University of Strathclyde

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AN ANALYSIS OF THE PROMOTION OF CHINESE CULTURE WITHIN AN L3 LANGUAGE EXPERIENCE AT THE P5-7 STAGES IN SELECTED SCOTTISH PRIMARY SCHOOLS

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates the promotion of Chinese culture in selected Scottish primary schools through a third language experience. Three research questions give distinctive insights into current classroom practices, stakeholders' cultural views and the programme's impact on pupils' understanding of the country and its people.

Its conceptual base recognises the tensions that exist within the framing of 'culture' with particular emphasis on Post-colonial theory and related discourses around Orientalism. Given the paucity of Scottish research, the literature review is partly comparative in drawing upon selected global education systems. The research paradigm is interpretivist, employing a mixed methods model where a quantitative survey is used with P5-7 pupils across 5 schools and analysed through SPSS. Qualitative data is gathered through focus groups involving Scottish teachers, Hanban teachers, Professional Development Officers and pupils and uses NVivo software in assisting thematic analyses. Integration of datasets is achieved through joint presentation and discussion within 3 findings chapters.

The results highlight classroom practices that can construe China, its culture and values through a traditional lens, emphasising 'large culture' or national narratives at the expense of exposure to 'small cultures' that may help exemplify everyday life and better balance pupils' experiences. The L3 model in operation is almost entirely dependent on Hanban teachers with very few Scottish counterparts engaging due to a lack of confidence and training, which potentially distorts cross-cultural understanding, content and potential collaboration. Though worthwhile classroom practices certainly exist for expansion, curriculum delivery issues can impact on pupils' progressive understanding and awareness of Chinese culture across the Primary 5-7 continuum and, at times, their attitudinal development.

Recommendations and implications are offered for a range of stakeholders (schools, local authorities and relevant external organisations) in terms of policy, training and delivery which are relevant to wider language practices beyond this particular study and L3 provisions.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ABBREVIATIONS

BBC　　　　　　British Broadcasting Corporation

BGE　　　　　　The 'Broad General Education' phase takes place in Scottish schools from age 3-15 and before the Senior Phase where pupils study for formal examinations at ages 16-18.

CfE　　　　　　The 'Curriculum for Excellence' is the 3-18 curriculum currently being delivered in Scottish Schools.

CI　　　　　　　Confucius Institute

CLC　　　　　　Chinese language and culture

L2　　　　　　　A second language that is not native to the learner and learned later usually as a foreign language. Depending on context, this may be the dominant language used.

L3　　　　　　　A third language that learners undertake after their native language and learning one or several second languages.

PDOs　　　　　In this study, Professional Development Officers work in a Confucius Institute and support the teaching and learning of CLC by advising Scottish schools on content and approaches.

PCT　　　　　　'Personal Construct Theory', a theory of personality and cognition developed by the American psychologist George Kelly in the 1950s

P5-7　　　　　Stages of the Scottish primary school system (P) corresponding to pupils aged 9-12.

SPSS　　　　　The 'Statistical Package for the Social Sciences' is software used for quantitative data analysis.

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<div align="center">**CHAPTER ONE**

INTRODUCTION</div>

1.0   Introduction

This study explores the promotion of Chinese culture in Scottish primary schools as an integral part of the broader learning of Chinese through an L3 experience. In doing so, it will give insight into current classroom practices, compare and contrast the views of various stakeholders and consider the impact this work is having on pupils' understanding of China as a country, its people and its culture. The locus of this thesis is primarily based within the area of cultural studies, but with strong links to applied linguistics through its discussion of such learning in school systems nationally and globally.

This chapter establishes the rationale behind this thesis by informing the reader initially of the broader context of Chinese language learning, within which this study is situated, before signalling its cultural focus. The aims of the research and its key questions are identified along with a brief overview of the methodology used to investigate these, which will be outlined in detail in Chapter 5. The significance of the work presented herein is then asserted at a number of levels including its potential to influence current thinking in Scottish classrooms, as well as linking to policy and practice in the wider UK and internationally. In terms of positioning the researcher's base for further consideration in later chapters, personal interest and motivations for the area of study are outlined. Finally, a brief overview of the structure of the thesis, along with a list of key terminology, seeks to facilitate a coherent introduction to the submission as a whole.

1.1   Wider research setting

> The UK is at a turning point. It is preparing to leave the European Union (EU), a process which will fundamentally change not only its relationship with the countries of the EU, but also with the rest of the world. (British Council, 2017, p. 4)

Though the issue of Britain exiting the European Union has gained much attention since the referendum in 2016, the discussion around a 'Global Britain' able to address the challenges and opportunities that increased internationalisation brings to our everyday lives is by no means new. Over the past few years, reports from internationally front-facing organisations such as the British Academy (2013, 2019), the British Council (2013a, 2013b, 2017) and the Confederation of British Industry (2017, 2019) highlight barriers that, if not meaningfully addressed, will impede the UK's ability to continue to engage with the rest of the world. Chief amongst these are skills in the learning and application of foreign languages. A previous survey commissioned by the British Council (2013a) found that three-quarters of the British public were unable to speak, at the level of a simple conversation, any of the ten languages identified as those crucial for the country's future economic, diplomatic, tourism and social needs with similar trends found in more recently commissioned work (Populus, 2017). Both in its initial report and subsequent follow up, British Council (2017), the five languages identified as most beneficial for the UK in the long-term were: Spanish, Mandarin, French, Arabic and German. One of the central conclusions reached by all of the above noted organisations is the role that education, from schools to universities, should play in promoting a global, internationalist outlook with an understanding of other languages and cultures key to achieving this.

The learning of Chinese language and culture (CLC), both formally and informally, in schools across the United Kingdom hopes to prepare pupils for an era where the presence of China on local and global stages will be seen as increasingly important. At one level, Chinese can be an umbrella phrase, inclusive of the many dialects spoken in the country (Du, 2015; Wei & Hua, 2011; Ye, 2017). However, it most often refers to Mandarin, which is closest to the official 'standard' dialect used throughout mainland China, Taiwan, Singapore and Malaysia. As another well-known example, Cantonese is widely spoken in parts of southern China, Hong Kong and Macau Special Administrative Regions and by immigrant communities around the world, including in the UK. These dialects share the same broad, common written system and, though Mandarin uses simplified characters whilst Cantonese uses a traditional variation, generally both are mutually understood in terms of

meaning. However, for the purpose of this thesis, the term 'Chinese' will now refer to the use of Mandarin and simplified characters as the majority spoken and written forms used in those British mainstream schools where the language is taught. There are a number of examples which highlight the on-going promotion of CLC in UK schools including the 'Mandarin Excellence Programme' (University College London, 2017b) which aims to get at least 5,000 pupils in English secondary schools on track to achieving a high level of fluency by 2020. The 'Wales China Schools Project' involves 30 schools in the promotion of CLC (Cardiff University, Confucius Institute, n.d.) and in Scotland, updates to the 'China Engagement Strategy' (Scottish Government, 2006, 2012b, 2018a) commit to progressively increasing the number of pupils exposed to the language and culture. At examination level, there has been a rise in the number of entries for the subject in England and Scotland, which would indicate a positive trajectory for Chinese, but still very much at the smaller end of overall uptake when compared to traditional European languages (Alcantara Communications, 2017; SQA, 2018).

The teaching of Chinese culture in schools most often takes place alongside language input with both seen as interconnected elements in this study, despite its main cultural focus. The relationship between language and culture is explored by various authors including Risager (2006, 2015, 2019) and Kramsch (1998, 2009a, 2009b) and their use, and discussion, of concepts such as 'linguaculture' and 'interculturality'. Though these will be introduced more fully in Section 4.11 of the second literature review, at this stage of the thesis these concepts are highlighted as sharing a complex relationship, especially through the impact of globalisation where migration has blurred traditional national boundaries and where people move in and out of different language and cultural contexts, which they help shape by their own experiences.

However, when reviewing the literature base in the context of foreign language learners of Chinese, the focus is most often on the technical challenges the language presents and the impact of these on teaching approaches, curriculum design and course materials. The contexts for such research are often adult learners in university

settings, but there is a small, growing base of studies echoing some of the same issues in school-based environments. A broad summary, therefore, would seem an important contribution to setting the scene for this thesis.

Spoken and reading competence in Chinese is very dependent on how well learners can master the sounds of the language, which before being read or written as a character, uses the 'Pinyin' system to represent these as syllables in a Romanised form (e.g. Nǐ hǎo = 你好). Alongside this, each syllable can be pronounced in four different ways by indicating its tone, thus altering its meaning and/or conveying grammatical distinctions (e.g. mā, má, mǎ or mà). Challenges in Chinese pronunciation are at the root of misunderstandings when trying to communicate and as such are regarded as a major hurdle to be overcome by learners in any context (Du 2015; Gabbianelli & Formica, 2017; Hao, 2012, 2018; Neal, 2014; Tsai, 2011; Wang et al., 2003; Yang & Medwell, 2017).

The use of grammatical structures in Chinese are focused more on meaning rather than form (Du, 2015; Ross & Ma, 2017; Xing, 2006). At one level, this can be seen as an advantage to learners as Chinese almost entirely lacks inflection, so that words typically have only one grammatical form. Aspects such as singular or plural and verb tense are frequently not expressed by any grammatical means, as opposed to traditional European languages. However, the interactions of syntax (structure) and semantics (meaning) in the learning of Chinese throws up a number of consistent and particular difficulties to learners including use of measure words before nouns, topic structures and indicating changes in actions/state over time, as well as a number of unique grammar constructions (Lu, 2018; Tinsley & Board, 2014).

A range of authors (Gabbianelli & Formica, 2017; He & Jiao, 2010; Hu, 2010; Hu & Tian, 2012; Osborne et al., 2018; Yang, 2018; Ye, 2013) recognise that the use of Chinese characters poses the biggest challenge to learners as the means of conveying the language in a form either to read or to write. Each character requires knowledge of three key elements: the order of each individual stroke when writing, the use of the radical to indicate meaning and a phonetic element to support pronunciation.

Though the context of a sentence will assist in the reading of characters, the sheer number of these, often with slight variations in appearance can be a huge source of confusion for learners.

The perceived challenges of the language have implications for its delivery in school curricula. Some of these can be seen at a structural level as it has taken time to build up programmes of study to support examination of the subject at secondary school level and, more recently, its introduction into mainstream primary schools. To work round this problem, Chinese has been mapped, often unsuccessfully, onto the frameworks for traditional European languages, which neglects the specific challenges of the language already mentioned (Casas-Tost & Rovira-Esteva, 2014; Tinsley & Board, 2014; Zhang & Li, 2010). Linked to this, is how best to manage such elements and, for example, within the literature there is debate on how and when characters should be taught to non-native speakers (Osborne et al., 2018; Xu et al., 2013; Ye, 2013). The materials on offer are often those produced in China and mostly neglect recognition of the 'other country' context in which these are being delivered, are poorly translated, pitched inappropriately or emphasise rote learning in systems where teaching approaches are more balanced (Lo & Pan, 2016; Ye, 2017; Zhang & Li, 2010).

By far the biggest issue is the supply and quality of teachers delivering Chinese in schools. Though programmes exist at UK universities to support the training of qualified Chinese teachers, most schools are dependent on visiting staff who come for 1-2 years to support Confucius Institutes (CI) and their work in primary and secondary schools. According to Ye (2017), the characteristics of these groups is strong educationally: most have higher degrees, studied the teaching of Chinese as a foreign language and many, though not all, have experience as teachers in their own country. However, there is a growing body of literature, particularly in unpublished PhD studies, examining their role in schools, which highlights tensions in their preparedness, ability to adapt to different education systems and the level of support given or required to teach well in a new environment (Orton 2011; Singh & Ballantyne, 2014; Tinsley & Board, 2014; Xiang, 2019; Yang, 2019).

1.2   Research problem

Although it is necessary to both recognise and summarise what is currently understood about the teaching and learning of 'Chinese language' in schools, this is not the primary area of interest to the researcher. Instead, this study has been designed to examine how pupils' understanding of China, its people and its culture is supported and developed in a complementary way through learning the language. The promotion of cultural understanding, and the role of education within this, is explicitly mentioned through various 'Memoranda of Understanding' between the governments of China and the UK, including at devolved level:

> The participants recognise that a nation's culture can add significant value to their educational, academic and business activities. It helps articulate their distinct national identity and enhances mutual understanding between countries, creating an atmosphere of respect, trust and celebration.   It also plays a key role to supporting and stimulating sustainable economic growth. (Scottish Government, 2015a, p. 1)

Though it will be necessary to consider wider UK and international perspectives in the literature review, it is the Scottish context that will form the foundation for the study. The education landscape in its schools has been shaped on an on-going basis by the publication of 'Language Learning in Scotland: A 1+2 Approach' (Scottish Government, 2012a). This document is effectively national policy and gives 35 recommendations to be addressed ahead of full implementation in all schools by August 2021. At the heart of its strategy is a commitment to give every child an entitlement to learn two languages in addition to English: the first from primary one (age 5) through to the end of the 'Broad General Phase (BGP)' of Scottish education (ages 14-15), and a second introduced from no later than primary 5 (age 9-10). The commitment to a formal, planned exposure of pupils to two languages is unique to policy within the rest of the United Kingdom, as will be discussed in Section 4.5.   In marked contrast to the second language, which must be provisioned for from Primary 1- Secondary 3, the choice of the third offers maximum flexibility as there is to be no hierarchy, thus offering opportunities to broaden pupils' experiences of non-traditional languages. This is where most schools teaching Chinese begin.

There are a number of references in the policy document to the promotion of Chinese, and of particular interest to this research is the following assertion:

> Learning about the culture of a country frequently arouses enthusiasm for learning the language. This has been evident in the recent rise in the teaching of Chinese language and culture in Scotland. Young people who learn about the culture of China become interested in learning the language. While traditional language teaching often begins with the language and builds in study of the culture of the foreign country, this inverse methodology does appear to be motivating pupils initially to learn more. (Scottish Government, 2012a, p. 16)

This statement was not supported by any evidence at the time of publishing and what it actually means is far from clear. It may be interpreted as implying that the way Chinese teaching is developing in Scottish primaries involves placing a heavy emphasis on the cultural dimensions from the start and generating enthusiasm for learning the language as a result. Also, by implication, it would appear that the authors thought that the teaching of other languages was designed the other way round (inversely): i.e. we teach the French language first, and later pupils come to know something about the culture and perhaps become enthusiastic about the culture because they have already learnt the language. To date, there is no evidence that either of these models of teaching is in place, nor is there any in the literature on language learning that suggests that either language before culture or culture before language is more 'effective'. The researcher recognises that it is unusual for someone to only investigate the cultural dimension of language learning and it is important to restate that he fully recognises that the relationship between language and cultural learning is complex with discussion of this taking place in Section 4.1 of the literature review.

However, even bearing in mind such tensions in emphasis, with such explicit reference to the role of the cultural dimension in learning Chinese in Scottish classrooms, examination needs to be given to how this model is operating at present by including the views of those involved in its delivery and, not least pupils

themselves, to assess the contribution this element is making to their study of the language. Without proper consideration, the understanding of one of the central pillars through which Chinese is being promoted and experienced will be neglected. Though it is implied that attitudes and cultural understanding are positive and will derive future benefits in terms of motivated language learners, evidence needs to be collected to support these claims and, therefore, this study hopes to contribute to the understanding of current practice in Scottish schools, which may help confirm or refute the position presented.

1.3   Research aims and questions

As already discussed, the thesis aims to examine the cultural dimension to third language learning in the context of Chinese in selected primary schools. Arising from an on-going literature review process, these questions provide the basis for this study:

1. Within the selected schools, what type of L3 Chinese cultural programme has been experienced by pupils at the Primary 5-7 stages?
2. What similarities/ differences exist in how a 'Chinese cultural programme' is construed by those Scottish teachers and visiting Hanban teachers involved in the study?
3. How has an L3 cultural programme shaped the knowledge and attitudes of pupils at Primary 5-7 towards China, Chinese people and Chinese culture?

These are layered in approach to build up a fuller understanding of cultural experiences and practices around China in Scottish schools. Question one is descriptive and its inclusion can be justified as it will give a detailed account of what is on offer in selected schools at present, its key features and distinctiveness. Given the lack of current research, this will provide a Scottish slant on practice. More broadly, this question will assist the interpretation and analysis of the others set for investigation. The particular model in operation in Scottish schools gives rise to question two in that it is usual for the visiting Chinese teachers to lead the delivery of content and for Scottish teachers to observe their lessons and try to consolidate these further, where possible. It seeks to consider the shared views and differences that

exist in the perception of Chinese culture and their impact on delivery in classrooms. Given the dearth of studies in Scotland where pupils' voice is heard in this area, the final question looks to engage the actual learners of Chinese in reflecting upon the impact of their experience over the course of primary 5-7 to see how their concept and awareness of Chinese culture has developed over time.

1.4   Significance of the study

Based on the second literature review undertaken in Chapter 4, there is confidence in stating this is an under-researched theme within the base on the teaching and learning of Chinese as part of pupils' experiences in mainstream schools across the UK, but particularly in Scotland. As such, the review looks to other contexts including Chinese community schooling in Britain and internationally to selected school systems where language provision is more widespread in the firm belief that this study can learn from these contexts and add further to the available body of work.

As L3 practices are particular to Scotland within UK provision, at present, this is another area where the study will exemplify practice, especially given the earlier reference to the 'inverse methodology' claimed to motivate pupils in their study of the language, Scottish Government (2012a). Such thinking should not belong to a particular language and, therefore, the findings of this study will have broader application in considering how culture is explored in provision more widely at an L3 level regardless of the target language.

Further, since the establishment of the first in 2012, there are now 43 'Confucius Classrooms' in Scottish schools in 21 out of 32 local authorities supported through activity and funding from the Confucius Institute for Scotland's Schools (CISS, n.d.). According to the best figures available, exposure to CLC has been estimated at over 409 schools and around 53,513 schoolchildren (Scottish Government, 2019). The funding of CISS and Confucius Classrooms is supported by the Scottish Government through an annual grant, which recently amounted to £678,600 (Scottish Government, 2019c) covering CI staff costs, a university levy, projects, flights, school CIs and Hanban teacher costs. A lesser contribution is given by the Hanban

organisation of approximately $10,000 per Confucius Classroom (Lynch-Loitz, 2015). The Hanban organisation, based in Beijing and associated with the Chinese Ministry of Education, was responsible for CIs worldwide during the period of this research. However, as of July 2020, global institutes will be managed by the 'Chinese International Education Foundation', a new non-governmental organisation (British Council, 2020). The role of both Hanban, and its successor, is to promote Chinese language and culture internationally through providing teaching support, materials and ensuring standards in the delivery of the language. Therefore, given this investment and extending reach, it is important that aspects of impact are researched and shared with interested audiences including teachers in Scottish schools, CIs throughout the UK, Education Scotland, which is responsible for curriculum practice and developments, and finally the newly formed Chinese International Foundation.

The research design is also of significance in that it gives voice to pupils in offering their own perspectives as those learning about CLC in order to show how their knowledge and understanding progresses. Primary aged pupils' views are absent from the current research in Scottish mainstream schooling and again generally under researched in other international school-based contexts.

Finally, there are very few examples of studies on Chinese language education in the UK (or in other parts of the world) that have been conducted by those 'outside' traditional backgrounds of Chinese heritage. This has created an interesting dynamic round the researcher's positioning within the study and has shaped its goals, design, levels of analysis and conclusions, including what other 'outsider' researchers might learn from this study and the opportunities and challenges offered by the researcher's own unique positionality.

1.5   Research design and methods

The approach taken to this study is an interpretivist mixed methods one in design and will be outlined in detail in Chapter 5. Given the lack of available research, particularly in the Scottish context, surrounding pupils' experiences of CLC in

primary schools, combining quantitative and qualitative approaches aims to give a fuller picture of what is happening than would be gathered from either data set in isolation. This is regarded as the key strength of mixed methods, as highlighted by authors in this area of research design (Clark & Ivankova, 2015; Creswell, 2014; Johnson et al., 2007).

The layered approach to questions explained in Section 1.2 also supports the need for mixed methods. Quantitative research was carried out through an on-line survey of 374 pupils across primaries 5-7 in five schools within three Scottish local authority areas. SPSS software was used to present 'big picture' data across the sample as a whole, but its statistical tools, particularly Chi-squares for independence and Kruskal- Wallis tests, allowed deeper interrogation to highlight patterns and trends when analysing interactions between dependent/ independent variables, with some findings deemed to be statistically significant. Given the nature of quantitative data, the picture painted of classroom practices and pupils' attitudes was purely illustrative and required complementing through qualitative approaches aiming to explore and understand issues in more depth. For this purpose, focus group interviews took place with 3 distinctive sets of participants over the course of a 14-month period.

Scottish teachers from the five schools involved in the study offered their views on the rationale behind the choice of Chinese, their practices with a particular focus on cultural activity and consideration of the impacts on both themselves and their pupils. Focus groups took place in each school on two separate occasions with 10 in total and involving 18 teachers altogether in either or both sessions. Staff from a CI working as **Professional Development Officers (PDOs)** promoting the teaching of CLC were interviewed to discuss their roles in supporting schools, the mentoring of visiting Chinese teachers working in Scotland and also their insights and observations on classroom practices relating to Chinese culture. Two separate interviews took place involving 3 staff members in total. Two focus groups, altogether involving 11 **visiting teachers from China** who delivered language and cultural input in schools, were undertaken through the use of the social media app, WeChat. Both groups were based in local authorities all over Scotland and gave

particular insights into their experiences of promoting their own culture in another country, curriculum and classroom environment. For methodological reasons, explored fully in Section 5.63, one interview took place in English and another in Chinese. Finally, over the course of the data collection period, 14 groups of 10 **pupils spread across primaries P5-7** in the selected schools were interviewed to explore how their participation in an L3 programme had shaped their knowledge and attitudes towards China, Chinese people and Chinese culture. To do so, the use of an approach adapted from 'Personal Construct Theory' (Kelly, 1955) was employed and this is outlined in detail in Section 5.7. This gave a rich picture of pupils' learning journeys within each stage and across P5-7 as a whole. To allow a comparative starting base to be drawn, three groups of P5 pupils with no experience of CLC were also included in the sample.

In terms of the qualitative data gathered in interviews, the approach taken to its analysis was thematic, as advocated by Braun and Clark (2006) and central to which is the process of coding to make sense of content. NVivo software was used to assist in this time intensive process, initially gathering references as 'codes' which were continually added to and grouped into nodes, then into organising themes and finally global themes that linked back to the conceptual and literature base to allow for deeper analysis.

One key feature of the mixed methods design of this study is its use of triangulation to validate the data through its cross-referencing against the range of groups involved in the study. This counters some of its weaknesses when viewed in isolation, offers stronger inferences and exemplifies issues arising from the data at a broader level (Doyle et al., 2016; Heyvaert et al., 2013; Whitehead & Schneider, 2007). Though this will be explored in Section 5.83 in more detail, the type of triangulation used in this study can be seen in 2 ways: data triangulation drawing upon information from across a range of groups e.g. teachers, PDOs and pupils and also methodological triangulation in using quantitative approaches through an on-line survey and interview techniques as a qualitative complement. This leads to an integrated

approach to the presentation and discussion of findings, clearly seen in Chapters 7-9, which brings both datasets together in a purposeful way.

1.6   Personal interest

At this early stage, it is useful to establish and understand the researcher's own context and motivations in undertaking this study. In doing so, this begins the thinking and discussion round issues of positionality and reflexivity, which Berger (2015, p. 220) sees as:

> The need to increasingly focus on self-knowledge and sensitivity; better understand the role of the self in the creation of knowledge; carefully self-monitor the impact of their biases, beliefs, and personal experiences on their research; and maintain the balance between the personal and the universal.

This issue will be revisited at different points throughout the thesis including Chapter 5 when discussing ethical dimensions and particular methodologies in working with those from other cultural backgrounds. Chapter 8 will explore reflexivity in terms of the relationship between the 'researcher and the researched' and Section 10.44 will examine potential contributions to the wider research area in reference to the researcher's own positionality as established through this study. For now, however, it is more appropriate to briefly outline how he has come to the area of CLC as a personal and professional interest, his language competence and cultural experiences.

The researcher's own interest in CLC developed initially from a holiday to China in 2011, which encouraged him to begin learning some Chinese prior to the visit. This experience offered links to his work, at that time, as a primary school teacher where he taught a number of social studies based topics on the country and completed a local authority training programme on the basics of CLC as a third language alongside French, the more established L2 in his school. His observations of school practices often highlighted the superficial and essentialist view of other cultures with activities that, though well meaning, were often very stereotypical in focus with the emphasis placed on difference and Otherness. Over the period since 2012, when he

moved over to the university sector to work in Initial Teacher Education, his interest in China led on to roles in building partnerships with Chinese universities, which encouraged him to develop his language and cultural understanding further in order to engage with, and relate to, a variety of people and organisations. This also led on to a large number of visits to different parts of China where the regional and local nature of language and culture became ever more apparent to him. Having developed many personal friendships, the nature of daily life in China with both its opportunities and challenges became more apparent in discussions with those that he knew. These experiences have helped shape the design of the study in terms of looking at different viewpoints, particularly notions of 'large culture' and 'small cultures' (Holliday, 1999, 2018a) which form a major part of the discussion of culture within this thesis.

The language element of the researcher's previous and current CLC experiences is important to dwell upon further as this influenced the study's design in particular ways. As an enthusiastic learner of the language, he achieved a recognised HSK award (a test of foreign learners' competence in Chinese, administered globally by the Hanban Organisation) at level 3 in 2014, though his ability has moved on since then, but with no further certification. This is far more than the competence required to teach CLC in primary schools in L2 and L3 contexts but was not nearly sufficient to deal with the handling of the interviews that were carried out with the Hanban teachers or the later transcription of these into English, a process outlined in Sections 5.312 and 5.82. Instead, these were carried out with the assistance of a student teacher of CLC in secondary schools, but with experience of previously working as a visiting Hanban teacher in the Confucius Institute attached to the researcher's university. However, his competence did allow him to engage with these visiting teachers at a daily level, thus showing an interest and commitment to CLC and recognition of the importance of being able to engage with the cultural Other. The dynamics of language and cultural awareness are strong recurrent themes throughout the thesis with the relationships between the researcher and the researched and between groups of participants creating notions of being insiders, outsiders and potentially inbetweeners. This will be explored initially in Section 2.14, when

seeking to define issues within culture, and much more fully in Chapter 8 when using these concepts as a lens for analysis of the collected data.

Overall, such experiences have built upon his initial interest in the country, its language and culture in a way that provides the personal motivation and commitment to undertake an in-depth study in this area.

1.7 Thesis organisation

Having established the broad basis for this thesis in the introduction, **Chapter 2** will present a conceptual framework, which shows how the researcher has arrived at his own understanding of the ways in which this study will be explored against broader concepts, models and theories in the area of culture, rather than simply within notions of Chinese culture. These connected elements will come together in a visual form to represent the researcher's own framework that will then be used as support for discussion at relevant points throughout the thesis, particularly in the analysis of data and findings.

Chapters 3 and 4 present a literature review split into 2 parts and with different purposes. The initial review will extend the conceptual base in the previous chapter to consider the application of culture to the Chinese context specifically as the underpinning for the research focus. Secondly, it situates the study in previous and current research relating to CLC in international, wider UK and Scottish educational contexts in order to present a critical synthesis of what is available. In doing so, identified gaps in the literature act as the bases for the questions set for research.

The methodology outlined briefly in Section 1.5 will be explored fully in **Chapter 5**. The theoretical framework draws upon an interpretivist outlook and applies this to the aims of this research. A justification for a mixed methods design within this paradigm approach will also be offered alongside a detailed overview of the sampling and ethical procedures pertaining to participants, particularly as children under age 16 were involved. Data gathering tools and procedures will be outlined alongside those used for analysis, chiefly SPSS and its quantitative statistical tools

and thematic qualitative analysis with assistance from NVivo software. Finally, the approach taken to the integration of both types of data will be outlined considering its central importance as a stage in a mixed methods approach.

Chapter 6 will act as a short linking section ahead of the presentation and discussion of findings and gives some further background to the schools in the study and the models of L3 practices used in each. It also offers some additional contextualisation of pupils' views that will assist understanding their CLC experiences as a whole.

Based on the mixed methods design, **Chapters 7-9** will use an integrated approach to the findings by exploring these through relevant themes and wider discussions, which have arisen from a combination of multiple rounds of NVivo analysis and thinking from the conceptual framework and literature review. Quantitative and qualitative data will be presented side-by-side, where available and meaningful, with the intention to exemplify the deeper exploration of CLC practices from different perspectives.

Conclusions and recommendations will be offered in **Chapter 10.** At this point, the initial 3 questions listed for investigation in Section 1.3 will be revisited with the evidence base summarised from across the thesis to explore the extent to which these have been answered.   Limitations of the study in terms of design and approach will also be reviewed, so as to inform the researcher's future practices as will its contributions to on-going knowledge in the area. Given the range of groups involved directly in this research, and those potentially interested in its outcomes, implications will be drawn for various stakeholders including policy makers, local authorities and schools engaging in the teaching of culture, both within and outwith the specific confines of CLC as an L3. Finally, the discussion will look beyond this study to areas where the research can be expanded further.

1.8   Definition of key terms for this study

1+2 policy   the short form reference for the Scottish Government's language policy promoting the learning of two languages over the period of the BGE phase (ages 3- 15)

Confucius Classrooms   in this study, hubs of practice and resource based in primary and secondary schools, which provide other schools with support in promoting CLC

Confucius Institutes   centres promoting CLC, often based in universities, with funding from the Hanban organisation and usually the host university or possibly national government

Education Scotland   an executive agency of the Scottish Government, tasked with improving the quality of the country's education system

Hanban Organisation   At the point of data collection, this was the national government organisation in China responsible for Confucius Institutes around the world. Its role was updated in July 2020.

Hanban teachers   normally visiting teachers from China working in schools to promote CLC, usually for a period of 1-2 years and supported by a Confucius Institute

NVivo   a software package used for qualitative data analysis

Qualtrics   a data gathering program useful for the creation of surveys and generating reports

CHAPTER TWO
CULTURE AS A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2.0   Introduction

In Section 1.3, a clear statement of the issue to be investigated was given alongside three interconnected research questions. The key concept running through all of these is the notion of culture and, ahead of the literature review, it is important at this early stage of the thesis to lay out its conceptual base by drawing upon relevant themes. Osanloo and Grant (2016) highlight that there is often confusion surrounding the purposes behind a conceptual framework, but that essentially this should be used as a means to allow the researcher to explain his/ her own particular understanding of how the research will be problematised within the existing conceptual base. Luse et al. (2012) see the framework as providing a means to specify and define concepts which lie at the heart of the issue being studied and to provide a clear logic that shows how these are connected together. Maxwell (2012) also reminds us of the pitfalls of confusing the conceptual framework with the literature review. This can lead to narrow attempts to cover the 'field' rather than the conceptual base and theories that are actually relevant across a broader spectrum of thinking showing critical understanding of the problems and contradictions of previous research. If constructed well, the conceptual framework should act as an anchor that assists all other chapters in the thesis in being the point of reference against which broader and deeper analysis can take place. As recognised by the authors cited above, a common way of representing such a framework is often in visual form. Therefore, this chapter will work towards this goal at its end and along the way try to build up the thinking and problematising that has taken place in the researcher's mind to achieve this. It will also link to the goals of this study in order to situate theory and practice together.

2.1   Defining culture

At the very outset of this chapter, this researcher recognises that 'culture' is a deeply contested concept both as a popularised and academic term. On the one hand, it has

the potential to positively contribute to our understanding of past and current themes e.g. globalisation, identity and inequality through applying social science research practices. However, in other spheres of influence, it can often be portrayed in more negative terms, as in the media's handling of sensitive issues such as immigration and global terrorism. The portrayal of cultural connections within these can support or weaken political actions and polarise general debate, thus adding to the complexities of examining a difficult concept in a dispassionate way.

Traditionally, the most logical place to begin a discussion of this nature would seem to be in looking at various definitions of culture and this highlights the initial problem in that no particular example prevails or can be agreed upon, therefore it must be looked at holistically. Frame, (2017), Piller (2017) and Smith (2004) identify a varied range of starting points, including:

- the holistic development at intellectual, spiritual and aesthetic levels of individuals, groups and societies;
- high culture connected to the 'Arts' such as in film, the theatre, painting and sculpture;
- the collection of a country's assets for the purpose of promoting tourism;
- aspects of difference between peoples that need to be managed and negotiated in order to achieve successful transactions in the context of international business;
- institutional cultures which depend on social systems of meaning and customs that assure an organisations adaptation and survival;
- notions of being a citizen and of citizenship that inform decisions made by governments surrounding this e.g. citizenship tests;
- technological norms that shape how we behave, interact and communicate as in terms such as digital culture etc.; and
- the combining of activities, beliefs and customs to represent the entirety of a way of life in a particular group or wider society.

Williams (1983) traces the wide ranging and complex history surrounding the term culture and recognises it as, "one of the two or three most complicated words in the

English language" (p. 87). Its derivation from a Latin root with meanings such as inhabit, cultivate, protect and honour has, over time and interaction with other languages, now connected it to words relevant to this study such as colonisation and cultivation of the human mind. Therefore, definitions of culture, though seemingly commonplace, are complex and not least so within the academic research community where the concept is also subject to changing meanings depending on the academic disciplinary tradition that understands the term, the subjects under study, and the era in which the term is understood and applied. Though Baldwin et al. (2006) echo this notion of definitions as being purely provisional and open to further debate and revision, they have collected and analysed scores of examples in a way that categorises these into broad themes and purposes, which is helpful for this discussion:

- *Structure/pattern:* definitions that look at culture in terms of a system or framework of elements (e.g. ideas, behaviours, symbols, or any combination of these or other elements);
- *Function:* definitions that see culture as a tool for achieving some end;
- *Process:* definitions that focus on the ongoing social construction of culture;
- *Product:* definitions of culture in terms of artefacts (with or without deliberate symbolic intent);
- *Refinement:* definitions that frame culture as a sense of individual or group cultivation to higher intellect or morality;
- *Power or ideology:* definitions that focus on group-based power (including postmodern and postcolonial definitions); and
- *Group-membership:* definitions that speak of culture in terms of a place or group of people, or that focus on belonging to such a place or group. (Baldwin et al., 2006, p. 30-31)

The origins of cultural studies lie in the area of anthropology, where groups deemed to be of interest due to their 'exoticness' could be explored in terms of customs and habits shared in common, which could be construed as a culture. As emphasised by Anderson-Levitt (2012) and Bauman (2013), this notion of society or groups within this being defined purely by their sameness no longer carries weight given the reality

that populations round the world are becoming more open to diversity and impacted by the freedom of movement to live and work in different countries as a result of the processes of globalisation, particularly since the turn of the new millennium. However, as Anderson-Levitt (2012) highlights, although the debate amongst those working in the field emphasises the need to move away from tightly formed definitions and dated views, the over-simplification from previous decades of cultural debate and discussion remains fixed in the minds of the general population and misconceptions and stereotypes continue to abound as a result.

A section such as this cannot do justice to all that might be recognised as contributing to the wider discourse on culture, but the researcher has decided to explore four subthemes, which have been chosen to exemplify some of the wider issues and on-going tensions that exist. These are valuable in opening up understanding of discussions around culture more widely before later engaging specifically in the Chinese cultural context in Section 3.1 of the initial literature review. In the context of the wider study, the various definitions of culture will be useful in seeing how the various participants view this concept in relation to their own sense of being Scottish or Chinese and the potential overlaps across both groups, which is a particular focus in Sections 8.11 (Hanban teachers), 8.21 (Scottish teachers/ PDOs) and 8.31(Pupils at the P5-7 stages).

2.11   Culture as a structure or praxis

Two distinct ways of making sense of culture can be seen in conceptualising it as structural or practical, both identified earlier in the list of cultural themes. A structural view is one which highlights consistent patterns either in the culture as a whole or in sub elements of it. These elements, which have existed for some time, have come to be regarded as norms of expectation and patterns in daily behaviour transmitted from one generation to the next that may then be regarded as a shared heritage (Baldwin et al., 2006). Examples of this might include language, cultural symbols, beliefs, rituals, laws and the celebration of ceremonies and events. In a structural sense, Bauman (1999, 2013) sees culture bound by actions that promote stability in terms of expected norms of behaviour, but that this belies a reality that

has been shaped by the passage of time where ideas and values have been subject to on-going change. Piller (2017) sees structural issues as strait-jackets where culture is an entity that people have or do not have or a group to which they may or may not belong. Therefore, it can be both inclusive and exclusive, a theme to be further explored in later discussion. Piller also believes that such structures let others tag a culture on to us in ways that continue to exoticise and stereotype groups.

Given such confines, attempts have been made to view culture in other ways, one of which has been to regard it as a process. Street (1991) as cited by Anderson-Levitt (2012, p. 444) states, "Culture is a verb because culture is an active process of meaning making and context over definition, including its own definition." Rather than see culture being handed down by society, it is defined and redefined by groups who then pass on their notion of it for further reshaping and so on. The idea of culture as a praxis, engaging with and applying an individual's understanding into practice, is encapsulated very well by Bauman (1999, p. xiv):

> Culture is as much about inventing as it is about preserving; about discontinuity as much as about continuation; about novelty as much as about tradition; about routine as much as about pattern breaking; about norm-following as much as about the transcendence of norm; about the unique as much as about the regular; about change as much as about monotony of reproduction; about the unexpected as much as about the predictable.

This identifies the tension at the heart of culture as a concept in that it is not static and conformist, but continually being challenged, revisited and updated as the norms of a society change and is therefore constructivist in nature. However, Anderson-Levitt (2012), in agreement with Lechner and Boli (2008), challenges this view as being too simplistic and essentially a term of convenience that spares those supporting this praxis view from any mental effort in unpacking the building blocks required to understand culture. The view of those enacting culture, e.g. government organisations, professional groups and experts, is often poorly described and vague or often obscurely defined to make enough sense to people at the ground level. Lechner and Boli, reflecting on culture as meaning making, conclude that meanings are too frequently distributed across group boundaries but that not everyone inside

the group necessarily shares the same beliefs, values and understanding. Though process over structure would seem, at first glance, more flexible and meaningful and focus on groups, rather than societies as a whole, Baldwin et al. (2006) reminds us that such meaning making can be used for good and ill in the creation of a power dynamic which maintains hierarchies where some groups have a continued dominance over others.   This discussion informs the study's goals by identifying the constructs and processes by which a culture is promoted and, therefore, it will offer a point of comparison when reflecting on what is delivered in the classroom in terms of content structure and learning processes.

2.12   The process of cultural 'Othering'

Though the concept of culture is surrounded by on-going debate in terms of its definition, or indeed the need for one, an important subtheme within cultural studies, the process of 'Othering', is collectively less contested in the literature base. It is recognised as an idea belonging primarily to research within the social sciences and its attempts to understand the period post World War II when large parts of the world gained independence from European powers such as Britain. As a concept, Othering fits well into the area of Postcolonial theory, which will be explored in Section 2.31, and examines the contribution and on-going impact of colonialisation on a range of socio-political issues such as immigration, poverty, environmental welfare etc. MacQuarrie's definition below (2010, p. 635) is illustrative of others offered by Dervin (2011) and Holliday (2010) in identifying power imbalances at its core:

> Broadly speaking, the term Othering is understood as an undesirable objectification of another person or group. In these social processes, Othering is a process of stigmatization that defines another in a negative manner. This comparison of the other is often made in the service of one's own positive ulterior identity. Othering is always accompanied with essentialist assumptions about the other that are typically unexamined from a critical analytical standpoint.

