes the time when the data were collected, even though the column contained a title showing when the date were gathered:

this allowed the identification of the time element, even if the variable/theme was removed from the table due to need to organise topic areas.

To further elucidate this example, the table below shows a small section of the variables/themes covered during the first batch of data gathering (data gathered during August 2010). For the complete table of topic variables see Appendix 8 'Topic Areas Covered within the Study'.

T10 Section of the table 'Topic Areas Covered with the Study' (See Appendix 8)

'1' represents August 2010		'2' represents page 2 of the 'Summary of Data' table

Aug-10	Location
Public speaking	1—1
Personality of respondent	1—2
Language barriers	1—3
Past experiences influence WTC	1—4
Seeing other Chinese speak well	1—4
Language not good enough	1—4
Cognitive process too slow	1—5
Strategies to overcome barriers	1—5
Behaviour / Appearance of receiver	1—5
Relationship with receiver	1—6
Topic	1—6

3.18.6.1 Organising the Variables/Themes

Once a complete table showing all of the topic areas covered each month had been produced, the information was further organized to link relevant or identical variable areas. The reason for this was to establishment a principle to identify the variables/themes to be covered within the 'Results and Discussion' section of this thesis. Thus, the establishment of groups of variables led to the formation of nine main variables. This was achieved be means of variable/theme matching and variable/theme linking.

3.18.6.1. (i) Variable/Theme Matching

The list of variables/themes, contained within the 'Topic Areas Covered within the Study' table (see appendix 8) was examined to identify identical variable/theme matches. When matches were found the variable/theme items were listed together to form categories. An example of this is where the variable 'topic' (relating to the topic of conversation during an L2 language exchange) was found to be a common and significant variable (found to occur 17 times); each time the variable label 'topic' was identified, the named variable was copied to form a secondary list; thereby forming a list where variables labels were listed in categories.

3.18.6.1. (ii) Variable/Theme Linking

Another method employed to identify variables/themes of a similar participant matter, was to list variables/themes together in a category which had strong participant matter relationships. Although such items were different, many could be linked together by their close association to a common topic. For example, the themes: 'culture', 'face', 'lifestyle', 'socialisation' and 'integration' could be linked together due to their strong link to a Chinese cultural perspective, whilst also relating to the participants' WTC with others. By adopting this method a large proportion of the variables/themes (which had not been identified by employing the variable/theme matching method) were linked and grouped together to form categories of related content meaning. The remaining themes (which had not been selected) were also sorted and grouped together in terms of less close relationships. For instance, the themes: 'engage more', 'improved communication', 'start conversations', 'spontaneous speech' and 'practice more', were grouped together as they could be linked to a more general topic relating to how and why participants WTC had increased. By adopting such measures most of the variables/themes were organised to form the 'Organised Topic Areas' table (see appendix 9). Any remaining variables/themes were considered not to be of significant importance.

After each month of new additions of organised variables/themes, a space marker (a blank row; as shown in the table below) was added to the table (after each month) to separate and identify the variables/themes displayed each month. This was done in order to keep track of categories as data were collected which covered eighteen months and therefore the

research took on longitudinal features. It was identified that some topic variable/theme areas covered each month were found to be repeated within subsequent months. For example, the table below shows how the variable 'personality' was found to be a topic which was repeatedly discussed (19 times in total) by participants during each month of data gathering.

T11 Section of the table 'Organised Topic Areas' (see Appendix 9)

Topic Area	Location
Personality of respondent	1—2
Personality of respondent	1—7
Personality	2—3
Personality	2—6
Personality	2—9
Personality	2—10
Personality	2—11
Patient receiver	3—11
Personality of receiver	3—13
Own personality	4—2
Personality	4—6
Personality	4—7
Personality	4—14
Personality	4—15
Personality	5—5
Own personality	5—5
Personality	5—7
Own personality	6—5
Personality	7—6
Personality	8—14
Personality	8—35
Personality	8—37

Thus, by tabulating the data variables/themes in this manner, it was possible to clearly visually identify all of the topic areas covered during the interviews. Similarly by employing this method to manage the variables, the data could be visually trawled, so as to identify the frequency of each variable/theme (as Miles and Huberman, 1994 discuss). As the students' from time period one were the same in period two (and so on) changes in their views could be

identified. By examining the 'Organised Topic Areas' table, patterns were found to emerge, which provided an insight into how participants' views were found to change over time. For example, early in the study participants discussed their fear of speaking to strangers (relating to CA) in English. This topic was described by the participant as being linked to,

(a) their CA which they describes as being due to not having well developed oral English skills and

(b) their cultural background (in China) which may strongly instil in many participants, an apprehension in speaking to anyone unfamiliar.

The frequency in which the theme appeared may be described as follows. The theme as mentioned above was found to consistently appear during the first four stages of data gathering, but was not seen to appear during any subsequent periods; as may be seen from the table below.

T12 Communicative Language Anxiety in Relation to Speaking to Strangers

No. of Times Theme Appeared	Time Period the Theme
2	1
3	2
2	3
1	4
This variable was not identified during any subsequent periods.	

From this pattern, it was evident that this theme was only deemed pertinent to the participants during their first few months in Britain (period 1 - related to data gathered in China), as it was only discussed during the first three months (Oct - Dec 2010) and was not discussed thereafter. It is postulated that once the students' were more familiar with their new environment in Britain, and had a greater understanding of British people and felt more able to engage with NES (a lower CA), they may have changed their views in relation to this topic (i.e. they felt a greater level of WTC in English with strangers), despite having been repeatedly taught in China not to speak to strangers.

3.18.7 Summary Categories

The final coded table of data 'Organised Topic Areas' - see appendix 9 - was carefully examined and nine summary categories were identified, by means of employing variable / theme matching and linking, as discussed. A detailed description in order to clearly define and elaborate the main concepts (Bryman and Burgess, 1994); which include relevant quotations from the raw data to help illustrate the main points covered, is discussed in the 'Results and Discussion' chapter. These nine summary categories capture the main and the most important themes which were identified within the data. These nine categories form the main headings which covered the key findings of this study.

3.18.8 Reliability of the Qualitative Data

An important consideration of data analysis is the reliability and the trustworthiness of the conclusions reached from the gathered data. Namely, how may the issue of the researcher's assumptions and potential biases be addressed when the analysis of the data was solely undertaken by the researcher? In defending the trustworthiness of the conclusions reached, it is argued that the participant's views were clearly and strongly asserted thus overriding any preconceived attitudes that the researcher had (Bogdan and Biklen, 1982). Likewise it has been shown in the Results and Discussion section of this thesis that many of the conclusions reached within that section have been shown to be supported by existing research, thus suggesting a lack of bias due to the replication of findings of other researchers (Brennen, 2013). Similarly many links have been show between the results and the variables of the WTC pyramid model. The researcher likewise managed all of the data analysis in order to maintain a secure control of the details of the data, as Kvale (2007) discussed.

4. Results and Discussion

This chapter presents the results of data gathered over eighteen months. The results presented were formed from appendix 9, and the 'Analysis of Data' segments. The findings are organised under nine main headings and several sub-headings, representing the major variables and minor topic areas, which were found to influence L2 WTC within a Chinese context (fig. 36). The theme areas of L2 WTC, Communicative Self-Confidence (and PCC/CA) will be addressed. At the end of each of sub-sections, tables demonstrate how the results have been shown to address the research questions. Quotations will be provided to demonstrate the basis of the results. A discussion of the findings will be included, from a Chinese contextual viewpoint. Direct links will be shown between the major variables (and other topic areas) and the WTC model (appendix 11), thus closely linking this study and the pyramid model. Links are also shown to exist between many of the variables and other topics (referred to as 'Inter-variable Links' - appendix 12). Such links are not intended to represent a complete coverage of all of the possible links, but to demonstrate how links exist between variables.

The Nine Main Variables of L2 WTC from a Chinese Context (fig. 36).

1 Family Background Influencing L2 WTC

2 Educational Background in China Influencing L2 WTC

3 Cultural Differences Influencing L2 WTC

4 Social Networking Patterns of the Chinese

5 Speaking in English to Differing Interlocutors/Receivers

6 Personality

7 Topic of Discussion

8 Communicative Anxiety

9 Additional Factors Influencing Chinese Students L2 WTC

Source of Quotations as Used in the Results

Table 16 demonstrated the source of each quotation, showing:

(a) an abbreviation of the participant's name to distinguish the source and enable tracking, but still making it impossible (from an ethical consideration) for readers to identify the actual individual .

(b) when a certain quotation, or relevant point was given.

Thus the label '[A3]' appearing after a dialogue would signify both the time and participant who supplied the data. In this example, a participant would have her name (a pseudonym) abbreviated to 'A'. The number shown signifies when a quotation was made: '3' represents data which were gathered during Nov 2010. The following table below shows a section of the complete table.

T16 Section of 'Interviewed Student' Table (see Appendix 10)

Participant's name	Participant's Pseudonym	Time of Interview	No.
	A	Nov 2010 3	1
	Jas	Nov 2010 3	2
	L	Nov 2010 3	3

example " [A3] "

Note: 1. The students' names have been omitted.

    2. Only a small section of the pertinent responses were inserted into the Results and Discussion section.

The students' quotations in English have been cited exactly, to preserve their voice and expression, even if this retains some errors in English

Each of the nine main variables will now be presented in turn with evidence and discussion.

4.1 Family Background Influencing L2 WTC.

This section addresses two main areas (a) How the participants' family background may influence the development of their socialisation skills and hence their level of

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confidence to communicate with others and (b) The reasons why many Chinese study abroad and how this may impact upon their level of motivation to communicate in English.

The Development of Social Skills.

The interviews demonstrated that if Chinese children/young people are not actively encouraged to express their ideas and feelings in a warm and relaxed environment, but are regularly scolded and criticised by their parents/teachers when they endeavour to express their viewpoints, some may develop a high level of reticence in relation to self expression, especially to parents and teachers. Within an L2 context such a predisposition may result in heightened CA and a reduced WTC, as the following interview segment will demonstrate (appendix 15).

The segment demonstrates how the speaker believes family influences may be linked to the social and communicational opportunities (or not) which parents and relatives provide their offspring. This may relate to social and educational factors both inside and outside the home. How children are raised by their parents in terms of language socialization can have a powerful influence on some aspects of a child's sociolinguistic behaviour (which may be linked to their WTC with others) and hence how they act and react towards others within the society (Schieffelin and Ochs, 1986; Schieffelin, 1990). If Chinese children are not provided with adequate opportunities to socialise with a wide range of different individuals (and not just other children) but are discouraged from interacting with other adults and are often told by their parents that, '*Children shouldn't listen or interfere within adult matters*' [Ab7], such a stance may negatively impact upon the development of an individual's socio-linguistic behaviour.

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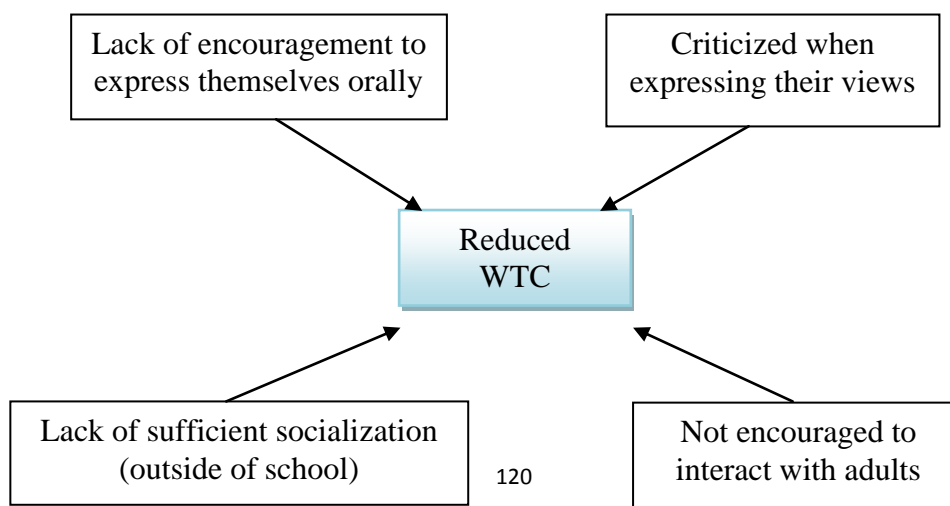
Fig. 6: Analysed relations between social skills and family socialization, as a feature of family background for Chinese students.

Another example demonstrating this was when discussing the reasons why the Chinese are sometimes regarded as being shy, a student stated – '*parent will influence their child ... if their parents are outgoing ... they (their child) might very outgoing*' (see appendix 15 - dialogue 2).

China's education system could be another factor influencing the socialisation of children within their society. Parents in China place a considerable emphasis upon their child's educational achievement. Students are expected to continually study hard for various exams under a highly competitive environment, since learners with high grades are perceived to have a promising future. This sense of competition is strengthened among parents because the 'one-child' policy since the 1970's has meant that in nearly all urban families, parents, with only one child, feel that this is their only chance: the significance of education is therefore far deeper than in many other societies (Jing and Smith, 2009; Wang, 2010; Yu, 2013). This rigorous educational routine strongly supported by the family may preclude regular opportunities to engage with others on a social level. Chinese school classes begin at seven or eight o'clock and finish around five or six o'clock, but are subsequently followed by additional fee-paying classes (either in school, in the teacher's home, or in private cram schools) and evenings and weekends are usually spent doing homework, or attending additional classes, so most children have less time to socialise other than focus upon their studies. Parents may argue for the necessity to help their child to develop good study habits and academic learning from childhood. They may not put efforts on engaging their child in other socialising activities. They want to keep their child in line with other students in class if most of them attend extra classes in order to ensure that their child does not fall behind their peers. Thus parents believe these extra classes will enhance their child's chance of being accepted into a high ranking university and subsequently to find a job within a highly competitive culture (Peng, 2012). While this is a feature of many modern societies, it is a marked feature in China because of the rapidity with which money has become available in a vigorously expanding middle class and the 'new rich', the rapid change in consciousness of competitiveness for employment and therefore for offspring to have at least graduate level education, coupled with the strong awareness of the social status of university study and study abroad ... all of which leads parents to push their children from kindergarten onwards

through the education ladder to university. Thus, educational priorities may be considered more important than anything else.

Education in China
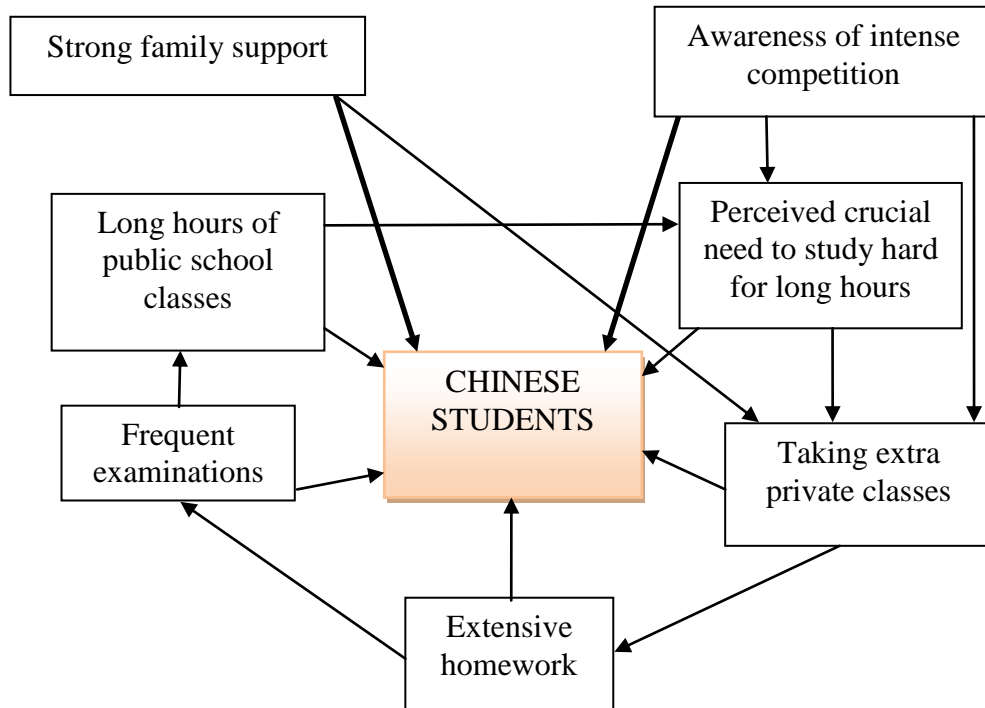
Fig. 7: Some analysed features of the inter-related influences of family and schooling on Chinese students

In China the excessive focus upon academic studies may impact upon children/young people's socialising behaviour. This may result in a strong reticence to communicate with others, due to them not having been encouraged to engage with a wide range of people in varied settings outside of school. If Chinese students have not been provided with regular opportunities to mix and socialise with others within differing social settings when they are young, they may feel uncertain or reluctant to socialize when they study abroad, where they may need to do so using a foreign language; as Liu and Jackson, 2012 discuss. One participant concluded, "*So when they come here they don't know how to engage with others. They don't know how to fit into the society*" [Ab7]. Thus, the participants' background may impact upon their level of L2 WTC as they study abroad. This was identified as being a factor not covered within the scales, which may influence their L2 WTC.

Foreign Study Influencing L2 WTC.

Chinese students' motivation (or lack of it) to speak English in Britain, could be linked to the reasons why they were studying in Britain, which could relate to their family background and potential changes in their circumstances. Many newly rich families also perceive that they achieve higher social status if their children are studying abroad, so this social fashion constitutes another pressure. Further, based upon theoretical notions in other research cited within the literature review (Jiang, 2003; Ford, 1988; Yong and Campbell, 1995), it was assumed that Chinese students' motivation in coming to Britain to study was tied to the potential career prospects that gaining a degree obtained from a university in a western country could provide. The data gathered during this study provided a further area of insight in relation to this topic.

During recent years there has been a growing trend for the more affluent families in China to send their child abroad to undertake undergraduate and/or post graduate study (Huffington Post, 2013). Chinese parents are often willing to support their children to undertake foreign studies, as they believe that western English-speaking universities are able to offer their child a better level of education than they could receive in their own country. This phenomenon was described as follows '*parents think that abroad is much better than China especially the education'* (appendix 15 - dialogue 3).

Western universities are often considered by the Chinese as being the best universities given their dominance in the rankings in world university tables since the 2000's and also due to the differing educational systems employed in them. In China students are required to study hard for their national university entrance exam, which puts them under a considerable amount of pressure (Yu, 2013). However, once they have been admitted to a university, students experience less pressure, as the academic standards in universities are such that it is generally recognized that almost all students are guaranteed to graduate. This may be contrasted with the educational system in many western countries, where it could be argued that less stringent entrance requirements are employed, yet where students are expected to exert themselves in order to graduate, thereby maintaining the high academic standards (Stephens, 1997). This perception was confirmed in the following extract '*the education system is quite different from China ... in China it's very easy to pass the exam'* (dialogue 4).

All children in China study English from their early schooling, whilst exhibiting differing levels of motivation to study English (Wen and Clement, 2003). For some, a change in personal circumstances may create a strong impetus to place greater emphasis upon improving their English skills. For example if a student did not perform well enough in their university entrance exam to gain the required score to allow them to enter the Chinese university of their choice, their parents (or at least those with sufficient funds), may decide to send their child abroad to study. Sending one's child abroad to study is believed to have a positive educational impact upon family prestige, even though it might seem to be a second choice after failing to enter a top Chinese university. Thus, a student in China who initially may not have been highly motivated to study English during school, may suddenly have a change of heart with the looming prospect of overseas study as a viable option as a participant confirmed '*I paid little attention to English ... I failed my university exam ... my parents agreed to send me abroad'* (dialogue 5).

Such a change may have the impact of instilling a high level of motivation in personal circumstances to improve an individual's oral English language skills, as it is not possible to study in English-speaking countries without having passed an English proficiency exam, which would theoretically demonstrate that they had gained the necessary ability to study abroad (Edwards et al., 2007). Consequently this may provide the motivation to encourage students in China to prepare for their English exam, in order for them to be able to study abroad.
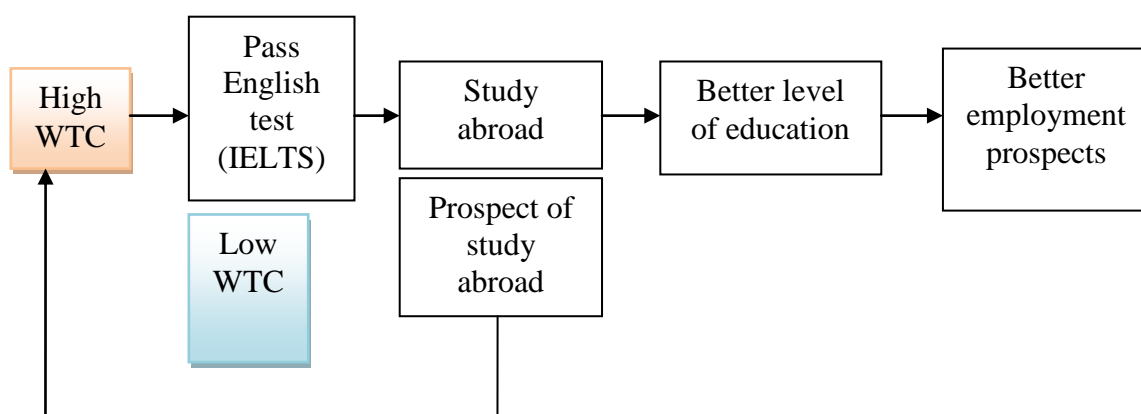
Fig. 8: An analysed relation of how the prospect of study abroad may influence students' WLC

It was identified that some Chinese parents may be extremely protective towards their child and in some instances exercise a proprietorial attitude seeing their offspring as their 'property' (or as one student affirmed, "*Some parents rule their children*" [B7]) and may exert strong discipline and make important decisions for their child, believing paternalistically that they know what's best for them. There was a view that some students from China may have been unwilling to come to Britain to study, but are doing so now merely to please their parents, or as expressed, "*Because my father wants me to go there (Britain) to study*" [D3]. Consequently some Chinese individuals could be less WTC in English, or even to engage with NES, but may merely be going through the motions of foreign study, rather than actively seeking to gain as much as they can from their foreign study experience.
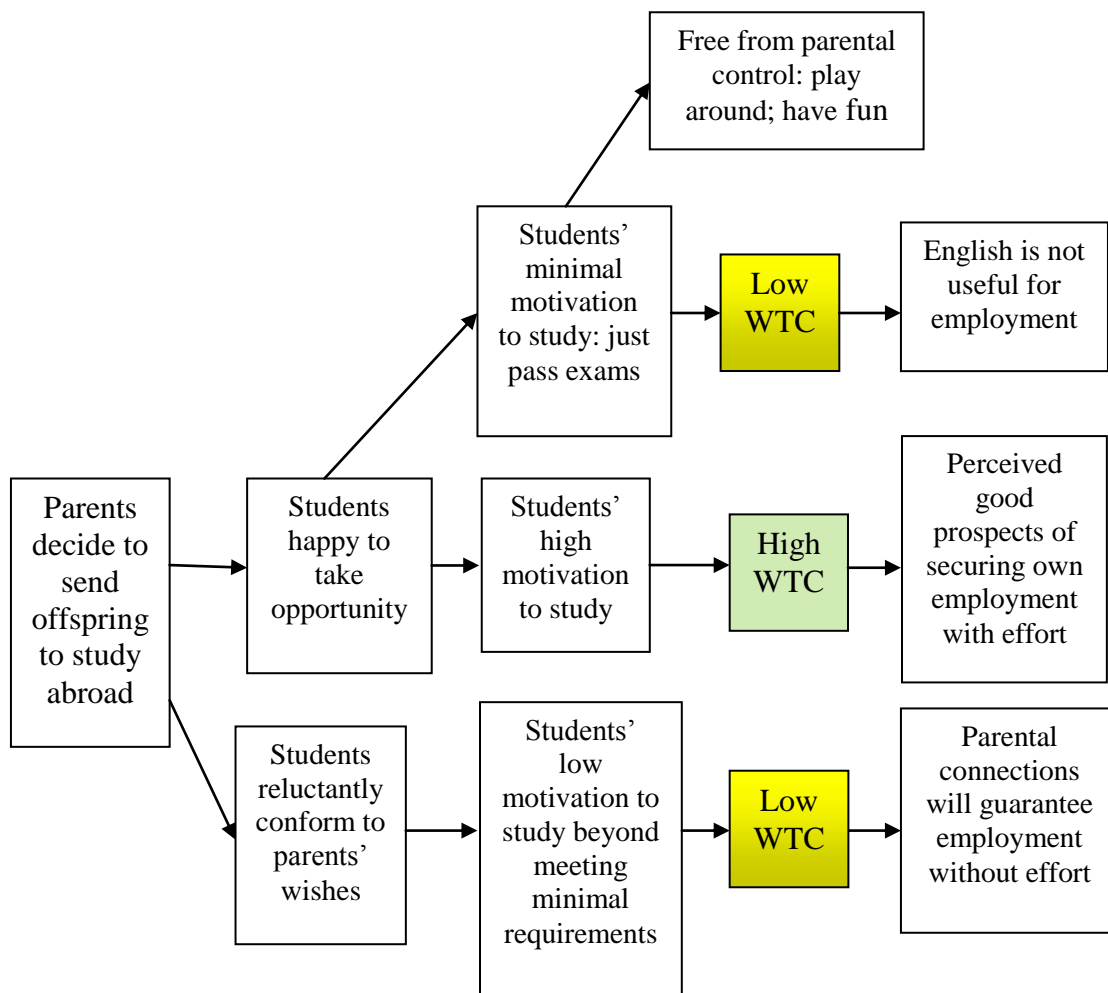
Fig. 9: An analysed relation of parental decision to student's motivation to study when abroad

Thus, some Chinese participants may have little intention of speaking to others in English or of studying hard in Britain. Such a group of students was described: "*They are very lazy to study they just want to play*" [J7]. This group was not highly motivated to excel

in their foreign studies, as they are merely in Britain at their parent's request. For this particular group of students, their L2 WTC and hence their communicative self-confidence may not change a great deal as they study abroad. Hence, parental influence was identified as a factor (not covered within the pyramid model) which may influence Chinese students' English language use. For some of this group gaining an education abroad may in their minds have little consequence when they know that their parent's connections could ensure that they will find employment when they return home. Such young people may view their time in Britain as merely the process of gaining a degree in a western university in order to prepare themselves for returning home to enter employment as Wang and Gao, 2008 discuss. This was expressed as follows, "[they] *will go home and find a job and do some normal job and their parents will prepare everything well for him*" [B6]. Thus some students may have little intention to develop their oral English language skills for several reasons; in principle these reasons are separable but they probably overlap:

(a) For some, their only priority is to ensure that they adequately fulfil any necessary academic requirements, such as writing essays and passing exams in order to satisfactorily complete their academic studies in Britain, but not to develop oral skills beyond those perceived as minimally necessary. Or as a student said, "*They just care about their exams. So what they are doing in their English is how to prepare to pass the exam*" [Dav6]. Hence, such individuals may seek to employ what could be described as the same 'learning model': using what they are familiar with from China in Britain, students place all of their focus upon exam preparation; as Wang (2010) discusses, and much interaction with others in English may be deemed as not particularly helpful in supporting exam preparation. With such a mindset these students may not demonstrate any considerable increase in their communicative self-confidence due a low L2 WTC.

(b) Some may believe that, if they do develop good oral English skills, they will not be able to make effective use of them on their return to China (perhaps due to the notion that most people in China will not have many opportunities to speak to others in English), in which case they may believe it unnecessary to make much effort to speak to others in English during their study abroad.

(c) Living abroad allows them to be free of their parent's strict control. As the subjects who took part in this study were all young 18 to 19 year olds who were undergraduates, some may be primarily interested in enjoying themselves whilst they stay in Britain. One of the interviewees commented, "*They think of themselves like I am child, they just like to play with people, play games. They don't bother about study or academic*" [B6]. Whilst in China students may experience considerable pressure from their parents to ensure that they perform well in their studies; as Hu (2002) outlines. However, when studying abroad, they may enjoy newfound freedom. Thus, Chinese students who maintain any one of these views may have little interest in communicating a great deal with others in English.

This section has shown that a Chinese young person's family background may impact upon the development of socio linguistic skills, which may subsequently influence their L2 WTC. It has also be shown that an individual's personal circumstances, in addition to family influences, may influence a Chinese young person's level of motivation to study abroad and therefore their willingness to engage with others in English during their foreign studies. Thus, these factors, at least, may combine to influence individual variation and should counteract the supposition that all students from China will naturally experience an increase in their L2 WTC (or a marked change in their communicative self-confidence) whilst being immersed in an English speaking environment. Importantly, family background as a factor influencing L2 WTC was not covered within the pyramid model.

T17 Table showing how these results answer the research questions -
      Family background influences

Research Question (condensed)	Description of how the research questions were answered
Changes in WTC	Factors influencing WTC: lack of encouragement to express themselves orally, criticized by parents when expressing their views, lack of sufficient socialization (outside of school), not encouraged to interact with adults. Could be (a) WTC in English at the prospect of foreign study, or (b) un-WTC if they studying abroad in order to appease their parents: their parents will find a job in the future for them - perhaps not requiring oral English skills,

	they do not want to speak in English but rather enjoy themselves (amongst of Chinese students) as they study abroad.
Additional factors	Family background influencing WTC, e.g. parent want to send their child abroad to study (young person needs to pass an English exam to enter a foreign university).

4.2 Educational Background in China Influencing L2 WTC

Reticence in speaking to others in English when Chinese students' are in Britain, was reported to be due in part to their educational background in China. To discuss this, this section will address how Chinese students' L2 WTC may be influenced by the following.

(a) Asking and answering question in the classroom.

(b) The notion that there is only one answer to an English language question.

(c) English language learning where the main focus is examination preparation.

(d) CA due a fear of making English language mistakes.

(e) The relationship between educational background and 'losing face' within the classroom.

The interviewees noted that their educational background in China had had a strong influence on their L2 WTC in the U.K. Some individuals made comments such as, "*the Chinese education is rubbish*" [R4], and "*Chinese education system is not so good*" [S7], which demonstrates a clear dissatisfaction with their educational system. These participants' disappointment began to be reported when they had been living in Britain for only two months ([N3 & D3] data collected during November). The longer that the interviewees had lived in Britain, the more aware they were of the differences between the educational practices in Britain and China and they would contrast the educational practices employed within each country. Participants said that the language learning background in China had resulted in a lack of communicative self-confidence, and also (for some individuals) a low

level of motivation to engage with others in English as other research has also affirmed (Liu et al., 2011; Liu and Jackson, 2009; Wu, 2011; Zhang and Liu, 2011), which subsequently influenced their WTC in English. Some stated that "*I don't think it's very good for some people, because in China all English we learn is 'dumb English', we don't talk, we just read things and write the questions the teacher asks us to do*" [K6]. Another individual who was discussing this was asked 'Doesn't that harm your confidence to ask questions?' Whereupon the student answered, "*Yeh, because all of the other students will look at you*" [S7].

Participants maintained that in China the English language is merely learned as an academic discipline, and where few teaching strategies purposefully nurture an interest in studying English. Language learning consists, they said, of studying the grammatical principles of English, rather than studying the English language as a means to converse with others. This paper-based form of study is not designed to equip students with the communicative tools/skills which they may need to orally engage with others. Students in China spend a great deal of time studying English (mostly or entirely from non-NES), this language learning process may not produce an adequate oral speaking proficiency, but rather the ability to answer paper-based questions relating to English language comprehension as Wang (2010) has discussed.
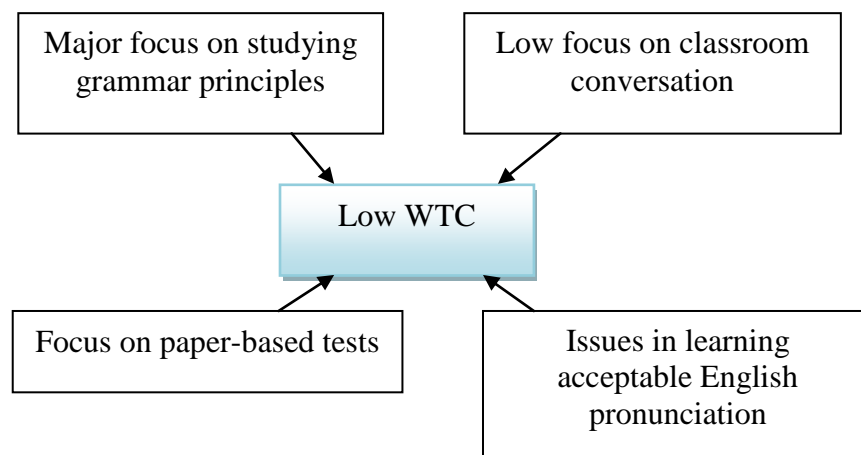
Fig. 10: Some analysed relations between classroom learning of English and WTC

However, it could also be argued that such a learning context is necessary (and it may not be possible to adopt other pedagogical practices) due to the many educational challenges and constraints which China currently faces; as discussed by Jin and Cortazzi (2002a) and Hu (2005). One challenge expressed by (Dzau, 1990) is how to educate such a large number of geographically and socially diverse students. Thus, with a national syllabus and generally

homogenous classroom approach some students from diverse backgrounds in China who come to Britain to study may find that the English that they learned in China may be insufficient preparation for the communication needs required for life in Britain; as Tian and Lowe (2009) assert.

One of the challenges which students from China may encounter when they study in Britain relates to their English language pronunciation. As a student stated, "*When you first came to England ... You don't know what the correct pronunciation is, the correct way to communicate*" [Bi4]. This feeling of insecurity in relation to their own English pronunciation may be detrimental to their communicative self-confidence. Interviewees argued that this deficiency was due to their language learning background in China. When studying English in China, some students may be uncertain of the correct pronunciation of many English lexical items. One reason is because many English lessons are delivered to students largely by teachers who spend a high proportion of class time speaking in Chinese (Chen, 2008; Wu, 2011). These teachers may argue that it is necessary to use Chinese sometimes in order to ensure that the students fully understand the complex nature of English grammar. Obviously when Chinese students study in Britain, all the lesson content is delivered in English, which may initially be challenging for them. This situation thus was described (dialogue 6) as '*you need to use English to explain them*'.

That English language teachers in China deliver lesson content in Chinese was found to be a common practice. Similarly, when the teacher does speak in English, often their pronunciation may not always be entirely accurate. The realisation of this occurred when the students participating in this study started to engage with a NES; then they realised that their English language pronunciation (as taught by teachers in China) at times differed considerably from that of a NES (this would depend upon who the NES was who they were communicating with and the accent which was being used). In realising that their English language pronunciation could differ from that of a NES, participants became dissatisfied with how they were taught in China, when they discovered their need to correct their pronunciation in order to bring it in line with that of NES and change their old language pronunciation habits. This may not be merely the distinction between British and American English pronunciation, but rather how they were initially taught at a phonetic and lexical level to pronounce English speech.

Studying English as a paper-based subject may result in students encountering a number of communicative obstacles. Students may understand the grammatical construction of English, but nonetheless find it challenging to effectively implement this within everyday language situations in Britain. Interviewees commented that there is a difference between the knowledge-based form of learning English gained from a text book and actually using this knowledge in authentic communicative contexts; as Li (1984) also described. This was expressed as follows. After being asked, 'Do you think that some of the English that you learned in the text book in China is not so helpful here?' A participant responded, "*Yeh, because we have to live here and not just study. Also some local language we can't study it in China. We have to live here and see it in the UK*" [N3]. Whilst in China some participants (as Wray, 2008 has stated) may believe that they had gained effective language skills to communicate with others (based upon their language test scores), yet when placed in situations where they needed to use such skills in Britain, many initially found that there was a major deficiency in their oral proficiency, which needed to be overcome to be able to implement their knowledge within communicative contexts.

4.2.1 Asking/Answering Classroom Questions

Whilst in Britain some Chinese experienced CA in relation to asking/answering questions during university learning and teaching sessions. These areas will now be addressed.

Asking Questions in the Classroom

The interviewees noted that during lectures in Britain it is common for tutors to invite students to ask any pertinent questions. Unlike NES, Chinese students are less willing to respond to the lecturers' invitations to ask questions. A number of reasons were reported to explain such behaviour; one can be traced back to their educational background in China. In China, students are expected to conform to a relatively rigid pedagogical environment, where learners must sit quietly and attentively listen to their teacher during classroom instruction (Cheng, 2000; Wang, 2010; Zhang and Liu, 2010). Students said that some teachers in China may be displeased if their students asked them questions after the class; they were seen not to have been paying sufficient attention - which is even more important, for teachers, since class

time with such large classes has to be used intensively. Consequently Chinese students may refrain from asking their teachers questions, as such behaviour could result in reprimands and thus a loss of 'face', or their teacher would gain as unfavourable impression of them, which they would certainly seek to avoid. These results confirm previous research about Chinese students' reluctance to ask questions in class in China (Cortazzi and Jin, 1996b) which has been shown to contrast markedly with students in Britain (Jin and Cortazzi, 1998b; 2008; Cortazzi and Jin 2002).

Similarly, as large classes of 50-60 students are common in Chinese schools, many students may not be provided with adequate opportunities to practice their oral English speaking skills; they may not be given adequate opportunities to express their own views (Lamie, 2006), as the teacher will not have sufficient time to engage with each student individually. This was expressed (dialogue 7) as *'one teacher has to face 60 students so he/she can't allow the students to express themselves'*.

Teachers in China may feel the need to maintain a high level of order and discipline in the classroom, given high number of students attending each school class, and where school learning may be structured around the implementation of many rules and behaviour expectations. This setting (as Liu and Jackson, 2009 describe) is considered by most Chinese educators as vital to promote an effective learning environment and to ensure the smooth delivery of the lesson content. However, excessive discipline in the classroom may also have a negative impact:

(a) It produces a dampening effect in students' desire to express their ideas.

(b) It may is not be conducive to students asking questions.

Consequently students from China who study in Britain are often unwilling to ask their tutors questions during or after a session, despite observing that their British peers will ask in class. If students in China are not accustomed to asking questions during or after a teaching session since they have been dissuaded from this and have never been encouraged to do so in the past, it is understandable that they could feel a high level of reticence (a lack of WTC) to do so when they study in Britain (as Chanock, 2010 also asserted). Hence, this phenomenon

may be a factor influencing Chinese students' L2 WTC and may impact upon the development in their oral communication skills.
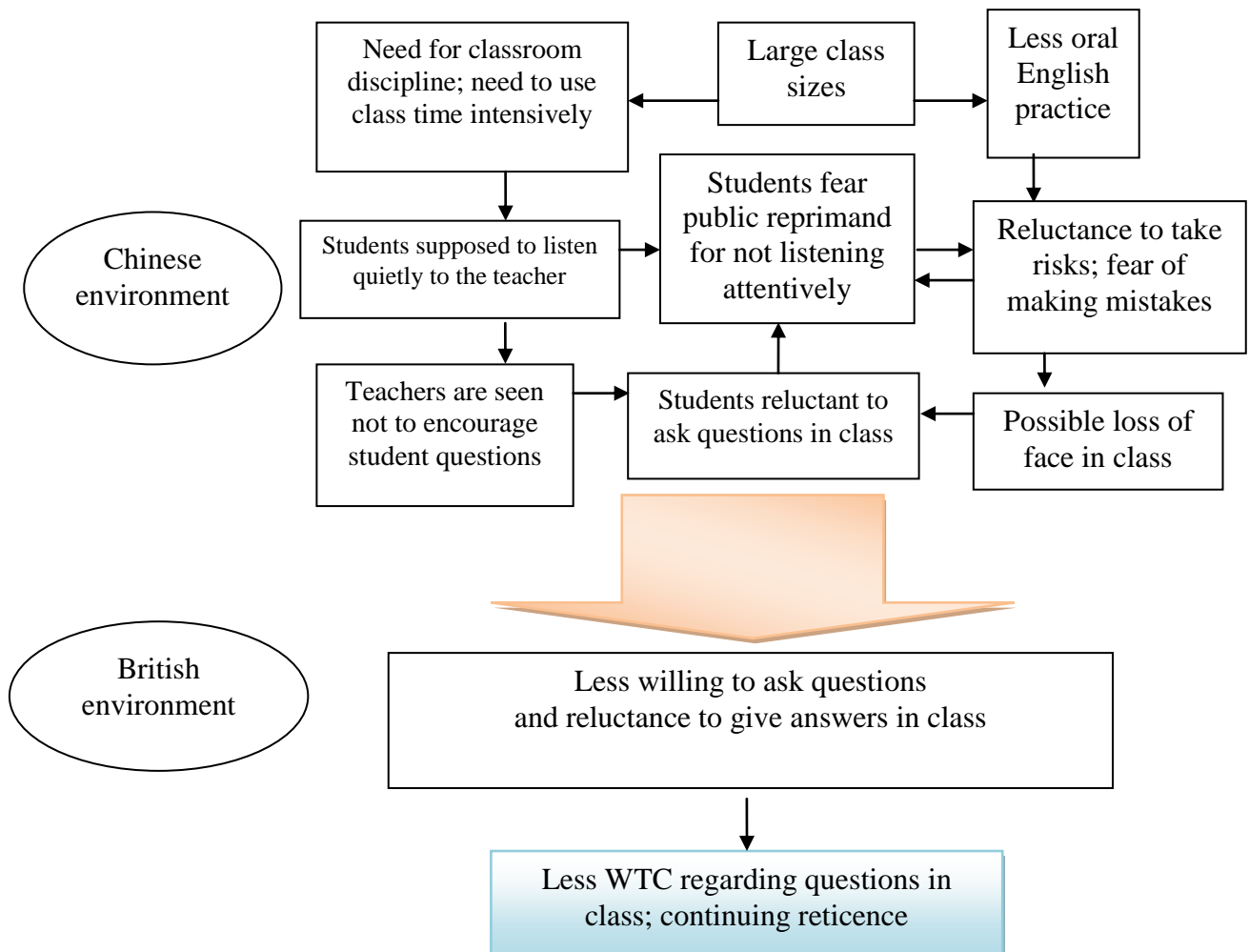
Fig. 11: Some analysed relations between classroom practices regarding students' oral skills and questioning in China and likely influence on their WTC in British institutions

Large classes may result in the teacher having less time to engage with each individual student. The English learning environment in China is conventionally structured around teacher-led language learning where the main focus is upon the enhancement of reading and writing skills. Thus students generally have fewer opportunities to engage in more task-based or interactive forms of learning, which included students not being encouraged to ask questions during sessions. This does not mean students in China are prohibited from asking questions, but rather that students feel discouraged from asking their teacher questions during the class. Student [Ab] maintained that this lack of a desire to

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express themselves often continues as they venture into other environments. When Chinese students arrive in Britain to undertake a degree their previous experiences in school will, arguably, strongly influence how they view themselves and how they believe that they should behave with others: their reticence in self-expression within their educational life in China may lead to the same mindset when they study in Britain, as Li and Liu, 2010; Liu and Jackson, 2012 described.

Reticence in asking questions within the classroom was not only restricted to student–teacher interaction (as Wang, 2010 also expressed). During data gathering it emerged that reticence could also apply to student–student contexts of asking their peers educational questions. If a student asks a peer a question regarding their studies, and their peer demonstrates that they have completely understood the topic in answering the question, the first student may feel inferior and slightly inadequate. Hence according to Tian and Lowe (2009), it appears that some Chinese may demonstrate reticence to ask their peers questions. This disposition may not always occur when such individuals study abroad, since it was also noted that students from China may be willing to ask other students questions in Britain, perhaps due to language constraints and perhaps because outside China students may adopt differing learning strategies appropriate to the differing learning environment.

Answering Questions in the Classroom

Whilst studying in the U.K., Chinese students may feel nervous if they are unable to answer an academic question posed to them by their tutors. This feature was found to be linked to students' educational background: when students in China are taught a certain topic or principle, they are expected to be able to demonstrate that they have completely mastered it. An inability to answer the teacher's questions about something previously covered in class demonstrates that a student has not fully mastered the topic, which may be considered a personal failure, a cause of public embarrassment and hence (as Xia, 2009 asserted) the student may lose face. Thus, publicly admitting that one does not know the answer to a certain academic question on a taught topic may, to Chinese students, be equivalent to admitting personal defeat (in the same way that asking a question may be regarded as publically demonstrating a lack of understanding) and that one is not an assiduous student. To avoid this potential risk of embarrassment, Chinese students may consider it safer not to

respond, rather than run the risk of publically revealing their lack of understanding. Therefore, Chinese students studying in Britain may demonstrate an unwillingness or hesitation to answer their tutor's questions despite being encouraged to respond. Similarly, in observing their NES British peers' ability to respond effectively to the tutors' questions, the Chinese may wish to avoid being seen as being unable to demonstrate publicly a comparable language proficiency in the classroom; especially if they seek to avoid being seen as being less academically competent than their peers by neither asking nor answering. The following extended comment gives evidence for these points: '*the teacher asks me a question ... I have no idea what he said ... I start to feel nervous'* (dialogue 8).
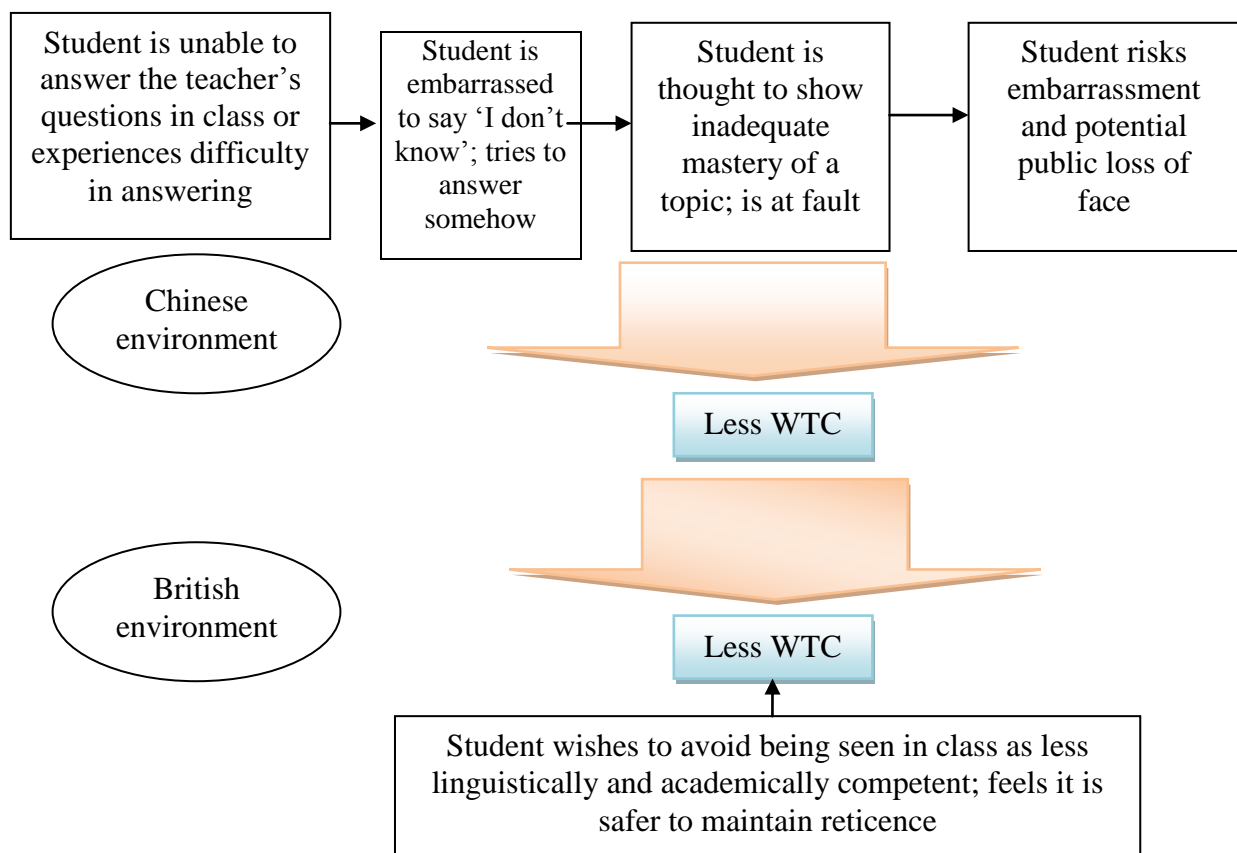
Fig. 12: Some analysed relations between answering questions in class and students' WTC

This culturally-aligned phenomenon may be a factor influencing Chinese students' L2 WTC, as Wen and Clement (2003) described. Within this classroom context, Chinese individuals may refrain from answering the tutors' questions unless they are highly confident in their ability to respond in an intelligent manner, due to the belief that if they are unable to respond in such a manner, they think their tutor and their peers may gain a lower opinion of

them. The Chinese often feel the need to remain on good terms with their teacher, since the teacher has a strong influence upon the grade that they receive.

4.2.2 The Notion of Only One Answer to a Language Question

Students reported that from their primary years of schooling, language classes are structured around teacher instruction where students are taught language principles, within which teachers will often strongly instil the notion that there is only one correct answer to a certain language question. Hu (2002) has stated that such a rigid stance is reinforced by the format of exercises in many English textbooks published in China, in which true-false, multiple choice, and fill-in-the-blank formats are expected to have single answers. This stance could also be due to the teachers' own English language ability: not all the English teachers may have the same level of competence in their own language ability. If some language teachers had not gained an adequate advanced English language ability to express themselves in differing language contexts (as Anderson, 1993; Wang and Gao, 2008 have asserted), they would focus language lessons entirely upon the content of the teaching text book (which frequently provides a single answer to a given question), in order to safeguard their position as teachers. For security, they may (according to Wang, 2010) remain closely focussed on the content of the text book and the answers provided therein, rather than teaching students that often more than one answer could be possible and that such answers may be discussed and evaluated for additional language awareness. However, Jin and Cortazzi (2009) argue that some of the recent New Standard College English textbooks do encourage and suggest alternative answers, often with rationales for differing ways of answering questions given in the teacher's books, and they go further to suggest that students should be given a role in evaluating such alternatives and combinations of answers, as part of developing critical thinking.

Thus, from students' comments and experiences, many language teachers in China were seen to be inflexible regarding possible multiple answers to language questions. Within the classroom, these students believe that their teacher must be correct because of their authoritative status as teacher. Hence, students would not dream of contradicting their teacher's judgements. Thus after the comment, 'sometimes when you are speaking English

there is not just one answer there can be many answers', a student reported, *'make students' feel ... only allowed to have one correct answer'* (see dialogue 9).