Dervin (2015) further highlights its negative impact by referring to it as a 'deficit model', where views arise on the nature of the worth of a group or individual when set against another, ultimately leading to distorted representations on the basis of

features such as nationality, race, language, religion, gender etc. In doing so, there is an attempt to dehumanise or demonise such groups due to their certain characteristics that are seen as inferior thus, in linking back to previous sections in this chapter, cultural Othering is a structural process that maintains a privilege for a dominant group(s) over others that are viewed as weaker and less important. The power imbalance lies in the structures used to define the Other which is decided upon by the dominant group. Authors such as Jodelet (2008) and Höijer (2011) cite the initial work of Moscovici (1961) and his notion of social representation as underpinning Othering, which aims to make the unfamiliar acceptable to us. Social representation draws upon the existing collective thinking of groups and society, especially when we are confronted with views that challenge tradition and our own cultural norms of belief and behaviours. Such challenges allow individuals and groups to look for safety in their shared identity and to have an agreed position on issues where they can defend themselves when open to criticism from others or new threats. These positions and experiences are reinterpreted and re-represented over time to become perceived realities, which then create tensions between the views of self, others and the world when trying to find meaning in events. Höijer outlines that in order to stabilise these views 'anchoring' takes place to assimilate new social representations into existing ones. Over time, the ideas that seemed new and unfamiliar become embedded and points of reference in our minds. These behaviours guide interactions between people based on those within our group or external to this i.e. the Other. Therefore, Othering ignores individuals and seeks to define them in relation to a wider group and views people as the same or different in order to protect and provide safety from change. Holliday (2010, p. 70) provides a useful summary of the sequence of Othering as:

1. Identify 'our' group by contrasting it with 'their' group.
2. Strengthen the contrasted images of Self and Other by emphasising and reifying respective proficient and deficient values, artefacts and behaviours.
3. Do this by manipulating selected cultural resources.
4. Position Self and Other by constructing moral reasons to attack, colonize or help.
5. The Other culture becomes a definable commodity.

6. The imagined Other works with or resists imposed definitions.

A different notion of cultural Othering is explored in another work by Dervin (2016) in which he sees the process happening within the Othered, in contrast to being controlled by a dominating group, and to which he refers as 'Self-Othering'. Dervin draws upon examples where the process is abused to put forward particular views or obtain certain rights and privileges, for example people acting as self-appointed spokespersons for groups who do not actually represent majority views within these, but who use the platform given to them to pursue their own agendas without any recognition of authority by those they seek to represent. Essentially, such individuals or groups use Othering for their own means to justify practices within their own minority group that would be deemed as unrepresentative. This continual adaptation of the process of Othering is what Dervin feels contributes to its instability and flaws as a process.

This concept is fundamental to many of the issues of teaching about cultural diversity in Scottish classrooms and, if handled well, can break down stereotypes and misconceptions, but if dealt with through a lack of sensitivity can essentialise Otherness in both the minds of pupils and teachers alike. This will be exemplified in Chapter 7 where participants' perceptions of China will be explored and again in Chapter 8 where more direct comparisons between the cultures of both countries will be made. This will assess how participants position themselves in terms of the Self and the Other and the extent to which classroom practices reinforce these views. It also forms a key feature in the discussion of the conceptual theories in Section 2.3, in particular those surrounding Orientalism, and how this depends on the Othering of eastern cultures by those in the West to make these understandable and their perceived exoticisms more acceptable. A modern update on this thinking is considered through the constructs of Post-orientalism and Re-orientalism that look beyond its traditional colonial connotations, but which still depend on notions of Othering. Finally, this thinking forms a key analytical tool in Chapter 9 where classroom practices in the selected Scottish schools are examined for evidence of confirming or challenging this view of eastern cultures such as that of China.

2.13   Local and global culture

Another relevant theme running through the notion of culture is its dimensions of scale, referred to in the literature through phrases such as micro/ macro, large/ small, local/ global and underpinned by the interplay of structure and process, power and membership as highlighted earlier by Baldwin et al. (2006) and Frame (2017).

In her view on local and global culture, Anderson-Levitt (2012) highlights that the distinction between both is rarely set out well and often depends on the degree of emphasis or the researcher's perspective, for example national may be seen as the 'local' contrast to global. She also contends that popular ideas, trends and patterns in culture that begin locally now quickly spread to become globally recognised, therefore the distinction between both terms is blurred and local participation and ownership becomes irrelevant. The power dynamic comes through in who, at local or global level, is claiming culture and for what ends and who is allowed to have a say in what constitutes culture given that people may agree or disagree. At a global level this is imposed whereas at local level, the meaning is created in social situations and produced through face-to-face interaction or in other platforms such as online. Anderson-Levitt sees global meaning making as essentially local as those claiming to speak for others are in effect drawing upon people and resources in their own locations to do so.

The work of Holliday (1999, 2018a) and his notions of 'large and small cultures' echoes and expands on this view. The global culture view of Anderson-Levitt (2012) is instead expressed as a 'large cultural paradigm' representing ethnic, national and international characteristics, which are seen as reductionist in nature, whereas the local dimension discussed earlier is framed as a 'small culture paradigm' and the level where new and existing human behaviours are best interpreted and explained. Where Levitt grapples with the meaning of local culture, Holliday's work on small culture is more precise and better signified. Small culture is not dependent on ethnicity and nation and is to be found more at the heart of day-to-day life and contexts, for example, family, friends, places of work, leisure etc. However, the term

small is not just related to the social grouping, but how social interaction takes place and does not try to essentialise this.

Table 1. Summary of large and small culture (adapted from Holliday, 1999 p. 241)

	small culture	large culture
character	non-essentialist, non-culturist relating to cohesive behaviour in activities within any social grouping	essentialist, culturist 'culture' as essential features of ethnic national or inter- national group
relationship	no necessary subordination to or containment within large cultures, therefore no onion-skin	small (sub)cultures are contained within and subordinate to large cultures through onion-skin relationship
research orientation	interpretive, a process	prescriptive, normative

Holliday believes that large cultures are about the emphasis on difference and detail with regards to the norm for any particular ethnic, national culture or group and the view of a hard reality that exists for everyone. However, small culture is less prescriptive and finds softer narratives, which may or may not have ethnic, national or international characteristics and are more engaged with social processes that continually evolve. Holliday, as for Anderson-Levitt (2012), points out the dangers on how the paradigms perceive each other. Large culture views will see small cultures as simply a subtheme to be subsumed into representations of the bigger entity, hence the reference to the onion-skin relationship that will be properly outlined in Section 2.21. Holliday agrees with Anderson-Levitt in seeing global culture as increasingly intertwined where the geographies of difference at large and small level are diminishing. The main feature of small culture is its continual ability to change to allow its members to interact in different ways open to on-going and individual interpretation. Returning to the earlier themes identified, Baldwin et al. (2006) draw together this discussion in reference to the definitions of culture under the theme of group membership where they make distinctions between a collective culture within nations and smaller groups as in communities, clubs and organisations. These are less defined and static and often glanced over when considering the nation state and more focused on the notion of community. In their view, group and individual interaction is where a culture is essentially found and formed. Discussions of large and small cultures are of particular importance to this thesis given the

tensions that arise from each perspective and the messages these send out to those engaged in trying to promote cultural understanding.

In this study, the ways in which classroom experiences were specifically aimed at the level of 'large culture' and 'small culture(s)' are examined in order to understand the prevailing balance between both and the sorts of key messaging presented to pupils about life in China, either in abstract notions of national boundaries and borders or at the level of everyday life and engaging with people's lived experiences. This is explicitly addressed in Sections 7.2 and 7.3.

2.14   Cultural insiders and outsiders

The introductory chapter highlighted a wide range of participants in this study, which included a cultural mix of Scottish and Hanban teachers working in primary schools. It also discussed the background of the researcher as someone with experience of working in schools and with knowledge of the promotion of CLC. These positions create an interesting dynamic explored in the literature as cultural 'insiders' and 'outsiders' which will play an important role in this study and, therefore, is of relevance to this chapter. It also forms the basis of discussion in Chapter 8 where the tensions of these different positions are explored in terms of identifying teaching content and approaches, understanding the cultural Other, the Scottish curriculum context and the various roles required to make a success of the delivery of CLC as an L3.

McNess et al. (2015) acknowledge the relationship of power between researchers and participants influences the way in which knowledge is constructed, what is shared and explored and raises questions relating to the researcher's sense of subjectivity. They see this as a central tension in insider-outsider research that involves individuals and groups moving in and out of cultural communities and the dilemmas and problems encountered when dealing with the perspectives of others, which may differ from and challenge their own thinking. As has been emphasised throughout this chapter, the process of dealing with the perspective of others is an attempt to make sense of experiences that are different from our own. McNess et al. highlight a

note of caution in that there can be a tendency for researchers to draw attention to the differences more than the similarities that exist and thus place themselves as outsiders to give more interest to findings, but making overly simplistic comparisons as a result. Hellawell (2006) uses the term 'shades of positioning' that allow researchers to move along an insider-outsider continuum during the process of research, a view also supported by Milligan (2016, p. 239) who recognises the role of the 'inbetweener' in conducting cross-cultural research:

> We are neither entirely one identity nor another; neither fully inside nor outside. Rather, it is argued that researchers take on different positionings dependent on the situation that we may be in, the people we are interacting with and familiarity of the linguistic and socio-cultural norms.

She argues that 'insiderness' and 'outsiderness' is actually a balancing act between the positioning that the researcher actively takes and how this interacts and is seen by other participants in the process as highlighted by Woodin (2016) specifically in terms of cultural studies. By doing so it raises useful questions of self-perception and that of others, as shown in a study by Katyal and King (2014) exploring projects relating to teacher leadership and transgenderism where they were outsiders in terms of cultural and racial differences, but insiders in terms of professional identity in the areas being researched and in the context of university settings, thus highlighting that roles can change.

The dynamic of how respondents act towards the researcher and the reasons for this are explored by Arnot and Swartz (2012) who see it as human nature to erect boundaries to protect ourselves from outsiders in terms of stress or when we feel threatened. In doing so, we draw strength from the familiar groups and communities in which we have grown up and belong and the relationships we have with people that we can turn to in times of need. In this instance, the notion of being an insider provides comfort and a shared sense of belonging, but it can also set up the notion of a group being superior to the other, or certain knowledge and relationships being seen as more relevant or valuable. As a contrast, Arnot and Swartz also highlight that a person can be on the inside, but feel that they are not. People on the inside can misuse their relationships to exercise control over others on the basis of their status

and role within a group, especially when those on the inside are new members. McNess et al. (2015) give one further configuration of the relationship when potentially viewing the researcher as a confidante with whom they feel able to discuss issues that might seem of a sensitive nature, but from the participants point of view would not be able to be discussed with others in their insider group. The outsider has the potential to shine a light on an issue with his/ her particular expertise and to see situations and issues differently than those from the inside.

Finally, in drawing this section to a close, Dhillon and Thomas (2019) remind us of the potential in the use of cultural insiders as co-participants in the research process, something which requires careful ethical consideration from the outset. At its best, the process builds trust and mutuality providing scope for sensitivity and emotional response that is key to encouraging a safe space for research participants to open up that would likely not be possible for cultural outsiders to achieve.

2.2   Conceptual models of culture

Having problematised the notion of definitions, the logical next step in working towards a visualisation of the researcher's framework would be to consider use of the term culture in conceptual models. To this end, three have been chosen for discussion in this section, each with quite a different perspective on how culture is developed in order to show the contrasting thinking and potential application of these to various contexts. Though these are not framed explicitly within models of teaching and learning, their underpinnings will give a basis for the broader analysis of the approaches taken in the classroom and the ways in which the various participants see the delivery of cultural concepts.

2.21   Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner's 'Onion model'

This model sees culture as being multi-layered and much more than simply surface level differences, given that most of what constitutes culture is often invisible. Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner's (1998, 2011) thinking, as shown in figure 1 below, is sometimes referred to as an onion-skin model consisting of a core

surrounded by various layers that build on the previous one and together create substance around the concept as a whole.
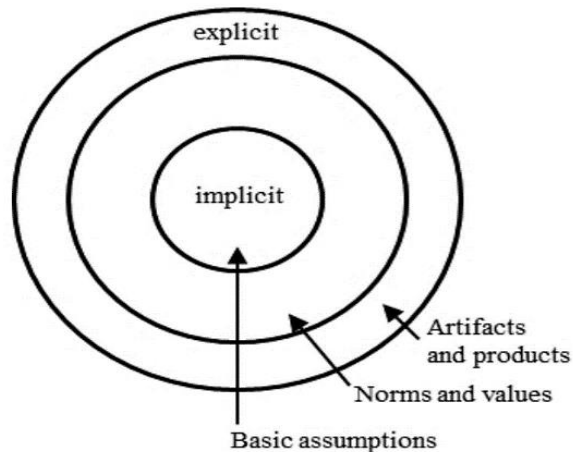
Figure 1. The 'onion model' of culture (Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 1998, p. 29)

The discussion of this model begins at its outer layers with the expectation that an individual's experience of a given culture will start through interaction with its explicit features such as language, food, famous symbols and well-known sites. This stage is also where observations of the practices of culture by people acts as a point for judgments and comparisons between us and the Other, as explored earlier in Section 2.12. The easily identifiable artefacts of culture are seen as a reflection of the norms. In order to move from this to the next layer, an individual has to ask questions about why and how these things are the way they are. In the next layer are the norms and values of individuals and groups, which give a sense of what is acceptable or unacceptable at the collective level. These can be structured in different ways, formally through written laws and rules to be followed and informally when observing how social norms influence day-to-day communications and actions. Values come into play at this level in underpinning how groups collectively view behaviours. Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (1998) highlight that a society's culture remains stable when it reflects the values of groups, but when it does not tensions arise that can result in demands for change. Norms are the expectations of all, whereas values are hopes and aspirations that offer individuals choices in how to interact in a situation/ issue. Finally, at the centre of this cultural model, is what both authors regard as 'assumptions about existence.' These implicit

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behaviours are the basics of humanity such as the need to survive and prosper which the authors link back to cultivation as the root of culture in a social sense. Over time many basic issues connected with daily life have been solved and have become subconscious actions largely due to belonging to groups of people working together in an organised fashion to deal with problems and challenges. This has created habits which adapt old ways to new thinking as a more efficient way of moving forward together and which are essentially the foundations of a culture.

Shaules (2007) identifies a key weakness of such models of analysis has been the inability to move away from seeing culture as the nation state. Such a focus has the potential to create the illusion that the core or depth of a culture is based on very fixed qualities. He also queries some of the language used in the description of the layered model as too focused on making comparisons between one culture and another and that this suggests a hierarchy that has the potential to encourage the process of Othering. In this respect, Shaules' view chimes with that of authors such as Anderson-Levitt (2012) and Holliday (1999) who would likely see this model as operating at the large or global cultural level and offer their own criticisms along the lines already suggested.

2.22   Hofstede's 'Cultural Dimensions'

Baldwin et al. (2006) and Spencer-Oatey (2012) cite the work of Triandis (1994) who compares and contrasts culture with reference to its universal features, viewed from the perspective of an outsider looking in, as the 'etics' and specific differences as the 'emics', which are more focused on the cultural distinctions that are meaningful to those belonging to a particular group. Essentially, this is a division between the observer and the observed. The etic-emic distinction is used in cultural models that draw upon a criteria-based approach to the classification of cultures and the most well-known of these is that of Hofstede (1991). His original work was based on research over the period of 1967- 73, which examined survey data of employees of IBM from across 50 countries and explored the effects of a given society's culture on the values of its members and, in turn, how these values exhibited themselves in everyday behaviours. From this data, 4 'Cultural Dimensions' were created, which in later years were further sub-divided into 6, each

with bi-polar traits and interpreted through the use of a 0-100 scoring system. Participating countries were ranked based on their score to create international comparisons by country and also region. Overall, the data identified trends and patterns in individual countries that were supposed to represent the values of that society and allow for insight in how to engage with people and organisations from these places. Table 2 below is the researcher's own summary of Hofstede's 6 dimensions with examples of countries deemed to exhibit the listed characteristics in the bi-polar scales.

Table 2. The 6 'Cultural Dimensions' (adapted from Hofstede, 1991)

Dimension	Broad description
Individualism vs collectivism	The extent to which individual needs and goals are prioritised against those of groups/ organisations, essentially the links and bonds people have to their communities. A high score for individualism equates to weak interpersonal connections among those that are not regarded as essential groups e.g. family. Valuing collectivism shows loyalty and belonging to a group and a willingness to take responsibility for others. Individualistic example: United Kingdom Collective example: Guatemala
High Power Distance (HPD) vs Low Power Distance (LPD)	The extent to which people are comfortable in influencing the structures and distribution of power and their acceptance of inequality within a given society. A HPD score indicates that a society accepts an unequal distribution of power and there is a dominance of hierarchical structures that go unquestioned with the opposite true for LPD societies HPD example: Malaysia LPD example: The Netherlands
High Uncertainty Avoidance (HUA) vs Low Uncertainty Avoidance (LUA)	How people cope with change and anxiety in their lives as against maintaining the status quo. In societies with HUA, there is a tendency towards predictability and control and a belief in fate, rather than individuals changing their own lives. People in LUA societies are seen as more relaxed and open to change. HUA example: Greece LUA example: Singapore

Masculinity vs femininity	Masculine societies have different rules for men and women which are less pronounced in feminine cultures.
	Scoring highly in the area of masculinity is associated with demonstrations of success, strength and decisiveness. In female Oriented societies, importance is attached to building good relationships and cooperating well with others.
	Masculine example: Japan Feminine: Sweden
Long term Orientation (LTO) vs short term Orientation (STO)	Planning for the future, perseverance when change happens against short term past and present Orientations.
	Societies scoring more highly on long-term Orientations tend to look to the future, be pragmatic and more careful with money and resources. In contrast, short-termism places more emphasis on quick gains and results.
	LTO example: South Korea STO example: The United States
Indulgence vs restraint	Living for personal gratification and enjoyment as opposed to regulating these desires against strict social norms.
	Societies with a high indulgence score permit personal choice and freedoms as opposed to trying to dampen these through regulation and control of social norms.
	Indulgent example: Mexico Restrained example: Hong Kong

Though Hofstede (1991) feels his work has wider application to a number of fields, it has particular attraction for the business world where understanding of cultures is more related to how best to interact with people, groups and organisations in ways that do not cause offence. These dimensions can be used as starting points for evaluating an approach to collaboration or decision making, using his data to get a general sense of how this operates in the society of interest.

The 'Cultural Dimensions' model is not without disagreement at a number of levels and Hofstede has published responses to his critics over the years, most notably in 2001 and 2002. At its broadest, the notion of gathering data from one group of people working for one company highlights issues of validity in that such a narrow base would seem unrepresentative and easily distorted. Hofstede (2001) counters

this by explaining that a single context allows for other influencing factors, e.g. company policies, to be put to one side and that any variance appearing must relate to national differences. The notion of the age of the data and its relevance beyond the period which it was gathered is also questioned by Schwartz (1999), but countered by supporters such as Søndergaard (1994) and again by Hofstede (2011) who confirm that similar replications highlight the accuracy of his initial 4 dimensions. The major criticism, however, is based on how Hofstede (1991, 2001) deals with the concept of culture through the use of the nation state as the means of analysis. McSweeney (2000, 2002) feels that cultures and their values are not defined simply by their boundaries, an issue raised repeatedly in other discussions within this chapter. This point is also explored in responses by Dorfman and Howell (1988) to Hofstede's earlier thinking that seemed to suggest that, within any given population, no variation exists. This does not account for the fact that most countries contain a range of ethnic groups, which may then exhibit the sorts of characteristics that he aligns to their culture of origin. This is especially true when looking at immigrant groups and, therefore, Dorman and Howell feel there is little recognition of the variations that exist at individual and community level. Hofstede (2002) has replied to similar views by explaining that national identities are the only valid means to identify and measure the notion of cultural difference.

In linking to the discussion of the chosen research paradigm in Chapter 5, AlMutairi et al. (2018) also identify that Hofstede's collection of stratified samples, and their statistical analysis, highlights a positivist approach that seeks to draw generalisations about national cultures. At one level, this allows comparisons to be made across countries, but runs contrary to the generally accepted view that an interpretivist approach is better used in understanding the multi-faceted nature of culture. AlMutairi et al. feel that to condense this down to single variables is too ordered and neglects the often chaotic nature of culture that leaves it open to various levels of on-going challenge. Though this study adheres to an interpretivist way of thinking, as detailed in Section 5.11, it will still be useful to explore Hofstede's alternative approach to see if it has any bearing or relevance to the discussion that arises from the data sets. However, unlike in Hofstede's work, the mixed methods model

adopted will allow for other layers of analysis to assist in the interpretation of participants' actual views, thus avoiding what is seen as a weakness in his approach.

Beyond these criticisms, Hofstede's original work, and subsequent revisions, are still very widely used and cited, as can be seen in its available metrics on sites such as Google Scholar and Web of Science.

2.23   Holliday's 'Grammar of Culture'

The final model to be examined is more contemporary and belongs to the work of Holliday (2010, 2018a) and referred to as the 'Grammar of Culture'. Earlier discussion in Section 2.13 drew upon Holliday's initial thinking where he explored the notions of large and small culture, the former a structuralist view belonging to the national level and the latter more of a process model represented in groups and communities. The model shown below in figure 2 is Holliday's attempt at understanding intercultural events, though he continually stresses that it is simply a loose guide and not to be taken as an exact template for mapping out the complex realities that exist in everyday cultural experiences.
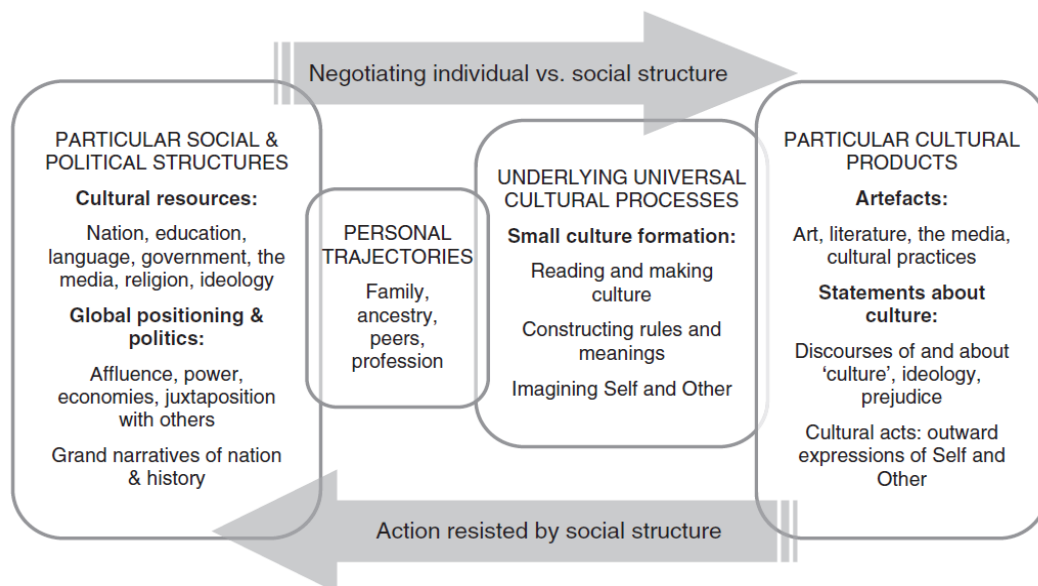
Figure 2. The 'Grammar of Culture' (Holliday, 2010, 2018a)

The model is underpinned by 3 broad domains. The first two of these, *particular social and political structures* and *particular cultural products* relate back to what

Holliday (1999) deemed as large culture, the characteristics of particular ethnic or national groups. It is the interaction of these with the two central themes of *personal trajectories* and *underlying universal cultural processes*, construed earlier as small cultures that is at the heart of this process model. The two arrows represent the dialogue that goes on between the large and small cultural levels, with the upper arrow running left to right seen as positive in its ability to reduce tensions and increase understanding. The lower arrow, running in the opposite direction, indicates the potential power exerted by social and political structures to maintain the status quo.

The 'Grammar of Culture' depends on the underlying *universal cultural processes* happening on an on-going basis. For the most part, this relates back to the earlier discussion of small cultures and also to the other points raised in Section 2.13 in terms of local and global perspectives. As a reminder, small culture is the actions that can be seen across all cultural settings and contexts in terms of skills and strategies employed by all participants as a means of negotiating their position within a particular culture. In doing so, they are able to understand, engage with and take part in the production of culture. Reference is also made in the model to *personal trajectories* and Holliday (2010, 2018) sees these as individual journeys through society which can have their links to the past and cultural origins. These trajectories allow people to interact with current social and political structures and engage with the unfamiliar.

Particular social and political structures are seen as those that make us different from each other, differ from nation to nation and impact on the way we are as people. This may be recognised by us as 'our culture' in how we position ourselves and our society against the rest of the world and our national story in terms of the past and historical events. Holliday (2010, 2018) refers to this as having a 'cultural card' which allows us to present ourselves in different ways depending on the circumstance or situation. *Particular cultural products* are referred to as the 'big C' of culture surrounding the literature and the Arts and also the day-to-day cultural traditions that may seem strange to us when observing people from elsewhere in the

world e.g. greetings, dining etiquette, showing respect etc., these being part of our local and national culture. It also relates to how we present what we would deem as our culture to others that may not always represent the reality of a situation, but what we would like it to be in our hopes and aspirations. It may also be used to project an image of self that we use to create a desired view or impact. Holliday does not see this as a distortion or deception of image, but rather a manipulation of the complex realities of self.

Holliday's (2018a) 'Grammar of Culture', in contrast with the other models presented, is still relatively new and has not been tested or contested yet in any real sense from other authors within the literature base. As with any model, one simple criticism comes in exemplifying its application to real life situations and his earlier work, Holliday (2010) which initially introduced the 'Grammar of Culture' does give examples of situations that would allow reflection back to the points made in the model, mainly based on observational scenarios and self-reflections on these. At present, additional texts highlighting its purpose are essentially those available from Holliday, working in collaboration with others. Here, he expands on the 'Grammar of Culture' into other contexts such as language teaching e.g. cultural representation in textbooks and modern languages teaching, including the role of native speakers (Driscoll & Holiday, 2020; Gong & Holliday, 2013; Holliday, 2018b) with this latter theme discussed specifically in Section 8.43. This model will also provide a strong analytic to the presentation and discussion of findings given in Chapter 7 (Sections 7.2, 7.3 and 7.42). It also fits well to the interpretivist paradigm adopted for this research and outlined in Chapter 5.1 in that it places the individual at the centre of the many processes.

2.3   Conceptual theories of culture

This researcher recognises that whilst definitions and models make important contributions to his understanding, and that of others, on the nature of culture, there is a danger that these can be seen to stand in isolation and that further connections need to be made. To do so, the final piece of his framework includes the conceptual theory, which for the purpose of this study is identified as Post-colonialism and acts

as the boundary that will anchor all other elements together. However, broad discussion of this theory may seem to some as disconnected from the Chinese focus of the thesis and, therefore, discourses on Orientalism, Post-orientalism and Self/ Re-orientalism are included to show the connections between this theory and the actual study base. These highlight on-going tensions and challenges to be revisited and contextualised by the L3 CLC focus throughout and particularly discussed in Chapter 9 (Sections 9.1, 9.72 and 9.73).

2.31   Post-colonialism

One of the defining features of the second half of the twentieth century was the gaining of independence, mainly from European powers, by a number of countries round the globe, particularly in Africa and Asia. In the years that followed, the theory of Post-colonialism began to develop in order to understand the legacy of that era of world history and centred on looking at the human consequences of the control and exploitation of these nations and their people (Ashcroft et al., 2013). As such, this has developed into a specific branch of academic thought based on critical discourses of the history, culture and literature of imperial power and its effects. Drawing upon the work of Burney (2012), Childs and Williams (2014), Loomba (1998), Tikly (1999) and Williams and Chrisman (2015), the foundations of this theory lie in the distorted and imbalanced relationship between those who were colonised and the country acting as the colonising force. The core ideology of colonialism was bringing 'civilisation' to those parts of the world that were deemed to be uncivilised by imposing the notion of a racial and cultural superiority by the Western world over its non-Western counterparts based on a moral and intellectual argument. Imperial conquest was a means to achieving a state of civilised harmony where people shared an assigned identity, a social place and an economic role as part of the bigger imperial connection underpinned by the rule of law. Through this, colonised people would be assimilated into the dominating culture and be grateful for the stability this brought.

Post-colonialism challenges the knowledge base and the identities arising from this view and is based on exploring how the application of Western cultural knowledge

overpowered a non-European people into becoming a colony of a 'mother country', with its connotations of a parent-child relationship built on the cultural identities of the coloniser and colonised. Post-colonialism aims to reconsider this relationship by revisiting and weakening the basis upon which colonialists understand the world and the patterns that exist in terms of intellectual, linguistic, social and economic issues. Post- colonialism is a means by which intellectual space is created for those that have been marginalised and oppressed to have a voice that speaks for their values and beliefs and creates a range of discourses that counter the imbalance in power relationships that existed before. Such thinking is central to Spivak (1988) whose work is regarded as making a core contribution to this theory. She drew attention to assumptions that what was needed was simply a matter of giving the 'subaltern' (oppressed) opportunities to talk about their experiences, as to do so would neglect the fact that their subjectivity had been expressed through discourses that were still colonialist at heart and that these structures had to be recognised in what was being said. In doing so, these could be dismantled and then a true voice would emerge.

The discourses of Post-colonialism are not simply related to colonial practices of governance and the past, but more to the ideology of power imbalances and control that underpinned these. Childs and Williams (2014) remind us that its legacy is not just related to the era immediately post-independence, but the on-going impact of this to the present day as also highlighted by Young (2016, p. 59) when stating, "Today, postcolonial struggles for autonomy, real independence and self-determination have to contend with a complex adversary whose power is dispersed through a wide range of global institutions and practice."

Ashcroft et al. (2013) see this through the continued impacts of Post-colonial theory on the themes of 'globalisation' and 'glocalisation'. The first of these concerns the influence of economics on people and communities around the world where boundaries and borders may seem to be of less importance on the one hand, but which may, on the other, perpetuate the imposition of 'First World culture' on other places and create a dependence on capitalist economic structures, a type of continued domination by Western nations. Glocalisation is an attempt to assert the relationship

between the local and the global which is seen as 'transcultural' in allowing overlap and transformation of societies to take place, an idea linking well to the original thinking of Bhabha (1994) and his notions of 'hybridity' and the 'third space' where cultural fusion takes place and an international culture may develop, rather than perpetuating cultural differences. Bhabha's notion of the transcultural has also been questioned and debated as some authors feel it blurs the power relationship and the inequalities upon which it is actually based (Andreotti, 2011; Loomba, 1998).

2.311 Orientalism

The work of Ashcroft et al. (2013) defines key concepts within the area of Post-colonial studies, some already mentioned, and highlights important authors in these areas. However, of particular relevance to this study, given its focus on China, is the concept of Orientalism. There are two distinctions to be made when discussing this term and its meaning: the first being the serious academic study of the Eastern world, most often the Middle East in art and culture from the 19th century onwards by academics referred to as Orientalists and secondly the cultural discourse developed by Said (1978) to explore the distorted and patronising view of Eastern cultures of North Africa, the Middle East and Asia held by Western society, begun in colonial times, but still influencing the modern era and which is an often discussed element of Post-colonial theory.

Said's (1978) work is regarded as foundational to the academic discourse on Orientalism and, at its heart, is the process by which the West (the Occident) constructed knowledge and beliefs about the East (the Orient) in ways to create a view of dominance, ownership and authority over its portrayal. Central to this is the process of Othering as was discussed earlier in section 2.12. The Orient is an imagining by the West that draws upon centuries of intellectual discussion, art, commentary and the reinforcement of assumptions and stereotypes that places the West in a position of power and does little to represent the realities of those living in these cultures. As with broader colonialism, the West is positioned as the stronger, stabilising power in contrast to the East. At the heart of this, according to Said, is the power to name and define taken by Orientalists and their descriptions of the East, as

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opposed to indigenous people who had lost their voice and had it replaced by others speaking on their behalf, this notion closely aligning to the previous comments made by Spivak (1988). The Orient was represented through debates on the nature of these societies, their features, civilising and moral worth, themes referred to earlier. Said (1978, p. 12) encapsulates the Other in Orientalism when writing:

> A distribution of geopolitical awareness into aesthetic, scholarly, economic, sociological, historical and philological texts; it is an elaboration not only of a basic geographical distinction (the world is made up of two unequal halves, Orient and Occident) but also of a whole series of 'interests' which, by such means as scholarly discovery, philological reconstruction, psychological analysis, landscape and sociological description, it not only creates but also maintains; it is, rather than expresses, a certain will or intention to understand, in some cases to control, manipulate, even incorporate, what is a manifestly different (or alternate and novel) world.

However, Said's (1978) work has been open to criticism from others in the area of Post- colonialism, both at the time of its writing in the late 1970s and beyond. Warraq (2010) contends there were historical inaccuracies in how Said portrayed the notion of Oriental scholars (Orientalists) who had serious intent to engage with the societies they were studying and that Said attached a very narrow view to their work. Also, that his focus on Western imperialism and its impacts as exclusively negative factors ignores the many other malevolent forces in the region and that to blame the West for the world's ills was too simplistic. Irwin (2006) sees an imbalance in how Said treats the different colonising powers with Britain and France overrepresented in his criticism and other influencing powers, both European and non-European treated more ambivalently. Irwin suggests the narrative of 'Western wrong doing' was an attempt by Said to play into the subconscious of the intended readership of the work at a time when anti-Western views were at their most prominent. Finally, Ahmad (1992) contends that the underlying themes in Said's views on Orientalism were not new and had been explored in earlier texts, but these had gone unrecognised by him in his work.

2.312 Post-orientalism

Loomba (1998) highlights that for postcolonial studies to survive it needs to reflect the contemporary world and engage with current circumstances. Some of the key criticisms made of Said's (1978) original ideas have been further discussed in his later work (1985, 1987) and by authors looking to bring his model of Orientalism up to date, and in doing so have introduced use of the term 'Post-orientalism'. Lin (2006), McAlister (2005), Pavan Kumar (2012) and Rath (2004) recognise the scope for its expansion away from simply colonial and Post-colonial contexts to also consider its impact outwith these traditional boundaries. Lau (2009) contrasts the prefix post- as a link back to the period of thought, contest and debate surrounding the initial work of Said with the need to replace the original cultural, literary and artistic references with those relevant to the modern world. Lin and Rath recognise that another shift is needed to redress the geography of the East to include all of Asia, most of which was not referenced in Said's original work. This now signifies much of the tension in the post-millennial era, especially with the continued rise of China and other Asian countries economically and with the use of phrases such as the 'Asian century' to describe the shift of power away from the Western centre to the East. However, the major shift in emphasis in the term Post-orientalism is discussed by Pavan Kumar and McAlister who identify that the old hegemony occupied by European colonial powers has been replaced by the role of the United States as the dominating economic and military power. This has resulted in indirect/ direct involvement in global affairs related to Cold War politics in different parts of the world, geopolitics in its interventions in Middle East conflicts, its portrayal of other nations felt responsible for terrorist attacks and, most recently, debates round immigration from Central American countries and the rise of China on the global stage. McAlister sees the same earlier theme of power imbalances and Othering to suit a particular narrative fed through representations in the modern media, dominated by American organisations, which can support its narrative on its world role and participation in current events.

2.313 Re-orientalism

A final view on the work of Said (1978), and others on a Post-colonial theme, is the notion of Re-orientalism or Self-orientalism (Wei et al., 2018). The literature base on this as a concept is still relatively new but is gaining increased prominence. In their work on Asian identity, Lau (2009) and Lau and Mendes (2011, p. 1) identify that, " 'Orientals' are seen to be perpetuating Orientalisms no less than 'non-Orientals' and, moreover, perpetuating certain and selected types of Orientalisms." At its heart, this is a process where producers of culture e.g. authors, film makers, musicians with Asian backgrounds try to engage an Orientalised East often through complying and magnifying its traditional connotations to suit Western needs for their own purposes, thus exemplifying the continued impact of Orientalism in the modern world. The term Re-orientalism has also been referred to as Self-orientalism and the two meanings are interchangeable. Re-orientalism discourses aim to explore the consequences of the promotion of certain idealised views of the modern Orient as opposed to a more rounded representation. The notion of Othering is still in place as it posits the East against the West which is at the centre. Given the changing dynamic in the world, such positioning maintains a particular hierarchy for reputational or financial gain. Instead of normalising how cultures see and explore each other, Re-orientalism maintains the East as an exhibition and spectacle for others to view. In Said's original notion of Orientalism, the voice was taken away from those truly representing their societies, whereas Re-orientalism seems to willingly seek Western acceptance and to achieve this the Orient is being maintained as distinctive and separate. A current manifestation of this is seen in research examining the drivers and impacts of global tourism in Asia, particularly China, and how this can pander to the perceptions of those visiting countries in the region and their expectations of their experience, central to which is the notion of cultural difference (Wei et al., 2018; Yan & Santos, 2009). In this thesis, this discourse is used as a potential lens of analysis in trying to understand some of the influences on classroom practices seen in connection to CLC as an L3 experience (Sections 9.1, 9.72 and 9.73).

2.4   Summary

This chapter has examined in detail the conceptual base surrounding the term culture. It has tried to outline the process used in the researcher's mind towards representing this in a framework that suits the goals of this study and that can be usefully taken forward into later analyses and discussions. Having explained his approach at each stage, figure 3 below represents a clear summary of the researcher's conceptual framework.
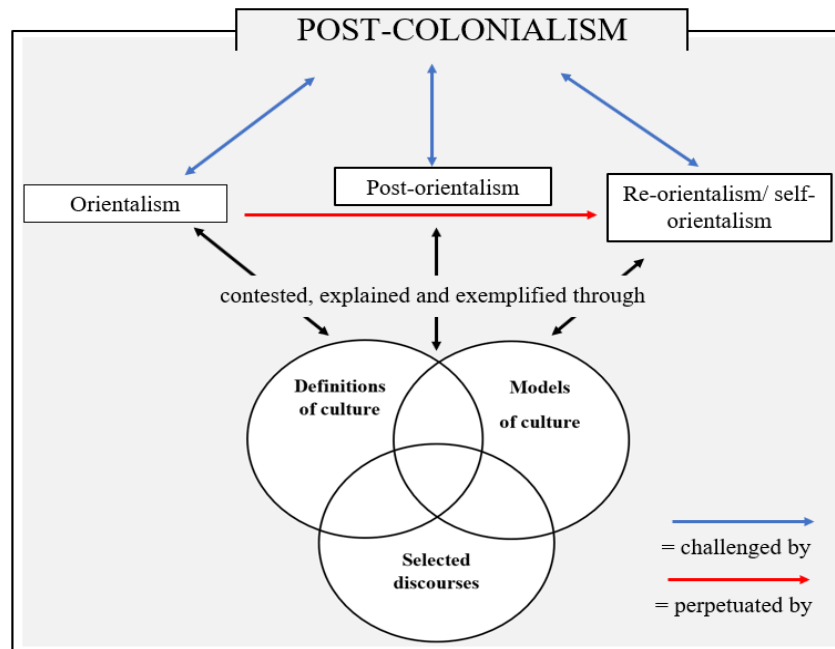
Figure 3. Researcher's conceptual framework model for this study

This shows to any reader of this thesis how the theme of culture has been problematised within definitions, models and wider theories. Though supporting the aims of this particular study, this framework has a much wider purpose in acting as one possible conceptual starting point for any future research deriving from this work, to inform his thinking on other culturally based topics, or indeed to open up debate with others who hold a different perspective. In terms of the visual models represented in Section 2.2, this framework can be seen, structurally, as more aligned to the views of Holliday (2010, 2018a) as figure 3 tries to also represent culture as an ever-evolving process, subject to change and a broad range of influences. Again, in common with Holliday's work, the researcher's framework allows interplay between

the notions of large and small cultures and the ways in which these interact with each other. This avoids some of the earlier criticisms of the models espoused by Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (1998, 2011) and Hofstede (1991) that seem more static and emphasise that culture is measured against very fixed elements.

CHAPTER THREE
LITERATURE REVIEW (PART ONE)

DEFINING CHINESE CULTURE

3.0   Introduction

The exploratory and interpretive nature of much of this study means that the development of its literature review has benefited greatly from the adoption of an iterative process ensuring its final form has taken account of major themes, on-going thinking and policy in the area. This is recognised as effective by authors such as Silverman (2016) and Thornberg (2012) who highlight that a quality literature review grows with the researcher's developing sense of understanding and, therefore, requires engagement throughout all stages of the thesis. The continual sifting and rearranging of themes has resulted in a 'funnelled approach' to its structure, supported by Barker (2014) and Wellington et al. (2005), establishing the broad territory through initially exploring wider concepts and settings that help to progressively narrow down towards the specific theme of CLC as an L3 experience and the Scottish context of this study. To assist in signposting readers through what is an extensive review, it is split logically into 2 sections: part one considering the notion of Chinese culture and part two, presented in Chapter 4, as a means of exploring the promotion of Chinese culture in language learning contexts, but drawing connections across both elements.