Hence, Chinese students may believe (as Cheng, 2000 stated) that they should submit to their teacher's authority rather than seeking to develop their own strategies in responding to differing language forms. Should a student try to assert another response which could also be correct students anticipate their teacher's critical response. The teacher may be publically unwilling to accept their views, and students may find themselves being scolded and told that they should pay more attention in the future. These views (which were also supported by April, 2011) expressed within the interviews - were formulated by the participants after they had been living in Britain for seven months. At such time their language proficiency had improved and they had identified that the early language learning which they had received in China was not in all instances appropriate: they realised that a certain language question could potentially have a number of equally correct answers.

Students strongly asserted (as Liu and Jackson, 2012 concur) that when they come to Britain they may still retain this reticence to communicate in English. This language learning context of 'there-is-one-answer' may also result in low levels of communicative self-confidence and the firm belief in the notion that 'the teacher is always right and students are always wrong'. Hence, for some Chinese students their only priority is the grade which they achieve in their language test and to participate in oral language interaction will not be beneficial in improving their test scores. This strengthens the view that as their test scores are deemed paramount, it is not necessary to engage with others during class time (and it could even be counterproductive to orally engage with the teacher if it leads to an unfavourable outcomes), but that they should merely stay focussed on their exam preparation (as Peng, 2012 also described). The following two interview extracts demonstrate this: *'just have one answer ... just care about what mark you get'* and *'asking questions is not beneficial for you final score'* (dialogues 10 & 11).

| The format in most traditional textbooks strongly encourages students' belief that there is one answer in classroom exercises | → | The belief that there is only one answer to a language question | ← | Some teacher's limited oral ability in English; tendency to stick to fixed answers |

| Students do not try out new language forms | | Students are unwilling to try out new language forms or to risk giving alternative answers since the teacher or textbook have the right answer | |

| High risk of being publicly scolded by the teacher | → | Less WTC | ← | Alternative answers are likely to be judged as wrong, even if they are apparently acceptable |

Fig. 13: Some analysed relations between the notion of 'only one answer' and students' WTC - dialogues 10 & 11.

Chinese students who study in Britain may not always be highly motivated to interact with others in English unless there is an important reason to engage with someone. Thus, if they are not inclined to interact in English with NES, the development of their oral English skills may be negatively affected by lack of practice as well as lack of confidence (as Wu, 2011 also has described). Similarly, by questioning or contradicting their teacher's judgments in relation to lesson content, or making mistakes during their language lesson, learners could run the risk of being chastised in front of their peers, which could result in them losing face and possibly as a result, they could also be exposed to subsequent unpleasant ridicule from peers outside the classroom, as the following extract demonstrates – *'I don't have any confidence speaking in English ... people will ... laugh at you'* (dialogue 12).

Similarly, when describing an incident where one of the interviewees had been scolded by her language teacher and then ridiculed by her fellow classmates for making a small language mistake in the classroom, the subject [K] stated *"after the torture I did not want to do anything. That's why so many Chinese are shy"* [K6]. If Chinese students have been exposed to such a language learning environment in China, resulting in a reduction in their communicative self-confidence, where they are afraid as student [Ab] described, *"to do anything"* [Ab6], (meaning to speak English in the classroom) it is not surprising that such

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individuals could exhibit an acute un-WTC with others in English when they study abroad, due to a fear of making language mistakes.

In discussing the reasons why many Chinese may not often achieve a high level of L2 communicative self-confidence in China it was argued that whilst studying English in school the teachers who taught them English were often highly critical of them when language mistakes were made (which Yu, 1990 also described). Interviewees asserted that this could result in Chinese students developing a low level of communicative self-confidence, if every sentence which they utter in English (when they do infrequently say something in English) is scrutinised by their teacher for errors. Under such conditions, students could feel under extreme pressure to ensure that every phrase which they utter is completely grammatically correct; based upon the teacher's likely forthcoming immediate appraisal. It was stated by the same students that should a student utter an incorrect phrase, their English teacher seemed to demonstrate a low tolerance level for students' mistakes: teachers would immediately interrupt them in mid-stream in order to correct their mistake. This scenario will be demonstrated within the following interview extracts – '*the teacher will criticises you if you make mistakes'* and '*you must make sure that everything you're talking in correct'* (dialogues 13 & 14).
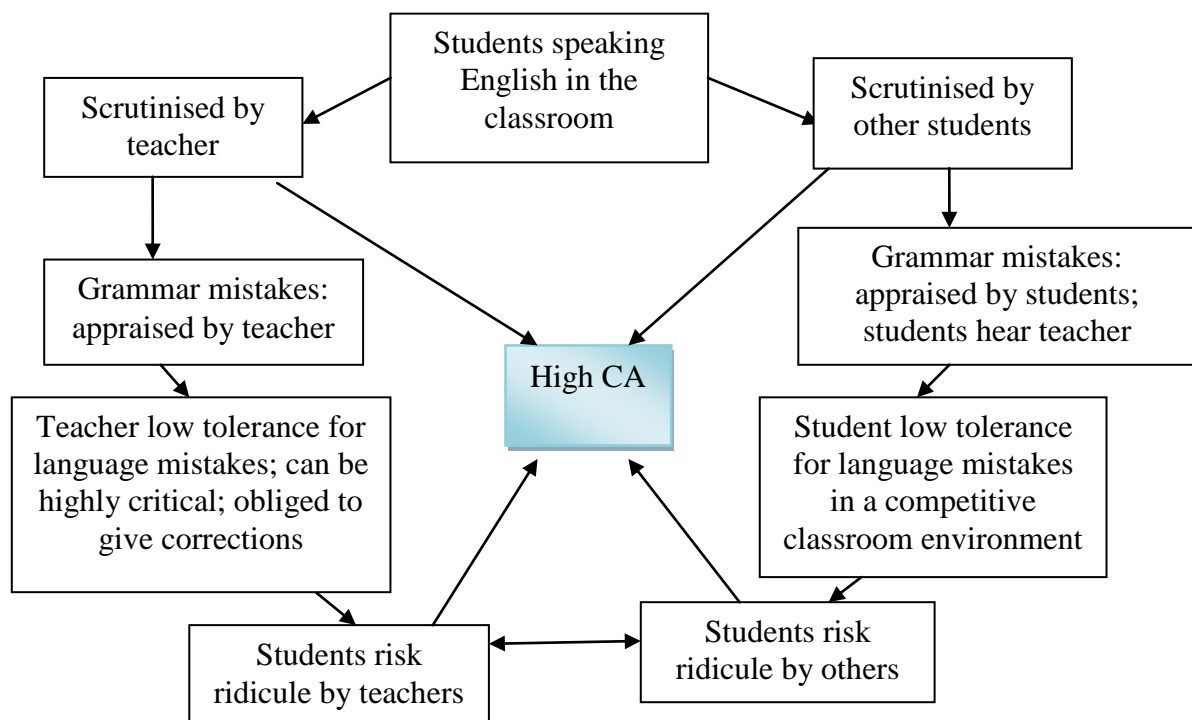
Fig. 14 Some analysed relations between students speaking English in the classroom and possible high CA

These extracts support the notion (which Wen and Clement, 2003 also stated) that when students are exposed to this type of language learning environment, their communicative self-confidence could be negatively influenced. Consequently they may feel unwilling to answer the teacher's questions in the future, as doing so may mean being criticized. Thus, some students in China apparently lack a calm and unthreatening environment to answer questions, or express themselves effectively: they feel their language teacher is constantly interrupting them. In being interrupted, students may experience a break in the flow of their thoughts, and therefore their speech segment, so they may forget what they were going to say, which would compound the problem, as the dialogue below demonstrates '*the teacher interrupts you ... you forget what you are talking about'* (dialogue 15).

4.2.3 Focus on the English Exam and not on Task Based Language Learning Exercises

Within the interviews, students reported (and which Yu, 2001 also described) that there are language teachers in China who seem to predominantly focus upon their students' test scores. Some teachers may show favouritism to those students who obtain the highest marks in their language tests, whilst similarly punishing or criticizing those who do not perform as well. As a result of such teaching practices, students can be made to feel that they are merely required to absorb the knowledge supplied to them from their teachers and then regurgitate that same information during an exam, or as one explained "*They want us to remember everything that they teach us and repeat it in the exam*" [Dav6] rather than being required to demonstrate that they are able to implement and apply the language knowledge and skills that they have gained within authentic language situations (as Li, 1984 has discussed). Students' recounted experiences of this within this example – '*I spend a lot of time to study English, but I can't use them'* (dialogue 16).

This teaching/learning context may have the impact of producing a highly competitive environment where students' performance is continually being scrutinised and evaluated. Those students who obtain high test scores may be publicly praised and used by the teacher

as an example to show others a 'model student', often this results in them becoming popular in school and in being praised by their parents at home. Hence their parents may fully support such educational practices despite the considerable pressure which this may place upon their offspring. Such a learning environment may tend to alienate those students who do not obtain high exam grades, which may result in some students (as Wen and Clement, 2003 described) developing a strong reticence to speak to their teacher. Within large classes of students where verbal interaction with the teacher may be infrequent, a feeling of alienation to speak to the language teacher may limit L2 interaction.
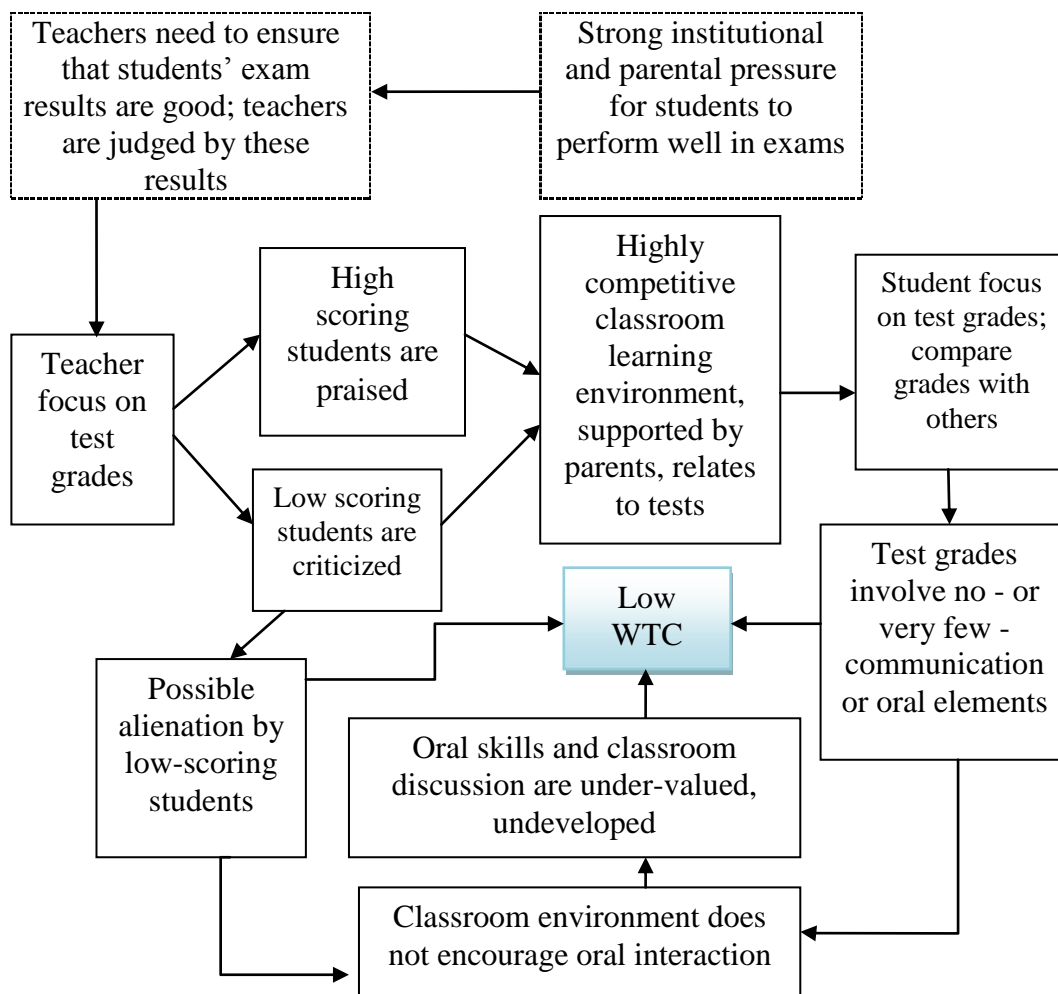
Fig. 15: Some analysed relations between test grades, learning environment and students' WTC

China's educational system may not allow the opportunity for extensive topic discussion (such as small group discussion of real-world problems), as these would likely be

deemed by teachers and students as being unproductive: discussion may not help students with exam preparation. The highly competitive nature of the Chinese classroom learning environment, in which practically every student wants to perform in the test better than their peers and where each student will compare their test performance with others, further reinforces the notion (as Hu, 2002 argued) that teaching and learning priorities are structured around exam preparation. Therefore, students who have learned English in this system may be less willing to discuss educational topics or real issues with their peers, since such activities could be seen to result in their contemporaries gaining an educational advantage on tests, disadvantaging themselves. Proving assistance to one's contemporaries through engaging in such oral practice, could lead to those others obtaining a higher exam grade and class ranking, which could be detrimental as the student with the highest test scores could be more likely to receive considerable praise and respect from their teacher. When a single mark; such as when taking their university entrance exam (described by Wu, 2011), can mean the difference between either being admitted or not to the university of their choice, students will often place all of their efforts on exam preparation and nothing else. Thus, some Chinese may believe that English classroom group discussions may deviate from exam preparation and delay perceived exam achievement.

Wray, 2008 asserts that when Chinese students arrive in Britain some with such language learning experiences may be less willing to engage with others in English despite living in a native English speaking environment. Others may be highly willing to speak to others in English, since the new English speaking environment may provide them the opportunity of being able to practice using the English that they have spent so long learning; whilst in Britain they are able to use their 'language skills' within authentic English speaking situations; as Jin and Cortazzi, 2002a; Cao, 2011 have expressed. Some students from China may initially exhibit a high WTC level with a belief that they have a well developed set of language skills (since they have worked so hard on English tests in China). However, if some of this group of students find that they are less effective in communicating effectively in English, they may experience extremely high levels of frustration, resulting in a reduction in their communicative self-confidence, which could result in them being less WTC in English. This belief that in the past they have gained competent language skills (an advanced PCC) sufficient to communicate with others in English, may have been based upon the results of their high school English language exams if they had performed well, which is their only

means of rating their language performance in the absence of opportunities to engage with NES within authentic language exchange environments. An interviewee described his early language experiences when he arrived in Britain in these terms - '*in the China the only standard to rate yourself is the test, but there is not relationship between the test score and ones oral speaking skills'* (dialogue 17).
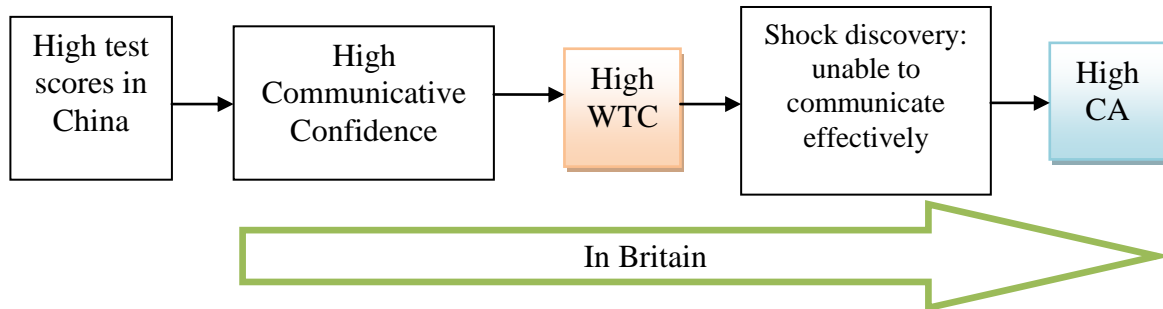
Fig. 16: Analysed possible linkage between high test scores in China and high CA in Britain for some students

This expresses the student belief that language tests conducted within schools in China are not designed to rate students' language speaking ability. School students there are graded on their ability to comprehend written text and to a certain extent their listening ability, but not speaking skills. In defence of this assessment practice, it should be noted that measuring English language speaking skills may be more challenging to achieve in China. It is barely feasible (as Hu, 2005 has argued) due to the large number of students who would need to be tested and the need for a large number of teachers who are proficient enough to examine and assess oral tasks to a national standardized level.

As Chinese students are usually hard working and are often strongly supported by their families, it can be common for them to achieve high English school exam grades: one consequence is that many may believe that gaining a high test score equates to them having achieved well-developed language proficiency. If a school-age learner regularly achieved a grade of between 90-99% in their English tests and after gaining such results they were praised by their teacher and parents for achieving such grades, it would be natural for the learner to believe that they were highly competent in their English language ability, however, these scores only relate to good performance in a paper-based language test which does not represent a true picture of a person's oral communicative ability since the oral component of language competence is not assessed. Oral communicative competence here relates to one's

ability to effectively communicate orally with others typically in exchanges between two people.

Thus when Chinese participants arrive in Britain and attempt to engage with others, they may identify that there is a significant difference between achieving a certain test score in China and their oral speaking proficiency: a high test score may not always equate to a highly developed communicative competence when seeking to engage with others in the target language. Some students may even hold the cynical view that the English which they had learned in China had been of little help in enabling them to orally communicate in English in Britain. Perhaps we should not be too critical of these students' deficiency in communicative ability when we remember that their skills developed from their educational system which does not (or perhaps is unable to) focus on pupils acquiring oral English skills, but prepares students to undertake paper-based language tests.

The students' ability to express their views to others in English was not surprisingly regarded by the interviewees as being of crucial importance. After studying in Britain for a few months, all of the participants confirmed how initially they had struggled in relation to this area. After having lived in Britain for three months, many students explained that they still struggled to express themselves in English. The most acute feelings of frustration were experienced in relation to an inability to effectively express themselves in their academic studies. This was often due to them being unfamiliar with the academic vocabulary relating to their degree program, although they had successfully completed a foundation year of study in China which was designed to help them to prepare for their academic study abroad. At times students said they found it difficult to translate their ideas from Chinese to English. This occurred when they were required to express their ideas to other students during group discussions, in meetings with team members, or when reporting back on teams projects being undertaken. Many of the participants were afraid of making language mistakes during their classes, especially when asked a question by their tutors; they believed that this could lead to misunderstandings.

4.2.4 Communicative Anxiety due to a Fear of Making Language Mistakes

The topic of CA within the classroom is at this point discussed, as it relates to classroom practices in China; later sections will focus upon CA as experienced by students in their UK study. During the data gathering process it was identified that all the participants struggled to express themselves in English as soon as they arrived in Britain. This inability to communicate with others in English could result in heightened CA, since participants were fearful of making language mistakes; they were afraid that others would ridicule them if they made English language mistakes (as Wen and Clement, 2003 have also stated). Three of the interviewees [B, Bi & CSF] concluded that when Chinese students are afraid of making language mistakes, a 'communicative vicious circle' could be formed in that.

(a) Being nervous (a high CA level) may lead a speaker to make language mistakes, which may lead to them to become more nervous (even a higher CA level), or

(b) Making language mistakes may lead to a person becoming nervous (a high CA level), leading them to make more language mistakes.

Or as two students explained, "*The more nervous you are, the more you could make mistakes*" [CSF2] and "*if I make some small mistakes, it just getting worse. And will make more mistakes after that*" [B9].

One participant [Ci] reported that she believed that most NES are often WTC with others who are WTC with them. Thus, if Chinese students are persistently afraid of making language mistakes (and are therefore un-WTC or less talkative) NES may be less WTC with them; they may chose someone else (other than a Chinese) as a conversation partner, so the Chinese speaker loses opportunities to engage with NES. This was expressed as follows: '*most foreigners, they want to talk to you if you want to talk to them. If you ... won't speak much ... they will search for another*' (dialogue 18).

This CA persisted in the minds of many students after they left China. CA was also found to be linked in measures of whether or not students thought others could understand what they had said when speaking in English; if they made a language mistake, which

resulted in others being unable to understand them, they could experience severe CA and even a loss of face, as such a situation could uncover a weakness in their communicative ability (as Tian and Lowe, 2009 have discussed). This was found to be linked closely to how the Chinese feel that they should portray themselves, and the impact of a language exchange ers being unable to understand them, they could experience severe CA and upon others. Eight participants (S, B, Ab, A, Li, J, K and Ci) were apprehensions about saying something which if incorrect, or inappropriate, could cause a misunderstanding or cause bad feelings between themselves and others. Thus, they were concerned about the emotional aftermath resulting from an ineffective communicative exchange: they were sensitive towards the impact of exchanges on both their own and the interlocutor's emotional well-being. This could be linked to the notion that some Chinese may choose to be less confrontational with others where maintaining social harmony is regarded as being very important.
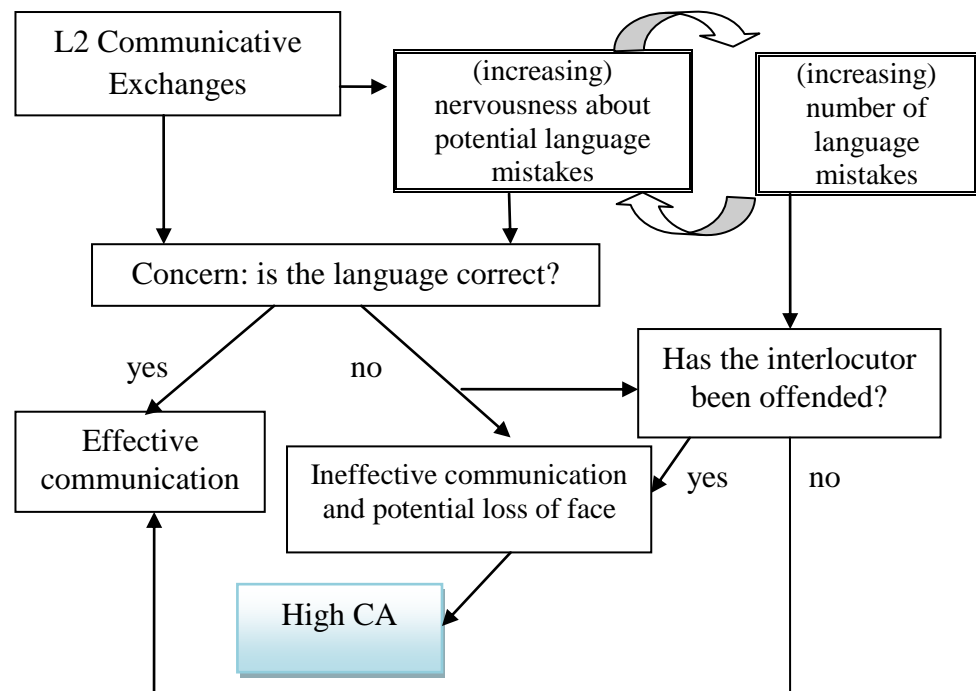
Fig. 17: Analysed linkage between communicative exchanges, language, mistakes and high CA

A repeatedly emerging theme here is that these students sought to avoid inadvertently saying something in English which could result in themselves, or an interlocutor, to lose face, feeling uncomfortable, or becoming annoyed. Based upon this sensitive concern about the impact of an oral exchange, it is suggested that the reticence in speaking in English, which

some Chinese may at times portray, may be attributed in some degree to them being in a cognitive reflective state: students who do not seem to be eager in engaging with others in English should not necessarily (as Chanock, 2010 has argued) be considered shy or un-WTC, but rather some are carefully considering the potential impact of a language exchange, hoping to obviate negative or uncomfortable feelings for themselves or others. They may be seeking to ensure that they do not say something which they may regret later: this can interpreted as caution and consideration, rather than shyness. As the fear of making language mistakes was identified as being an important variable influencing students' L2 WTC, it was identified that their strong feelings of CA were directly linked to their educational background. The following extract elaborate this topic - '*Every time when we make mistakes the English teacher will blame us strictly'* (dialogue 19).

Thus textbook and classroom English teachers' practices may forge a mindset that students should never make grammar mistakes; leading to under-developed oral skills as Lamie, 2006 had also stated. This situation can be exacerbated if a student is ridiculed by their peers after an English language class if they made language mistakes during the class. This emerges as one of the reasons why many Chinese are un-WTC in English with their peers during English classes. Two participants [Jas, B] related personal experiences of being ridiculed by other students in school because of their English language pronunciation which was held to be slightly different from that of other students, as expressed in the following accounts: '*classmates will bring their own accents as they speak English so this could result in their classmates laughing at them'* and '*my pronunciation is particularly poor so other will pull fun at me'* (dialogues 20 & 21).

This student [Jas] also stated that no one had ridiculed his English language proficiency when he was in Britain, yet his past experiences of being ridiculed by other students in China had resulted in his fear of the same thing happening again in Britain. This clearly suggests that a Chinese students' WTC in English (due to a fear of making English language mistakes) as they study abroad, may be strongly influenced by their educational background.

During English classes in China students are often asked to stand up and answer the teacher's question. Should a student be unable to answer a question, or if they provided a less

than perfect response, they may be chastised by their teachers which could result in them experiencing extreme embarrassment in front of their peers (as Wu, 2009; Xia, 2009 have also described), especially those students who usually achieve high exam grades (as [S] described). Thus, in China English teachers will often exhibit a very strict stance of low tolerance in relation to language imperfections. Often these language misdemeanours relate to English grammar, as one participant reported; '*they will criticize, punishment us*' (dialogue 22).

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                    ┌─────────────────────────────────┐
                    │   Speaking in English in class  │
                    └─────────────────────────────────┘
                                    │
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                    │      Language mistakes made     │
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  In China  │  Students making mistakes fear reprimands by  │
            │          teacher, ridicule by peers           │
            └───────────────────────────────────────────────┘
                                    │
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            │  Actual or potential embarrassment, fear of   │
            │                 loss of face                  │
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                          │   High CA     │
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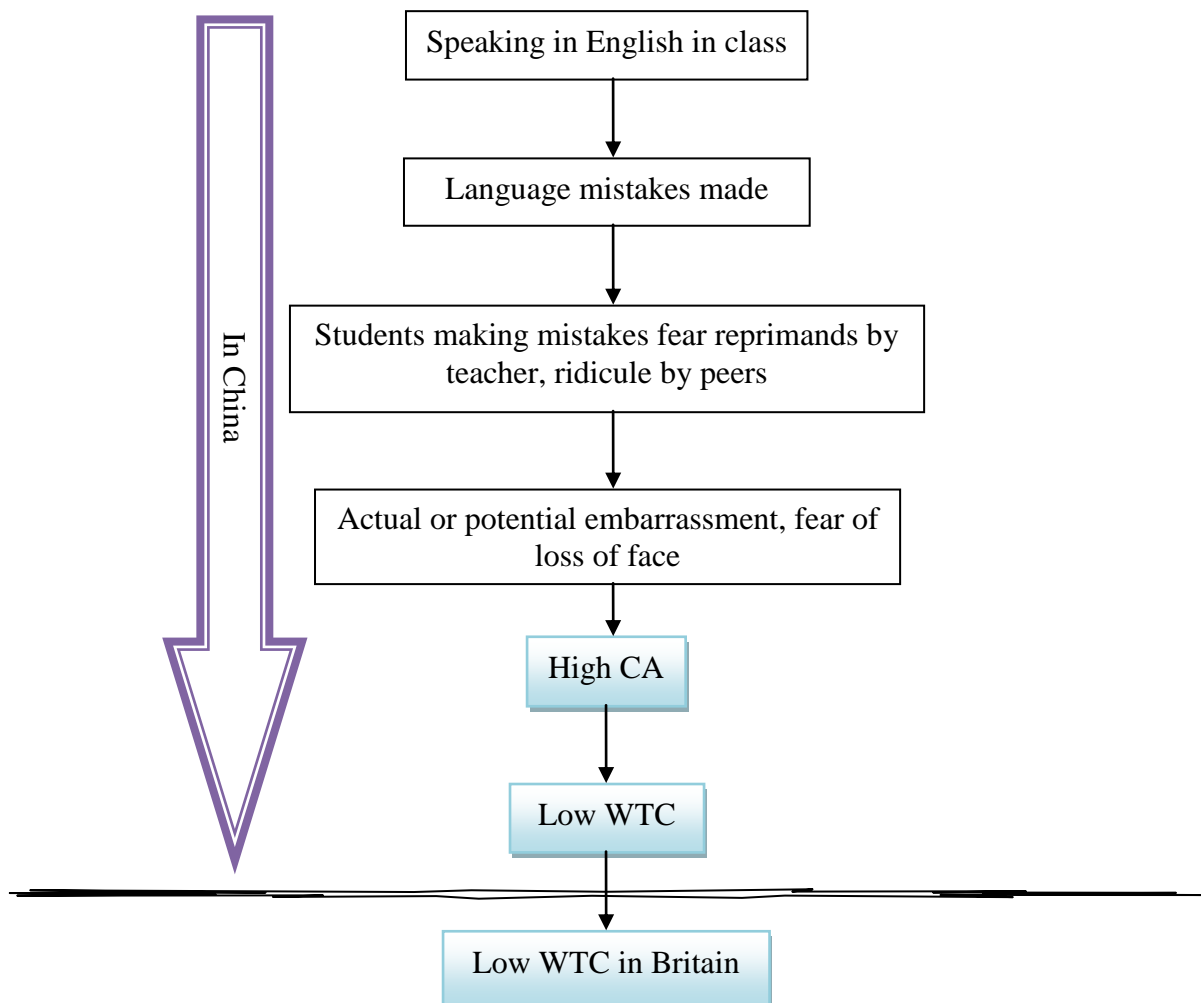
Fig. 18 Some analysed links between language mistakes in China and low WTC in Britain

Teachers in China are under great institutional and parental pressure to ensure that their pupils do well in their language exams. The participants reported that in China making language mistakes could not be tolerated by their language teachers, whilst in Britain they noted how NES were less concerned when they made language mistakes during classroom

exchanges. This was expressed as follows; '*in England, because if you make some little mistakes they will ignore it'* (dialogue 23).

It may be seen here that when NES demonstrate a less stringent view of language mistakes, Chinese individuals may realise that producing 'perfect English' should not be considered as being as crucial as they were led to believe it to be by their language teachers in China. Rather, being able to effectively convey one's ideas (even if that means that language mistakes are made) is of greater importance. When Chinese realise this tolerance, they may become more WTC in English. When educational practices focus on punishing learners who make grammar mistakes, such teaching practices may result in many students developing an acute fear of making language mistakes (as Wen and Clement, 2003 have also described), as seven interviewees described [CSF, A, B, Dav, J, Ci, S]. This seems a sharp contrast to current western perceptions of language learning, which suggest that language skills are developed by practice in using a language, which inevitably means making language mistakes. Thus taking risks and making language mistakes are held by some western educators as being an integral part (and a necessary part) of an individual's language learning process. Corder (1981) speculated that 'risk-taking' strategies – rather than risk-avoiding strategies - used by language learners would lead to better communication strategies and better language learning. Ely (1986, cited in Larsen-Freeman and Long, 1991) showed that students' with higher risk-taking behaviour in foreign language classes for Spanish was a positive predictor of students' voluntary classroom participation, which itself positively predicted oral correctness, at least at lower language levels. There is also a substantial literature (Rubin and Thompson, 1994; Stevick, 1989; Lightbrown and Spada, 1991) about good language learners which holds that good learners are "*willing to make mistakes in order to learn and to communicate*" (Naiman et al. 1995: 228). However, this notion may not be universally accepted by teachers in China, where it has been shown that there seems to be a low tolerance for language errors.

After leaving China and embarking upon studies abroad, the participants reported that they often felt the same level of CA in relation to making language mistakes in Britain, as they had felt in their home country. Due to this CA one participant [K] confessed that she needed extreme courage to start a conversation in English with other people, even, she explained, believing that she should endeavour to adopt Li Yang's view of "*losing your face*

to talk" [K6]. The fear of making language mistakes which the interviewees encountered in Britain was found to occur in many differing contexts. The students realised that tutors in Britain (unlike those in China) would not chastise them for making language mistakes, nevertheless their earlier negative experiences often retained its impact upon them, so that they experienced extreme CA within the classroom (as Mak, 2011; Ning, 2011 also discussed), as the following extract shows '*I came here and I speak English … just like the same feeling in my own country*' (dialogue 24).

Some Chinese could also be concerned that their university tutors could gain a negative view of them, if they made a language mistake (as Cortazzi and Jin, 1996b have also stated), or said something inappropriate, and worried about its impact upon their academic development. They thought that if their tutor gained an unfavourable opinion of them, they would be less willing to provide them with assistance, or might give them a lower grade for assessments. After having lived in Britain for a period of time (four months for students [J & Ci] and seventeen months for others [L, K, B, Jasm & V]) the participants' perceptions in relation to making language mistakes changed; they realised that it was not necessary to worry about making language mistakes and that such mistakes could be seen as being beneficial, as such could be instrumental in identifying which areas they needed to improve.

This development away from a rigid grammar-centred notion to a more fluid notion of communication without excessively worrying about grammar principles resulted in an increased level of PCC, and may be linked to the variable "*Communication Competence*" box 10, Layer V - Affective and Cognitive Context, within the pyramid model. The same participants confessed that they still made language mistakes, but those who had reported that they had achieved higher communicative self-confidence were found to be less concerned about making language mistakes, finding that those who they spoke to could still understand them despite their mistakes. The following dialogue illustrates this '*You don't worry about your mistakes*' and '*After a period of time you'll think that if you make mistakes it doesn't really matter*' (dialogues 25 & 26).

The interviewees reported that having to speak in English with their English-speaking peers (in order to complete their coursework) provided them with a strong motivational force to speak in English and that the more they spoke in English, the less likely they were to make

language mistakes. If the students needed to engage with others in order to gain assistance in completing coursework, their focus of attention was aimed at communicating with others in English in order to complete a certain task, rather than upon language proficiency.

These views as expressed could be linked to '*Motivation to Learn the L2*' under the heading '*Intergroup Attitudes*' (box 8) and '*Social Situation*' (box 9), both of which come under Layer V - The Affective and Cognitive Context, of the pyramid model. Those participants who had gained positive experiences speaking to others in English were found to be more inclined to exhibit a greater level of effort to speak in English, which subsequently resulted in a subject reporting an increase in their communicative self-confidence (Humphries, 2011).

The reason for this change seems partly due to their recognition that effective communication could still occur despite making language mistakes. NES did not seem to be perturbed when Chinese students made grammar misdemeanours therefore over time the participants realised that it was not necessary to worry about this issue; they reported that they felt more relaxed when they engaged with others. This change in their attitude was a gradual process, in which they gained a higher level of courage to speak to others - an increased level of communicative self-confidence. This does not imply that after having lived in Britain for several months these Chinese students ceased to experience CA when they made English language mistakes. Each student may react differently when they encounter language situations.

4.2.5 The Phenomena of 'losing face'

For many Chinese, making language mistakes and being ridiculed by others equates to them losing the respect of others and 'losing face' (as Cortazzi and Jin, 1996b have asserted). Many Chinese maintain a strong sense of having a need to feel that others approve of them. If an individual makes a language mistake, they could feel that they had lost their self respect. This could result, as one student described [Ab], in "*spend(ing) a lot of time trying to find out what went wrong and they will try to correct this problem, so that it doesn't happen again*" [Ab6]. Chinese people are often extremely concerned about the impact of a language exchange, as well as the content of the exchange. If a language exchange results in a

person becoming embarrassed or 'losing face', this may well be deemed as being a failed communicative exchange.

From a Chinese perspective 'face' has two main concepts: *lian* (face, with a moral dimension of personal integrity and character) and *mian* (social image, prestige or reputation, which is often associated with a person's self-concept). Teachers can 'give face' to students, through praise, or students can 'lose face' through making public mistakes and receiving reprimands from teachers or peers. Criticism and disagreement are often perceived affectively because of the risks to face, and students generally adopt unassertive styles of classroom communication to protect their face (as discussed by Bond, 1991: 58-60; Gao & Ting-Toomey, 1998: 53-63).

Since there is a relationship between making language mistakes and the notion of 'losing face', the participants were asked to define what they understood by 'losing face' within this context. Based upon the interviewees' responses, the following list of characteristics was identified, which may help to provide a broader understanding of this Chinese phenomenon.

Students' Definitions of Losing Face in a Chinese Context

14. An unwillingness to be ridiculed by others [A5, Ab6].

15. A feeling of self pride and being unwilling to accept others negative comments or criticism [A5, Ab6].

16. A desire to hide ones faults or weaknesses [A5, L8, Jas9].

17. Having a high regard for oneself and not behaving in a way which could result in others having a negative impression, and not gaining a lower level respect from others [A5, L5, Bi6, Ab6, L8].

18. Maintaining the strong impression which one has for oneself [A5, L8].

The following dialogue extract will demonstrate the correlation between making language mistakes and losing face. It describes the student's experience of making small language mistakes whilst in Britain caused him to lose face; *'I said chicken crap ... I was afraid that I'd make that kind of mistake again'* (dialogue 27).

In sum, a wide range of factors have been identified which influence Chinese students' L2 WTC and similarly their communicative self-confidence (and therefore their CA and PCC). These factors have been shown to have had a considerable impact upon the participants' language development, specifically on their oral English ability. Similarly, students' English language learning background in China had had a profound influence upon the interviewees as they studied and communicated with others in Britain. Evidently, changes in Chinese students' L2 WTC and communicative self-confidence as they lived in Britain are complex: there are many factors (some of which are covered within the pyramid model, but others are not) which can influence the subjects' in different ways. Chinese students may experience changes in L2 WTC and communication self-confidence for many different reasons and hence individuals may demonstrate varied changes as they live in Britain.

T18 Table showing how these results answer the research questions –
    educational background.

Research Question (Condensed)	Description of how the research questions were answered
Changes in WTC, Changes in Comm. Self-confidence	Factors influencing low WTC and Communicative Self-Confidence: major focus on studying grammar principles, low focus on classroom conversation, focus on paper-based tests, issues in learning acceptable English pronunciation (Liu et al., 2011; Liu and Jackson, 2009; Wu, 2011; Zhang and Liu, 2011).
Changes in WTC, Changes in Comm. Self-confidence,	Factors influencing low WTC, Communicative Self-Confidence and PCC and high CA within a Chinese classroom context: less oral English practice, being linked to class size (Lamie, 2006), need for classroom discipline; need to use class time intensively, students fear public reprimand for not listening attentively, reluctance to take risks; fear of making mistakes, students supposed to listen quietly to the teacher (Cheng, 2000; Wang, 2010; Zhang and Liu, 2010), teachers are seen not to encourage student questions; Students reluctant to ask questions in class (Tian and Lowe, 2009), possible

Changes in PCC & CA	loss of face in class. The above factors may also result in a lower willingness to ask questions and a reluctance to give answers in classroom context; whilst studying abroad, (Cortazzi and Jin, 1996b; Jin and Cortazzi, 1998b, 2008; Cortazzi and Jin 2002).
Additional factors	Educational background was found to be a factor influencing Chinese students WTC and Communicative Self-Confidence.
Changes in WTC, Changes in Comm. Self-confidence, Changes in PCC & CA	Factors influencing low WTC, Communicative Self-Confidence and PCC and high CA within a Chinese classroom context: the belief that there is only one answer to a language question; some teacher's limited oral ability in English (Anderson, 1993; Wang and Gao, 2008); tendency to stick to fixed answers (Wang, 2010), students are unwilling to try out new language forms or to risk giving alternative answers since the teacher or textbook have the right answer (Hu, 2002), alternative answers are likely to be judged as wrong, even if they are apparently acceptable, high risk of being publicly scolded by the teacher; potential loss of face - could also be ridiculed by peers. These factors may also influence Chinese students WTC and Communicative Self-Confidence as they study abroad (regarding only their test scores to be of significant importance; speaking in English will not enhance their test scores – Peng, 2012). However, they may also realise that new language forms (other than those learned within China) are possible, resulting a willingness to experiment with new language forms (a potential change in WTC).
Changes in WTC, Changes in Comm. Self-confidence, Changes in PCC & CA	Factors influencing low WTC, Communicative Self-Confidence and PCC and high CA within a Chinese classroom context: oral English is scrutinised by teacher (and peers), grammar mistakes: appraised by teacher (and peers), teacher may demonstrate low tolerance for language mistakes (Yu, 1990); can be highly critical; the teacher seems obliged to give corrections when language mistakes are made, students risk ridicule by teachers (and peers) if language mistakes are made (Wen and Clement, 2003).
Changes in WTC, Changes in Comm. Self-confidence, Changes in PCC & CA	Factors influencing low WTC, Communicative Self-Confidence and PCC and high CA within a Chinese classroom context: highly competitive classroom learning environment (supported by parents) which relates to test grades (Yu, 2001); tests involve no - or very few - communication or oral elements, student focus on test grades (compare grades with others) and not upon developing oral skills, oral skills and classroom discussion are under-valued, undeveloped; classroom environment does not encourage oral interaction. Changes in WTC and Communicative Self-Confidence may occur (whilst studying abroad) when students may be willing to practice using their language skills within authentic L2 contexts; if they had achieved high English language test scores (in China). However, if they find that there are unable to effectively communicate within others (in English) they may experience a decrease in Communicative Self-Confidence (high CA and low

	PCC) and WTC.
Changes in WTC, Changes in PCC & CA	Factors influencing high CA within the classroom context (in China): speaking in English in class, fear of making language mistakes; afraid of being ridicule if they made language mistakes, potential loss of face; resulting in a low WTC, (Wu, 2009; Xia, 2009; Mak, 2011; Ning, 2011)
	High CA could also occur whilst studying abroad; fear of incorrect language form resulting in embarrassment and a possible loss of face (resulting in a low WTC). However, a change is CA (resulting in an increase in WTC) may occur when NES demonstrate a tolerance when language mistakes are made; they become less concerned about making language mistakes.

4.3 Cultural Differences Influencing L2 WTC

This section will cover the following areas in relation to cultural factors influencing L2 WTC in Chinese students as they study in Britain.

(a) High/low levels of motivation to socialise with NES.

(b) Cultural backgrounds influencing L2 communication.

(c) Stereotypical views of being 'open' (開放 - kai fang).

The cultural differences which were deemed to exist between China and western countries such as Britain were considered by the participants as potential influences on their L2 WTC with others. Based upon the data analysis, it was evident that before they arrived in Britain, these students had gained a very limited understanding of British culture and the lifestyle of British people (Ozturgut, 2012; Wu, 2011 also assert the same view). This had the impact of causing them to exhibit a heightened level of CA, which made it more difficult for them to integrate into British culture. Thus, interviewees stated that they had not been adequately prepared in their homeland for the cultural differences which they were to encounter abroad. In describing this situation one student clearly linked nervousness from cultural uncertainty with CA explained that he felt, '*they nervous about their knowledge of the culture'* (dialogue 28).

However, after having lived in Britain for several months, students may gradually gain a greater understanding of British culture which could make them feel more relaxed and therefore feel more able to engage with British people. Some of the cultural differences were seen to influence Chinese students' WTC in English (as Gu and Maley, 2008; Xia, 2009 have also described). The interviewees recognised the importance of engaging with others in English in order to practice their speaking skills. Leaving aside the classroom and accommodation settings for a moment, they identified the importance of socialising with NES within varied environments in Britain, which provided them with situational contexts in which to engage in language exchanges. However, not all of the Chinese students were willing to make an effort to socialise with NES and thus they limited their integration into some areas of British culture. In discussing the topic of socialising with NES two broad areas will be considered,

(a) the reasons why Chinese may exhibit a low level of motivation to socialise (in some settings) with NES and

(b) the reasons why Chinese may exhibit a high level of motivation to socialise with NES.

4.3.1. Low Levels of Motivation to Socialise with NES

In one dialogue students described how they did not enjoy taking part in the 'British Night Culture', which was considered to be different from that in China. Students asserted that the western people whom they encountered enjoy going out drinking and socialising with others, whereas they argued that "*Chinese and Asian people would rather stay in home*" [Bi4], watching movies, playing computer games and chatting with friends online. This may be the case for some Chinese, or more of a stereotypical view of others. Some may be unwilling to socialise with others in Britain for the following reasons:

19.   They could experience feelings of anxiety when they find themselves within an unfamiliar new foreign environment; "*we're not familiar with a lot of things, so we don't go far during the weekend*" [L3].

20.   They may struggle to find places to go (which interest them) during the evening; "*There is very little entertainment here. The shops close at four or five*" [J4].

They may maintain feelings of trepidation in relation to their language ability. This was expressed as follows (dialogue 29).

Thus Chinese students may not feel confident enough to explore their local area in Britain alone, but may prefer others to accompany them and show them around.

21.   Participants may not have many native British friends. A common statement which was shared during the interviews was, "*I have more Chinese friends than foreign friends*" [C3].
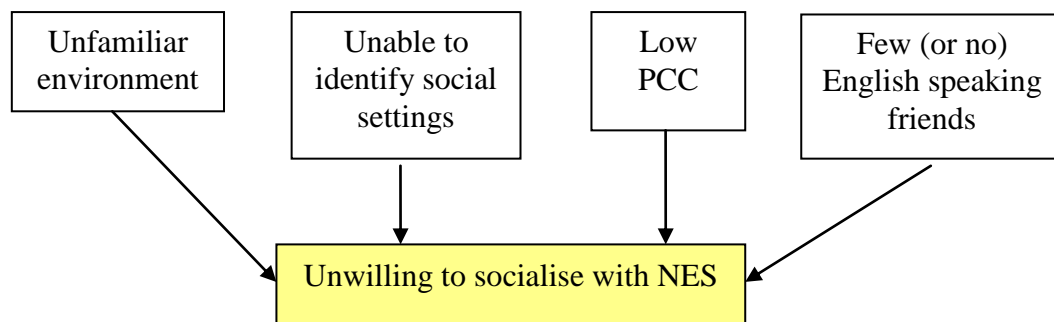
Fig. 19: Potential factors influencing students' lack of willingness to socialise with NES

The reasons why many Chinese may choose to become less involved in Britain's night culture may be due to other constraints and not due to the supposed night life differences. Similarly, as participants were in their late teens and had come from an environment in China were they were expected to focus upon their schooling, having little time for anything else, they may not have had the opportunity to frequently socialising with others outside their school peer group. Their intensely busy school schedule may limit their opportunities to go out during the evening: they had to stay at home and study.

In discussing some of the cultural differences between the Chinese and the west, some participants believed it was difficult to socialise and to form friendships with British people. Initially some felt surprised when they saw certain British individuals who behave in a way which they were not accustomed to: seeing British women dress scantily who would go out

drinking during the evening. This was expressed as follows, '*they are crazy in such cold winter night to wear less clothes outside to the pub*' (dialogue 30).

Chinese students apparently disapproved of individuals who chose to dress in such a manner, due to strong negative connotations which they believed were associated with such dress and behaviour: Chinese girls would likely be looked down upon (by other Chinese people) for going out during the evenings wearing such attire. Chinese women could be concerned that dressing in a certain manner may in Chinese contexts, result in others paying a great deal of attention to them, which they believed could potentially lead to some women being physically abused. Also tight revealing club wear may be considered by many Chinese as being only worn by those who were 'professional women of the night'. Therefore Chinese women may be unwilling to socialise with other British women (where there could be the social expectation of wearing such attire) in the belief that by wearing such clothes, they are demeaning themselves. This was expressed by a student '*In Chinese ... people will think you are a little bad person*' (dialogue 31).

Similarly, these students may have great reluctance to go to pubs or clubs in Britain, due to a stereotypical belief held by the Chinese that such places are often considered in China as being unfavourable places to visit. Thus some Chinese may be unwilling to communicate in English with others who they met in such environments (if they were to visit such places), due to the stereotypical notion that people there have lower moral standards. Chinese students may be concerned that if they frequently visit such places, other Chinese may gain a negative opinion of them, and regard them as being of a lower moral standing. They would not want their parents to know that they visit such places, as their parents may become annoyed (given the negative connotations which prevail in China) parents may feel that their child is wasting time, instead of focussing upon their academic studies.

Another reason given why Chinese students may be unwilling to go to pubs/clubs was that some do not like to drink alcohol, and that the environment, as one subject described, is "*a little bit too noisy for me*" [Ci4] and "*also because I can't dance, so going there is not enjoyable for me*" [L5]. Some students reported that they did not like attending parties which finished during the early hours of the morning, despite realising that such activities formed an

important part of the social culture in Britain. One student reported as follows '*the first party and they played some dangerous games, or drank too much and I can't stand it*' (dialogue 32).
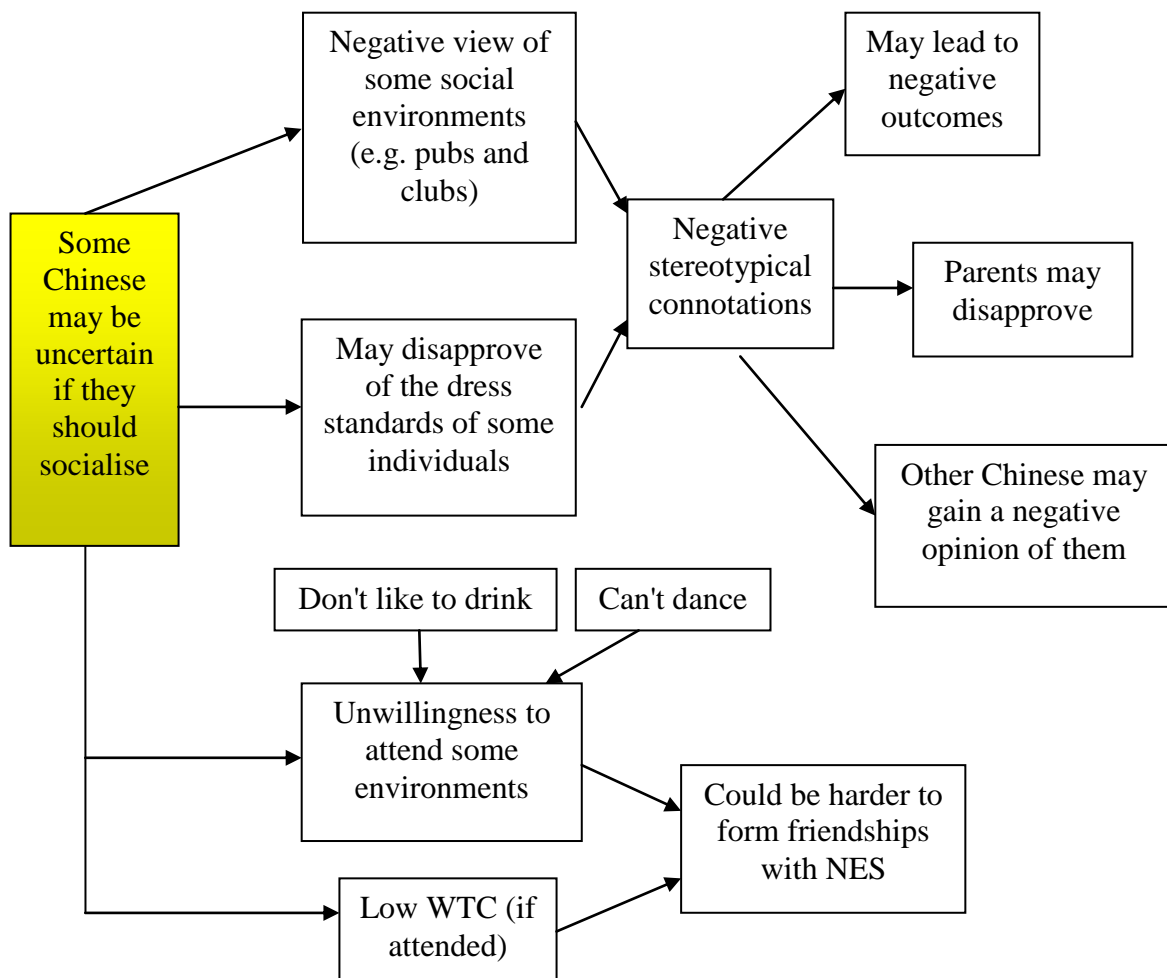
Fig. 20 Factors influencing students' willingness to socialize and perceived outcomes

Another cultural difference is that attending parties is not a common social event in China. Apart from perhaps inviting a few friends over for a meal, most Chinese are would more often invite their friends out to a restaurant for a meal. Holding parties does not form a part of the Chinese student culture. If these students are unfamiliar with this setting, they would be unprepared for this type of social event when they live in Britain (UKCOSA, 2004). In the interviews it emerged that Chinese students could be made to feel (by some British students), that they were peculiar, because they were unwilling to take part in these social gatherings, with the result that some British students were less willing to interact with them. This view was summarized: '*they often have many parties ... if you don't ... outgoing they will lose patience to talk to you*' (dialogue 33).

Thus, some Chinese may feel that there is a considerable difference between themselves and other British students, with differences in preferred social activities, which can form a barrier to integration into British culture and hence results in some Chinese feeling less WTC with other students in English.

Thus, despite realising that socialising with NES is an important part of British culture and might provide them with opportunities to improve their oral English skills, not all Chinese are willing to go to pubs/clubs, or attend parties and avoid integrating themselves into this area of British culture. Such unwillingness to become a part of the target community in some domains, could be linked to '*Integrativeness*' under the heading *Intergroup Attitudes*, box 8, Layer V - Affective & Cognitive Context, of the pyramid model. If Chinese students maintain such notions whilst living in Britain they may in sum,

(a) be unwilling to go to such places if invited by NES, resulting in missed opportunities to engage with others, or

(b) they may be un-WTC in English with others while they are in such places.

Even though some Chinese may disapprove of visiting such places they may still believe that interaction with others within social settings is the best way to communicate with British people and improve their oral speaking proficiency and that those Chinese who chose not to go to such places could be losing out. By not taking part within certain British nightlife environments though some students recognized that they limited their opportunities to communicate with others outside of the university - '*Normally I wouldn't go out. This reduces many opportunities to be around others'* (dialogue 34).

Participants stated that it may be easier for male Chinese students to form friendships with NES because, there are more opportunities for males to socialise with others outside university, since men are not confined to these same Chinese notions of decorum and dress as women are. Hence, it was argued that Chinese women may have fewer opportunities to socialise with others outside of the university. However, this may only relate to those females who are unwilling to make a greater effort to integrate into the target society, even if that

means temporarily leaving aside the stereotypical views gained within their own society. Similarly, students commented that as women need to safeguard themselves due to the observe safety constraints of going out at night, there could be fewer opportunities for Chinese women to socialise within Britain.

Despite such a view, if Chinese females accept that in Britain women have a great deal of freedom (in relation to where they go and how they choose to dress) without the fear of ridicule from others, and if these students are willing to join the 'British Night Culture', they would be able to expand their social horizons and enhance their communicative self-confidence. For example, a female Chinese student [S] who was able to leave aside any prohibitions about taking part in the night life environment in Britain found that she enjoyed socialising with British people hence her oral English skills improved significantly. Those female students who were able to implement the notion of 'when in Rome do as the Romans' were not confined by the constraining views gained within their homeland; they found that when they were willing to socialise outside of the university with others and were adaptable in relation to what they wore when they went out, they were able to mix with a broader range of people which allowed them to improve their oral language skills.

4.3.2 High Levels of Motivation to Socialise with NES

Some students from China may find it extremely challenging to engage with NES. However, those who are persistent in socialising with others experienced a considerable improvement in their oral English skills: an increase in their PCC and a decrease in their CA - and therefore an increase in their communicative self-confidence. Eight participants [D, S, J, Da, B, Ci, Jas & K] reported that they enjoyed socialising with NES and that they did so regularly. Often this included attending a wide range of social events where they would engage with others in English. One observed "*That is socialise with those people that I might know. I might go to the club every weekend so. At that time I might socialise with those people that I don't know*" [S6]. Thus, their willingness to integrate into British society resulted in them gaining many opportunities to engage with NES. Another factor which helped improve their L2 WTC with others was: as the students socialised with NES in Britain, they realised that they gained a greater understanding of British people and British culture

and hence they found it easier to identify common conversation topics (similar sentiments were expressed by Cao, 2011), evidenced in the following: '*in bar we can chat easily to the foreigner because we have the same interests'* (dialogue 35).

When British people are observed by the Chinese as demonstrating a high WTC level when socialising in pubs or at parties, a stereotypical view of western people could be formed: that all western people are highly socialised and are more communicative than Chinese. However, such erroneous notions do not take into account the argument that some Chinese may be more communicative than others, and that some Chinese may be regarded as leading a highly sociable lifestyle. A lack of understanding of British culture (as Gu and Maley, 2008; Xia, 2009 have also stressed) may enhance their CA and this heightened CA could be reduced if an interlocutor behaves in a kind and patient manner towards them (which Humphries, 2011; Peng and Woodrow, 2010 have sustain). An example of this possibility follows - '*They are more patient ... they teach me ... I think it's very good'* (dialogue 36).

It is possible that those individuals who believed that cultural differences could negatively influence their WTC with NES, were merely using this argument as an excuse not to make the effort to engage with others in English. Some students reported that cultural differences were not always a barrier to L2 WTC. This was reported by those who regularly engaged with NES, who said they had gained a greater understanding of British culture and the British environment. Namely, '*ask me to go to the party ... There is something interesting about the British culture'* (dialogue 37).

From the above dialogue it was clear that the level of exposure that the participants had with British social events had a direct impact upon the development of their oral English speaking skills (similar views were expressed by Gu and Maley, 2008; Hsu, 2010): those individuals who regularly attended a wide range of social events and therefore interacted with NES, notably expressed a strong intention to overcome their feelings of CA in order to engage with others in English, which resulted in more frequent and successful language exchanges (a higher level of L2 WTC). These students reported that they were able to speak more fluently and thus they asserted that through continual practice, they gained an increase in communicative self-confidence.
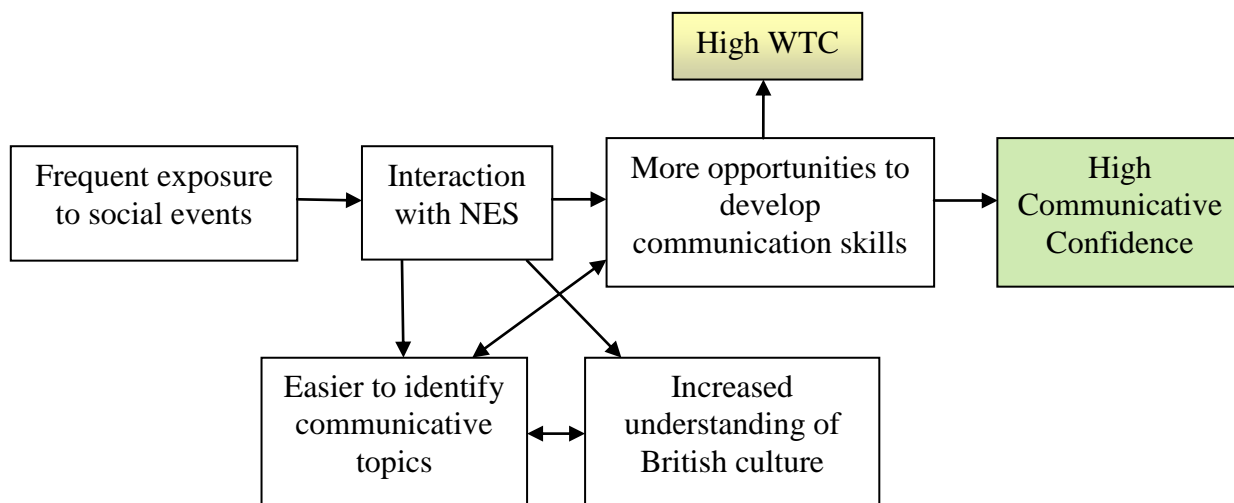
Fig. 21: Some analysed links between social events, interaction in Britain, WTC and communicative confidence

This study also found that learners may have differing intentions to engage with NES. For some, their motivation to communicate with others in English could be due to a desire to attain a specific purpose; to find out something they need to know. Whilst for other Chinese students, communication with others occurred merely because NES appeared in their vicinity on a frequent basis. That is they may hold a conversation with a NES, because the NES asked them a question and responding to them was the polite way to behave. The notion of communicating fortuitously with others in English who are physically nearby, and engaging with individuals who the students frequently come into contact with can be linked to a *Desire to Communicate with a Specific Person,* box 3, Layer III - Situated Antecedents, of the pyramid model. Finally, if NES behave in a friendly and direct manner towards Chinese such as asking them questions about their home town or about their impressions of Britain, Chinese students may be more likely to reciprocate (as Cao, 2011 also stated).

4.3.3 Cultural Background and L2 Communication

Another argument raised was the notion that students' understanding of the social and cultural background of the target community could influence their WTC. After several months in Britain, the students gained a better understanding of British culture and the lifestyles of British people. They stated that young people in England live and study in relaxed surroundings. British students do not have hectic academic schedules, and have free

time to mix with their peers to develop a broad range of communicative skills and nurture self-confidence. However, Chinese students are required to manage busy educational schedules with few opportunities for socialising outside of school (as Crozet and Liddicoat, 1999; Liu, 2002; Shi, 2006 have argued). This view was evidenced as follows - *'I saw Andrew and Michael (in England) and they have a really relaxed surrounding for their study ... they can hang out with their friends ... but for Chinese students they can't go outside'* (dialogue 38).

Some students may not have well developed communicative social skills, resulting in low communicative self-confidence levels, which may negatively impact upon their L2 WTC. It was argued that cultural differences made it difficult for Chinese students to understand British people and their views, influencing language exchanges and the formation of close friendships with British people. One participant reported, '*differences in the culture, and I can't speak fluent English'* (dialogue 39).

How Chinese cultural contexts may impact upon their willingness to engage with others in English, was not always clearly expressed by the students. It is likely that the 'culture' label could have been used as a general terms to describe areas influencing the challenges they encountered in relation to their WTC in English.

Cultural differences may be linked to the Chinese behavioural phenomenon of '*ching-li-fa'* [情理法] (relationship-reason-law). The notion of 'ching-li-fa' relates to how people interact and behave in Chinese society and could be understood as a gradient scale for behaviour. When Chinese allow an individual into their inner circle of friends or family (related to 'ching'), the resultant affiliation could promote communicative exchanges. An example is when someone is introduced for the first time to a relative. If they considered that a level of 'ching' existed between themselves and another NES (such as between classmates), the individual may be regarded as being an 'insider', rather than an 'outsider'. Thus a closer 'relationship' may have been achieved. This may strengthen the bonds between individuals, and promote closer more intimate language exchanges. In China having a good "关系" (guan xi) "relationship" (or "ching") with others is of extreme importance, in that it may promote assistance within many situations. The importance of "relationship" (guan xi) within the Chinese culture cannot be underestimated. Chinese people will go to great lengths to attain

and maintain "guan xi" with others. The phenomena of 'ching-li-fa' as outlined here may be considered as being a complex Chinese phenomena and it is not possible to fully present an adequate explanation. However, it demonstrates that some cultural factors may influence Chinese individuals' L2 WTC.

Cultural differences impacting upon L2 WTC is linked to how the participants perceive that some interlocutors (NES) view them. This is demonstrated by student [S] who discussed several incidents were she believed there was a stereotypical view held by NES university students that Chinese students are considered ineffective communicators (as Cheng, 2000; Wang, 2010 also reported). This was reported as based upon the communicative behaviour of Chinese students who were stereotypically viewed by NES as being shy and unwilling to engage in English. Chinese students who demonstrated a friendly and talkative manner were, according to student [S], held by NES as not being native mainland Chinese students. Subject [S] stated that she often behaved in an open and highly communicative manner with NES, and that other British students were surprised that she had come from mainland China, believing her to be from Singapore.

Some students from China may feel afraid to engage with British students of the same age since their lifestyle may be different from that of Chinese students. Thus Chinese students may feel that they do not understand British people and that they are unable to relate to them on a personal level. Student [Ab] reported a difference between Chinese and British girls, as follows - *'Young people (in Britain), we have the same age, but their lifestyles is different from that if Chinese students. I feel afraid to speak to young people'* (dialogue 40).

This account is evidence that cultural differences can be a significant factor in influencing Chinese students WTC with NES. Cultural differences may inhibit the development of oral English proficiency and communicative self-confidence. Some Chinese may believe that cultural differences to be of such magnitude as to prevent them from effectively engaging with NES and hence may not experience marked changes in their oral English skills. Therefore not all Chinese will experience a significant change in their communicative self-confidence when they are immersed in an English speaking environment.

Cross cultural humour was identified as influencing participants WTC. Within a friendly and light-hearted setting, students reported enjoying the sharing of jokes, which may help to create a more relaxed atmosphere for a language exchange to occur. They nevertheless argued that language exchanges could be hampered if a Chinese student shared a joke with a westerner, who did not find it to be humorous and vice versa. The intention to employ humour to create a relaxing environment may backfire, resulting in an awkward atmosphere, potentially hampering language exchanges. Some Chinese students felt alienated within a group conversational setting if a joke was shared within the group which the participant either didn't understand or didn't find amusing as evidenced in the following - *'they think something is funny and I think it's boring'* and *'I seldom to speak English… they like to tell some jokes and it's difficult for the Chinese to understand'* (dialogues 41 & 42).

Some participants reported feeling unable to 'connect' on occasions with other students. The ability to 'connect' with other students occurred when there was commonality between individuals. Some participants reported an affinity with other students by identifying areas of common interest, thereby promoting new friendships. However, cultural differences and language constraints could limit finding common topics of conversation. They argued that cultural differences could influence their interaction with western people. A dualistic view was reported. Chinese students' inability to adequately understand western culture could result in them inadvertently saying or doing something which offended others. This was expressed as follows, *'I don't understand their culture, I would accidently say something inappropriate'* (dialogue 43).
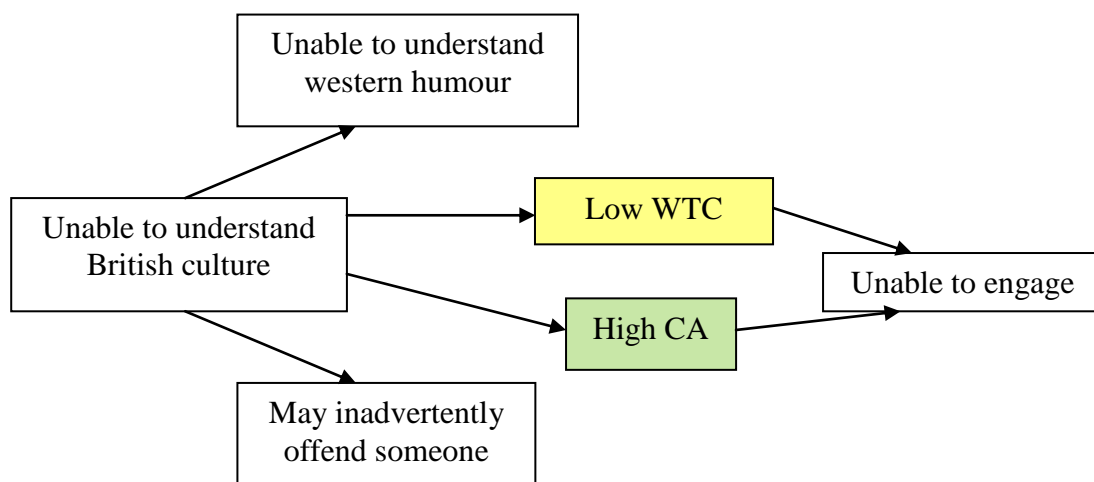
Fig. 22: Potential impact of limited understanding of the target culture

22. Western students may not adequately understand Chinese culture, which could make communication more problematic. This was expressed as follows,

"*many heartfelt things they (western people) couldn't really understand … the difference in the cultures*" [C1], and

"*some things the other person (western person) would not be able to fully understand … environmental differences*" [Je1].

4.3.4 Stereotypical View of Being 'Open' (開放 - kai fang)

Chinese notions of western people were reported as influencing their choice (and depth) of engagement with interlocutors. One cultural difference reported to impact positively or negatively upon the participants L2 WTC, related to the stereotypical notion of being 'open' (開放 - kai fang). This was reported to influence participants' view of the target community and their motivation to either engage with or withdraw oneself from it. This notion can be linked to the topic of "perceptual and affective correlation", under the heading *Intergroup Climate*, box 11, Layer VI - Social & Individual Context, of the pyramid model.

Some participants expressed the stereotypical view that western people are more 'open' than Chinese. In contrast, Chinese see themselves as being more conservative. The view that western people are more 'open' in their interaction with others was defined as being a behavioural characteristic and is a commonly accepted opinion amongst many Chinese based upon the assumption that the participants observed western behavioural characteristics which differ from traditional Chinese values and morals. This does not imply that such variance would always negatively impact upon communication with NES. The participants were asked to define the term 'being open'; their responses formed the definition below.

Definition of Western People Being 'open'.

1. Being friendly and willing to engage with others (not behaving in a shy manner), "*they always friendly than the people in here ... they are more enthusiastic*" [D4].

The participants concurred that being open meant exhibiting courage to engage with strangers in order to achieve familiarity within a short time. Arguably some Chinese are as equally willing to socialise and openly communicate as NES, but may prefer to socialise in different ways.

2a. Being less restrained in relation to behaviour; expressing one's true feelings and ideas without hiding anything, even if that means instigating confrontations with others. It was stated that westerners "*are more participate in things. They will be more direct showed his/her views*" [J2],

or exhibiting a high level of 'transparency' in relation to behaviour. It was reported of westerners, "*they always tell me the truth, or speak with not hiding anything*" [D3].

2b. The notion of being open was also argued as being more verbal in discussing sensitive topics or topics some regard as a taboo. As evidence of this, they stated that westerners, "*will talk about make love and other things*" [R4].

2c. The participants stated that they regarded westerners as being less considerate about the feelings of others, '*they (western people) ... often won't consider others feelings*' (dialogue 44).

Being 'open' equated to personal freedom of self expression and having a greater freedom of action, which was said to be less prevalent in China, "*Because we have a lot of regulations, principles to limit people to say something*" [Ci6]. For the participants being 'open' also relates to the freedom to behave in the way they wish. The students did not consider themselves to be 'open'. Some Chinese may deem it necessary to demonstrate a lack of openness in order to protect themselves from other individuals. They may regard verbal restraint as important when engaging with others in order to protect others from

embarrassment, discomfort and potentially 'loss of face'. The participants did not always appreciate the direct nature of certain westerners who expressed their personal opinions, perhaps with little regard for others' feelings: "*I found them to be too crazy in that they completely didn't consider other people's feelings*" [Jas9].

3. Being open may relate to individuals exhibiting extremely liberal and even permissive sexual behaviour, such as being affectionate towards members of the opposite sex in public; it was stated that, "*The (British) boys came here to change girlfriends, or sleep around with girls, something like that*" [J7].

Demonstrating 'open' behavioural characteristics was argued as relating to sexual behaviour, attitude and dress. Participants stated that for many traditional Chinese living together before marriage, or liberal sexual behaviour in public, is deemed unacceptable "*Because in China especially the north part ... The people will not live together, or have the relationship before they are married*" [J6]. The participants argued that 'loose moral behaviour', as is often portrayed in many Hollywood movies, is evidence to support the stereotypical perception that "western people are all very 'open'". The students stated that China adopts a more strict censorship in relation to what they will allow people to watch on television and in the cinema. "*For example, a lot of movies and TV series. If you watch them in the cinema in Britain or the western country we can see the full version, but in China some parts is cut, cannot see the full version*" [J6]. The scenes described were those of a sexual nature or those where drugs were being used.
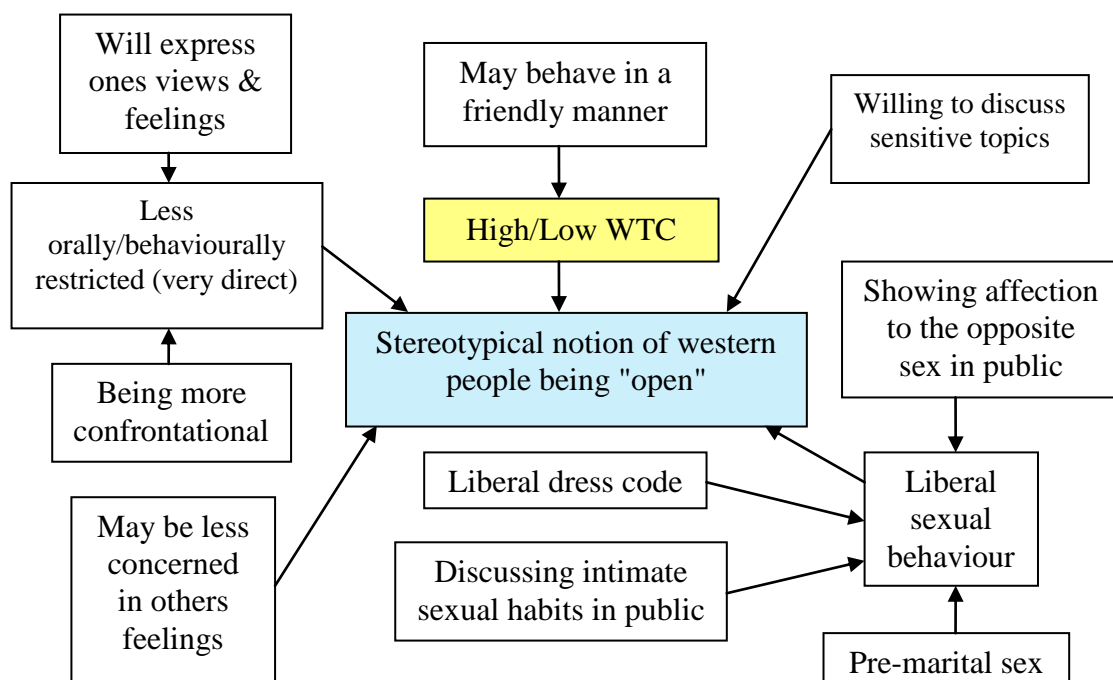
Fig. 23: Analysis of the stereotypical notion of western people being 'open'

It was noted by students [Bi, S and B] that not all British people were observed as being 'open'; '*I see a lot of British people, they are not so open'* (dialogue 45). Some British people observably demonstrated that they were not 'open': some who were seen to be shy, nervous and lacking in self confidence did not meet the stereotypical notions believed to represent western behaviour.

The friendly nature exhibited by many British (such as saying 'Hi' to strangers) could be held as exhibiting an 'open' type of behaviour. Some Chinese feel it inappropriate to reciprocate to strangers. A student [S] described how she was openly scolded by other Chinese girls when she responded politely to a British boy who greeted her as they walked past each other at an amusement park in Britain, as she commented, '*for Chinese people it's not good for you to do that. They felt shameful ... Just feel like you're doing something like others might notice you, or look at you … I don't think it's shameful though, but some of them might feel like 'oh don't do that*' (dialogue 46).

The notion of westerners being 'open' may influence Chinese students WTC with NES, on both a positive or a negative level. Positively, some students [D, Kn, Bi, S, J, K & Ci] stated that they would be WTC with NES who they considered as being 'open'. They concluded that as many westerners demonstrate a friendly, confident and approachable nature, and are willing to express themselves freely, which could enhance communication: westerners could be more approachable, resulting in a positive outcome. The same students considered that behaving in an 'open' manner helps to promote WTC since social constraints and barriers could be temporarily set aside. Some Chinese may choose to enhance their L2 communication skills and their understanding of western culture by realising the notion that a great deal may be gained from interacting with 'open' people.

Students argued that when British tutors are being 'open' such behaviour may enhance language exchanges between students and tutors. British tutors being 'open' may equate to,

(a) Tutors being more approachable, which is positively evaluated - '*The teacher is very 'open' so it's very nice'* (dialogue 47).

(b) The expectation that students may address tutors on a first name basis. One interviewee stated, "*the teacher like us to call him his first name, but we can't do this in China and we should call professor blar-blar-blar*" [Ci7].

(c) Tutors taking part in joint social activities with students.

One student described a field trip organised by the university, during which the tutors was still answering questions at midnight, '*This situation cannot happen in China*' (dialogue 48).

Based upon these accounts it was evident that Chinese are happy to accept this close level of communicative interaction with their British teachers, even though some were initially shocked by the student–teacher informal relationship which they experienced in Britain, quite different from what they are familiar with. In Britain the participants could be WTC with their university tutors because they see them as being 'open' and approachable.

It was argued (student [B]) that some Chinese students may be just as 'open' as NES, when they chose to assimilate themselves into British culture, which could be related to '*Integrativeness*' under the heading *Intergroup Attitudes*, box 8, Layer V - Affective & Cognitive Context, of the pyramid model. Some Chinese may consciously or subconsciously mimic the behavioural characteristics of some NES: some students may idealise some aspects of western culture, resulting in the view that they should follow these more developed behavioural characteristics. Some Chinese may believe that such adaptation could positively impact upon their oral English skills whilst similarly enhancing their abilities to form friendships with NES. Participants stated that some girls from China may deliberately behave in a more 'open' manner, in order to endeavour to find a British boyfriend, with a view to improving their oral English skills. Regular communicative exchanges within a relationship could be seen as an effective way to enhance students' communication skills, resulting in an increase in communicative self-confidence.

Two students [C & Jas] stated that some behavioural characteristics of being 'open' could be considered unfavourably. Some Chinese could prefer (as Wray, 2008 suggests) not to engage with western people as they disagreed with such behaviour, and would choose to

engage with fellow Chinese instead. Choice of communicative partners may be aligned to participants' perceptions of how one should behave towards others. Chinese students are taught that it is important to be tolerant of others' views and to be considerate of others' feelings in order to promote social harmony (Gao and Ting-Toomey, 1998; Hwang and Han, 1996; Jia, 2001). The outwards and unrestrained expression of one's personal views in relation to certain topics, particularly when it results in others feeling uncomfortable or embarrassed, is considered by many Chinese as being inappropriate. Some hold that those who demonstrate an 'open' personality, may be more aggressive and confrontational in their behaviour, and thus less considerate of others' feelings: *I feel that 'open' people have more of an aggressive behaviour. They are not afraid to say anything, which means that they often won't consider others' feelings'* (dialogue 49).

Consequently some students could be less WTC in English with interlocutors who demonstrated openness. Those with an 'open' manner may tend to be less considerate of the emotional impact of what they say; many Chinese feel it advisable to be restrained in relation to the sharing of one's personal views.

A second example concerns the liberal sexual behaviour which the students had observed in Britain. Many Chinese could feel uncomfortable associating with others in Britain who openly discuss their sexual behaviour with those around them, or who outwardly exhibit flirtatious or permissive characteristics. Some Chinese view this as inappropriate or even immoral. Many Chinese from traditional backgrounds are likely less WTC with others who exhibit such behaviour; this leaves a tension between rejecting the behaviour yet showing respect for cultural others who behave thus, *'That I can't accept, but I respect, I need to show my respect, because it's their country, their culture'* (dialogue 50).

It has been shown that Chinese students L2 WTC can be influenced by a number of cultural factors, which may lead to the formation of dichotomous tendencies resulting in differing behavioural outcomes. Some Chinese participants may be unwilling to accept certain cultural differences, some of which are at variance to their own cultural or moral values, leading to a negative impression of the target society. This could lead to a reticence to socialise with British people, resulting in low interest to orally engage in English, despite realising that interacting with others in English is the most effective means to improve oral

skills. When this occurs, it may be more difficult for Chinese students to achieve an increase in their communicative self-confidence, due to their choice not to engage with others in English.

Other Chinese could maintain that cultural differences may have a positive impact upon their intent to engage with British people. Some aspects of western cultures are seen to promote their friendly social interactions with the target culture, leading to effective language exchanges in English. Under such conditions when regular language exchanges occur, these Chinese may experience significant and rapid increases in their communicative self-confidence, a reduction in CA and an increase in PCC. The difference between these two mindsets may be due to the extent to which Chinese participants are willing to set aside some of their former stereotypical and perhaps rigid notions, and exhibit tolerance towards the target population. This is not to suggest that they would expect to completely behave identically as the members of the target society, but rather that they endeavour to fit into the social environments in order to gain a greater understanding of the cultural surroundings in which they live.

T19 Table showing how these results answer the research questions – Cultural differences.

Research Question (Condensed)	Description of how the research questions were answered
Changes in WTC, Changes in Comm. Self-confidence, Changes in PCC & CA	A lack of understanding of western culture (Gu and Maley, 2008; Xia, 2009) could produce higher CA and hence a lower WTC. Students may exhibit high or low levels of motivation to socialise with NES. Factors influencing unwilling to socialise with NES (low WTC): unfamiliar environment, unable to identify social settings, low PCC, few (or no) English speaking friends, negative view of some social environments (e.g. pubs and clubs), may disapprove of the dress standards of some individuals, unwillingness to attend some environments (belief that it could be harder to form friendships with NES), low WTC (if attended). Factors influencing willingness to socialise with NES (high WTC, lower CA): frequent exposure to social events, more opportunities to develop communication

	skills (higher Communicative Self-Confidence), easier to identify communicative topics, increased understanding of British culture.
Changes in WTC, Changes in PCC & CA	Cultural factors influencing WTC: unable to understand British culture (Ozturgut, 2012; Wu, 2011), differing lifestyles, may inadvertently offend someone, unable to understand western humour, unable to identify areas of common interest (low WTC, high CA).
Additional factors	Many cultural factors were found to influence WTC and CA.
Changes in WTC	Stereotypical notion of NES being "open" may influence WTC. Factors promoting WTC (behavioural characteristics of NES): will express ones views & feelings, less orally/behaviourally restricted (very direct), may behave in a friendly manner. Factors which may hinder WTC (behavioural characteristics of NES): being more confrontational, may be less concerned in others feelings, discussing intimate sexual habits in public, liberal sexual behaviour.

4.4 Social Networking Patterns of the Chinese

Many of the participants confessed that they often preferred to engage with Chinese students rather than with NES, despite tutors' reminders to mix more generally, "*My personal tutor keeps telling me not to regularly stay around other Chinese students. He said Chinese students always [get] stuck in groups of other Chinese students causing you to lose opportunities of mixing with other people* (dialogue 51).

The following areas will now be discussed ,

(a) The language challenges which Chinese students encounter when they arrive in Britain.

(b) The language challenges which Chinese students encounter when they begin attending university lectures.

(c) The reasons why Chinese students may begin interacting more with other Chinese rather than with NES.

4.4.1 Arriving in Britain

Upon arriving in Britain students from China may unsurprisingly experience a culture shock, as this may be the first time that many have been abroad. This culture shock may be due to the realisation that they are living in a foreign country, in an unfamiliar setting, away from the immediate support of their family and friends, in an environment where they need to understand a different culture and a different pedagogic system which differs from what they are accustomed to in China. Some will need to manage a number of personal matters which would previously have been by handled for them by their parents. Arriving in Britain, the participants had to arrange university registration, choose study modules, register at the local police station and sort out accommodation issues - '*induction week where students had to sort out a lot of things ... registering at the police station, or choosing your modules*' (dialogue 52).

As they arranged such matters, some experienced CA due to difficulties in expressing themselves, e.g. Chinese students may be aware of the need to register at a local health centre in order to be able to access health care in Britain. However, accomplishing this may be less than straightforward for some students.

During this period the participants reported that they came into contact with many NES with whom they were required to communicate in English. In order to support students during this early transitional period, some universities provide support staff to assist students to choose the modules they intend to take. However, when some Chinese students engaged with helpers, they regarded such interactions as unproductive as they hoped those assigned to help them would be Chinese speakers and, if they were not, they felt unsupported, '*you hope that you can find someone who will stay next to you in order to translate for you*' (dialogue 53) – this reveals, of course, their communicative difficulties in English and students from China may not find anyone who can speak Chinese to translate for them.

If Chinese students experience a reduced level of communicative self-confidence, due to them being unable to easily and effectively communicate with others, some may feel a sense of communicative inferiority, seeing a gap between their English language competence and that of a NES. This may result in caution and less spontaneity when they engage with

NES. This leads some Chinese students to be unwilling to engage with NES, '*I really don't want to talk to foreign people, because I'm afraid that they can laugh at me, or they can think that I'm stupid*' (dialogue 54).

Such CA may produce a feeling of induced helplessness and loneliness when in Britain: "*One [issue] is loneliness. You know we are foreigners here and we want some support so we want to talk to Chinese people together*" [J4]. This may be particularly acute for Chinese who are accustomed to being in the company of many other students. As China is a densely populated country (certainly in large cities), students from urban areas are less accustomed to living in a less densely populated areas. Consequently, they may a feel lonely when they find themselves living in student accommodation where they have their own private room. In China, student accommodation commonly means either four or six students sharing one room.
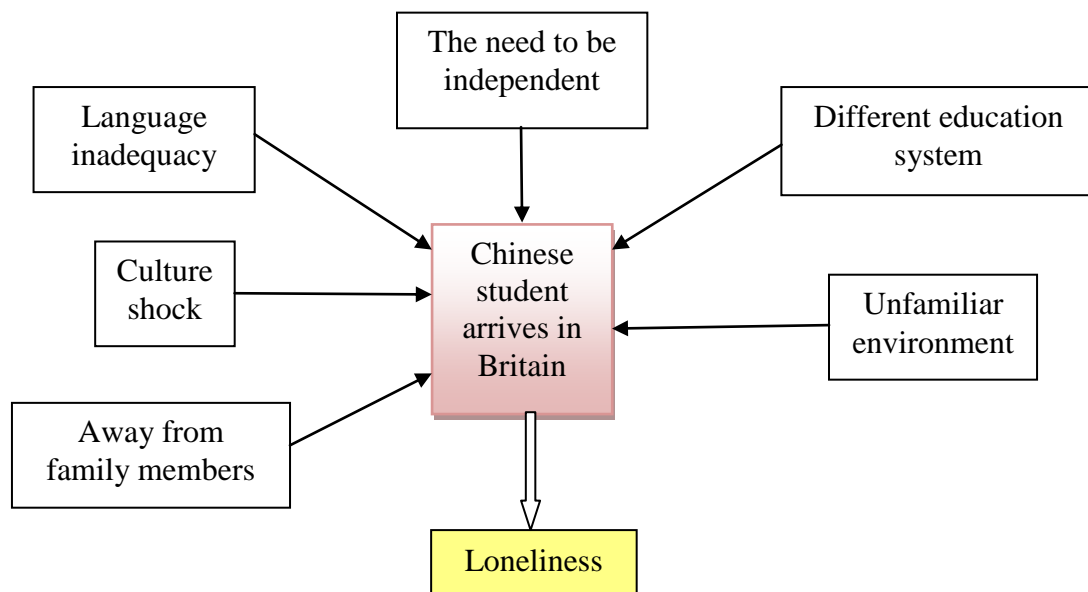
Fig. 24: Some analysed features encountered by Chinese students arriving in Britain

Feelings of loneliness may produce a strong motivation for Chinese students to seek out other Chinese to engage with, rather than trying to struggle to engage with NES. If Chinese students are accustomed to interacting within large groups of Chinese peers, within both study and recreational situations (Wray, 2008), unsurprisingly this association may lead to the formation of a national identity being formed with their Chinese peers, reported as follows. "*So when you see another Chinese person you will feel a 'cordial closeness'*" [Ab7].

Therefore, when Chinese students arrive in Britain, the feelings of loneliness and perhaps insecurity which some likely experience may motivate them to associate with other Chinese students, in order to create more familiar study and recreational environments. Thus, some Chinese students may not exhibit a high level of motivation to integrate into British society.

Many participants were enrolled on mathematics, accounting or business-related degree programs in Britain, popular amongst Chinese students. This sometimes resulted in some classes being attended by many Chinese students (as Tian and Lowe, 2009 have also stated), which can adversely influence their opportunities to engage with NES, thereby being a detrimental factor in promoting opportunities to improve their communicative language skills, since it may dampen motivation to socialise and form friendships with NES. Even if some Chinese intend to interact with NES, they may find it hard to refuse invitations to engage with other Chinese, as reported; *we will get invited to attend some events, but if you don't take the opportunity to attend you will lose an opportunity of joining their group'* (dialogue 55).

Consequently some Chinese rarely engaged with their NES classmates; they may only engage with NES when they are required to take part in classroom group discussion activities.

This motivation for Chinese students to predominately engage with their fellow Chinese and not with NES is also evidenced in the following extract: "*When we arrive here we are all the same ... but people prefer to mix with other students who are from the same country*" [Ab7]. Engaging with fellow Chinese allows them to express their ideas with greater ease and clarity. If a student encounters a problem, they may prefer to ask other Chinese students for assistance, due to the ease of communicating with them and simply because there are often many other Chinese students around them. Therefore, being in a foreign country but finding themselves in the company of other Chinese may provide them with a sense of moral support or even a sense of reliance on the assistance that other Chinese students may provide; perhaps this is parallel to the previous reliance of many on their parents while they were in China.

Similarly, if a Chinese student had to engage with a NES and was at the time with a group of fellow Chinese, they may turn to another Chinese for immediate language support

during the middle of a conversation with a NES, as expressed thus. "*In the past when I went shopping my expressional skills were not very strong. Normally they couldn't understand me, so I would go shopping with friends (Chinese friends)*" [Jas9]. The moral and linguistic support which could be provided by other Chinese may provide the Chinese student with a higher level of communicative confidence to engage in English, even if only for a short period. Commonly Chinese students accompany other Chinese students each day and hence they may be unwilling to enter unfamiliar language environments alone, but will prefer to do so accompanied by another Chinese student - '*the Chinese people… they will ask another (Chinese) friend to keep them company'* (dialogue 56).

Thus Chinese students who spend most of their time with other Chinese may feel a sense of familiarity and a common identity with a common cultural background which unites them and allows them to communicate more smoothly to someone who can understand them. Also, after having attended a full day of lectures in English, meeting other Chinese (assuming they speak in Chinese), may seem a welcome break from language fatigue.
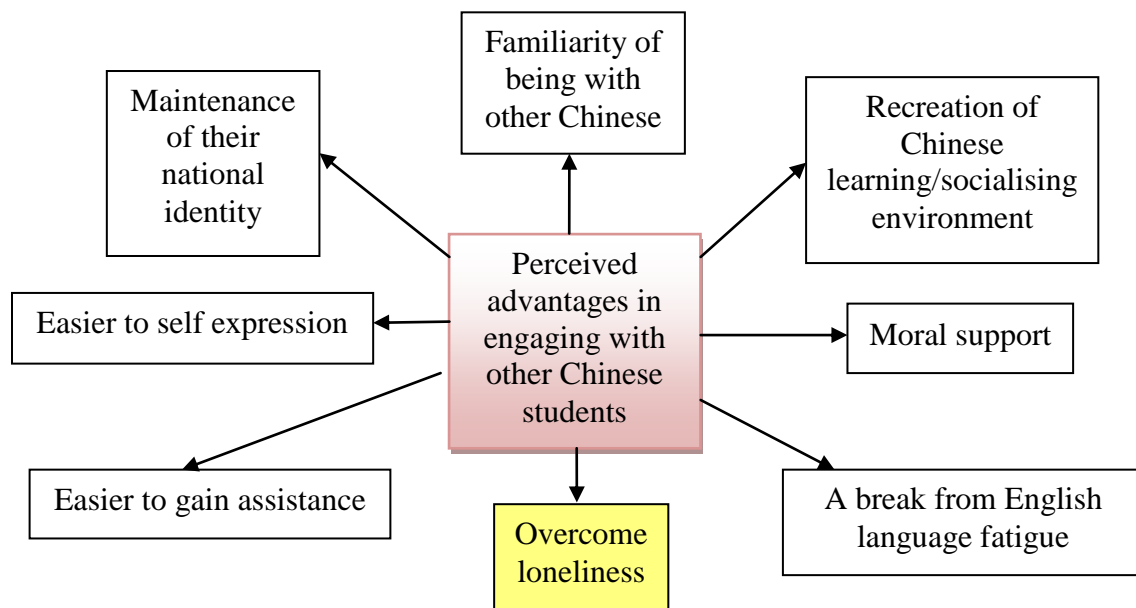
Fig. 25: Some analysed features of Chinese students mixing with other Chinese students in Britain to form close personal networks

4.4.2 Attending lectures

When the participants started attending university classes in Britain, many may choose to sit with their Chinese peers: they gain opportunities to meet other new Chinese

students. This was expressed as follows, "*So because you will sit with other Chinese students, you will get to know the other Chinese students on your course and you will both leave your exchange contact details*" [Ab7]. This may result in joining social networking circles of other Chinese rather than joining new networking circles with NES. This notion of joining 'personal communication networks' is a topic covered in relation to 'structural characteristics', under the heading 'Intergroup Climate' box 11, Layer VI - Social and Individual Context, of the pyramid model. However, the pyramid model only addresses the notion of 'personal communication networks' in relation to differing groups, such as Chinese students interacting with NES and not interaction with individuals who share a common identity - Chinese students interacting with other Chinese.

If any study problems are encountered they may often find it easier and more immediate to ask their Chinese peers for help, rather than seeking assistance from English speaking students. This could produce a reliance on the support and guidance that Chinese social networks provide and give a feeling that they do not need to speak in English, as many of the encountered problems can be effectively managed without the need to engage in English with others: '*If you have a question about something you will ask them [other Chinese students] and if the second time you have a question you will ask them again. After you get to know them you will spend a great deal of your time with them*' (dialogue 57).

Wen and Clement, 2003 also concur that Chinese students may engage with others in English less frequently outside the classroom and may often only do so if they encounter a situation which can only be overcome by speaking to a British person. However, even during group discussions within the classroom when all students are expected to participate in English, some Chinese may still choose to discuss classroom group topics (consisting of both Chinese and non Chinese students) with their fellow Chinese peers in Chinese, even if their non Chinese peers become frustrated. This was evidenced by student [K] who described how other female members of her classroom discussion group would frequently insist in speaking in Chinese amongst themselves, even though there were non-Chinese members in the group - '*in my group ... four of them are Chinese ... they talk all the time in Chinese'* (dialogue 58). Student [K] she felt it was wrong that her Chinese peers behaved in such a manner. However, she stated that she was unwilling to raise this issue with the other Chinese students for fear of being alienated by them. Therefore, to maintain a good relationship with the other Chinese

students in her group she chose not to say anything. Hence, some Chinese students may exhibit a low L2 WTC with others despite being immersed in an English learning environment. It could be theorised that such participants who maintain strong social networks with co-nationals may not achieve a marked change in L2 WTC as they study in Britain. Consequently, it should not be assumed that all Chinese students will experience a marked change in their L2 WTC whilst studying abroad.

Even if British students invite them to attend social events, some Chinese may decline the invitation, as they find it easier to communicate with fellow Chinese. Chinese students who maintain such behaviour may be less inclined to join and take part in university societies, but may only join their university's 'Chinese Society', which would allow them to further broaden their social networking opportunities with other Chinese students. Consequently, students from China may have few English speaking friends (UKCOSA, 2004) and may not have a strong incentive to speak to others in English. Hence some students may demonstrate little intent to adapt to their foreign language environment in order to integrate into British society. This may be linked to notion of 'perceptual and affective correlation' under the heading '*Intergroup Climate'*, box 11, Layer VI - Social & Individual Context, of the pyramid model. Hence some Chinese students may feel that their English speaking ability has not improved much whilst they have been in the UK. However, it was also seen that other Chinese students' English language speaking skills did improve as they studied in Britain; some made an effort to speak to others in English despite studying alongside a high number of other Chinese students. Nevertheless, there was still a higher incidence of Chinese students who expressed reticence in speaking to others in English due to having many Chinese classmates, reported as follows: '*There are many Chinese in the class. So the Chinese students talk to the other Chinese every day. So there is not chance to practice [English]*' (dialogue 59).

For many Chinese students the relationship between themselves and other British classmates was one in which the latter were just study companions whilst in the classroom. The decision to engage with other Chinese people outside the classroom was a conscious choice made by the participants. Yet effective communication with others in English was seen by the students as their most vital priority when living in Britain: speaking to others in English would allow them the opportunity to gain a greater understanding of the environment

around them. Participant [Kn] described how Chinese students often recognise that engaging with Chinese students frequently and with NES infrequently (similarly expressed by Wray, 2008) is an unfavourable situation resulting in loss of opportunities to improve language skills, yet Chinese students feel unable to rectify this situation - '*a lot of Chinese people in our group ... I think it's bad. But I don't know how to make friends with others'* (dialogue 60).

4.4.3 A Need to Interact with Other Chinese

During the interviews, it became evident that the participants have a strong need to engage with fellow Chinese, even though they realised that excessive interaction within these Chinese social networking circles would negatively impact upon their English skills. There are a number of reasons why the participants reported the need for their co-national interaction.

1. There are many topics of discussion which the participants considered can only be discussed with those who they share the same ethnic background, e.g. how they feel about studying abroad. Due to their English language limitations, Chinese students may feel that they are only able to discuss these 'deeper topics' with other Chinese - '*We have a lot of things to talk about in Chinese ... how we feel when we study abroad'* and '*we come from the same culture ... can talk about deeper topics'* (dialogues 61 & 62).

2. Chinese students may experience feelings of acute loneliness while they live in Britain; being far away from home, their family and friends in an alien environment. Understandably, they may yearn for emotional support in a situation where they cannot rely on their family in the same way that they did whilst at home. These feelings of loneliness may produce a strong attraction to people of their own race due to:

(i) A common cultural bond which they feel with other Chinese students, owing to the shared cultural background, described as follows, "*because of the culture or something, the same background*" [J4] and "*because we have the same life habits*" [Bi4]; this gives them a close feeling of unity, due to a common ethnic identity (similarly expressed by Gao, 1998).

(ii) Most feel that they are unable to form close friendships with NES, since it was argued that, "*But I don't know how to make friends with others (meaning NES)*" [Kn4] and "*I think it's hard to make friends with foreigners*" [V9].

(iii) A need to communicate in Chinese with others: speaking to others in Chinese forms what could be described as a 'release valve' for language fatigue, due to the language pressures of having to speak to others in English, or at least being exposed to the language, on a daily basis.

3. Some Chinese students may demonstrate a rather reserved temperament where they may exhibit a cautious and shy demeanour. A participant confirmed that, "*Another thing is Chinese people are very shy. They want to do something themselves*" [J4]. They may exhibit what could be viewed as reserved and detached behaviour, where the participants may not readily seek help from others with whom they are less familiar. In situations when help is required, they enlist assistance from other Chinese students rather than NES: '*we want some support so we want to talk to Chinese people together*' (dialogue 63).

4. The participants find it easier to express themselves in L1 with other Chinese students, due to a solidarity preference in studying alongside other Chinese students who adopt shared study patterns from China. Other Chinese seem more willing to assist them when they have a question or problem with their study, since they have a greater understanding of the learning challenges that they encounter. This support is likely reciprocated, linked directly to the "guan xi" (relationship) discussed previously, namely, the existing network relations of reciprocation between them. Other Chinese students may feel inferior in a class of NES, due to a sense of language inequality, in addition to a feeling that they do not adequately understand western people - '*you will worry about yourself to make some mistakes*' (dialogue 64).

Thus some participants may feel less 'threatened' communicatively when they study alongside other Chinese, in a setting which allows them to communicate in Chinese, and therefore, with fewer communicative barriers to academic learning.
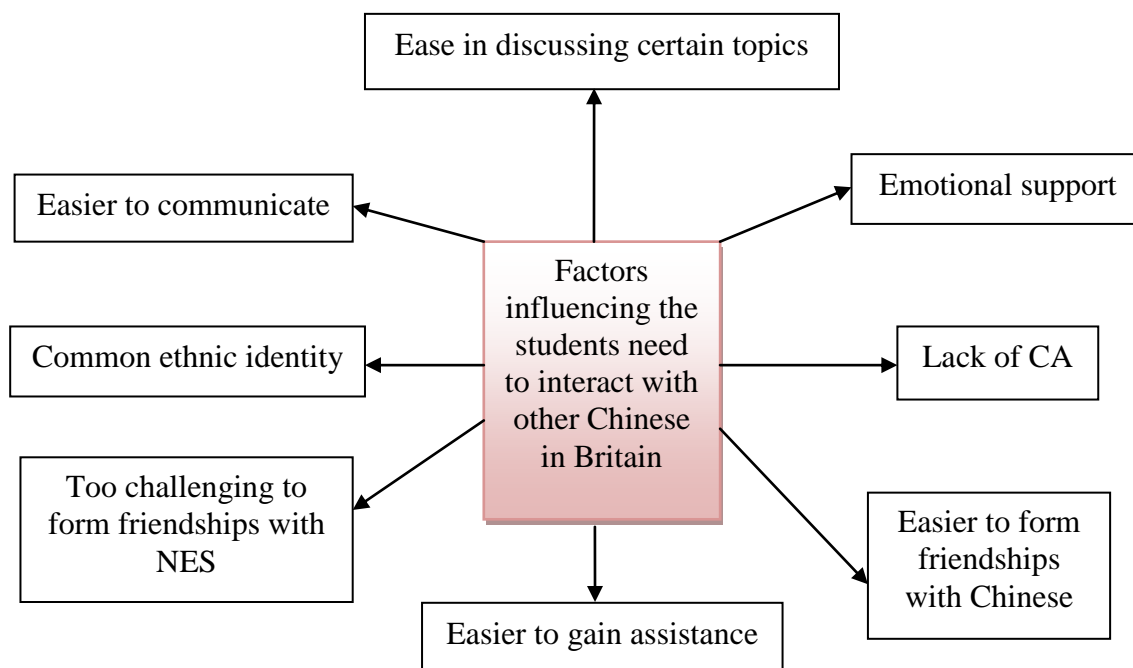
Fig. 26: Some analysed factors influencing Chinese students' need to interact with other Chinese in Britain

This apparent need for regular interaction with other Chinese did not change during this study. Consequently, even after having lived in Britain for over a year, some participants confessed that they still spent a considerable amount of their time interacting with other Chinese students. Some participants stated that they rarely spent any time engaging with NES. One [V] stated that despite having been in Britain for over a year and a half, she nonetheless spent 99.9% of her time interacting with other Chinese students. These participants who spent extended periods of time with other Chinese students admitted that they still had a low level of communicative self-confidence, which was likely exacerbated by minimal interaction with NES. From the participant dialogues it was observed that the students often used the phrase *'I don't have opportunities to speak in English'*, evidenced in the phrase, "*we don't have many opportunities to speak*" [Ab7]. Some participants were unwilling to admit that this notion of 'not having opportunities to speak in English' could more clearly be understood as a lack of effort to actually create opportunities to engage with NES in English. One student stated, "*but I don't make a very active intention, so I don't make an effort to find someone*" [V9]. Within this context, 'not having' could be described as being in a 'passive communicative state' by avoiding opportunities to engage in L2 language exchanges, in contrast to what could be

described as a 'proactive communicative state' of finding opportunities to engage with other NES.