This chapter links back to the 4 subthemes within Section 2.1 of the conceptual framework where the initial discussion of culture was very broadly based. However, there is a need, at this stage, to consider the specific context of this study and some of the issues and tensions surrounding the framing of Chinese culture need to be explored in depth. These not only act as recurring points of reference elsewhere in both parts of the review, but also across later chapters and it is hoped that the reader's understanding of this thesis as a whole will greatly benefit as a result. It also reflects the positionality of the researcher as someone trying to expand his

knowledge base and understanding of the multi-faceted nature of what it means to be Chinese, which in the past he may have seen more as one dimensional in terms of cultural experiences through its presentation in the media and other platforms.

3.1 'Chineseness' as a concept

The notion that characteristics of a people can be said to represent the nation state in general was at the heart of the 'Cultural dimensions model' put forward earlier by Hofstede (1991). Jin and Dervin (2017) echo previous concerns that a discussion on the specifics of Chinese culture could be open to similar criticisms of encouraging essentialist views and practices that promote a static perception of a nation and its population. Nevertheless, it has been an on-going focus of research by various authors who have tried to capture what it is to be Chinese or its essence when using the term 'Chineseness'. At the heart of this discussion is the sharp contrast between China with its millennia of history, including long periods where the country was closed to outside influence, and the modern era of globalisation where the world's cities and cultures seem to become more analogous. This is an interesting tension in that China is seen, on one hand, as a major player on the economic stage interacting with countries round the globe, yet inwardly it has not engaged in the same processes of opening its doors for foreigners to migrate there. Callahan (2017), Link (2015) and Rahman et al. (2018) discuss how its current president, Xi Jinping, has begun to refer to the notion of a 'China dream' in his speeches and policy rhetoric. Link sees this phrase as comparable to the 'American dream' as an aspirational desire of individuals to do better than previous generations through their own individual efforts. However, it has also been interpreted by these authors as a means of examining the ideas and values underpinning China, how these can come together for its 'greater good' and how, in turn, China should be understood and viewed by others. Callahan discusses how these concepts were at the heart of protecting Chinese culture from periods of disruption during its history and where foreign influences adapted their ways to China in order to gain access. This ended during the global period of colonialism where China lost territory to Western powers and there was an acceptance of the need to learn from the West in order to restore the balance.

Therefore, there is an insider/ outsider dimension to the discussion and level of criticality of the term Chineseness, which needs to be explored as highlighted by Jin and Dervin (2017). Schmidt (2013) frames Chineseness in terms of its contributions to earlier discussions on Orientalism and Re-orientalism, which she sees as two competing logics. On the one hand, defining Chinese culture is an attempt to reclaim it by those who feel it has suffered too long from (mis)interpretation by others, but that in the desire to make it understood and accessible to outsiders, reinforces the very notions of essentialism and stereotyping that are being guarded against. Schmidt presents this argument particularly in relation to the establishment and functioning of Confucius Institutes and this will be explored further in Section 4.2. Kumaravadivelu (2012) also sees it as a concept which requires interrogation especially when considering how Chineseness might be seen in other countries which have large numbers of Chinese speakers, but whose notion of Chinese culture and practices may be at odds with those in the People's Republic. He identifies questions that are informally considered throughout Chapters 3-4 in relation to values, diversity and shared identity through historical, cultural and linguistic roots:

- Can a common core of Chineseness be identified across the Chinese-speaking countries?
- How do people in the Chinese diaspora perceive Chineseness and transmit it to their children?
- What is the role of the Internet and other social media in spreading Chineseness?
- Can the core characteristics of Chineseness be articulated and conveyed through prescribed texts and classroom talk? (Kumaravadivelu, 2012, p. 6)

This tension is not just to be seen in the context of Chineseness, but can also be applied in discussions relating to relationships between groups of countries that share linguistic and cultural ties due to their shared histories such as in the cases of the 'Anglosphere', the English-speaking world, and the 'Francophonie', the French-speaking equivalent. In this research context, the term 'Sinosphere' would apply for Chinese speaking peoples. In each case, there is the potential for a range of interpretations on the nature of the sphere of influence and notions of colonialism,

Post-colonialism and Orientalism that were discussed in Sections 2.31 – 2.313 would contribute to this.

Ganassin (2019), in her review of literature, explores some of these tensions in relation to how the essentialness of Chinese culture is managed and that this is often viewed through a need for its replication to preserve the 'core' of what it means to be Chinese against the many cultural influences on the country as it engages with the rest of the world. She highlights a concern by some groups that the younger generation are exposed to a mix of globalised images and practices that risk a 'dilution' of what it is to be Chinese and is a theme picked up further in various parts of this initial review.

Though a discussion of Chineseness may seem to hark back to concepts of symbols, practices and heritage over generations, Schmidt (2013) and Wu (2018) bring the discussion up to date in terms of China's attempts at positioning itself in the global order through promotion of its 'soft power' in reinforcing its links with its near neighbours and promoting its culture around the world as part of this. In this respect, the notion of Chineseness is bound closely with international image, political representation and economic engagement. Wu recognises that cultural promotion can be mismanaged and lead to negative feelings and reputational harm, but that framing the positive aspects of culture contributes to gains in public opinion, projection of power and image.

Having established the broad nature of the concept of Chineseness, the rest of this section will consider some of the important underlying subthemes that support a deeper understanding of the issue.

3.11   Chinese cultural values

A number of authors contend that, despite the many differences that exist in countries where Chinese culture is prevalent, there is still a core identity that is recognisable to people in these places and which extends to generations of immigrant

communities round the world, all of whom attach particular values to the notion of a shared connection (Fan, 2000; Faure & Fang, 2008).

Crane (2013), Gardner (2014) and Yao and Yao (2000) recognise at the core of Chinese culture is the social and ethical framework known as Confucianism, based on the teachings of the country's most famous philosopher, Confucius (551- 479 BC) and whose influence on the governance and moral values of Chinese rulers over many centuries has promoted particular values in education, politics, law and general societal thought. Though the importance attached to Confucian style thinking has waxed and waned, its tenets continue to have application into the present and these authors identify some very broad principles:

- development of self through the cultivation of virtue and morality, not only for individual benefit, but for that of wider society (humaneness);
- showing love and respect for one's parents through following their advice, avoidance of shame to the family name and to take care of them in their old age (filial piety);
- respect for tradition which recognises that such values and principles influence our lives into the present (rites and centring); and
- use of relationships that exist within society to create a system of order and harmony (loyalty).

There have been attempts to exemplify the specifics of what may be regarded as Chinese cultural traits and an early, but often cited, study by the Chinese Culture Collection (1987) asked Chinese social scientists to identify a list of 10 fundamental and basic values to describe Chinese people. At that time, examples for use included:

- integration (social harmony): solidarity, conservatism, filial piety, patriotism, trust;
- Confucian work dynamic: ordered relationships, persistence, face-saving, respect for tradition;
- humaneness: kindness, courtesy, patience, sense of virtue, patriotism; and

- moral discipline: moderation, sense of distance, having few desires, adaptability, prudence

There was a strong emphasis by the authors in citing initial thinking by Hofstede (1980) round his cultural dimensions, much of which they felt was replicated through their approach, but that it also brought to the fore the Confucian work dynamic that was unrelated to his findings. Fan (2000) added another 31 values to those listed by the Chinese Culture Collection with finer classifications and a wider range of groupings including national traits, interpersonal relationships, family orientation, work attitude, business philosophy and personal qualities. However, Hsu and Huang (2016) question the evolution of cultural values set out by Fan as lacking in objectivity and requiring more evidence for their application to Chinese society. In their own attempt to broaden out the values, Hsu and Huang employed focus groups in discussions which identified 40 constructs, only 20 of which had cross-overs into the studies mentioned earlier. For those that were different, these were seen as modern values that could be ascribed to most societies due to globalisation processes and exposure to mass and social media, for example consumerism and materialism. It was in the interpersonal category that traditional values still appeared, including those relating to Confucian thinking, which the authors feel still showed the influence these have on the regulation of societal behaviours in China today. Building on this view, Rošker (2016) highlights tensions in how broad Confucius principles have been translated into modern ones or 'Asian values'. She outlines how these have been used as reactions to Western values with the focus on individual and consumerist freedoms in contrast with 'more controlled' Asian societies that have achieved success through hard work, discipline and collective effort. She links this to an ideology used by governments to justify and maintain control, particularly at times of transition in Singapore, Taiwan and South Korea when it was felt that adopting the norms and expectations of the West could lead to instability. Rošker contends that bringing such principles together is a form of Re-orientalism using Confucian values in a homogenous way to create a reality that does not exist in practice, but used to project an image into the minds of people in other parts of the world of stability, harmony and tradition. This links well to the notion of 'imagined communities' which underpins the work of Anderson (2006) and his views on

nationalism and how the nation state is perceived by those who feel consciously, or sub-consciously, they are part of this socially constructed community.

3.12   Cultural diversity in China

Within the discussion in Chapter 2, there was a recognition from authors such as Anderson-Levitt (2012) and Holliday (1999, 2018a) that various levels to culture exist beyond what might be portrayed simply as the nation state. Though China may appear to most as a homogenous country of one Chinese people, the reality is very different and an important dimension to discuss when exploring the concept of Chineseness. Dillon (2016) and Zang (2016) outline that the Chinese Government reports the ethnicity of China as 2 main groups: 94% of people are described as being 'Han Chinese' and the other 6% are 'national minorities'. Within this 6% are 55 smaller ethnic groups including Mongols, Manchus, Tibetans, Uyghurs, Koreans, Miao and Yao. Therefore, the picture of a monolingual and monocultural China is not, in fact, a reality given that these other groups exist with their own languages and cultural traditions and live in areas of China which take up the vast majority of its geographical area, especially the huge western provinces. In exploring the reasons for such categorisation, Fan (2016) feels such groups are presented and represented socially and culturally in ways that are open to manipulation for political reasons and that the body of knowledge used for representation is controlled in a top down manner, rather than a reverse mode that would give them their own voice. When this has happened, it has often been at the initiation of the Chinese state. In reviewing the processes over time shaping the representation of ethnic minorities in China, Fan highlights one constant, in her view, that any formal representation of such groups begins foremost with their contribution over history to the creation of China before discussing any other form of representation beyond that of being one nation state.

Dillon (2016) discusses how the Han majority identity is often fused into being *'the'* Chinese identity in a bid to create a unified vision of China of which its people can claim to be part. This impacts on important aspects of life such as language where the expectation is that everyone will learn the standard spoken form of modern Chinese referred to as Putonghua, one pinyin translation for Mandarin, but which in

daily use is referred to as <u>Han</u>yu (underlining added by this researcher), thus emphasising the Han Chinese majority perspective. The purposes of a shared language can be open to debate, but at one level a common standard can assist communication. This has been seen in media campaigns by the Chinese Government to encourage a higher standard of Putonghua across China and especially in areas such as Hong Kong and the western regions and is a requirement which is tested for particular types of jobs in public service (BBC, 2010, 2013). Beyond the languages used by ethnic groups, there are a range where speakers would still identify themselves as belonging to the majority Han ethnic group such as Cantonese, Fujianese, Shanghainese and Hakka. Therefore, it is important to recognise that there are cultural and language differences within the Han majority itself which transcend the broader notion of simply one Chinese culture and the extent to which groups may feel they share the same cultural knowledge and values. This is an important theme that will be discussed more fully in Section 3.13.

Dillon (2016) highlights the relationship ethnic groups have with the rest of Chinese society can often depend on where they live with sharp contrasts between rural settings, where such groups may be in the majority, as opposed to urban settings and their way of life will be impacted as a result. Though China is classed officially as a secular society, many of the ethnic groups are followers of particular religions such as Buddhism and Islam. Fan (2016) and Zang (2016) support the view of Dillon in that what is deemed to be acceptable as cultural difference is often that which maintains the political status quo in a non-threatening way such as traditional music, dance and theatre and these attract government support. However, at one level this may be seen as promoting the sense of the Arts as culturally essentialist as discussed earlier, rather than a genuine representation of these. This notion is also explored by Chu (2015, 2018) in her analyses of representations of ethnic minority groups in school materials where she identifies tensions in the terms used to describe these groups as a means of maintaining and promoting political unity and recognising diversity. Given that school materials are tightly controlled by the State, the notion of citizenship and nation building seems to still favour the Han Chinese and essentialise or ignore the experiences and contributions of other groups.

3.13   Sharing a Chinese cultural identity

The discussion of Chinese culture has to recognise that this exists outwith the confines of the country of China itself. This cultural sphere of influence is sometimes referred to as the 'Sinosphere', Sino being the prefix describing things related to China, or occasionally as the 'Confucian Circle' and represents the group of East Asian countries who, for historical reasons, were influenced by Chinese culture in terms of language, traditions and beliefs. In the region, these countries would include Singapore, Malaysia, Thailand, Myanmar, Indonesia and the Philippines through patterns of geography and historical immigration. However, the cultural influence can also be seen in the Chinese diaspora that exists round the globe that have become recognised communities and ethnic groups within these countries, as seen in the inclusion of Chinese within the category of Asian/ Asian British in the national census (UK Government, n.d.). The broad cultural dimensions that connect these countries have been discussed in the previous sections and are often represented through the Arts, food, festivals, philosophical traditions and, not least, through the continued use of Chinese language. However, though people living in these countries may have affinity with, and for, Chinese culture, there are also tensions and on-going shifts in how groups outwith China connect with this, especially in the period post-independence or conflict, where relevant, and more so into the period of globalisation over the past 20-30 years as China has become more prevalent on the world stage. Three examples are chosen for illustration in this discussion: Singapore, Hong Kong and the United Kingdom.

Authors such as Kiong (2017), Kwa and Ke (2019) and Tan (2012) consider the case of Singapore where its population is classified on the lines of race, a legacy of colonial rule by Britain, with the 3 main ethnic groups identified as Chinese, Malay and Indian, each with their own language.   English exists as the 'lingua franca', the shared language used by speakers of others to communicate with each other, and used for formal purposes such as education, business, government and law. The Singaporean Government's policies over the past 40 years or so in areas such as education and social housing have been based around balancing provision across these groups. According to 2011 census data, (Department of Statistics, Singapore),

over 74% identify themselves culturally as Chinese, though Matthews (2017) acknowledges that there has never been a homogenous Chinese identity. Instead it is made up of a community of many groups including Hokkien, Teochew, Cantonese, Hainanese and Peranakan, each contributing to the notion of broad Chinese culture by reflections of their own traditions in food, important symbols and celebrations of events such as Chinese New Year in ways that both connect to, and differ, from mainland China.

Given the cultural tensions that existed in the period after independence, different policies have been pursued by the Singaporean government to encourage the study of 'mother tongue' languages: Mandarin, Malay or Tamil. Kwa and Ke (2019) reflect on the period in the late 1970s where a range of official 'Speak Mandarin' campaigns were launched, which have now become annual events. At the time, the Government ran these campaigns with two purposes in mind: to unify those with a Chinese cultural background and as a means of trying to connect Singapore to China and Taiwan as major trading partners. However, as Kwa and Ke, and also Tan (2012) discuss, the selection of Mandarin for the 'Chinese community' was to ignore the widely spoken forms of Chinese such as Hokkien, Cantonese, and Teochew and an attempt to politicise language use to create the impression of Mandarin as a unifying feature to overcome dialect differences. Instead this was more divisive and seen at the time as an unwelcome imposition by some local communities, thus further illustrating the complexities in linking language and culture. Tan draws further upon census data from 2011 (Department of Statistics, Singapore) highlighting that even after extensive efforts to promote Mandarin Chinese in society and in schools, English was the dominant language used at home for over half of children. Kiong (2017) picks up on the generational differences that exist where older people see China as the 'ancestral' home, but that younger people see themselves as 'Singaporean Chinese' and have a more fluid perception of the need for Mandarin as a link to their past, connecting more with their culture through traditional customs and celebrations. Therefore, it is clear that the cultural link between the past and the present is complex in Singapore.

The second example chosen is that of Hong Kong. Both Singapore and Hong Kong share features in common as colonies of Britain until 1963 and 1997 respectively. As with Singapore, there are tensions in reconciling a Chinese cultural identity with that of being Hongkong Chinese or Hongkongers and these have been manifested in different ways.

Authors such as Kirkpatrick and Chau (2008), Tam (2012) and Yuen (2017) explore the increased emphasis on the use of Mandarin in the Hong Kong education system alongside Cantonese, the majority language, and English as a legacy of British rule. Kirkpatrick and Chau describe how Cantonese has been the language of instruction in schools with English and Mandarin taught as subjects, but that there have been discussions and trials of using Mandarin as the base to teach 'Chinese subjects', though not stating these explicitly. These authors put forward a proposal for a trilingual model that is not for this discussion to expand upon, but recognises that the motivations for doing so are varied and complex: on the one hand it is hoped that such a move will further position Hong Kong as a global centre where its geographical position can act as a meeting point for the three languages in ways that assist engagement with the expanding Chinese economy, on the other hand it may be seen to stifle the place and role of Cantonese and the distinct identity of Hong Kong. Yuen picks up on the latter point by referring to data from various surveys of students and studies of teachers' experiences showing the views and use of Cantonese were still highly favourable and that there had been problems in adopting Mandarin given the various ways in which the Hong Kong system operated i.e. Cantonese as the medium of assessment. More widely, there was an indifference to Mandarin in many of those surveyed.

Fung and Chan (2017) highlight the tensions that exist in the Chinese identity of people in Hong Kong with views of the country of China as a negative Other, but Chinese cultural self-identity as a positive. Specifically, these authors draw upon surveys over the 1996- 2016 period highlighting complex patterns in dual identity and attachment to the symbols and connections to China since 1997. Their analysis of survey trends includes various combinations of identity, as shown in table 3

below, and indicates marked declines in those who see themselves, first and foremost, as Chinese and an increase in those identifying primarily as Hongkong Chinese.

Table 3. Self-perceptions of Hong Kong identity, taken from the work of Fung and Chan (2017, p. 398)

Year	Hong Kong citizen, %	Hong Kong citizen, but also Chinese, %	Chinese, but also Hong Kong citizen, %	Chinese, %	Other,%	Total*, n
1996	25.2	32.9	14.7	25.7	1.5	769
1997	23.2	31.8	11.6	32.1	1.3	302
1998	28.8	30.0	15.6	24.5	1.2	527
1999	22.8	35.8	17.0	23.5	0.9	533
2002	24.8	36.0	14.5	23.6	1.1	500
2006	21.5	38.1	21.2	18.6	0.5	1007
2008	16.8	40.0	25.0	17.8	0.4	1009
2010	17.3	44.1	21.9	16.5	0.2	937
2012	23.4	41.8	22.1	12.6	0.2	816
2014	26.8	42.0	22.3	8.9	0.0	797
2016	24.2	43.1	20.1	12.3	0.4	797

Note: Scores before 2006 were not weighted against the population statistics of Hong Kong for that year.
*Excluding those who answered *Don't know* or *No answer*.

The survey data also examined 'emotive' icons connected to China with participants asked to score their response to these on a scale out of 5, five indicating the highest level of pride as outlined in table 4.

Table 4. Respondents' pride in emotive icons of China taken from the work of Fung and Chan (2017, p. 402)

Emotive icon	1996	1997	1998	1999	2002	2006	2008	2010	2012	2014	2016
National flag	30.6	30.1	24.9	29.9	31.1	47.6	53.4	52.7	37.6	29.5	36.9
National anthem	39.1	40.1	28.3	36.0	38.1	48.2	53.0	54.8	36.4	31.8	36.1
People's Liberation Army	10.0	13.6	13.7	16.5	18.9	28.8	29.6	33.5	21.5	17.4	22.8
Putunghua	18.6	21.3	19.9	28.0	25.2	34.0	30.4	28.5	22.4	16.7	17.8
Great Wall	77.9	78.8	74.0	78.5	79.3	73.3	74.2	71.3	60.4	50.9	54.5

Note: All data are percentages. Scores before 2006 were not weighted against the population statistics of Hong Kong for that year. The People's Liberation Army is the Chinese army and Putunghua is the national Chinese language.

These results showed increasing pride in the period in the handover back to China and at times of global prominence, for example the Olympic Games being held in

Beijing in 2008, and declines, sometimes steep, in the period associated with internal struggles for autonomy categorised by the 'umbrella movement' in 2014. The current period of instability in Hong Kong and its relationship with mainland China is further reflected in data from the Hong Kong Public Opinion Research Institute (2019) in the views expressed in figure 4 below, which are significant for the downward trend shown, particularly in the 18- 29 age group.
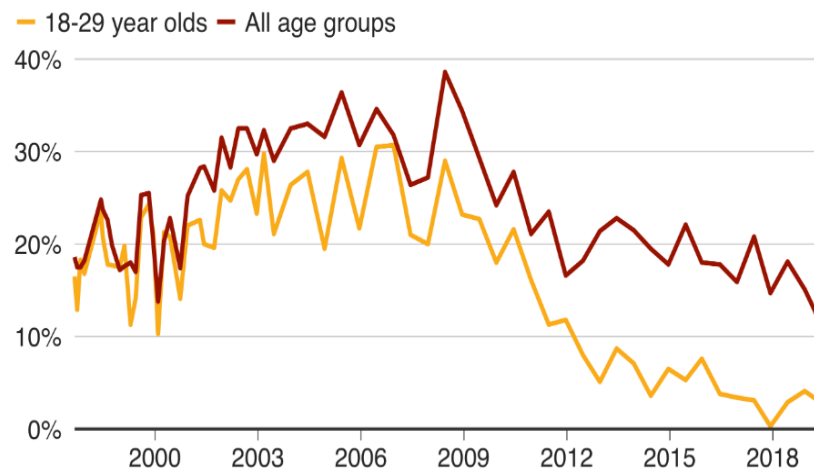
Figure 4. Percentage of respondents who identified as Chinese,
Hong Kong Public Opinion Research Institute (2019)

Therefore, the notion of Chinese identity for people in Hong Kong is both complex and subject to on-going shifts.

The final lens for examining the changing face of Chinese culture is the UK, where Chinese communities have been established and grown through waves of immigration at various points in the 20th century. Though the number of mainland Chinese living in the country has increased, it is still small in comparison to other groups which are mainly from Hong Kong and other former colonies. According to census data (ONS, 2013), British Chinese account for 0.7% of the population as a whole which translates to around 433,150 people.

As in the discussions of Singapore and Hong Kong, there is a dual identity at play for the British Chinese community, especially relevant to younger generations and there is a body of research that examines their experience of growing up in the UK in

second and third family generations. Authors such as Francis and Archer (2004) and Song (1997) explored the lives of young British Chinese in the period from the late 1970s to the early 2000s, painting an initial picture of young people tied to working for family businesses and who, as a result, were regarded as living somewhat cocooned lives in comparison to other children. This research also highlighted perceptions and behaviours in education that were seen as commonly held views at that time e.g. pupils who are academically very able though fixed in learning style, appear as quiet and passive in the classroom and overly pressured by parents to focus on school at home.

Mau (2014) highlights these perceptions have encouraged particular stereotypes to endure in the minds of the wider population and her study investigated the notion of mixed cultural identities, which links to the concept of hybridity mentioned in Chapter 2, based upon the work of Bhabha (1994). This recognised that cultural differences can be transcended to create a fusion of identity that encourages better integration and acceptance. Mau carried out research with 38 British Chinese pupils in schools in England, the majority of whom (33) were born in the UK and had only minimal competence in Chinese, so were largely reliant on English. Participants' views contrasted with those already mentioned in previous studies as a group that were better adjusted to UK society, but nonetheless stereotyped as 'Chinese pupils' in respect to old fashioned views. Language was again seen as a barrier to being classed as British, not by those in this study, but by others' perceptions of what it meant to be Chinese and the role that language played in this, thus linking back to the work of Archer and Francis (2005) and Francis and Archer (2007).

Those in Mau's (2014) study used English as their dominant or only language, but still suffered from language-based marginalisation and racial abuse due to their 'Chinese' appearance.   The majority of pupils reported being asked to speak or write Chinese by their classmates or teachers, irrespective of their actual knowledge of the language. Mau links this back to the notion of Othering where this group was expected to turn on and off their ability to be what was construed as Chinese in the eyes of others. Mau's study contrasts with previous literature (Parker, 2005;

Woodrow & Sham, 2001) to show that these young people felt comfortable being connected to both British and Chinese culture with some describing a confidence in challenging stereotypical views. Others gave their cultural background less thought and regarded their lives as normal examples of living in a culturally diverse Britain. When discussing the feelings of Britishness, reflections were made on growing up in the UK, speaking English and attending schools with their friends, but also recognising that their Chinese identity made them feel different at times and that the fusion this created gave the group a special heritage.

3.2   Summary

This initial literature review has explored the concept of Chineseness, recognising this to be a term understood in different ways, not only by those deemed as outsiders from other cultural backgrounds, but also within the various Chinese cultural communities that exist around the world. The rising influence of China on the global stage has created tensions in how such groups identify and relate to the notion of their Chinese heritage and culture. These suggest that identity is fluid, especially in younger generations and that, in an era of globalisation, societal values and aspirations are becoming increasingly similar in scope to blur the distinctions in notions of Chineseness, Americanness, Britishness etc. This chapter has, therefore, explored many of the ideas expressed in the conceptual framework, but within the specific context underpinning this study in a way that will inform the reader's understanding of the rest of the thesis.

CHAPTER FOUR
LITERATURE REVIEW (PART TWO)

THE TEACHING OF CHINESE CULTURE WITHIN
LANGUAGE LEARNING CONTEXTS

4.0   Introduction

As outlined in Section 1.4, part of the distinctiveness of this thesis is shown in the perspectives taken on the teaching of Chinese in schools, including the researcher's own positionality which has shaped the content of this second literature review.

His connections to the Confucius Institute at his university, and within this study, may mean that others question his ability to view the operations of CIs in an impartial way. However, the role of Institutes around the world as a means of achieving soft power impact is explored critically in this review given their central role in promoting Chinese culture. The researcher's previous time as a teacher has influenced him in the inclusion of policy and classroom practices in languages, not only in Scotland, but across the UK as this is the context in which he will have future influence when sharing the study's findings. As Scotland is still broadly at the early stages of its development of CLC, he has included the comparator system of Australia with its anglophone traditions but looking to its future with Asian partners. This allows the researcher space to reframe his own existing thoughts on the Scottish system in terms of strengths and areas for development. Though CLC exists as an L2 in some schools, a conscious decision was made to focus on the L3 option in this review as this has been experienced by him in his own classroom practice and observations of others and, as highlighted in Section 1.2 is problematic in how it is defined against the goals of the '1+2' policy. This focus will also assist in his interpretivist slant to later analysis that will depend on deep, rich understanding of the contexts in which learning takes place. In order to do so, where possible, specific reference is made in the review to the cultural dimension of language practices with recognition of limited evidence in mainstream settings but drawing upon Chinese

community schools as a useful context to broaden out the discussion of issues that may become more prevalent in the wider education system with the growth of provision. The inclusion of visiting Hanban teachers' views is integral to this review given the central role they play in UK schools, but also as they are delivering content in a system very different from their own background experience and issues arise from this as a result, thus allowing the researcher to further explore the outsider dynamic in ways that will particularly shape the findings in Chapter 8.

Beyond these issues of positionality, the initial part of the review expands upon one of the challenges identified for further discussion in Sections 1.1 and 1.2, namely how to explore the connection between language and culture, which was highlighted as complex. This is looked at in reasonable depth through discussions of concepts such as 'lingua/languaculture' and 'interculturality'. Additionally, the review briefly highlights the on-going debate around the justification for teaching foreign languages, but recognises many of these as long-standing, leaving space to examine the economic arguments as those most often made for the choice of Chinese as a language of the future. Finally, a summary will draw upon the discussion as a whole to identify the gaps that exist in the research that led to the 3 questions set for investigation.

4.1   Exploring the relationship between language and culture

Whilst the cultural dimension is at the core of this study, it cannot ignore the language base that forms the other side of practice in various settings. Therefore, a relatively concise discussion on some of the thinking round the contribution of culture to language learning seems entirely appropriate in opening this second review.

4.11   Linguaculture/ Languaculture

The gradual development of the concept of 'linguaculture', or its variant 'languaculture', is explored by Risager (2019) as a means of emphasising the cultural dimensions of any given language. In doing so, she cites the work of Friedrich (1989) who first introduced the term in research settings, which he saw as the fusion

of 3 key elements: vocabulary, grammar and the verbal aspects of culture that are continually shaped by those using and experiencing a language. These could be differentiated at various levels such as national e.g. French linguaculture or within a local context equivalent e.g. rural Breton linguaculture. Friedrich's particular view highlights that linguaculture does not embody all notions of culture, but only 'its verbal elements' to avoid false notions of a required balance between culture and language in any approach adopted.

Agar (1994) builds upon this thinking but adapts the phrase to 'languaculture' and dwells upon the influence of language on people's thoughts and actions and the cultural learning that can take place from misunderstandings in conversations both within use of the same, and different, languages. He highlights that such situations require, and help create, 'bridges' that encourage people to reflect on different meanings: their own and that of those with whom they are communicating. In doing so, "Language fills the spaces between us with sound; culture forges the human connection through them. Culture is in language, and language is loaded with culture" (p.2). Agar is challenging the discrete boundaries of language and culture to stress the values of wider discourse and meaning making in ways that move the thinking of the earlier cited work (Friedrich, 1989) on further. Agar views potential misunderstandings as creating 'rich points' where cultural differences can be seen, meaning negotiated and mutual understanding achieved.

Risager (2019) prefers use of the term 'linguaculture' as a variant and analyses this across 3 dimensions: semantic – pragmatic (cross-cultural semantics and intercultural pragmatics), poetic (language aesthetics in literature studies, play, ritual and art) and at identity level, the latter being of foremost relevance to this study, given its cultural focus, and which she sees as, "The social and cultural significance of the choice of language or variety of language, and its links to sociolinguistics, especially to studies of social meaning and relations between language and identity" (p. 3). She continues the discussion in some of her other work (2006, 2015) by introducing a 'transnational' dimension to the use of linguaculture. This added element is seen in the global ebbs and flows of culture through aspects such as food, entertainment,

fashion and visual imagery which have strong language features derived from the on-going interactions of many languages. These have become even more pronounced as patterns of migration develop and increase round the world that allow people to take their own linguacultures with them. Risager's work varies in focus from the other authors cited in that she sees the relationship between a language and its culture as both separable and inseparable i.e. not just usage within its original context but equally integrated into other environments where many other linguacultures exist, either as dominant or recessive examples thus shaping each to create new forms. She also highlights that, although linguaculture has an important role to play in the contexts of language teaching and learning, it can sometimes be narrowly defined within these and that notions of languages and their linguacultures being spread globally across diverse cultural contexts is fundamental to its understanding.

There are strong parallels in message between the thinking of Risager (2019) and that of Kramsch (1998, 2009a, 2009b) who also sees this relationship as both complex and problematic. She highlights that traditionally culture was often seen as inseparable from the community that speaks the language in question and the ways that speakers identify themselves within language groups in such communities. However, again due to the processes of globalisation, the traditional boundaries of language and culture are now not as strict and speakers are able to connect to an everchanging and hybrid model of language and culture that will not always identify with its cultural origins in the same way as for other people in the past. Kramsch (2009b) poses this as a challenge for teachers of languages in terms of the cultural content that should be taught to learners in the classroom when considering i) how this will be interpreted by learners ii) its target level i.e. national, regional or professional and iii) its target culture: the nation, heritage/ non-heritage communities or a mix of both. She emphasises the notion of understanding students' needs and the purposes of cultural learning as key determinants of how much input will be needed or what will be seen as important. Added to this complex mix of language and culture is the value attached to the language in question as this will often determine the cultural aspects taught, for example the predominance of English might result in the more frequent teaching of daily transactional language and

culture, whereas other examples, such as Chinese, may become more focused on its touristic cultural notions as the perceived best purpose in meeting the needs of language learners and users.

The thinking of Kramsch (1998, 2009a, 2009b) also links well to that introduced earlier in Sections 2.13 and 2.23 where Holliday (2010, 2018) considers the use of 'large' and 'small' cultures. Kramsch (2009b) links to this in discussions of 'big C' culture which stress notions of learning about a country through its history, geography and the arts in ways that promote a stable narrative about its culture from its roots into the present and into the future, which is often based on a set of moral values to which others may or may not be able to relate. This reinforces the 'insider/ outsider' dynamic that was first introduced in Section 2.14 and which often places such cultural dimensions at the prestigious end in the minds of some levels of society. She also highlights its 'small c' side and the tendency to dwell on native speakers' ways of 'behaving, eating, talking, dwelling, their customs, their beliefs and values' (p. 222) in order to think and experience culture like speakers of the language. This tendency can neglect the wide variation that exists in groups, communities and nations across any context where the focus becomes that of promoting typical or stereotypical behaviours of the dominant group or native speaker group that will make sense of the exotic in the eyes of any learner or outsider to the culture in question.

4.12   The intercultural dimension of language learning and teaching

Jin (2017) reminds us of the tensions in understanding China and Chinese culture, first discussed in Section 3.1, when again highlighting the many dialects spoken across the country which tend to be grouped together under Chinese. However, this reality also neglects the cultural variation that exists within these groups of language users. She feels that viewing China as one cultural entity is counterproductive and, instead, it should be seen as a 'cultural continent' in the same way as perhaps Europe given its vastness and diversity. Jin recognises that, when visiting the country, learners of CLC are often confused by their attempts to engage with these different forms of language and culture which are outwith the norms of expectation met in

their language learning environments. However, increasingly this diversity is being seen in various formal and informal contexts, not just globally but also locally, particularly given the increased number of students, tourists and Chinese speakers living in the UK from the wider Sinosphere and also through the expansion of Confucius Institutes as discussed at various points in Chapter 3 and in Section 4.2. This confusion in how best to engage with such diversity within the perceived national culture of a given country should not just be seen as relatable to China and opens up questions round how best to introduce and raise cultural awareness of the Other. Traditionally, in educational settings, this was most often through an 'intercultural competence' approach, but this has been challenged recently through the promotion of 'interculturality' as a more realistic alternative with both concepts briefly compared below.

4.121 Distinguishing between intercultural competence and interculturality

A well-established literature base exists round the theme of 'intercultural competence' within language settings (including Byram, 1989, 2008, 2009, 2012; Byram et al., 2002; Dervin & Liddicoat, 2013; Piątkowska, 2015; Piller, 2017). There is also overlap with the discussion of culture in Section 2.1 recognised by Bok (2009), Dervin and Liddicoat (2013), Spitzberg and Changnon (2009) who identify such competence as open to a variety of definitions, models and applications depending upon the discipline in question and, therefore, is a concept best viewed in actual usage and practical application. Attempts at reviewing the literature base have been made by authors such as Moeller and Nugent (2014) and Perry and Southwall (2011) that recognise some shared features, namely that intercultural competence requires the development of specific knowledge, attitudes, skills and behaviours. However, in reviewing various models, Spitzberg and Changnon consider a range of broad goals towards achieving such competence that act as a useful point of reference including:

- understanding (e.g. accuracy, clarity, co-orientation, overlap of meanings);
- relationship development (e.g. attraction, intimacy);
- satisfaction (e.g. communication satisfaction, relational satisfaction, relational quality);

- effectiveness (e.g. goal achievement, efficiency, institutional success, negotiation success);
- appropriateness (e.g. legitimacy, acceptance, assimilation); and
- adaptation. (2009, p. 6)

In drawing upon earlier work, Spitzberg (2007) highlights that such specifics are open to challenge and debate and can result in a set of narrow exemplar skills and abilities lacking universality and, therefore, limited in their application or through which subjective evaluation of cultural competence takes place. In turn, this becomes a common means to assess performance, particularly in education contexts, in terms of the expected attitudinal, skill and cognitive shifts that can result in mimicking the culture in question without any depth of understanding achieved, as echoed by Byram (2009) and Deardorff (2006). This acquisition model encourages the acceptance of the norms of a given culture as the goal, rather than developing a questioning approach which recognises the power dynamics at play and which better promotes a change in perspectives (Dervin & Risager, 2015; Hoskins & Sallah 2011). This key difference lies at the heart of an alternative approach of promoting 'interculturality', which Jin (2017, p. 309) sees as, 'a fluid process of being and becoming as well as describing an existing context and situation.'

As with other themes in the conceptual base, 'interculturality' can be difficult to define in an agreed way, this being in large part a result of its reliance upon, and encouragement of, a wide range of perspectives on notions of culture and identity and the various interplay that takes place between these. Dervin (2010) sees a shift away from the emphasis on skills acquisition for competency-based measurement and assessment, as in educational contexts, towards the acquisition of cultural awareness and sensitivity as a life-long process through engaging and reflecting upon their experiences and encounters with the cultural Other. This is much less based on emphasising cultural differences, which may or may not be bound by essentialist views. The processes involved in interculturality ask participants to consider their studies in the context of how they learn to become intercultural and the ways in which this contributes to their being and actions with others. This encourages links across, and between, where their interactions take place and requires a formative

dimension to the creation of new and emerging identities. This has strong links back to the work of Bhabha (1994), discussed in Section 2.31, and his notions of 'hybridity' and the 'third space' where cultural fusion takes place and an international culture may develop, rather than perpetuating cultural Otherness. Zhu (2014, 2016) also picks up on this connection when seeing interculturality in terms of how people exhibit and apply their cultural identities within everyday interaction and social contexts explaining that it is the point of connection and interaction that creates the opportunity to learn from each other's culture. This aligns well with the views of authors such as Dervin and Risager (2015), MacDonald and O'Regan (2013) who feel that interculturality avoids the pitfalls of competence models that often promote Euro-centric views, English as the lingua franca and the acquisition of a skills base that tends to perpetuate the boundaries and borders of a given culture.

Differences in the meanings of 'intercultural' and 'interculturality' are important to authors such as Lavanchy et al. (2011). The latter is seen as more to describe the processes used when involved in understanding the cultural Other, rather than just the encounter itself. Jin (2017) sees this as a shift in the positional dynamic of these meetings away from the distinct cultural differences to more assimilation through the processes of relational and social connections. Risager and Dervin (2015) add further to the difference between both terms in seeing interculturality as having a different dynamic to an encounter which welcomes, and requires, an element of criticality. Unlike in notions of gaining competence, there is a need for much more sensitivity in understanding the experiences, attitudes and viewpoints of people, rather than simply rehearsing ways of managing the cultural other that have been practised in the classroom.

4.122 Interculturality in language classroom settings

There are a number of pupil/classroom-based studies which attempt to explore the notion of interculturality in practical applications. Moeller and Nugent (2014) refer to the 5Cs: 'Communication, Cultures, Connections, Comparisons and Communities' in encouraging pupils to engage language and culture together in purposeful ways and, in order to achieve this, space and time need to be made to allow for cultural

exploration. Both authors suggest that pupils need experiences of playing out the role of 'social actors' to reinforce the reciprocal relationships required of intercultural experiences and to discover culture in an environment of enquiry-based learning. In doing so, this thinking mirrors the earlier work of Furstenberg (2010a, 2010b) who outlines ideas such as online blog exchanges where participants write in their own language, but read in that of their foreign partner. The use of on-going questions helps mediate each other's understanding of the views and opinions expressed which can be extended in interesting ways e.g. recommending websites for collaborative school-based projects. Through a process of on-going negotiation, both sets of pupils not only obtain vital information about the foreign culture, but more importantly considered their awareness of their own culture and, in the process, their own attitudes, beliefs and values.

Linares (2016) outlines how intercultural learning through experiential activities engaged learners in examining current real-world issues where Othering was at the core in ways that help pupils question their own culturally shaped values, beliefs and behaviours. Exploring everyday situations through role play scenarios helped explore 'critical cultural incidents' where pupils might face culture shock resulting in miscommunication or cultural misunderstanding. These were deconstructed to consider the social stereotypes, prejudices and conflicts that underlie these experiences and people's reactions to them.

The earlier discussion of conceptual models in Section 2.2 introduced the work of Holliday (2010, 2018a) and his notion of large and small cultures with some questions raised around its practical application. In a study related to teaching culture in language classes in primary schools, Driscoll and Holliday (2020) argue that teaching the 'target culture' of the 'target language' is an outdated approach through which:

> Children are led to a polarised, 'us' and 'them' belief that they are learning 'another culture' with a content of values and behaviours that is as essentially different to their own as the vocabulary and grammar of the target language (p. 68).