It has been shown that students from China may experience language challenges when they arrive in Britain, in addition to having to adapt to a new learning environment in a foreign country. In seeking to handle the challenges that they encounter, participants may turn to other Chinese students for assistance, resulting in the formation of strong social networking circles of groups of Chinese students. This may lead to a reliance on the assistance and support that they receive within these networks and so oral interactions with other NES may be less frequent. The lack of perceived need to engage with NES may result in negligible improvement in their communicative ability. For some, this condition was found to persist throughout the eighteen months of this study, resulting in a minimal change in some participants' L2 WTC and communicative self-confidence whilst studying in Britain.

T20 Table showing how these results answer the research questions –
        Social networking patterns

Research Question (Condensed)	Description of how the research questions were answered
Changes in WTC, Changes in PCC & CA	Factors influencing WTC (decrease) and CA (increase) upon arriving in Britain: language inadequacy, culture shock, being away from family members, different education system, unfamiliar environment, loneliness.
Changes in WTC	Factors hindering WTC - perceived advantages in engaging with other Chinese students as opposed to NES: familiarity of being with other Chinese, maintenance of their national identity, easier to self expression, easier to gain assistance, recreation of Chinese learning/socialising environment, moral support, a break from English language fatigue, overcome loneliness.
	Additional factors influencing students need to interact with other Chinese in Britain (hindering WTC): easier to communicate, ease in discussing certain topics, common ethnic identity (Gao, 1998), too challenging to form friendships with NES, easier to gain assistance, emotional support, lack of CA, easier to form friendships with Chinese.
Additional factors	Social networking circles may influence WTC (Wray, 2008).

4.5 Speaking in English to Differing Interlocutors.

This section will outline the nature of participants' interactions with differing interlocutors as they studied in Britain to see how Chinese students may respond when speaking in English to different interlocutors in Britain. The following areas will be examined.

(a) The contrasting nature of language exchanges with both international students (non Chinese) and NES.

(b) The formation of friendships with others.

(c) The nature of speaking in English to strangers.

The participants discussed their communicative experiences of engaging with a wide range of interlocutors, contrasted with the more simplistic coverage of the three receivers covered within the scales. In describing a wide range of communicative environments, the participants concurred that they preferred speaking in English within dyadic language settings.

4.5.1 Speaking in English to International Students (IS) and NES

When seeking to promote language exchanges with other NES, students from China may experience a high degree of CA (as Xia, 2009 has suggested), in that they may feel a certain level of embarrassment due to what they perceive as inadequacies in their communicative ability. A participant stated that, "*When I speak to native English speakers I feel quite nervous*" [Dav6]. A high level of CA was viewed as a barrier to enhancing their oral speaking skills. Despite this barrier and the trepidation which some Chinese students may experience in relation to engaging with others, the participants stated that they usually enjoyed engaging with other university students in English, due to a common bond which they believed to existed between all university students studying together to gain an academic education. The interlocutors whom the participants encountered within university usually demonstrated a patient and kind attitude towards them; such individuals often helped them to improve students' communicative language skills, thereby helping them to reduce their CA.

The notion of reaching some level of affinity with those with whom one shares a common identity could be linked to the Chinese views of a common bonding identity (Gao, 1998) which links students together and nurtures a greater willingness to associate with co-nationals. This is readily observed within a Chinese context, where Chinese learners often employ the term "classmate" or "tong xue" (同学) to both describe and address those with whom they study or other students in the same institution. This term demotes a certain level of 'relationship' (or 'guan xi') existing between themselves and fellow students, which may help to provide a certain level of fellowship or closeness between individuals. This common identity was usually reported not to exist with those outside the university community. Thus some participants contrasted the patience and helpfulness experienced within their university with attitudes outside, '*if you go to the public situation such as the train station, the airport, maybe they don't have enough patience*" (dialogue 65).

The participants' early efforts to engage with some of their British classmates sometimes resulted in unsuccessful language exchanges, which at times led to feelings of frustration, summarized as, "*There is a far distance for me and his English*" [N3]. This frustration could mean students initially felt that they were unable to communicate effectively with British people. After an unsuccessful language exchange, the participants may place the responsibility for failed communication on themselves, "*Maybe I am afraid to talk with them and I'm not confident [on the] topic, because of my poor English*" [Bi7]. In contrast, other participants believed that unsuccessful language exchanges occurred when some NES were unwilling to speak to them so the NES were responsible for unsuccessful conversations: "*And if it's a native speaker maybe feel don't want to talk to people who are not good at speaking English. They may feel it wastes their time*" [N3]. Yet these challenges could have been due to the Chinese students' inability to express themselves effectively, so that NES were unable to understand what they had said. Some NES may show little interest in engaging with Chinese students, if their conversations with Chinese students seem less stimulating and more challenging to maintain. Thus, rather than simple linear cause-effect relations, a network of a series of such relations seems to influence these NES-Chinese student exchanges.

As an additional complexity, some Chinese students prefer engaging with international students (IS) - here non-Chinese students whose first language is not English. Fourteen participants [Dav, Sh, Da, C, B, N, Jasm, J, Ci, S, Ab, K, Jas & V] stated that they

preferred speaking in English to IS, rather than with NES. This notion of NES being potentially less WTC with Chinese students was discussed by participant [J], who reported an incident he had experienced where a group of NES stated that they did not like speaking to Chinese students as they were unable to keep up with the speed of a conversation: "*You can't catch up with us and your English level is low*" [J9]. Such incidents may have an extremely negative impact upon Chinese students WTC with NES and may be a reason why Chinese students asserted that, "*We are very unwilling to speak in English to British people ... they completely don't consider other people's feelings*" [Jas9]. Likewise, the apparent speaking speed of certain NES may lead the participants to feel that British students may join their words together, making their speech difficult to understand: "*we talk to the native people their speed of speaking make me feel there is too far a way to go. There is a far distance for me and his English*" [N3]. Similarly it was reported that some British students may not always show consideration to Chinese students who are struggling with the target language, "*British people won't consider about us not being able to understand them*" [C3].
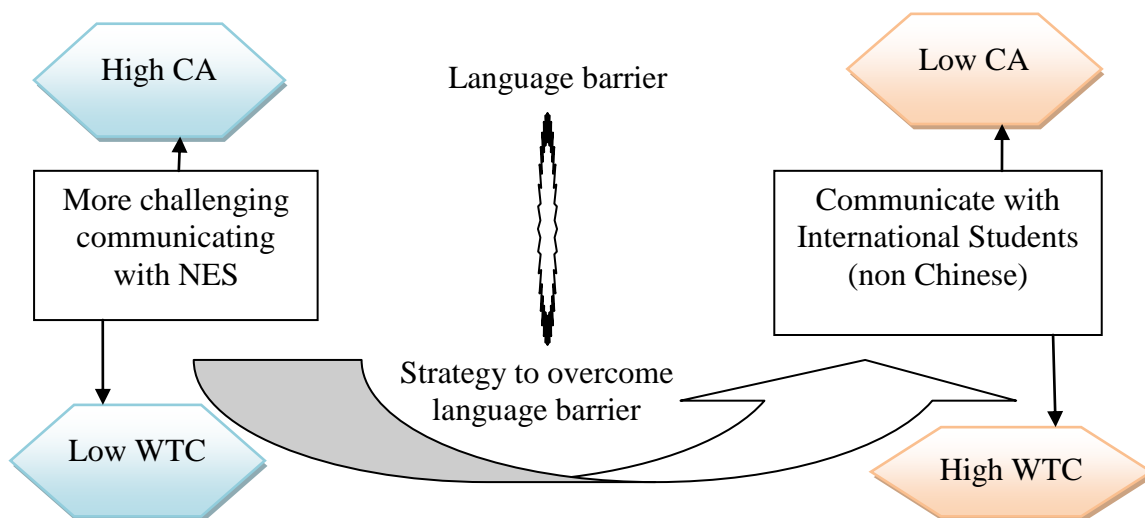
Fig. 27: Some strategic balances for Chinese students in communicating with NES and IS

Once the participants' oral skills improve, some Chinese students may prefer speaking in English to British students and not to IS, since these participants found NES easier to understand, whereas some IS (such as those from Africa and the Middle-East) were reported to have strong accents, *'Their English is very strange. It can be very hard to understand them'* (dialogue 66).

Hence, some Chinese students WTC with IS, may be considered as transitory: It aids the participants' communicative self-confidence, when initially they find it more challenging speaking to British people. However, once the participants begin to become more confident speaking in English, they may feel that they are able to engage effectively with British people rather than IS, '*I prefer to speak to British students because their English is easier to understand and they are maybe more polite to talk to you'* (dialogue 67).

Many Chinese students considered that their language proficiency would initially improve more rapidly through engaging with IS; it would be a means of gaining opportunities to speak in English in a less stressful setting, due to comparable levels of language competence. Hence Chinese students may be more WTC in English with IS when they perceive less of a language proficiency gap as there would be when they engage with a NES. As they communicate more with IS, their PCC may increase, and consequently as their oral language proficiency increases, so eventually the participants may feel a higher level of communicative self-confidence to engage with NES, '*When I speak English to Vietnamese my English improved very, very quickly. I think if I was speaking English to British people I don't think there would be this impact'* (dialogue 68).

This preference for speaking in English to IS could be due to a number of additional reasons. Participants [C] commented how Chinese students may feel there a common bond between themselves and some IS. Such a rapport with some IS may be due to a certain level of similarities in language experiences which they both share: it was stated that, "*We both face the same problems*" [Ab7], such as that English is not their mother language; both groups will have studied English as either a second, or foreign language in their home country; both are studying in a foreign country and both may also be struggling to speak English in Britain. Such notions can lead to some Chinese students to believe there is less of a language gap when they speak to IS, described as follows: '*If your English is useless and my English is useless ... won't feel any kind of language barrier'* (dialogue 69).

The apparently closer level of language proficiency between Chinese students and IS may help to form 'a closeness', a 'common bond' which may strengthen their communicative self-confidence, so that they may feel under less pressure as they speak in English.

Participants found that many IS tended to speak in English more slowly than British people. IS were often described as being more kind and patient in trying to understand their conversations, which often helped to promote a more relaxed and less stressful language exchange environment. Some Chinese students maintained that their communicative self-confidence was bolstered when speaking to certain IS, such as when they found that some other IS oral speaking skills were less advanced than theirs. Participants [J] and [N] recounted how their communicative self-confidence increased considerably when they spoke in English with students from Japan, whose English communicative ability was worse than theirs - '*One Japanese person in my class ... he is not good in English ... I would like to talk more, because I will feel more confident*' and '*can get some self-confidence when you talk to them ... some Japanese girls*' (dialogues 70 & 71).

However, not all language exchanges with IS were regarded as being productive. Participant [J] related how he met an Italian IS, whose oral English speaking level was inferior to his, resembling how he had spoken when he first arrived in Britain. The IS made a high number of grammar mistakes when he spoke in English and it took him a considerable amount of time to answer questions. For this reason participant [J] found it challenging to communicate with him, although he felt able to relate well to the Italian, due to their common experiences. Consequently the participant found himself behaving in a more patient manner when he spoke to this person. Despite this, the participant did not enjoy speaking in English with him and he would be less WTC with the Italian as he found such language exchanges to be less stimulating - '*His English is more horrible than me ... I will spend more patience to waiting him ... A big problem as it's quite boring*' (dialogue 72).

If this Chinese student considered it to be less stimulating speaking in English to IS whose communicative ability seemed less advanced than his but would prefer speaking to those whose English ability was of a comparable, or more advanced level than his, it could be suggested that some NES may hold comparable views when they try to speak to Chinese students. They may regard the communicative ability of Chinese students as being considerably lower than theirs, making it more challenging and less stimulating to communicate with them. If this is the case, some students from China may understand how some NES are unwilling to engage with them. Thus, language exchanges between Chinese students and NES may be more frequent when both parties perceive that they and the

interlocutors are linguistically proficient for an effective language exchange. Therefore, some Chinese students may not endeavour to undertake a language exchange with a NES unless they perceive that they are able to do so effectively.

4.5.2 Friendships

The students were asked to discuss the extent to which they could form close friendships with a NES, as the formation of a close friendship with a NES may indicate the level and frequency of interaction with others. The students' responses showed mixed views. Nine students ([Li, Je, CSF, J, Jen, Ci, K, Jas, B]) believed that it is possible to form varied levels of friendship with NES, whereas fourteen ([Z, Ja, D,V, J, Jas, L, R, Kn, B, Dav, Bi, Ci, Ab]) held that it was not possible to form close friendships with NES. The participants discussed differing levels of friendship with NES; such as 'deep' and 'shallow' friendships. Many of the students believed that only the latter was possible. Some participants could be motivated to engage with NES, which may result in the formation of a friendship, out of curiosity about the target population. This curiosity might focus on perceived western behaviour, lifestyle, culture etc., and largely arose from a lack of previous interaction with western people in China or was due to a lack of understanding western culture (as Ozturgut, 2012; Wu, 2011 have discussed). Curiosity could motivate an interest and a desire to understand western people - '*have this curiosity of wanting to understand her life*' (dialogue 74).

These students may seek to communicate extensively with western people, not with the intent to integrate themselves into the British culture, but in order to gain a understanding of western culture, which may enhance their communicative self-confidence: "*I can master the English very well and know about the culture of the U.K. maybe I think I will be more comfortable to talk*" [Bi4]. However, it was stated (student [Z]) that such an affiliation with a NES may only produce a shallow form of friendship. Thus gaining an understanding of western culture may not form the basis for the formation of a long term relationship. The students argued that 'deep friendships' with NES would be established upon a deeper level of affinity, based upon a common understanding and acceptance of a range of cultural and social topics. They argued that, "*Because of the cultural differences. You can't make deep friendships with them [NES) only shallow friendships*" [D2]. Some Chinese may even believe

that it is only possible to form 'shallow friendships' with western people, as few western and Chinese people have an extensive reciprocal understanding of the others' culture and lifestyle. Hence, cultural differences were seen to inhibit friendship formation: the participants had few British friends (which was also verified by UKCOSA, 2004) and some students stated that they did not have any; whereas they had many Chinese friends and they spent a high proportion of their time interacting with them, '*All of my friends are Chinese, because I'm a Chinese. I cannot be real friends with foreigners ... right now I don't have any [NE] friends*' (dialogue 75)

Some cultural differences may initially make it hard for some participants to form friendships with NES and effectively integrate into British culture, given that they have a limited understanding of British culture, which may result in a feeling of 'not belonging', or not feeling a part of British society. However, such views could change if a participant gained a greater understanding of British culture, which could lead to the individual being more willing to integrate into British society. This notion could be linked to '*Intergroup Motivation'*, box 6, Layer IV - *Motivational Propensities*, of the pyramid model.

Another reason why the participants believed it is difficult to form close friendships with British people was due to them being unable to identify common topics of conversation (supported by Cao's, 2011 study). This apparently simple factor seemed to indicate that the formation of friendship could be related to the participants' language ability. However, it could be argued that the participants' English language ability could not in all cases be attributed to an inability in forming friendship with NES. It was argued by student [Bi] that some Chinese may find it hard to form close friendship with others, regardless of whether they were Chinese or non Chinese, '*I don't expect to make very close friend, just an opportunity to an acquaintance is OK'* (dialogue 76).

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                    ┌─────────────────────┐
                    │ Language constraints │
                    └─────────────────────┘
                              │
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                    │  Perceived reasons why │
                    │  it may be difficult to │
       ┌───────────▶│  form friendships with │◀───────────┐
       │            │         NES            │            │
       │            └─────────────────────┘            │
       │                                                 │
┌─────────────────┐                          ┌─────────────────────┐
│ Lack of understanding │                    │ Considerable interaction │
│  of western culture   │                    │     with Chinese         │
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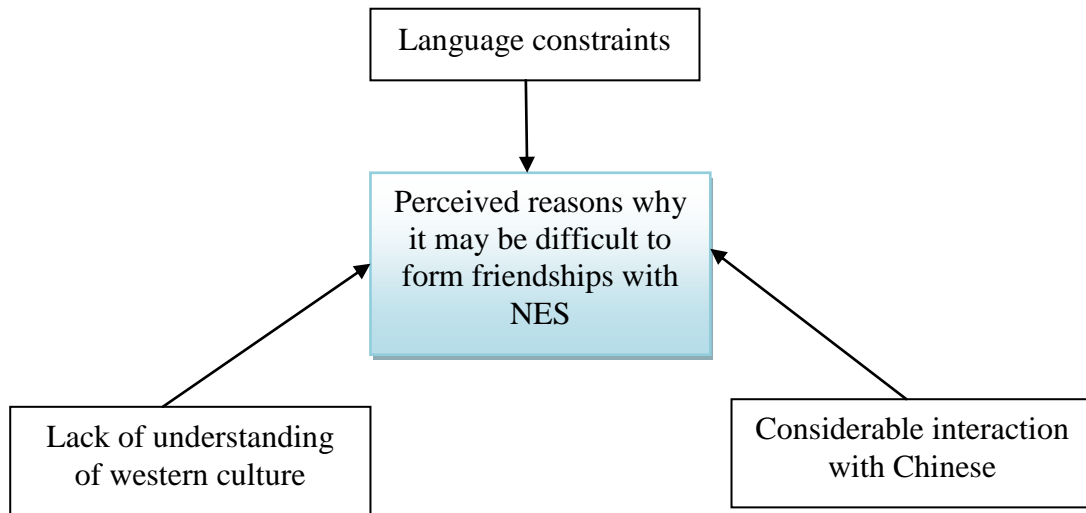
Fig. 28: Some analysed features of why it is difficult for Chinese students to form friendships with NES in Britain

Thus, the common language and ethnic background of the participants should not be regarding as being an overriding factor in determining friendship formation; other areas such as the choice of topic and the depth of discussion with another person may influence the type of friendship which develops between two people (and vice versa). Participants argued that over time friendships could also change. As an enjoyable oral interaction between two people develops, the level of friendship could change. For example a student remarked "*If I met a stranger who I enjoyed talking to, then a stranger could become an acquaintance, who could then become a friend*" [Li1].

Nevertheless, after having been in Britain for over a year, participants maintained that it was still often hard to form friendships with British people; it was still easier to form friendships with non NES, as they thought British people tended to be less willing to form friendships with them. The participants explained that this could be due to a lack of common interests, or a lack of NES' patience to communicate with less advanced English speakers, or a question of 'open heartedness': '*Some British people cannot open their heart to make friends with some people and he is not very enthusiastic to make friends with us ... oh it's very lonely here ... I think the westerners is difficult is to make friends ... Sometimes they didn't open their hearts*' (dialogue 77).

Nine students argued that it was not difficult to form new friendships when a British person who reciprocated the same intention: the key was whether both people intend to try and form a friendship - '*are you willing or not to try to make friends with them*?' (dialogue 78). Some participants regarded it to be easy to form friendships with some friendly British students, due to common aims held by many university students - '*I don't think it's very difficult to make friends with different countries'* (dialogue 79).

Some participants argued that if they tried to demonstrate communicative self-confidence in communicating with others, new friendships could be formed. This view was expressed by student [S] who said that she predominantly interacted with British people and found that her oral English skills dramatically improved as a result. Hence it was argued that the participants may form a certain level of friendship with British people, but it could be difficult to form a 'deep' friendship, due to an inability to discuss deeper topics - '*but to discuss deeper topics, then it's very difficult'* (dialogue 80).

Those students who said they were able to form friendships with NES, asserted that friendships with many British people could be formed through regular verbal interaction; when taking part in mutual activities which interest both parties, e.g. yoga - '*I go to the sports centre and do yoga … so I get the conversation. That's the way I make friends'* (dialogue 81).

After living in Britain for over a year, three students [K, J & Ci] reported that their PCC had increased and that they were more WTC with NES, in that they had formed more friendships with NES than in the past. When such friendships were formed, language exchanges could be maintained for extended periods of time. These successful friendships were said to be more general in nature, rather than more intimate friendships. One reason as a participant [J] concluded was the need to spend a considerable length of time with others in order to develop a deeper level of friendship. However, Chinese may not spend sufficiently long periods of time with NES for this to occur.

4.5.3 Speaking in English to Strangers

Another type of interlocutor covered was the 'stranger'. Whilst discussing this area the students maintained strong views in relation to speaking to strangers; their opinions were

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often formed from childhood. The participants stated that parents in China will teach their child that speaking to strangers is dangerous as it could lead to them being kidnapped, '*We are taught this so it becomes a habit for us, so we won't speak to strangers*" (dialogues 82 & 83).

The participants maintained that in China there is a preconception that self assertive, friendly and smooth talking strangers are often stereotyped as being salespeople who aggressively promote their products or services and that some may employ disreputable measures to achieve their aims. Consequently, Chinese people may be less inclined to communicate with strangers on the street, particularly those who demonstrate a friendly demeanour, as the intentions of some strangers may not always be honourable. This may result in a high level of unpredictability and mistrust in relation to the intentions of unfamiliar interlocutors which could lead some Chinese to remain cautious and sometimes exhibit a sense of self protection, described as a 'habitually defensive instinct' (防备心) where they feel the need to protect themselves from the potential 'stranger danger'. Thus Chinese may maintain an attitude of self-protection when speaking to some unfamiliar interlocutors: it is unwise and unsafe to speak to strangers.

The participants also described a further dimension of caution about communicating with strangers. They said in China it is inadvisable to engage with a stranger on the road who has been involved in a traffic accident; such involvement may result in the stranger deliberately insisting to the police that it was the well-meaning helpful individual who was responsible for causing the accident. This stranger would then seek compensation from the person who assisted them. As a precaution, the participants strongly believe one should shun conversation with unfamiliar individuals, in order not to become the victim of unwanted situations or of foul play - '*If someone was overly friendly towards you ... you'd think that they had some other ulterior motive*' and '*you don't understand them so you ... wanted to defend yourself ... Perhaps they wanted to harm or cheat you out of money*' (dialogues 84 & 85).

When Chinese students in Britain encounter strangers who behave in a friendly manner towards them, they may initially feel surprised and confused, and wonder about the stranger's agenda. Feeling uncertain as to whether it is safe to respond to the westerner's

friendly greetings, some feel they should refuse any friendly advances, due to their Chinese cultural and social background which advocates self-protection against unfamiliar strangers. However, the participants stated that notwithstanding their early forebodings, after they had actually interacted with strangers in Britain, some of their early views on this topic changed. They realised that most strangers that they encountered in Britain were genuinely kind, friendly and courteous, without any evident hidden agendas. Thus, the students became more willing to converse with strangers than they would in China. The participants shared another view that, as western people come from a developed country, they are often highly respected by Chinese. Thus, to a certain extent some Chinese may consider it to be safer to engage with western people, rather than with strangers whom they could meet in their homeland.

Interestingly, the participants recounted how when they encounter a stranger, they may make a mental appraisal of the stranger's manner and speech, and the content of what is said, in order to gauge the nature of the interlocutor. From this mental evaluation they assess whether it is appropriate and safe to engage with the person and, if so, they will plan the best way to communicate with the interlocutor - '*People have a certain way of speaking which when you understand it makes your communication quicker. But for a stranger this is more difficult'* (dialogue 86).

From the student conversations it emerged that the extent to which they could be WTC (or not) with another individual depends upon a number of factors. Familiarity with the interlocutor was seen as an important factor. Participants find it easier to talk to an individual such as an acquaintance or a friend due to the more familiar nature of the relationship. Yet some Chinese are clearly reluctant and cautious about speaking to those they were less familiar with: apparently their socialization results in a measure of fear of speaking to strangers until they can clearly identify what kind of person the stranger is. The participants assessed whether the interlocutor should be considered as being 'safe' to communicate with, or "*classed as being within your safe circle of people*" [Je1]. As a stranger is an 'outsider', the students see the need to be cautious about engaging with such an individual; they would mentally ask themselves a number of questions as they interact with an unfamiliar person, such as,

'What kind of person is this individual?

Is this a good, or a bad person?

What are their intentions?'

By carefully observing and assessing the behaviour of the interlocutor, a Chinese person may feel that they are in a better position to be able to answer such questions quite promptly. Should an interlocutor demonstrate an unpleasant or unfriendly attitude, or give an impression that their motives were questionable, the students would feel higher levels of reticence and caution in engaging with that person. This predisposition was linked to the view that one should avoid engaging with strangers due to the 'stranger danger' scenario which is prevalent throughout China.
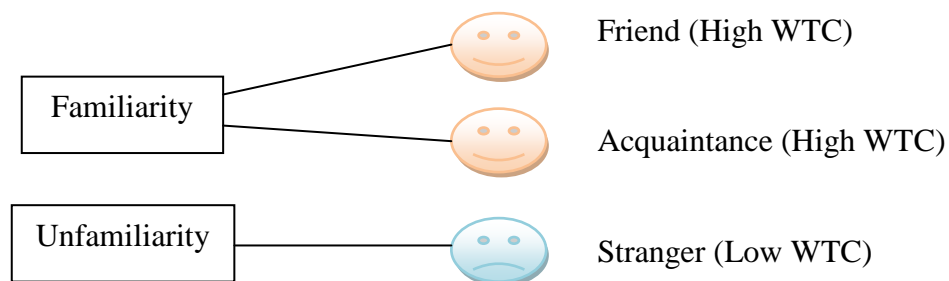
Fig. 29: Chinese students communicating with different interactants and WTC

One of the challenges in trying to understand the students' mindsets in relation to this topic was that when discussing potential verbal interaction with strangers the students sometimes expressed widely differing views on the topic, views which could change from one month to the next, depending upon what situations they were thinking about at the time. For example, when asked to respond to a question relating to WTC to strangers, a participant [Ab] first responded, "*I think different people have different opinions. I like to talk to strangers. I don't know much about he or her and I want to know about everybody different life*" [Ab6]. The following month, to an almost identical question, she responded, "*Personality. I'm not very extrovert. Normally I won't start talking to people that I don't know*" [Ab7]. This example demonstrates some of the challenges in trying to understand the students' views (similarly expressed by Peng and Woodrow, 2010).

Thus the participants reported many factors which could influence their decision whether or not they would choose to speak to a stranger. Some Chinese may be less WTC

with strangers, but find that they are required to do so, in some circumstances. For example, one participant who had a part time job stated, "*For example my job ... I must, because there are a lot of foreigners, I must speak in English*" [D1]. Their WTC with strangers could be influenced by being in an English speaking country as a university student since they find themselves in situations where they are required to communicate to strangers in English, in contrast to their home country, '*In China we won't talk to strangers on the street*' (dialogue 87).

However, not all of the students were un-WTC in all situations with strangers. Thirteen students [Je, Z, Ja, D, C, S, CSF, Jas, L, Ab, K, Ci, J] stated that in some circumstances they would be WTC with strangers, including those who behaved in a polite and warm hearted manner towards them. They said the lack of a familiar relationship with an interlocutor may contribute to the formation of a less stressful setting, since their language mistakes may be ignored as the stranger would often never be encountered again. Thus, the behaviour of the interlocutor and the notion that participants need not to be concerned about correctness in the language exchange may help to lessen the initial CA which some Chinese may experience when the intentions of the interlocutor are unclear to them.

Three of the students [Jas, D, J] stated that they felt under less pressure and felt more comfortable engaging with strangers while they were drinking, and that interlocutors were able to understand their spoken English. Such incidents may signify that WTC may not entirely be linked to a person's language proficiency, or how they view their language proficiency, but rather the extent to which they are able to overcome personal inhibitions and fears and actively take (as student [S] described) "*the step over the threshold*" [S2] to make and maintain conversations. The consumption of alcohol may, for some, help to overcome some inhibitions of speaking to others in English. However, once the effects of the alcohol had worn off, the students found that this temporary communicative fluency influenced by alcohol disappeared. This is not to assert that an individual's WTC with strangers could be enhanced when drinking alcohol, but merely that some students claimed ease in engaging in English with others whilst drinking.

Another area covered which initially seemed to be rather contradictory, was the notion that even though many Chinese may feel more relaxed engaging with a familiar person

and therefore they would often be more WTC with such a person, some participants stated that could also feel comfortable speaking to a stranger (an 'outsider') in a one-off meeting with no consequences, '*I feel it's kind of like fate*' (dialogue 88).

Such views seemed to indicate a dichotomous orientation which begs the question: how does the notion of participants feeling it may be easier to speak to friends (people with whom they are more familiar) and therefore feel it to be harder speaking to strangers (those with whom they are unfamiliar), relate to the statements that some individuals may nevertheless also be willing to talk to strangers (people with whom they are unfamiliar)?
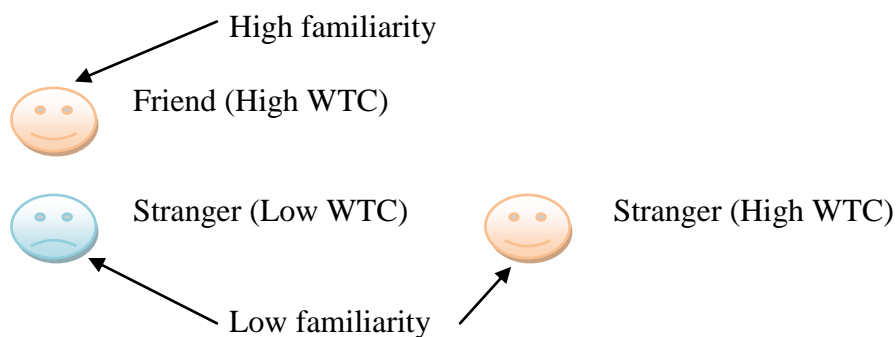
Fig. 30: Some analysis features of high/low familiarity and WTC with friends and strangers

It is suggested that there could be a number of possible answers to this puzzle.

Firstly, students from China may feel the need to practice their oral English skills, through which students may become more competent in engaging with others and hence their communicative self-confidence may increase (Gao, 2006). Such practice in a non threatening environment can include speaking to a stranger, as the prospect of never meeting a stranger again may produce a scenario perceived as less stressful. Consequently, the students may be more willing to engage with a stranger even though a stranger would usually not be considered as a conversational interactant in China - '*strangers, when you meet them you'll never meet them again ... if you say something wrong ... it doesn't really matter*' (dialogue 89). Strong prevalent notions of 'do not speak to strangers' in China could in some instances be put aside for the benefits of practising oral skills with a NES. Hence, some Chinese may choose to speak to strangers.

Some participants stated that they enjoyed speaking to some strangers when conversations were structured around less complex topics. Often such interaction occurred when the students needed help, such as needing assistance when shopping or when asking for directions when they were lost. Participants noted how they could be influenced by the physical appearance of an interlocutor: some could be more WTC with a stranger if they regarded the stranger as physically attractive or handsome, or if they were a member of opposite sex. While one female student stated, "*if she was a beautiful girl then I would be willing to talk to her*" [C1], another female student would be WTC with someone whom she found to be attracted to, "*Maybe a hot guy, because the person is handsome*" [N3]". This could be linked to a 'Desire to Communicate with a Specific Person', box 3, Layer III - Situational Antecedents, of the WTC model.

In sum, the nature of the relationship with both familiar and unfamiliar interlocutors - or how the participants perceive an interlocutor - may influence their L2 WTC. Differing interlocutors may have differing roles to play in the development of the students' communicative self-confidence. The nature of the changes in L2 WTC and communicative self-confidence in Chinese students has been found to be linked to a number of factors. These include: the extent to which a positive outcome may be achieved when deciding whether to engage with an interlocutor, the influence of cultural background and accompanying features which may be seen to impact upon choices of communication partners.

T21 Table showing how these results answer the research questions – Speaking English to different interlocutors

Research Question (Condensed)	Description of how the research questions were answered
Changes in WTC, Changes in Comm. Self-confidence, Changes in	Strategic balances for Chinese students in communicating with NES and IS: Communication with NES - more challenging communicating with NES (Xia, 2009); lower WTC, higher CA), language barrier; may need strategies to overcome language barrier. Communication with IS (non Chinese) - less challenging communicating with IS (higher WTC, lower CA), common bond felt with IS. A change in WTC may occur (more WTC with NES and

PCC & CA	less WTC IS) when Communicative Self-Confidence and PCC increases; more can be gained communicating with NES, NES have more 'standard' accents.
Changes in WTC, Changes in Comm. Self-confidence	Perceived reasons why it may be difficult to form friendships with NES (may reduce WTC): language constraints, lack of understanding of western culture (Ozturgut, 2012; Wu, 2011), challenges identifying common topics of conversation (Cao, 2011), considerable interaction with Chinese. Changes in WTC could occur; leading to the formation of friendships with NES, when their Communicative Self-Confidence increased.
Changes in WTC, Changes in PCC & CA	May be more WTC with a friend/acquaintance and less WTC with a stranger (may exhibit a high CA). However some may be more WTC with a stranger if they do not feel threatened (such as whilst drinking, or if they are physically attracted to the person) and if they feel less language pressure (the stranger will never be encountered again - do not need to worry about language mistakes).
Additional factors	Differing interlocutors are covered within the pyramid model, however this study has expanded our understanding of the dynamics of WTC with differing interlocutors.

4.6 Personality

The topic of 'personality' traits of both the students and the interlocutor was reported to be of considerable significance in relation to the participants L2 WTC - '*I think that the most important thing is the personality'* (dialogue 90). Personality may be regarded as being a significant variable, in that it forms a direct link to the WTC pyramid model, relating to Layer VI - Social and Individual Context – '*Personality'*, box 12. However, the pyramid model provides a rather simplistic coverage of this variable. This thesis will address the following two main areas not covered within the pyramid model:

(a) the personality of the interlocutor and

(b) the personality of the student.

The pyramid model asserts (see the description of box 12 - 'Personality' in the Literature Review) that it is difficult to verify what personality traits may influence an individual's L2 WTC. This study provides a positive contribution to our understanding of the

model, as a number of personality traits have been identified which were found to influence L2 WTC in Chinese students. It is theorised that these same identified personality traits could be applicable within other L2 contexts (other than the Chinese) and even perhaps in some first language contexts.

4.6.1 The Personality of the Interlocutor

The participants stated that the personality of the interlocutor was a crucial consideration in relation to WTC, for them this was of greater significance than the target language, *'It depends on the person and not the language'* [A3]. Do you mean their personality? "*Yeh. It doesn't [matter] about the language'* (dialogue 91).

As this was discussed by many of the students during every stage of data gathering, it can be concluded that participants regarded this as a significant variable influencing their L2 WTC. This variable included both positive characteristics (characteristics which may have a tendency to promote a greater level of L2 WTC with others) and negative characteristics (characteristics which may have a tendency to dissuade, or negatively impact up L2 WTC with others).

4.6.1.1 Interlocutor Personality Traits Influencing L2 Communication

The participants discussed positive personality traits (exhibited by the interlocutor) which could influence their L2 WTC. They felt it was important that the interlocutor behaved in what they described as a friendly, easy going (or outgoing) manner and that "*both parties need to be nice to each other*" [C1]. Their preference was that if possible the participant and the interlocutor would have either similar or complimentary personality traits; such as what was described as a "*match in someone's personality*" [Li1], as such behavioural attributes were deemed as promoting an enjoyable communicative exchange. Here, those interlocutors who exhibited a friendly and talkative predisposition and who demonstrated a genuine interest in the Chinese students were seen to possess the necessary personality traits which encouraged language exchanges; similar findings were reported by Humphries (2011).

The students said they found it easier talking to western people who exhibit a patient personality - '*the attitude of the foreigner ... is very important ... Some people will be patient'* (dialogue 92), as some Chinese may find it hard to understand the language used by some NES, since it may differ from the text book forms of English with which the students were more familiar (as Li, 1984 has described). This could be more prevalent when the students first arrived in Britain since students from China may initially find it more challenging to communicate in English. They may likewise struggle when endeavouring to discuss advanced topics, which helps to explain why the participants asserted that they would be WTC in English with interlocutors who exhibited patient behaviour. This could include speaking more slowly than they would normally speak, or rephrasing sentences which the students were unable to understand. Exhibiting a patient manner may include not becoming impatient when the Chinese struggle to express themselves and showing a greater level of consideration for the language challenges which some Chinese may encounter. When interlocutors demonstrate such patience, Chinese students may feel more relaxed, which could result in a reduction in CA. The participants described that they would be more WTC when the interlocutor behaved in a supportive manner towards them and demonstrated consideration and empathy while the Chinese endeavoured to express their ideas. One participant described her interaction with a demonstratively patient NES: '*she always tell me a lot of fresh things about British*' (dialogue 93). Such positive experiences were reported to promote effective language exchanges, and the students asserted that there was a greater likelihood of them feeling an increase in their communicative self-confidence or that they felt more able to communicate, resulting in a higher WTC level: '*If they used simpler expressions and I understood what was being said then I'd talk longer to them. So their attitude is important. If they were passionate and explaining a lot then I would be willing to listen*' (dialogue 94).

The students stated that it was important that the interlocutor should behave in a patient manner when,

(a) the interlocutor was instigating a conversation and also

(b) when the interlocutor was listening to the student who was trying to communicate.

Such interlocutors were described as 'kind', 'patient' and '*People who don't try to hurriedly want an answer from you*' (dialogue 95).

The students' experience was that it was vital that an interlocutor demonstrated a friendly and positive personality. Positive personality characteristics was described as a 'good attitude' which would engender a greater WTC level, compared to negative personality characteristics described as a 'bad attitude' which would have the reverse effect. The participants used the term 'good attitude' more than any other - '*unwilling to talk to someone who had a bad attitude'* (dialogue 96).

4.6.1.2 Interlocutor Personality Traits Which Negatively Impacts Upon L2 Communication

The participants discussed a range of negative personality traits which could hamper communication, resulting in an un-WTC with others in English. They offered a number of reasons why they would be the less comfortable speaking in English. The first related to interlocutors to whom the students felt were 'impolite', 'arrogant', and 'unwilling to listen' and respond when they tried to speak in English - '*Some people are impolite ... I will not be willing to speak English'* and '*If he expressed an arrogant personality ...unwilling to talk to you'* (dialogues 97 & 98).

These interlocutors were not seen to pay sufficient attention to the participants when the students were endeavouring to communicate. This may occur if the interlocutor was unable to understand what Chinese students had said or when the interlocutor did not have the patience to try to understand the students. Some interlocutors were reportedly unwilling to clarify what they meant during a conversation when a Chinese person did not understand them, '*If one person feels impatient, then basically, there is no need to communicate*' [C1]. This situation could make the students feel a reduced level of PCC as it gives participants the feeling that they do not have the language proficiency to understand the interlocutors, or reminds them of language gaps between them. The next situation related to those interlocutors who demonstrated negative characteristics, described as: unfriendly, arrogant, over-serious, stubborn, disrespectful, impolite and impatient towards participants - '*someone who was very self centred ... someone who thought that everything they said was right'* (dialogue 99). The participants stated that they may not only experience an unwillingness to

engage with such interlocutors, but a certain level of fear, an increase in CA, when encountering such people.

4.6.2 How the Personality of the Students May Influence L2 Communication

The students stated that their own personality could impact upon their L2 WTC. Those who exhibit a shy and timid personality were believed to be less successful in their language conversations (as also discussed by Crozet and Liddicoat, 1999; Liu, 2002; Shi, 2006). Student [Bi] believed himself to have a shy personality resulting in the perception that he did not have a high level of L2 communicative self-confidence - '*shy or introverted they lose the opportunity ... don't have language confidence'* (dialogue 100). Many participants believed the reason why some Chinese demonstrate a shy personality trait was due in part to their upbringing, where shyness and nervousness was attributed to the effect of parental strictness - '*don't have strict parents and they (are) confident about themselves'* (dialogue 101).

Some participants believed that demonstrating an outgoing personality may be more conducive to effective communicative exchanges and that those without an extrovert personality may be regarded by other British people as boring and hence NES could be less WTC with them. Student [Bi] considered that he should try to change his personality to behave in a more outgoing manner, in a sense become more 'western' in his behaviour, as this, he believed, would help him to be more confident to communicate with others in English and it would also help him to integrate more effectively into British culture: '*I will improve myself and become more outgoing ... I need to change myself to become better'* (dialogue 102) and could be linked to '*Intergroup Motivation'*, Layer IV - Motivational Propensities, box 6, of the WTC pyramid model.

In sum, the personality of either or both the speaker and interlocutor was regarded by the participants as being an important variable influencing their L2 WTC. Reduced CA and an increase in PCC can be achieved when the interlocutor demonstrates a kind and 'open' temperament and is willing to be patient in expressing new ideas to students. The personality of the student has an impact upon their own L2 WTC. When participants exhibit outgoing behavioural characteristics, interlocutors may be more WTC with them. In order to promote a

cordial WTC atmosphere, the attitude of both parties should be one in which, the individual with the more advanced language skills (the NES or an IS), who demonstrates a high level of patience in listening to and linguistically supporting the less advanced communicator. When such assistance is provided, the less advanced communicator may feel more WTC.

T22 Table showing how these results answer the research questions – Personality

Research Question (Condensed)	Description of how the research questions were answered
Changes in WTC	The personality of the interlocutor could have either a positive or a negative impact upon WTC. Positive personality traits may promote WTC and negative traits could have the converse effect. The students own personality could influence WTC (Crozet and Liddicoat, 1999; Liu, 2002; Shi, 2006).

4.7 Topic of Discussion

Chinese students' L2 WTC was reported to be influenced by the topic of the conversation and was discussed during each of the data gathering stages. Their ability to engage with others could be influenced by both parties feeling able to participate in a language exchange which may only occur when individuals are interested in or understand the topic of a conversation. If this condition is not met, a language exchange is likely to be more problematic. Identifying what topics to discuss when seeking to engage with NES was found to be a major challenge that the students faced.

4.7.1 Challenges Indentifying Topics of Discussion During Language Exchanges

Upon arriving in Britain students from China may be uncertain how to engage with others in English. At the outset, often communication occurred at a rudimentary level and in relation to simplistic everyday topics. Initially the students reported that if they wanted to discuss more advanced issues, perhaps in relation to their academic studies, requiring use of more specialised English, they realised that they were unable to do so (research undertaken

by Edwards et al., 2007 also supports this view). Some students felt that they were only able to communicate with others on what was described as a "*surface level*" [L5]. Some argued that when they engaged with NES, they often felt as this student described, "*When we speak to foreigners in English we have the feeling that we are like children speaking to adults*" [A5]. Such a mindset may have a negative influence upon their self respect and their ego. As a countermeasure to this, or as a means to combat this situation, some students would try to replace some English words, for which they knew the meaning in Chinese but were unable to translate into English, with more simplistic terms in order to more effectively portray their ideas.

The students stated that they often experienced high levels of CA when the topic of discussion was one with which they were unfamiliar, '*If we could talk about something about which I am more familiar, then I won't feel so nervous and I would feel more relaxed*' (dialogue 103). If the topic was accessible they may experience reduced CA, as they could feel under less linguistic pressure as they sought to engage with others. Likewise heightened CA could occur if an important topic was being discussed, particularly when significant or serious repercussions could arise if they failed to clearly comprehend the topic. The students could feel increased CA due to the fear of unwanted side effects resulting from an oral interaction - '*I'm afraid that I say something wrong which results in a person misunderstanding me*' (dialogue 104). The students stated this often transferred to their academic study or matters relating to their personal finances. Thus, changes in CA were found to be linked to the topic of a conversation.

Sixteen students [Li, Ja, C, Je, D, J, Dav, Sh, Jen, A, L, Kn, Ci, Bi, K & Jas] stated the importance of identifying common topics which would interest both parties; '*If I'm not familiar with something then I find it harder to speak out*' and '*If we could talk about something about which I am more familiar, then I won't feel so nervous*' (dialogues 105 & 106). The first participant asserted that his communicative self-confidence may increase when speaking in English about familiar topics. Not knowing how to engage with NES could be due to the lack of a clear common topic of discussion which both parties understand and can relate to; both individuals need to feel able to participate in the conversation. For participants this equates to feeling that they had the communicative capability to engage with

another person: they had attained a level of PCC in which they considered themselves able to communicate effectively.

The sharing of common interests between both parties was also considered as being an important factor in influencing friendship formation, e.g. showing students how to cook - *'I often teach him some ways to cook chicken, so we maybe a friend'* (dialogue 107).

When both parties are able to engage positively in a conversation, both individuals may gain a sense of contributing to it. When this occurs, the students believed that a language exchange was enjoyable.

The participants described that when they meet someone for the first time, it is usual for both parties to begin a conversation with limited strategies: by asking and answering a number of questions or exchanging introductory pleasantries, such as asking about name, place or origin, course of study and where they lived. After such opening moves, the participants stated that they found it difficult to maintain a conversation by finding a common topic of conversation, '*It's just halting at surface matters, like cordially greeting them*' and '*Actually I really don't know how to talk to them,.. And I don't know which kind of topic can I have, I don't know*' (dialogues 108 & 109).

This failure to identify common topics to discuss was, they thought, due to their own language inadequacies. Chinese students may not be aware of what topics other NES are interested in and they feel unable to overcome this problem. This situation may continue if the students do not persevere in attempting to engage with NES. Similarly, English language proficiency was regarded as being a barrier when discussing more advanced topics, '*I wouldn't know how to talk in English about deep topics*' (dialogue 110). When participants perceive that they do not have a well developed PCC they may prefer to discuss more general topics,' *we could talk about some common topics, like national cultural issues, such as areas in which your country differs from those in China'* (dialogue 111).

Another reason for the students' inability to identify a clear common topic of discussion was attributed to an ineffective understanding of British culture and living habits '*I am unable to deeply understand their living habits and understand their culture'* (dialogue

112). Hence, students from China may feel an inability to integrate into British society and form a relationship with a NES. Another challenge in communicating with others was that often Chinese students find that they are unfamiliar with many western popular icons, media celebrities and stars discussed by NES during conversations. They found themselves unable to contribute during conversations resulting in feelings of alienation, *'they also talk about some topic just they know'* and '*I mean the topics they talk about and especially they talk about the singer, the popular star, the movie star, the singer stars, I don't know*' (dialogues 113 & 114).

Even if a Chinese student is aware of the name of a particular celebrity, they may only know their name in Chinese and not in English. Hence they may struggle to express themselves about it.

Their problems in identifying common topics of interest could result in some students not actively starting, or maintaining a conversation in English, but they would more likely merely exchange a common gesture, such as a nod, when greeting someone, rather than beginning a language exchange. When some participants are unable to effectively identify the topic of conversation or feel unable to contribute to it, they may simply abandon the effort to communicate, since not to take part avoids potential embarrassment or loss of face. Some participants believed themselves only able to engage successfully with others when their language confidence has improved, after they have reached a higher communicative self-confidence level. One compensation strategy is for participants to ask questions, such as asking a NES to explain the topic being discussed during a language exchange; once they understand the main idea of the content of the conversation, they may be less prone to feel excluded and are more likely to feel able to contribute, which could enhance their communicative self-confidence. Some students were able to achieve this, perhaps by asking NES for repetitions - *'if I can't understand the topic of conversation I will ask that person to repeat it again'* (dialogue 115).
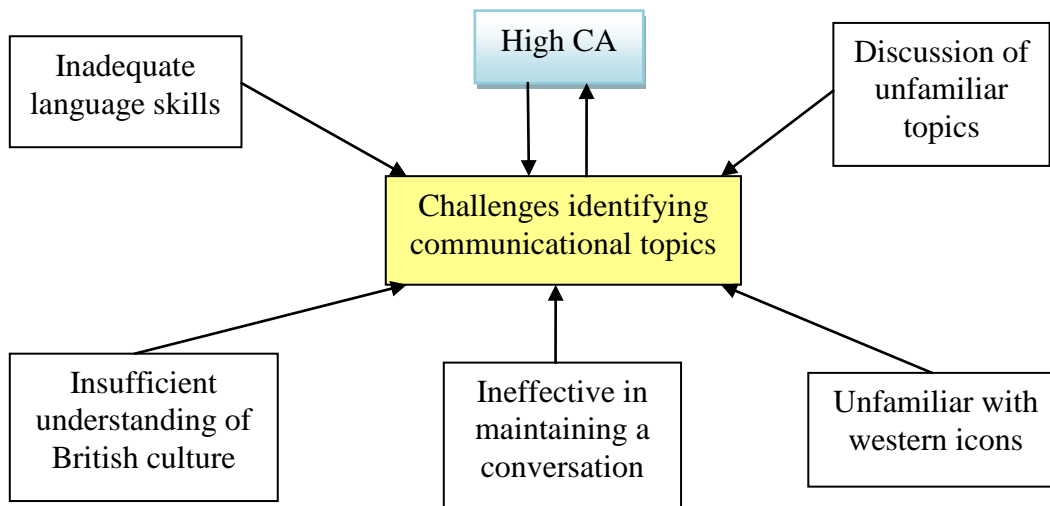
Fig. 31: Analysis of factors influencing challenges in identifying communication topics

If the interlocutor does not demonstrate a patient and kind demeanour, by introducing and explaining celebrities and icons to them and the reason why they are famous, Chinese students could easily feel alienated and excluded from the topic of a conversation. '*Yeh, maybe they don't want to get involved ... They don't understand so they don't want to get involved. Maybe they understand and don't want to get involved*' (dialogue 116).