Driscoll and Holliday (2020) attempt to reframe the discussion to challenge existing practices and perceptions and in doing so cite the work of Delanty (2006) in referring to his 'critical cosmopolitan frame'. This recognises that multiple contexts come together to construct our social world and that any cultural reality is seen at the level of individuals. This is less dependent on traditional structures and boundaries that define countries by imposed notions of language and culture that give it validity, essentially linking back to the notion of large and small culture paradigms that argue against a homogenous whole. Driscoll and Holliday contend that traditional forms of language education have overemphasised national cultures in ways that promote Othering and cultural prejudice often in unintended ways by means of a comparative approach. This is exemplified by how culture is represented or branded in textbook design and approaches where people are often stereotyped through costumes, food, festivals and abstract statistical facts. Such problems can be apparent at any stage of education, but can be exacerbated in primary schools where a lack of expertise or generalist approaches leads to essentialist practices. Rather than representing the variety in small cultures that exist, culture instead becomes the teacher's individual interpretation. This was seen in their study of 3 primary schools in England, where the authors identified a commitment by headteachers to intercultural learning that aimed to open pupils' eyes to new ways of thinking. On the one hand, teachers and head teachers seemed sensitive to the small (local) cultures that surrounded their schools, but were then represented in stereotypical ways reinforcing 'touristic' impressions and experiences in the curriculum, which though well-meaning, highlighted the need for further teacher professional development.

4.123 Interculturality within this study

In terms of this specific study, interculturality also supports the previous discussion in Sections 2.13 and 2.14 which examined notions of 'local and global cultures' and 'insider and outsider' perspectives that emphasise the reality that many different groups of people exist in any given community. A mixed cultural perspective is further developed through patterns of continued migration and settlement requiring reconsideration of the social and cultural roles that we play and how we see ourselves through the sense of self and Other. The tensions that exist in this process

link very clearly back to the work of Holliday (1999, 2018a) and his notions of large and small cultures which will be continually revisited throughout the thesis, especially in Sections 7.2 and 7.3.

Though briefly introduced in Section 1.5, and to be discussed much more fully in Chapter 5 dealing with methodology, notions of interculturality relate well to the use of Personal Construct Theory (Kelly, 1955) that encourages reflection of the experiences of the Other in contrast to the Self in order to better understand both groups. Pupils were asked to reflect on their perceptions of life in Scotland and China in ways that made them consider the differences, often at national or 'big culture' level and the similarities at the local 'small culture' level. The ways in which these discussions shaped their perceptions and attitudes gave valuable insights into the processes of engaging in difference, which underpins interculturality. From this, evidence of cultural awareness and sensitivity in terms of developing empathy was seen, as will be discussed in Section 8.3.

Interviews with the various adult participant groups who had experience in the delivery of CLC (i.e. Hanban teachers, PDOs and Scottish teachers) required a high degree of critical reflection on its delivery in classrooms and the role that the perceptions of these groups had of each other's cultural backgrounds. This sort of approach has very strong parallels with that used by Jin (2017) in her examination of students studying Chinese language and culture at university level from heritage and non-heritage backgrounds where their experience of studying the subject, visiting the country or engaging with other students gave particular insights into the cultural identities that they brought with them to their classes. This allowed them to think about the process of engagement and indeed their own rationale and motivations for choosing this area for study. Jin argues that student views and perceptions need to inform the practices of teaching and learning to better understand the varied backgrounds of students, what they bring to their courses, their motivation for learning about CLC and the ways in which these will shape their future identities. In the context of this study of primary aged pupils, there are some further broad parallels here with the discussions in Section 9.2 which examines the rationale for

CLC in primary classrooms, Section 9.4 examining the impact of involvement on pupils' attitudes to the cultural Other and Section 9.5 which looks at how experiences have shaped views on their future interaction with the subject area.

In summarising this chapter section, there is broad overlap between the discussion of intercultural competence, interculturality and that of culture, as outlined in Sections 2.11- 2.14, in that such concepts are open to interpretation and lack agreed definition. In an attempt to make the notions of culture more visible, there is a danger that a competence approach can be distilled into a narrow set of skills and abilities that are taught in isolation from context, reinforce differences and neglect the need for a critical and reflective engagement with others. There needs to be a move away from such experiences that encourage simplistic understandings of 'nation states' and 'national cultures' to something that better recognises the global, inter-connected nature of how people and their lives interact with each other and which requires purposeful activities to reflect this in the classroom context. Such thinking aligns better with the goals of interculturality as outlined above.

4.2   The role of Confucius Institutes in promoting Chinese culture

As the world becomes more globalised, the traditional projections of power through military and diplomatic means are being challenged by the use of 'soft power' as an alternative for countries to increase their international reach, standing and image. In discussions on the dynamics of power, Nye (2009) is often cited and he identifies culture, legitimacy and acceptance as key constituents of soft influence when maintaining:

> If a state can make its power seem legitimate in the eyes of others, it will encounter less resistance to its wishes. If its culture and ideology are attractive, others will more willingly follow. If it can establish international norms consistent with its society, it is less likely to have to change. If it can support institutions that make other states wish to channel or limit their activities in ways the dominant state prefers, it may be spared the costly exercise of coercive or hard power (p. 167).

One of China's responses to this need for soft power projection has been the establishment of Confucius Institutes (CIs) round the world and, to date, there are more than 540 of these with the number increasing year-on-year (Hanban, 2019). These are managed by the Hanban organisation, based in Beijing and affiliated to the Chinese Ministry of Education, with the goal of promoting CLC through support at the local level in host countries and in encouraging cultural exchanges through two-way visiting programmes as discussed by Hartig (2012), Hua and Wei (2014a) and Lo and Pan (2016). Firstly, it is responsible for establishing new Institutes and agreeing their annual programmes and budgets. It also provides training for staff who will work abroad in supporting the aims of the CI in which they are based. Finally, it oversees the setting and maintenance of the standards for its teachers working around the world and for the Chinese language curriculum taught through programmes at CIs and examined through the HSK (Hanyu Shuiping Kaoshi) test, which Hanban both sets and administers as a uniform approach in all countries.

According to data from Hanban (2019), there are currently 29 CIs in the UK, based mainly on university campuses linked to a partner university in China where related degrees in the teaching of Chinese language to foreigners are taught. Each pairing has the potential to encourage research, teaching and outreach activities that promote CLC. Some CIs have responsibility for supporting work in school-based settings and, to assist this, there is a network of UK Confucius classrooms located in primary and secondary schools. These aim to promote language and culture developments through the curriculum acting as centres of practice and resource. Hua and Wei (2014a), Lo and Pan (2016) highlight that Hanban assists new graduates from China and existing Chinese teachers to go abroad for a period of 1- 2 years to support schools in their teaching of CLC, this group being informally referred to as 'Hanban teachers'. Institutes are managed in-country by both a Hanban and a university appointed Director. The financing of Institutes is normally a co-funded model on a matched basis, but there are others, as in the Scottish context where the devolved Government directly supports the work of a particular CI with responsibility for school and curriculum initiatives (Scottish Government, 2019a).

As Schmidt (2013) recognises, though the aims of CIs seem broadly in line with those of similar international organisations, there is on-going debate round the world on their role and function with a number of academics reflecting on the issues arising. She highlights a tension that requires to be discussed further:

> The Confucius Institute project works to move China out of a position of being fixed, of being defined and understood on someone else's terms, and into a position where it has the power to play with fixity and fluidity — that is, into a position where it has "flexible positional superiority" and thus the power to have others accept its own self-made definitions (p. 649).

To help understand this dynamic, Lo and Pan (2016) looked specifically at the role of CIs as tools of soft power and identified three ways in which these function in the host country:

1. wholly operated by the Hanban organisation,
2. as joint ventures with local partners, most often in university settings; and
3. run as offices licensed by Hanban.

They identify model 2 as that most frequently used on the basis of sharing costs, set up arrangements and the most efficient means to quickly expand the number of CIs. Normally, Hanban would cover the operational costs associated with start-up and then support thereafter with some element of grant, but with the expectation that this would be reduced over time and costs then transferred to the host and met through CI and other self-initiated fee activities. However, Hartig (2012) reported that this practice was not uniform and often vague leading to tensions in how host institutions have engaged with external groups who may seem critical of the work of CIs. Given a nervousness about loss of fee-paying students, joint programmes and research opportunities, this may then impact on the actions of partners.

Hanban also has a role in supporting CIs through resourcing in terms of teaching materials in the form of textbooks, syllabi and supplying staff to work locally. This has raised questions on the amount and quality of support on offer to CIs to allow them to engage with the rising demand and Hua and Wei (2014a) and Ren (2012)

highlight apparent issues in the training offered to staff going abroad to work in these Institutes. Printed resources are often described as limited due to the process of translation used to make these accessible to local users resulting in errors making comprehension difficult. The contexts within these can be too focused on Chinese scenarios that are meaningless to people outside of the country and the general approach too focused on repetitiveness and rote learning, which can be off-putting to learners. However, Lo and Pan (2016) recognise the great challenge that exists in designing an approach that is ideally suited to each and every context. Attempts have been made to improve the situation by drawing upon more local expertise, but that a need still exists for a proper benchmarking of standards to ensure consistency in use and operation of these materials.

Hartig (2012) and Lo and Pan (2016) also discuss the branding of CIs. At one level, it is an attempt to link China back to its past and traditions in using Confucius as a globally recognised figure in Chinese history. However, these authors also contend that this is an attempt to present the whole initiative in a more palatable way to people who may see China in a negative light. In comparison to other international cultural bodies, Lo and Pan highlight what they feel is a lack of vision in terms of values and ideas that might engage foreigners with the goals of CIs. These are largely limited to the notion of linking back to a China steeped in traditional culture through programmes and activities such as calligraphy, painting, Tai Chi and music. They feel this does not do much to positively frame a modern view of China and could indeed be counterproductive in engaging others if they see a country rooted in the past and seemingly inaccessible to them. This is further picked up by Schmidt (2013) who links back to earlier discussions in Section 2.313 in that such activities attempting to make China comprehensible to others can be Re-orientalist in nature and ultimately feed into notions of the 'Other' in how East and West interact. This point forms the basis for much of Chapter 9 where this notion will be examined more fully. The fact that over 50% of CIs are located in Western countries could be seen as playing to this dynamic or, as discussed by Hua and Wei (2014a), a recognition of the same soft power influence sought by other countries and, indeed, simply a response to contexts where the demand for Chinese seems at its highest.

Lo and Pan (2016) feel that this lack of a clear foundation in terms of political, philosophical and moral aims is a failure on the part of Hanban to realise that such perception has caused worry about its use as a 'propaganda arm' for China and that a more rational and empathetic approach is required to engage people. They sound a reflective note of caution when stating:

> When the national interest is predicated on the size of the CI project or the speed of its expansion, defects in quality inevitably emerge and tend to tarnish rather than brand the image of the nation (p. 525).

4.3   Chinese language and culture in selected global school systems

Given that Chinese is a relative newcomer to the language suite available in Scotland, being introduced in earnest after 2012, research beyond grey literature is still rather limited. In these circumstances, it would therefore seem appropriate to consider global contexts where CLC plays a more prominent role in school systems to examine some of their successes and tensions as Scotland progresses in its own development and Australia has been chosen for this purpose. The discussion in Section 4.1 highlighted the widely accepted view that language and cultural learning contribute to the understanding of both elements. Therefore, the approach taken in this section is to first consider language policy to give the bigger picture and then the contribution of culture within this.

4.31   Australian language policy in relation to Chinese

The choice of the Australian system for discussion is an interesting one as its language and culture have traditionally aligned very closely with the United Kingdom and other Anglophone countries, yet immigration has increased markedly over the past 50 years from East Asia given its closeness geographically. According to the most recent census data, Australian Bureau of Statistics (2017), 1.2 million people, or 5.6% of the total population, reported Chinese ancestry. Across the country as a whole, 3.7% speak Mandarin or Cantonese at home, equating to 596,703 and 280,943 people respectively. The figures for Mandarin speakers have risen from 1.6% of the population in 2011 to the current 2.5%, whilst Cantonese numbers have remained broadly stable at 1.2%. As such, the Chinese ethnic group is a large,

integral and very visible part of wider Australian society with strong family, cultural and business links to China. Therefore, the impetus for learning Chinese may seem more immediate and relevant in the Australian context.

Möllering (2016) highlights that the introduction of a suite of Asian languages into the Australian school curriculum has taken place progressively over the past 30 years or so. The 'National Policy on Languages', Lo Bianco (1987), was the first comprehensive attempt to unify an approach to language policy in Australia. It put forward the view that this would go beyond just English to include Aboriginal languages and one other language as the expected norm in Australian schools. The 'Australian Language and Literacy Policy', DEET (1991), was the successor strategy and through the promotion of 14 other languages, including Chinese and 5 other Asian examples, there was a clear statement that provision must be enhanced and expanded to address educational outcomes and communication needs. These were viewed both internally and externally to Australia with recognition of changing economic imperatives and external political relationships.

Following on from this change in agenda was the introduction of 'The National Asian Languages and Studies in Australian Schools Policy' (COAG, 1994). Specific commitments were made to the tune of $2.8 million to promote four Asian languages: Indonesian, Japanese, Korean and Chinese over an initial funding period of 1994- 2002. The review of impact, Australian Government, Department of Education (2007), highlighted initial success in that almost one-quarter of school pupils were involved in studying these languages, with Japanese showing the highest enrolment. However, with the ending of funding, the number of pupils involved had declined to the original levels prior to the intervention. Finally, in recognising the influence on the world economy that Asian countries will have in this century, a white paper was produced, Australian Government (2012), to consider the best ways to ensure that the country could benefit from the changing realities of globalisation. In the section on school reform, reference was made to encouraging 'Asia-literacy' highlighting gaps in terms of pupils' engagement in themes related to Asia in appropriate curricular areas. This recognised that attempts to encourage the study of

Asian languages had limited success overall. In response, new measures were to be put in place including the development of a proper curriculum for all Asian languages, first for Chinese, then Hindi, Indonesian and Japanese, but with scope for the further development of others such as Korean, Vietnamese and Thai (ACARA, 2011).

Given the cultural diversity in Australian schools, there is a clear variation in the users of the language in terms of proficiency and social backgrounds as first, second, heritage and non-heritage learners. Orton (2008, 2011, 2016a, 2016b) is regarded as an expert in the area of Chinese language learning in the country and her 2008 work particularly influential in respect of its exploration of the realities of classroom practices in year 12 (ages 17-18). In the Australian system, this would mark the high point of pupils' potential engagement with the language. Orton's analysis highlighted that 94% of pupils had dropped the study of Chinese by year 12 and classes were made up mainly of pupils for whom this was their family background and home language. She highlighted 3 key factors which contributed to the situation at that time:

1. second language learners of Chinese being placed in classes alongside native speakers, which skewed classes and assessments;
2. insufficient recognition of the difficulties of Chinese for English speaking pupils in terms of teaching approaches and the time allocated to these; and
3. resistance in schools, families and communities to learning Chinese.

Orton's (2008) report showed that clear differentiation was required in the curriculum and approaches to teaching first language and second language learners of Chinese. Much of this thinking was then reflected into policy (ACARA, 2011) and the current curriculum for Chinese language which recognises these tensions in stating:

> For all learners of languages in Australia, the different relationship between their learning of the target language and English must be acknowledged. In addition, it must be recognised that second language learners will always be

on a different learning pathway from first language learners when learning the target language (p. 21).

This statement led ACARA (2011) to identify three different groups of learners requiring provision with different entry points at foundation (generally ages 5-6) and year 7 (generally ages 12- 13) and these categories continue to be used to date:

- second language learners introduced to Chinese as a new, additional language at school;
- background language learners as those with exposure to Chinese language at home, but in a receptive mode; and
- first language learners who have been exposed to the language since birth and use it as the prime language at home.

There is an acknowledgement that further distinctions exist, but could not be accommodated for practical purposes in schools. The result of such a policy is to provide meaningful differentiation to cater for pupils' abilities and with curriculum guidance that supports schools to manage the situation.

The Multicultural Education and Languages Committee (2017) highlights that it is up to individual Australian states to decide on which languages will be taught in schools. As a result, though differences exist across the country, the guidance from ACARA provides a national framework which has been progressively adopted since 2014.

4.311 Chinese culture in the Australian primary curriculum

Alongside language goals in the Australian curriculum are those aimed specifically at promoting the study of Asia, Asian culture and its impact on Australian society. When relating this, formally and informally, to the Australian primary system (ages 4- 12), three particular elements can be considered: learning about culture through language lessons, cross-curricular learning and intercultural understanding/ life skills.

There are two overarching goals in the Australian language curriculum:

- communicating: using language for communicative purposes in interpreting, creating and exchanging meaning; and
- understanding: analysing language and culture as a resource for interpreting and creating meaning. (ACARA, 2011, p.23)

When examining the specific curriculum guidance on Chinese (ACARA, 2013), at the level of language learning, understanding of Chinese culture is tied closely to the particular functions and forms of the language that stress its cultural roots to pupils. This can be seen in the following examples in table 5 with reference to the primary stages of the Australian system within the 'second language learner pathway'.

Table 5. Selected elements relating to culture from the 'Communicating strand' in the Australian primary language curriculum, ACARA (2013, p4)

Strand	Foundation to Year 2	Years 3- 4	Years 5 -6*	Years 7- 8*
Reflecting	Notice aspects of CLC that are 'new' or 'interesting', and observe how relationships influence language use and own identity	Reflect on how aspects of personal identity are expressed in Australian and Chinese contexts	Describe aspects of own identity and reflect on differences between Chinese and English language and culture, identifying how this knowledge can help their intercultural exchanges	Reflect on the cultural significance of how different groups and members of groups name themselves and are represented by others

* Depending on the Australian State, Year 6 or 7 marks the end of the primary education phase.

From the earliest stages, pupils are expected to be able to reflect on the use of what is termed as 'intercultural language' i.e. the ways in which cultural values shape language use. When looking at the guidance, there is scope here for both large and small culture, referenced to earlier by Holliday (1999, 2018a), to be considered over the primary school years in relation to national elements, but also in the variation in how culture is represented by different groups in communities.

The notion of different contexts in which language and culture develop is again shown in the statements in table 6 below. This highlights how languages change over time and their use extending outwith original national boundaries, both physically in local immigrant communities and at abstract levels such as online platforms. The formalities of how Chinese is used to support aspects of culture are seen with reference to register and style and recognition that nonstandard varieties exist to help support cultural understanding and meaning in different places and contexts e.g. formal, informal situations and in intergenerational conversation.

Table 6. Selected elements relating to culture from the 'understanding strand'
in the Australian primary languages curriculum, ACARA (2013, p6)

Strand and sub-strand	Foundation to Year 2	Years 3-4	Years 5-6*	Years 7-8*
Language variation and change	Recognise that Chinese is a major community language in Australia Identify the features of formal language used in familiar contexts, such as at school	Recognise that Chinese is spoken by communities in many countries Identify the likely contexts and features of informal and formal conversations involving known participants of different ages, genders and social positions	Understand that Chinese is characterised by diversity in spoken and written forms Examine how language is used to clarify roles and relationships between participants in interactions	Investigate the extent and dynamic nature of Chinese language use locally and globally Explain how the Chinese language adapts to social and technological changes
Role of language and culture	Describe how people use different languages to communicate and participate in cultural experiences	Identify how terms are used to indicate relationships and express aspects of culture that may be different from their own	Explore the ways in which everyday language use reflects culture-specific ideas, such as the influence of age, gender and social position on language choices	Compare and reflect on how cultural contexts influence the way language is used within and across communities

* Depending on the Australian State, Year 6 or 7 marks the end of the primary education phase.

Engagement in cultural learning and understanding is also seen through cross-curricular approaches, particularly in the strand 'Asia and Australia's Engagement with Asia' (ACARA, 2016). The rationale for this is a recognition of the country's geographical position and contribution to the Asia region, culturally, politically and

economically, thus requiring pupils to understand the connections that exist between the wider and local contexts with 3 key conceptual bases:

1. diversity within and between the countries of the Asia region e.g. cultures, societies and traditions, their diverse environments and impacts on people;
2. past and continuing achievements of the peoples of Asia e.g. contribution to world history, aesthetic and creative influences; and
3. past and ongoing links between Australia and Asia which emphasise the need for knowledge, understanding and skills to engage with people in the region.

Finally, these preceding elements are underpinned by guidance on intercultural understanding (ACARA, n.d) based on 3 broad goals: recognising culture and developing respect; interacting and empathising with others and, lastly, reflecting on intercultural experiences/ taking responsibility for personal choices and actions. Though applicable in a number of cultural contexts, there are clear opportunities to link this work to China or a Chinese cultural focus.

Though broader than the Chinese context of this study, the work of Watkins and Noble (2019) considers how culture is promoted in the Australian primary curriculum highlighting the use of 'multi-cultural days' as a common response in schools and the messages arising have relevance for this study. Previous research in other contexts, Ngo (2010) and Shankar (2004) highlights a criticism of such approaches due to their lack of deeper engagement with issues of culture, which often resulted in essentialised representations. Watkins and Noble's qualitative study included observations of practice in primary schools and interviews with staff who had undergone cultural awareness training and given information to help them promote a more positive view of cultural sameness and difference. In a previous and related study, Noble and Watkins (2014) highlight the challenge in changing school mindsets through the goals of such work, resulting in competing logics between recognising sameness and difference termed as 'assimilation vs. recognition'. This resulted in narrow notions of the celebration of culture in terms of flags, national dress and food which promoted it as tokenistic if not engaged with at deeper levels and a moralism 'to be nice' to people of other cultures. In discussions with teachers,

their 2019 work highlighted that the understanding of some was simplistic towards culture, which was then reproduced in their teaching activities and impacted on pupils' views, even after engagement with Australian curriculum standards such as those given earlier in this section.

4.4   The rationale for Chinese language and culture in UK schools

As discussed earlier in Sections 1.2 and 1.3, various efforts are being made to expand the learning of CLC in UK schools through CIs and Confucius Classrooms, supported at devolved and national level, in conjunction with the Hanban organisation. As a result, Chinese is now more readily accessible than was previously the case. In terms of educational policy across the UK, there is scope for pupils to choose from a suite of mainly European languages including those with local significance, such as Gaelic and Irish. Less so, Welsh is compulsory in Wales at the primary level in Key Stages 1 and 2 (ages 5- 10). The extent of such offerings depends on a range of factors such as primary and secondary transition to aid the language continuum, teacher availability, required resource base and its capacity to be offered at a national qualification level where required (Council for the Curriculum, Examinations & Assessment, 2020; Department for Children, Education, Lifelong Learning and Skills, 2008; Department for Education, 2013a; SQA, n.d).

The data on examination uptake is one reliable measure of the long-term impact of a language and commitment by pupils, schools, local authorities and national policies to achieving levels of recognised success in its use. Piecing together long-term statistical data on the trajectory of the uptake of Chinese can be difficult, but where this exists, for example in the Scottish context, as given in figure 5 below, an upward trend is shown, though within a low overall base when compared to European languages and total exam entrants (SQA, 2018). For noting, National 4/5 exams mark the end of the compulsory education phase in Scotland (age 16), with Highers and Advanced Highers acting as qualifications beyond this point that assist access to Further and Higher Education.
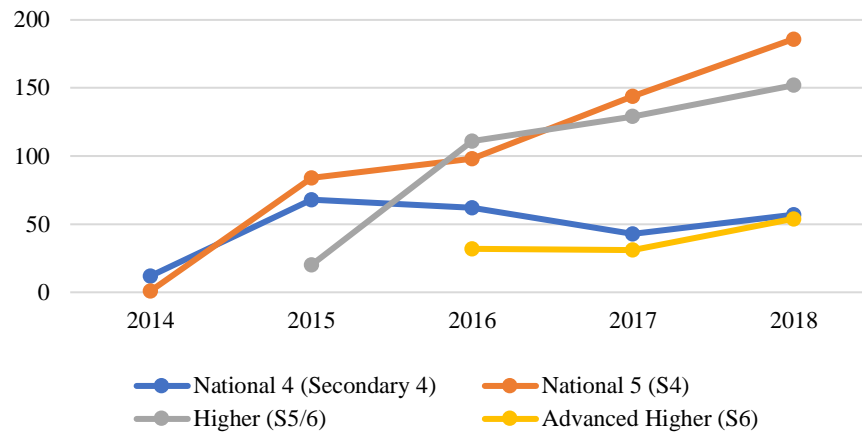
Figure 5. Number of Scottish examination entries for Chinese (adapted from SQA, 2018)

This broad pattern has been echoed in other UK contexts as a whole (Alcantara Communications, 2017). However, an important note of caution relates to the lack of data on how many of these entrants are from Chinese speaking family backgrounds as a possible point of distortion and an issue raised earlier by Orton (2008) in the Australian context. It also should be noted that Mandarin and Cantonese are on offer in UK contexts but that disaggregated data is not readily available.

Given the resource effort being directed at Chinese, but the slow build-up of meaningful numbers, the rationale for its promotion would seem important to discuss. However, at many levels, the choice for any language draws upon similar arguments in terms of encouraging an interest in languages more generally, cultural understanding and the development of a life-skill useful in other contexts such as travelling abroad for tourism and work purposes (British Academy, 2019; British Council 2013a, 2013b, 2016, 2017). Similar rationales specifically for Scotland are put forward in CfE languages curricular documents and 1+2 policy (Education Scotland 2015a, 2015b; Scottish Government, 2012a). Others also support language learning in terms of the cognitive processes that it encourages through the use of the creative side of the brain and its contribution to issues concerning brain health and aging (Craik et al., 2010; Ghonsooly & Showqi, 2012; Keysar et al., 2012; Klimova, 2018). Therefore, many of these arguments are interchangeable when discussing language choices and to retrace these here would seem unnecessary and lead to

repetition of those already widely available in the literature base with a number of reviews within these (Fox et al., 2019; Mitchell & Myles, 2019; Tinsley & Comfort, 2012).

However, given that the challenges and demands of learning Chinese, outlined in Section 1.1, are well known and would seem to potentially act as a deterrent, additional factors must come into play when choosing to study or promote the language. Some studies exist where pupils have been asked to give a view on their motivations for learning CLC (Tinsley & Board 2014; Wen 2011) echoing the general points raised earlier, but which also mention a future where pupils know that China will be at the forefront of the global economy in many sectors that have potential to impact upon their lives. Such surveys linking learning to future prosperity build upon the views of business groups mentioned earlier (Confederation of British Industry 2017, 2019). Therefore, the economic base for CLC, as opposed to other languages, is often a central argument for its promotion in UK contexts and requires some scrutiny in this section.

4.41   The 'economics of language'

The growth of China and its impact on the global economy is seen in projections from the International Monetary Fund (2018), which forecast China as the world's largest economic power around 2030. However, before considering the merits of this view in the context of the UK and Scotland, it is important to recognise that the relationship between language learning and economic wellbeing is an already well-established and growing area of study known as the 'economics of language'.

Marshak (1965) was the first to view languages in terms of their economic characteristics including value, utility, costs and benefits and he argued that the rise or fall of a language depended on the gains made from its study. Post-World War II, and in an era of decolonisation, some of this thinking was influential in shaping the adoption of 'official' languages, those with 'recognised' status and in supporting arguments for and against the maintenance of minority languages as was seen in the discussion on the case of Singapore in Section 3.13. Though Marshak's ideas are

recognised as foundational, these have been further developed over the past few decades by linking this to the concept of human capital i.e. the value and/ or cost to an organisation or country of the education and skills possessed by individuals (Hogan- Brun, 2017). In this respect, language learning is seen as an important example given its ability to impact positively on people's socio-economic wellbeing and this has been examined further in studies in different countries by various authors. For example, Azam et al. (2013), Di Paolo and Raymond (2012), Zhou et al. (2020) provide studies of minority groups who may suffer from a lack of well-paid employment opportunities as a result of an inability to speak other languages.

However, another issue highlighted, and of particular relevance to this study, is that the economics of language can impact policy and planning developments, which in turn can affect the choices offered to, and made by, individuals as highlighted by Hogan- Brun (2017). Zhang and Grenier (2013), in their review of related literature, put forward the view that the economics of language helps in the consideration of how particular language choices may affect economic outcomes and can offer tools and methods to quantitatively evaluate the effectiveness of chosen policy through a cost-benefit analysis. For example, discussions by Grin et al. (2010) draw upon modelling techniques and statistical data to highlight how this can be applied to the context of international trade with the effect of encouraging some languages over others and thus affecting employment practices and business strategies. In the context of this thesis, this is important as such decisions may ultimately determine the allocation of resources within education systems in favour of languages deemed to provide the most economic benefit, though this depends upon policy-makers actually following through on this kind of analysis.

4.42   UK trade with China

In its examination of future policy needs, the UK Department for International Trade (2017) highlights that over the next 10-15 years, around 90% of all economic growth will be seen outside of Europe, mainly in Asian economies, particularly China, thus arguing that this is a market of growing importance and potential for the UK.
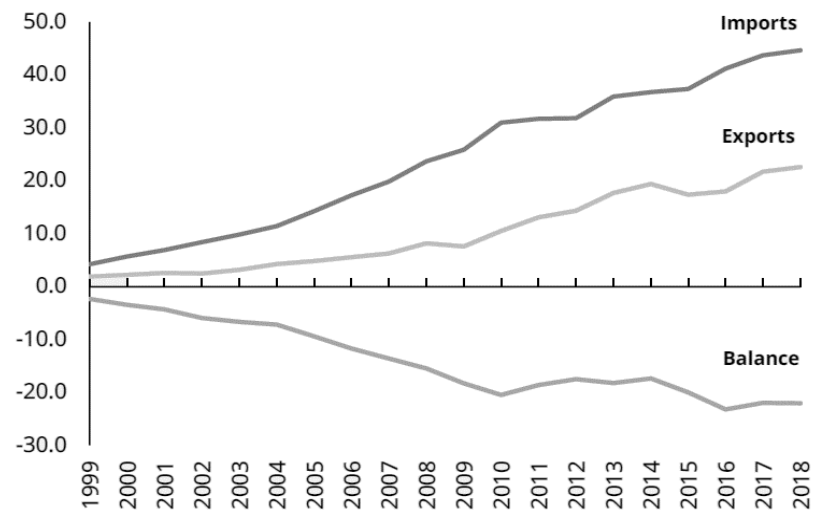
Figure 6.   UK trade with China in goods and services 1999- 2018 (£ billions),

Ward (2019, p. 5) by permission of Office of National Statistics (ONS)

As figure 6 above shows, though trade with China has increased dramatically since the turn of the new century, in terms of both exports and imports, the UK has consistently run a trade deficit which, in 2018, stood at £22.1 billion and was the second largest behind its trade imbalance with Germany (Ward, 2019).
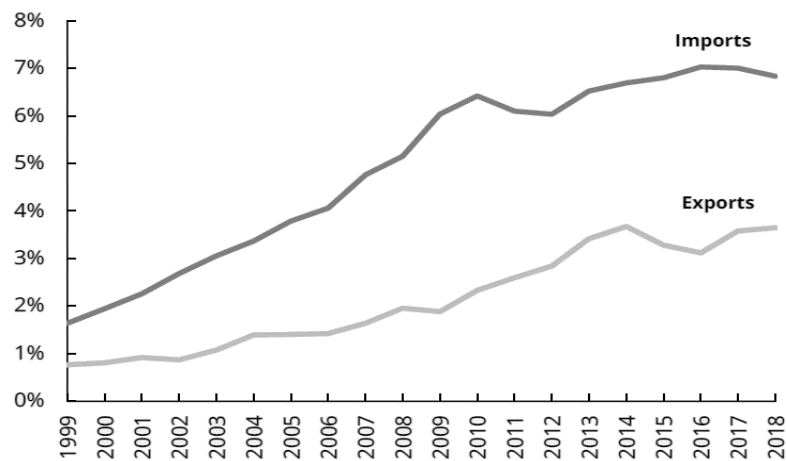
Figure 7. UK trade with China as a percentage of total trade

Ward (2019, p. 3) by permission of ONS

Figure 7 highlights that in 2018, China accounted for 3.5% of export goods and was the UK's sixth largest export market and fourth largest source of imports, accounting for 6.6% of total goods and services. Though both graphs show growth in trade and the need for improved trade balances, it is in the service sector where language skills will have the biggest role to play in economic development and the UK had a surplus

of £2.9 billion in trade with China, exporting £4.6 billion of services and importing £1.7 billion with a more detailed breakdown given in table 7 below.

Table 7. UK service exports to China by type of service (2018), Ward (2019, p. 9)
by permission of ONS

	£ millions	% of total
Other business services	1,000	21.7%
Travel	950	20.6%
Transportation	910	19.8%
Intellectual property	440	9.6%
Telecommunications, computer & information services	396	8.6%
Financial	359	7.8%
Personal, cultural and recreational	210	4.6%
Government	117	2.5%
Insurance and pension	111	2.4%
Maintenance and repair	60	1.3%
Construction	44	1.0%
Manufacturing	10	0.2%
Total services	**4,607**	**100%**

In 2018, 'other business services' accounted for over one-fifth of service exports to China which included legal, accounting, advertising, research development and technical assistance. Similar totals were seen in tourism services provided by hotels, restaurants, travel agencies and tour operators. According to the data available, Ward (2019), China was the UK's third largest surplus in travel services, after Australia and Canada and these are the areas where the British Council (2013b, 2017) assesses Chinese language and cultural skills will be most required.

4.43   Scottish trade with China

The Scottish Government also supports this long-term view of economic links with China and, to date, has published a growth plan for exports, Scottish Government (2019b), and three specific engagement strategies, Scottish Government (2006, 2012b, 2018a). The aim of increasing exports to, and inward investment from China, features very prominently in each and some important trends can be seen.
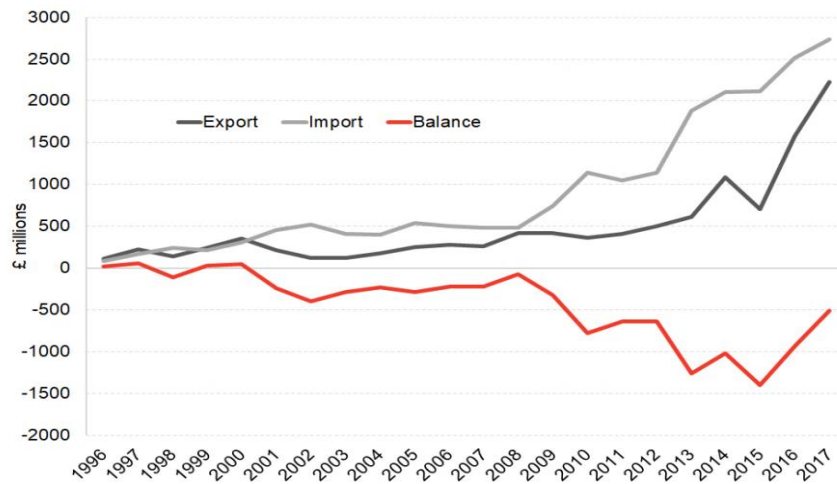
Figure 8. Scotland's trade with China in goods and services 1996- 2017,
Scottish Government (2018b)

As figure 8 (Scottish Government, 2018b) above shows, the Scottish context has a different pattern of trade with China from that of the wider UK, with imports and exports running periods of small surpluses and deficits until 2008 where downward trends increased markedly. Strong upward performances in both imports and exports have been achieved since 2015, but with a deficit still standing at a substantial £500 million in 2017. Success in service sectors is also mirrored in Scottish data where exports are at their largest, as seen in figure 9 below, especially in the area of education (Scottish Government, 2019b).
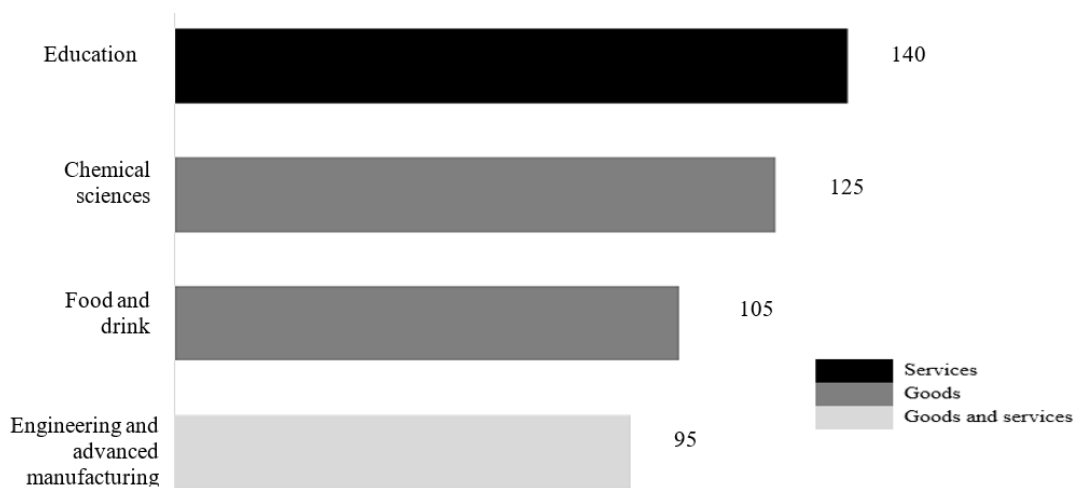
Figure 9. Scotland's top exports to China 2017 (£ millions), Scottish Government (2019b, p. 134)

4.44   Perspectives on the choice of Chinese for economic purposes

Though the preceding discussion highlights the need for an improved trade relationship with China, such data can only be seen as one part of the bigger global economic picture. Tables 8 and 9 below show that in both the UK and Scottish context, the United States and European countries dominate the export market, with the latter representing around 45% of UK and Scottish totals (Ward, 2019; Scottish Government, 2019a). The patterns shown suggest that trade relationships are strong with neighbouring countries, as well as those with large economies. For example, trade with Ireland is more valuable than that of larger economies such as Italy or Spain. In the context of China, it is currently only the 6th largest export market for the UK as a whole and the 16th largest for Scotland.

Table 8. UK top 10 trading partners 2018: goods and services,
Ward (2019, p. 6) by permission of ONS

Export rank	£ billions	% of total	Import rank	£ billions	% of total
1 USA	120.9	18.8	1 Germany	78.6	11.6
2 Germany	56.0	8.7	2 USA	76.6	11.3
3 Netherlands	44.3	6.9	3 Netherlands	49.3	7.2
4 France	41.7	6.5	4 China	44.7	6.6
5 Ireland	35.1	5.5	5 France	44.4	6.5
6 China	22.6	3.5	6 Spain	31.9	4.7
7 Italy	20.7	3.2	7 Belgium	29.0	4.3
8 Switzerland	20.2	3.1	8 Italy	25.6	3.8
9 Belgium	19.1	3.0	9 Norway	22.0	3.2
10 Spain	18.0	2.8	10 Ireland	21.6	3.2
EU	291.0	45.3	EU	357.4	52.6
World	642.2	100.0	World	680.0	100.0

Table 9. Scotland's top 20 trading partners 2017: goods and services,
Scottish Government (2019a)

Exports	£ millions	% of total	Exports	£ millions	% of total
1 USA	5,545	17.1	11 Switzerland	735	2.3
2 Netherlands	2,475	7.6	12 Brazil	715	2.2
3 France	2,425	7.5	13 Australia	700	2.2
4 Germany	2,345	7.2	14 Singapore	655	2.0
5 Ireland	1,470	4.5	15 UAE	645	2.0
6 Norway	1,015	3.1	16 China	625	1.9
7 Belgium	990	3.1	17 Sweden	585	1.8
8 Denmark	875	2.7	18 Canada	580	1.8
9 Spain	850	2.6	19 Japan	530	1.6
10 Italy	760	2.3	20 Poland	395	1.2

* Figures round to the nearest 5

Though there is consensus that a lack of language skills is harming the UK economy, to an estimated £48 billion annually (British Academy 2019; Foreman-Peck & Wang, 2014; Roberts et al., 2018), there is no agreement on which particular set of languages is required, rather that a mix will best meet the UK's needs, especially in the years beyond the initial Brexit period.