The choice of topics of conversation and participants' level of willingness to discuss certain topics was found to be influenced by the nature of the relationship existing between both parties. The level of perceived distance between a participant and the interlocutor (as a friend, acquaintance or stranger) could influence the level of personal information which they would be willing to share. A student could be WTC with an acquaintance: '*as long as they didn't talk about personal and private matters*' see (dialogue 117). However, with a stranger, the topic might be confined (*then you could talk about the weather, or you can talk about cultural issues*' (dialogue 118). Conversely, with a friend they may share more personal information.

The students argued that if they understood and could relate to the topic of a language exchange and they were the prime instigator of the topics of conversation, they were leading and controlling the conversation and could feel more willing to maintain the exchange (a similar view was expressed by Patterson, 2000). This could include a discussion of topics relating to Chinese culture, customs and lifestyle, as the following account describes. *If it's a*

topic that we are familiar with we can keep on speaking…   For example, if you ask me something about China I will say more about it' (dialogue 119).

This notion of being more WTC when an individual feels in 'control' of the communicative context can be linked to the area of 'control' under the heading 'Interpersonal Motivation', Layer V - Affective-Cognitive Context, box 5, of the pyramid model.

Even when a Chinese student demonstrates a clear intention to discuss a topic which they are familiar with and also feels 'in control' of the conversation, they could still be unable to effectively maintain a conversation in English if they feel unable to express their ideas in English. This could be due to them not having gained a sufficient lexical bank of terms to effectively express their ideas. Participants who intend to discuss a certain aspect of China's culture (as a familiar topic) may be unable to effectively express some complex Chinese concepts and ideas in English. This was demonstrated by a participant [L] who acknowledged that Chinese are often unable to translate Chinese idioms or ideas into English, whilst trying to describe some Chinese cultural topics. Chinese students may feel frustrated when they realise that they are unable to adequately express themselves in English in relation to some topics which they understand well.

Some participants felt that they lacked the vocabulary needed to discuss normal everyday topics relating to life in Britain, which resulted in some students feeling extremely frustrated in not having learned the English language vocabulary needed to express their actions and intentions. They placed some blame for this upon the high school English language textbooks, which they described as primarily designed to focus on the passing of language exams and not on using language for everyday life (as Wang, 2010 concurs). When a participant was asked, "So do you think that the English that you learned in books in China was not helpful for life here in the U.K.?" He answered, "*Yes. Useless. Most students also have the same opinion with me*" [Bi4].

The participants also reported that identifying topics of conversation could be influenced by the environment in which the language exchange was talking place. The students discussed that they found it easier to engage with NES and find common topics of conversation when engaged with others in certain joint activities. These included playing

group sports, or watching sports (such as football), and discussing both academic and non academic topics with others - *'This English guy Ben… I find it easy to talk to him about football'* (dialogue 120). The students related that they enjoyed and found it easier taking part in communicative exchange with others in English whilst in their accommodation kitchen. One student from China said, '*when you are in the kitchen you can talk about what happened in class*' (dialogue 121). During such times, participants and NES could discuss a wide range of topics; they felt they could both ask and answer questions about topics which interest them. Such language exchanges were reported to be predominantly dyadic exchanges. In group settings, language exchanges could be less successful. If more NES came into the room, as a participant confirmed [J], the one-to-one language exchange environment was often lost and participants' interlocutors could choose to talk amongst themselves, in which case the participants may not remain a part of the communicative exchange, and are excluded from the main conversation.

4.7.2 Sensitive Topics of Discussion

Even when the students understood the topic of a conversation and felt linguistically equipped to discuss it, there were some topics which the participants explained that they would be unwilling to discuss with others. These included topics on which they thought the interlocutor exhibited inflexibility or was biased, or expressed extremist views, and where the interlocutor seemed unwilling to listen to others' viewpoints: such situations could hamper a student's WTC. Many Chinese students are averse to discussing a number of sensitive topics with members of out-groups. One of these areas is religion, '*Some of them* [friends] *are Muslim and you have to avoid talking about religion… Sometimes I may talk to them about this, but if you don't understand it very much, it's better to avoid it*" (dialogue 122).

Non-Muslim students from China hold differing views in relation to followers of Islam. In Xin Jiang province, the topic of religion is a sensitive one. Chinese news reported some Han Chinese there had been attacked by minority Muslim extremists seeking publicity for their desire to gain their independence from the rest of China. Consequently a participant [J] asserted that he felt that at times it was advisable to avoid discussing religious topics.

Similarly related to China the students were unwilling to discuss with western people the status of Taiwan and Tibet, *'If it was a foreigner who wanted to talk about these topics, we'd feel that their motives were not good, so we wouldn't be willing to talk about such topics'* (dialogue 123).

Another student described an experience when a NES expressed views about China which were regarded by the Chinese as being an attack upon their cultural identity (dialogue 124).

Based upon such accounts it seems evident that some NES maintain strong views in relation to some areas of China's culture and political orientation. Consequently, the students felt it to be inadvisable to confront western people regarding such topics, and thus they were unwilling (or felt unable) to address such topics.

Another topic which the participants reported to be sensitive was described by a participant [J] who stated that he was unable to explain to a British individual why some people in China choose to eat dog meat. Even though this student [J] didn't eat dog meat himself, he felt embarrassed about this, he felt uncomfortable about the negative impression of the Chinese (and also him) due to this practice, but lacked relevant vocabulary to explain, *'Maybe I don't know some words what to say it. Like some difficult words in Chinese ... I have do some research about Chinese culture before so I think I can easily explain that to a foreigner'* (dialogue 125).

The students also stated that they were unwilling to discuss topics of a personal and intimate nature or topics related to sex. The discussion of such topics by western people led the participants to assert the stereotypical view that 'western people are all very 'open' (here 'open' means openly discussing intimate topics). One participant [S] shared an experience when she felt uncomfortably exposed to a conversation with a group of British females who graphically discussed details of their intimate sexual activities. The student clearly felt more comfortable communicating with people who did not discuss such topics - *'I won't ... talk about sex ... I feel a little shy about that'* (dialogue 126).

It has been shown that the topic of conversation is an important variable influencing Chinese students WTC in English. If the students fail to identify a conversational topic, or are

unable to understand the topic being discussed, they may experience an increase in CA and a decrease in PCC, a reduced level of communicative self-confidence, which may lead to a reduced level of WTC. These changes in CA or PCC could also be experienced if the students were unable to express themselves effectively in relation to topics which they understood well. They also stated that they would be more WTC in English within dyadic contexts and with familiar interlocutors and were less WTC in English within group settings and with unfamiliar interlocutors. The students were also un-WTC in relation to topics they perceived as sensitive, even though they may clearly understand the topic in question.

T23 Table showing how these results answer the research questions – Topic of discussion

Research Question (Condensed)	Description of how the research questions were answered
Changes in WTC, Changes in PCC & CA	Challenges identifying communicational topics which may impact upon WTC: inadequate language skills; ineffective in maintaining a conversation, insufficient understanding of British culture, discussion of unfamiliar topics, unfamiliar with western icons, high CA (particularly when discussions advanced topics).

4.8 Communicative Anxiety

CA was identified as being an important variable in that the students WTC and their communicative self-confidence in English were found to be linked to CA, which all of the Chinese students periodically encountered as they engaged with others. The simplistic scope of receivers/interlocutors and contextual settings (as covered within the scales) was the framework of the interview questions, and was found helpful in addressing this topic; however these features were unable to adequately provide a deep coverage of this area of investigation in a Chinese context. CA was found to be a complex phenomenon since the participants experienced it in differing ways. A pragmatic approach to CA provided a more holistic understanding of why the students experienced CA within different settings. This variable can be linked directly to the component 'CA'; the other component being 'PCC'. These two components are juxtaposed in relation to understanding communicative self-confidence and have an inverse correlation under the variable *L2 Self-Confidence*, box 7,

Layer IV - Motivational Propensities, of the pyramid model. A range of language contexts will be presented to demonstrate the diversity of pragmatic situations in which the participants may experience CA whilst speaking in English.

CA was reported to be more prevalent when the students arrived in Britain (as Tian and Lowe, 2009 also discussed), as evidenced by a participant [J] who described his first month in Britain. He was lost and asked someone for directions to get home; he remarked that this was the first time he had spoken to a NES in Britain. During this brief conversation, the participant [J] confessed that he did not understand a single word spoken to him, which made him afraid to speak to others. As he gradually developed the courage to speak in English, he was able to understand what others said to him, which made him feel less anxious. From this account it is argued that Chinese students may often experience feelings of nervousness when speaking in English which may be more acute or magnified if they encounter negative experiences: this may lead to a reduced WTC due to negative experiences in a new and unfamiliar environment and find it linguistically challenging to adapt to the new situations they encounter (Tian and Lowe, 2009 also assert this view) as the following account describes, '*The first people you meet will make an impression on you. If that impression is not very polite then you will feel nervous*' (dialogue 127).

Another student confirmed this CA when he arrived in Britain, '*when you say something and they don't understand. You will feel very nervous. You don't know what to say*' (dialogue 128).

The students stated that feelings of CA could be reduced if they encountered polite and helpful interlocutors who supported and encouraged them throughout this early period, as expressed, "*and they have the patience to explain it to me*" [Ci6]; as Humphries (2011) also reported. Without such assistance the students concurred that they could experience feeling embarrassed when they found themselves unable to express themselves effectively. For some students this could occur, as one participant [Dav] described, when speaking in English as the only Chinese person present to a group of British people. During such incidents CA could occur when participants are exposed to English terms which they do not understand - '*you say something and they don't understand. You will feel very nervous*' (dialogue 129).

Another context in which the students could experience CA was when humour was used during a language exchange. Six participants [D, A, J, C, L & Kn) confirmed that they had encountered CA within student accommodation and the lecture theatre environments, when they heard a joke shared by a NES, but which they didn't understand and hence didn't find humorous, '*Sometimes when they tell me a joke, I don't understand. So for this reason it's hard to develop a relationship with them*' (dialogue 130). Even when humour is used to produce a more relaxed environment, it could have the reverse effect, perhaps even resulting in students from China feeling alienated from a conversation if they do not understand the meaning of the humour.

The participants reported that successful L2 communicative experiences could promote higher levels of communicative self-confidence, and therefore reduced CA levels, and hence a greater WTC (similar views were expressed by Peng and Woodrow, 2010), contrasted with negative communicative experiences which could have the reverse effect. This may be linked to the pyramid model, Layer V - Affective and Cognitive Context, box 9, '*Social Situation*', which states that positive experiences may result in an increased L2 confidence and that negative experiences may similarly de-motivate individuals to engage with others. The reasons for reduced WTC levels could be due to a number of factors, such as a participant feeling less WTC due to encountering unfamiliar experiences, '*if they said something to you and perhaps I'd never experienced it before, then you don't know how to express yourself*' (dialogue 131).

This could also be linked to the challenges which Chinese students may encounter in identifying common topics of discussion, or where failed attempts to communicate with others in English could reduce a participant's motivation to communicate in English, resulting in a reduce WTC level.
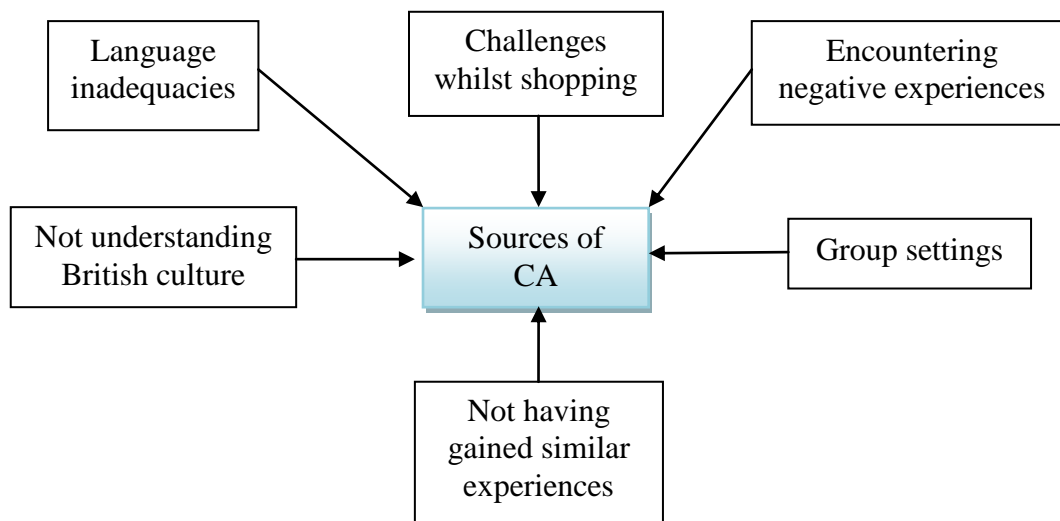
Fig. 32: Analysis of the sources of CA

The participants stated that not all failed attempts to communicate would lead to a reduced WTC level, as their motivation to speak in English could be context specific. They explained that they could find themselves in language situations where it was extremely important that they should speak in English, despite feeling a high level of CA. In such situations the students could, despite feeling a high level of CA and a reduced level of PCC (which the WTC model suggests could produce a reduced level of WTC), still exhibit a high WTC in English, if the language exchange was perceived as crucial. In this case the student would either,

(a) gain something of importance if the language exchange was deemed as being successful, both parties understood each other, or

(b) anticipate some negative consequences if the language exchange was deemed as being unsuccessful, if one or more communicators where unable to understand each other.

This was evidenced by a participant [V] who recounted how she found that she was unable to withdraw money from a cash machine because there was a problem with her bank account. She entered the bank and tried to explain her predicament to the bank staff, but they were unable to understand what she had said. Even though she felt a high level of CA and could in other circumstances have been less WTC, yet in this urgent situation, she was highly motivated to continue to try to express herself until the interlocutor understood her, and also

to listen more carefully and ask questions, until she was certain that she had understood. Thus CA was found to be linked to situational circumstances: a student could be highly motivated to communicate in contexts which are perceived by the participants as being crucial. Such communicative contexts do not appear to have been covered within the pyramid model.

Some students stated that they did not feel confident engaging with NES; they experienced a high level of CA when they were uncertain if some interlocutors had understood them. They reported that this can result in them feeling unable to integrate into the target culture. A participant [L] explained how he spent a 80% of his time interacting with other Chinese, because he was unable to identify common interests with NES, ''... *To some degree it's to do with cultural differences'* (dialogue 132). The participants' inability to integrate effectively into British culture is allied with the challenge for some participants to form friendships with British people. Hence, some students prefer to mix with other Chinese and have little intention to integrate into the British culture. This could be linked to '*Fear of Assimilation'* under the heading '*Intergroup Attitudes'* – Layer V - Affective and Cognitive Context, box 8 of the WTC pyramid model, where some maintain the view that in integrating into the British culture they are not respecting their own cultural heritage (as Wang and Gao, 2008 have suggested). Others merely say that it is not necessary to integrate into British society as they only plan to stay in Britain for three years after which they will return to China. Hence participants may maintain this social and cultural distance as a means to reduce the CA which they experience.

4.8.1 Levels of Communicative Anxiety Occurring with Different Receivers

The participants explained that CA was linked to the nature of their relationship with interlocutors: CA could occur when communicating with both more familiar and less familiar interlocutors. The participants held differing and even dichotomous views on this topic. Here, four main aspects of recounted experience with different interlocutors are analysed linking the three interlocutor types. Each condition will be outlined after which an explanation and examples will be provided, with a table showing a comparative summary of the points covered.

23.   Reduced levels of CA may be experienced when speaking in English to people with whom the students were more familiar (friends).

This suggests that Chinese students would be WTC in English to a friend, due to their higher level of familiarity. A friend may be deemed by the participants to be less concerned when students make language mistakes and may behave more patiently towards them, '*when you speak to them you feel calmer'; 'you have a better relationship with them as they understand you better'* (dialogues 133 & 134).

24.   Reduced levels of CA may be experienced when speaking in English to people with whom the students were less familiar (strangers).

This suggests that Chinese students may be WTC in English with a stranger, since they are less likely to encounter the same stranger again, in which case they may feel under less pressure to produce error-free English. '*When you speak to them you don't know when you'd talk to them again, so I think it would be easier'; 'No matter whether you have spoken properly or incorrectly, you won't meet them again. So I won't [be] nervous'* (dialogues 135 & 136).

25.   Increased levels of CA may be experienced when speaking in English to people with whom the students were less familiar (strangers).

This aspect suggests that Chinese students may be less WTC in English with strangers, due to feelings of nervousness as a result of unfamiliarity. This implies that Chinese students may feel a high level of uncertainty when speaking to someone they do not know. Some may even feel fearful of a stranger and feel the need to protect themselves; a 'habitually defensive instinct' (防备心) due to them being uncertain of the motives of the person; sometimes this could result in their apprehension of a 'stranger danger' type of scenario. Thus, Chinese students may only engage with a stranger if there is a specific and even unavoidable purpose for the language exchange. '*unless there was some special reasons, normally I wouldn't speak to them. Chinese people are like this'; 'they don't like to talk to strangers, it's a kind of protection'* (dialogues 137 & 138).

26.   Increased levels of CA may be experienced when speaking in English to people with whom the student could be both familiar and unfamiliar with (acquaintances).

This suggests that Chinese students may be less WTC in English when they are both familiar and unfamiliar with interlocutors, such as an acquaintance with whom they are both familiar and unfamiliar. Consequently the participants may experience feelings of trepidation, as an acquaintance has interacted with them previously and would be more likely to remember any language mistakes, which could potentially embarrass them: '*If it was an acquaintance then I could feel nervous*'; '*So this familiarity in speaking in such an instance, well I just wouldn't be willing if it was an acquaintance*' (dialogues 139 & 140).

T24 Table Showing Summary of Comparison of CA and Levels of Familiarity

	CA Level	Level of Familiarity	Example of Receiver / Interlocutor	Situation
a	low	high	Friend	May be less concerned about language mistakes when interlocutor behaves in a more patient manner.
b	low	low	Stranger	Are less likely to encounter the interlocutor again, therefore may feel a lower level of language pressure.
c	high	low	Stranger	Feelings of nervousness, as a result of unfamiliarity with a person, since the participant is uncertain of the interlocutor's motives, which could be less than honourable.
d	high	high/low	Acquaintance	May feel nervous speaking to people with whom they are familiar and unfamiliar as they may be met often and there is a fear that they could remember the participant's language mistakes.

Based upon these results it was identified that there is no simple correlation between CA and levels of familiarity. Both an increase and a decrease in CA may occur with interlocutors who are both highly familiar and less familiar to the students. This may signify the multifaceted pragmatic nature of CA within a Chinese L2 context. The results of this study may provide a greater understanding of this variable in the WTC model, since the original pyramid model did not identify the complex nature of this relationship. The analysed interview data provided an insight into the intricate nature of CA which perhaps other data

gathering methods (such as questionnaires) would not readily identify. These results may help to expand our understanding of the differing levels of CA as may occur when the Chinese students speak to strangers. The results also enhance our understanding of the intricate nature of speaking to strangers, discussed within the previous section. From this analysis it may be concluded that CA within a Chinese L2 context may be regarded as being a complex phenomenon.

In addition to identifying that differing levels of familiarity could influence CA, it was also observed that the students may experience an increase in CA and therefore a reduced level of WTC, with five different categories of interlocutors, not covered above. This is not to imply that the students were completely unwilling to engage with the interlocutors, but merely that there could be a higher incidence of the students being less WTC with them.

Interlocutors with whom the Students May Experience an Increase in L2 CA.

(a) Individuals who spoke with an unfamiliar accent which they found difficult to understand.

For some Chinese students there was a preference in speaking to NES (due to what they described as the 'standard English accent'); they found NES easier to understand and believed NES were in a better position to help them to improve their English; as Gao (2006) similarly discussed. However, the participants could experience an increase in CA with some ethnic groups whose English accents they found more difficult to understand, '*but it it's someone from the Middle East or India, sometimes I can't understand them because of their accent*' (dialogue 141).

(b) Individuals who exhibited an unfriendly behaviour.

The behaviour of the interlocutor who the participant may choose to engage with was regarded by the students as being of considerable importance. Two dimensions were discussed. The first dimension related to those individuals with whom the students felt unable to engage: people unwilling to respond positively to them or unwilling to clarify what they meant: '*If I can't get it, I can't catch up. I don't feel confident at any time, because most of them are better than me*' (dialogue 142). Such situations could result in the students

experiencing an increase in CA due to what they called the 'language gap' which they felt existed. The second dimension related to those individuals who behaved in an unfriendly, arrogant, disrespectful, impolite or impatient manner towards the participants. The students were unwilling to engage with someone who exhibited any of these characteristics '*If she looks unfriendly and impatient I won't talk... I will feel afraid. Maybe they are thinking I am a foreigner and don't want to talk to me*' (dialogue 143).

(c) Native Chinese people.

Speaking in English to other Chinese students, except to those Chinese students who could not speak Mandarin, was regarded as avoiding or deprecating their own language and culture. Some participants were also afraid of being ridiculed by other Chinese if they spoke in English to them - '*least willing to talk in English ... to Chinese ... demonstrates a lack of holding the Chinese language in high esteem*' and '*don't have any confidence speaking in English to Chinese ... use this to laugh at you*' (dialogues 144 & 145).

(d) Middle-Eastern males

Some students stated that they experienced an increase in CA when encountering some middle-eastern males. This was due to two reasons. Firstly, they found it difficult to understand their accent in English and secondly some of them were thought to demonstrate a domineering aggressive attitude, giving the Chinese female students a feeling that some of them had less than honourable intentions: '*I don't like to talk to India people*' and '*They just want to get something from me. The way they talk to me, the way they treat me. It makes me feel that they want to get something from me*' (dialogues 146 & 147).

(e) Academic tutors

Some Chinese students described that they could feel a heightened level of CA when speaking to their university tutors, as sometimes their tutors were unable to understand them in relation to academic matters. Such feelings seemed to be particularly acute when their tutors were trying to listen to them in order to help them. This could cause some students to feel less confident in speaking to them. Another reason why some participants may feel

uncomfortable speaking to their tutors was due to the Chinese view of how students should behave towards teachers. Participants confirmed how in China students are taught to respect their teachers (Bond, 1991 also described the same situation). A teacher is awarded a high prestigious position within their community, and thus students may not feel relaxed (some even feel a certain level of fear) when they speak to them (Wen and Clement, 2003). When Chinese students come to Britain this mindset often stays with them, and hence students could feel a 'distance' between themselves and university staff, even though they often find their university tutors to be friendly and approachable - '*talk to your advisor ... will be more nervous*' (dialogue 148).

4.8.2 Academic Communicative Anxiety

The students' limited interaction in English with NES of the same age within their own country was reported to influence their L2 communicative behaviour with others. Participants stated that they often experienced academic CA with their English speaking university peers. One of the reasons for this was linked to their limited understanding of NES (as Ozturgut, 2012; Wu, 2011 also discussed), which resulted in them feeling unable to engage with their peers. However, this CA diminished when their classmates and tutors behaved in a patient, polite and friendly manner towards participants, in which case they were more WTC with them. As one student concluded regarding those who behaved in a positive manner towards the Chinese students, "*I find it very easy to talk to some of my classmates*" [Ci8].

One of the main locations where the students experienced educational CA was within the classroom, as they found themselves among others who spoke in English. Such CA could occur when interacting with others, or when they sought to understand what others said. The participants reported they often experienced CA in university group discussions where they were expected to participate actively and contribute, rather than merely remain quiet and listen to what others said (similar views were expressed by: Crozet and Liddicoat, 1999; Liu, 2002; Shi, 2006). The notion of sharing their views with others within an educational setting may be something unfamiliar for students from China, as this form of learning activity is less common within high schools in China, where educational priorities are structured around exam preparation (as Hu, 2002 has asserted). This lack of discussion was apparent during

their foundation study year, '*Chinese people don't have this kind of habit in that they tend to be passive… So it's not that they don't have any ideas, it's to do with the earlier education and their own personality*' (dialogue 149).

Consequently this could result in students not feeling comfortable or confident communicating, even though they may understand what is expected of them. Thus, they could be unwilling to become involved in such activities when they study abroad. Even if they feel that their ideas are interesting and noteworthy and that the group could benefit from their participation, they may still feel it to be inappropriate or feel embarrassed in sharing their views. Some participants were unclear about why they felt this, or regarded their reticence to engage with others as being linked to their shy personalities - '*If you are shy even though you can speak fluent English, but you will not try to speak in a group*' (dialogue 150).

Participants may also experience heightened CA during group discussions (as Wen and Clement, 2003 have stated), particularly when other members of the group, seem to be accustomed to such situations and hence demonstrate a high level of assertiveness and competence in sharing their views about academic topics '*Chinese students don't like to choose modules where they have to discuss various topics … we will feel very nervous and embarrassed*' (dialogue 151).

Chinese students may experience CA resulting in them being unwilling to take part in class discussions, not because they do not have views to share, but rather due to what they consider to be language reasons; they feel that they are unable to express themselves effectively, and they may found it difficult to understand the meaning of the group task which they were required to participate in. They may also struggle to express themselves to others: they find it difficult to translate their ideas from Chinese to English. Similarly, some students may struggle to understand academic terms during their class lectures - '*in a small group discussion … you want to say something … you don't know how to express yourself*' and '*academic things, I can't describe*' (dialogues 152 & 153).

CA could also occur when they feared embarrassing themselves in front of their class peers. The students believed that by demonstrating communicative competence in relation to their academic studies, they could earn the respect of their peers. Conversely, making language

mistakes could cause them to lose the respect of others even lead to them losing face (as Wang, 2010 has also discussed) - '*made a mistake which would make me feel embarrassed*' (dialogue 154).

Academic CA could also occur during interactions with their university tutors; during one-on-one personal tutorials. During such dyadic settings some Chinese students may experience a decrease in CA if they are able to understand their tutor who clarifies any questions that the students have, as described as follows, '*It is comfortable to talk to them, because they are talking about your problems*' (dialogue 155). Thus those participants who make an effort to regularly engage with their tutors find it easier to understand them and hence feel less anxious. Dyadic settings were reported to allow a closer level of tutorial interaction which some students found to be beneficial. Nonetheless some students struggled to engage with their tutors within such a setting and therefore experienced high levels of CA.

Some participants experienced academic CA when they endeavoured to communicate to their tutors, due in part to their educational background and how they view education and the student-teacher relationship. In China, students are familiar with a highly structured teacher-led learning environment, where learners expect the teacher to take the leading role in relation to teaching (Bond, 1991). Learners may expect the teacher to provide a high level of educational support (Stephens, 1997). This could be linked to the idea that Chinese students may regard education as 'qiu xue' (求学), meaning to 'request study': 'qiu' relates to the idea that students behave in a respectful, humble and subservient manner, as they are 'requesting learning' ('xue' is 'learning' or 'study') from their teacher. In this traditional orientation, Chinese students tend to develop a strong dependence and reliance upon their teacher who is considered the source of learning.

In Britain as some participants struggle to communicate with their tutors, they may maintain differing notions of the student-teacher relationship. They could hope for the same level of support and direction they had received in China, yet experience extreme frustration and anxiety for the following reason. Whilst the students are behaving in a manner which they believe to be conducive to learning; exhibiting a submissive and humble attitude (Li, 2012), they may be expecting their tutor to impart knowledge to them: they place themselves in a stance where they are the recipients of such learning, yet find that their lack of ability to

communicate with their tutor, may be (in their minds) a barrier to them receiving the support that they hope to receive, which may lead them to experience extreme frustration. Hence their academic CA may be compounded; as they struggle to engage with their tutors, they may feel that their communicative inadequacy may be disadvantaging them, so they may not receive the needed assistance and expected support '*but if you can't understand what he's said then it's something feels really bad*' (dialogue 156).
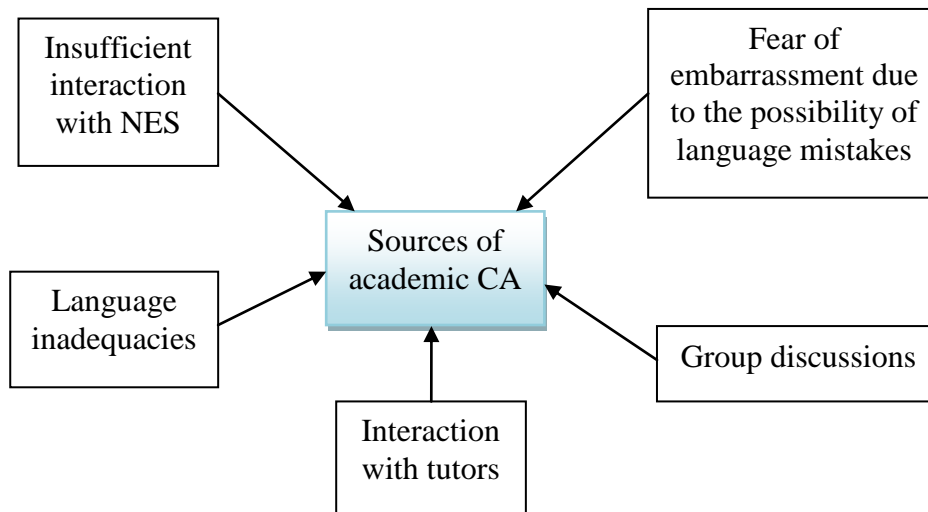
Fig. 33: Analysis of the sources of academic CA

The academic CA which the students experienced in Britain may be limited if they understand how the educational system in Britain is different to that of China (as Gu and Maley, 2008 have described). The independent learning techniques which are expected to be employed in Britain may require students to rely less on their tutors and more upon their own efforts. By not needing to rely upon their tutors, the students may feel less of a need to engage with them - '*the education system is quite different from China. I mean you should here yourself*' (dialogue 157).

Classroom interaction with their tutors was also reported to be an environment which the students found to be conducive to academic CA. Participants saw the classroom as a place where serious learning takes place (as Hu, 2002 confirms); therefore if they encountered new unfamiliar academic language which they did not understand, they could feel anxiety, since being unable to comprehend classroom topics meant that they would be unable to participate or express their views '*I just feel that in the lecture room I have stress. Like it's a study place.... I have pressure because of that, because I still feel it's hard for me to understand*

what the teacher is talking about'; 'I don't know some major words in that field.. so I don't know how to express myself to the professor' (dialogues 158 & 159).

Another reason the students may experience academic CA was that in perceiving themselves to be ineffective in discussing academic topics, they felt that their tutors may gain an unfavourable opinion of them which could negatively impact upon the grade that they receive, '*Tutor, teacher, I'm just afraid of them, when I see them feel nervous. I am afraid of failure*'; '*I'm afraid about making mistakes to my expression and will disappoint him. So in that situation I'm a little afraid to speak in English, but I must very careful about my talking*' (dialogues 160 & 161).

These views were expressed after the students had been living in Britain for six to eight months; they continued to experience academic CA. However, some participants reported a considerable reduction in CA as the length of time in which they remain in Britain increases: they gradually found it easier to understand their tutors. A participant [J] stated that after having lived in Britain for four months he could understand 70-80% of what his tutors said during lectures, whereas initially he could only understand 40%. Many of the students who had lived in Britain for a year explained that they found it easier later to engage with their tutors, '*No I don't think I'm afraid now, but I was in the past*' (dialogue 162).

In contrast to this, when another student who had lived in Britain for over 18 months was asked to relate the level of interaction she has with her tutors, she responded, '*No interaction at all*" [V9].

4.8.3 Communicative Anxiety when Speaking on the Telephone

Four students [Sh, C, Da & Jas] described experiencing acute CA when they tried speaking in English on the telephone; they struggled to understand what others said to them. Engaging with people over the telephone since telephone conversations lack visual feedback which can aid understanding a language exchange. Thus, telephone conversations were often regarded as being problematic: there was a higher probability of them being less successful. In some instances failed communications occurred, which increased participants' CA and which could dampen their motivation to engage with others in English. This was

demonstrated by a participant [Jas] who tried to book a taxi over the telephone: *'After I spoke to him he said 'I can't understand your language'. So I put the phone down and then two months I called again'* (dialogue 163).

The student described that although he believed himself to be an ineffective communicator, he nonetheless persevered in trying to speak in English on the telephone. After repeated attempts over time he found that he could clearly convey his intentions over the telephone - *'The first time I spoke on the phone I was very afraid, but then I realised there's nothing to worry about'* (dialogue 164).

However, it should be noted that these telephone examples were usually simplistic short language exchanges, often where conventional formulae were employed.

Chinese students may persevere in trying to communicate over the telephone if they deem the conversation to be of great importance, such as the previously cited example where a student persevered in engaging with bank staff. Similar situations occur when students find that they need to communicate over the telephone - *'It's hard to listen to English from the phone'* (dialogue 165).

Such situations can be extremely stressful for students, when they encounter difficulties in relation to financial matters and if other third parties are unable to assist them: banks are often only willing to speak to the account holder. The CA which some students may experience during such circumstances may be severe.

Here it has been shown that all participants have experienced CA as they studied in Britain. It was also identified that CA could be influenced: it could either increase or decrease, according to interlocutor behaviour. The outcome of language exchanges varied in the extent to which they were deemed to be successful. The three different interlocutors covered within the scales were found to be useful analytically in addressing CA. However, CA within a Chinese context was found to be multifaceted in nature: differing levels of CA could occur with both familiar and unfamiliar interlocutors. The students were found to often exhibit CA within academic settings, which related to them feeling that they were ineffective communicators when engaging with tutors and peers. Reduced CA was often found to occur

when the students became more proficient in their communicative ability and when they became more familiar with interlocutors.

T25 Table showing how these results answer the research questions –
        Communicative anxiety

Research Question (Condensed)	Description of how the research questions were answered
Changes in WTC, Changes in PCC & CA	Factors influencing CA (and hence WTC): language inadequacies, not understanding British culture, not having gained similar experiences, challenges whilst shopping, encountering negative experiences during language exchange (Tian and Lowe, 2009), group settings language anxiety. Reduced CA could occur if polite and helpful interlocutors were encountered (Humphries, 2011). Likewise, successful L2 communicative experiences could promote higher levels of communicative self-confidence; reduced CA levels, and increase WTC (Peng and Woodrow, 2010). A high level of WTC; despite a high CA and a low PCC, could occur if the language exchange was deemed as being extremely important.
Changes in WTC, Changes in PCC & CA	Varied levels of CA (and hence WTC) may be experienced with differing interlocutors, which may change over time; e.g. an increased level of familiarity may promote lower CA and thus a higher WTC.
Changes in WTC, Changes in PCC & CA	Sources of academic CA (influencing WTC): insufficient interaction with NES, language inadequacies; challenges understanding academic terms, interaction with tutors, fear of embarrassment due to the possibility of language mistakes (Wang, 2010), group discussions language anxiety (Wen and Clement, 2003). Reduced CA may occur (increasing WTC) when classmates and tutors behaved in a patient, polite and friendly manner and as they become more familiar with academic language. However, some may continue to experience high CA after 18 months of foreign study.
Changes in PCC & CA	High CA may occur whilst speaking on the telephone if language exchanges are found to be ineffective. Some may persevere in a telephone language exchange if the conversation was deemed to be important.

4.9 Additional Factors Influencing Chinese Students L2 WTC

In addition to the areas already covered a number of other factors were identified which could influence Chinese students' L2 WTC. Before these are addressed, it is noted that

L2 WTC may be directly linked to the variable WTC as is contained within box 2, Layer II - *'Behavioural Intention'*, within the pyramid model.

4.9.1 Initiating L2 Conversations

As forming new friendships with British people could occur through communication, the students believed that L2 WTC was linked to the initiation of a conversational exchange. The participants stated that while some NES may not always initiate a conversation with Chinese students, '*if you talk to them firstly they could be very happy and then maybe you will become good friends. But the important thing is who talk to the person first*' (dialogue 166).

The students believed that language exchanges with NES may be less successful, since neither party has an adequate understanding of the other. If a NES asked a Chinese student a question, they may not understand what had been said. If the NES was aware of this, and tried to help the student to understand their meaning (by repeating or rephrasing), communication may be enhanced. Another reason why Chinese students may not immediately respond could be because they need additional time to collect their thoughts before responding. Consequently, if a student did not immediately respond during a language exchange, the NES may interpret the hesitation to mean that the student was not interested in speaking to them. However, this may be a misinterpretation if the Chinese student is simply struggling to respond.

Possible Conversation Initiation Process
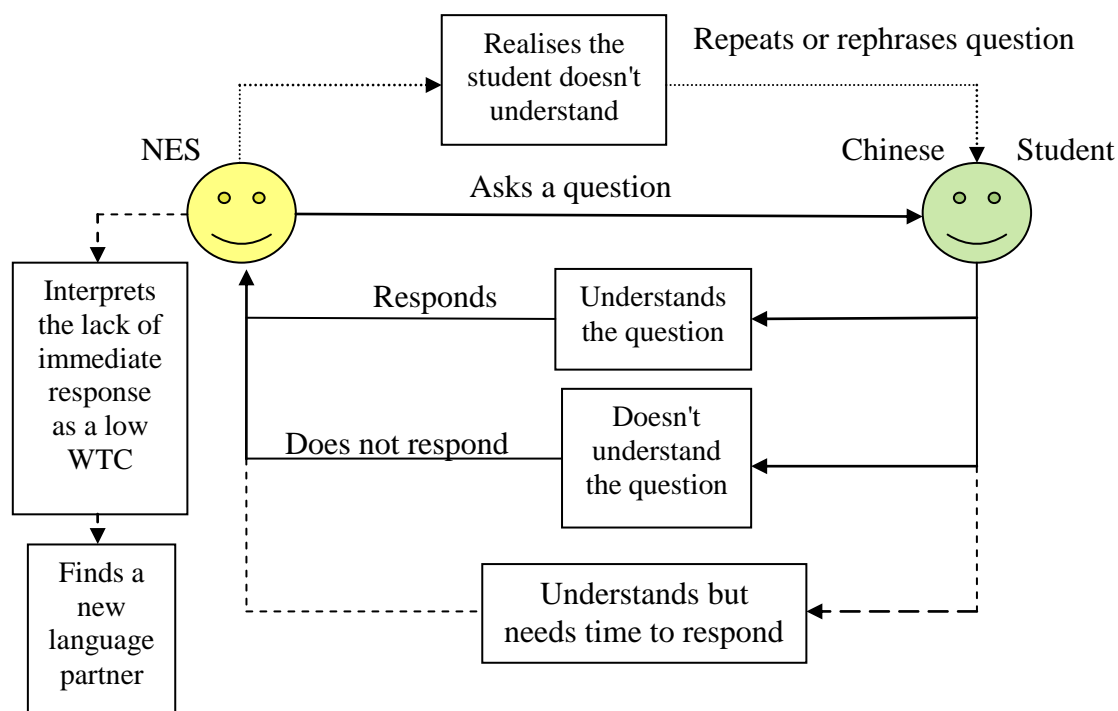
Fig. 34: Analysis of possible outcomes during language exchanges

However, despite such potential communicative barriers, the participants stated that if they took the initiative to open an exchange with a western person, it was believed the NES would be happy to maintain a conversation and that such exchanges could lead to the formation of new friendships. However, only four of the students [Jas, Ci, Ab & L] had actually implemented such initiating strategies and had done so after having been in Britain for at least five months [Jas5 = 5 months, Ci6 = 6 months, Ab7 = 8 months & L8 = seventeen months]. Before such times, the students reported that they were less willing to initiate a language exchange with a British person. Finding it to be difficult to express themselves to others in English was held to be a common challenge for the students. Hence, the participants experienced feelings of frustration which impacted upon their language exchanges, as some conversations were terminated due to the students' inability to express themselves in English promptly or clearly.

However, the participants also claimed that they often chose to initiate a conversation with an NES in order to practice their oral English skills and this could result in the formation of new friendships being created. The stated that some Chinese students may choose to adapt

to some areas of British culture, in order to more effectively integrate themselves into British society. This could be linked to 'Integrativeness' under the heading 'Intergroup Attitudes', box 8, Layer V - Affective and Cognitive Context, of the pyramid model.

The participants were asked to describe what could motivate them to initiate a conversation in English. In some instances they had a specific motive to communicate with others. This motivation to engage with others in English for a specific purpose may be linked to Layer VI - *Social and Individual Context*, box 5 'Interpersonal Motivation' and box 6 'Intergroup Motivation', of the pyramid model. The participants could be motivated to communicate with others for the following reasons:

(i) An interest in learning about British culture; students from China may not have a comprehensive understanding of British culture (as Ozturgut, 2012; Wu, 2011 have described): '*when you arrive in this kind of environment and you engage with them more you will learn more about the culture*' and '*I talk to them I will understand some traditional culture*' (dialogues 167 & 168).

(ii) A desire to improve their oral English speaking skills: '*I want to practice English*' and '*I want to talk with everyone, because I want to practice my English*' (dialogues 169 & 170).

(iii) A desire to accomplish a certain task, or gain assistance: '*if I need to ask for directions ... So I used to ask others*' and '*When you have some questions to force you to speak English to your classmates or teachers… you have to ask the shopping assistant where the thing is, so you have to speak English*' (dialogues 171 & 172).

(iv) An intention to form new friendships with westerners: '*I think speaking to make friends with foreigners, it can be a part of studying abroad*' and '*make some new friends*' (dialogues 173 & 174).

The participants described how at times they did not have a specific motive to initiate a conversation with others, but merely engaged with others due to the circumstances in which they found themselves. A student may be in the company of a NES; e.g. and may speak in order to avoid the potential embarrassment caused by not saying anything, '*Or when I'm in*

the kitchen I will speak to others so that the atmosphere isn't too awkward' (dialogue 175). However, such language interactions to avoid silence tend to be of short duration. Participants reported that when they are the only Chinese student living within their vicinity, living within a close proximity to NES helps to provide more opportunities for language exchanges, even though such exchanges may be short.

Student [S] described that as she planned to spend three years studying in Britain, she didn't want to waste all of that time continually speaking in Chinese. Being immersed in an English speaking environment may motivate some students to initiate language exchanges with others (as Gu and Maley, 2008; Hsu, 2010 have described), '*the environment pushed me to learn English ... If you don't speak English, you can't alive'* (dialogue 176). Participants stated that during some situations when they did not have a definite purpose to engage with others in English, they would merely exchange a few basic pleasantries rather than maintain long conversations: '*Normally the reason why I speak to foreigners is because I would meet someone and then I will say a few phrases'* (dialogue 177).

4.9.2 Challenges in Maintaining a Conversation in English

Once a language exchange had commenced, maintaining the conversation was reported as being problematic, even after the students had been living in Britain for over 18 months. The students offered several reasons to account for this difficulty in conversational maintenance: they often found it challenging to understand what some NES had said to them, due to insufficiently clear speech; some NES would join words or phrases together, or use non-standard English terms (slang). Consequently some participants found it very difficult to understand where one word finished and the next word began - '*they join their words together I can't understand what they are saying ... and they may use some slang*' (dialogue 178).

Another reason given for difficulty in conversational maintenance was that participants did not have an adequate quantity of phrases to use in order to sustain it (as Gao, 2006 has described). The students stated that they were only equipped with a limited repertoire of rudimentary English phrases which they used repeatedly. This was demonstrated by student [L] who after having been living in Britain for five months stated, "*I can exchange a few pleasantries, when in the past I couldn't do that'* (dialogue 179).

Participants reported that once their limited repertoire of phrases has been used up the conversation would often be terminated; they find it challenging to maintain a conversation as a 'fluid' exchange of ideas and views. Consequently, expressing their ideas to others could be challenging. Additionally, if a Chinese student is employing a cognitive processing of translating their ideas from Chinese to English; during which time they find themselves unable to translate a certain word into English they may find it difficult to maintain a conversation. One counter-strategy described was to transpose the problem word with a more rudimentary term in order to express their ideas more simply. Hence some students stated that they were often only able to discuss simplistic topics of conversation, '*If I'm engaging with others I can't keep a conversation going ... they start talking about everyday things that I don't know anything about, so I don't understand them*' - '*like after a few questions maybe just an introduction and then I don't really know what to say*' (dialogues 180 & 181).

Some Chinese students found that they struggled to keep up with the speed of an English conversation; this could occur during both dyadic and group settings: such learning settings may be less frequent in China (as Reid, 1995 has argued). When the participants found themselves in such situations they often felt excluded, '*They talk so quickly and I can't understand them so I think I was ignored'* (dialogue 182).

The main reason why some students struggled to keep up with the speed of a conversation, as a student [Ab] explained, was because it takes them too much time to cognitively process the language information that they gain during a conversation, so they are not ready to produce a response. The cognitive steps which participants reported as being undertaken during a language exchange can be summarised:

a. listen to a phrase in English,

b. repeat it (in their mind),

c. think what it means,

d. think how to respond (in Chinese),

e. translate their response from Chinese into English,

f. review what they planned to say to ensure that the grammar is correct,

g. respond in English.

A participant concluded: *'Completing all of these steps means that I can't keep up with the conversation, so I can't hold a conversation with others'* (dialogue 183).

In having to cognitively pass through all of these steps each time a new piece of English conversational input is received (before responding), one of the following two situations could occur.

(a) The Chinese student requires an extended period of time to respond to an English question; the interlocutor could lose interest after waiting for what they regard as an inordinately long period of time. Hence the interlocutor may become unwilling to communicate further with the student.

(b) A Chinese student realises that they are unable to keep pace with the conversation that they were listening to and hoped to take part in. Thus by the time they had listened to and understood the first sentence the English speaker was already several sentences ahead, in which case the student may be unable to keep up with what they were hearing and opts out.

A solution during foundation programmes, or preferably earlier, is to expose Chinese students to short extracts of authentic recordings at normal speeds and at the same time encourage their own fluency of expression with limited lexis so that they increasingly learn to think, even at a basic language level, in English. These strategies are adopted in the recent New Standard College English textbooks and teacher's books (Jin & Cortazzi, 2009).

4.9.3 Improved Communicative Competence in English

When the participants were asked to describe how their communicative competence had changed since they had been in Britain, they reported differing experiences. Some students admitted they struggled to understand what others said to them; others explained that they struggled to express themselves effectively; yet others asserted an improvement in their PCC: they maintained that they had achieved a moderate level of oral proficiency and had gained a more advanced listening ability. The PCC level that some had achieved was

contrasted with their communicative ability when they arrived, '*I think it's a big improvement in my speaking ability. I found when you speak more, you will learn more*' (dialogue 184).

After some five or six months some students related positive experiences speaking to others in English: they had gained a greater repertoire of linguistic expressions, they were able to speak more clearly and others understood them. Thus, engaging with western people was not as difficult as they initially perceived, and they felt more relaxed communicating with others and believed that it was unnecessary to worry about their remaining language inadequacies: '*I still make mistakes, they can still understand what I meaning, or what I'm saying, so that will be ok*' (dialogue 185). Those students who made the most marked improvements in their oral speaking abilities were identified as being those who were persistent in asking questions, such as asking NES to repeat what they had said if they didn't understand and who regularly practiced using their English language skills, even if that meant employing simplistic vocabulary to express their intended meaning. Similarly, the same participants related how they frequently engaged with others in English - '*When I speak to my classmates I find it to be quite easy to understand them*' (dialogue 186).

The example above shows that students' communicative self-confidence may increase when they realise that they are proficient in handling varied language situations. Participants who are able to successfully communicate within language contexts may experience an increase in their communicative self-confidence. Conversely those who are unsuccessful (or less successful) may experience a reduction in their communicative self-confidence. When one participant was asked how she could improve her communicative confidence, she responded by saying, "*Try to speak more. The more I speak the better I will be*" [N3]. Those students who were persistent in overcoming the communicative barriers which they believed to exist did not allow such barriers to hamper their oral speaking progress so they were rewarded with positive language exchange experiences - '*I can speak a paragraph kind of fluently, so I think that makes me feel happy*' (dialogue 187).

A significant factor influencing the participants PCC was reported as being their own personal intent. A student [K] discussed that if a Chinese student had a strong intention to communicate in English with others, they would deliberately place themselves within situations where conversations are likely. Conversely, if they had little interest in speaking in

English, they may still choose not to speak to others in English even when they were in an environment where a language exchange could occur.
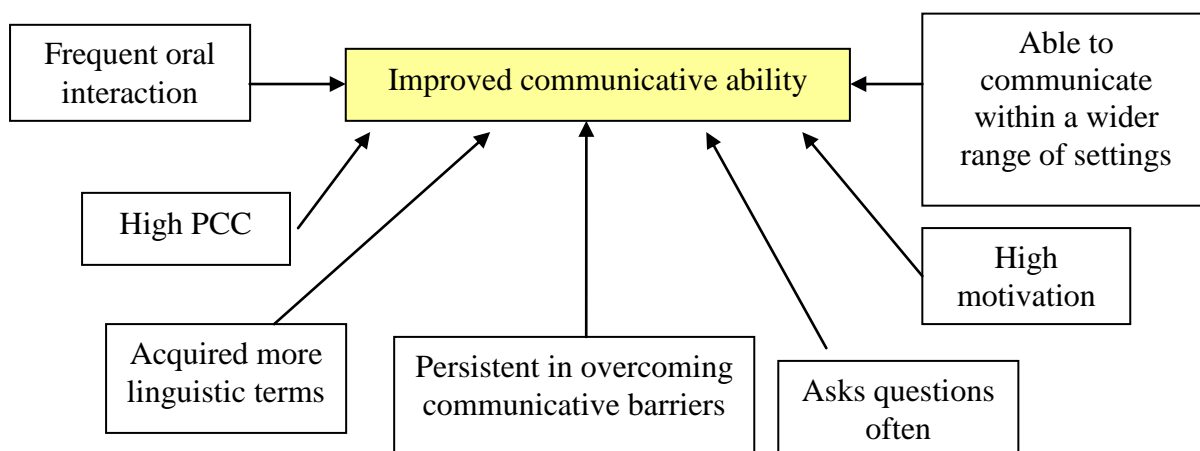
Fig. 35: Analysis of factors influencing improved communicative ability

After over a year of foreign study, some participants reported that they were able to completely understand what others said to them in English and they felt that their listening ability had improved considerably, *'in the past speaking and listening is very poor, so I think when we talk to some people, a conversation, I can't understand, but now it is easy to understand'* (dialogue 188).

Similarly the same students stated that they felt that they were more able to convey their ideas effectively to others in English. They found that NESs were not inclined to correct them, even when they believed that they had made language mistakes; in China they were accustomed to being corrected by their language teachers (as Li, 1984 had described) and therefore expected NES corrections. Similarly, NES did not ask them to explain what they meant, when they felt that they had not expressed themselves accurately, *'Being able to let them understand what I mean is not a problem… but I can't be certain that they have completely understood what I've said"* (dialogue 189).

Consequently the participants may experience an increase in their PCC, but they may not always feel completely confident in their communicative ability.