The British Council carried out two surveys of UK language needs (2013a, 2017), drawing upon a range of data and reports and warns against drawing parallels with existing trade patterns and language needs as being too simplistic given factors such as the ability of trading partners to utilise English in their operations and that choices made will depend on the types of exports. Both reports draw upon the annual employers' survey of education and skills carried out by the Confederation for British Industry (2019), which indicated that European languages are those most cited as best matching current needs with very few changes since the original report in 2013. However, Mandarin has increased in terms of its usefulness to employers a shown in figure 10 below.
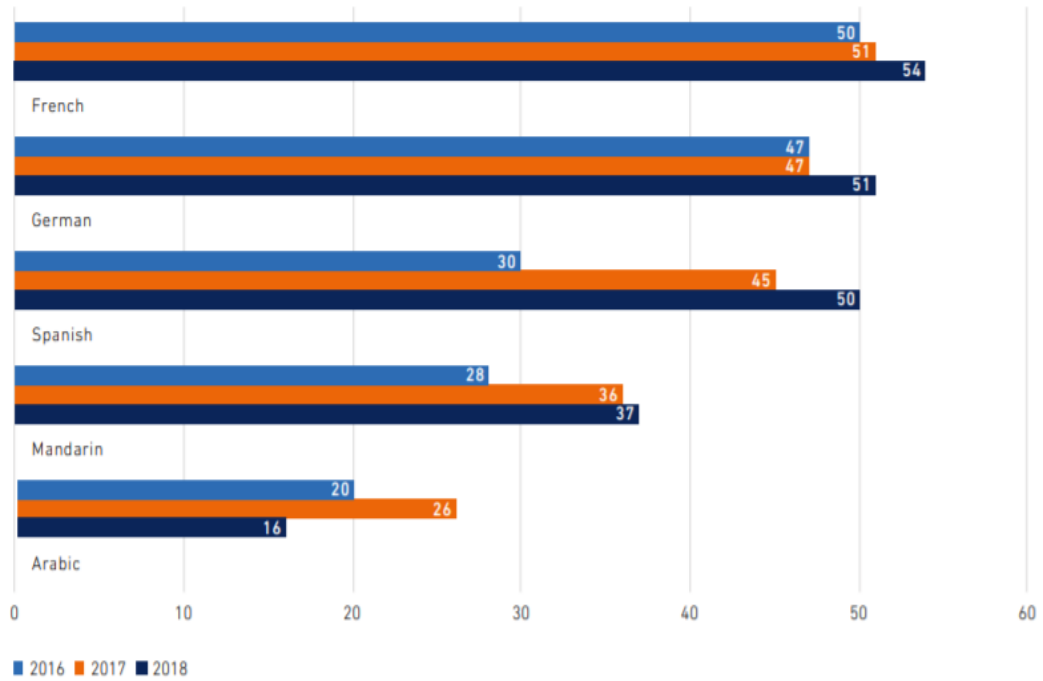
Figure 10. Languages most widely cited as useful to businesses 2016-18,

CBI/Pearson Education and Skills survey (2019, p. 32)

These trends are further supported in figure 11 with the number of vacancies for jobs requiring European languages far outstripping those for Chinese by more than a 5:1 ratio. Therefore, the challenge of producing speakers of the languages within well established markets can be seen as the more pressing challenge in the post-Brexit era.
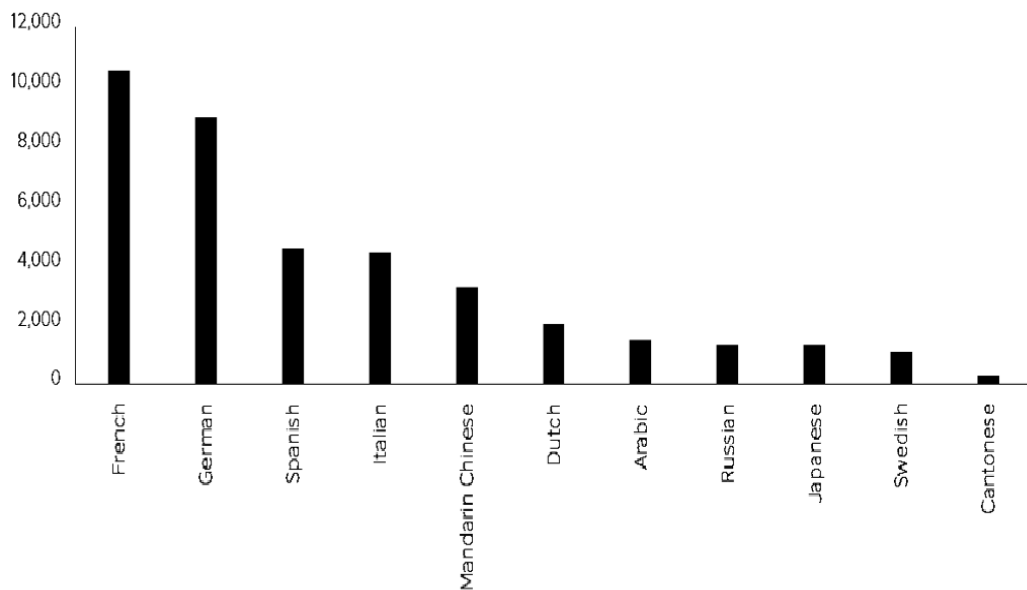
Figure 11. UK job vacancies with a language requirement

(Adzuna, as cited by the British Council, 2017 p. 18)

In summarising this section, a mixed picture is painted of the need for Chinese language at this present time and into the near future. On the one hand, the trade deficit requires action, but this has to be set against those that the United Kingdom has with other countries round the world where the trading language is already English or where particular languages in its devolved school systems are firmly established, namely European examples.

4.5 Chinese language and culture in UK education systems

Having looked at the Australian education system as a global comparator, the focus of the latter part of the review returns to the United Kingdom and the discussion of languages within national curricula at the primary school level in its 4 devolved systems. Given the earlier emphasis on linking language and culture together, it is necessary to look first at the broad policy structures and then to consider the promotion and delivery of CLC within these. It should be noted that the discussion of Scottish policy and practice will be dealt with separately in Section 4.6 to conclude the review and provide the contextual basis of this study.

4.51 UK language policies impacting on Chinese in primary schools

In common with the other parts of the UK, the English school curriculum has been in a state of flux over the past 5-10 years in implementing a revised version of its own national curriculum. In primary schools, foreign languages did not previously have statutory status, but this changed in September 2014 at Key Stage 2 only (ages 7-11) with the phased implementation of advice previously published by the Department of Education (DfE) (2013a). A consultation report on the proposed changes, DfE (2013b), showed overwhelming support from schools for the earlier introduction of languages, but also concerns regarding issues such as time allocations within the curriculum, the competency levels of classroom teachers to deliver the linguistic demands of programmes of study and progression into secondary schools. Currently, primary schools are able to deliver a very broad range of languages to reflect traditional patterns, those spoken in their community as well as Latin or Ancient Greek, which are promoted as giving pupils an understanding of the roots of English and many of the 'Romance languages' such as French, Spanish and Italian.

Responses from primary schools to the 2019 Language Trends survey, (Tinsley, 2019a), showed that almost all were teaching a language, but that the number doing so at Key Stage 1 (ages 5-7), where languages are not compulsory, had continued to decline and stood at 33%. French is taught in three-quarters of schools with Spanish on the increase at 29%. There has not been any noticeable change in other languages offered and these tend to be taught in a small number of schools with Chinese reported as being available in 5% of these.

The CI at the Institute of Education, University College London, is tasked with the promotion of the language across England (UCL, 2017a). In Tinsley's 2014 national report on the teaching of Chinese across the UK, she points to a very mixed picture of practice in both primary and secondary schools and offers a range of challenges for each of the 4 nations. Those summarised below are those identified for the English system and potentially influence practices in primary classrooms:

- lack of a coordinated national strategy to support the development of the teaching of Chinese;
- insufficient numbers of teachers with the required levels of linguistic and pedagogic competence;
- policies related to teacher training failing to recognise issues in availability of school placements or models of practicum;
- issues of cost and practicality in the provision of training at both primary and secondary level;
- lack of job opportunities due to the small numbers of pupils learning Chinese; and
- curriculum pressures e.g. time constraints impacting pupils' progression in the language. (Tinsley & Board, 2014)

Traditionally, the Welsh education system has been very closely aligned to that of England in both structure, content and assessment. However, since the advent of devolved government in 1999, the Welsh assembly has sought to gradually diverge from these shared roots. National policy relating to the teaching of languages in Welsh schools has gone through a series of advances and setbacks. Languages other

than English and Welsh were not a statutory part of the primary curriculum and this, according to the Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency (2017) means the time given over to the compulsory learning of languages across the whole of schooling is shorter in Wales than any other part of Europe with the exception of Northern Ireland. This may not seem a very fair comparison because all Welsh pupils are, in fact, learning two languages at primary school. Curriculum advice from the Department for Children, Education, Lifelong Learning and Skills (DCELLS) (2016) outlines that pupils are taught Welsh alongside English at Key Stage 2 (ages 7-11) or English alongside Welsh, if in Welsh-medium settings, reflecting the official status of both languages in the country. However, a framework also exists at this stage to recognise and support those schools already delivering foreign languages and encourages others to incorporate an additional language, but without specifying any curriculum model or allocation of time, DCELLS (2008), thus showing some parallels to the Scottish L3 context. When specifically considering Chinese, Tinsley and Board (2014), recognised that its teaching is at a very early stage and dependent on support from the Confucius Institute of Wales with reference to strategic challenges impacting on the primary curriculum including:

- the effect of policy on the level of uptake of languages by pupils;
- limited periods of compulsory language education affecting progress in language learning;
- the priority given to Welsh means that space for other languages is restricted;
- no provision for the training of teachers of Chinese, thus a dependence on external provision;
- limited budgets to support schools with any language initiatives or teacher training; and
- general public attitudes that question the need for other languages.

A new version of the curriculum will come into force in 2022 (Welsh Government, n.d.) where other languages will be included at the primary phase. Schools will have the freedom to choose which to introduce in addition to Welsh and English at key 'progression steps' where pupils will 'experience' languages from age 8-11 and build in more depth from age 11 onwards. Tinsley's (2019b) report into language trends

indicated an increase in the number of primary schools surveyed provisioning the teaching of a foreign language, a rise from 28% to 39% with European languages dominating and others seen in 10% of schools. There was no indication of the level relating to Chinese, but with some reference to Mandarin input in survey comments. Ahead of 2022, survey schools were asked which languages they are preparing to teach with no school reporting Chinese but with 8 out of 94 indicating they would like to teach it in the future. There are currently 3 CIs in Wales with the University of Cardiff involved in initiatives to promote CLC through the 'Wales China Schools Project' (Cardiff University, Confucius Institute, n.d.).

The evolution of policy in Northern Ireland mirrors changes elsewhere in the UK. Within 'The Revised Primary Curriculum in Northern Ireland' (CCEA, 2007), there was no requirement to learn other languages at primary level despite earlier positive evaluations of projects prior to 2007 as costs were seen as prohibitive. The current primary curriculum is designed and structured to promote integrated and cross-curricular themes under six 'areas of learning' some of which group together particular subjects. It is hoped that languages will be embedded within these areas, but this is not a compulsory requirement.   The Confucius Institute for Northern Ireland at the University of Ulster has eight Confucius Classrooms (one primary and seven secondary based) and is seen as a major opportunity to develop the teaching of CLC at all levels. Tinsley and Board (2014) identified these factors as impacting on Chinese in Northern Ireland:

- no compulsory language learning appearing into Key Stage 3;
- languages that are non-European have to be offered in addition to, rather than instead of, European languages, thus impacting on time allocations in the curriculum; and
- as for Wales, no provision for the training of teachers of Chinese, thus a dependence on external provision.

A review of primary languages in Northern Ireland (Jones et al., 2017) gathered information on a languages programme run in its schools. In relation to Chinese, schools reported assistance from the CI and awareness of its growing popularity, but

felt it too challenging in terms of staff expertise and a dependence on external agencies as a means of supporting CLC. Also, pupil preferences for Chinese were small in comparison to traditional European offerings. A recent report (British Council, 2019) indicated that of 218 primary schools in the province, 55% of respondents, were teaching a modern language with Spanish the most popular followed by French. Around 13% (28 schools) reported teaching Chinese.

4.52   The promotion of Chinese culture within language teaching

Given the issues faced in policies promoting Chinese in school systems across the UK, it has been difficult to find specific examples of studies that relate to the discussion of Chinese culture in particular. However, those that do exist can be split into two groups: practices in mainstream schooling and provision in Chinese community schools.

4.521   Chinese culture within mainstream primary schools

As a relative newcomer to language curricula in the UK, the research base into Chinese as a whole is a small, but growing one that tends to look at the effectiveness of language practices or integrates the discussion of cultural elements to a much lesser extent. At one level, general evidence of activities in primaries can be found on school websites or those related to CIs. Whilst a variety of practices undoubtedly exist, these can often echo the earlier phrase from Kramsch (1991) and Hua and Wei (2014a) in reference to the '4 Fs—food, fairs, folklore and statistical facts'. As discussed in global contexts, this approach has come about from a mix of tensions and interpretations of roles, guidance centrally and locally, individuals' levels of understanding and the continuation of teaching models, which though well intentioned, can reinforce outdated cultural messages.

The fullest review of practices in the UK to date is that carried out by Tinsley and Board (2014). As part of their study, they visited a range of independent and state schools highlighting a mixed message of practice where, in some schools and classes, culture was dealt with superficially through taster sessions and workshops that seemed to emphasise Chinese as being fun, rather than providing bases for

further learning. The authors picked up on effective practices where culture was integrated naturally into lessons and allowed pupils to compare old and modern aspects of Chinese life through cross-curricular learning that moved pupils' thinking beyond simplistic notions. They also found schools that were trying to motivate pupils to continue their interest through the Youth Chinese Test (YCT) to build on early motivations and progress towards a recognised standard. One message that came through in successful schools is that CLC should be accessible and promoted as something for all pupils regardless of socio-economic backgrounds and abilities.

As part of Hua and Wei's (2014a) study into the promotion of CLC, they interviewed 6 pupils between the ages of 12- 14 studying Chinese in a Confucius Classroom environment in their secondary school and, as mentioned earlier, their experiences of culture were often limited. Some of the reasoning behind this came through in the discussion with Hanban teachers being quite modest in their approach and trying to build a picture of Chinese culture round what pupils wanted to learn, for example Kung Fu, Tai Chi, Chinese food and a reinforcement of facts about China punctuated with Chinese traditional literature. The authors also highlight times in their wider research where the teacher's own knowledge base and explanation of cultural concepts was incorrect or based on half-truths and where methodology was limited or replicated the rote learning practices used in China. Hua and Wei also explored the notion of the teacher as a mediator of culture in deciding what was taught and how. This could display teachers' limited understanding or view of what is regarded as authentic or inauthentic culture, an issue which they pick up on in their previous work, Hua and Wei (2014b). The general summary of their limited research was that the culture being delivered was basic and often reinforced stereotypes. The tensions here are also picked up by Diamantidaki and Carruthers (2018) in their view of how CLC could be used to promote intercultural understanding to support primary schools in England. Culture behind the language highlights a tension between 'ethno-culture' focusing on aspects of daily life accessible to young people or 'enrichment culture' looking at a country's development broadly through its geography, history, art etc. The authors are sceptical of the value of these

approaches and instead look to promote culture as ever changing and where links across cultures are constantly being made.

Trapp (2014, 2019), in conjunction with the Institute of Education of University College London, has produced programmes of study to support the teaching of CLC at Key Stage 2 level (ages 7- 11) in English primary schools. The latest version has been designed to enhance the cultural dimension to support teachers with limited background knowledge of the language and country through a cross- curricular approach. The framework is based on a range of key places in China with materials exploring history and culture. Through the programme, pupils would be exposed to a range of Chinese cities beyond Beijing and Shanghai and these are attempts to widen the perception of China, its people and customs. However, there are currently no published reviews of how its practice and delivery have been received in schools to date and, therefore, it is difficult to see how accessible or meaningful these materials are to the 'non-specialist'. The balance still seems to be on the traditional historical baselines and the earlier criticisms made by Hua and Wei (2014a) may have application here in the overemphasis on the '4Fs'. At another level in its presentation, it condenses a lot of content into numerous ideas that could support superficial or disjointed coverage depending on teachers' motivations, confidence and the time available to look at themes in a meaningful way. Diamantidaki and Carruthers (2018) are supportive of the programme as a way of highlighting the distinctiveness of Chinese culture and its links to the present, especially through discussion of pupils' own cultures as a means of promoting intercultural awareness. Though both authors make points consistent with those within Chapters 2-3, it should also be noted that they are working in the university promoting the programme in English schools, so a wider analysis and discussion of these resources is required for more objectivity.

4.522   Chinese community language schools

Though the picture of culture as part of wider CLC practices in the mainstream system is somewhat patchy, it is complemented by research into Chinese community language provision throughout the UK, which operates on a voluntary basis for

pupils to attend to learn about their heritage language and culture and serves parental demand. Those teaching in such establishments are most often British Chinese or visiting Chinese nationals and this education context builds further on Section 3.13 where tensions in British and Chinese identity were initially discussed.

Wei and Hua (2011) draw upon structured observations and interviews within Chinese community schools in London and Newcastle where a number of findings arose related to culture. The first of these concerned the relationship between standard Chinese and the other dialects spoken in these communities and was seen as hierarchical, even beyond the recognition of the main role of Putonghua (standard Chinese). Pupils' parents spoke of other dialects being looked down on or frowned upon when compared with the 'standard' language ideology. As such there was very little support for these languages in community schools, but a recognition of the need for standard usage to reflect China's growing presence globally and parents were keen for their children to attend these schools as a result. However, interviews with younger people showed that they constructed their identities differently and that being multicultural and belonging to different groups, socially and linguistically, was something they valued in terms of their communities, rather than identities imposed upon them by those outside/ inside of these.

Ganassin (2019) considers how Chinese culture is understood by both pupils and teachers in two Chinese community schools and tensions behind why learning culture was important were seen in their different expectations. Both groups identified the limitations of the materials being offered in terms of textbook content and design, which originated in China and often ill-suited to the needs of foreign learners. Teachers often viewed their role as the transmission of a sense of Chinese morality through the exploration of fables and legends, whereas pupils were looking for the use of culture in real life experiences to which they could relate and see the value and, as a result, became dissatisfied with their learning. Pupils did report, however, to be interested in activities relating back to their family histories and self-identity. Of interest to this study, Ganassin links to the earlier discussion of Holliday's (1999) small culture paradigm and the tensions arising from the 'big

culture' agenda of these schools. She feels there is further room to explore the context of Chinese community schooling to analyse the individual and collective narratives in order to better understand how these come together to create the image and understanding of the shared culture.

When linking back to Hua and Wei's (2014a) study on CIs, there was also a group of participants who attended these as Chinese heritage background learners and some interesting dynamics arose again in the relationship between pupils and teachers. Both authors feel that CIs are unaware of the context and concerns of local Chinese communities in largely ignoring other dialects used at home and local contexts by the promotion of Mandarin as *'the'* language of China. Examples were seen when pupils writing in traditional characters, used in contexts such as Hong Kong and Taiwan, were told that this was wrong or where the teachers' interpretation of traditions or language created an Othering effect on these learners. Hua and Wei frame this debate in terms of who has the 'legitimacy of representation' over what should be deemed as being authentically Chinese, those born and brought up in China or those preserving it outside of the country as in immigrant communities, thus exposing conflicts between linguistic, ethnic, national and global identity.

In Scotland, attention is paid to some similar underlying themes by Hancock (2012, 2019) in his exploration of community schools within and outwith the specifics of CLC. His recent 2019 work challenges the progress made towards some of the stated goals behind the 1+2 policy (Scottish Government, 2012a). This explicitly recognises the potential for community languages and their capacity to assist and inform mainstream provision and practices, but that a lack of joined up thinking and links across different educational groups is hampering progress. Though such provision has existed for some time, the untapped expertise of those working in these environments has largely gone unnoticed in languages such as Chinese, but also Urdu, Polish and Arabic. Greater involvement by community groups would better reflect the 'localness' of language provision encouraged by 1+2 policy, avoiding these being seen by others as 'fringe' activities and inferior in status to traditional European languages that still predominate provision. Ultimately, such connections

would celebrate diversity in languages and the wider achievements of pupils attending these schools. Some of Hancock's earlier work (2012) considers the pedagogy used in Chinese community schools and cites Wei and Wu's (2010) description of 'mundane' practices in these contexts, often caused by individual teachers' mindsets and a reliance on textbook syllabi as discussed earlier in this section. However, he challenges this view by discussing observations of literacy pedagogy that skilfully tried to encourage investigative and collaborative activity in the exploration of Chinese in ways that recognised both the specific demands of the language and the need to engage Scottish pupils. Hancock feels that the criticisms of CLC practices in these schools, as opposed to mainstream settings, is unfair given the different ways in which these operate and are resourced, often depending upon community expertise rather than a supply of qualified and experienced staff. He also highlights how some of the practices that can be frowned upon e.g. traditional/ rote learning are still in evidence elsewhere in Scottish schools, for example in similar whole class approaches to the teaching of phonics in primary settings.

4.53   Perspectives of Hanban teachers working in UK schools

As highlighted in Section 4.2, practices in UK mainstream schools are heavily dependent on resource assistance from CIs and particular reference was made to the role of 'Hanban teachers' working in schools to support language and culture. Given their central role, discussion of their contributions should be seen as essential to understanding the realities of the situation regarding the promotion of CLC in UK schools, though there are studies of such teachers' experiences in a range of other global contexts (Li & Du, 2014; Moloney & Xu, 2012; Zhou & Li, 2015). Though the studies referred to below are small-scale in nature and based primarily in the context of secondary schooling, these give useful insights into Hanban teachers' perceptions of, and attitudes towards, teaching in UK classrooms.

4.531   Roles and responsibilities

Studies highlight the strong and varied motivations of Hanban groups to come abroad to work in terms of their degree backgrounds, teaching experiences, interests in culture, desire for personal and professional growth. Indeed, the perception of

acting as educational ambassadors for China and setting high expectations for themselves was one demonstration of this commitment (Lu et al., 2019; Ye & Edwards, 2018).

One theme that comes through in the literature is the conflicted expectations of others on these teachers and their own sense of professional self. Xiang (2019) reports that, at one level, her interviewees were fully aware of the language expectations set by Hanban. These often centred on achieving exposure of the language to as many learners as possible, but this group felt frustration about the realism of this given the local circumstances in their schools that were more focused on getting pupils through their own national curriculum for examination purposes, often in small numbers. This issue was also highlighted in the need to evidence their performance and development to both their schools and Hanban. This was often hampered by procedure surrounding issues such as pupil/ parental permission to include photographs and use samples of work in newsletters and weblinks, which were not always received and therefore questions about representing the normality or totality of their classroom practices were raised. Pérez-Milans (2015) gives examples where Hanban teachers were left to deal with CLC at only certain parts of the school day such as lunch times or after school clubs where the focus was on 'fun culture'. Xiang (2019) sees such work as impacting on their professional identity when also discussing the sort of teaching activities assigned by the 'employed' teachers of Chinese in schools. Her interviewees felt relegated to minor roles with limited teaching, marginalised and underused and met some resistance from the teacher in charge when trying to (re)negotiate fuller involvement.

Lu et al. (2019) identify differences in the philosophy of pedagogy between China and the UK also impacting on roles. In their study, the group discussed how their previous experiences gave rise to tensions in the aims behind the learning process in terms of instilling knowledge or simply gaining interest. This is picked up also by Ye and Edwards (2017) in the need to cater for exam groups and others more interested in CLC and compounded by a wide range of ages, pupil motivations, types of learning for different age groups etc. Yang (2019) links this to reflections on how

Hanban teachers' experiences of schooling in China had influenced their ability to be creative and adaptable to the sort of learning environment found in many UK classes. Some believed this characteristic was innate and would be hard to change in a short period. Others viewed their role to be solid models of good practice and to demonstrate the language in authentic ways, but felt this was undermined by the approach taken in UK schools in terms of basics such as reliance on Pinyin, which some thought was counterproductive. Yang reports that Chinese teachers with a traditional view of learning tended to simply expect their students to be motivated and hardworking by virtue, rather than see the teacher adapt practices to gain their interest and enthusiasm. Overall, this created self-doubt and a feeling that teaching was being delivered in a way that did not truly satisfy anyone in school settings.

4.532 Classroom 'culture shock'

In each of the studies, visiting teachers spoke about some of the everyday issues they faced in relation to settling into life in the UK through examples that would be common for most new arrivals. Though these cultural adjustments are important to recognise, it was at the classroom level where cultural shock was most profound.

Ye and Edwards (2018) discuss how most were accustomed to a 'one size fits all model' to deal with the particular demands of big classes in China. Visiting teachers found managing the dynamics in UK classrooms a challenge given the focus on varied learning environments with different approaches used to engage, maintain interest and support pupils who required further help. Pérez-Milans (2015) reports that lessons tended to closely mirror the predominant teaching methods in China such as traditional rote learning around key vocabulary and sentences linked to textbooks. As a result, pupils complained about the style of teaching adopted as too mechanical, lacking in engagement and that expectations of lesson content were pitched too high. Xiang (2019) offers some explanation for this in her group's concerns regarding the lack of resources available, either from Hanban or in the host schools. As such, these teachers had to resort to developing their own, which created time pressures and additional stresses, especially when trying to establish themselves in a new school context. Some were concerned about 'losing face', a Chinese trait,

when appearing to be underprepared, which often was a result of a lack of guidance from those responsible for Hanban teachers in schools. These tensions are further highlighted by Lu et al. (2019) when considering the management of classes, which proved a challenge for many visiting teachers who commented upon the higher levels of pupil autonomy in the class and the difficulties in maintaining interest and issues in engagement levels as a result. Reflecting on education back in China, the group felt British schools were too tolerant of bad behaviour, but felt unprepared to deal with this and looked to their mentors for advice.

Catering for pupils with additional support needs (ASN) created two levels of response as highlighted by Ye and Edwards (2018) and Lu et al. (2019). The groups in both studies commented on UK education as much more developed in this area than in China. Many interviewees felt they struggled with ASN as an aspect not well understood in their home country and they had very limited/ no experience of their own upon which to draw. There was a need to better understand some of the structures in operation in schools to support pupils with needs and one example of this centred round the use of teaching assistants.   Hanban teachers were not sure how best to work with these staff and were not given much advice, therefore, there was a general lack of understanding, which often meant the use of assistants was wasted. However, Ye and Edwards reported that these teachers felt they had learned a lot from seeing ASN practices, realising that a traditional approach needed adaptation to suit the context of UK classes, but were unsure of how best to achieve this.

Ye and Edwards (2018) pick up further on their interviewees' frustration at the lack of access to, and interaction with, local teachers and identify possible reasons for their limited social networking caused by language barriers, heavy workloads, and problems of acceptance by the local teaching community. Lu et al. (2019) highlight examples where UK colleagues showed willingness to converse, but some Chinese teachers could not fully understand what they were talking about due to a lack of background knowledge, for instance about local popular culture. They had few opportunities to collaborate with local teachers, which made it difficult to build close

relationships and noticed that British people generally had a higher demand for personal privacy and space than in China. This made socialising more difficult to navigate and, despite many individual kindnesses shown, the group felt unable to establish deeper friendships.

4.533 Professional development needs

Tinsley and Board (2014), Xiang (2019) and Ye (2017) give some context to the prior professional background of these visiting teachers, which comprises normally of new graduates with degree backgrounds in the teaching of Chinese as a foreign language, Chinese literature and English and who have been working as qualified teachers for at least 2 years, though some had no teaching experience at all. All 3 authors point out the crucial role that the Hanban organisation has in selecting and preparing these teachers for their time abroad, though some of this is done in conjunction with the British Council. These two main pre-departure programmes focus on the aspects of second language learning, which Tinsley estimates at around 200 hours, and includes an introduction to the context of the UK education system. Part of this training is also to establish the standards of Chinese teaching expected by Hanban given its role in the setting and maintenance of these and, as discussed, this is the source of some of the tensions that exist in practice. This training is also topped up with some from the host Confucius Institute during their time in the UK. Tinsley and Board (2014) highlight that it is not just the training of Hanban teachers that is required, but of those schools and teachers supporting their work as there have been cases where they have been underused or assigned to low level activity, as was recognised earlier.

Lu et al. (2019) indicate that pre-training was often regarded as ineffective or insufficient and the focus too general or theoretical to be of any practical use e.g. grammar/ teaching points that were way beyond the level of pupils being taught. The most beneficial help was hearing advice from others who had been abroad. Major challenges reported by the Hanban teachers included a lack of English proficiency and intercultural awareness, limited awareness of knowledge about the local education system and the need for more effective pedagogical methods and

classroom management skills to work with disruptive pupils or those with special educational needs as discussed. Ye and Edwards (2018) highlight that prior training of much of their group was based on standard British accents and the lack of exposure to a wider language base beyond this caused difficulties in their understanding when actually working in the UK. Xiang (2019) mentions that key teaching points were distilled into routines that were learned by rote with no real understanding and which participants felt were at odds again with the notion of the actual type of lesson delivery expected of them.

The support offered in the UK, either by schools or by CIs was patchy for the most part. Xiang (2019) reports on good practice where proper remits were established early on and measured support in place in terms of modelling and collaboration, which saw clear boundaries set and, in the best examples, included input from Chinese teachers who had themselves experienced these difficulties in the past. In their 2019 study, Lu et al. picked up on the need for support to transition to a British way of teaching and a real need for professional development at a local level in areas such as classroom management, resource design and lesson delivery to help engage pupils and, at times, visiting teachers were being asked to teach without any proper induction. Their group reported that opportunities to attend professional development were limited, or indeed not offered due to Hanban teachers being regarded as 'outwith' the school in which they were based.

4.6   Language learning in the Scottish primary education system

As intended in the funnelled approach taken to this literature review, its final section looks to examine the Scottish curriculum which underpins the context for this study. Scotland has had a compulsory element of foreign languages within its primary curriculum for around 25 years with European languages traditionally being delivered at primaries 6 and 7 (ages 10-12). This area has never sat easily in the curriculum for a number of reasons including disagreement over the rationale for its actual inclusion in the primary sector, ambivalent teacher attitudes towards the subject, curricular space, a lack of pupil voice in such studies and not least training issues for staff who are generalist in nature, but many of whom feel that a language

requires specialist skills (Crichton & Templeton 2010; Legg, 2013; Tierney & Gallastegi, 2011). According to the Scottish social research trends, Scottish Government (2016), there is widespread public support of the need to learn a language with 89% of adults surveyed in agreement. However, of this group, 63% indicated the need for this to be retained as western European languages, with only 9% expressing a preference for Asian languages with Chinese (Mandarin) representing 6% within this.

4.61   Scottish languages policies impacting on Chinese

In the implementation stages of Scotland's 'Curriculum for Excellence' (CfE), which took place from 2009 onwards, the then national education body, Learning Teaching Scotland (LTS) subsequently Education Scotland, gave specific direction on languages content for primary pupils at Second level only (ages 9-11). However, supplementary advice acknowledged that some schools had opted to begin language learning earlier than this (LTS, 2009a, 2009b). This position has changed in the past few years and curricular outcomes are now available for first and second level provision, covering primaries 2-7 (ages 6-12), but not yet inclusive of early level expectations for primary 1 (Education Scotland, 2015a). This shift in the place of languages coincided with the period of development and funding to meet the goals of 'Language Learning in Scotland: A 1+2 Approach,' Scottish Government (2012a). As explained in Section 1.2, this document is effectively national policy and gives 35 recommendations to be addressed ahead of full implementation in all schools by August 2021, delayed from the initial 2020 date. It is essentially in this period of Scottish education that Chinese has appeared in the primary school system to any meaningful extent.

At the heart of this strategy is the commitment to give every child an entitlement to learn two languages in addition to English: one from the age of 5 through to the end of the BGE i.e. Secondary 3 and a second introduced from no later than age 10. ADES (2016) presented self-reported data by Scottish local authorities highlighting that, in terms of languages taught, French is the most common L2 in Scottish primary schools by a factor of over nine, ahead of Spanish, Gaelic, Italian and Chinese.

Additionally, Spanish is the most common L3 followed by French, German, Gaelic, Chinese and Italian. These trends for both European languages and Chinese are broadly similar in the other UK contexts discussed in Section 4.51 and largely a legacy of the training programmes offered to teachers over the past 25 years. Though recognised as an ambitious plan to promote languages, the few studies and reports available over the period of trialling and implementation of the 1+2 policy in primaries highlight enthusiasm for the idea of better provision. However, there are worries about meaningful and deep learning, proper progression in experiences, teachers' proficiency levels, patchy training or the need for on-going support and views that either neglect or detach the cultural dimension of language learning (ADES, 2016; Education Scotland, 2014b; Valdera-Gil & Crichton, 2018).

In common with the rest of the UK, and other global systems, the CfE outcomes are framed as statements that belong to all languages with some examples given below to illustrate this:

- I can deliver a brief presentation on a familiar topic using familiar language and phrases (listening and talking, Second level).
- I can work on my own or with others to demonstrate my understanding of words and phrases containing familiar language (reading, First level).
- I use my knowledge about language and success criteria to help me, and I can check that I have written familiar words and phrases accurately (writing, Second level). (Education Scotland, 2015a, p. 4, 5 and 8 respectively)

As has been discussed in Section 1.1, the specific demands of Chinese as a language are well known and have led other anglophone countries, such as Australia, to produce curriculum advice that specifically relates to given languages, as seen for Chinese in Section 4.31. In comparison, for teachers in Scottish primary schools who are generalist in nature, the outcomes given above, which are in the context of L2 practices, could be seen as vague and unhelpful, a complaint often levelled across the CfE curriculum as a whole (Priestley & Minty, 2012). The Scottish system depends on local authorities and schools themselves teasing out content from the broader outcomes or on external agencies such as Scotland's National Centre for

Languages (SCILT) to offer curriculum support. However, a scattered model such as this has the potential to easily create many different types of practice that would be open to interpretation in terms of depth, breadth and progression. This links back to the concerns raised by teachers in the previous Scottish studies mentioned and in advice from Tinsley and Board (2014) which will be revisited in the final sub-section.

4.611 L3 language policy in primary schools

As highlighted by ADES (2016), Chinese is seen more readily as a third language in Scottish primary schools, at present, and this relates to recommendation 4 within the 1+2 policy (Scottish Government, 2012a). This commitment to the formal, planned exposure of pupils to two languages is unique to policy in Scotland within the UK at present. Though not explicitly referenced within the document, the 1+2 policy mentions related research supporting the learning of more than one language as helping to develop existing literacy skills, giving pupils a greater awareness of the workings and interconnectedness of languages and the potential to build confidence when meeting new languages in the future. In marked contrast to the second language (L2) which must be provided progressively from ages 5-16, the choice of the third (L3) offers maximum flexibility as there is to be no hierarchy, meaning that community languages can also be considered, thus offering a space for Chinese. However, existing CfE outcomes, as discussed earlier, relate to L2 and schools have asked for further clarification of what this may look like, recognising that uncertainty exists surrounding the content and delivery of the L3. The current guidance from Education Scotland (2019) has been updated from versions in 2015 and 2017 and is applicable across all languages offered, which again raises issues about recognising the challenges that exist for CLC. Some broad goals for practices include:

- Ideally, the same L3 will be experienced by pupils across P5-7, taught by a teacher trained in primary language learning.
- There is no expectation that the L3 taught in the primary school would be offered by the associated secondary school, but that local primaries should try to adhere to the same L3.

- Progression is to be seen in the generic skills involved in learning a language e.g. key listening skills, the ability to use dual language dictionaries, skimming and scanning, presenting to an audience, seeing connections between languages and cultural awareness.
- Interdisciplinary approaches to learning are encouraged with the guidance identifying that, at its best, such work also promotes cultural understanding and contexts for meaningful use of languages.
- Different models of delivery can be used to meet the contexts of schools including:
  - o regular slots of input each week,
  - o taught in blocks over the year, but reinforced regularly in classroom routines,
  - o taught as part of interdisciplinary topics over a number of weeks where the L3 could change to match the theme, and
  - o drawing upon expertise available externally e.g. parents, students, visiting teachers from other countries, which again would allow the L3 to change each year.

The guidance recognises one of the central criticisms or concerns of progression and expectations of learning in regarding approaches which are imbalanced in terms of language and culture and result in rote learning of simple phrases with advice stating:

- The experience must be progressive. In other words, children will learn sufficient vocabulary and knowledge of the language to go beyond words and produce sentences.
- Children will continue to build on language learning skills. Examples include working out the meaning of a simple text by using strategies learned through literacy and through the study of L2, and using a bilingual dictionary effectively.
- They will learn to understand and use the language, building skills in talking, listening, reading and basic writing. (Education Scotland, 2019, p.6)

In the context of varied L3 models and the recognition of some of the unique features of Chinese discussed in this thesis, the stated aims could be seen as being inappropriate for the challenges of CLC. For example, in a short block of learning, to what extent are pupils expected to be able to read and write Chinese characters that would satisfy sentences? Given the many demands of Chinese, there are obvious training issues for school staff in the primary sector where ADES (2016) highlights that not all teachers have an ability to teach even one additional language and the notion of quality training, on-going support and sustainability of practices for 1+2 are echoed by Valdera Gil and Crichton (2018).

4.62   Chinese language and culture initiatives in Scottish primaries

The support for CLC in the Scottish system comes largely through the work of The Confucius Institute for Scotland's Schools (CISS), based at the University of Strathclyde, which is a national centre funded by the Scottish Government and Hanban organisation in a joint model as discussed earlier in Section 1.4. Based on the figures available, support received in 2019/ 20 was £678,000 (Scottish Government, 2019c) and $10,000 from Hanban to each Confucius Classroom (Lynch-Loitz, 2015). This funding supports the work of 47 Confucius classrooms spread across 21 based in primary schools, 22 in secondary schools and 4 specialist centres across 21 out of 32 Scottish local authorities. Approximately 53,513 Scottish pupils and 409 schools have been involved in CLC activity in 2018 (CISS, n.d.; Scottish Government, 2019c). The work of CISS has attracted attention from groups who claim that it projects Chinese soft power into schools in the ways discussed in Section 4.2 and who, more generally, tie this view into other criticisms of China in terms of its human rights record (Jakhar, 2019; Leask, 2018).

As for the UK as a whole, beyond CIs, school websites and grey literature from organisations such as the Scottish China Education Network, there is a very limited amount of actual formal/ academic research into the teaching of CLC in Scottish schools. CI annual/ bi-annual newsletters (CISS, 2017a, 2017b, 2018, 2019) do at least offer an insight into the sorts of activities taking place in schools under the umbrella of 'Chinese culture' and contain contributions by school staff, visiting

Hanban teachers and occasionally pupils. A simple analysis by this researcher of key learning presented in these over a 3-year period is offered below in table 10 and highlights activities that both reinforce and challenge some of the previous discussions in this chapter.

Table 10. An analysis of Chinese cultural activities in Scottish primary schools as reported in Confucius Institute newsletters, CISS (2017- 19)

	Chinese food	Chinese Festivals	Chinese Arts	Wider community engagement	Other activities
2019	3	2	10	6	3
2018	2	5	12	3	3
2017 (Winter)	1	2	5	1	1
2017 (Summer)	1	0	7	1	1

The activities offered in these primary schools are directed in different ways through Hanban teachers, school staff with an interest/ responsibility for languages in the school or through engagement with external agencies. A very clear majority of these activities promote Chinese traditional culture. Those related to Chinese food were sometimes tied to festivals the pupils had been learning about, for example New Year dumplings (jiaozi) and moon cake or used to contrast with those eaten in Scotland. Where festivals were covered, this revolved round Chinese New Year (Spring festival) and the mid-Autumn festival (Moon festival). Chinese Arts seem to form the mainstay of practices and examples included learning songs in Chinese, traditional dances or famous cultural stories and their connections to festivals. Some of the creative engagement was linked to the work of Scottish Opera which involved a number of schools in the production of the 'Dragon of the Western Sea'. Schools also mentioned knot making, lantern making, dragon dances and some limited comparisons with the cultural traditions of Scotland, for example kilt design. At this level, there would seem to be an emphasis of the sorts of cultural processes discussed earlier by authors such as Tan (2012), Watkins and Noble (2019), Wei and Hua (2014). However, there are schools that are balancing this approach with other types of activity. One such approach is to draw upon the skills of enquiry-based learning,

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which is framed to Scottish education priorities such as 'Developing the Young Workforce'. This aims to promote the development of skills which make pupils and schools aware of career options, required skills bases, collaboration with other agencies and the implementation of creative ideas in their community (Education Scotland, 2020b). Examples of this include pupils making podcasts to encourage others to learn a language, working with local organisations such as Scottish Heritage to get experiences of welcoming Chinese visitors to famous Scottish landmarks. Other schools have also tried to engage with wider audiences in their local community through visits to care homes and inviting parents into schools. Further engagement has included forming blogs with schools in China and using pupils from local secondaries who are in the country studying as part of scholarships as a means of learning about what life is like there. In some ways, this represents the use of Holliday's (1999, 2018a) 'small cultures' learning which considers the local community and its various groups to allow different cultural interactions to take place in a way that creates meaning for pupils. It is recognised that subjective content such as newsletters is essentially a snapshot of practice, which can easily be biased towards promoting positive views to support the goals of external agencies. However, what is presented highlights a spectrum of activity in Scottish primaries that has scope to either reinforce or challenge pupils' perceptions of China in the application of their cultural learning.