After having lived in Britain for approximately eighteen months, students from China may be more able to maintain language exchanges for extended periods of time.

Notwithstanding this, some students still did not regard themselves to have achieved an advanced communicative self-confidence; however, this was dependent upon the communicative contexts. The participants reported how they were able to speak in English more quickly as they were gradually able to think in English, whereas previously they had had to think in Chinese and translate what they wanted to say from Chinese to English - '*now I can think it with English*' (dialogue 190).

Hence those participants who employed such a method, found that they had developed a greater spontaneity in their communicative exchanges. Since they spent less time thinking about the grammar structure, they were able to verbalise their ideas in a smoother and more fluent manner. Those students who persistently tried (for eighteen months) to improve their oral speaking skills argued that it was crucial to make an extended effort to speak often to others in English. Those who did so found that their conversational skills had improved; they recognised that they were able to engage effectively with others. These latter participants stated that they experienced a reduced level of CA and a greater level of PCC, and that this had occurred due to speaking regularly to others in English.

A common assumption is that Chinese students' oral English speaking ability would naturally improve by being immersed within an educational environment where English is being used for teaching and learning (as Gu and Maley, 2008; Hsu, 2010 have argued). However, this assumption may not always be entirely accurate. Student expressions such as, "*I'm a lazy person. I don't practice much*" [Kn4] seem to portray how some Chinese experience a minimal improvement in their communicative speaking skills. After having lived in Britain for eighteen months one participant (student [V]) stated that her oral English skills had not improved at all: she confessed: '*I know that my English language is very poor ... because I don't have many opportunities to speak ... I don't really have the motivation to start speaking to others*' (dialogue 191).

From such accounts, it may be concluded that a low level of PCC can occur if a participant is not highly motivated to engage with NES. If Chinese students believe that they have not achieved a considerable improvement in their oral English skills, this belief may depend upon how they are estimating their oral speaking competence; what standard they are using to measure their oral ability? If they are assessing their progress in oral language

development by comparing their speaking skills with that of a NES, they may feel even after having lived in Britain for over a year that there continues to be a considerable gap between their oral proficiency and that of a NES: they could feel that their communicative skills may not have improved a great deal. Similarly, if Chinese students are gauging changes in their oral English, based upon advanced academic standards (being able to discuss academic topics), they may also believe that they had not achieved a marked improvement. However, if they are estimating such changes based upon more general everyday English, they may believe their communicative abilities have improved.

Chinese students may formulate many reasons (or excuses) why they should not make an effort to engage with others in English, or why their oral English speaking skills may be less developed than other Chinese. A participant [S] explained that Chinese students who complain that their English is inadequate are merely making excuses: *'I just feel like my English is not good enough or something. It's kind of an excuse. If you don't try to talk to others, how do you know how good your English is?'* (dialogue 192).

The participants expressed several reasons to account for their limited oral proficiency. Some students reported they did not engage a great deal with their NES classmates as they had many Chinese friends in Britain and preferred to spend most of their free time with them; this equated to spending 60% to 99% of their time interacting with other Chinese. This resulted in two students having extremely low PCC levels, as they did not practice speaking to NES. Some students said that they would usually not endeavour to get involved in conversations which they didn't understand, and would not make any steps to ask others to explain or repeat utterances in order to try and understand the conversation content. They would also choose not get involved, even when they had understood what others had said.

Within this section it has been shown that changes in Chinese students WTC in English may occur if participants exhibit a high level of motivation to engage with others. In some instances Chinese students may be motivated to communicate when they hope to gain something from a language exchange. After an exchange has begun, some students may find it more challenging to maintain it for an extended period of time, due to a number of challenges which they may encounter. These may include: difficulties in indentifying conversational topics, the speed of a conversation and the need for more time to cognitively

translate their ideas from Chinese to English. Improved PCC was achieved by those individuals who made every effort to overcome the challenges that they encountered and who sought to engage regularly with others in English. Those who were not strongly motivated to engage often with NES made little progress in their communicative skills.

The following section will provide a summary of the main findings of this study; the nine major topic/variables identified within this study which influence Chinese students' L2 WTC. It will also describe a model which diagrammatically link the results of this study to related variables within the pyramid model.

T26 Table showing how these results answer the research questions –

Additional factors influencing WTC

Research Question (Condensed)	Description of how the research questions were answered
Changes in WTC	Factors influencing the initialisation of language conversations (and therefore WTC): NES asks a question. The response, or lack of response, may lead to a range of communicative outcomes which may either promote (or not) a language exchange; e.g. a lack of (or hesitancy in responding) may be interpreted in different ways resulting in varied responses from a NES. Students who actively initiated conversations with NES (for different reasons) found that most NES were happy to communicate with them.
Changes in WTC	Challenges in maintaining a language exchange - language challenges: difficulties understanding what NES said (due to NES's joining words together and the use of nonstandard terms), limited repertoire of rudimentary English phrases (Gao, 2006), may only be able to discuss simplistic conversational topics, difficulties in keeping up with the speed of conversation; it took them a comparably long time to process the language information.
Changes in WTC, Changes	Factors influencing an improved communicative ability (high WTC): frequent oral interaction, increase in PCC, acquired more linguistic terms, persistent in overcoming communicative barriers, asking questions often,

in PCC & CA	high level of motivation, able to communicate within a wider range of settings. However, if students are not motivated to engage with NES (low WTC) they may not experience a marked improvement in the communicative ability.

How the results (covered above) have addressed the fifth research question -

Research Question - '5. To what extent is the construct of WTC in English helpful in understanding Chinese students' communication problems while studying in Britain?'

The results section above, has shown there to be 20 direct links between this study and the pyramid model (see appendix 11 and Fig. 36 below). As links have been shown to all 12 boxes (of the pyramid model) within this thesis, it may be concluded that the WTC construct (which the pyramid model exemplifies) may be understood to be helpful in understanding Chinese students' communicative behaviour. Namely, the students who took part within this study expressed a wide range of L2 communicative issues; whilst communicating in English with a wide range of varied interlocutors and within differing communicative contexts, and their personal accounts show a direct relationship to the complete pyramid model. Hence, the conclusion that the L2 WTC construct is helpful in understanding Chinese students' communicative behaviour, supports the existing body of research (Wen and Clement, 2003; Liu and Jackson, 2008; Lu and Hsu, 2008; Peng and Woodrow, 2010; Cao, 2011; Peng, 2012). It is also suggested that the WTC, PCC and CA scales, which were formed from the WTC construct, were only helpful in providing a basic framework to identify additional factors influencing the participants' communicative behaviour.

This study has also shown that the complex nature of the WTC construct is manifest in the communicative behaviour of each Chinese student and how they respond to varied communicative contexts. Hence it is not possible to assert that a Chinese individual will always behave in the same manner to a given situation. The communicative behaviour of Chinese students may be influenced by many factors which this thesis has highlighted. This thesis has explored how changes (and the reasons for such changes) may occur in the PCC and CA (and therefore Communicative Self-Confidence) as Chinese students study in Britain. Changes in PCC and CA may occur depending upon a wide range of complex factors as have

been outlined. A Chinese students' L2 WTC may be influenced by not only the communicative context, but also by their own intent / motivation to communicate. For example, many Chinese students (who study in Britain) who are willing to socialise often with NES; may demonstrate a high level of motivation to engage with NES's, and in persevering in overcoming their CA, may exhibit higher levels of WTC as their Communicative Self-Confidence increases. In contrast some Chinese students may exhibit a low level of motivation to engage with NES's (and hence exhibit a low WTC in English), in that they: prefer joining Chinese social networking communities, are unwilling to socialise with NES's and who may only see their life in a British university as a means to gain a western degree.

The nine main variables of L2 WTC discussed in detail above, outline some of the factors which may influence the communicative behaviour of Chinese students as they study in Britain. In providing a broad coverage of some of the underlying influences on L2 WTC, this thesis has identified additional factors not covered within the WTC pyramid model; which the existing research (Lu and Hsu, 2008; Peng and Woodrow, 2010) has discussed. Hence the detailed coverage of how Chinese students may behave within communicative environments in Britain; as are covered within the nine variables, expand our understanding of the WTC construct as it relates to a Chinese context.

4.10 Summary of Results

Fig. 36. Summary Model

L2 WTC Model   Chinese Context L2 WTC Model

Additional Factors Influencing L2 WTC
9

L2 Communicative Anxiety
8

Family Background
1

Topic of Discussion
7

Inter-variable Links

Educational Background
2

Personality
6

Cultural Differences
3

Differing Receivers
5

Social Networking Patterns
4

Link to the WTC Pyramid Model
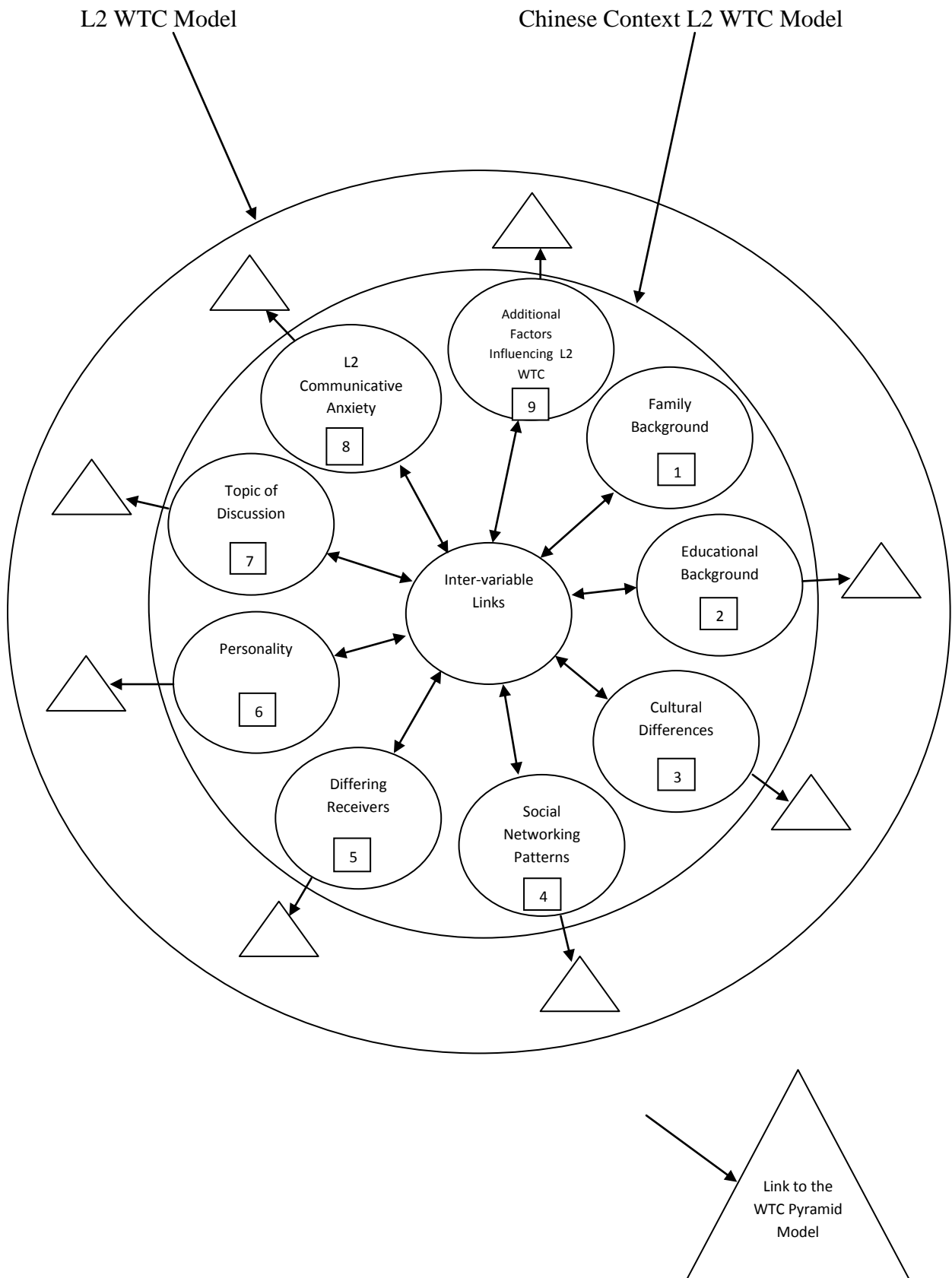
This study's findings are represented in fig. 36 - Summary Model. The diagram shows a number of circles, triangles and interconnecting arrows. The smaller of the two larger circles represents the 'Chinese Context L2 WTC Model'. The studies main findings are depicted as nine small circles, representing topics/variables; with sub-topics/variables not represented within the diagram. The topic/variables are structured within a circular form to signify that they are potentially of equal significance. Direct relationships between topic/variables and other topic variables (T19. Table Showing Inter-variable Links Within the Chinese Context L2 WTC Model - see appendix 13), where depicted as inner circle ('Inter-variable Links') at the centre of the diagram. The double pointed arrows between the inter-variables links and the models nine themes signify a direct relationship between topic variables. The Summary Model demonstrates that multiple links occur, even though T19 does not signify an exhaustive coverage of all possible links due to the complex nature of communicative exchanges within a Chinese context. This phenomena may be linked to the research on L2 WTC conducted by Cao (2011) on predominantly Chinese students, who confirmed that the variables which influence L2 WTC "are not distinct but rather are interrelated and overlapping" (Cao, 2011: 474). In contrast to the Summary Model which identifies multiple relationships, the WTC pyramid model fails to signify any clear level of relationship between differing variables. This could be because multiple links could be possible, but it may be deemed as too problematic to seek to represent them.

The Summary Model is enclosed within an outer circle representing the WTC pyramid model. Between the two outer circles, eight triangles are shown representing links to the WTC pyramid model. Eight of the topic/variables (all but #1 'Family Background') are signified as being related to the WTC pyramid model; based upon 'Table Showing Relationship Links Between The Pyramid Model and This Studies Model' - see appendix 11, where twenty links are shown. The Summary Model does not identify which of the variables in the WTC pyramid model a link may be made to, as such a representation would be too cumbersome to diagrammatically symbolise. However a small section of this model will be displayed below which show the relationship links between the pyramid model and this studies model.

Fig. 37 Section of Summary Model with the addition links between the pyramid model and this studies model.
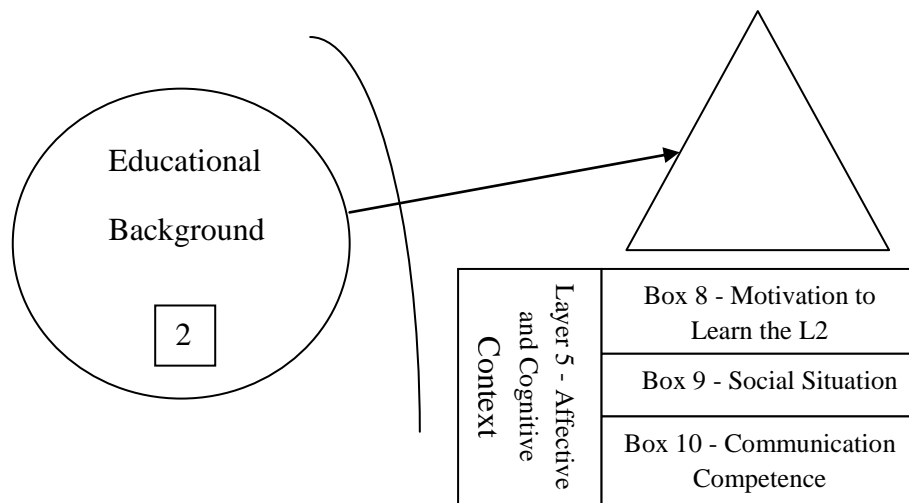
This study has employed the WTC pyramid model within a Chinese L2 context as a starting point in order to understand changes in Chinese students' communicative self-confident, PCC and CA over eighteen months as participants studied within Britain. The results identify the extent to which the WTC pyramid model was useful in understanding Chinese students' communicative behaviour. The study also identified other variables which may influence Chinese students WTC which are not covered within the WTC pyramid model; these are therefore part of the original contributions of this study. These results are significant because the identification of additional variables not covered within the pyramid model may suggest that either, (a) the variables may be purely specific to a Chinese context, or (b) if the variables identified within this study could be found to transferable to other L2 contexts; perhaps requiring further research to substantiate such a notion, this may suggest that the pyramid model may require modification to incorporate additional variables.

The Summary Model (Fig. 36) represents a diagrammatical summary of the results of this study. The nine major topic/variables identified within this study which influence Chinese students' L2 WTC, may be said to provide a positive contribution to our understanding of the WTC phenomena, as a close correlation was seen to exist between the Chinese Context L2 WTC Model and the WTC pyramid model. Despite the complex nature of the WTC pyramid model, it nonetheless has a level of functionality in addressing many of the issues which Chinese students encounter during language exchanges. The differing

interlocutors and contexts which the scales outline, provide a useful framework to address L2 communicative issues. However, the pyramid model and the scales which were formed from the model, are inadequate in identify many Chinese specific communicative issues.

5. Conclusion

Before the conclusion of this thesis a brief summary will be presented. This study has shown that the L2 WTC pyramid model is useful in understanding Chinese students' communicative behaviour when they speak in English. Yet there are additional culturally specific variables which may also have a significant influence; which the pyramid model does not cover. The reasons for changes in L2 WTC, and L2 Communicative Self-Confidence (and therefore PCC and CA) in Chinese students as they study abroad, was found to be complex due to the wide range of varied interlocutors and differing communicative contexts which could be encountered; in addition to their own views of western people and their subsequent motivation to engage (or not) with NES. These conclusions were based upon the analysis of interview data collected from 24 Chinese students who were repeatedly interviewed over an 18 month period, as they undertook undergraduate course of study in Britain. Interviews were employed to gather detailed accounts of the students' English language experiences, in order to gain an insight into the reasons for their motivations to engage with others in English.

During recent years there has been a growing trend for students from China to undertake study abroad. However many students have not gained well developed oral English skills in their own country although they have achieved high English language test scores, due to a predominant focus upon English grammar; where language lessons are delivered to them primarily in Chinese and are assessed by means of paper-based language tests, where oral elements of language learning receive less emphasis. Many students who embark upon foreign studies may initially struggle to orally communicate with others in English. The L2 communicative habits of Chinese students and the challenges that they encounter within differing communicative contexts as they study abroad is an area which is not well understood. MacIntyre et al.'s (1998) L2 WTC Heuristic Pyramid Model was used as a theoretical framework to undertake a longitudinal study on Chinese tertiary students who study in Britain. This study has shown the pyramid model to be a useful in comprehending the communicative behavioural patterns of Chinese students. That is, many of the communicative behavioural patterns of the participants were outlined within the scope of the pyramid model. However, the model does not address a number of additional culturally specific parameters which may influence Chinese students' communicative behaviour.

A number of factors linked to the participants' home and educational background were found to impact upon the development of their social linguistic behaviour and hence the advancement of their oral English skills. These influences from China include: a lack of opportunities for self-expression within classes of 50+ students and where teachers may feel the need to maintain strict discipline in the classroom, insufficient socialisation outside of school due to their very demanding study schedule, a fear of asking and answering questions in the classroom (a lack of willingness to take risks) due to everything they say being closely scrutinised, which may result in students being chastised by teachers and ridiculed by their peers in school if they make language mistakes. They are also often taught that there is only one answer to a given language question; they could be criticised if they suggest the notion of other possible answers. Students may similarly experience ridicule if they do not achieve high test grades, whereas those who do achieve high grades are often publically praised. Each of these factors may result in students experiencing a high level of CA and hence a low WTC, as the classroom environment does not often encourage oral interaction. The participants' notions of studying English were strongly influenced by what can be described as a highly competitive Chinese culture of learning, where students are placed under considerable pressure to study hard and for long hours to: complete homework, undertake school tests (from their first grade) and attend extra after-school classes in order to ultimately prepare them to enter a high ranking university. The influence of these factors (and others) could result in Chinese students gaining an acute fear of speaking in English during their early school years in China, due to a fear of losing face if they made language mistakes and where test preparation is often deemed to be of prime importance.

Such students may exhibit a high level of CA and thus may be less WTC, in using their language skills within authentic tertiary foreign study settings. They may fear that they are ineffective communicators as they are over-concerned about language mistakes (resulting in increased CA and potential embarrassment and thus losing face) and that they may inadvertently offend an interlocutor. Others may believe they have gained an advanced language ability based upon high exam grades in China, and hence may be WTC in Britain. However, such students may be shocked when they find that they are unable to effectively communicate in English within authentic communicative environments. There are other students who have little intention to engage with others in English if they are studying abroad at their parents' request. They may regard foreign study merely as a means to enjoy

themselves away from parental control. They may regard that they should focus their attention on undertaking their university assignments only in order to gain an academic qualification. Many Chinese regard a degree gained from a western university as a means to merely improve their future career prospects even though they may not need to use English within their future employment; as Gao, 2006 has also affirmed.

Chinese students may exhibit differing levels of motivation to socialise with NES within Britain. Some may chose not to socialise extensively in Britain due to what they consider to be language constraints (a low PCC) and also due to a lack of understanding of British culture and the environment in which they live. They may feel that some aspects of British culture are vastly different from their own, or they main maintain negative stereotypical notions of some environments and those who go to such places. They may consider they are demeaning themselves if they socialise within such environments (and believe that their parents disapprove of them), or that other Chinese may gain a negative opinion of them as a result and hence such students may demonstrate a lack of willingness to integrate into the host society, even though they may acknowledge that such environments may provide them with opportunities to practice their language skills resulting in increased communicative confidence and an improved understanding of British society. In contrast, other students may be highly motivated to socialise with NES despite their language ability and their preconceived stereotypical views. They may not regard cultural differences as a barrier to them interacting with others, in which case their exposure to a wide range of social events often provides them with L2 communicational opportunities where they may develop their language skills, leading to them experiencing a considerable increase in their communicative self-confidence. The participants' WTC with NES could also be influenced by paradigms relating to stereotypical notions of western people regarded as 'open'. Some students considered that being open could promote more effective language exchanges so they behaved in a friendlier and less restrained manner. Others stated that they would be less WTC with individuals who demonstrated open behavioural characteristics. They felt the need to distance themselves from those individuals who demonstrated some behavioural aspects which they considered to differ from what they were accustomed to.

When students from Chinese study in an unfamiliar environment abroad many may initially struggle due to: their inadequate communicative ability, the culture shock of living

abroad, the need to be socially independent and to adapt to a new learning environment. These factors often lead many Chinese to experience acute feelings of loneliness. The high numbers of Chinese students who currently study abroad and the language challenges which they encounter may lead many students to join Chinese social networks; they may only associate with other Chinese due to: the ease in communicating with other Chinese students (a lack of CA), the emotional support gained and the ease in gaining practical assistance. Hence they may only communicate with NES as a last resort. This often produces a negative impact upon the development of their L2 skills and their opportunities to gain a greater comprehension of British culture. However, those participants who were highly motivated to engage often with others often formed new friendships, experiencing a rapid improvement in the PCC. Some students who spoke to others found it easier to communicate in English with IS (non Chinese) due to common language experiences. This often resulted in them developing their communicative skills; which resulted in increased communicative confidence with language interlocutors who were more sympathetic to their language inadequacies. The extent to which the participants may exhibit a WTC with others could be influenced by the nature of their relationship with the interlocutor. Unsurprisingly, the participants stated that they would be more WTC with interlocutors who they regarded as their friends, yet they could be both WTC and un-WTC with other receivers (acquaintances and strangers). This often depended upon how the students viewed the nature and context of the language exchange. Similarly the personality of both the participant and the interlocutor was found to influence their communicative behaviour. The participants concurred that they would be more WTC with interlocutors who demonstrated a friendly, supportive and patient attitude. In contrast, the participants would be less WTC with interlocutors who demonstrated any negative behavioural characteristics.

One of the barriers which the students reported was that they often found it difficult to understand and therefore participate in a language conversation, as they were unfamiliar with many of the western icons/celebrities commonly discussed due to a lack of understanding of western culture - or even if they knew the celebrity they many only know their Chinese and not their English name. Participants who were persistent in asking questions to overcome this deficiency; and where the interlocutor patiently provided them with an explanation, felt more able to take part in subsequent language exchanges. Yet students who clearly understood the topic of conversation were nonetheless often un-WTC in relation to some culturally specific

sensitive topics and topics of a sexual nature. CA was another barrier encountered by all Chinese students both inside and outside the classroom. The participants often felt a low level of communicative self-confidence; often they felt a considerable language gap between themselves and NES. If they were unable to comprehend what their tutors said, they felt a high level of CA since they didn't know how to respond when they were expected to communicate; they did not feel able to effectively express themselves in English and hence believed others would not understand them. They were also concerned that making language mistakes could result in others gaining a lower opinion of them which could end in them losing face. The most acute CA often occurred within the classroom, when they were required to communicate with their tutors and when they were expected to take part in group discussions. The CA which they experienced was found to be linked to their educational background in China and persisted within the learning environment which they encountered abroad.

Students from China may also experience challenges during the initiation of a language exchange when they endeavour to begin a conversation and also when they respond to others who start speaking to them. If a student did not understand what an interlocutor had said to them and did not ask them to repeat or rephrase what had been said, or if they merely did not answer promptly perhaps because the student required a long time to process their thoughts, or perhaps they needed time to consider the impact of answering in a certain way, the interlocutor could interpret the lack of an immediate response to mean that the student was not WTC with them, in which case they could choose another language partner. If students from China are persistent in overcoming such barriers and actively and regularly initiate language exchanges with others, they often find that NES are WTC with them. Language exchanges may also be enhanced when NES are considerate of the language challenges which Chinese students encounter and provide patient language support when it is required.

When Chinese students arrive in Britain and attempt to begin a conversation in English, many find that they are unable to maintain a language exchange for an extended period of time. Once they have covered a number of rudimentary English phrases, they are often unable to identify conversational topics to maintain the exchange. This can be due to a lack of understanding of British culture and also they feel unequipped with the required lexis

to express their ideas. Those students however, who employed the strategy of using more simplistic terms to express their ideas on a more basic language level found that they could still communicate effectively with others. Some Chinese may also struggle to understand others who are deemed to speak extremely quickly, or those who use non-standard English. When a Chinese student attempts to respond in English they will usually undertake a number of cognitive steps from hearing a phrase in English to responding in English. The time needed to cover all of the cognitive steps can result in students being unable to keep up with the speed of a conversation. Those students who were able to implement a cognitive process of thinking in English found that were able to keep up with the speed of a conversation, in which case they felt more able to participate.

This study identified that after gathering data from the participants over an eighteen month period, a dichotomy was noted. Those students who exhibited a high level of motivation to persevered in overcoming the many language challenges that they encountered, regularly socialized with NES, frequently spoke in English in order to practice using their L2 skills and asked questions if they did not understand what interlocutors said; these reported that they experienced a considerable and often rapid improvement in the oral English skills and a higher communicative self-confidence. They stated that they formed new friendships and felt that they had gained a greater understanding of British culture. Conversely another group of participants stated that they did not socialise often with NES; they preferred to interact extensively with other Chinese students, and still found it challenging to communicate in English since they infrequently practice using their English skills and would often only speak in English where it could not be avoided. Consequently this group they stated that they believed that they had not achieved a marked improvement in their oral English skills, a low communicative self-confidence, despite being in an English speaking country. Hence the dissimilarity in these differing groups was found to be linked to participants' individual motivation and intent to engage with others in English.

5.1 Contributions of this Study

This section discusses how this study enhances our understanding of the WTC construct in relation to a Chinese language context. By repeatedly interviewing the same group of participants over an eighteen month period, this study has: identified factors which

influence Chinese students L2 WTC, how the students WTC, CA and PCC may change and the reasons for such changes.

5.1.1 Experiences of Chinese Students in Britain

By gathered data from Chinese students in Britain, their language experiences both inside and outside the classroom were explored. This included interaction with both native and non NES. During this interaction within differing contextual settings, the participants described their views (and the reasons for such) for either interacting (or not) with others in English. A wide range of differing English language problems and challenges were described which could impact upon their WTC in English. Some of these challenges changed; could became less prevalent over time, as the students PCC increased, and their CA decreased. However, some students demonstrated that they had not overcome the challenges after a year or more in Britain. Those who reported minimal change confessed they were unwilling (or unable) to adjust to the environment within Britain which in turn resulted in less interaction with NES and hence they had been unable to integrate into British society. Those students who reported a considerable increase in their L2 WTC, PCC and CA were willing to adjust their mindset and behaviour and hence were successfully integrating themselves into British society, which often led to the formation of friendships with NES, which enhanced their motivation to be persistent in speaking to others in English even when they faced language challenges.

5.1.2 Experiences of Chinese Students in China

In understand the participants' views and hence the reasons for their changes in L2 WTC, PCC and CA, the students related many explanations to account for their mindset. This included detailed accounts of their educational and family backgrounds. Such information helped to enrich this study by providing a greater understanding of the reasons why many language preconceptions had apparently been reached for many of the participants. This study identified many language teaching/learning problems and challenges in China. Foremost being that as the educational system in China is structured around the learning of the English language in order to pass an English exam; oral English teaching may receive less (or no) emphasis as the development of oral skills will not promote exam performance.

Currently China does not have sufficient English language teachers equipped to promote the development of oral English language skills. China does consider the learning of English an important part of their educational system, however, this study has shown that current English language teaching practices may not equip students with competent oral language skills and some teaching practices may even discourage some students from language exchanges; such as a fear of making language mistakes. Thus, in a top-down educational system, if the development of oral English skills is to be considered an important priority, steps would need to be made to change current classroom teaching practices to promote a culture of learning were:

(i)   there is an increase in emphasis placed upon more authentic classroom conversation in order promote communicate self-confidence,

(ii)   students are not scolded or ridicule (from teachers and students); resulting in an increase in CA, with a potential loss of face if they make language mistakes,

(iii)   students are encouraged to share their ideas in an environment where more emphases is placed on oral discourse and less emphasis (i.e. more tolerance is shown) is placed upon error free grammar,

(iv)   students are encouraged to experiment with language discourse (new language forms) where more than one answer may be possible to a given language question.

5.1.3 How this Study has Provide a Greater Understanding of the WTC Construct

This study has helped to provide a greater understanding of the reasons for changes in Chinese students L2 WTC; this was not a topic which has been adequately addressed in the past. This study identified culturally specific factors influencing Chinese students L2 WTC which were not addressed by others (Lu and Hsu, 2008). By gathering in-depth data from the participants a greater understanding of these factors was achieved, thereby enhancing our understanding of the WTC model in a Chinese context.

This study has provided a greater understanding of Macintyre et al.'s (1998) pyramid model, particularly those parts relating to PCC and CA and hence to a certain extent this study has helped to validate many aspects of the model, as direct links were found to exist

between their pyramid model and the Chinese specific L2 WTC variables covered within this study. However, this study has also shown that L2 WTC in a Chinese context is a more complex phenomenon and thus the pyramid model is unable to explain and identify other factors which may influence L2 WTC within a Chinese context (as Wen and Clement, 2003 suggest). The following section will present,

(a) areas where this study found evidence to support the validity of the pyramid model which therefore may be argued is a useful model in understand WTC in a Chinese context and

(b) other variables not covered within the pyramid model.

The results from these two areas will support the argument that the pyramid model should not be regarded as being inclusive of all language contexts, since the L2 WTC phenomenon is more complex than is represented by the model. Some of the areas considered below may relate to culturally specific areas.

Areas Where this Study Validates the Pyramid Model

CA was identified as being a state which many Chinese students experienced as they studied in Britain. CA was a fear of making language mistakes which, they thought, could result in individuals being ridiculed by others, which could lead to them to lose face. This was found to be linked to the student's educational background, where many Chinese students became reluctant to speak in English due the fear of making a language mistake. This condition which was reported to occur in China, was also prevalent as the students studied in Britain.

Those participants who overcame acute CA, exhibited a stronger motivation to speak to others in English which led to them making fewer language mistakes. Gaining positive experiences through speaking in English, could lead to students being more inclined to make a greater level of effort to speak in English. This could result in an increase in their communicative self-confidence.

This study identified that the social networking habits of many Chinese students can have a strong impact upon their L2 WTC. Some Chinese students may exhibit behaviour which demonstrates that they have no interest, in assimilating into British society and they may even be seen to alienate themselves from the target culture, if they merely see their academic stay to Britain as a way to gain a qualification from a western university, and not as a means to improve their oral speaking skills.

Despite the discussion of personality within the model; expanding upon the work of Altemeyer (1981, 1988), this study identified the need to make the distinction between both the personality traits of the speaker participant and the interlocutor separately. This is important because, plainly, at least these two personalities are involved in interaction but the pyramid model does not identify any possible personality characteristics which could influence L2 WTC. This study identified both the positive and negative personality characteristics which can influence L2 WTC.

In some instances Chinese students may be more WTC in English about a topic about which they have a greater understanding and thus feel a high level of communicative self-confidence. Thereby participants may feel in greater 'control' of a language exchange. However, some Chinese students may feel that they are unable to effectively integrate into British culture if they feel that they are ineffective L2 communicators. This may cause them to spend time with Chinese students, rather than with British ones, so they remain unwilling to integrate into British society. Those participants who exhibited a high level of motivation to frequently engage in English within diverse settings, reported an increase in PCC and a willingness to take part in varied social activities.

Other Areas Not Covered in the Pyramid Model

Chinese people tend to be extremely family-oriented. Family members are socialized into a wide range of deep rooted cultural values and behavioural expectations and this may have a considerable influence upon how young people view themselves and how they feel that they are expected to behave towards others. This has particular communicative implications in relation to: who one should (or not) communicate with, when it is appropriate (or not) to communicate with another person and how one should address another person.

This study has reported comments that many Chinese children may not be exposed to a more holistic form of social interaction with others, since parents expect their child to place their main focus upon their academic studies. Their main social interaction with others may be gained through communicating with their peers. This may lead to some Chinese students not developing a broad range of socializing skills needed for interacting with others within societal settings. Within an L2 context this can have implications for Chinese students who study abroad: they may not be adequately prepared to interact with a wide range of individuals within a foreign society, and this can be one of the reasons why some Chinese students may exhibit an extreme level of reticence in English language exchanges. A similar reticence may be shown by some Chinese students if their family and society have instilled an unwillingness (or even a certain level of fear) of speaking to strangers, due to a 'stranger danger' awareness so children are taught to demonstrate extreme caution, or a 'habitually defensive instinct' (which can be justified) when speaking to an unfamiliar person whose intentions may not always be clear.

This study has highlighted many L2 language learning contexts specific to L2 language learning in China, not covered with the pyramid model, which were found to have a marked influence on the participants WTC in English. It was identified that Chinese students could be reticent to speak in English if they had been negatively influenced by a range of educational contexts in China. Thus many cultural differences (compared with in Britain) could impact upon participants WTC. Some of these cultural differences often linked to behavioural characteristics, could produce a positive, or a negative impact upon their L2 WTC in Britain. In some instances these cultural differences were found to be problematic for some Chinese since they were inadequately prepared for life in Britain. Some Chinese students, however, gained an understanding of British culture (even though they may not accept all aspects of it) and so showed greater willingness to socialise with others, leading to a greater willingness to integrate into the British society.

Some Chinese students asserted that the 'topic of discussion' influenced their L2 WTC. They may feel a higher WTC when discussing simplistic topics resulting in higher communicative self-confidence as they became more competent in expressing themselves. Few students were able to discuss complex topics effectively with others. This often led to feelings of frustration when they were unable to discuss academic topics in the classroom.

Participants stated that they were often unable to identify topics of discussion during language exchanges: conversations tended to be of short duration after the initial introductory pleasantries had been shared. Such communicative challenges were reported to be linked to the students' lack of understanding of the target culture, which often led to a relative inability to take part in some communicative exchanges, as they remained unfamiliar with some topics discussed. This situation could be improved if interlocutors provide language and cultural support - otherwise students may find that their inability to take part can lead to feelings of frustration. Those participants who regularly spent time interacting with NES found it easier to identify mutually interesting communicative topics. In some instances participants still remained un-WTC regarding some sensitive topics: topics dealing with politics, religion, or topics of an intimate sexual nature.

L2 WTC was found to be linked to a range of communicative language barriers which many students perceived to impact upon them. A major barrier was that some Chinese have a low level of language confidence in their communicative ability in English; they believe their language ability to be inadequate. This can create a 'I won't try to speak in English, because my language is not good enough' mentality, which may dampen their motivation to communicate. The extent to which they may struggle to communicate was found to be influenced by a number of factors and communication challenges occurred, feelings of frustration often follow; particularly when they found themselves in important situations where ineffective communication may have important consequences.

After having lived in Britain for over eight months, an almost dichotomous division was noticed in relation to the mentality of many Chinese students. A large proportion of students confessed that they rarely interacted with NES. They did not feel that their PCC had considerably improved since being in Britain. Conversely, a smaller group of students expressed how they often interacted with many NES and felt their PCC had improved and were able to discuss deeper topics of conversation. They felt more able to start and maintain conversations, resulting in heightened communicative self-confidence. They asserted that some Chinese students may find excuses for not speaking to NES such as the "my English language ability is not good enough" view; whereas students should make use of the language competency already gained. They should endeavour to communicate with others often even if

that meant making language mistakes and language mistakes should not be deemed as being of crucial importance.

CA was also discussed extensively by the participants. The interlocutors covered within the scales were helpful in addressing this topic. However, CA within a Chinese context was found to be more complex than the pyramid model suggested. All participants reported having experienced extreme levels of CA when they arrived in Britain. After eight months many students reported differing reduced levels of CA. The complexity in understanding this language phenomenon was found to be related to: the participants' own communicative competence, the differing contextual settings and interlocutors encountered and how the students respond to the wide scope of language scenarios which they encountered.

The final area addresses the extent (and respective reasons) for the changes in the students' L2 WTC levels and PCC, over an eighteen month period. Some students considered that before they arrived in Britain they had already attained advanced language ability in their homeland (based upon their English exam scores), therefore many participants assumed that they had attained an advanced level of L2 communicative confidence. However, once the students began speaking to others in Britain, many found that a considerable gap existed between their communicative ability and that of a NES. Changes in WTC and PCC during an eighteen month period were found to be linked to how well the students were able to overcome the communicative barriers that they encountered. For example, the caution which Chinese students often feel when speaking to strangers could become a communicative barrier unless they are able to overcome this CA.

5.1.4 Applications for This Study

The following section will outline a number of possible applications which may contribute to the oral English development of Chinese students who engage in foreign study. Such applications may be of assistance to Chinese students (and those who teach them) as the students seek to overcome the culture shock of living in foreign country, whilst having to adapt to an unfamiliar learning environment, mediated through English.

How can Chinese students be helped to gain a greater understanding of British culture? Such a question may be important to consider if students from China arrive in the UK (to embark upon foreign studies), and are unprepared for the new lifestyle encountered. If they are not adequately prepared their target university may provide materials; similar to the Home Office text "Life in the United Kingdom: a guide for new residents" to provide them with a greater understanding of the target culture; the afore mentioned text is designed to provide individuals (who plan to settle in the U.K.) with knowledge of British traditions and customs. Hence it is argued that this text (and similar materials) could provide Chinese students with knowledge of British society and culture, as it has been shown that many Chinese have an inaccurate understanding of western culture (Ozturgut, 2012; Wu, 2011). Similarly, such texts may perhaps providing them with a framework to understand certain topics of conversation (relating to British culture), affording them the potential to take part in some language exchanges, rather than merely avoiding interaction with NES due to the notion that they are unable to effectively communicative due to a lack of understanding of the target culture (Gu and Maley, 2008; Xia, 2009). Such materials may also aid students in making the transition to studying abroad and in essence get over the culture sock which they encounter (Henderson et al. 1993; Lin, 2006). The students in this study stated that they would be interested in such materials, believing them to be of benefit. However, staff in both Chinese and British universities may first need to gain an understanding of the needs and challenges which Chinese students encounter. Such actions may be required as Cortazzi and Jin (2006) have pointed out that "Chinese students are among the most significant group in terms of numbers in the present and potential international educational market yet ... their cultural background and ways of learning were less familiar to most teachers, internationally" (Cortazzi and Jin, 2006: 5).

There are also a number of other strategies which could be implemented to help them to become more integrated into British culture. This may be achieved by: assisting them in joining university 'Language Exchange Programs', providing them with opportunities to join systems in which Chinese and UK students work together on the same or related projects associated with their courses, taking part in local Christian church activities or those of other faiths, encouraging them to provide voluntary work in the community (such as providing service in old peoples' homes; talking to the elderly in order to improve their oral English skills), making them aware of the social opportunities available and how to access them and

encouraging them to join university societies (other than Chinese societies), where they may broaden their social horizons. Through regular socialisation with NES, Chinese students may join social networking circles consisting of NES which may lead to new friendships being formed. Clearly some Chinese students may have little intention in socialising with NES or developing their oral English skills, if they merely regard their foreign study experience as a means to gain a qualification from a western university.

Chinese students may be assisted in promoting language exchanges with others, where student accommodation is organised such that Chinese students live in a closer proximity to other NES's, or conversely a diverse range of IS, rather than with high quantities of Chinese. This could be implemented for example by having NES work with a Chinese student to organise social events, such as holding student parties at their accommodation and where a Chinese student teaches others how to make Chinese dumplings. Such a strategy may have its problems due to the high quantity of Chinese students who now study abroad, yet this is not to infer that such a strategy is unachievable.

Likewise, if classroom tutors encourage Chinese students to sit next to NES, or at least other non-Chinese IS, as opposed to sitting with other Chinese; and if similar strategies are employed when organising group discussions and projects, Chinese students may further be encouraged to engage more extensively with NES. Such potential interactions may lead to new friendships being formed and hence Chinese students may find it easier to socialise within British society.

5.1.5 Limitations of Study

All research has limitations and this study is no exception. A number of limitations of this study will now be presented. During the early stages of this study access to a research population was sought through NCUK, in order to overcome the difficulties in securing a research population (as outlined in the preliminary study). After NCUK withdraw their pre-agreed support it was challenging to securing a research population. This was a limitation of the study as relying upon an organisation to provide access support (even though the organisation is affiliated with universities in Britain) could have jeopardised the study. A

better research strategy may have been to endeavour to find an alternative means to secure a research population.

The study could also have been improved be trying to secure a greater length of time in China in order to meet more research students and also to gain their trust and respect, hence endeavouring to achieve a higher level of rapport with the students; this may have increased the quantity and perhaps even the quality of the gathered data. This may have been achieved in a means which did not interfere with the students' foundation year studies; perhaps free language lessons could have been offered as an incentive to the school.

One of the main limitations of this study was the use of only one data gathering tool, despite the notion that the data collection tool employed is argued as being more effective than others; it has also been shown that other academic research (in relation to WTC) has been carried out using a single research instrument, therefore making use of a single research tool should not be seen as a violation of research protocol. The use of an additional data collection tool would have allowed the potential to correlate the findings of the study thereby adding a greater level of validity and reliability to the study. It is also possible that an additional data gathering instrument may have generated different data, which may have produced new insights into the WTC construct. Similarly, the study could have been improved by undertaking a clear pilot study; in addition to the initial data gathering which was carried out in China, in order to more extensively test the data gathering instrument and the data coding processes.

5.2 Future research

There are inevitably gaps in this study requiring future research. These were found to be linked to the WTC construct, however, it was not possible within the scope of this study to investigate these additional areas.

In identifying those factors which may influence the participants L2 WTC, it was noted that their communicative behaviour could be influenced by their own cognitive frames and expectations of potential communicative results. Chinese students may be highly motivated in communicating with others if they deem the outcome to be important, or if they believe that they may gain something from the exchange. Their communicative responses

may also be influenced by the possible impact of a language exchange; which the WTC pyramid model does not directly address. This study identified (but did not investigate) that the "cognitive reflective state" of Chinese students could have an influence on their L2 WTC. The present data provided evidence to support the notion that Chinese students "cognitive reflective state" is influenced by their cultural and educational backgrounds, related to notions of 'face' and 'ching-li-fa'. What is not well understood, is how Chinese students may cognitively respond to differing language contexts; both challenging and non challenging, within differing authentic real life language exchanges and less authentic language environments within English language classrooms and the potential emotional impact which this may have on them. For example, it has been identified that Chinese students may demonstrate a lower WTC level if they encounter negative English learning experiences within classrooms, such as being criticized by the teacher for making mistakes. However, how they internalise their experience of making a language mistake and how this may impact upon how they view themselves and their identity and how they perceive that others (teachers and peers) view them, is an area for further investigation. How might the emotional well being of Chinese students be influenced by the impact of different language exchanges related to quality of outcomes?

The impact of a language exchange may also be linked to what Chinese students perceive to be the potential emotional outcomes which an interlocutor may experience. Some Chinese individuals may demonstrate what could be viewed by a western interlocutor (NES) as a low WTC, due to what they regard as hesitancy in responding. However, the Chinese speaker may be mentally assessing the potential impact on the interlocutor (and on themselves), hoping to avoid either party becoming upset, embarrassed or annoyed, possibly due to their admittedly limited understanding of western people and cultures. A Chinese student may choose to adopt a non-confrontational response, or remain silent to avoid a potentially embarrassing situation; they do not want either party to experience a loss of face. Such a potential area of future research would have to probe deeply into the participants' cognitive mindset in order to evaluate how their experiences had influenced them. Such behaviour may be linked to Chinese cultural and historical Confucian teachings of expected behaviour and attitudes towards others. Similarly, further study is required on how the behaviour of the interlocutor; beyond the simplistic view of 'personality' as covered within the pyramid model, may influence Chinese students' L2 WTC. How do Chinese students

view western people (even if stereotypically) and how do Chinese students perceive how western interactants support or detract from a potential language exchange; this follows on from notions of western people being 'open' covered earlier. How might Chinese students think and respond communicatively when they encounter a situation which causes them to be in conflict with a NES? Such contexts are predicted to be influenced by cultural differences influencing behaviour.

Another area identified during this study which may require further investigation, relates to understanding the students' mindsets in relation to their unwillingness to discuss more sensitive or taboo topics. Such research would be designed to understand their views in relation to certain topics. This area would need to be approached with extreme caution, researched through open ended (and non-loaded) questions in an environment where they felt relaxed and comfortable. The researcher would need to demonstrate an openness to their views, avoiding bias and any suggestion of criticizing aspects of Chinese culture, but simply seeking to gain a greater comprehension of their opinions.

This study identified that some Chinese students demonstrate a strong defensive mechanism of being un-WTC (particularly when they first arrive in an English speaking environment) as they perceive that they have underdeveloped oral English skills. However, after being immersed for some time in an English speaking environment some Chinese students may change their orientation and gradually become more WTC. What is unclear is: what do Chinese students perceive as the variables which define a successful language exchange (and why)? Likewise, more research needs to be conducted to understand better how and why some Chinese students may change their views and also other students demonstrate a low level of motivation to engage with others, maintaining the stable mindset of being un-WTC despite being in an English speaking environment.

To conclude this thesis. Based upon currents trends in China it seems evident that there continues to be a growing demand to acquire English language skills, as it is believed that such skills may provide individuals will better future opportunities. It has become apparent that the development of oral English skills is receiving greater attentions in China. Yet it may be some times before this area of language development is more fully incorporate into China's educational system. Clearly Chinese students' educational background influences

the development of their oral English skills which in turn may impact upon their proficiency in communicating with others if they study abroad. Despite this shortfall many Chinese students are able to adapt to their new educational background whilst studying abroad.

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Appendix 1

Willingness to Communicate in English Scale

Directions

Below are 20 situations in which a person might choose to communicate or not to communicate. Presume you have *completely free choice*. Indicate in the space at the left the percentage of time you would choose to communicate in English to a foreigner in each type of situation.　　　　0 = never, 100 = always. For example, if you would be unwilling to talk in English to a foreigner, write a number such as 0 or 10; if you would be willing to talk in English to a foreigner half of the time write 40, 50, 60 or whatever seems most appropriate for you; if you feel that you would be willing to talk in English with a foreigner write a high number, perhaps 90 or 100. There are no right or wrong answers. It is best to work quickly and record your first impressions.

0%　-- 100%
　　I would NEVER　　　　　　　　　　　　I would ALWAYS be willing
be willing to speaking English to a foreigner　　to speak in English to a foreigner

_____ 1.　*Talk with a service station attendant in English.

_____ 2.　*Talk with a physician in English.

_____ 3.　Present a talk to a group of strangers in English.

_____ 4.　Talk in English with an acquaintance (i.e. someone you know but not that well) while standing in line.

_____ 5.　*Talk in English with a salesperson in a store.

_____ 6.　Talk in a large meeting of friends in English.

_____ 7.　*Talk with a policeman/policewoman in English.

_____ 8.　Talk in a small group of strangers in English.

_____ 9.　Talk in English with a friend while standing in line.

_____10.　*Talk in English with a waiter/waitress in a restaurant.

_____11.　Talk in a large meeting of acquaintances (i.e. people you know but not that well) in English.

_____12.　Talk in English with a stranger while standing in line.

_____13.　*Talk with a secretary in English.

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_____14. Present a talk to a group of friends in English.

_____15. Talk in English to a small group of acquaintances (i.e. people you know but not that well).

_____16. *Talk with a garbage collector in English.

_____17. Talk in English to a large meeting of strangers.

_____18. *Talk in English with a girl/boy friend.

_____19. Talk in English to a small group of friends.

_____20. Present a talk to a group of acquaintances (i.e. people you know but not that well) in English.

* Filler items

Scoring: To computer the sub-scores add the percentages for the items indicated and divide the total by the number indicated below.

Public: 3+14+20; divide by 3.
Meeting: 6+11+17; divide by 3.
Group: 8+15+19; divide by 3.
Dyad: 4+9+12; divide by 3.
Stranger: 3+8+12+17; divide by 4.
Acquaintance: 4+11+15+20; divide by 4.
Friend: 6+9+14+19; divide by 4.

To compute the total WTC score, add the sub-scores for Stranger, Acquaintance, and Friend. Then divide that total by 3.

Appendix 2.

Self-perceived English Communication Competence Scale

Directions

Below are 12 situations in which you might need to communicate. People's ability to communicate effectively vary a lot and sometimes the same person is more competent to communicate in one situation than in another. Please indicate how competent you believe you are to communicate in English to a foreigner in each of the situations described below. Indicate in the space provided at the left of each item your competence.
Presume 0 = completely incompetence and 100 = complete competence.
For example, if you believe you would be completely incompetence to talk in English to a foreigner, write a number such as 0 or 10; if you believe you would be competence to talk in English to a foreigner half of the time write 40, 50, 60 or whatever seems most appropriate for you; if you feel that you would be completely competent to talk in English with a foreigner write a high number, perhaps 90 or 100. There are no right or wrong answers. It is best to work quickly and record your first impressions.