There is a dearth of studies relating to L3 practices in Chinese. However, in one example, (Education Scotland, 2014a), a group of Chinese postgraduate students studying at Edinburgh University worked with primary schools in East Lothian to deliver input to pupils at the early/ first level curriculum (Primary 1-2). This approach links back to earlier discussion of possible models of practice to support L3 provision that schools can draw upon. 24 students worked in 10 schools, with up to 3 based in each, though this pattern did not remain constant. Some prior training support was given to the Scottish teachers in these classes, the majority of whom had no experience or background in teaching Chinese. Some training in language pedagogy was also given to the visiting students who worked with classes once a week for 1-2 hours. In evaluating the project, the availability of students was

highlighted as an issue as lessons often took place at times that were not conducive to quality learning for young pupils e.g. late afternoon and the number of inputs received was variable due to students' other commitments. Cultural content included China and Chinese New Year with some language input offered, but there was a general lack of clarity in what would be covered over the programme as a whole and, as such, it is difficult to understand the overall coherence of the initiative. However, some of its successes highlighted the collaborative way in which the Scottish teachers and students worked together in managing lesson delivery and gaining pupils' interest. The variable number of inputs received by pupils meant that comments relating to language content were based on broad observations, but that some progress was seen in pupils understanding of Chinese culture and very simple language use. The challenges of the project were identified as related to the lack of time to jointly plan and deliver lessons and the notion of appropriate infant pedagogy where inputs should be little, but often, rather than single blocks of 1-2 hours, which was inappropriate for pupils' engagement and concentration. The ability of the Scottish teachers to carry on the work from week-to-week highlighted the demands of CLC and the need for more support as was also the case for the group of Chinese teachers. Overall, this early phase project within 1+2 replicates some of the on-going issues in delivery in primaries, especially in relation to its sustainability without the use of native speakers. Variations of this programme continued in subsequent years, but no further evaluation material is available and the University of Edinburgh has indicated that its involvement has come to an end.

Finally, reference is again made to the UK study of Chinese in schools by Tinsley and Board (2014) in terms of advice for Scottish educators:

- better co-ordination of the registered teachers to meet the demand for Chinese across Scotland;
- targeted support for pre-service and in-service training for primary teachers to boost knowledge and content in its delivery;
- quality support for Hanban teachers during their time in schools;
- smoother transition from primary to secondary to ensure pupils' progression in Chinese is maintained;

- fully publicising the avenues of support available to schools;
- targeting of resource where it will best build capacity;
- development and dissemination of appropriate teaching and learning strategies; and
- further consideration of the needs of L2 and L3 programmes of study.

4.7   Summary

At the outset of the literature review, it was highlighted that the process of its compilation was iterative in nature and it has benefited from this as a result. What has been achieved in this chapter is a broad ranging discussion of relevant and important themes. Some of these look back to Chapters 2 and 3, others link forward to future chapters examining the specifics of the practices observed in the promotion of CLC as an L3 in the Scottish primary schools involved in this study. Global contexts such as Australia, Singapore, Hong Kong and the other countries of the UK highlight societal views and curriculum practices that show both the opportunities and challenges that exist in the promotion of Chinese culture in school systems. Whilst of interest in their own right, their inclusion is also based on the reality that Scotland is still at the relatively early stages of its journey in promoting CLC. It is trying to do so within an ambitious policy narrative where the general implementation of 1+2 goals is uneven and still problematic, even ahead of the planned implementation in 2021. Though the research base for CLC across the UK is small, the review shows that other contexts e.g. community schools provide some insight into this from which Scotland could learn. However, there is an absence of any real engagement with Chinese as an L3, as highlighted in the review, that makes this research both necessary and timely. The questions that this study is based upon, given in Section 1.3, can be seen as deriving naturally from gaps in the literature as the understanding of what is happening in Scottish schools at present is largely not explored beyond what is available on CI websites. The discussion of practices and teachers' understanding is based exclusively on other UK settings, therefore looking at the views of Scottish and Hanban teachers in this context is important. Finally, there is a need to give space to the voices of Scottish pupils so that their experiences can be added to the limited base of classroom studies that exist. Therefore, the

potential for this research to build upon the existing base and to provide some unique insights is clearly apparent and necessary both in Scottish and broader contexts.

CHAPTER FIVE
METHODOLOGY

5.0   Introduction

Though briefly summarised in Section 1.7, this chapter will give a detailed account of the methodology employed to support the selected research questions examining the promotion of CLC as part of an L3 language experience in Scottish primary schools. It begins by justifying interpretivism as the research tradition or 'paradigm' underpinning this study. In recognising the strengths and limitations of mixed methods, this is firmly asserted as the most suitable approach in meeting the goals of this thesis with reference made to a particular design model from the many available in the related literature base. The broad range of participants in this research requires an overview of ethical considerations, purposive sampling and a detailed outline of the data gathering tools employed. These included a pupil online survey, adult focus group interviews and the use of 'Personal Construct Theory' (Kelly, 1955) as a means of informing the design of discussions exploring cultural understanding with children, the application of which is asserted as being novel with this age group and context. Ahead of Chapters 7-9, the process by which data was initially analysed and integrated for discussion will be explained, given the particular importance of the latter to mixed methods approaches. Throughout this chapter, the limitations that could have influenced the validity and reliability of the research have been brought to the fore alongside measures taken to counter these, thus enhancing its credibility.

5.1   Theoretical framework

Fundamental to the work of any researcher is their understanding and beliefs about the nature of reality (ontology), often framed as a debate between a singular truth, existing objectively and independently from human interference, or of multiple truths deriving from social interactions, contextual experiences and the individual interpretations of these (Bryman, 2016; Crotty, 1998; Ormston et al., 2014). This will influence the knowledge building process (epistemology) through questions and methods brought to bear on the examination of any problem or situation with

consideration of validity, reliability, subjectivity and generalisation (Cohen et al., 2013; Kivunja & Kuyini, 2017; Patton, 2014). The interactions between both constructs will not only influence the methods used, but act as key determinants in shaping the analysis of the work, not only by the researcher, but also by those in its wider audience applying their own knowledge of these foundations to guide their critique of a particular study. Authors such as Grix (2004) and Hay (2007) believe that ontology should be the initial consideration:

> Setting out clearly the relationship between what a researcher thinks can be researched (her ontological position) linking it to what we can know about it (her epistemological position) and how to go about acquiring it (her methodological approach), you can begin to comprehend the impact your ontological position can have on what and how you decide to study. (Grix, 2004, p. 68)

According to this view, once the ontological position has been identified, its epistemological partner should follow on naturally. For example, if reality is seen as a singular truth, then the position of the researcher will be objective and detached and approaches taken to ensure this. However, where there is a belief in multiple truths that are only gained through socially constructed models of knowledge, then the process of engagement will include involvement with participants in ways that illuminate their views and try to understand the ways in which contexts shape and inform these. Though seemingly a logical ordering of the relationship, an alternate view is offered by Bates and Jenkins (2007), who feel that this traditional approach could create a 'path dependency' which narrows the choices made by researchers and undermines development of their reflexive skills i.e. ability to draw upon a range of experiences and views to better understand how they learn and improve. This also hampers criticality which is central to a deeper understanding of ontology and epistemology when attempting to interrogate and challenge the norms of the various research traditions. This contested notion is supported further by Marsh and Furlong (2002) and Smith (1996) who also see both as deeply interconnected, rather than purely sequential in process terms. Over time, the various beliefs and views of the nature of reality and knowledge have coalesced into particular stances referred to as

'paradigms' and, as mentioned, it is usual for one to be adopted by the researcher to help others locate the theoretical underpinnings of their work, the broad features of its design and the means of its interpretation (Bergman, 2010).

5.11 Interpretivism as the chosen research paradigm

A number of paradigms can underpin research, but of focus to this study is the area of interpretivism. At its heart, interpretivism is the refutation of the existence of a single reality, commonly understood by all. It rejects the use of any permanent or unchanging approach to the existence of truth and understanding of knowledge. At its core, is the belief that realities exist in many different ways and are socially constructed to allow a truth to be created, rather than be discovered. As such, reality is therefore subjective and will depend upon its interaction between both the observer's and participant's worldviews, conceptual beliefs and background experiences as supported by Flick (2004) when stating, "Perception is seen not as a passive-receptive process of representation, but as an active constructive process of production" (p. 89). The on-going interaction of individuals with others in particular contexts is what gives meaning to any particular phenomenon. In bearing the preceding discussion in mind, it is useful to restate the questions for this study, first given in Section 1.3, to assess their interpretivist nature:

1. Within the selected schools, what type of L3 Chinese cultural programme has been experienced by pupils at the Primary 5-7 stages?
2. What similarities/ differences exist in how a 'Chinese cultural programme' is construed by those Scottish teachers and visiting Chinese teachers involved in the study?
3. How has an L3 cultural programme shaped the knowledge and attitudes of pupils at Primary 5-7 towards China, Chinese people and Chinese culture?

Linking back to earlier discussion, this study placed ontology as the initial consideration with the prime reason for this being that little was known, from the literature review in the Scottish context, about the actual classroom 'realities' surrounding CLC as part of pupils' L3 experiences and, therefore, this had to be the foundational starting point reflected in the framing of the first question. The

expectation here was that, although the same goal was shared by the participating schools, differing realities would emerge from the various models of practice in operation, curriculum timetabling and adaptations to suit their own needs depending on experience. Also, within schools, and across the P5-7 stages, no two classes would share the same dynamics such as size, gender balance etc. This links very clearly to the multiple realities which are central to an interpretivist view. The second question drew upon different adult groups in a bid to illustrate the tensions in understanding culture as a concept, which was argued throughout Section 2.1 as being highly contested and framed round models of analysis such as Holliday's (1999) notion of 'large and small cultures'. Asking both Scottish and Hanban teachers to reflect on this gave rise to multiple interpretations including reflection on their own views, beliefs and observations of the practices of others. There was a recognition of the contextual interplay between experience and setting, for example novice and expert knowledge and/ or the application of Chinese cultural input in a Scottish classroom and curriculum where participants could be seen as insiders/ outsiders depending on their roles. The final theme for investigation brought the experiences from the previous questions together to give voice to pupils in the research process, something which is lacking not only in the Scottish L3 research context at present, but more widely as highlighted by Wall (2012) and Wall et al. (2006, 2013). In considering pupils' realities, in terms of the impact on their knowledge and understanding of Chinese culture, these linked back to the adult perspectives on pupils' experiences to see where similarities, differences and tensions existed. Again, there were various layers to capturing this when considering views expressed within and across stages, including those with no experience of CLC contrasting against those with up to 4 years, with the general expectation of progression in pupils' understanding and depth of knowledge. With the exception of question one, undertaken through an online survey, the notion of a socially constructed truth, key to interpretivism, comes through very clearly in the design of discussion-based approaches, allowing meaningful interaction between participants where ideas were built upon, challenged and revisited.

Again, this researcher's own positionality in an interpretivist approach requires additional consideration. Section 1.6 highlighted that personal interests and motivations played a part in the study and that, as such, subjectivity may be seen as a factor impeding the use of data gathering tools or the interpretation of results. However, Willis (2007) argues that adopting interpretivism is to value subjectivity and that "interpretivists eschew the idea that objective research on human behaviour is possible" (p. 110). Grix (2004) echoes this in seeing the researcher as "inextricably part of the social reality being researched, i.e. they are not 'detached' from the subject they are studying" (p. 83). Any researcher looking at the same issue will offer an interpretation based on the evidence available and their previous knowledge of the topic, but is not, and should not, be arguing that their reality is the correct or only one to be acknowledged as exploring and explaining an issue. The role of the researcher in this study cannot be to discover a uniform truth about the teaching of CLC in primary schools which disregarded the context of how those involved are operating models of practice. Participants' values and their various experiences will be at the heart of a socially constructed reality seen from different angles by the range of groups involved and interpreted on the basis of the researcher's own knowledge base and understanding, informed by reading round the topic in the literature, practical experiences and observations. This level of new engagement with the area of L3 practices will help challenge some of the past thinking and observations of practice by the researcher and bring these up-to-date.

Therefore, based on the paradigmatic features already discussed, this study was seen as a sound fit against the goals of an interpretivist approach and planned with confidence on that basis.

5.12   Viewing mixed methods from an interpretivist stance

A research methodology draws on a range of techniques to create a process by which data can be collected, synthesised and evaluated through the use of tools best suited to its goals. An on-going debate centres round the use of quantitative and qualitative research methods and their respective contributions to research paradigms. Supporters of quantitative methods argue that these should strictly connect to

objectivist, positivist approaches given the goal of a singular reality understood in the same way by all, whilst others equate qualitative methods with constructivist, critical and interpretivist approaches that aim to understand and explore social phenomena in their related contexts. In this study, there were very clearly elements of both. At the quantitative level, the use of an online survey aimed to capture the bigger picture of practice in the promotion of CLC in schools with the ability to identify trends and patterns of significance. At the qualitative level, the use of interviews with different participants explored the views of those observing, leading or receiving cultural input. One logical solution, at first, may be to employ two paradigms to support the use of different methodologies as a counterbalance and respecting what each brings to the research situation a view recognised by Greene and Hall (2010), Teddlie and Tashakkori (2010) and sometimes referred to as 'dual-paradigm' or a 'dialectical stance'. McChesney and Aldridge (2019) see this route as problematic in the extreme as it will likely lead to a reductionist approach where the balance of one paradigm against another is lost and therefore again open to question. The answer to this problem in this study is to draw upon a mixed methods approach. Though various definitions exist, this is broadly accepted as the use of at least two different research methods, drawing upon both quantitative and qualitative approaches which involves the integration of the two datasets throughout the study or at least at key points in its analysis (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011; Greene, 2008; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2010).

McChesney and Aldridge (2019) further highlight potential reluctance on the part of mixed methods researchers to align their work to a particular paradigm given the difficulty in adhering to its principles, which can then open them to criticism from those who operate within the two traditional boundaries and who view this middle ground with suspicion due to a perceived lack of rigour and difficulties in balancing quantitative and qualitative approaches. Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004) offer a view of this which aligns well to that of this researcher, this study and its interpretivist foundation, "Although many research procedures or methods typically have been linked to certain paradigms, this linkage between research paradigms and research methods is neither sacrosanct nor necessary" (p. 15). McChesney and

Aldridge also argue against the notion of 'acceptable methods' and that it is for the researcher to "have both the freedom and the responsibility to select methods that suit their research aims and to enact these methods in ways that are consistent with their paradigmatic choices" (p. 226).

To some readers of this work, further questions may still arise round the efficacy of reconciling two different epistemologies through a mixed methods approach. This is recognised in related debates and a solution offered in the form of adopting what is sometimes referred to as a 'holistic stance' which employs a single paradigm approach, as in this study. This stance essentially argues that the use of any methodology is not bound simply by a theoretical perspective, but rather the ways in which these suit the researcher's purposes and goals (Crotty, 1998; Gray, 2013; Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Johnson & Onwuegbuzie 2004). McChesney and Aldridge (2019) highlight that this is by no means a new way of thinking in mixed methods educational research, but that due to funding pressures and policies, which tend to promote conservatism in research approaches, many studies have tended to adopt an overarching positivist view. Though those using interpretivism as the holistic stance are less prevalent, an argument for its underpinning of this particular study can still be made to show how its use informed all stages of the approach in a flexible way to support the aims of this research, rather than just reinforcing the traditional boundaries of particular paradigms.

The justification offered can begin by looking at the focus and aims of the study. Though a quantitative survey was adopted for use with 374 pupils across the P5-7 stages of 5 primary schools, the goal was not to provide an objective account or assessment of their classroom activities, but more to explore how pupils experienced, perceived and responded to the input they had received. This was seen in the large number of attitudinal type questions used, thus supporting the notion of 'understanding' as a key interpretivist principle. This point is further developed by considering the notion of 'context' as it was not features of practice applicable to all Scottish teachers that were of interest, rather to get a sense of what was going on in schools in relation to the teaching of CLC as an L3. This recognised that even within

the same school, classroom practices would be dependent on a number of different factors such as teacher confidence, pupil motivations, timetabling issues etc. Willis (2007) refers to this as 'the situatedness' of knowledge which runs contrary to generalisations made from positivist thinking.

In terms of data sources, these were based on the experiences and perceptions of the different participant groups. A more detached, objectivist approach would likely have focused on those on the outside of the L3 CLC initiative e.g. local authority leaders and policy makers. Instead, this study privileged those on the inside who were immersed in the actual experiences in terms of deliverers or recipients of input and accepted these as examples of their actual day-to-day reality, as was discussed as key to an interpretivist underpinning. The quantitative survey and qualitative interview data gathered did not stand alone from each other as would be expected in traditional approaches, rather linking and interweaving with each other. The survey gave the wider context to understanding the discussions and these affirmed or, at times, contradicted what was shown in the qualitative sphere. An interpretivist approach does not abandon the standards behind the use and rules of quantitative and qualitative methods, but accepts that these are open to subjectivity, rather than flawed notions of objectiveness and universality of application.

One final argument for the holistic stance was seen in the approach to data analysis, its interpretation and reporting. As is discussed in Section 5.8, the main tools used were thematic analysis, in line with advice from Braun and Clarke (2006, 2013), and Pallant (2016) when referring to statistical analysis through the use of SPSS. Analyses of both sets of data were carried out separately in an attempt to allow the researcher to 'listen to' each. These were then brought together to allow holistic interpretations of themes arising and joint conclusions. This echoed the earlier point about allowing the data to support, and potentially contradict, each other. However, key to the interpretivist analysis of each was recognition that these were the participants' constructs of their realities of CLC experiences and not generalised to form an objective truth about the nature of these or their strict application to all similar contexts.

More could be said to support a holistic stance, but what is taken from this discussion is that the chosen paradigm should unambiguously meet the needs and objectives of the study and, in the case of this research, an interpretivist approach chimed very well with the thinking and methodology behind mixed methods.

5.2 Mixed methods research design

In their synthesis of mixed methods literature, Heyvaert et al. (2013) identify 18 design possibilities for researchers to draw upon based on 3 dimensions: emphasis of approach, temporal orientation and integration of data. With regards to the first of these elements, 'emphasis of approach' considers the relative weighting or priority given to a study's use of qualitative and quantitative methods at each stage of the research process, recognising that there may be a slant to one or other or indeed that both may have equal value and influence. 'Temporal orientation' considers the timing of the data collection in terms of its implementation concurrently or sequentially. In the former, qualitative and quantitative data are gathered alongside each other and analysed in the same way. A sequential research design sees both data types collected in separate phases thus allowing the initial method to potentially inform the second one in terms of fine-tuning questions, testing for trends and patterns and to inform the analysis of the other. However, the sequencing of quantitative and qualitative phases can also go through several cycles within a single study. The third design element is the 'stage of integration' which may happen at various points or throughout the data collection, analysis and interpretation phase. This, according to Heyvaert et al., allows for an initial comparison of quantitative experiences and qualitative effect before combining both in results and analyses.

5.21 Outline of chosen mixed methods model

Based on advice from authors, the chosen design for this study is described within the relevant literature as an example of a 'concurrent triangulation model', as displayed below in figure 12 and adapted for this research (Anderson, 2016; Creswell et al., 2003; Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004; Plano Clark & Ivankova, 2016).
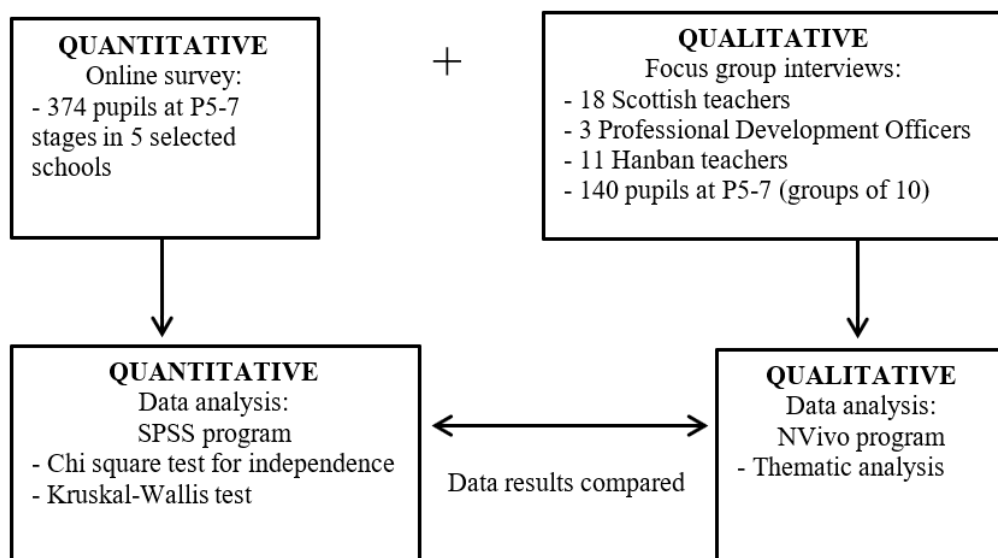
Figure 12.   Concurrent triangulation design for this study

Its use allows for the investigation of a broader set of questions, aligning well with the approach taken to this study and outlined earlier. The deficiencies of using only qualitative or quantitative approaches can be tackled through their integration whilst still recognising the strengths of each and, therefore, the quality of insight gained when interrogating the data will be higher than would be the case in using a single approach. When integrating both types, it is hoped that the conclusions reached and recommendations given will be more soundly based. Finally, the triangulation approach to gathering the data from different methods should impact positively on the validity of results, a factor discussed in Section 5.83. The goals of a triangulated approach are summed up well by Bryman (2007, p. 21) when stating:

> Mixed methods research is not necessarily just an exercise in testing findings
> against each other. Instead, it is about forging an overall or negotiated
> account of the findings that brings together both components of the
> conversation or debate.

The findings and discussion chapters will illustrate such an approach creating, for this study, a conversation that makes sense of the various data presented. The notion of triangulation 'in practice' will be revisited and further explored in Section 7.41.

The design of this study contained qualitative and quantitative data collection initially planned separately over the same 14-month period and spread over two school academic sessions from March 2018- May 2019. This offered flexibility to participants in terms of on-going events, staff availability and working round academic calendars, often different in the 3 local authorities chosen for inclusion. In terms of working with pupils, quantitative surveys were carried out at the points where the participating P5-7 classes had concluded their input for the year, which again was different across schools and, at times, within each. The same delimitation was applied when interviewing children with the exception of those groups of P5 pupils who had no experience of CLC and were interviewed prior to any input. There was more freedom in carrying out qualitative interviews with participating adults. In terms of efficiency, Scottish teachers were interviewed at 2 different points over the period when their schools were visited for work with pupils, though this changed at times due to on-going events. Given that PDOs were based in the same workplace as the researcher, arranging interview slots did not pose any problems. The main difficulty arose with the 2 groups of participating Hanban teachers based in Confucius Hubs in secondary schools around Scotland. In this case, both interviews were carried out through the Chinese social-media platform WeChat, where a discussion group was created to allow participants to take part at an agreed time suitable for all concerned.

Creswell (2014) cites Morris (1991, 2003) as the first author to specify notation often used in describing mixed methods design. Once such convention is the capitalisation or lower casing of each method to indicate their general weighting in the approach. When referring back to figure 12, it may seem the model adapted for this study was more biased towards qualitative approaches given the wider range of participants and therefore the annotation should be Quant + QUAL. However, the justification for a QUANT + QUAL approach is made on the basis that the survey data is providing the big picture overview then exemplified and revisited through the qualitative data and vice versa, therefore, the emphasis on both was seen as equal.

The results were initially analysed separately through the use of specific programs, SPSS for quantitative and NVivo for qualitative data, then brought together in an integrated way to allow validation of the findings generated through each method as discussed more fully in Section 5.83.

5.3   Participants

At the heart of this study's interpretivist approach was the goal of understanding the issue "through the eyes of the participants rather than the researcher" (Cohen et al., 2013, p. 21). Its setting was unambiguously educational with the goal of understanding the promotion of Chinese culture in Scottish classrooms and in doing so drew upon a wide range of key players selected on the basis of what each could bring to the issue as a whole. Participants were not arranged in a hierarchy given the vital interactions that took place within, between and across each group as their experiences were deeply intertwined in helping explore and explain the bigger picture of classroom practices. In summary, participant groups included:

- 18 Scottish teachers at the P5-7 stages of the primary observing/ assisting/ leading practices in the selected schools;
- 11 visiting Hanban teachers at the P5-7 stages of the primary leading/ assisting practices in schools outwith the study;
- 3 PDOs promoting/ assisting practices in Scottish schools more widely; and
- 140 pupils at the P5-7 stages in the selected schools receiving and reflecting upon their input either as new learners or those with more experience.

5.31   Ethical issues

The ethical approval, granted by the researcher's School ethics committee, noted that a series of consents would be sought in different ways depending upon the nature of participants. School based settings required a cascading approach with local authorities asked initially and their letters or emails of approval used to access school head teachers, who then negotiated access to classroom teachers and pupils interested in taking part in the study. Given that pupils at P5-7 were under the age of 16, parents required to be consulted also, but in recognition that both groups would need to give informed consent. For visiting Hanban teachers, the agreement of the

Director of their related CI, which is jointly responsible for their work in schools, was requested and then individual consent sought. The same process was required for PDOs working in the selected CI. At every stage, participant information sheets (PIS) were issued giving full background to the study and the notion of consent fully outlined. Three ethical issues have been selected for further discussion: working with children under the age of 16, participants of other nationalities for whom English was not their native language and finally individuals known to the researcher.

5.311 Working with children under 16 years old

Given the researcher's previous experience of working as a teacher, he had the knowledge and skills of how best to put the research aims across to pupils in ways that they would understand and that would support informed consent of children classed as minors. However, consideration of issues of positionality required him to think about the potential power dynamic between teacher and pupil that can often result in children agreeing to do things in an unquestioning fashion out of obligation or respect for authority roles. In doing so, he drew upon the research base and respected the view of Dockett and Perry (2011) who state, "rather than conducting research *on* children, many researchers now seek to engage *with* children in research" (p. 231). Once approval had been received from local authorities and head teachers, a visit was made to each of the 5 schools to discuss the research with pupils at P5-7 and to enter into a dialogue. A participant information sheet was distributed with language, format and design suitable for this audience, read along with pupils and further explained. It was made clear that this work contributed to their on-going curriculum, but that they still had the choice to say no at any stage and that non-participation would be respected. Copies of the PIS were left in schools for pupils to sign later in the day or week, rather than at the time the researcher was in the class in case undue pressure was felt in pleasing the visiting adult, something which the researcher was aware of from his own teaching experience. Helseth and Slettebø (2004), as cited by Phelan and Kinsella (2013), offers the view that written assent "can often give children a feeling of significance in the situation and empowers the feeling that their consent to participation really counts" (p. 303), chiming well with

this researcher's view. Given the age of the pupils, parents were also sent a PIS. Normal school policy was followed in each case in terms of consent which was on an 'opt out' basis meaning that parents had to state if they explicitly did not want their child to participate, rather than asking them to opt in, which could mean the loss of potential participants through parental inertia. Scottish education policy has particular procedures for working with pupils who are deemed as 'looked after children' and advice was sought from the head teacher with respect to the person/ organisation identified as having 'parental responsibilities', so that consent could be requested in similar ways to other children. Provisions within The Protection of Vulnerable Groups (Scotland) Act 2007 require all adults to be registered and have a PVG certificate which the researcher possessed already and, alongside continued registration with the General Teaching Council for Scotland, he was suitably placed to be in schools carrying out research. Being aware of all of these features meant that the researcher interacted with pupils in ways that had the trust and confidence of all those involved.

5.312 Working with Hanban teachers

As delivery of CLC in Scottish schools tends to rely almost exclusively upon the use of visiting teachers from China, this group's views were essential to this research. When considering their ethical participation in focus groups, account was taken of the literature on the use of interview techniques with people from other cultures and the resultant issues. Birks et al. (2007) identify three broad areas requiring attention:

- **researcher-specific factors:** interviewing skills, preparedness, knowledge of culture and environment, ability to establish rapport, communication skills and control of process (p. 151);
- **participant- specific factors:** level of anxiety**,** English proficiency**,** desire to please (p. 153); and
- **context-specific factors:** location, time, cultural norms and ethical processes (p. 154).

Many of these factors are issues of positionality and this researcher had to give considerable thought in how best to manage this in the study's design, particularly at this ethical stage in relation to:

- power dynamics in terms of the researcher working in a university setting that may have privileged his relationship with these interview groups given the value placed on education and educational hierarchies in Chinese society;
- language competence as a potential barrier that denies such participants the ability to use 'their voice' and, as a result, gives this researcher the power to interpret meaning;
- his own language ability to manage discussions and translations as already discussed in Section 1.6; and
- recognising the role of cultural insider/ outsider may impact on the groups' ability to feel at ease and to fully open up in discussions.

These are further highlighted by Woodin (2016), discussed below and picked up again in Section 5.63 which looks at the interview process with this group.

Two interviews took place with two different groups in two different school sessions over the 2018- 2019 period. For each, in discussion with the CI staff mentoring these teachers, time was made to meet with the group of around 40 after on-campus training events to outline the study, its aims and the expectations of participants. This approach was effective given that lots of questions were asked and, where confusion existed, help was immediately given by drawing upon the expertise readily available to explain/ discuss the issue in Chinese avoiding language competence acting as a barrier. Agreement to get involved was not sought on the day to avoid any notion of pressure, but rather copies of a translated version of the PIS were circulated to the group via email and anyone interested asked to get in touch. From some of the ethical issues raised in interviewing other cultures by authors such as Birks et al. (2007), Li and Du (2014), this study tried to examine the reality behind this in adopting a different approach to the two interviews that took place. The first was conducted in English with the researcher taking the lead and the second interview used a Chinese national instead, a student studying for a qualification to teach Chinese in schools at the researcher's university. This included teaching

placements and, as such, meant she was familiar with the Scottish educational context in which the work of these visiting teachers was being undertaken, but also relating to the group as fellow citizens. On both occasions, the questions for interview were the same, translated into English and Chinese and sent in advance of the group interviews. As Holmes et al. (2013) state, "If researchers are working monolingually, then the data would only tell a half-truth. Thus, the demands of researching multilingually are rewarded in the richness of insights generated." (p. 294). This approach also explored the power dynamic, an often-cited ethical issue in working with such groups, that considers whether or not participants' interactions with interviewers are impacted by their perceived status and interview role. The researcher may have had a higher status as the lead, as a teacher in a university and also as an outsider who is not Chinese. In contrast, the student assistant could be seen as more of an equal in the groups' eyes due to being a student teacher, working in schools in a similar way and also being a native speaker, which would potentially encourage and allow more openness and ease the process of explaining their experiences and thinking to another 'cultural insider'.

The tensions between these insider/ outsider roles are documented by Stewart and Shamdasani (2014) and in studies specifically involving Chinese researchers carrying out interviews (Hsieh, 2011; Katyal and King, 2014; Lee, 2016; Pavlenko, 2014). Some can be seen as common to any participant, for example, distrust of the interview process and its aims. However, there is also the potential for cultural beliefs to come to the fore including, in the Chinese context, though not exclusively, saving face, avoiding disagreement through mixed messages and the notion of how social and organisational hierarchies play in the minds of Chinese people. Katyal and King cite the work of Stening and Zhang (2011) who feel, "One's relative place in the hierarchy is closely correlated with one's power, who is included in the sample takes on greater significance than in more egalitarian societies" (p. 129). As a result, thought was also given in preparing the student interviewer to carry out this role by meeting beforehand to discuss the questions, how to handle potential follow ups and the noticing of points of interest, for example long pauses, confusion over questions or reluctance to answer particular themes. These issues are mentioned by Holmes et

al. (2013) and Stewart and Shamdasani who feel using a cultural insider creates more opportunity to sensitively pick up on such issues.

5.313 Working with known people

The final ethical consideration for this section related to people known to the researcher in his work context, such as those employed at the University of Strathclyde, Scottish and Hanban teachers in local authorities. They may potentially be recognisable to others outwith the university setting given the specific work of the CI selected for this study. As such, the involvement of these groups may make them feel uncomfortable when reflecting upon the practices of their employer and workplace. One factor within this is creating the space to talk as recognised in such contexts by Quinney et al. (2016) both in terms of the pragmatics involved, but also in what they refer to as the 'felt space'. This is how the chosen environment actually impacts consciously or subconsciously on the interviewee, adding a shifting power dynamic to the location's impact on the perception of roles for the participant, for example a familiar environment may allow more natural, easy flowing discussion. This tension was recognised at the outset for this group and framed within the relevant PIS in allowing any interview to be undertaken in a different place e.g. university premises or any suitable alternative suggested to avoid perceived workplace tensions. It was stressed that the views of those working in the CI would be anonymised and represent individuals only. At the writing up stage of this thesis, two of the participants in the focus groups were no longer working in this Institute. The wording of questions used in the interview process were non-leading and close to those asked of other groups, though a few related to the Institute directly in terms of observations of practices and its supporting role, but without making participants uncomfortable in talking about their work context. Attending to the impact of the researcher on the construction of knowledge is again an issue of positionality identified by Clancy (2013). At one level, the researcher was seen as an insider to these groups given his previous experience of working in schools as a teacher and with CI colleagues on past projects. This relationship created a shared set of experiences that allowed an easy flowing dynamic and exchange of ideas. The challenge here was to create a dialogue that recognised the participants' shared

experiences, but at the same time to encourage a level of critical reflection on this which challenged thinking and avoided a 'cosy consensus' round views of what was going on in schools. This required a careful framing of interview questions, which is explored in Sections 5.62 and 5.63.

5.4   Initial sampling considerations

Creswell (2014) stresses the two very different intentions of quantitative and qualitative sampling. With regards to the first of these, the aim is often to use procedures that would allow valid generalisations to be made to the wider population being studied through the use of statistical tests, whilst in the case of qualitative approaches, the goal is to consider the notion of transferability as explored by Maxwell and Chmiel (2014) and Schreier (2018) who see this as determining the potential to apply findings from one instance of a situation/ issue dependent upon the similarity of the contexts being studied.   Given the time available, financial resources and constraints in accessing participants in their various educational settings, this study employed sampling processes that were more interested in the notion of transference i.e. applying the findings of this study to other primary schools in Scotland using an L3 approach to CLC. This chimes well with the discussion in Section 1.4 of the study's potential significance within and outwith L3 practices and particular Chinese context.

The logical next step was to define the sampling approach taken within two broad areas, these being 'probability' and 'non-probability' methods. Whilst the former draws upon approaches to randomise the selection of participants, the latter gives scope to draw upon personal judgment when selecting them (Laerd, 2012). Though viewed negatively in purely quantitative studies, it is seen as a potential positive in gathering qualitative data where objectivity is not the key goal and therefore has application to studies of a mixed methods nature (Daniel, 2012; Schreier, 2018). When assessing the aims of this study, the sense of objectivity offered by probability sampling would run counter-intuitively against the earlier discussion of an interpretivist approach where the various realities in schools are of particular interest. Whilst it may be possible to make generalisations from the study sample to the wider

population, it was not a primary purpose. From a practical viewpoint, it was also likely to be less time-consuming and expensive, an issue already identified as considerations for this study given its part-time nature alongside the researcher's other work commitments.

A range of non-probability techniques exist (Laerd, 2012). However, the approach adopted in this study would be best deemed as 'purposeful sampling' as it sought to identify individuals best meeting the needs of particular questions. This was not, therefore, viewed as being a truly representative sample, a requirement of probability approaches and, as a result, judgments on the selection of participants lay firmly with the researcher and his understanding of the requirements of this study and the topic in general. This may be seen as researcher bias, as mentioned in Section 1.6 through the work of Allen (2017) and Roulston and Shelton (2015), thus a disadvantage of purposive samples when compared to probability techniques. However, this subjectivity again links back to the earlier discussion on the nature of interpretivist approaches adopted for this study. Daniel (2012) points out that in a purposive approach, the quality and considerations given to judgments are the deciding factors and it is only where selection is not based on clear criteria that issues will likely arise.

5.41   Sampling frame

Given the non-probability approach adopted in this study and its use of purposive sampling, Check and Schutt (2012) stress using a sampling frame as a means of listing the population from which a potential sample will be drawn. In relation to both the adult and pupil participants in this study, the initial task was to ascertain which local authorities had secondary schools with Confucius Hubs based on available information (CISS, n.d.). As such, this list then allowed all the primary schools connected to their associated secondary to be identified given the model of language development which normally sees secondary Hubs act as the base to support the allocated Hanban teacher(s) to work within their catchment area. At the stage of developing a proposal for ethical approval, there were Hubs in 22

secondaries out of 32 Scottish local authorities and a total of 119 associated
primaries where Chinese may have been taught as an L3.

Given the geographical spread of these across Scotland, purposive sampling
necessitated making the data gathering process both manageable and time efficient.
Once ethical approval had been granted for the study, the first layer of consent
required was that of the Local Authority through Directors of Education and 5 were
approached on the basis of their general location with good motorway access from
the central belt of Scotland. Of these initial 5 local authorities, only 3 had schools
willing to take part in the study. Again, in terms of scope and manageability, the
expectation was that 2 primary schools in each of the associated Hubs would get
involved to give a total of six, but only 5 committed to participation with others
citing issues such as staff absence, inspection processes or early stage L3 provision
as reasons for their reluctance to become involved.

5.42   Purposive 'homogenous' sampling for quantitative data
The main tool used was an online survey with its design and features to be outlined
in Section 5.5. One sampling approach is recognised in the literature as
'homogenous' with the goal of selecting participants who share particular
characteristics in common that are important in exploring a particular research
question or theme. Bryman (2016) and Daniel (2012) highlight that for this to work
the researcher must be knowledgeable about the population, the places where data
will be gathered and the conditions of the research, which due to the former teaching
background of this researcher and his understanding of the work of CIs was not an
issue. For example, in this study pupils selected for participation were all at the P5-7
stages of the primary school and experienced the delivery of Chinese culture through
a wider L3 CLC programme. These will have been delivered in the same way at
each stage within the selected schools, but it was recognised that there would be
some variation in delivery across the 5 schools involved. Laerd (2012) and Sharma
(2017) again bring the notion of subjectivity to the fore in that non-probability based
sampling can be difficult to defend in terms of its representativeness and that the
researcher's judgment can be called into question in the selection process. However,

in this case, the use of the sampling frame ensured that all the potential schools participating in the study shared the same underlying characteristics i.e. teaching CLC through an L3 model and supported by visiting Hanban teachers through the CI connected to this study. Given those criteria were at the forefront of the selection process, any school chosen would have been as equally suited to any other. Having 5 schools in agreement to participate, the number of pupils initially available for the online survey is shown in table 11 below.

Table 11. Number of pupils at P5-7 stages in each school (N = 1,116)

school	number of P5-7 classes	n
1	5	138
2	12	357
3	5	149
4	6	164
5	10	308

The aim of the online survey was to get a detailed overview of the pupils' experiences, which would then give the foundational context for the other research questions and methods. In considering factors such as day-to-day teaching, impacts on timetables and the researcher's availability, only one P5, one P6 and one P7 participated from each school with the selection of these classes left to head teachers to make without any intervention from the researcher. The exception to this was school 1 where only P6 and P7 classes were involved due to CLC being newly introduced in phases over the period of the data collection. A summary of participants is given in table 12 below.

Table 12. Participants by primary school stage (N= 374)

	P5		**P6**		**P7**	
	n	*%*	*n*	*%*	*n*	*%*
total	101	27	132	35.3	141	37.7
by school						
1	0	0	26	45.6	31	54.4
2	30	31.6	33	34.7	32	33.7
3	19	26.4	25	34.7	28	38.9
4	26	38.2	22	32.4	20	29.4
5	26	31.7	26	31.7	30	36.6

5.43   Purposive 'expert' sampling for qualitative data

A second type of purposive approach, known as 'expert sampling' was used with regards to the gathering of qualitative data (Laerd, 2012). The literature base recognises this to be of use when there is a particular lack of studies in the area of focus, a feature of this research, and to validate another sampling method which is the case in respect of this study where the views of pupils from the online survey were illustrated, expanded upon, confirmed or challenged by the qualitative data gathered. Patton (2018) and Trochim et al. (2015) recognise that this type of sampling requires the identification of key participants who have a knowledge base, level of experience, recognised expertise and perspectives that would be valued in reflecting upon past, present and future issues. The notion of who is classed as an 'expert' is open to interpretation and wider than just someone possessing a high-level skill and education in any area. In this particular study, the researcher was more interested in people as deliverers or recipients of sustained blocks of practices in relation to L3 CLC. Therefore, those immersed in this work included Hanban teachers who took the lead in lessons, Scottish teachers taking this forward in their own classrooms, PDOs reflecting on practice and encouraging improvements and, not least, those pupils across P5-7 who recounted their experiences on what they had learned, but whose voices can be neglected in the process. In the absence of existing research, these groups of participants embody the 'experts' most relevant to this study. Though the main disadvantage of expert sampling is that the opinions expressed may be open to interpretation and therefore contested, (Trochim et al.,

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2015), this is again part of the interpretive paradigm upon which this research is based, key to which is the critical reflection on participants' concepts of their reality through the shared experience of Chinese culture as L3 practices.

5.5   Quantitative tools used with pupil participants: on-line survey

As explained above, an online survey was carried out with 14 classes at the P5-7 stages across 5 schools giving 374 pupils in total. This was initially designed using the Qualtrics software program to give responses to two separate research questions: pupils' views on the rationale for learning CLC and secondly a means to offer insights into their actual classroom experiences. However, given the need to make the thesis manageable in scope, the question on its rationale was allowed to permeate across other areas of the study, rather than acting as a research question in its own right, which it may do in future publications. The online survey is given in Appendix A with additional discussion of its design structure below.

Section 1 had two purposes, questions 1- 4 acted as independent variables (school name, gender, stage and length of study of CLC as an L3) which would allow for deeper analysis of a number of other questions at the statistical stage, whilst questions 5-9 were linked to pupils' broader experiences of other languages and their school context.

Section 2 was originally designed to explore pupils' understanding of the rationale for the learning of Chinese, with questions related to claims made about the language e.g. confidence building, impact on the desire to study other languages etc., but as mentioned will no longer act as a separate question. Given the general lack of research that includes pupils' cultural experiences, the design of sections 3 and 4 of the survey drew upon the discussion of culture and cultural models as discussed in Sections 2.13 and 2.23 of the conceptual framework with links made to the thinking of Holliday (1999) where the discussion specifically referenced his 'large and small culture' model. The online survey was designed to explore the balance between these notions of culture with questions included to gain insights into:

- ▪ pupils' awareness of the geography of China;

- pupils' awareness of people in China and their daily lives;
- pupils' awareness of Chinese festivals;
- sources of information used to find out about China, Chinese people and their way of life;
- ways in which pupils were using their knowledge of Chinese culture both within/ outwith the school setting; and
- pupils' attitudes towards their future use and study of CLC.

5.51   Use of Likert-type questions

Due to its ease of application, Likert scales have become a widely used tool in educational research and also in clinical contexts to explore people's attitudes, values and judgments. Joshi et al. (2015) give guidance on the distinction between 'Likert scale' and 'Likert-type' questions, which is important for this study. Likert scales normally require questions to cluster around the same phenomenon being explored, each following on from and clearly related to the last question. Where required, this allows results to be later combined to give an overall judgement or score. Instead, this study makes use of 'Likert-type' questions seeking to obtain participants' feelings and attitudes towards a range of issues within the theme of CLC as an L3 to consider collective agreement, rather than individual judgment. The same response structure, however, is common to both in asking participants to offer a view on a given statement somewhere on a continuum, often containing 5-points of reference: strongly agree- agree- neutral- disagree- strongly disagree, but with 3, 7 and 9-point variants also possible. Mellor and Moore (2014), in their review of the use of Likert scales with children aged 6-13, note some means by which the approach has been adapted for younger age groups, including the use of symbols to express degrees of agreement, careful wording to avoid negative statements that would confuse children and lead them to responding the same way, or shortening the Likert scale from the standard 5 points to 3. This latter point poses issues of validity that require further discussion in the context of this research.

One issue concerns the use and positioning of the option of 'don't know' or 'neutral' and this has been explored by a range of authors (Chyung et al., 2017; Cohen et al.,

2013; Joshi et al., 2015; Nadler et al., 2015). Similar messages arise including that neutral creates a symmetric scale where the respondent is presented with balanced options on either side of the mid-point, as opposed to a scale without this and where they are forced to align with a positive/ negative view. However, the inclusion of a neutral/ don't know option can increase its selection, particularly when questions require greater cognitive effort, participants are unmotivated by the issue under consideration or when expressing a firm view may be seen as socially undesirable. In their review of research studies, Nadler et al. cite examples which illustrate the tensions, for example Worcester and Burns (1972) found that the removal of the mid-point increased use of the positive end of the scale, whereas an analysis by Velez and Ashworth (2007) found that there was an excessive shift away from negative responses to the midpoint when it is available. Nadler et al. also cite studies which explore how the mid-point is viewed by respondents in selected research (Baka et al., 2012; Lam et al., 2010) concluding that this can be interpreted in unintended ways and therefore its use has to be clear and explained to participants. In their work with children, Mellor and Moore (2014) note that it is more the concrete/ abstract nature of the ideas being discussed that posed problems, but also that children in the older age groups tended to make use of the neutral stance more often than younger children, which may indicate increasing levels of discernment.

For the purposes of this study, the scales used included a mid-point labelled as 'don't know/ neutral' with steps taken to fully explain this option with pupils prior to implementation. The second issue, the handling of neutral in the analysis of results, will be discussed in Section 5.811.

5.52   Issues in the piloting and completion of the on-line survey

Facilitating data gathering on a large scale posed issues for schools in terms of the time available, access to classes and potential disruption to timetables. All the schools involved in the study had dedicated computer suites, which allowed for whole classes, or at least large sub-groups, to be managed at the same time for efficiency. As agreed by Toepoel (2015), paper and pencil variants of the same approach would have been expensive to prepare for in terms of photocopying and

time inefficient, instead the use of an on-line link allowed quick access for all involved. The age, stage and motivation of pupils was an important factor given that, from the researcher's previous classroom experience, lots of worksheets requiring written answers can be off-putting to pupils, whereas online activity tends to be better received given the on-screen interaction. The automation of the activity meant that, once completed, survey data was immediately uploaded to Qualtrics and available to interrogate saving a very considerable amount of time in pulling all of this together. Qualtrics also allowed the flow of the survey to be controlled to assist follow ups that required pathways, for example, pupils being directed to particular questions dependent on whether a yes/ no response was given, the nuances of which may have been missed when handled in paper form. Flexibility in approach was also helpful in that the survey could be completed at the pace of different learners working through questions independently. As already discussed, the design of the survey with the predominance of Likert questions gave rise to a tool that was easily understood and assisted its flow.

A pilot of the online survey was seen as vital in testing its design for validity and reliability, as emphasised by Sue and Ritter (2012) and Toepoel (2015), and allowed amendments prior to final implementation. As mentioned already, for time reasons, and issues of participant balance across each of the 5 schools, only one class at each of the P5-7 stages was involved in the formal survey. Further to this, time was negotiated with one P5 class outwith the study in two of the schools to undertake the process as a pilot. In total 53 pupils took part with no limitations or special conditions attached to test the survey in a realistic way and to see how this youngest age group within the P5-7 sample would cope with the required reading level. In addressing the drawbacks of traditional surveys identified by Ball (2019), time was made for the researcher to be there with pupils to assist any difficulties. During the process, observations were made of pupils with notes taken on what was seen and how they reacted with the survey, its format and language. In anticipating issues, the 4 types of questions it contained: multiple choice, Likert-type, ranking and open-ended were demonstrated with further individual re-explanation given as needed. In linking back to the previous section, the selection of 'neutral/ don't know' was

discussed to avoid any confusion in meaning. In the few open-ended questions, pupils were given the option of writing in phrases rather than long sentences if that helped. All pupils were able to ask questions before getting underway and the survey completion timed with a general requirement of 20- 25 minutes for most. The researcher circulated to ensure help with reading/ understanding questions was available and that pupils were focused on their own survey, rather than looking to see what others were entering, as can be an issue in this age group. At the end of the session, pupils were involved in a plenary with the researcher to highlight any further issues in the completion of the survey that may have been missed. Some of the data gathered for each of the 4 types of questions was shown in examples to groups to identify any issues at first-hand so that these could be understood ahead of the final run.

During the actual data collection period within each school and its related classes, the researcher was still on hand to offer assistance to pupils and bore in mind the issues that arose from the piloting process, discussed above, as much as possible.

5.6   Qualitative tools used with adult participants: focus groups

As the sampling process indicated, focus group interviews were carried out with 3 sets of adult participants: Scottish teachers, Hanban teachers from China supporting the work of a CI and PDOs also attached to this same institute and assisting the promotion and development of CLC in schools.

5.61   Issues in the use and piloting of focus groups

The rationale and procedures for using this tool are well documented in the literature base on research methods (Bryman, 2016; Carey & Asbury, 2016; Creswell & Poth, 2016), highlighting that focus groups bring together people to discuss an issue or experience common to them, but with perspectives both similar and different. Often used at the initial stages of research, such groups help explore an issue to identify points of interest, patterns and assumptions, though can be seen as lacking depth when compared to individual interviewing techniques.

Carey and Asbury (2016) and Stewart and Shamdasani (2014) indicate that the size of focus groups is often a key determinant of their success and reference is made to table 13 below:

Table 13. Summary of adult participants in focus groups

Participant group	Total number of focus groups	Participants in round 1		Participants in round 2		Participants in both rounds
Scottish primary school teachers	10	School*		School		
		1	= 1 person	1	= 2 people	1
		2	= 2	2	= 3	2
		3	= 5	3	= 3	3
		4	= 5	4	= 4	4
		5	= 3	5	= 3	3
			($n = 16$)		($n = 15$)	($n = 13$)
Professional Development Officers	2	3		2		2
Hanban teachers	2	5		6		0

*It should be noted that focus groups were conducted on a school-by-school basis

Too many people within one group can lead to frustration in not being able to participate equally or respond to the points arising. There may also be issues for the interviewer in maintaining a moderating role and with any recording picking up on multiple voices speaking at any one time. A smaller group may mean that a bias is given to a particular perspective. However, in the context of this study, the exploratory views being offered in any of the group discussions were seen as valuable insights to a topic that was under-researched. In the case of school 1, which had just begun its journey in the teaching of CLC, it was felt that this perspective was a valuable one to include. Each CI in Scotland performs a particular role and thus the small group of PDOs was entirely appropriate as those tasked with the specific promotion of CLC in Scottish schools, thus the group size was bound by this reality. Finally, though participants may have agreed to be involved in larger numbers, issues on the day of interviews meant that, in some schools, numbers were not always stable and this was both accepted and respected to maintain goodwill.

Carey and Asbury (2016) and Stewart and Shamdasani (2014) highlight factors that encourage or stifle interaction and open debate on the different facets of an issue.

Focus groups can potentially give rise to 'group thinking' which can be prevalent when it comprises people from the same or broadly similar backgrounds or where hierarchies exist in the relationships when participants are known to each other. This requires the researcher to act as a skilled facilitator in encouraging dialogue through well-chosen follow ups and further probing. However, the management of latitude given to participants could also open up particular new and interesting insights or require a refocus on the question at hand as recognised in advice from Bryman (2016). Given the researcher's familiarity with the contexts of the adult participants and his experience of using focus groups in previous master's research, it was felt that there was not the same need to trial out the process beyond asking interested work colleagues to review proposed questions for clarity. With 14 interviews being undertaken in total, the need for any small changes would quickly be seen in the first few focus groups and then applied subsequently without affecting the overall integrity of the approach and no two occasions would be exactly the same given the dynamics of the situation.

5.62   Scottish teachers/ Professional Development Officers

Over the course of the data collection phase, 2 rounds of focus groups took place with Scottish teachers from the 5 schools involved and additionally with PDOs, which gave 12 sessions in total. The need for a protocol in conducting the interview is recommended by Creswell and Poth (2016) and, on each interview occasion, a short summary of the key points from the participant information sheet was given. Groups were reminded of agreement to have the discussion recorded in case of any last-minute issues and a request was made to bear in mind that everyone talking at once would make listening through the audio difficult at the later analysis stage. Each session began with a short personal statement from those involved outlining their specific experience or connection with the area of CLC. The first round of interviews was based on a set of questions given in Appendix B and, beyond small variations in wording to recognise the context of participants on the day of interviews, questions to both adult groups remained the same.

Focus group 1:

- questions 1- 5: views on the rationale behind learning CLC from adults'/ pupils' perspectives;
- questions 6- 12: adults' views on classroom cultural experiences and their pupils' views on China and Chinese people; and
- questions 12- 14: views on factors influencing/ hindering the future teaching of CLC.

The second set of questions used is given in Appendix C with additional focus on the cultural element.

Focus group 2:

- questions 1, 5-7: adults' views on pupils' cultural experiences and their perceptions of pupils' views on China and Chinese people;
- questions 2- 4: adults' knowledge/ views on Scottish and Chinese culture; and
- question 8: factors influencing/ hindering the future teaching of Chinese culture

In referring back to table 13, given that the second round of participants had the potential to include new individuals beyond those from round one, certain questions were asked again to reinforce or capture new experiences over the period from the first interview. By this stage, the researcher had visited each school on a few occasions and was no longer an 'unknown' to most in the groups. His knowledge of the area and of the comings and goings in primary schools meant he was able to relate to participants and put them at ease in a relaxed fashion. Carey and Asbury (2016) highlight the role of focus groups for exploring new topics and complex issues where little formal research has been done, therefore new questions were asked to allow both adult groups to consider the notion of culture from their experiences of those observing, assisting or leading the learning alongside the visiting teachers from China. The questions were framed to consider the Chinese/ Scottish dimension to this concept and to allow for some comparisons to be made. Finally, the current and on-going factors shaping teaching and learning contexts were revisited, but this time focused purely on the cultural element.

5.63   Hanban teachers

In adding to the earlier discussion on the ethical procedures of interviewing people from other cultures, Carey and Asbury (2016) stress the value of focus groups in helping understand concepts and ideas from the perspectives of those native to and immersed in the culture, rather than viewing these through the researcher's own lens, which may be unconsciously biased and lead to skewed interpretations.   As mentioned, focus group interviews were carried out with different sets of visiting Hanban teachers across the two school sessions covered by this study with the questions used on each occasion given in Appendix D.   When comparing these across the 3 adult groups, there was deliberate overlap to allow for the triangulation of ideas expressed.

Hanban teacher focus groups 1 and 2:
- questions 1- 4: rationale for learning CLC and pupils' general perceptions;
- questions 5- 10: views on pupils' cultural experiences, cultural viewpoints of Hanban teachers;
- questions 11- 13: support given/ available to assist CLC; and
- question 14: factors influencing/ hindering the future teaching of CLC.

As already mentioned, use was made of a Chinese national studying for a qualification in the teaching of Chinese in Scottish schools at the researcher's own university. Her experiences on the course and on placement gave her the appropriate understanding of the topic to assist the researcher in the creation and translation of the questions in Appendix D. Ahead of their initial use, these were shared in a group discussion with 4 native Chinese speakers, including the Chinese student, who all shared a knowledge of the Scottish education context to offer their thoughts on the clarity of the questions and to discuss any points of difference with the researcher. The final version only required very minor changes, reflecting more the structures of translation into Chinese, rather than the focus of the questions. It was the agreed view, at this stage, that these would be best shared with the focus groups ahead of any interview and this was actioned. As outlined in Section 5.312, the interview was managed in English by the researcher with an initial group of Hanban teachers and

the same process mirrored in a second round with the student using Chinese as the interview language with a different group later in the data gathering period.

5.7   Qualitative tools used with pupils: 'Personal Construct Theory'

One of the issues highlighted in examining the chosen area within the Scottish context is the lack of studies where pupil voice comes through to authenticate reported findings. The final research question was an attempt to consider the notion of impact through the direct involvement of pupils in exploring their journey of learning CLC across P5-7. The positioning of the researcher in his previous experiences and reading round the area would have allowed him to produce a set of questions in a standard interview format that could have been tightly based on perceived classroom practice and lesson content, simply seeking to affirm his own notions of this from issues highlighted in published reports, literature and observations of practice. Therefore, the key challenge for this element of the study was consideration of how to approach interviews in ways that did not overly direct pupils towards certain responses or close off ideas that may not have suited his subconscious view and fed into researcher bias (Bryman, 2016). As a result, the aim was to use an approach that was as open-ended as possible, but with the potential to compare, contrast and complement the data arising from the online survey and the responses from the different groups of adults.

In doing so, interviews drew, in large part, upon the use of 'Personal Construct Theory' (PCT) developed by Kelly (1955) and which, given its novel use in this context, requires additional background to be given. At its heart, PCT looks to explore the perceptions that people have of both their own personality and that of others. According to Kelly, individuals develop 'personal constructs' to process the world around them. These constructs develop over time to provide a means through which life can be experienced and events predicted and anticipated, building up to help us explain and understand why things happen. However, life experiences are not uniform and will be interpreted differently through the construct of an individual, for example, a situation that may seem enjoyable to one, may not be to someone else. Therefore, the same event will be open to multiple interpretations that require the

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individual to select the constructs that best suits them at a given point in time or when reflecting back on an experience to make sense of it. From this view, links between this and the interpretivist underpinning of the study, outlined in Sections 5.11 and 5.12, can be clearly seen when applying PCT.

Kelly (1955) viewed constructs as being bi-polar, made up of a pair of two views on opposing sides of a continuum e.g. kind/ unkind, helpful/ unhelpful with the construct being applied to make sense of the situation referred to as the 'emergent pole' and the other not being brought into play as the 'implicit' one. Therefore, it is logical to see that an individual's own set of constructs is particular to them and are the basis for differences between people. Kelly also refers to 11 'corollaries', the different ways in which we anticipate and shape events that can be observed or tested through scientific experiments, with his original thinking widely outlined and discussed (Butt, 2008; Reynolds, 2013; Winter, 2013). 'Commonality' and 'experience' are the two corollaries of particular interest in working with groups of P5-7 pupils in this study.

The key element to commonality is the process of learning that occurs about the individual and the given situation. The same behaviour can take place for both similar and different reasons based on particular viewpoints, but the constructs used to handle these situations are learned from others, including from the past where knowledge has been transferred to the present. The extent to which we have had experiences similar to others and can, therefore, understand their outlook is key to the thinking behind this corollary. With regards to the second example, each person's understanding of reality changes when experiencing inconsistencies between the anticipation and outcome of events. Therefore, through experience, amendments to constructs are made to create consistency in thinking. Kelly (1955) considers that confirming experiences are equally important to disconfirming ones as the latter give us the desire to get involved in a new situation and the former provide a safe learned space from which we may wish to move in future in order to revise what we understand to be true.

5.71   Application of 'Personal Construct Theory' to this study

In carrying out a review of literature, particular reference is made at this point to the only distinct application of Kelly's (1955) PCT found in an empirical setting relating to cultural understanding and the goals of this study by Burr et al. (2014). This explored perceptions of the Other in English and Italian people who had some direct, personal experience of each nation. As part of their research, Burr et al. drew upon Kelly's work in applying bipolar contrasts and comparisons in their questioning approach. This examined the perceived characteristics belonging to each national group, but also shared how they were viewed by the other and invited discussion on this. Such an approach was of value to this research study and helped inform its use with groups of pupils across primaries 5-7.

Over the course of the data gathering phase, 14 groups of 10 pupils each were interviewed to see how their classroom experiences had shaped their views of Chinese culture in terms of representations of the country, its people and their everyday lives. A summary of the range of participant groups is given in table 14 below.

Table 14. Summary of pupil participants in PCT discussions of Chinese culture

	P5 groups with no experience of CLC	P5 groups with one CLC input	P6 groups with two CLC inputs	P7 groups with three CLC inputs	Total number of pupils (1 group = 10)
School 1	1	0	0	0	n =10
School 2	1	1	1	1	n = 40
School 3	0	1	1	1	n = 30
School 4	0	1	1	0	n = 20
School 5	1	1	1	1	n = 40

As mentioned, school 1 was just beginning its introduction of CLC. Schools 3 and 4 were phasing in teaching programmes earlier than P5, but still in a L3 model, but the pupil groups selected matched the descriptions given in the table. In school 4, the

expected data gathering for P7 did not take place due to issues with CLC delivery for this stage at that point.

The questions used are given in Appendix E and were designed to mirror Kelly's (1955) notion of bi-polarity in that they asked pupils for their perceptions on life in China and were then revisited in relation to their own lives in Scotland/ UK, thus exemplifying the goals of the 'commonality corollary' discussed earlier. The 'experience corollary' was seen in the exploration of pupils at different stages of their L3 journey across P5-7, including pupils new to CLC and others with up to 3 rounds of input. To strengthen validity measures, pupils at the P5 stage who had not yet started their learning of CLC were added to the sample to allow a clear baseline to be created. It was hoped that an interesting dynamic of experience and its impact would be seen within and across the chosen stages of the primary school.

In reinforcing earlier points about researcher subjectivity and notions of bias creeping into the question design, the broad principles were to create examples that would not relate explicitly to classroom experiences and therefore lead pupils in a way that suited the researcher, but to ask questions that would require pupils to draw upon commonality and experience corollaries to talk openly about their views. From this, the researcher would be able to link back to the classroom data identified in the on-line survey and to comments in the adult focus groups. Beyond the planned questions, only 2 simple probes were used during the interview when needed: why do you think that and can you give an example? The handling of the discussion groups with pupils aimed to align with Kelly's (1955) 'credulous approach' where ideas were accepted at face value and none discarded due to non- conformity with the researcher's view, that of other pupils, inconsistences with published research or early themes arising from the rest of the data collection. This method was applied in PCT interview situations by Gucciardi et al. (2008) which they see essentially as a 'balancing act' ensuring the interviewer does not disregard anything that is mentioned by the individual because of any preconceptions they may hold, whilst maintaining objectivity through the rigid use of the selected questions and limited follow ups.

5.72   Issues in the piloting and use of 'Personal Construct Theory'

A pilot of the approach was arranged to test out its use in one of the project schools with a group of ten P7 pupils not involved in the formal data gathering. This group had 3 inputs of experience to draw upon over P5-7 and, therefore, the expectation was that they would have a lot to talk about. During the piloting, the discussion was recorded for later scrutiny and observations made on how pupils reacted to the process. The group spoke naturally and in detail, but the main issue came with regards to questions 7 and 8 relating to ways in which pupils would want to be more or less like Chinese people (see Appendix E). The answers tended to focus on non-personal attributes and reinforced comments from previous questions about lifestyles, giving a useful insight ahead of the actual interviews. The piloting process also highlighted the need to pick up on as many pupil insights as possible, but recognising and respecting that not all participants will necessarily want to engage or have something to say for all questions.

5.8   Data analysis, interpretation and integration

At this stage, it would seem sensible to revisit figure 12 below in order to link back to the earlier discussion on the mixed model operated in this study, which indicated a requirement to undertake the analysis of each data type separately.
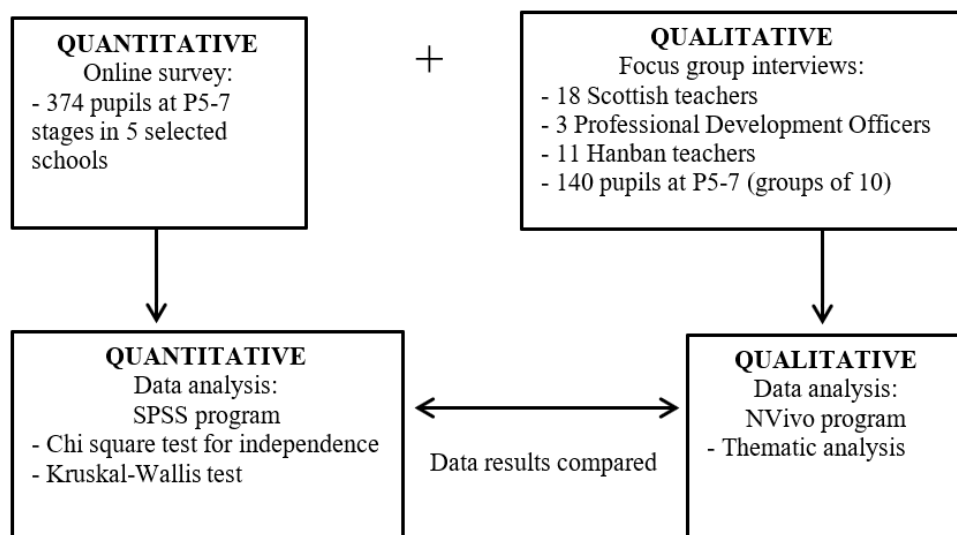
Figure 12 (repeated). Concurrent triangulation design for this study

5.81 Quantitative analysis using SPSS

As discussed, initial use was made of Qualtrics software to design the online survey for pupils at the P5-7 stages. In recognising this as a means of gathering the data together, rather than supporting its analysis, use was made of the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) and data exported from Qualtrics to this second program. At this point, a 'cleaning up' process was undertaken as supported by advice from the 6th edition SPSS manual, Pallant (2016), and essential to allowing future graphing and statistical analysis.

The completed data file contained pupils' responses to all questions, including those not taken forward into final discussion and analysis chapters given the tightened scope of the research questions. A second file was created to contain the data that would actually be interrogated with appropriate statistical tools available in SPSS. At the broadest level, graphs and tables displaying data across the sample helped illustrate the overall big picture of practice and pupils' experiences in the 5 selected schools, which could then be analysed in depth using selected statistical tests.

5.811 Analysis of Likert-type questions

Section 5.51 identified potential issues surrounding the inclusion/ exclusion of a middle value where it is administered in scales of odd numbered response categories. However, beyond recognition of the potential impact of neutral on response selection, no substantive evidence exists on the best way to deal with the issue when taken forward into the actual analysis stages in Chapters 7-9. At a simplistic level, there may seem a case for the removal of neutral results and to focus on the remaining categories as being definitive views. However, to do so would distort the results in the ways highlighted earlier by authors such as Chyung et al. (2017) and Cohen et al. (2013) and would be a gross disservice to those pupils who, for valid reasons, felt that the mid-point best represented their view. In recognising this unresolved tension, this study adheres to the advice from Nadler et al. (2015) that the interpretation of results and findings must be within clearly defined boundaries that are applied consistently in whatever approach is adopted. In this study, this issue is dealt with in 3 ways: simple interpretation, wider interpretation and statistical testing.

In addressing the first of these, the following terms will be used, as appropriate, whenever describing simple percentage data, regardless of question type:

- all: 100% of respondents
- almost all: 91% - 99%
- most: 75% - 90%
- majority: 50% - 74%
- minority: 15% - 49%
- a few: less than 15%

This scale is currently and widely used to report on aspects of education provision in Scotland, especially in the school inspection process when evaluating key indicators of performance (Education Scotland, 2020a) and, given the same context of this study, it therefore seems appropriate to apply its usage to the results.

However, there will be times when the individual points of the Likert scale (strongly agree – agree – neutral/don't know – disagree – strongly disagree) will be combined to allow wider analysis of the results and the terms used below have been defined by this researcher for use by readers of this particular study:

- positive view = SA/A combine to form the largest total, at least 40% of responses;
- ambivalent view = where N/DK forms the largest total, at least 40% of responses; or
- negative view = D/SD combine to form the largest total, at least 40% of responses.

With the potential for a balance across these 3 views, equating to 33.3% of the sample in each case, applying a 40% boundary to these will ensure a reasonable amount of difference exists across the groups as a whole. The final layer of analysis in terms of the use of specific statistical tools within SPSS is dealt with in the next section.

5.812   Chosen statistical tools: Chi-squares and Kruskal-Wallis tests

The sample of 374 pupils gave definite scope to explore the findings through the use of SPSS with the main determinant in the choice of tool linked to the distinction between 'parametric' and 'non-parametric' testing and their assumptions on the distribution of the participant population. Valid parametric testing requires the distribution of the chosen study population to be classed as normal when compared against the standard 'bell curve' where there is symmetry on both sides of the mean, the centre point average. This expectation is best seen in data that is continuous e.g. age, height etc., but there are often times when values cannot be assumed to be normally distributed including in situations where the outcome of variables is expressed as an ordinal or ranked in some way. When revisiting the on-line survey in Appendix A, the use of Likert-type, statement ordering and open-questions negated the use of parametric testing and instead drew upon non-parametric alternatives where distribution did not pose issues to the validity and reliability of results. However, this did not mean that such tools are not without assumptions and the researcher had to be clear about these ahead of their use.

Bearing this in mind, the two tools chosen for use in this study to examine the data for statistical significance i.e. the likelihood that a relationship between two or more variables was caused by something other than chance were the 'Chi-square for independence' and the 'Kruskal-Wallis test'. A Chi-square for independence is used when the researcher wishes to explore the relationship between two categorical variables with two or more categories in each (Pallant, 2016). The test compares the frequencies of cases that occur in each category with the expected values if no association were to be present. There is an additional assumption that any data cell should not contain a frequency less than 5, or often framed that at least 80% of cells should adhere to this. Instances of this will be identified and explored when the issue arises in Chapters 7-9. In this study, there was the possibility for Chi-squares to test relationships between independent variables, those influencing factors that are controlled i.e. gender (male/ female), participating school (anonymised to 1-5) and primary stage (P5, P6, P7), against the survey questions that could be impacted by

these controlled factors. The Likert-type questions in the on-line survey were tested in this way to examine the following statements:

- I understand why I am learning Chinese language and culture (CLC).
- Learning CLC has made me interested in people from other parts of the world.
- In my lessons, I have learned about the geography of China.
- In my lessons, I have learned about the people who live in China.
- In my lessons, I have learned about different festivals in China.
- In my lessons, I have learned about everyday life in China.
- In my lessons, I think there is a good balance between learning about old/ modern China
- I think people in China are very different to people in Scotland.
- I would like to continue learning CLC in secondary school.
- I think learning CLC is important for my future.

The advice from Pallant (2016) was followed in interpreting the Chi-square tests for independence in this study. Significance is often referred to as the 'p' value, short for the probability of observing any sample outcome if the variables are independent. An association between two variables is statistically significant if it is reported in the testing as less than 0.05, which equates to a 95% confidence level in the probability of the results.

The Kruskal- Wallis test, another non-parametric tool, explores whether any statistical significance exists between 2 or more groups of an independent variable related to a continuous or, as in this study, an ordinal dependent. Beyond these requirements, each participant should only belong to one group, and therefore counted only once in the statistical testing. The application of such testing to Likert-scale questions seems possible as highlighted by Barnette (2010), but more critically examined by Harpe (2015) and Lantz (2013) who identify and discuss disagreement between statisticians in how to interpret the notion of measurement rating scales such as Likert i.e. the extent to which these have metric properties and also to the earlier discussion of Likert-scale and Likert-type where the latter is measuring individual

items, rather than across a related group. In this study, statements clearly related to pupils' attitudes were tested to see if the length of study undertaken impacted upon these questions:

- I understand why I am learning Chinese language and culture (CLC).
- Learning CLC has made me interested in people from other parts of the world.
- I think people in China are very different to people in Scotland.
- I would like to continue learning CLC in secondary school.
- I think learning CLC is important for my future.

Again, advice from Pallant (2016) was followed in interpreting the Kruskal-Wallis tests for independence in this study. The general hypothesis being assumed and therefore tested, in each case, was that positive attitudes would increase in line with the length of study of CLC. The results from a Kruskal- Wallis test indicated a decision which either retained or rejected what is deemed the 'null hypothesis', a general statement or default position that there is no relationship between two measured phenomena or no association among groups. The significance is again measured as a $p.$ value in terms of results indicating less than 0.05.

Finally, statistical tools can be used to carry out multivariate analysis i.e. the ability to look at outcomes from more than one variable at a time to see how these might impact on each other. For example, in this study, rather than testing each variable against one factor on its own such as gender, stage, school etc. there would be an option to look at a wider combination of these. This can help in exploring the strength of relationships among various measurements and might result in combinations such as:

- What is the impact of gender and stage on pupils' understanding of why they are learning CLC?
- How do school and stage combine to influence pupils' interest in other cultures?

At one level, the decision to carry out such analysis rests with the researcher in terms of the perceived benefits to the research. In this study, an important factor is the

intended audiences for the results and how these might best be understood and engaged with by such groups. Over complexity of analysis may detract from the important core messages in the research that will be of more direct relevance to practitioners and organisations responding to the findings. However, even more importantly, such tests need to adhere to the required parameters for their use. Given that the data presented is non-parametric, Pallant (2016) identifies this as unsuited to the use of multi-variate tests as this requires the dependent variables to be continuous, which is not the case for those in this research that are mostly ordinal (as in Likert type questions) or nominal/ categorical (as in gender). Therefore, multi-variate testing has not been taken forward.

5.82 Qualitative analysis using a thematic approach and NVivo

The review of the qualitative data took place in line with the broad principles of thematic analysis as outlined by Braun and Clarke (2006). Though they view this approach as "essentially independent of theory and epistemology" (p. 78), it sat well with the broad goals of this interpretivist study which looked to examine the existence of various realities, a point echoed in the view of King (2004) who highlights that such a tool for analysis offers a coherent structure in pulling together views and perspectives in order to highlight emerging ideas and issues across a range of datasets. The original work of Braun and Clarke highlights a 6-step process of thematic analysis, which has formed the foundation for numerous qualitative studies, including aspects of this one. However, an important perspective is added from the work of Nowell et al. (2017) in outlining that the analysis has to include any assumptions informing this, as to do so allows others to evaluate issues surrounding validity and reliability. In outlining how a 'theme' is formed, this study took account of the parameters mentioned by Braun and Clarke (2006, 2013), including:

- A theme captures patterns of meaning and relevance across the data linking back to the research question.
- Its importance, when measured against another, is not based simply on the number of reported instances or to the amount of attention given in the data.
- It is the flexible use of the researcher's judgement, based on all the knowledge available that should determine a theme.

- The core of a theme need not always be based on quantifiable measures, but the extent to which it clearly links to the research question.

In addition, the wider notion of a trustworthy process was vital as stressed by Nowell et al. (2017) in terms of recognising measures taken to enhance credibility in ensuring the match between the views of the respondents' and the interpretation made by the researcher. This provides richness in the reporting of the data to assist 'transferability' for those wishing to judge its usefulness in other contexts, 'dependability' in displaying a logical and thorough approach and finally 'confirmability' in ensuring the interpretation of data clearly supported any findings and conclusions reached. These matters were taken into consideration when outlining the approach for this study.

In recent work, Braun and Clark (2019) highlight the practice in some disciplines e.g. sports science in their approaches to thematic analysis that encourages recognition of data saturation, i.e. a point at which no new themes should arise from the data. Both authors are sceptical of such thinking as it goes against their notion of reflexive practice and the inherent uncertainties that exist when interpreting data. In their view, to enter into the process of analysis with a preconceived judgment on how many themes might or should arise/ suffice acts against the goals of thematics in allowing these to come naturally from cycles of interpretation that build upon and refine each other. The process used in this study aligns well to their view.

The most widely recognised disadvantage of thematic analysis is its time-consuming nature and a decision was made to use another software program, NVivo, to assist the process in a timeous way. However, as with any software, only the tools of immediate use to the researcher in this context were used to any real purpose at the various stages outlined below and there are many new elements for future practice.

The 6-point process began with gaining full **familiarisation** with the data. This was achieved initially through the transcribing and summarising of the interviews undertaken with the different groups, the detail of which would support its credibility

when reporting on participants' experiences. This was a lengthy process requiring 3 rounds of listening to the recorded discussions and of reading over the material to ensure its accuracy. Any immediate ideas and quotations of potential significance for future use were colour-coded with additional memos created to keep track of any observations.

The work of Srivastava (2006) mirrors the challenges faced in translating data from one language to another where she was trying to manage how best to capture meaning in English from transcripts in Hindi. She emphasises that procedures must allow researchers to stay true to the voice of those they are claiming to represent, however at each level of drafting, it became clear to her that meaning was potentially being lost. Srivastava adopted an approach which she refers to as 'conceptual equivalence' which depended upon both cultural awareness and a full understanding of the contextual background in which these were being used. Additionally, help from monolingual and bilingual colleagues further clarified intended meaning.

As discussed in Section 1.6, the researcher in this study did not possess the required levels of language competence to manage the process in Chinese. Therefore, the second round of interviews, carried out by the Chinese student with the visiting Hanban teachers, required additional thought along these lines and 'conceptual equivalence' was the goal, rather than just use of literal translation as the means of staying true to participants' voices. Prior to the interviews, both the researcher and the student interviewer met to discuss the goals of the research, consider the questions and their meaning and the translation of these into Chinese as these were to be shared with the Hanban group prior to the interview taking place. This also gave the opportunity to reflect on how the previous group of Hanban teachers had managed the process in English to raise the student's understanding of issues to watch out for e.g. questions that seemed to pose challenges, elicited limited responses or general reluctance in terms of answers and she was encouraged to note similar patterns in her own interview. After this had taken place, both the researcher and the PGDE student met on 4 separate occasions where both listened to the recordings and translated these from Chinese into English with the researcher able to

question and explain the translation inconsistencies into English or the misunderstanding of terms and terminologies, thus ensuring the data's validity. The student was also able to reflect upon her own experience of being a Hanban teacher to help clarify contextual understanding as was the researcher in terms of working in primary schools and the primary curriculum. The rich data would allow the researcher to talk about the context of participants and their experiences in ways that would allow others to quickly recognise the context and engage in applying this thinking to their own. All interview transcripts and summaries were then imported into the NVivo program to ease future access with the expected security measures in place e.g. password controlled, anonymised data etc.

The NVivo software was very helpful in **generating initial coding** in that it allowed the highlighting of ideas on the transcripts to be clicked and dragged into nodes, a collection of references related to ideas, groups of which may later coalesce to become a theme. Castleberry and Nolan (2018, p. 809) give some useful question prompts in terms of engaging with the creation of nodes:

- What is happening in the text?
- Who are the actors and what are their roles?
- When is it happening? (preceding event, during event, reaction to event, etc.)
- Where is it happening?
- What are the explicit and implicit reasons why it is happening?
- How is it happening? (process or strategy)

At this point nodes were generated directly under the interview questions for each set of participants (see Appendix F), recognising that to simply think of these questions as themes at this stage would fall into the trap of poor analysis identified by Braun and Clark (2006). Full and equal consideration was given to each and every piece of coding, with none being favoured or disregarded in line with emergent thinking and often with the same data coded into 2-3 different nodes, thus highlighting the researcher's openness at this stage and maintenance of the credibility of what participants had actually reported. A distinct advantage of NVivo was that when these nodes were double clicked, all the related references were available and could

be traced back to the original source document reinforcing dependability through the creation of an audit trail. To do this process in another format e.g. Word, pen and paper approach would have been much more time consuming. At the conclusion of this stage, there were many ideas emerging from the interview questions. Appendix H highlights the top three issues arising from the nodes for each set of questions in the adult focus groups. In a similar vein for the pupil interviews, a heatmap was produced to further highlight the key issues arising from their interviews using the 'Personal Construct Theory' approach (see sample in Appendix G).

Searching for themes and **reviewing themes** was a lengthy process, but was assisted by the ability to electronically reorganise and merge nodes together into larger categories or organising themes. This helped address central issues underpinning a theme: identifying its boundaries, the notion of thick and thin data support and its general coherence as discussed by Castlebury and Nolan (2018). At this stage, across all the data, it became truly apparent that emerging themes had commonality across the 3 participant groups, thus supporting the triangulation to be discussed further in Section 5.83.