0% --- 100%
I feel completely INCOMPETENT   I feel completely COMPETENT
to speak English to a foreigner   to speak in English to a
foreigner

_____ 1. Present a talk to a group of strangers in English.

_____ 2. Talk in English with an acquaintance (i.e. someone you know but not that well).

_____ 3. Talk in a large meeting of friends in English.

_____ 4. Talk in a small group of strangers in English.

_____ 5. Talk in English with a friend.

_____ 6. Talk in a large meeting of acquaintances (i.e. people you know but not that well) in English.

_____ 7. Talk in English with a stranger.

_____ 8. Present a talk to a group of friends in English.

_____ 9. Talk in English to a small group of acquaintances (i.e. people you know but not that well).

_____ 10. Talk in English to a large meeting of strangers.

_____ 11. Talk in English to a small group of friends.

_____ 12. Present a talk to a group of acquaintances (i.e. people you know but not that well) in English.

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Scoring: To computer the sub-scores add the percentages for the items indicated and divide the total by the number indicated below.

Public: 1+8+12; divide by 3.
Meeting: 3+6+10; divide by 3.
Group: 4+9+11; divide by 3.
Dyad: 2+5+7; divide by 3.
Stranger: 1+4+7+10; divide by 4.
Acquaintance: 2+6+9+12; divide by 4.
Friend: 3+5+8+11; divide by 4.

To compute the total SPCC score, add the sub-scores for Stranger, Acquaintance, and Friend. Then divide that total by 3.

Appendix 3.

Communication Anxiety in English Scale

Directions: This questionnaire is composed of 12 statements concerning your feelings about communication with other foreign people, in English. Please indicate in the space provided the percentage of time you FEEL NERVOUS in each situation. For example, if you never feel nervous speaking in English to a foreign stranger, write a number such as 0 or 10; if you feel nervous about half the time write 40, 50, 60 or whatever seems most appropriate for you; if you feel nervous almost all of the time write a high number, perhaps 90 or 100. There are no right or wrong answers. It is best to work quickly and record your first impressions.

0% --- 100%
        I would NEVER   I would ALWAYS feel nervous
feel nervous speaking English to a foreigner   speaking English to a foreigner

_____ 1. When talking in a small group of acquaintances (i.e. people you know but not that
          well).

_____ 2. When presenting a talk to a group of strangers.

_____ 3. When presenting a talk to a group of friends.

_____ 4. When talking in a large meeting of strangers.

_____ 5. When talking in a small group of strangers.

_____ 6. When talking in a large meeting of friends.

_____ 7. When conversing with a friend.

_____ 8. When talking in a large meeting with acquaintances (i.e. people you know but not that
          well).

_____ 9. When conversing with an acquaintance (i.e. someone you know but not that well).

_____ 10. When presenting a talk to a group of acquaintances (i.e. people you know but not
           that well).

_____ 11. When conversing with a stranger.

_____ 12. When talking in a small group of friends.

Scoring: To computer the sub-scores add the percentages for the items indicated and divide the total by the number indicated below.

Public: 2+3+10; divide by 3.
Meeting: 4+6+8; divide by 3.
Group: 1+5+12; divide by 3.
Dyad: 7+9+11; divide by 3.
Stranger: 2+4+5+11; divide by 4.
Acquaintance: 1+8+9+10; divide by 4.
Friend: 3+6+7+12; divide by 4.

To compute the total CA score, add the sub-scores for Stranger, Acquaintance, and Friend. Then divide that total by 3.

Appendix 4.

自发用英语交流的程度
说明

下面的 20 种情况被调查者可以选择交流或者不交流。假定你可以*完全自由的选择*。指出在每一种情况下你可能会选择用英语跟一个外国人交流的<u>次数的比例</u>。0=从不，100=总是。例如，如果你不太愿意跟一个外国人用英语交谈便填写 0 或者 10；如果有大概一半的次数里你愿意跟一个外国人讲英语便填写 40，50，60 或任何你觉得最合适的比例；如果你觉得你会跟一个外国人用英语交流便填写一个比较高的比例，大概 90 或 100。答案没有绝对的对和错。最好用你的第一印象尽快做出选择。

0%--100%
我从不愿意跟一个外国人用英语讲话　　　我总是愿意用英语跟一个外国人交谈

_____1. *与服务站的服务员用英语交谈。
_____2. *用英语与医生交谈。
_____3. 在一群陌生人面前用英语讲话。
_____4. 排队的时候跟个熟人（既某个你知道但不了解的人）用英语说话。
_____5. *用英语跟商店的售货员交谈。
_____6. 在有众多朋友的聚会中说英语。
_____7. *跟警察说英语。
_____8. 在一小群陌生人面前说英语。
_____9. 排队的时候跟个朋友说英语。
_____10. *在饭店跟服务员说英语。
_____11. 在有众多熟人（既某个你知道但不了解的人）的聚会中说英语。
_____12. 排队的时候跟个陌生人说英语。
_____13. *跟一个秘书说英语。
_____14. 在一群朋友们面前说英语。
_____15. 在一小群熟人（既某个你知道但不了解的人）面前说英语。
_____16. *跟一个垃圾收集工说英语。
_____17. 在一个有很多陌生人的聚会中说英语。
_____18. *跟女朋友或男朋友说英语。
_____19. 跟一小群朋友用英语交谈。
_____20. 在一群熟人（既某个你知道但不了解的人）面前用英语讲话。

Appendix 5

自觉的英语交流能力程度
说明

下面有 12 种你可能需要交流的情况。人的实际交流能力呈现出很大的不同并且相对于其他情况一个人更善于在某种情况下交流。请指出在下面描述的每一个情况中你用英语交流的能力的程度。在每一项有关你能力的内容左边空白处填空。假设 0=完全没有能力，100=完全能够胜任。

例如，如果你认为你将完全不能用英语跟一个外国人交流便选择填写 0 或者 10；如果你认为在一半左右的次数里自己能够跟一个外国人用英语交流便选择填写 40，50，60 或者任何你觉得合适的比例；如果你感觉自己完全能够跟一个外国人用英语交流填写一个比较高的比例，如 90 或者 100。答案没有绝对的对与错。最好用你的第一印象尽快做出选择。

0%--100%
我感觉完全不能跟一个外国人用英语讲话　　我觉得完全能够用英语跟一个外国人交谈

＿＿＿＿1.在一群陌生人面前讲话。
＿＿＿＿2.跟一个熟人（既某个你知道但不了解的人）用英语交谈。
＿＿＿＿3.在一个有很多朋友的聚会中用英语讲话。
＿＿＿＿4.在一小群陌生人中用英语说话。
＿＿＿＿5.跟一个朋友用英语谈话。
＿＿＿＿6.在一个有很多熟人（既某个你知道但不了解的人）的聚会中说英语。
＿＿＿＿7.跟一个陌生人说英语。
＿＿＿＿8.在一群朋友面前用英语讲话。
＿＿＿＿9.用英语跟一小群熟人（既某个你知道但不了解的人）交谈。
＿＿＿＿10.在一个有很多陌生人的聚会中讲英语。
＿＿＿＿11. 跟一小群朋友用英语交谈。
＿＿＿＿12.在一群熟人（既某个你知道但不了解的人）面前用英语讲话。

Appendix 6.

用英语交流的焦虑程度

说明：这个问卷包括 12 条关于当你跟其他外国人用英语交流时的感觉的陈述。请在空白处指出在每一个情况下你感觉紧张的次数比例。例如，如果你跟一个外国陌生人用英语交谈时从不感到紧张，便填写 0 或者 10；如果你有大约一半的次数里感觉到紧张便填写 40，50，60 或任何你觉得合适的比例；如果你几乎每次都感到紧张便填写一个比较高的比例，如 90 或者 100。答案没有绝对的对与错。最好用你的第一印象尽快做出选择。

0%--100%
我跟一个外国人用英语讲话时从不感到紧张　我用英语跟一个外国人交谈时总是觉得紧张

_____1. 当在一小群熟人（既某个你知道但不了解的人）面前说话时。
_____2. 当在一群陌生人面前讲话时。
_____3. 当在一群朋友面前讲话时。
_____4. 当在一大群陌生人面前讲话时。
_____5. 当在一小群陌生人面前讲话时。
_____6. 当在一个大的朋友聚会上讲话时。
_____7. 当跟一个朋友交谈时。
_____8. 当在一个大的陌生人聚会上讲话时。
_____9. 当跟一个熟人（既某个你知道但不了解的人）交谈时。
_____10.当在一群陌生人面前讲话时
_____11.当跟一个陌生人交谈时。
_____12.当跟一小群朋友说话时。

Appendix 7

Interview Question Framework
Understand the reasons for the subjects WTC in English when speaking in a group/large meeting/small group/dyad setting

How willing would you be to presenting a talk to: a group / a large meeting / a small group / only one foreign person in English? Why?
你愿不愿意用英语在: 一群 /大会/一小群 / 一个国人面前做一个演讲？为什么？

What situations could influence your willingness to talk to foreigners in English? Why?
都有哪些情况会影响你跟外国人用英语交谈的意愿？为什么？

What would motivate you to talk to foreigners in English?
什么会促使你跟外国人用英语说话？

Have you ever been in a situation where you wanted to speak in English but you couldn't?
你有没有碰到过一种场景是当你想说英语的时候却不知道如何表达？
Understand the reasons for the subjects WTC in English when speaking to a stranger/acquaintance/friend

How willing would you be to talk to a foreign: stranger / acquaintance (i.e. someone you know but not that well) / friend in English? Why?

你愿不愿意跟一个外国: 陌生人/ 熟人（某个你知道的但不了解的人） / 朋友用英语交谈？为什么？

Who would you be the least / most willing to talk in English to? Why?
谁是你最不愿意 / 愿意用英语说话的？为什么？

How easy or difficult do you think it is to make friends with foreign people?
和外国人做朋友你认为有多难？
Understand the reasons for the subjects PCC in English when speaking in a group/large meeting/small group/dyad setting

How competent do you feel to presenting a talk to: a group / a large meeting / a small group / only one foreign person in English? Why?

你感觉自己有多大的把握去胜任在:一群 / 大会 / 一小群 / 一个外国人面前做一个英语演讲？为什么？

In what setting would you feel the most comfortable to talk to a foreigner in English? Why?

什么环境让你觉得跟一个外国人用英语交谈最舒适？为什么？

What has helped you to be confident to talk to foreigners in English?
什么曾经帮助你自信的跟外国人用英语交流？

In what situations do you find it the hardest to speak in English to foreigners? Why?
在哪种情况下你发现跟外国人说英语最难？为什么？
Understand the reasons for the subjects PCC in English when speaking to a stranger/acquaintance/friend

How competent do you feel to talk to a foreign: stranger / acquaintance (i.e. someone you know but not that well) / a friend in English? Why?

你感觉自己有多大的把握能够胜任跟一个外国: 陌生人 / 熟人 / 朋友用英语说话？为什么？

Who would you feel the most comfortable to speak in English to? Why
跟谁用英语交谈让你觉得最舒服？为什么？

Who would you feel the most uncomfortable to speak in English to? Why
跟谁用英语交谈让你觉得最不舒服？为什么？
Understand the reasons for the subjects CA in English when speaking in a group/large meeting/small group/dyad setting

How nervous would you be to presenting a talk to: a group / a large meeting / a small group / only one foreign person in English? Why?

如果用英语在:一群 / 大会 / 小群 / 一个外国人面前做一个演讲你会紧张到何种程度？为什么？

In what situation would you feel the most nervous to speak to foreigners in English? Why?
在什么情况下会让你跟外国人用英语讲话觉得最紧张？为什么？

How could feelings of nervousness to speak to foreigners in English be reduced?
怎样才会降低跟外国人讲英语的紧张情绪？为什么？
Understand the reasons for the subjects CA in English when speaking to a stranger/acquaintance/friend

How nervous would you be to talk to a foreign: stranger / acquaintance (i.e. someone you know but not that well) / friend in English? Why?

如果跟一个外国: 陌生人/熟人 /朋友用英语交谈你会紧张到何种程度？为什么？

Who would you feel the most nervous speaking in English to? Why?

跟谁说英语让你觉得最紧张？为什么？

What is your biggest fear about speaking in English?
你说英语最害怕的是什么？

Appendix 8

Topic Areas Covered within the Study

Aug-10	Location	Oct-10	Location
Public speaking	1--1	Public speaking	2--1
Personality of respondent	1--2	Response of receiver	2--1
Language barriers	1--3	Topic	2--2
Past experiences influence WTC	1--4	Cognitive process	2--2
Seeing other Chinese speak well	1--4	Accent / pronunciation	2--2
Language not good enough	1--4	Language barriers	2--3
Cognitive process too slow	1--5	Lifestyle differences	2--3
Strategies to overcome barriers	1--5	Personality	2--3
Behaviour / Appearance of receiver	1--5	Made and effort / kind receivers	2--3
Relationship with receiver	1--6	Many Chinese	2--3
Topic	1--6	Self motivated	2--4
Friendship	1--7	Language barriers	2--4
Personality of respondent	1--7	Ineffective expression frustration	2--4
Cautious with strangers	1--7	Stranger	2--5
Topic	1--7	Acquaintance	2--5
Cultural differences friendships	1--8	Friend	2--5
Level of friendship	1--9	Cultural differences	2--6
Impact of language exchange	1--9	Personality	2--6
Open	1--10	Not WTC with parents	2--6
Public speaking	1--10	Not WTC with Mid-eastern	2--7
Relaxed atmosphere	1--11	Un WTC with tutor	2--7
Kind teachers promote confidence	1--12	Friendship	2--7, 2--8
Exam stress	1--12	Different size group	2--8
Meeting strangers	1--12	Public speaking	2--9
Accent / Pronunciation	1--13	Personality	2--9
Easy to speak to friends	1--13	Environment	2--9
Topic	1--14	Topic	2--9
Public speaking	1--14	Personality	2--10
Language test anxiety	1--15	PCC	2--10
		Personality	2--11
		Different receiver	2--11
		Personality	2--11
		Persistence	2--11
		Strangers	2--12
		Formal settings	2--13

		Public setting	2--13
		Positive experience	2--13
		Small group	2--13
		When nervous	2--14
		Poor language	2--14
		Mix with Chinese	2--14
		Educational background	2--15

Nov-10	Location	Dec-10	Location
Public speaking	3--1, 3--2	Topic	4--1
Parental influence	3--2	Public speaking	4--1
Topic	3--3	Considerable improvement	4--2
Open	3--3	Academic speech	4--2
Environment	3--4	Own personality	4--2
Accommodation	3--4	Environment	4--2
Topic	3--4	Classmates	4--2
Chinese room mates	3--5	Self expression	4--3
Telephone	3--5	Difficulties integrating	4--3
Stranger	3--5	Joint activities	4--4
Motives	3--6	Classmates	4--4
Many Chinese	3--6	Motives	4--4
Stranger	3--6	Educational Background	4--5
Students	3--7	Chinese friends	4--5
Who Un WTC with	3--7	Language deficiencies motivate	4--5
International students	3--7	Familiarities same cultural	4--6
Cultural differences friendships	3--8	Socialise	4--6
Social events	3--8	Personality	4--6
PCC	3--9	International	4--6
Undulating confidence	3--9	Fear of making language mistakes	4--7
Communication barriers	3--10	Personality	4--7
Cultural Ideas	3--10	Chinese friends	4--7
Open	3--10	Initiate conversation	4--8
Topic	3--11	Topic / problem interacting	4--8
Patient receiver	3--11	Socialising	4--8
International students	3--11	Mix with Chinese	4--9
Impatient	3--11	Group discussion	4--9
Public speaking	3--12	Topic	4--9
Expressional Challenges	3--12	Cultural differences	4--9
Relationship with receiver	3--12	Educational Background	4--9
Persistence	3--13	High PCC in China - low PCC in UK	4--10

Topic	3--13	Educational Background	4--11
Personality of receiver	3--13	Patient receiver	4--11
Educational Background	3--14	Have improved	4--11
		Topic	4--12
		Listening ability	4--12
		Stranger	4--12
		Mix with Chinese	4--12
		Fear of making language mistakes	4--13
		Language barriers	4--14
		Fear tutor	4--14
		Personality	4--14
		More people harder to speak	4--14
		Do not speak more	4--15
		Personality	4--15
		Fear of making language mistakes	4--15
		Educational Background	4--16
		Different receivers	4--16
		Understand / express	4--17
		Cultural differences	4--17
		Self expression / make mistakes	4--18

Jan-11	Location	Feb-11	Location
Increase confidence	5--1	How Chinese view own ability	6--1
Making mistakes	5--1	Educational background	6--1
Socialise	5--1	Chinese classmates	6--1
Unable to maintain conversation	5--2	Think can't speak	6--2
Making mistakes	5--2	Culture /personality	6--2
No reason to engage	5--2	East west lifestyle	6--2
Have improved	5--3	Complete a task	6--3
Socialise	5--3	Unfamiliar group discussion	6--3
Improved confidence	5--3	Making mistakes	6--4
Not start conversation	5--4	Open	6--4
English in class - Chinese outside class	5--4	Own personality	6--5
Topic	5--5	Family background	6--5
Personality	5--5	Educational background	6--5
Struggle when arrived	5--5	Topic	6--6
Own personality	5--5	Background / motivation / self confidence	6--6
Language mistakes	5--6	Motivation	6--7
Personality	5--7	Failed attempts	6--7
		Chinese students	6--7

		Topic	6--8
		Educational background	6--8
		Chinese classmates	6--8
		Open	6--8
		Cultural differences	6--9
		Only gain degree	6--10
		International	6--10
		Mix with Chinese	6--11
		Making mistakes	6--12
		Educational background	6--12
		Persistence	6--14
		Others reactions	6--14
		Forming friendships	6--14
		Topic	6--15
		Intent to speak	6--16
		Mix with Chinese	6--16
		Self confidence	6--16
		More fluent / self confidence	6--17
		Educational background	6--17
		Mix with Chinese	6--18
		Making mistakes	6--18
		Cultural differences	6--19
		Topic	6--19
		Have improved	6--19

Apr-11	Location	Jan/Feb-12	Location
Mix with Chinese	7--1	Engage more	8--1
Low WTC on arrival	7--2	Lang mistakes	8--1
Ask Chinese for help	7--2	Start conversation	8--1
Speed of conversation	7--2	On-line	8--1
Home environment	7--3	Academic English	8--1
Making mistakes	7--3	Socialise	8--1
Early focus / struggle in UK	7--4	Not engage	8--1
Chinese view themselves	7--4	Engage more	8--1
International	7--5	Group work	8--1
Need persistence	7--5	Friends	8--2
Personality	7--6	Improved Comm	8--2
Socialise	7--6	Practice	8--2
IFY	7--6	Socialise	8--2
Initiate conversation	7--7	Fewer mistakes	8--3
International	7--7	Think in Eng	8--3
Language mistakes	7--8	Make mistakes	8--3

Have improved	**7--8**	**Minimal improve**	**8--3**
Open	**7--9**	**Improved Express**	**8--3**
Poor language skills	**7--10**	**Academic English**	**8--3**
Educational background	**7--11**	**Improved Oral**	**8--3**
Reduce language anxiety	**7--11**	**China book**	**8--4**
Parents	**7--11**	**Lang mistakes**	**8--4**
Educational background	**7--12**	**CA**	**8--4**
		Many people	**8--5**
		Lang mistakes	**8--5**
		Express	**8--5**
		CA	**8--5**
		Pronunciation	**8--5**
		Think in Eng	**8--6**
		Many people	**8--6**
		Improved Express	**8--6**
		Lang mistakes	**8--6**
		Perfect Eng	**8--6**
		Lang mistakes	**8--7**
		Large group	**8--7**
		Lang mistakes	**8--8**
		Culture	**8--8**
		Vocab	**8--8**
		Spontaneous	**8--8**
		Face	**8--9**
		Socialise	**8--9**
		Topic	**8--9**
		Integrate	**8--9**
		Open	**8--9**
		Culture	**8--10,11**
		Topic	**8-11, 12**
		Repeat	**08--12**
		Involvement	**8--12**
		Terminology	**8--12**

Jan/Feb-12	Location	Jan/Feb-12	Location
Not engage	**8--13**	**Cognition**	**8--26, 27**
Simple friend	**8--13, 14**	**Self expression**	**8--26, 27**
NES less WTC	**8--14**	**Lang mistakes**	**8--26, 27**
Lonely	**8--14**	**Improved oral**	**8--27**
Personality	**8--14**	**Accent**	**8--27**
Motivation	**8--15**	**Many Chinese**	**8--27**
Form friend	**8--15**	**Tutors**	**8--27, 28**
Topic	**8--15**	**Patient**	**8--28**

Lang mistakes	8--15	Practice	8--28
More time w Chinese	8--15	Not engage	8--28
Motivate	8--16	NES less WTC	8--28
Practice more	8--16	Group work	8--29
With Chinese	8--16	Lang mistakes	8--29
Social skills	8--16	Improved oral	8--30
Group work	8--16	Initiate conv	8--30
Formal	8--17	Group work	8--30
Motivation	8--17	Practice	8--30
Open	8--17	UK degree	8--30
Low interaction	8--17	Lifestyle	8--30
Minimal improve	8--17	Accent	8--31
Many Chinese	8--18	Speak Chinese	8--31
Not mix NES	8--19	Confidence	8--31
Confidence	8--19	Other less WTC	8--31
Engage more	8--20	Speak Chinese	8--32
Low WTC in class	8--20	Face	8--32
Group work	8--20	Lang mistakes	8--32, 33, 35
Shop/dinner	8--20	Poor oral	8--33
Socialise	8--20	Lang ability	8--33
Group work	8--21	Limited interaction	8--33
Self expression	8--21	Topic	8--33, 35
Practice	8--21	Socialise	8--33
Self expression	8--21, 22	Unfamiliar Envir	8--33, 36
Socialise	8--22	Self expression	8--34
Lang mistakes	8--22	Motivation	8--34
Face	8--22	Vocab	8--34, 35
International	8--22	Personality	8--35
Face	8--23	PCC	8--35
Lang mistakes	8--23	Own perspective	8--35
Improved oral	8--23	China	8--36
Many Chinese	8--23	Reg interact	8--36
NES less WTC	8--24	Edu background	8--36
UK degree	8--24	Motivation	8--36, 37, 40
Engage Chinese	8--24	Face	8--37
Motivate	8--24, 25	Topic	8--37, 39-41
Topic	8--25, 26, 27	Personality	8--37
Lang mistakes	8--25	Shy	8--37, 38
Speed of comm	8--25	Will respond	8--38
Group work	8--25	Open	8--38, 40
Face	8--26	Friendly	8--38, 39
Culture	8--26	Receiver	8--38

		Socialise	8--39
		UK degree	8--39
		Personal intent	8--40
		Comm interest	8--41

Appendix 9

Organized Topic Areas

Topic	1--6	Level of friendship	1--9	Open	1--10
Topic	1--7	Friendship	1--7		
Topic	1--14	Easy to speak to friends	1--13		
Topic	2--2	Friend	2--5		
Topic	2--9	Friendship	2--7, 2--8		
Topic	3--3	Cultural diff friendships	3--8	Open	3--3
Topic	3--4			Open	3--10
Topic	3--11				
Topic	3--13				
Topic	4--1				
Topic	4--9				
Topic	4--12				
Topic	5--5				
Topic	6--6	Forming friendships	6--14	Open	6--4
Topic	6--8			Open	6--8
Topic	6--15				
Topic	6--19				
					Open	7--9

Topic	8--9	Friends	8--2	Open	8--9
Topic	8--11,12	Simple friends	8--13, 14	Open	8--17
Topic	8--15	Form friends	8--15	Open	8--38, 40
Topic	8--25-27				
Topic	8--33, 35				
Topic	8--37, 39-41				
Comm int	8--41				

Cautious with strangers	1--7	Personality of respondent	1--2
Meeting strangers	1--12	Behaviour / Appearance	1--5
		Personality of respondent	1--7
		Kind teachers promote conf	1--12
Stranger	2--5	Personality	2--3
Acquaintance	2--5	Personality	2--6
Strangers	2--12	Personality	2--9
		Personality	2--10
		Personality	2--11
		Personality	2--11
Stranger	3--5	Patient receiver	3--11
Stranger	3--6	Personality of receiver	3--13
Stranger	4--12	Own personality	4--2
		Personality	4--6
		Personality	4--7
		Personality	4--14
		Personality	4--15

		Personality	5--5
		Own personality	5--5
		Personality	5--7
		Own personality	6--5
		Personality	7--6
		Personality	8--14
		Personality	8--35
		Personality	8--37
		Shy	8--37, 38

Language barriers	1--3	Cognitive process too slow	1--5
Lang not good enough	1--4		
Strat overcome barriers	1--5		
Language barriers	2--3	Cognitive process	2--2
Language barriers	2--4	PCC	2--10
Ineffective expres frustr	2--4		
Poor language	2--14		
Communication barriers	3--10	PCC	3--9
Expressional Challenges	3--12		

Language barriers	**4--14**	**High PCC China-low in UK**	**4--10**
Understand / express	**4--17**		
		Chinese view own ability	**6--1**
		Think can't speak	**6--2**
		Self confidence	**6--16**
Poor language skills	**7--10**	**Chinese view themselves**	**7--4**
Min improve	**8--3**	**Think in Eng**	**8--3**
Not engage	**8--1**	**Think in Eng**	**8--6**
Involvement	**8--12**	**Confidence**	**8--19, 31**
Terminology	**8--12**	**Personal Intent**	**8--40**
Not engage	**8--13**	**Poor oral**	**8--33**
Min improve	**8--17**	**PCC**	**8--35**
Limited interaction	**8--33**	**Cognition**	**8--26, 27**
		Self express	**8--26, 27**
		Self express	**8--34**
		Will respond	**8--38**

Relationship w receiver	**1--6**	**Cult diff friendships**	**1--8**
Impact of lang exchange	**1--9**		

Response of receiver	**2--1**	**Lifestyle differences**	**2--3**
kind receivers	**2--3**	**Cultural differences**	**2--6**
Different receiver	**2--11**		
Relationship with receiver	**3--12**	**Social events**	**3--8**
		Cultural Ideas	**3--10**
Patient receiver	**4--11**	**Joint activities**	**4--4**
		Familiarities same cultural	**4--6**
		Socialise	**4--6**
		Socialising	**4--8**
		Cultural differences	**4--9**
		Cultural differences	**4--17**
		Socialise	**5--1**
		Socialise	**5--3**
		Culture /personality	**6--2**
		East west lifestyle	**6--2**
		Cultural differences	**6--9**
		Cultural differences	**6--19**
		Socialise	**7--6**
Patient	**8--28**	**Socialise**	**8--1, 2**
Friendly	**38, 39**	**Culture**	**8--8**
NES not WTC	**8--**	**Face**	**8--9**

	14		
NES not WTC	8--24	Socialise	8--9
NES not WTC	8--28	Integrate	8--9
Other les WTC	8--31	Culture	8--10,11
		Social skills	8--16
		Low interaction	8--17
		Socialise	8--20, 22
		Face	8--22, 23
		Face	8--26
		Culture	8--26
		lifestyle	8--30
		Face	8--32
		Socialise	8--33
		Face	8--37
		Socialise	8--39
		Unfamiliar envior	8--33, 36

			1--11
Public speaking	1--1	Relaxed atmosphere	
Public speaking	1--10		
Public speaking	1--14		
Public speaking	2--1	Environment	2--9
Different size group	2--8	Formal settings	2--13
Public speaking	2--9	Publiic setting	2--13
Small group	2--13		
Public speaking	3--1, 3--2	Environment	3--4
Public speaking	3--12		
Public speaking	4--1	Environment	4--2
More ppl harder	4--14		

Group work	8--1		
Many ppl	8--5, 6		
Large group	8--7		
Group work	8--16		
Group work	8--20, 21		
Group work	8--25		
Group work	8--29, 30		

Accent / Pronunciation	1--13	Past exp influence WTC	1--4
		See other Chinese speak well	1--4
		Exam stress	1--12
		Language test enxiety	1--15
Accent / pronunciation	2--2	Not WTC with parents	2--6
		Not WTC with Mid-eastern	2--7
		Un WTC with tutor	2--7
		When nervous	2--14

		Accommodation	3--4
		Telephone	3--5
		Who Un WTC with	3--7
		Impatient	3--11
		Academic speech	4--2
		Difficulties integrating	4--3
		Topic / problem interacting	4--8
		Group discussion	4--9
		Fear tutor	4--14
		Do not speak more	4--15
		Different receivers	4--16
		Struggle when arrived	5--5
		Unfamiliar group discussion	6--3
		Reduce language anxiety	7--11
Pronunciation	8--5	Fewer mistakes	8--3
Accent	8--27	CA	8--4, 5
Accent	8--31	Expression	8--5
Vocab	8--8	Repeat	8--8, 12
Vocab	8--34, 35	Formal	8--17

Many Chinese	2--3	Self motivated	2--4
Mix with Chinese	2--14	Persistence	2--11
		Positive experience	2--13
Chinese room mates	3--5	Motives	3--6
Many Chinese	3--6	Undulating confidence	3--9
		Persistence	3--13
Chinese friends	4--5	Self expression	
Chinese friends	4--7	Motives	4--3
Mix with Chinese	4--9	Lang deficiencies motiv	4--4
Mix with Chinese	4--12	Initiate conversation	4--5
			4--8
English in class - Chinese outside	5--4	Unable to maintain conv	5--2
		No reason to engage	5--2
		Not start conversation	5--4
Chinese classmates	6--1	Complete a task	6--3
Chinese students	6--7	Background/motivation/self confidence	6--6
Chinese classmates	6--8	Motivation	6--7
Mix with Chinese	6--11	Failed attempts	6--7
Mix with Chinese	6--16	Persistence	6--14
Mix with Chinese	6--18	Intent to speak	6--16
Mix with Chinese	7--1	Low WTC on arrival	7--2
Ask Chinese for help	7--2	Speed of conversation	7--2
		Early focus / struggle in UK	7--4
		Need persistence	7--5
		Initiate conversation	7--7
Lonely	8--14	Practice	8--2
More time with Chinese	8--15	Motivation	8--15, 16
With Chinese	8--16	Motivation	8--17
Many Chinese	8--18	Motivation	8--24, 25
Not mix with NES	8--19	Motivation	8--34
Many Chinese	8--23	Motivation	8--36, 37,

			40
Engage with Chinese	**8--24**		
Many Chinese	**8--27**		
Not mix with NES	**8--28**		
Speak Chinese	**8--31, 32**		

Edu background	**2--15**		
Edu Background	**3--14**	**Parental influence**	**3--2**
Edu Background	**4--5**		
Edu Background	**4--9**		
Edu Background	**4--11**		
Edu Background	**4--16**		
Edu background	**6--1**	**Family background**	**6--5**
Edu background	**6--5**	**Only gain degree**	**6--10**
Edu background	**6--8**		
Edu background	**6--**		

	12		
Edu background	6--17		
IFY	7--6	Home environment	7--3
Edu background	7--11	Parents	7--11
Edu background	7--12		
China book	8--4	UK degree	8--24
Perfect English	8--6	UK degree	8--30
China	8--36	UK degree	8--39
Edu Background	8--36		

Students	3--7		
Intern students	3--7		
Intern students	3--11		
Classmates	4--2	Lang mistakes	4--7
Classmates	4--4	Lang mistakes	4--13
International	4--6	Lang mistakes	4--15
		Self expression/mistakes	4--18

		Making mistakes	5--1
		Making mistakes	5--2
		Language mistakes	5--6
International	6--10	Making mistakes	6--4
		Making mistakes	6--12
		Making mistakes	6--18
International	7--5	Making mistakes	7--3
International	7--7	Language mistakes	7--8
International	8--22	Lang mistakes	8--1, 3-8
		Lang mistakes	8--15
		Lang mistakes	8--22, 23
		Lang mistakes	8--25-27
		Lang mistakes	8--29, 32
		Lang mistakes	8--33, 35

Consid improve	**4--2**		
Have improved	**4--11**		
Listening ability	**4--12**		
Increase confidence	**5--1**		
Have improved	**5--3**		
Improved confidence	**5--3**		
More fluent/self conf	**6--17**		
Have improved	**6--19**		
Have improved	**7--8**		
Engage more	**8--1, 20**	**Academic Eng**	**8--1, 3**
Improved comm	**8--2, 3**	**Tutors**	**8--27, 28**
Start conversation	**8--1, 30**		
Improved express	**8--6**		
Spontaneous	**8--8**		
Practices more	**8--16, 21**		
Self expression	**8--21, 22**		
Oral improved	**8--23, 27**		
Speed of comm	**8--25**		

Practice more	**8--28, 30**		
Improved oral	**8--30**		
Lang ability	**8--33**		
Reg interaction	**8--36**		

Appendix 10

Pilot Study Interview Questions

How did you learn to speak English in your country?
In your opinion what's the best way to improve your English language speaking skills in your country?
What challenges did you face as you learned to speak in English in your country?
Is it important to learn to speak English? Why?
Tell me about the different places in which you learned English in your country.
Which environment helped you the most to be able to speak English? Why
Did you ever learn English from a foreigner in your country? Tell me about that?
When you were in your home country, were you afraid to speak English to others? Why?
What could you have done better in your country to improve your speaking skills?

Pre-Pilot Study Check

Are they all easy to understand? If not, which ones aren't.
Are any of the questions confusing in any way?
What do you like about the questions?
What things could be changed to make them better?
What other questions could be added to make the interview better?

T1 Table showing a breakdown of research participants

	Subjects Origin	Period of time in U.K.	Course of Study
1	Heilongjiang	6 weeks	MA
2	Heilongjiang	3 months	MA
3	Heilongjiang	1 month	MA
4	Gansu	1 month	MA
5	Qinghai	1 month	MA
6	Zhejiang	3 weeks	BA
7	Zhejiang	1 year	PhD
8	Qinghai	1 month	MA
9	Anhui	8 months	MA
10	Taiwan	3 months	MA
11	Taiwan	1 month	MA
12	Taiwan	2 months	MA
13	Taiwan	2 months	MA
14	Taiwan	1 month	MA
15	Yunnan	1 month	MA
16	Tianjin	2 months	MA
17	Xinjiang	1 year	BA
18	Shanxi	1 month	MA
19	Taiwan	2 months	MA
20	Taiwan	2 months	PhD

21	Zhejiang	1 year	BA
22	Jiangsu	4 years	PhD
23	Taiwan	2 months	MA
24	Inner Mongolia	2 months	MA
25	Beijing	4 months	MA
26	Taiwan	3 months	MA
27	Taiwan	2 months	MA
28	Hubei	4 months	MA
29	Taiwan	5 months	MA
30	Taiwan	3 months	MA

T16. Interviewed Students Table

Subject's name	Subject's Abbreviation	Time of Interview	No.
	D	Aug 2010 1	1
	C	Aug 2010 1	2
	S	Aug 2010 1	3
	Je	Aug 2010 1	4
	Z	Aug 2010 1	5
	Ja	Aug 2010 1	6
	Cl	Aug 2010 1	7
	Li	Aug 2010 1	8
	Jen	Oct 2010 2	1
	D	Oct 2010 2	2
	C	Oct 2010 2	3
	Da	Oct 2010 2	4
	CSF	Oct 2010 2	5
	J	Oct 2010 2	6
	Dav	Oct 2010 2	7
	V	Oct 2010 2	8
	Sh	Oct 2010 2	9

	S	Oct 2010 2	10
	A	Nov 2010 3	1
	Jas	Nov 2010 3	2
	L	Nov 2010 3	3
	N	Nov 2010 3	4
	Jasm	Nov 2010 3	5
	B	Nov 2010 3	6
	J	Dec 2010 4	1
	K	Dec 2010 4	2
	Ci	Dec 2010 4	3
	Kn	Dec 2010 4	4
	R	Dec 2010 4	5
	D	Dec 2010 4	6
	Bi	Dec 2010 4	7
	Jen	Dec 2010 4	8
	Jas	Jan 2011 5	1
	A	Jan 2011 5	2
	L	Jan 2011 5	3
	Ci	Feb 2011 6	1
	J	Feb 2011 6	2
	K	Feb 2011 6	3
	B	Feb 2011 6	4
	S	Feb 2011 6	5
	Dav	Feb 2011 6	6
	A	Feb 2011 6	7
	Bi	Feb 2011 6	8

	Ab	Feb 2011 6	9
	J	Apr 2011 7	1
	K	Apr 2011 7	2
	Ci	Apr 2011 7	3
	B	Apr 2011 7	4
	S	Apr 2011 7	5
	Bi	Apr 2011 7	6
	Ab	Apr 2011 7	7
	L	Jan 2012 8	1
	Jen	Jan 2012 8	2
	Ci	Jan 2012 8	3
	K	Jan 2012 8	4
	Jasm	Feb 2012 9	1
	V	Feb 2012 9	2
	Jas	Feb 2012 9	3
	J	Feb 2012 9	4
	B	Feb 2012 9	5

All student names have been omitted.

Appendix 11

Table Showing Relationship Links Between The Pyramid Model and This Studies Model

WTC Pyramid Model				This Studies Model	
Layer	Layer Name	Box	Variable	Box	Variable
5	Affective and Cognitive Context	8	Heading "Motivation to Learn the L2" - Intergroup Attitudes	2	Educational Background
5	Affective and Cognitive Context	9	Social Situation	2	Educational Background
5	Affective and Cognitive Context	10	Communication Competence	2	Educational Background
3	Situated Antecedents	3	Desire to Communicate with a Specific Person	3	Cultural Differences
5	Affective and Cognitive Context	8	Heading "Integrativeness" - Intergroup Attitudes	3	Cultural Differences
6	Social & Individual Context	11	Heading "Perceptual and Affective Correlation" - Intergroup Climate	3	Cultural Differences
6	Social & Individual Context	11	Heading "Structural characteristics" - Intergroup Climate	4	Social Networking Patterns
6	Social & Individual Context	11	Heading "Perceptual and Affective Correlation" - Intergroup Climate	4	Social Networking Patterns
3	Situational Antecedents	3	Desire to Communicate with a Specific Person	5	Differing Receivers
4	Motivational Propensities	6	Intergroup Motivation	5	Differing Receivers
4	Motivational Propensities	6	Intergroup Motivation	6	Personality
6	Social and Individual Context	12	Personality	6	Personality
5	Affective and Cognitive Context	5	Topic "Control" - Interpersonal Motivation	7	Topic of Discussion
4	Motivational Propensities	7	Component "Communicative Anxiety" - L2 Self-Confidence	8	Communicative Anxiety
5	Affective and	8	Heading "Fear of	8	Communicative

	Cognitive Context		Assimilation" - Intergroup Attitudes		Anxiety
5	Affective and Cognitive Context	9	Social Situation	8	Communicative Anxiety
2	Behavioural Intention	2	Willingness to Communicate	9	L2 WTC
5	Affective and Cognitive Context	8	Intergroup Attitudes	9	L2 WTC
6	Social and Individual Context	5	Interpersonal Motivation	9	L2 WTC
6	Social and Individual Context	6	Intergroup Motivation	9	L2 WTC

Appendix 12

Table Showing Inter-variable Links Within the Chinese Context L2 WTC Model

Variable 1 - Family Background			
Target Variable	**Quotation**	**Source**	**Comment**
2	"in China is that most children have to study and have to pass the test and have to study, so they do not have the time to contact with others"	Bi6	The subjects described that parents place a great emphasis upon their child's education.
5	"because they think they don't care how many English friends they make. They just care about their exams"	Dav6	States that socialization with others is linked to parental influences.
6	"I think that normally Chinese student's personality is developed from being young"	Ab7	Described that a child's personality may be influenced by hid/her parents.
Variable 2 - Educational Background			
3	In China before a child reached 18, they will not understand very much about things around them. They will spend a lot of time studying in school as they prepare for the university entrance exams. But it seems that young people of the same age here find that the world is very broad, so they will understand a lot, so even though they may be the same age as us, but they understand a lot more than we do".	[Ab6]	The subject believed that cultural differences influencing L2 WTC could be linked to Chinese students educational background.
8	"I feel it's when talking about study matters because in China we learn in Chinese, but when abroad and your discussing something ... you discuss these signs you need to use English to explain them. So when we are talking about these things I find it quite hard".	[C3]	The subjects stated that the academic language anxiety that she experienced in the U.K. was linked to her educational background in China.
9	"Chinese education system is not so good ... if you want to ask the teacher questions ... If the answer is wrong the teacher will maybe ask other students, but you will feel ashamed, or maybe the teacher will blame for it, because maybe they will say "why don't you look through the text book carefully? You made a mistake a serious mistake". Always such things happen in the classroom". Doesn't that harm your confidence to ask questions? "Ye because all of the other students will look at you.	[S7]	The subject explained how Communicative Self Confidence (or a lack of it) would be educational background.

	If other students they give the right answer you will feel not confidence next time".		
Variable 3 - Cultural Differences			
2	"the teacher like us to call him his first name, but we can't do this in China and we should call professor blar-blar-blar".	[Ci]	The subjects explained that British tutors are 'open' (enhancing WTC) unlike their teachers in China.
5	"There is no feeling of belonging. Perhaps after a period of time you would ... I mean making foreign friends with people who come from different places".	[J2]	The subject described how cultural differences may influence the formation of friendships with NES.
7	"we went to the bar to watch the soccer game. Maybe in bar we can chat easily to the foreigners because we have the same interests. We have the same team so it is easy to chat".	[D4]	The subject described that due to a willingness to socialise with NES he identified common topics of conversation.
8	"And sometimes in the lecture, a lecturer says something and everyone, hundreds of people laugh, just we don't laugh".	[V2]	Cultural differences may make is hard for Chinese to fit in to some academic settings.
9	but for me I won't, because I have a totally different surrounding ... I can't I might not have confidence at times".	[S6]	The subject described how her cultural background influenced her L2 communicative confidence.
Variable 4 - Social Networking Patterns			
1	"I think they won't study hard, because it's not their wish to study abroad"	[Bi7]	Some Chinese may not wish to speak in English when they arrive in the U.K. as it's parents who want them to study in Britain.
2	"Like when I just come here I don't know to have a real conversation I just know something from text book".	[S2]	Upon arriving in the U.K. the subject that her lack of communicative competence was due to her educational background.
5	"We just came here living a short time you don't have much friends to talk to you and when you talk to a stranger maybe your loathed, because you know nothing about her or him"	[J7]	When in the U.K. Chinese may be unwilling to speak to strangers.
7	"Sometimes you can hardly find a subject, or you don't know whether they are interested in your subject"	[J7]	Upon arriving in the U.K. Chinese find it challenging to identify discussion topics in order to communicate with NES.
8	"You will quite nervous, because you	[B8]	Chinese may experience

	don't know what they guy from the other country is like, what you can talk about"		CA when they arrive in Britain.
Variable 5 - Differing Receivers			
1	"From being young we are told by our parents not to speak to strangers".	[L5]	The Chinese are taught by their parents not to speak to strangers.
6	"Actually it depends on the person's personality".	[B9]	The formation of friendships with other may depend upon the individuals personality.
8	When I speak to native English speakers I feel quite nervous".	[Dav6]	Experiences CA when speaking to NES.
9	"Maybe you can get some self confidence when you talk to them. Like to speak to some Japanese girls".	[J7]	Improved language confidence can be gained when speaking to international students.
Variable 6 - Personality			
1	"I am a little shy ... I can hardly know what I want to talk to them ... I think the most thing is something to do with the personality. Some people group up and raised up in a light atmosphere".	[K4]	Personality traits may be influenced by a individuals family background.
5	I think that if there is a certain match in someone's personality then you can become friends".	[Li1]	Personality traits could influence the formation of friendships.
Variable 7 - Topic of Discussion			
3	"So sometimes when you come across this kind of topic you can't engage with them. Or some kind of especially 'open' topic".	[Jas3]	There are a number of taboo topics which the Chinese may be unwilling to discuss.
8	"There is not common topics of conversation ... If we could talk about something about which I am more familiar, then I won't feel so nervous and I would feel more relaxed".	[C1]	CA was found to be linked to the topic of conversation.
9	"If I thought that I knew a lot about a topic then I would have more confidence to talk about that topic".	[Ja1]	Communicative self confidence was reported to be linked to the topic of conversation.
Variable 8 - Communicative Anxiety			
2	"so when Chinese students come to England and are expected to actively share their ideas, they are not used to this. So it's not that they don't have any ideas, it's to do with the earlier education".	[B6]	Educational CA was reported to be linked to the subjects educational background.
7	"If it was an acquaintance ... Sometimes it's hard to know what they their personality is like".	[V2]	CA experienced with different receivers was linked to the receivers personality.

Variable 9 - L2 LWC			
5	if you talk to them firstly they could be very happy and then maybe you will become good friends. But the important thing is who talk to the person first".	[Bi4]	Initiating a conversation with a NES may lead to the formation of a friendship.

Appendix 13

Research Modules and Courses Taken at Leeds University

MSc Educational Research Methods

Modules completed:

EDUC 5028 Foundations of Education Research 1
EDUC 5029 Foundation of Education Research 2
EDUC 5031 Making Sense of Numerical and Non-numerical Data
EDUC 5979 Language Learning and Teaching with ICT
EDUC 5033 Educational Research Methods Dissertation Study

Other courses taken:

Finding journal articles with Web of Knowledge
Time management
Networking and interpersonal skills

Electronic Journals (advanced)
Finding and managing information for your PhD
Introduction to EndNote
Networking Essentials for Research Students
Research Ethics Induction for Postgraduate Students
Literature searching for your PhD
Getting Your Research Work Published
Developing advanced research and scholarship skills

Appendix 14

Transcription of one of the Preliminary Study Interviews

My name is _____, I come from China.
V: No. 1 How did you learn to speak English in your country?
L: Normally if we study our diploma, degree maybe we will study English in university and if you want to study, if I had planned to study in the U.K. maybe I will join some English Course for maybe some company, how do you say it, training English course and also you can find some chance to talk to some foreign people but they live in China, you can find some chance to talk with them.
V: But initially you learned to speak some, I think, some English in school.
L: Yeah.
V: So can you tell me about all this as well.
L: In school just maybe, nowadays in China every school has their English subject just to study, normally speaking, writing, from your teacher. It's not difficult just simple, just grammar, speaking, writing, how to write an essay. Maybe just one week for two to three classes. It's not so much.
V: No. 2 In your opinion what's the best way to improve your English language speaking skills in your country?
L: Best way? Just try to talk to, talk with your class mate or friend by using English, just training and er listen and, oh yeah watch film, watch English film, and listen to something like radio, just alive from internet because I think maybe in China you couldn't listen to English, oh yeah we got some English radio channel, you can listen and speaking and in the university you can make some friend, maybe they come from different countries, you can talk with them and some English Corner. In China we call it English Corner like some students they both interested in their English, maybe they will find some chance or some place to talk (to) each other by English, maybe for one week for one times.
V: How effective do you think that the English Corner is?
L: Just to find more chance to training and maybe if some student they live in an English speaking country and they come back to China maybe they will find some people in their corner, maybe you can know some culture or custom and something from the U.K, like another country
V: How difficult is it to talk or communicate with other Chinese people?
L: It depends on what internet level you have. If you have good communication skill maybe you will (find it) easy to communicate with others, sometimes maybe you will lack confidence, you don't like to talk more things because you cannot talk something very clear or very good you maybe will feel shy. For example in China I joined the English corner but I think that I feel very shy. I don't want to talk with them I just listen, and sometimes I just agree with something, maybe I think (that) it's difficult to discuss or give my own opinion with some point so it's like difficult.
V: No 3 What challenges did you face as you learned to speak English in your home country?
L: I think that the study environment is very important but In China normally you speak Chinese, not speak English so you need to get more chance to training but normally you just speak Chinese so I think (that) the study environment is maybe, it's a challenge because normally you just can speak Chinese, no chance for training.
V: No 4 Is it important to learn to speak English?
L: Yeah, I think so, it's very important.
V: Why?

L: Like me for example I want to know something from other countries so I need to learn to speak English to communicate with other peoples and maybe it's the only way to get information from other countries people. And if you are interested in some culture or custom or you want to get more opportunity to get a more high salary or more high position in your company or in China maybe you will learn more language skills. I think (that) the basic way to get more, like a good position also I think this is a globalisation society. In China you will find many many foreign visitors, if you have good communication like the English speaking level maybe you can talk with them and make many friends, they come from different countries. It's very interesting I think also I think (that) English is very useful for young people.

V: What about for old people?

L: It's O.K. for example for my parents, maybe they don't want to speak English but for most other young people maybe they are more interested in , because they want to know more new things or they like fashion like some……..

V: No. 5 Tell me about the different places, when I say places I mean schools and such organisations that (where) you learned English in your country.

L: Different places, err university and some, you can join some English course in some school like college like some….. in China, I don't know what exactly is the name in China like the Shing Dong Fang (Chinese) I think most of the Chinese students if they want to go about to study maybe they must join a course in the Shing Dong Fang or Wang Show, it's very famous.

V: So which one did you go to?

L: Wang Show, yes and er, nowadays in China there are many clubs or pubs for the foreign visitors. Many foreign visitors they like to go to the pub or club maybe it's a good chance to talk with them, and English corner.

V: So what happened at the, you said (that) you went to the Wang Show, How did you learn English there?

L: Normally they teach us the IELTS because if you want to study in the U.K. maybe you need to take the IELTS, normally they teach you the IELTS from the speaking, writing and listening the different skill, English skills and in Wang Show there are some teachers they have their working experience in the U.K. or in America or in other English speaking countries.

V: Is that Chinese people?

L: Yeah and also some teachers come from the English speaking countries as foreign teachers but it's just ten per cent of (them) like not so much.

V: So No. 6 is, which environment has helped you the most to be able to speak English? In China not here.

L: Environment, could you explain that (laughter).

V: Which place helped you the most when you prepared to come here?

L: Just the school and in University and (Chinese). They are similar questions.

V: They are similar yes, very similar. Did you ever learn English from any foreigners in your country?

L: Because I attended Wang Show yes so I have one foreign teacher maybe he taught me speaking.

V: How was that?

L: It's O.K. because I'm shy (laughter) and then I just worry about my speaking is not so good so sometimes I just listen or he will give some topic (where) you need to do some short presentation in class and sometimes maybe he will ask you some simple question like, Where is your home town? It's a simple question.

V: And how did you find it was it easy or difficult?

L: I think it's different from your English level, for example now I'm aware (that it's) more easy to answer the question but maybe one year ago maybe I don't want to talk with him.

V: But I don't think (that) you're so nervous now.

L: Yeah.

V: Much better now.

V: When you were in your home country where you ever afraid to speak English?

L: Yes.

V: Why?

L: Because I think (that) my English is not good and I think (that) I have no experience (as) I didn't live in some foreign country. I don't know anything about the country, I don't want to talk to (anyone) as I don't know. I just listen, if I know something maybe I will exchange some ideas.

V: And No 9 What could you have done better in your country to improve your speaking skills?

L: Now I think (that) I'd better study English here. In the English speaking country you will have more, a good study environment here and everyday you need to, sometimes you need to force yourself to speak, to listen to talk with the local people but in China if you speak Chinese it's O.K. everyone can understand but here you must use English. I think (that) this question is related with the study environment it's very important.

V: Thank you. Is there anything else that you'd like to say about learning English?

L: If you have enough money, I suggest (that) everyone can study English here. But I found (that) in China, there are many students, they can speak Chinese very good, in China. I just wonder why. Like in China there are many universities maybe they will pay more attention to ask their students if they improve their English like in China. I don't know why they can speak English very good in China. Do you know?

V: I don't know, I've never been to China so I don't know.

L: Why? Because Chinese students they really work hard if they want they will find many chances to practise to train their English and also I think that with China everything is changing with the Chinese economic development and there are many foreign big companies, they have some training, trade … how do you say it's difficult to describe? I mean one more foreign visitors are businessmen, they tend to go to China, have some business with the local government, maybe for the Chinese people or for the Chinese student, they want to gain more chance to go to find a job in the foreign big company they need to have a good English skill.

V: Good thank you.

Appendix 15

Dialogue from Results and Discussion Section

Dialogue No.	Dialogue content
1	"*Many Chinese have a problem in their personality due to their parents who often say 'don't speak nonsense', or 'if you say something wrong it's bad'. So as soon as children speak, their parents will criticize them. Their parents will keep on saying 'You said that wrong, you said that wrong'. So they develop the attitude of 'I'm afraid of speaking. If I say something wrong I will be scolded and criticized'. It's the same when you are in school. If you say something wrong in school the teacher will criticize you, 'That's wrong, that's wrong'. I found that western parents are not like that. They won't say 'Oh you shouldn't say that, it's wrong'. They won't say that. They would just laugh. If you said something wrong they wouldn't scold you, so western people have the courage to speak their minds. They have the courage to say anything. Chinese people are different. They often are afraid to speak. They are afraid of speaking to western people, because they are afraid of making mistakes.*" Why are they afraid of making mistakes? "*Because it's a habit gained in China, if you say something wrong you will be criticized and others will laugh at you. This then becomes a natural response for them, so they won't openly say what they want. But western people will say anything they want, because they think 'It doesn't matter what I say, because no one will scold me'. So to change this they need to change their personality*" [Ab7].
2	"*Yeh. And many things because of their family situations and different family bring up their people [to] have different characters. So I think there are many factors ... Yeh, I think the parents will influence their child. Maybe if their parents are outgoing and have a good way to educate their children, such as they are playing every day, I think they might very outgoing and want to contact with others, but you know the most common things in China is that most children have to study and have to pass the test and have to study, so they don't have the time to contact with others*" [Bi6].
3	"*I think their parents think that abroad is much better than China especially the education ... better than China. They are the top universities in the world. So parents always think their children can get a better education background if they send their children abroad*" [Ci7].
4	"*I think the education system is quite different from China. I mean here we should study here ourselves very, very hard and maybe we have to stay up so late until two or three o'clock or some people stay up through the night to finish one assignment, but in China it's very easy to pass the exam or pass or everything*" [Ci4].
5	'*Actually in China I was studying the fine arts in high school and I paid little attention to English ... Actually the reasons is, because I failed the university entrance exam ... My parents agreed to send me abroad*' [B9].
6	"*I feel it's when talking about study matters, because in China we learn in Chinese, but when abroad and you're discussing something ... you discuss these science things you need to use English to explain them. So when we are talking*

	about these things I find it quite hard" [C3].
7	"*I think it's not much time to one teacher for many 40 or 50 students, so not every people can speak English ... I think just in my opinion we talk about the population in China and I think there are too many people in China so when we are in primary school we don't have many opportunities to speak, because normally there are 50-60 students in a class. So we can't be the same as others abroad to stress activities, because one teacher has to face 60 students so he/she can't allow the students to express themselves in the way each of them want to do so. There have to be a lot of rules to control the students. So from being young these students don't have the opportunity do what they want, so they don't have the desire to express themselves*" [Ab6].
8	"*Sometimes during class the teacher asks me a question and I have no idea what he said ... At the moment my economics tutor. During class he really likes to ask us questions. Sometimes I know how to answer, but I can't explain clearly and I start to stutter so I start to feel nervous. Sometimes it's because I don't know the answer when he asks me, so I feel very embarrassed. In England when people say 'I don't know' it's a natural feeling. For me I don't like to say that 'I don't know', because I think it's a kind of mistake. You don't want other students to know a mistake. So during the class when someone asks me a question I will feel very, very nervous ... We Chinese believe if you learn something then you must have completely mastered it. If you can't then it's your fault, which is something that is bad ... In China if you ask someone and they can do something, so you would feel that you haven't completed it properly. Here when the teacher asks you a question he will push you for an answer, but we are too embarrassed to say 'I don't know'*" [Jas3].
9	"*Yes I agree ... He (the teacher) will say you didn't listen carefully in this class*" [Ci6]. So how does that make students' feel if they are only allowed to have one correct answer? "*I'm always wrong*" [Ci6].
10	"*And you just have one answer. If your answer is different from the teacher you are wrong ... It's not an open question it's just have one answer ... In class it's just one answer, the others is not correct*" [J6]. What happens if a student tried to answer a question that the teacher thinks is not correct? "*Then the teacher will not accept that ... Nobody will care about what students' mind, they just care about what mark you get from the examination ... I did this before. I don't listen to the teachers. I just do things myself*" [J6].
11	What happens if a student tried to answer a question that the teacher thinks is not correct? "*He will say you are wrong ... I think in China asking question is not beneficial for your final score. You just need to do a lot of papers then you will get high scores. A lot of students do not listen to the teacher in the class; they just do their own things*" [K6].
12	"*I don't have any confidence speaking in English to Chinese people, because Chinese people will use this to laugh at you. For example, in class (in China) and if two people were talking, if he found any small mistake with what you said; even though he was your friend, after class he would ridicule you. He will ridicule you in front of other people and say 'Oh your English is so poor' ... that's why Chinese students' oral speaking is poor*" [Jas9].
13	"*I don't feel confident talk to British, because my English is bad, that's the reason. Chinese worry a lot*" [K6]. Why do they do that? "*Because in our educational system the teacher always criticizes you if you make mistakes, every sentence, so*

	we always worry about that" [K6]. Does the teacher interrupt you when you are talking? "*Yes, so you are not willing to answer the question*" [K6]. Does that destroy the flow of your communication as well? "*Yes because we have a large population and one class, we have 50 students in one classroom and the teacher will always care about the top students. They don't care about the students who get the low scores and that will make you feel very frustrated when the top students answer questions correctly and the teacher will praise the top students' and say 'look at that student they're very smart, you should learn from him or her'. It starts from the primary school and it will leave in your heart a scar*" [K6].
14	"*You must make sure that everything you're talking (in the classroom to the teacher in China) is correct*" [J6]. Does the teacher in China interrupt you if you make a mistake when you speak in English? "*Yes*" [J6]. Does that destroy your confidence to speak in English? "*Yes*" [J6].
15	"*And they just interrupt you and say blar-blar-blar*" [Ci6]. Do they interrupt you when you talking? "Yes ... They say that's wrong, that should be something" [Ci6]. Does that destroy your confidence to speak? "*Yes always ... And also we don't have a lot of time opportunities to express our meaning, because when the teacher interrupts our speaking, they just speak a lot, a lot, and you will forget what you are talking about*" [Ci6].
16	"*In China they (the language teachers) like the student to study English in a, they just study English for the examination ... they don't care about the student interest in study, interested in English ... Just for the examination. So they will lose for chance to practice spoken English. They just study English to pass the exam, not to communicate with foreigners, I think ... in my senior or junior school, I just study the English on the paper, you know, I have to do the questions to do the multiple-choice questions. That's very boring, can't motivate me to study more. When you have to use English you are very nervous. Why I spend a lot of time to study English, but I can't use them you know. Just I know the question answers ... You are just learning knowledge in order to pass a test, but not how to use the language. There is a big difference between knowledge and actually using it in real life. If you are just focussing on knowledge in a book and not actually how to use that knowledge, it's the same as not learning at all*" [Bi4].
17	"*You might think that your English is quite good, but when you find that you are unable to effectively communicate in English with someone, so I feel it to be a great 'strike' ... In the China the only standard to rate yourself is the test, but there is not relationship between the test score and ones oral speaking skills. So even if you do well in a test it does not mean that you will be able to understand here*" [Bi7].
18	"*Most foreigners, they want to talk you if you want to talk to them. If you are always afraid of talking English then you won't speak much to them and you won't speak and they they'll think ... they are not very talkative. They will search for another man who is talkative and you will lose a lot of chance to speak English*" [Ci8].
19	"*Maybe they are afraid of making mistakes ... Every time when we make mistakes the English teacher will blame us strictly. So you know the psychology. When someone blame you, you will feel afraid and don't want to make mistakes, but if you have this thinking, if you have this idea and you always make the mistakes and the teacher will blame you again and again, so the people they don't have the confidence about English. Even you ask them to speak English. So they don't like*

	speaking English just don't want to make a mistake. And if they don't make a mistake how they can make progress?" [Ci4].
20	*"There are a lot of different accents in China which relates to the dialects which are used in different places. So classmates will bring their own accent as they speak English so this could result in their classmates laughing at them if they say something wrong."* Have you come across this situation? *"Yes quite often"* [B6].
21	*"Because that has happened to me in China. I'm a student from Guangzhou. The other students from Guangzhou have a good pronunciation. I'm not from that area and my pronunciation is particularly poor so others will pull fun at me and call me names"* [Jas5].
22	*"I think sometimes we will be afraid to talk with English people, because I think they want to do everything very well ... could be due to the Chinese educational system, because from the primary school the teachers don't want us to make mistakes. They want us to remember everything that they teach us and repeat it in the exam"* [Dav6]. So what happens if you make a mistake in school? *"They will criticize, punishment us, if we got a low mark and other students will laugh at me"* [Dav6]. So other students' in China will laugh at you if you make a mistake? *"Maybe sometimes"* [Dav6]. Has this ever happened to you? *"In my primary school yes"* [Dav6].
23	*"China, you'll find everyone around you are caring about what language point you make, what mistakes ... but they only follow everything from the book ... They will be careful that they do not make any grammar mistakes in China. I think it is a little ridiculous ... I think in England, because if you make some little mistakes they will ignore it. They can easily understand what you are talking, but in China you need to be very careful about what you talking about, because when you make little mistakes, the guys you talk about will hardly understand what you are talking, because they are not thinking about changing another word what you are talking about. They cannot guess it. They are just thinking from what you are talking"* [J9].
24	*"I think to compare we just took examinations in class. Every time I speak English in front of all my classmates and teachers that makes me very nervous and if I make mistakes I'll be much more nervous. I came here and I speak English in front of others, just like the same feeling in my own country, so that will make me nervous"* [K6].
25	*"You don't worry about your mistakes, you don't worry about what you are talking about, just like friends to sit together to have a talk"* [J4].
26	*"In the past ... I wasn't willing to I was afraid that I'd make mistakes. Now even though I may make mistakes, but I'll [be] willing to speak ... Firstly because I have met a lot of people. After a period of time you'll think that if you make mistakes it doesn't really matter ... You are allowed to make mistakes and it doesn't really matter ... I realised that I made a mistake, but it didn't really matter"* [L8].
27	*"I said "chicken crap" ... [to] sales assistants; they were drinking some water at the time, and as soon as I said it they suddenly spat the drink out and there were a lot of other people queuing behind me. So in the future I wouldn't buy anything if there were a lot of other people around me. I was afraid that I'd make that kind of mistakes again ... They are afraid of making mistakes ... which makes people feel very nervous. Making mistakes makes us 'lose face'"* [Jas9].
28	*"a little worried about cultural background in here and it's a bit different from*

	her home country. So I think the first thing is they nervous about their knowledge of the culture, maybe some miss understanding about British and their mother country. So they will be nervous about that part so they don't very glad to speak English in their conversation" [J7].
29	"*Maybe some language barriers. Sometimes you cannot understand the local people, what they are talking about and maybe sometimes the local people cannot understand what you are talking about. When you talk to somebody and you didn't express yourself properly and other people cannot understand you properly and you will feel frustrated*" [Ci7].
30	"*I think the entertainment culture, the pub, the club culture, and sometimes I can hardly to accept it, because I think everybody here, oh they are crazy in such cold winter night to wear less clothes outside to the pub ... but I don't like it. I think it's a little boring, or something and I don't like it go to the pub to have dance, there are many hot girls there, but I have not interest about that*" [J4].
31	"*A little difficult, because we have different cultures. Like a foreign student go out in the night. In Chinese it's not, it will, people will think you are a little bad person. Like a girl, like ladies in China, they will not often go out in the night, because the culture. Most Chinese are very traditional*" [Jasm3].
32	"*So maybe if they want me to join them I won't ... Yeh. I joined them when they had the first party and they just played some dangerous games, or drank too much and I can't stand it*" [Bi7].
33	"*I think some teenagers, because they are very outgoing and they often have many parties, if you don't like them too crazy or outgoing they will lose patience to talk with you, or they will think 'Oh this guy is very strange' and they don't want to tell you anymore. So even though we have the same age, but I think we are very different ... Yeh, I joined a party three months ago, but I don't like the feelings, they are very crazy, they just drink*" [Bi6].
34	"*Normally I wouldn't go out. This reduces many opportunities to be around others. These are the two main entertainment things which are quite crucial. As we don't attend these things so we lose many opportunities*" [Jasm3].
35	"*We went to the bar to watch the soccer game. Maybe in bar we can chat easily to the foreigners because we have the same interests. We have the same team so it is easy to chat*" [D4].
36	"*The people here are very polite. They are more patient. I have met many people like this. I can't do something and they teach me with patience and to explain that to me again I think it's very good*" [Jen2].
37	"*many local people in my class, about 60 people in my class are local and they always have some activity every Friday, or after we hand in our assignment. They will go to the party and ask me to go to the party. Maybe it's the pub or some club. We just have a drink at the place, or maybe something like the Halloween Party, and our friends also organise a Halloween party in their house, so I go there ... There is something interesting about the British culture. We also play the games when we have the party, like Twister*" [Ci4].
38	"*It relates to the Chinese culture. When ... in the primary school ... If you are the top student every teacher might like you and your parents will love you ... say things like 'oh you are so brilliant, so great' ... Probably for this kind of people they can't accept after they might fail some other might laugh at them ... won't accept that they might fail one day ... And another reason people here when they grow up, like last time I went to a place and I saw Andrew and Michael and they*

	have a really relaxed surrounding for their study. They just need to finish their homework probably then they can play and even they can hang out with their friends in the night around ten o'clock, they can even do that, but for Chinese students they won't, they can't. And especially for the 16 or 17 year olds guy or girl, they can't go outside around ten o'clock. No they can't do that. So they for those people who grow up in this surrounding like Mark like Andrew they won't feel afraid of making mistakes. They will always feel confident to their selves, but for me I won't, because I have a totally different surrounding ... I can't I might not have confidence at times" [S6].
39	*"I think the first one is when a foreigner is [among] a group of people, but he is just a single person. So I cannot join in. All of them are friends and are familiar with each other, but I am just an individual so I cannot join in and I cannot talk ... differences in the culture, and I can't speak fluent English"* [Dav2].
40	*"Young people, we have the same age, but their lifestyles is different from that of Chinese students. I feel afraid to speak to young people even if I try to talk to them, because I don't understand them very much, so I don't understand how they think, so we can't have a good exchange. Also there is a big difference; especially the Chinese female students of the same age, between Chinese students and foreign students. They are tall, very open and friendly and not shy and sometimes very sexy, but Chinese students are not ... They have different lifestyles and they will talk about things that Chinese students don't talk about, such as going to pubs, or meeting others, including discussing about sex"* [Ab6].
41	*"Sometimes it's differences in culture ... Or they think something is funny and I think it's boring ... because of the differences in the culture we don't understand the culture so we don't know what we can talk about"* [Dav2].
42	*"I seldom to speak English with foreigner classmates, because they like to tell some jokes and it's difficult for the Chinese to understand some joke. When we don't laugh they will feel embarrassed ... during the class and they always talk about some funny things and some jokes and we also laugh too much, but sometimes we can understand, but we don't think it's funny"* [D3].
43	*"I don't understand their culture ... because I don't understand their culture, I would accidentally say something inappropriate, or said something which made them unhappy"* [C1].
44	*"they (western people) will identify flaws in my personality ... I feel that 'open' people have more of an aggressive behaviour. They are not afraid to say anything, which means that they often won't consider others feelings"* [Jas9].
45	*"I don't agree with that, because I see a lot of British people, they are not so open, not like to talk to other people. I think it's about the same. In every national there are some people who are very positive. Very, very open like to talk to people and have some people not like to talk"* [Bi7].
46	*"I went to Alton Towers once and there was a rollercoaster and they might say hello to other people on the roller coaster. For Chinese people they won't do that. For me it I say hello to them, I say hello to some other people I don't know and those Chinese students just like stop me, or laugh at me, or 'Oh S. what are you doing?' yeh, things like that. They don't think it's good, or they don't think it's right to do that. They think only British people they might do this, they have a comparatively opening culture, opening background. But for Chinese people it's not good for you to do that. They felt shameful ... Just feel like you're doing something like others might notice you, or look at you"* [S7]. So you're not

	supposed to do things that get yourself noticed? *"I don't know probably for them yes, but for me I didn't feel shameful, because it's quite fun and this is a positive way to show our friendship, show we are friendly. Show that people are friendly to each other. Or probably just have fun like they say 'hi' to us, but they don't know us and I could say 'hi' to them as well. I don't think it's shameful though, but some of them might feel like 'oh don't do that'"* [S7].
47	*"Like for me the student and the teacher's relationship ... The teacher is very 'open' so it's very nice"* [Ci7]. How do you feel about talking to people who are more open? *"Yeh, it's good"* [Ci7].
48	*"students are working hard till midnight and sometimes the teacher always stay up till midnight too ... he will ask us do you still have any questions before I go to bed ... this situation cannot happen in China"* [Ci7].
49	*"If they [are] particularly 'open' I will feel afraid. People who are really open will mean that they will identify flaws in my personality ... I feel that 'open' people have more of an aggressive behaviour. They are not afraid to say anything, which means that they often won't consider others feelings"* [Jas9].
50	*"Maybe I accept the culture here, but in some part like the sex or something, some of them I can't accept. Like I talk to my roommates they just talk to me. The boys came here to change girlfriends, or sleep around with girls, something like that. That I can't accept, but I respect, I need to show my respect, because it's their country, their culture"* [J7].
51	*"My personal tutor keeps telling me not to regularly stay around other Chinese students. He said Chinese students always [get] stuck in groups of other Chinese students causing you to lose opportunities of mixing with other people"* [Ab7].
52	*"When we started there was an induction week where students had to sort out a lot of things, such as registering at the police station, or choosing your modules"* [Ab7].
53	*"The first thing that you have to face is that you can't understand what people are saying, so you hope that you can find someone who will stay next to you in order to translate for you"* [Ab7].
54	*"When I first came here I just thought that because I can't speak well, probably they will think that I'm stupid or probably they will laugh at me. I just thought about that so sometimes I really don't want to talk to foreign people, because I'm afraid that they can laugh at me, or they can think that I'm stupid"* [S2].
55	*"In this situation we will get invited to attend some events, but if you don't take the opportunity to attend you will lose an opportunity of joining their group"* [Ab7].
56	*"And I think when the Chinese people would like to practice English, maybe they will ask another friend to keep them company. If the friend says no, or I don't have time, or something like that and the person do not want to talk to the foreigner"* [Ci8].
57	*"If you have a question about something you will ask them [other Chinese students]and if the second time you have a question you will ask them again. After you get to know them you will spend a great deal of your time with them"* [Ab7]. So from that time you will keep on contacting each other? *"Yeh, if there's something about our school that we don't know we will ask them"* [Ab7].
58	*"It's an awful situation in my group because in my group ... four of them are Chinese and the other three Chinese girls they talk all the time in Chinese and ignore the other two foreigners"* [K8].

59	"*So there are many Chinese in the class. So the Chinese students talk to the other Chinese every day. So there is not chance to practice*" [A6].
60	"*There are a lot of Chinese people in our group and usually they stay together. I think that's bad. But I don't know how to make friends with others*" [Kn4].
61	"*We can talk about how we feel when we study abroad ... We have a lot of things to talk about in Chinese and to westerners we are strangers. We don't have the same background and don't have much to talk about and the language barrier and there are a lot of Chinese here so we talk a lot to Chinese*" [K4].
62	"*Because we come from the same culture and we have more to talk about, and we can talk about deeper topics, and I feel that I can connect with them (other Chinese)*" [Jas5].
63	"*You know we are foreigners here and we want some support so we want to talk to Chinese people together*" [J4].
64	"*When you talk to foreigners you will worry about yourself to make some mistake and you don't know the result about what will happen. So you will worry about that and you will be nervous*" [J4].
65	"*Yes of course because you know the classmates and the teachers also have enough patience when they say and they always help you to become better. I think they are friendly, but if you go to the public situation such as the train station, the airport, maybe they don't have enough patience*" [Bi4]
66	"*I think some people from India, or Africa, or Japan. Their English is very strange. It can be very hard to understand them*" [A3].
67	"*I prefer to speak to British students because their English is easier to understand and they are maybe more polite to talk to you. And some international students they're talking a little hard to understand and a very strong accent*" [J6].
68	"*I think that is the fastest way to improve your English ... my language has been improving a lot. When I speak English to Vietnamese my English improved very, very quickly. I think if I was speaking English to British people I don't think there would be this impact*" [Jas9].
69	"*If your English is useless and my English is useless, both of us with poor language level are together, so we both won't feel any kind of language pressure. If I feel you are better than me and that I am weaker than you, I'll feel that I would pull you down ... If both of us together speak poorly, gradually if I find a mistake I can correct you and you can correct me*" [Jas9].
70	"*There is one Japanese person in my class tutorial, he is not good in English. If there are natives here I would like to talk about more, because I will feel more confident*" [N3].
71	"*Maybe you can get some self-confidence when you talk to them. Like to speak to some Japanese girls*" [J7].
72	"*Italian guy and he just come here for two weeks. His English is much horrible than me. He is talking like me when I came here the first two weeks. And when you talk something to him, you need to wait for him to listen and gathering his sentences. And he always makes many mistakes. It's quite hard to communicate with them ... Ye because is like what I am like before, so I will spend more patience to waiting him and slow down my talking and use, because I think I use easy English ... A big problem as it's quite boring, like you need to spend 20 minutes to talk one simple topic ... Ye I think it's the same. I think the same problem. It brings me the feeling, the western people talk to me*" [J9].
73	"*when you arrive in this kind of environment and you engage with them more you*

	will learn more about the culture ... in order to study a countries language, you need to understand their culture and understand them as a people" [S1].
74	"*the background in which you grew up in is very different. There is very little in the way of commonality between you ... have this curiosity of wanting to understand her life*" [Z1].
75	"*I don't think I can make any friends with any foreigner. All of my friends are Chinese, because I'm a Chinese. I cannot be real friends with foreigners ... right now I don't have any [NE] friends*" [D2].
76	"*In my opinion I think is actually hard to make close friends. No matter where it is, even in China, it's hard to make very close friends ... no matter, where you come from is not important. I don't expect to make very close friend, just an opportunity to an acquaintance is OK*" [Bi6].
77	"*I think [with]the British people it's hard to make friends ... it's much easier to make friends with some Asian, African or the other maybe the Europe countries*" [J9]. So what's the difference between making friends with people who are not British and people who are British? "*Some British people cannot open their heart to make friends with some people and he is not very enthusiastic to make friends with us ... oh it's very lonely here ... I think the westerners is difficult is to make friends ... Sometimes they didn't open their hearts*" [J9].
78	"*are you willing or not to try to make friends with them? If you are willing then usually foreigners won't refuse you, so I feel it's not that difficult*" [CSF2].
79	"*In my opinion I do not think that it's very difficult to make friends with different countries. I think the first thing is if the students have the same class you face the same problem. You can talk, you can chat, you can improve each other, you can make friends ... I found many people very kind actually ... Some people did have the patience to explain to me, you know*" [B3].
80	"*but to discuss deeper topics, then it's very difficult. Due to the differences in which this produced, makes it difficult for western people to understand many cultural specific situations such as our employment situation or a high school exam situation, which makes it difficult for us to communicate with each other. So on a basic level it's not difficult to communicate, but on a more advanced level it would be very difficult*" [Ja1].
81	"*Because I go to the sports centre and do yoga, I nearly go there every day so I will meet some people who always go there too. Sometimes we have two people who do yoga together, so when we do the yoga together I will know him or her, so I get the conversation. That's the way I make friends we have the same interests in yoga ... I think when you making the close friends with the foreign people you have to talk a lot of things about yourself. About what you are thinking, about what you are interested in and then you can listen to them carefully and what they are talking about and maybe they will tell you something about their previous experience, or their ideas about something, and then you can find some, find the same point, so maybe you can make close friends with them*" [Ci6].
82	"*From being young we are told by our parents not to speak to strangers ... We are taught this so it becomes a habit for us, so we won't speak to strangers*" [L5].
83	"*We feel afraid, as there are many people in China and so there could be many people who have deviant ideas. The more people there are the more chance you have to coming across such a person ... We are told by our parents that we could be kidnapped*" [Jas5].
84	"*If someone was overly friendly towards you when they spoke, you wouldn't know*

	why he was being so friendly to you. You'd think that he had some other ulterior motive, no matter who they were. If someone was behaving especially friendly towards you, you would feel that there was something wrong" [J3].
85	*"Because you don't understand them so you will feeling of wanted to defend yourself, so you will feel a little bit nervous. If you completely don't know them you will feel afraid that they will have a motive, so I will definitely feel nervous ... Perhaps they want to harm you, or cheat you out of money, because there are a lot of situations like this in China. From being young your mother will teach you 'Don't talk to strangers outside'"* [Kn4].
86	*"People have a certain way of speaking which when you understand it makes your communication quicker. But for a stranger this may be more difficult"* [L5].
87	*"Maybe sometimes when you go shopping, or when you go to the supermarket you must talk to the stranger, like the waiter if you want something ... In China we won't talk to strangers on the street"* [J4].
88	*"I really like to chat with strangers, because I feel it's kind of like fate. You meet someone and you speak a few sentences to each other and then to separate and maybe never meet them again"* [CSF2].
89	*"strangers, when you meet them you'll never meet them again ... so even if you said something wrong, or something it doesn't really matter, you don't need to be so nervous"* [V2].
90	*"I think that the most important thing is the personality. I think that if there is a certain match in someone's personality then you can become friends"* [Li1].
91	*"I think the person that speaks to you is not depends [on whether] I speak in English or Chinese. It depends on the person and not the language"* [A3]. Do you mean their personality? *"Yeh. It doesn't [matter] about the language"* [A3].
92	*"I think that the attitude of the foreigner when they are speaking to you in English is very important. So people will be patient and use appropriate language"* [CSF2].
93	*"I have classmates called Sherry. She is a British here and she is very nice and she always tell me a lot of fresh things about British"* [Ci4].
94	*"Some people will use language which is difficult to understand and long, so it's hard to understand. In which case, I wouldn't understand. If I didn't understand then I'd quickly answer the question and I wouldn't ask the next time. If they used simpler expressions and I understood what was being said then I'd talk longer to them. So their attitude is important. If they were passionate and explaining a lot then I would be willing to listen"* [CSF2].
95	*"People look very kind and she have more patience to listen to you"* [Jasm3] and *"People who don't try to hurriedly want an answer from you"* [Ab7].
96	*"unwilling to talk to someone who had a bad attitude"* [Ja1] and *"If he had a hurried personality, or he spoke very quickly and he couldn't wait for me to speak ... someone who had a bad attitude"* [Z1].
97	*"It's just someone who is not willing to listen to me. Some people are impolite so I will feel uncomfortable, because I cannot speak English fluently. Plus they won't listen to me so I will not be willing to speak English to them"* [Dav2].
98	*"If he expressed an arrogant personality ... unwilling to talk to you"* [Ja1].
99	*"someone who was very self centred and subjective, someone who thought that everything they said was right"* [Li1].
100	*"It's to do with their personality ... because of their own personality such as being shy or introvert they lose the opportunity. Or they don't have language*

	confidence" [Bi7].
101	"*I am a little shy ... I can hardly know what I want to talk to them ... I think the most thing is something to do with the personality. Some people grow up and [were]raised up in a light atmosphere, don't have strict parents and they [are]confident about themselves and they not tend to be nervous in front of a lot of people*" [K4].
102	"*Maybe I'm a little shy and if they talk to you, don't show [you're] very happy, or very outgoing. Maybe they think you are boring ... I will improve myself and become more outgoing ... I need to change myself to become better*" [Bi4].
103	"*There is not common topics of conversation ... If we could talk about something about which I am more familiar, then I won't feel so nervous and I would feel more relaxed*" [C1].
104	"*but I'm afraid that I say something wrong which results in a person misunderstanding me*" [L5].
105	"*for those things for which I am more familiar with, then it's better. If I'm not familiar with something then I find it harder to speak out*" [D1].
106	"*There is not common topics of conversation ... If we could talk about something about which I am more familiar, then I won't feel so nervous and I would feel more relaxed*" [C1].
107	"*Just like my roommates you know ... he consults me how to cook and I often teach him some ways to cook chicken or something, so we maybe a friend you know. So I have some problem, or questions to consult with him, he will be very happy to help me, so I think the chance is very important*" [Bi6].
108	"*I think it's often hard to find a common topic of conversation. Recently I have spoken to a lot of foreigners and each time I always say the same thing each time. 'What's your name? Where are you from? Where do you live? Where do I live?' Some basic questions. It's just halting at surface matters, like cordially greeting them*" [Dav2].
109	"*When I come here I think it's really hard ...they don't like to talk to me especially those guys probably they felt that I'm so quiet won't talk too much. Actually I really don't know how to talk to them, I mean, also to everyone I just ask them 'What's your name? Which block are you in? Which flat are you in? Which courses do you choose?' something like this. And I don't know which kind of topic can I have, I don't know*" [S2].
110	"*If it was a foreigner then I wouldn't know how to talk in English about deep topics*" [C1].
111	"*if there was a common area of discussion ... as long as it wasn't a personal, or sensitive area topic ... we could talk about some common topics, like national cultural issues, such as areas in which your country differs from those in China*" [Ja1].
112	"*I am unable to deeply understand their living habits and understand their culture. I am unable to deeply get into this*" [Dav2].
113	"*It's not so easy. They can't understand I speak very well ... Just think some idea to improve. Maybe they also talk about some topic just they know, like some singer*" [D3].
114	"*Maybe I don't know what they are interested in, in their daily life. I mean the topics they talk about and especially they talk about the singer, the popular star, the movie star, the singer stars, I don't know*" [Ci6].
115	"*if I can't understand the topic of the conversation I will ask that person to repeat*

	it again, so it's ok for me" [Ci8].
116	*"Yeh, maybe they don't want to get involved ... They don't understand so they don't want to get involved. Maybe they understand and don't want to get involved" [Ci8].*
117	*"as long as they didn't talk about personal and private matters"* [A5].
118	*"then you could talk about the weather, or you can talk about cultural issues"* [L5].
119	*"Maybe it's what we are talking about, the topic. If it's a topic that we are familiar with we can keep on speaking, but if the topic is not quite familiar for me I will stop... Just a topic I like I'm familiar with. For example, if you ask me something about China I will say more about it"* [N3].
120	*"This English guy Ben in my accommodation. I find it easy to talk to him about football, or I will talk to him about cooking"* [Jas5].
121	*"when you are in the kitchen you can talk about what happened in class"* [L3].
122	*"So it depends on the person and the differences on their country and culture. Some of them are Muslim and you have to avoid talking about religion. I understand this, because I have a lot of friends who are Muslim. Sometimes I may talk to them about this, but if you don't understand it very much, it's better to avoid it"* [J2].
123	*"Their purpose in talking to you was not for a good purpose, such as talking about such topics as Taiwan's independence or Tibetan independence. These topics we consider to be very sensitive. If it was a foreigner who wanted to talk about these topics, we'd feel that their motives were not good, so we wouldn't be willing to talk about such topics"* [Ja1].
124	*"There was an exchange student, a foreigner girl, who was in our Chinese class and during the class she stood up and loudly said that 'You Chinese people don't have freedom of speech'. I think that this kind of speech is excessive"* [La1].
125	*"Maybe I don't know some words what to say it. Like some difficult words in Chinese ... I have do some research about Chinese culture before so I think I can easily explain that to a foreigner ... As I said before, difficult words ... Maybe some people with think it's bad or something. I met one situation one person asked me 'I heard you Chinese people eat dog' and I'm very shy about this. Of course, I don't eat dog and I can hardly explain him why this thing happen in China"* [J4].
126	*"I won't talk about my family ... talk about sex ... I feel a little shy about that ... embarrassing thing, those girls always talk about sexual things"* [S6].
127	*"When you go to a new environment and you are not used to that environment you could feel nervous. The first people you meet will make an impression on you. If that impression is not very polite then you will feel nervous"* [J2].
128	*"When I arrived in the Heathrow airport and I prepared to live in London so a woman asked me to show my passport and the documents. You know my listen skill is not very good so I don't know what she said. So she suddenly became very angry to me and shout at me, let me show her my passport and documents. I think she hurt me, you know"* [Bi4].
129	*"I think it's when you say something and they don't understand. You will feel very nervous. You don't know what to say"* [N3].
130	*"Sometimes when they tell me a joke, I don't understand. So for this reason it's hard to develop a relationship with them"* [A5].
131	*"or if they said something to you and perhaps I'd never experienced it before,*

	then you don't know how to express yourself" [D1].
132	*"80% with Chinese people ... we don't have any common interests (referring to NES), so I spend my time with Chinese people ... To some degree it's to do with cultural differences"* [L8].
133	*"friend because you are more familiar with them so when you speak to them you feel calmer"* [Jen2].
134	*"If it's a friend the conversation will be deeper, because you have a better relationship with them as they understand you better"* [Dav2].
135	*"I'd be willing to talk to strangers, because we wouldn't know each other. So if I said something which was wrong, they wouldn't keep it in their mind. They wouldn't mind so much and wouldn't be bothered, because we weren't familiar with each other. When you speak to them you don't know when you'd talk to them again, so I think it would be easier ... I really like to chat with strangers, because I feel it's kind of like fate. You meet someone and you speak a few sentences to each other and then to separate and maybe never meet them again"* [CSF2].
136	*"I will not feel nervous when I talk with a stranger ... At that time after you speak to them there is not effect on you. No matter whether you have spoken properly or incorrectly, you won't meet them again. So I won't [be] nervous ... I won't [be] nervous, because I will only meet them once"* [Dav2].
137	*"If it was a stranger then unless there was some special reasons, normally I wouldn't speak to them. Chinese people are like this. And if it was a foreigner then normally we'd be even less willing to speak to them in English"* [Ja1].
138	*"they don't like to talk to strangers, it's a kind of protection. They can protect themselves so that they won't be cheated"* [S2].
139	*"If it was an acquaintance I wouldn't like it, because if it was an acquaintance you wouldn't understand then so well ... because if we were chatting they think that my English is poor ... One's relationship with an acquaintance is very unique. Both of you are in the state of being in between familiar and not familiar with each other. Perhaps he has met with you many times in the past, but he doesn't really understand you. So this familiarity in speaking in such an instance, well I just wouldn't be willing if it was an acquaintance"* [CSF2].
140	*"If it was an acquaintance then I could feel nervous. When you speak to them you won't be sure about vocabulary you'll need to use, so you will have to explain your meaning in which case you'll feel nervous"* [Dav2].
141	*"If I hear English people speak I don't have a problem, but it it's someone from the Middle East or India, sometimes I can't understand them because of their accent"* [A5].
142	*"People who don't want to talk, or people who I'm talking to who don't want to explain something to me. If I can't get it, I can't catch up. I don't feel confident at any time, because most of them are better than me"* [N3].
143	*"If she looks unfriendly and impatient I won't talk to him, because I will feel afraid. Maybe they are thinking I am a foreigner and don't want to talk to me"* [V2].
144	*"least willing to talk in English is to talking in English to Chinese"* [A3], and *"I think speaking in English with Chinese people demonstrates a lack of holding the Chinese language in high esteem"* [L3].
145	*"I don't have any confidence speaking in English to Chinese people, because Chinese people will use this to laugh at you"* [Jas9].
146	*"I find it's very hard to communicate with people with India or something,*

	because they pronunciation it's very hard to understand but with western from Europe or north Americans it's just the same as we listen to talk English ... I don't like to talk to India people ... the main thing is that they body has a strong odour; a terrible smell ... Also their accent is unclear" [J2].
147	*"I'm just scared of a kind of person. You know the people from India and Pakistan. Most of them I just want to be friends with them, but they start to say something like they like me, or they want me to be their girlfriend or something like that. I'm scared of them ... Over dominant males who like me. They just want to get something from me. The way they talk to me, the way they treat me. It makes me feel that they want to get something from me"* [S2].
148	*"if you talk to your advisor about some academic things, I think it will be more nervous than a friend"* [Sh2].
149	*"This is a reason and another would be that Chinese people don't have this kind of habit in that they tend to be passive ... so when Chinese students come to England and are expected to actively share their ideas, they are not used to this. So it's not that they don't have any ideas, it's to do with the earlier education and their own personality"* [B6].
150	*"it's not just about English fluency it's about your personality. If you are outgoing it's suitable for you to speak in front of a group. If you are shy even though you can speak fluent English, but you will not try to speak in a group"* [Dav2].
151	*"They don't like to have to take part in group discussions. Chinese students don't like to choose modules where they have to discuss various topics. In China we have very little opportunities of doing this. If they have to take part in discussions and there are other English people who do a much better job, they do so we will feel very nervous and embarrassed"* [A6].
152	*"When I'm in a small group discussion ... you want to say something to support the group by presenting your idea, but sometimes you don't have anything to say or you don't know how to express yourself. Or the feeling that other people may not understand what I've said ... Sometimes when people say something, you don't understand what they've said"* [CSF2].
153	*"Talk about some subject academic things, I can't describe other thing I can't understand ... Not good, because they talk about or try to solve some problem, I even don't know what they try to say"* [R4].
154	*"unwilling to speak in English in public. I'd be afraid that I made a mistake which would make me feel embarrassed particularly if peopled laughed at me. It it's important thing which I was handling and I made a mistake it would be very embarrassing"* [Jas3].
155	*"like I talk to my tutor. It is comfortable to talk to them, because they are talking about your problems"* [A3].
156	*"because when you meet him your teacher and you speak to him often he will tell you which is very important, but if you can't understand what he's said then it's something feels really bad"* [CSF2].
157	*"I think the education system is quite different from China. I mean here we should study here ourselves: very, very hard and maybe we have to stay up so late until two or three o'clock, or some people stay up through the night to finish one assignment, but in China it's very easy to pass the exam or pass for everything"* [Ci4].
158	*"I just feel that in the lecture room I have stress. Like it's a study place. Every person has their own mind to treat study and there is a feeling of their being a*

	distance ... I have pressure because of that, because I still feel it's hard for me to understand what the teacher is talking about ... A distance between us maybe" [S2].
159	*"When I talk something about my major, because I don't know some major words in that field, so even I don't know something about that in Chinese, so I don't know how to express myself to the professor"* [Ci4].
160	*"Talking to my tutor about my coursework. I am often not clear what view the teacher will take about my work, so I will feel afraid about this. Because I don't know how to use English to express myself clearly in my academic work, so I will feel afraid, so I will feel afraid when I am discussing my academic work"* [A6]. So do you still feel it hard to express your ideas? *"Yes, because I feel nervous so I don't know how to express myself, so my mind gets very muddled ... Tutor, teacher, I'm just afraid of them, when I see them feel nervous. I am afraid of failure"* [A6].
161	*"Sometimes. Like I talk to my teacher and maybe I'm a little nervous to talk to him and he teaches me something about my subject and I'm afraid about making mistakes to my expression and will disappoint him. So in that situation I'm a little afraid to speak in English, but I must very careful about my talking"* [J7].
162	*"No I don't think I'm afraid now, but I was in the past. I think just explain the words and maybe she will understand ... In the past I was afraid to ask the tutor a question, because my language level was too poor ... now I have to say "Why to use this question?" and ask "why? why?" ... The teacher will very patiently answer me"* [Jas9].
163	*"'I can't understand your language' and I felt very disappointed ... So I waited for a long time, but finally I called them. After I spoke to him he said 'I can't understand your language'. So I put the phone down and then two months I called again"* [Jas8].
164	*"The first time I spoke on the phone I was very afraid, but then I realised there's nothing to worry about. Then with experience you know that you won't make a mistake"* [Jas5].
165	*"I went to HSBC to open my account and a week later they didn't send me a pin number ... So I should talk, use the phone to talk to the manager by myself. It's hard to listen to English from the phone. The manager also spoke quickly and I didn't catch him. It's terrible and I can't understand"* [Sh2].
166	*"I think a bit difficult for me because English, you know, and I hear about that the foreigners are, they don't want to talk to you first, you know firstly, and if you talk to them firstly they could be very happy and then maybe you will become good friends. But the important thing is who talk to the person first"* [Bi4].
167	*"when you arrive in this kind of environment and you engage with them more you will learn more about the culture"* [S1].
168	*"when I talk to them I will understand some traditional culture"* [J4].
169	*"I want to practice English so I want to speak English with two girls. I think their characteristics are similar to mine. They are not too noisy or crazy"* [V2].
170	*"I want to talk with everyone, because I want to practice my English"* [Jasm3].
171	*"Normally if I need to ask for directions ... So I used to ask others and she would explain things about our school to me"* [C3].
172	*"When you have some questions to force you to speak English to your classmates or teachers. For example when we go to the supermarket and you want to find something, you have to ask the shopping assistant where the thing is, so you have*

	to speak English" [Bi6].
173	*"I think speaking to make friends with foreigners, it can be a part of studying abroad" [D2].*
174	*"Just go there to have a communication and make some new friends to use this way" [J2].*
175	*"Or when I'm in the kitchen I will speak to others so that the atmosphere isn't too awkward" [L5].*
176	*"So I think the environment pushed me to learn English ... If you don't speak English, you can't alive" [A6].*
177	*"Normally the reason why I speak to foreigners is because I would meet someone and then I will say a few phrases" [A5].*
178	*"when they join words together I can't understand what they are saying, because I haven't heard that before" [Jas5],* and *"native people speak English a bit faster and they may use some slang and it's hard to understand" [B7].*
179	*"I can exchange a few pleasantries, when in the past I couldn't do that" [L5].*
180	*"If I'm engaging with others I can't keep a conversation going ... they start talking about everyday things that I don't know anything about, so I don't understand them ... if I'm with a British person we wouldn't be able to chat together, so any conversation would quickly end" [V9].*
181	*"Ye I think I can do this, start a conversation with people" [B9].* And what about keeping a conversation going? Do you find it easy or difficult? *"It's all right. Sometimes like after a few questions maybe just an introduction and then I don't really know what to say ... Ye I can't understand what people are interested in"* [B9].
182	*"If there is a group of people and they are all English people, they speak England and I'm the only one whose English is not very well. In this situation I am not willing to speak to them, because I'm worried that I can't catch them and the other is I need a long time to organise my language, it's hard. I also feel disgusted when I said the same thing and the same words ... I had a bad experience. It's the first week I come to England and about 8 o'clock in the evening and our flat's common room there are many people there and I go downstairs and I ask them 'May I join you?' and they are very polite and say 'take a seat' and I sat down and they began to talk, but their speed is too fast. They talk so quickly and I can't understand them so I think I was ignored" [Sh2].*
183	*"The speed of speech. I can't keep up ... I will: listen to one phrase, and then repeat it, and then think what it means, and then think how you're going to answer; when I do that it will be in Chinese, and then translate that Chinese into English and then think if the grammar is correct and then speak. Completing all of these steps means that I can't keep up with the conversation, so I can't hold a conversation with others" [Ab7].*
184	*"I think it's a big improvement in my speaking ability. I found when you speak more, you will learn more ... And I learned some new words it's useful for my daily life ... In the beginning my English just good for daily conversations, but now I can talk for some special topic like my course work, or something hobby, or sports like that. So I think it's a little improvement about my speaking. In the beginning I always repeat 'pardon' and 'what you talking about?' like that words to ask the others to repeat it again, but now I can understand what they are talking about and make a little conversation" [J6].*
185	*"I still make mistakes, they can still understand what I meaning, or what I'm*

	saying, so that will be ok" [Ci7].
186	"*When I got in the taxi the driver started talking to me. Actually he was talking to me for a long time. Each time he asked me a question I would immediately answer him. Then I would ask him a question and he would answer me ... So I found that my ability to speak to stranger had improved a lot ... When I speak to my classmates I find it to be quite easy to understand them ... Sometimes after class we have a chat*" [Jas5].
187	"*I think the first time I came here when I had to speak English with others I can't speak a full sentence very fluently. After several times of studying I can speak a paragraph kind of fluently, so I think that makes me feel happy. I have made some improvement*" [K6].
188	"*after one year of staying in the U.K., we listen and our listening become very good and now we can understand, but in the past speaking and listening is very poor, so I think when we talk to some people, a conversation, I can't understand, but now it is easy to understand*" [J9].
189	"*Yes, probably I still didn't feel very confident ... Completely being able to understand is not a problem. Being able to let them understand what I mean is not a problem, but I'm not always certain that they completely understand my meaning. Letting them know what I want to do is ok, but I can't be certain that they have completely understood what I've said*" [Jas9].
190	"*Firstly before May when I want to speak one word I need to think what it's meaning in Chinese, then my brain can translate it into English, but now I can think it with English, then speak it out directly ... Like a computer you change your system from the Chinese version to English version, so it can run faster*" [J9].
191	"*I know that my English language is very poor ... because I don't have many opportunities to speak ... I don't really have the motivation to start speaking to others. You could walk along the street and start talking to people in English. I know I could do that. I can't be bothered to put in the effort to do that. Like my roommate in the past was going to have a party and asked me if I wanted to attend. I couldn't be bothered to go, because I know I wouldn't have much to say*" [V9].
192	"*I just feel like my English is not good enough or something. It's kind of an excuse. If you don't try to talk to others how do you know how good your English is? You've got to try to start to others ... I know if I don't start to speak English, if I don't start to talk to others, I won't improve my English all the time, or I won't have a good result about my English and I will always have a poor English*" [S7].

Appendix 16

T13 Example of Interview Transcription - A

> 27. *Who would you feel the most uncomfortable to speak in English to? Why (35:20)*
>
> *J "I don't really like those strong willed people".*
>
> *Have you come across this before?*
>
> *J "Yes I have. Once I asked someone a question and he used this very strong attitude when he spoke to me; you should do this, you should do that, you shouldn't do this or that, so I couldn't take it. There was also once when I went to the university to sort out something to do with my accommodation. I didn't free that he was strong willed, but that he was tiresome, because I understood what he wanted to say but he kept on going on and on, in that I didn't need to know all of that, but he kept on patiently telling me. I'm not quite if that we a procedure or if it was his personality. I just thought that it was wasting time".*
>
> *Anybody else?*
>
> *J "I don't like to talk to India people, perhaps this has something to do with their political, but we don't really bother about that. But the main thing is that they body has a strong odour; a terrible smell. A friend of mine while in the library went to the lift, but he couldn't stand the smell. A lot of them have a strong body odour and a strong accent. It was their aftershave mixed with their body odour. He was a middle-eastern person. Also their accent is unclear. I don't like to be with those kind of people who have a very strong accent".*

Appendix 17

T14 Example of Interview Transcription - B

5b Do you find it hard to talk to strangers in English? Why?

De "Ye. You don't know the people's personality. You should find a common same interest".

What's your interest?

De "Soccer, pool, listen to music, sleep".

C "I don't talk to foreigners often".

But if you met a stranger would you find it easy or hard.

C "Hard, because I don't know what to say to others so I would feel awkward. But if I met someone we just exchanged friendly gestures, that would be easy. But if they ask you questions I would answer their question, but I wouldn't know what questions to ask".

Da "Normally I'd speak when I'm playing sports. Or when in a pub; everyone would be very happy then I'd speak. Normally I would actively start walking to others unless it was during some sports. If someone talks to me then I will speak to them?"

Why don't you make an effort to talk to others?

Da "It's a Chinese tradition that you don't talk to strangers, because you don't know if they are good or bad".

Appendix 18

T15 Example of Tabulated Data (Summary of Data)

The Main Interview Question	**Coded Data (Main Theme)**	**The Subject's Comments (Raw Data)**

11. In what situations do you find it the hardest to speak in English to foreigners? Why?	
Is unable to understand some non native speaker's English language.	*A "think some people from India or Africa or Japan. Their English is very strange. I can be very hard to understand them"* *So with international students you find it difficult at times?* *A "Yes from some other country. I think this is the hardest situations"*
As long as others are able to understand what the participants has said he will be willing to continue a conversation with others.	*J "As long at they understand the point I'm trying to get across. If they don't understand the point I'm trying to get across; when I speak in English, then I would just forget it"*
If the respondent did not demonstrate a friendly disposition the participants would be unwilling to engage with him/her.	*L "The first thing would be that the person was friendly. If the person was very fierce you would naturally feel afraid and you wouldn't want to speak"*
The need to be able to have a common topic of discussion.	*L "if you were talking about something which was uncommon, where we completely didn't know how to express it, this is the hardest"*
If the participant was in a situation where he found that he was unable to effectively communicate with others and thereby it was wasting other people's time he would feel uncomfortable.	*I "care about other people's feeling. So if I was waiting in a long queue and there was something which I couldn't explain myself clearly, I'd feel very nervous. So if I know what I wanted to say but I could express it clearly"*
Would find it difficult to express himself if he was unable to understand what the other person was talking about.	*B "you can hardly get to the point, it's too quick … if you don't get to the point you don't know what you are going to*

	say to express your opinion, because you don't understand the point"
May find it difficult to keep up with the speed of a conversation.	*N "If you understand what they are talking about they just move to another topic, you are still thinking you are still translating something"*
Would be embarrassed if he was asked a question but didn't have any idea what the person was talking about.	*Da "If you aren't prepared and suddenly you are asked a question and you don't know what they are talking about"*