Next came the **defining and naming of themes** and to reinforce the dependability of the approach taken, further use was made of mind maps to visualise the data which helped show categories/ organising themes arising from the identification of the related nodes thus underpinning their support role as subthemes. The identified categories had very clear links back to ideas discussed in the conceptual framework and literature review round notions of culture, thus unambiguously linking previous chapters to the data analysis. Finally, these organising themes coalesced round three 'global themes' which acted as the titles for Chapter 7-9. The final diagrams produced (see Appendix I) would give clear structure to the **reporting stage** and are used in the introduction to each separate findings and discussion chapter (see Sections 7.0, 8.0 and 9.0). As a result of these processes, the various levels underpinning these diagrams are backed up by vivid data and description of participants' views and experiences, thus supporting 'confirmability' in ensuring the interpretation of data clearly underpins the conclusions reached in Chapter 10.

5.83   Integration of quantitative and qualitative datasets

Handling the integration of results is of particular importance in mixed methods studies and debated by authors such as Bryman (2007) who points out that studies often alleging to be mixed methods can often fall down at the point of integration and the goal, at this stage, should be to evidence quantitative and qualitative data shining a light on each other in ways that are equally beneficial. In this study, key to achieving this, was the extent to which the research questions were actually related or independent of each other. From its very outset, the layered approach taken to the 3 chosen questions allowed illumination to happen naturally in assisting the interchange of description and explanation. Again, when referring back to figure 12, the point of integration for a concurrent triangulation model is recognised by Anderson (2016) and Creswell et al. (2003) as the stage of data presentation and analysis and was the case for this research. In each of the introductions to Chapters 7-9, time is taken to explain the interplay between qualitative and quantitative datasets. There are times when numerical data will lead, giving the contextual foundation to classroom practices in an area not well researched and which the qualitative data can then help explain some of the issues arising. Chapter 8 can be seen differently in that it is entirely qualitative given the particular global theme being discussed relating to the notion of 'insiders, outsiders and inbetweeners' but still draws upon quantitative findings from other chapters. Overall, this evidences this researcher's commitment in ensuring purposeful integration of the data, rather than forcing this to occur.

Triangulation was key to this research design and was noted in Section 1.5 as a means of methodological validation in addressing potential weaknesses in the tools used. However, going forward into the next set of chapters data triangulation is the aim. Whitehead and Schneider (2007) view quality data triangulation as leading to 'completeness' in terms of a holistic understanding of the research questions and improved transparency and rigour through challenging and exploring patterns and findings as they emerge. In returning back to the interpretivist paradigm of this study, Hastings (2012) takes a somewhat different slant in that he considers the benefits of data triangulation not just in potentially verifying information but in its

capacity to provide multiple viewpoints on the phenomenon of interest and to amplify the perspectives of participants who have been overlooked. The challenge facing the researcher in the presentation and analysis phase of the thesis is aptly posed by Bryman (2007, p. 16) in stating:

> Researchers may feel that one set of data turns out to be more intrinsically interesting or striking than the other set. This tends to result in the more interesting findings— regardless of whether they are quantitative or qualitative ones—being given priority and structuring the writing up

The transparency underpinning this study goes some way to addressing this concern as did the goals of the interpretivist approach mentioned throughout this chapter. Creswell (2014) makes an important final point in identifying that there may be times when both sets of results highlight disagreement, but this was not viewed as a negative by this researcher, but rather as a means of identifying what further steps were required in future studies to address any deficiencies in the reporting of the findings and conclusions reached.

5.9   Summary

This chapter has outlined and justified the interpretivist framework underpinning the thinking behind the methodology outlined, recognising that there are challenges and opportunities in applying this to a mixed methods study. Suitable cognisance has been taken of the principles of mixed methods research design with reference to a concurrent triangulation model clearly relevant to the aims of this research. Given the complex make up of participants, due consideration has been given to ethical and sampling processes so that their involvement and treatment throughout the data gathering phase was transparent. Considerable space has been taken to outline the quantitative and qualitative tools used, the approach to their analysis and integration so as to set the foundations for subsequent chapters. Throughout this chapter limitations of subjectivity, validity and reliability have been identified and addressed to give confidence in the findings and conclusions that will be reached in due course. In linking back to Section 1.4, it is again asserted that the methodology employed in this study is novel for its use of 'Personal Construct Theory' (Kelly, 1955) within

empirical cultural studies, in placing pupils' voices at the centre of their experiences of Chinese culture in Scottish schools, hitherto unexamined, and finally in the way this research is triangulated to give a unique overall perspective of CLC as an L3 experience in the Scottish education context.

CHAPTER SIX

FURTHER CONTEXTUALISATION OF THE SELECTED SCHOOLS AND THEIR L3 PRACTICES IN CHINESE LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

6.0   Introduction

The most salient features of the participant sample have already been given in Section 5.4. However, ahead of the presentation and discussion of findings in Chapters 7- 9, it is necessary to give some fuller background to the schools that took part in the study and this is offered at the following levels:

- further school data (school and local authority area; pupils' gender and pupils' length of study of CLC as an L3);
- models of CLC L3 delivery in each school; and
- broader contextualisation of CLC experiences beyond the cultural element.

Information on the models of delivery in each school is important in understanding how these acted to give opportunities and constraints, which will be considered in future chapters as appropriate. In addition, some contextualisation outwith the cultural element is required given the joint focus on this alongside Chinese language which underpins the L3 approach in Scottish primary schools.

6.1   Additional school data

As outlined in table 15 below, the sample for this part of the study was drawn from 5 primary schools giving a total of 374 pupils, with two schools located in local authority areas 1 and 2 and only one school represented in area 3.

Table 15: Pupils by school and local authority (N = 374)

school	*n*	%	local authority
1	57	15.2	1
2	95	25.4	2
3	72	19.3	1
4	68	18.2	3
5	82	21.9	2

Table 16 indicates that the gender split was broadly balanced. When considering this by stage, more boys were found in P5 and P6 classes (53.5% and 54.5% respectively) and more girls at P7 (53.9%). Within individual establishments, schools 1 and 3 show a balance, but larger percentage differences existed in schools 2, 4 and 5 at 11.6%, 8.8% and 12.2% respectively.

Table 16: Pupils' gender by total, stage and school (N = 374)

	male		female	
	n	%	*n*	%
total	191	51.1	183	48.9
stage				
P5	54	53.5	47	46.5
P6	72	54.5	60	45.5
P7	65	46.1	76	53.9
school				
1	29	50.9	28	49.1
2	42	44.2	53	55.8
3	37	51.4	35	48.6
4	37	54.4	31	45.6
5	46	56.1	36	43.9

As was first mentioned in Section 1.2, Primary 5 is the minimum national starting point for L3 practices in Scottish schools. Overall, of the 14 classes which completed the on-line survey: four were sampled at P5 and five classes both at P6 and P7 as presented in table 12 (repeated) below.

Table 12 (repeated): Pupils by primary school stage (N = 374)

	P5		P6		P7	
	n	%	*n*	%	*n*	%
total	101	27	132	35.3	141	37.7
school						
1	0	0	26	45.6	31	54.4
2	30	31.6	33	34.7	32	33.7
3	19	26.4	25	34.7	28	38.9
4	26	38.2	22	32.4	20	29.4
5	26	31.7	26	31.7	30	36.6

The inclusion of length of study as an independent variable allowed certain longitudinal trends to be examined and provide for some testing of hypotheses. In this context, length of study is defined by one yearly 'input' of between 6-8 weeks on each occasion.

Table 17: Participants by length of study of CLC as an L3 (N = 374)

length of study	n	%
4 inputs (since P4)	64	17.1
3 inputs (largely since P5)	200	53.5
2 inputs (largely since P6)	97	25.9
1 input (new arrivals to schools)	11	2.9
other	2	0.5

The data above show that over half of those in the study (53.5%) have had 3 inputs and began learning CLC at P5. However, pupils from two of the sampled schools received input from Primary 4 onwards, as schools can introduce a third language earlier if the capacity to do so exists (Scottish Government, 2012a). Overall, this accounted for its smaller percentage of 17.1% of the overall population. The number receiving one input was very low at 2.9% and likely represented new pupils who had moved to participating schools at that point in the academic session in which the data was gathered. Responses in the category of other related to one child from a Chinese heritage background learning the language in the home context and another child who reported his/her study of a few months at a Chinese language school.

Figure 13 below considers participants' length of study of CLC on a school-by-school basis. Schools 2 and 5 were clearly following recommended national policy with almost all pupils starting their learning at P5 (96.8% and 96.3% respectively). Just over half (51.4%) of pupils in school 3 and 39.7% of pupils in school 4 began their study in P4 with the other classes in both schools involved in a phased introduction to CLC.
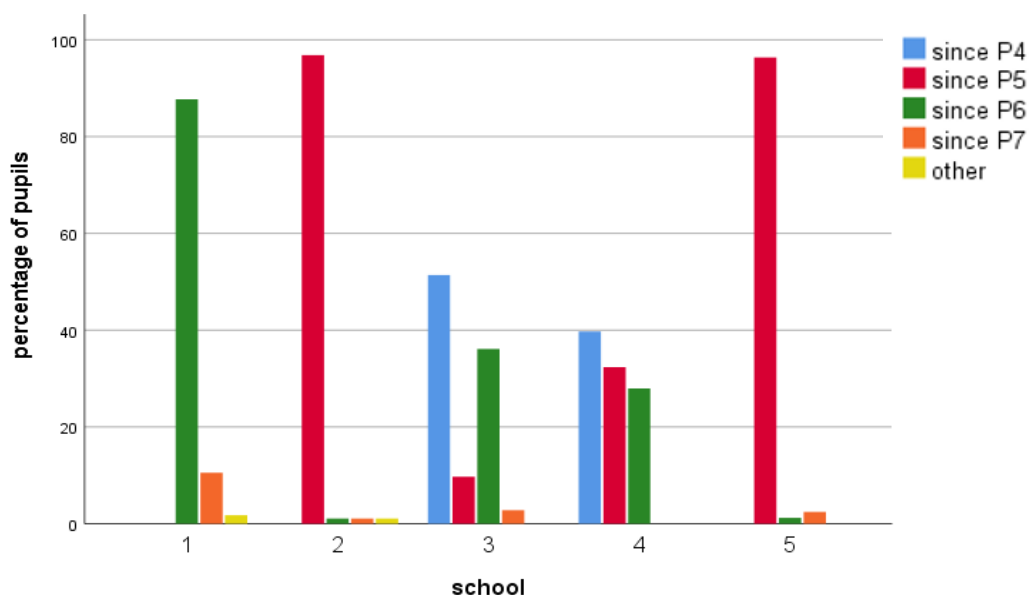
Figure 13: Pupils' length of study of L3 CLC by school (N = 374)

6.2   Models of L3 delivery in each school

As outlined in Section 4.611, there is no one single model of L3 practices recommended in guidance, only broad advice and general principles for schools to draw upon (Education Scotland, 2019). Though in school clusters within the same local authority, practices should be more unified, there is still room for further individual differences. A brief description is given for each school with comment based on the two academic sessions over which the study extended.

School one

This school began its teaching of CLC in 2017-18 with input given only to P6 and P7 classes once a week for a block of 8 weeks at points over the course of the school year. Lessons were led by a Hanban teacher connected to a CI at a university in Glasgow and based at the local secondary school and lasted for around 50- 60 minutes. The model changed in session 2018-19 to only involving P7 classes ahead of their transition to the local secondary, which also offered Chinese in its curriculum. Lessons now involved a different model where a local primary teacher, seconded by the authority, taught input every fortnight and this was reinforced on alternate weeks by the Hanban teacher and the pupils' normal class teacher using lesson materials prepared in advance by the secondee. This was in place towards the

very end of this study. The head teacher of this school had visited China as part of a CI funded trip. No other staff members had visited the country or had undertaken specific CLC training at the point of this research.

School two

This school first became involved in teaching CLC in 2015. In the 2017- 18 session, lessons were delivered to all P5-7 classes by a Hanban teacher connected to a CI at a university in Glasgow and based at the local secondary school. Classes received an 8-week block of one 50-minute lesson per week. The focus of the Chinese teacher was language with the cultural element left to pupils' normal class teacher and supported by local authority materials on its GLOW Intranet. This pattern continued into the 2018- 19 session. One of the teachers interviewed had visited China on a CI funded language and cultural training programme 6 years ago, but no other staff had done so or had undertaken training at the point of this research.

School three

CLC lessons began here in 2015 and this school was in the same local authority as school one. It was designated as a Confucius Classroom which gave it access to some additional funding and resources and acted as a model of good practice for other schools in the area or the wider local authority. In the 2017- 18 session, pupils in P4- P7 classes received weekly one-hour inputs from a teacher in the school with a special interest in the area and complemented by input from a Hanban teacher connected to a CI at a university in Glasgow. Unlike in all other schools, lessons were taught to P4- P7 all year round. In 2018- 19, this model continued, but the class teacher with responsibility for CLC was seconded 2 days per week to support the development of other schools in the cluster. She worked on an alternate basis with the Hanban teacher to deliver lessons and to guide school staff to assist in following up content. In addition to the teacher with responsibility for Chinese in the school, another member of staff had visited China through a CI funded trip and was undertaking study of the language with a view of supporting L3 work.

School four

This school began its work in 2015 and since 2017-18, CLC has been delivered across P1- P7 on a phased introduction. Lessons were led by a Hanban teacher connected to a CI at a university in Glasgow and observed by the class teacher over an 8 to 10-week block with initial class lessons of 45-60 minutes followed by 2 weeks of group input where the Chinese teacher worked more closely with smaller groups of pupils on language skills. The model for 2018- 19 continued in the same way, but was impacted by the ability of the Hanban teacher, at that time, to cope with certain classes at the P7 stages. No staff members had visited the country or had undertaken specific CLC training at the point of this research.

School five

Work started on CLC in 2015 and this school shared the same local authority as school 2. Pupils in P5-7 received a block of lessons over an 8-week period with inputs beginning after Christmas. Each lesson was roughly 50 minutes and led by a Hanban teacher connected to a CI at a university in Glasgow with school staff in an observing mode. Pupils at P7 had also looked at China through a Social Studies cross-curricular topic, but this was not a compulsory activity on an annual basis. The approach adopted in session 2018-19 was unchanged. No staff members had visited the country or had undertaken specific CLC training at the point of this research.

6.3   Pupils' wider views towards Chinese Language and Culture

Before focusing upon the cultural element of CLC in the findings and discussions within Chapters 7-9, the pupil survey also gave rise to data that helps contextualise this within the wider scope of CLC and which may prove useful to present in this section briefly at the whole sample level.
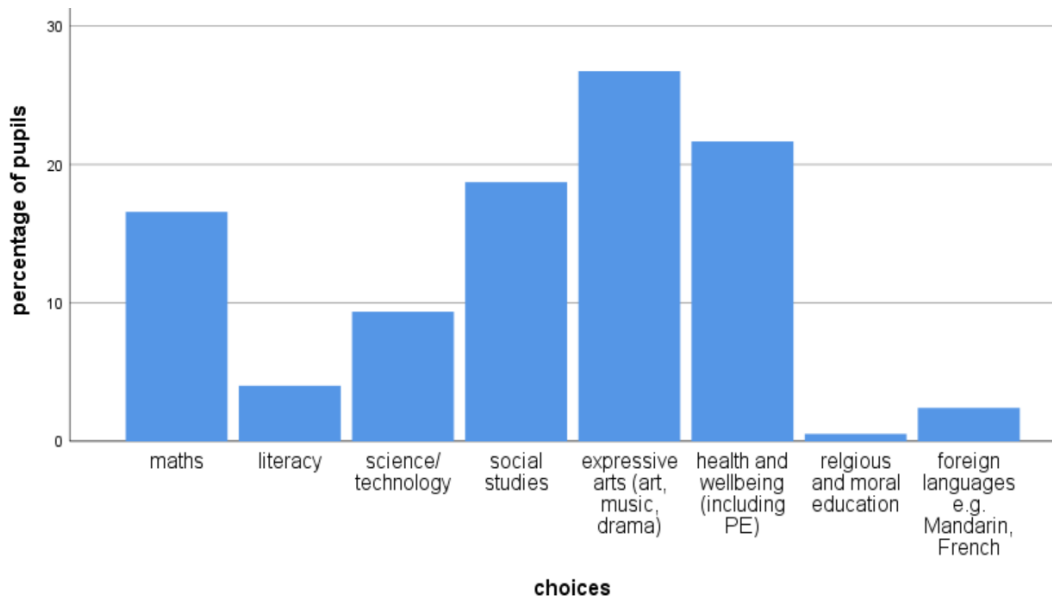
Figure 14. What is your favorite subject in your school? (by total, N = 374)

Across the sample as a whole, it can be seen in figure 14 that, in comparison to other areas of the Scottish CfE curriculum, foreign languages seemed to appeal to only a few pupils across P5-7 at around 2.4%, though the reasons for this would require further investigation outwith the terms of this study.
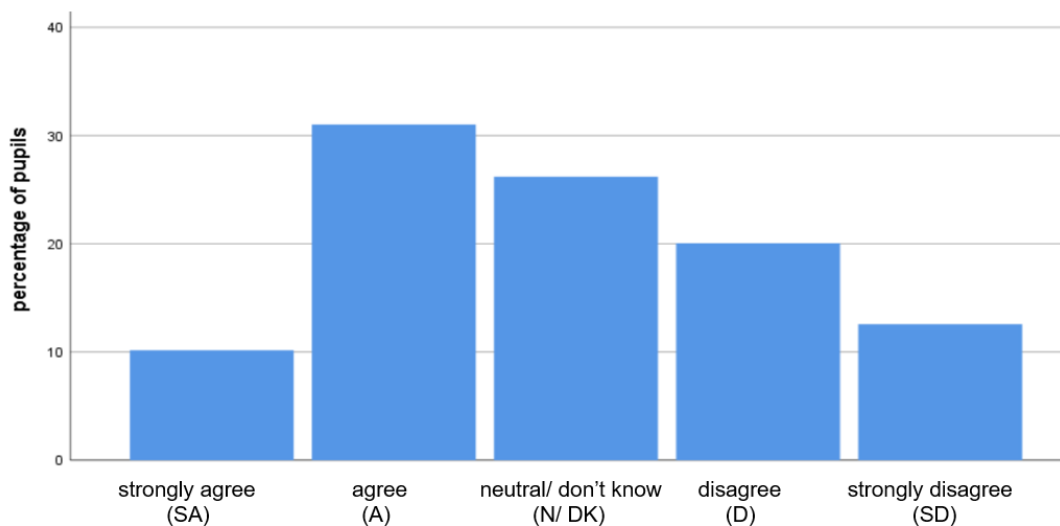
Figure 15. Learning Chinese has made me interested in other languages (by total, N = 374)

However, figure 15 above shows that, in contrast to the general view on languages, a sizeable minority of pupils (31%) agreed that CLC had influenced their interest in other languages. As a whole, CLC seems to have had a positive impact on attitudes

in around 41.2% of the sample (SA/ A) as opposed to 26.2% who were ambivalent in their view and 32.6% expressing a negative response (D/ SD).
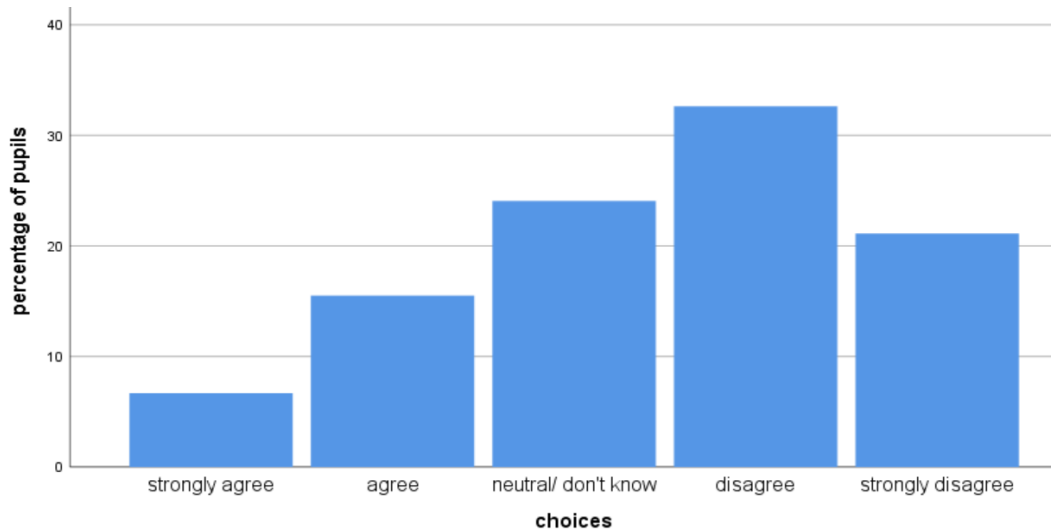
Figure 16. I enjoy CLC more than other subjects (by total, N = 374)

Figure 16 reinforces previous data on pupils' enjoyment of subject areas showing that 32.6% disagreed with the statement posed. Across the sample as a whole, there was a clear negative response (D/ SD) in the minds of pupils at 53.7% though levels of agreement (SA/ A), shown by 22.2% of pupils, were much higher than the 2.4% reported earlier on for foreign languages as a whole in figure 12.
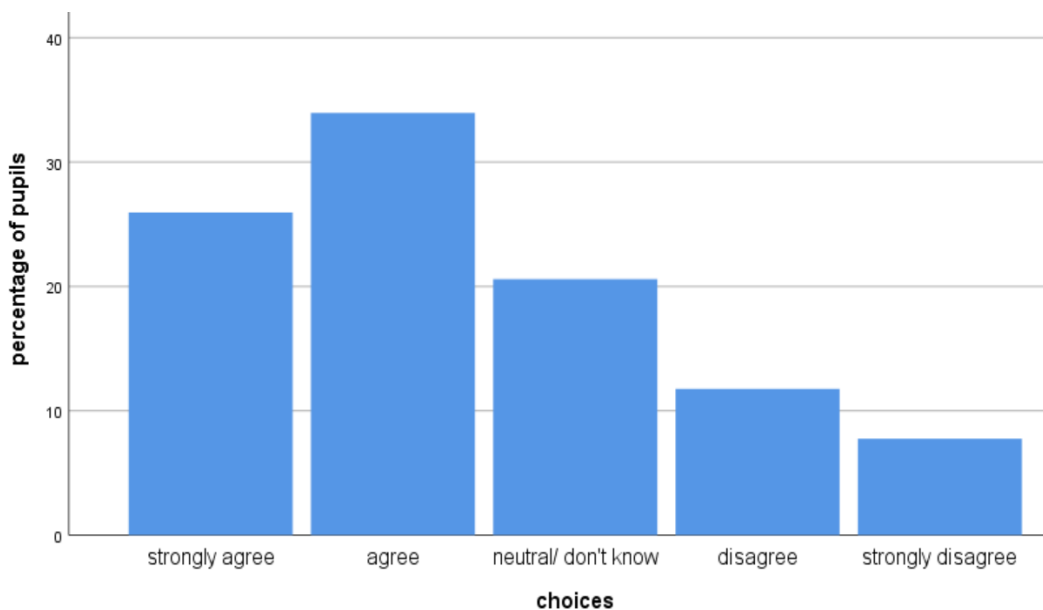
Figure 17. I enjoy learning CLC (by total, N= 374)

However, when isolating the experience of being involved in CLC more specifically, another perspective is offered. Beyond the 34% in agreement, the overall response here is clearly positive (SA/ A) with just under 60% of pupils indicating their enjoyment of CLC as shown in figure 17 in contrast to around 20% expressed both at an ambivalent level (N/ DK) and combined negative views (D/ SD).

Section 1.1 of the introductory chapter acknowledged some of the issues arising in the literature base surrounding the learning of Chinese as a foreign language, identifying that a number of challenges exist for learners that can impact on their confidence and motivation. In this respect, there are some interesting messages about pupils' views of the language arising from the survey in this study.
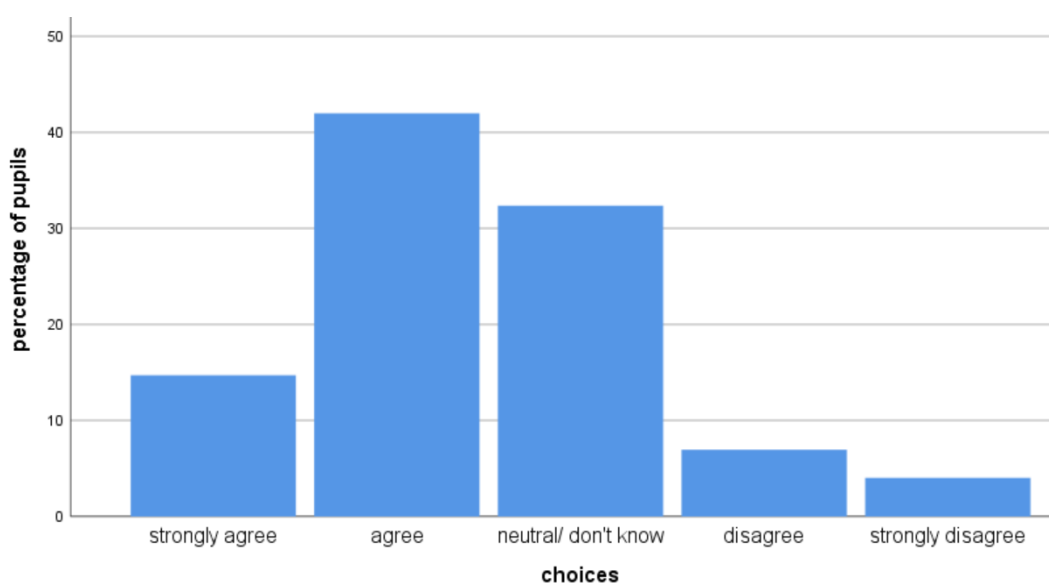
Figure 18. I find learning Chinese a challenge, but in a positive way (by total, N = 374)

A sizeable minority, 42% of pupils, agreed with the statement and, across the sample as a whole, figure 18 highlights that P5-7 pupils' perceptions of the challenges that Chinese language presents were positive (SA/ A) in around 57% of the sample with one-third expressing an ambivalent view (N/ DK) and just under 11% seeing this as a negative (D/ SD).
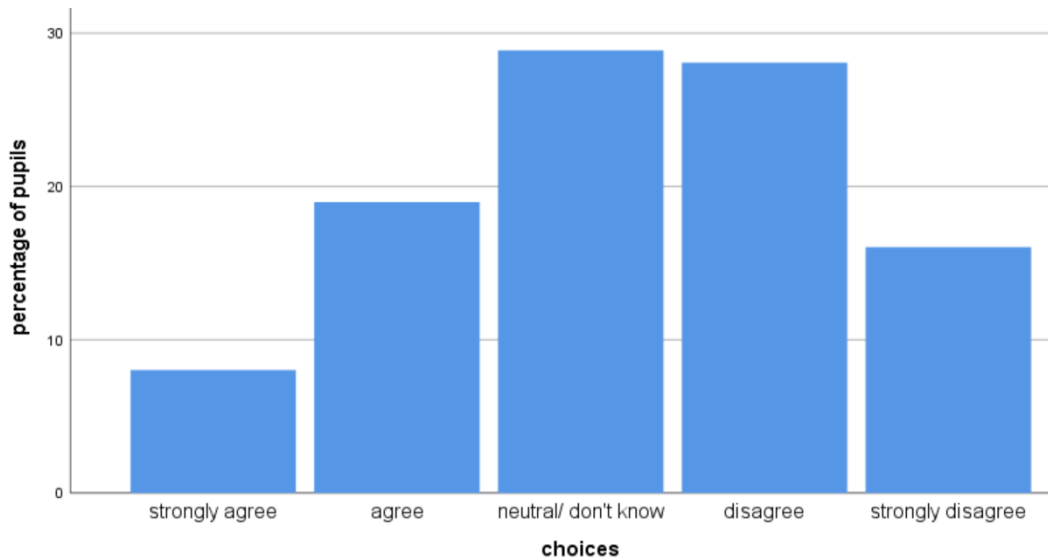
Figure 19. I worry about making mistakes when speaking Chinese (by total, N = 374)

Minority views centred round neutral/ don't know and disagree categories at around 29% in each as can be seen in figure 19. However, when combined, only 27% of pupils (SA/ A) indicated making mistakes in speaking Chinese was a concern as opposed to 44.5% (D/ SD) expressing a contrary view. This could be seen as a positive message on pupils' perceptions of the language and their capabilities to engage going forward.
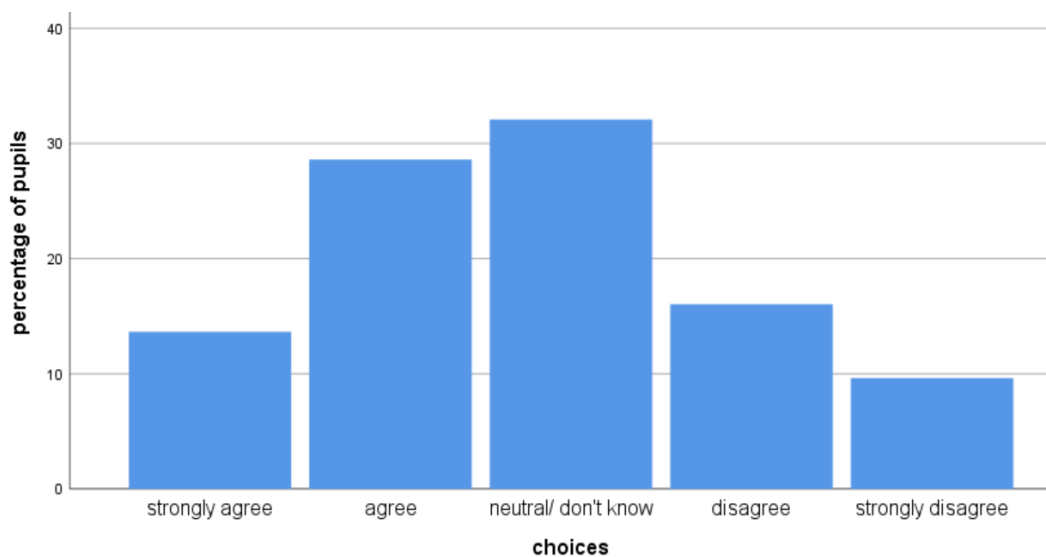
Figure 20. Learning CLC makes me feel more confident about learning new things in general
(by total, N = 374)

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Figure 20 shows that a minority of pupils (32.1%) had an ambivalent view (N/ DK) towards this statement.   However, 42.2% of the overall sample indicated a positive response (SA/ A) in comparison to 25.7% expressing a negative view (D/ SD). This indicates that being involved in CLC as a novel curricular experience may have the potential for some wider spin offs in terms of building confidence when approaching new learning.

The aim of this additional contextualisation is in recognition of the contribution of the language element and of the broader goals of CLC. It is also an attempt to give insight into questions that are directly relevant to the L3 models of practice, but also indirectly of importance when viewed against gaining an understanding of the classroom input on Chinese culture that will provide the sole focus for Chapters 7-9.

CHAPTER SEVEN
CONSTRUCTING CHINA AND ITS CULTURE

7.0   Introduction

As outlined in Sections 5.81- 5.82 and evidenced through samples of analysis in Appendices F- I, various themes have arisen that try to encapsulate the perspectives offered by the different participant groups in this study. This results in the presentation of three findings chapters:

- Chapter 7 - Constructing China and its culture;
- Chapter 8 - Insiders, outsiders and inbetweeners; and
- Chapter 9 - Challenging or reinforcing Orientalism.

Before outlining the goals of this chapter, it is necessary to remind ourselves of one of the key challenges going forward, as summed up by Creswell (2014, p. 6) when stating, "No topic in the field of mixed methods is so confusing as the question of how to integrate the datasets." Though there is considerable leeway offered in this respect through a mixed methods approach, this can lead to results that quickly diverge from the main goal of effective and meaningful integration and bear little resemblance to the stated methodological goals, a view supported by Bryman (2007). At this findings stage, data will come together in integrated ways that best support the developing narratives in terms of numerical and descriptive leads and the interweaving of participants' perspectives to give the bigger picture. In doing so, the QUANT + QUAL balance identified earlier in Section 5.21 (figure 12) will be satisfied, shedding maximum light on the issues being presented, this recognised as the key benefit of mixed methods set within the broader interpretivist approach used throughout the next 3 chapters (Anderson, 2016; Plano Clark & Ivanova, 2016). To assist consistent analysis, discrepant or unexpected data are noted with discussion of possible alternative explanations and with reference to statistical tests, both in terms of significance and non-significance, to achieve a high level of transparency. In all cases, conventional forms of reporting statistical data are used in line with the recommendations of Pallant (2016). Finally, the integrated approach taken is also

seen in how the wider discussion arising is handled in linking back to the conceptual framework and literature review with reference made to these in appropriate ways when presenting and analysing, but also revisited more fully in extended discussion sections at the end of each of Chapters 7-9. In doing so, this keeps the researcher's thinking close to the related datasets, thus avoiding a disconnect between both elements and assisting others to follow the narratives presented.

This chapter revisits concepts and constructs relating to China and its culture and, as such, has the potential to contribute to each of the questions stated for investigation in Section 1.3 given that 'culture' provides the thread running through each. This was initially examined in Section 2.1 in a broad conceptual discussion, revisited and further developed specifically in relation to Chineseness in Section 3.1, but will now be viewed through the various lenses of participants in this study and the particular confines of L3 practices within the Scottish primaries involved. Figure 21 below represents a summary of the various levels of thematic analysis that took place with these acting as the structure for this chapter.
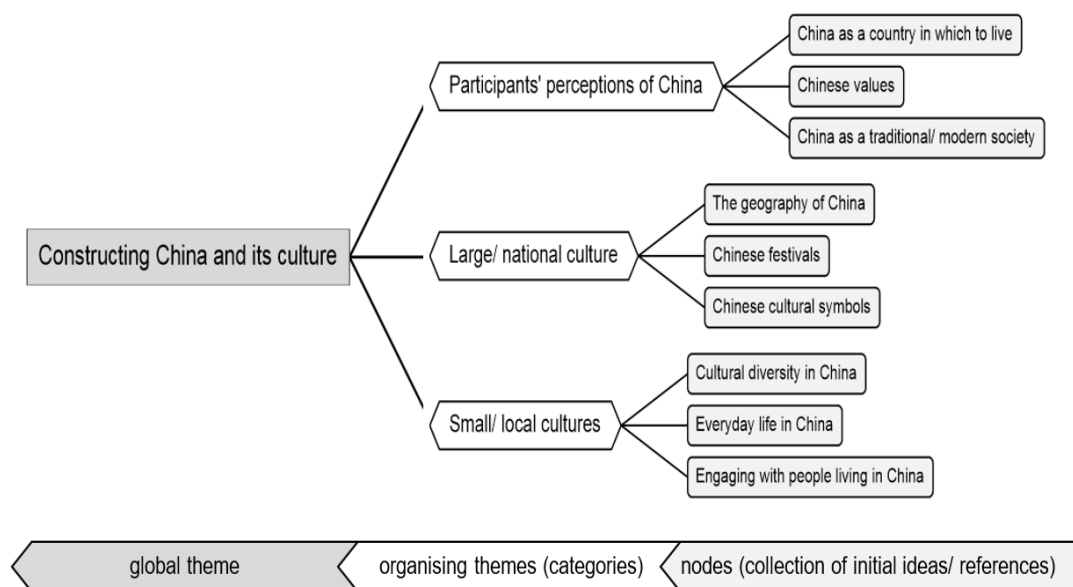
Figure 21. Thematic structure employed in Chapter 7

Given that in the Scottish context, there is a lack of contextual data, as recognised throughout the thesis, this initial findings chapter performs a valuable role in providing broad insights into curriculum practices and L3 models of delivery, which

were outlined at school level in Section 6.2 and at a national level in Section 4.611 of the literature review (Education Scotland, 2019). Importantly, these insights will help give broader understanding to discussions in Chapters 8-9.

7.1   Participants' perceptions of China

In both quantitative and qualitative elements, particular questions helped give insights into participants' views on living in China, their notion of Chinese societal values and the representation of China as a traditional/ modern facing country. This initial organising theme further develops the notion of Chineseness introduced in Section 3.1 by authors such as Jin and Dervin (2017) and their frame of insider/ outsider perspectives, considered fully in Chapter 8, also has relevance here in terms of the various roles of the participants.

7.11   China as a country in which to live

The focus group interviews with pupils using a 'Personal Construct Theory' (PCT) approach, adapted from the work of Kelly (1955), asked them to draw upon their classroom experiences and wider knowledge to date to discuss reasons why they would want or not want to live in China (see Appendix E, questions 3- 4). Across stages P5-6, including those P5 pupils still to begin their formal L3 input, the strongest positive emphasis suggested that pupils were attracted to China as a country very much attached to its traditions and history. Pupils mentioned this most in terms of food, historical sites and festivals and, as a result, were keen to experience these by living in or visiting the country. By contrast, positive views of China were much less prevalent in those expressed at P7 where most pupils had experienced at least 3 inputs of CLC across P5-7/ P4-7. In interviews as a whole, many comments were noticeable for the absence of reference to aspects of everyday life as relevant points of engagement for primary pupils. Some illustrations of the range of views offered included:

> I want to live in Hong Kong to see how Chinese New Year is celebrated. (P5 no prior experience*). *npe is used as an abbreviation for this going forward

> I want to learn Kung Fu and martial arts. (P5)

I want to try different Chinese food like duck tongue, sushi and rice balls. (P6)

We have been learning about the Great Wall and the Chinese Emperor who built it and I really want to see it for real. (P7)

When asked the converse of the question, quite a wide range of views were expressed, but none coalescing to form major nodes as such. There was certainly an awareness of issues reported in the media that could portray living in China in a negative light and some pupils indicated that they had discussed these issues in class, had watched video clips on aspects of life there or had accessed information on the Internet, within and outwith their schools. However, the ideas taken from these seemed quite restricted or, at times, inaccurate and using the standard follow up questions, 'Why do you think that?' or 'Can you give an example?' did not provide much additional illumination, perhaps suggesting a lack of engagement with these issues beyond a surface level approach:

You are only allowed to have one child. (P5 npe)

My Dad told me about the pollution in big cities like Beijing and Shanghai. (P5)

The laws in China are very different, I would worry about doing something wrong if I lived there. (P6)

There are unfair laws, like only being allowed to have 2 children. (P7)

The mention of such issues was far less for the P5 group without experience and increased for other stages, thus indicating some progression in views. It was noted that P7 pupils had more to say about the perceived negatives of living in China than was the case for the previous question. This perhaps indicated increased awareness or the maturity to offer alternative views based on a greater exposure to CLC content. There was certainly a curiosity in pupils' minds in relation to wanting to see and meet 'real' Chinese people, though the desire to compare their lives with those of others was only expressed by those P5 pupils with no prior experience of CLC. Overall, from a pupil perspective, living in China was seen more as a touristic option and only a small number of pupils mentioned future learning or work opportunities, a

theme picked up again in Section 9.2, with limited recognition that they buy a lot of things from China in UK shops:

> I could get a good job there as most things come from China. (P5)

> There are more job opportunities in China than here in Scotland. (P7)

When asked to reflect on their pupils' views of life in China as being either positive or negative, both Scottish and Hanban teachers could not quantify this with any specifics beyond that children's 'awareness' of China had been raised, thus giving some initial views on the perceived purposes of CLC in primary schools:

> At this level, awareness is the key, sparking pupils' interest, rather than in-depth knowledge. (School 4)

> Their views are limited, but like in other ways, pupils do not always think deeply about things until you ask them. As they get older, this might change. (School 5)

> In primary schools, pupils do not really have the concept of China and Chinese people, so do not have a view. (Hanban teacher 7* HBT will be used going forward for this group of teachers)

There was also reference by pupils to the role of both sets of teachers as potential sources of information for their own developing knowledge base and Sections 8.22 and 9.3 consider in more detail how this might affect the portrayal and representation of China when considering the delivery of L3 practices. Some possible tensions indicated here included:

> Our Chinese teacher told us there is lots of pressure on children from teachers, parents and grandparents. (P7)

> Our class teacher told us there is no social media in China. (P6)

> In terms of the visiting Chinese teachers, we feel there are boundaries of what can/ cannot be taught about issues in China. (School 2)

> Pupils' views really depend on their Chinese teacher's knowledge and enthusiasm. (HBT 2)

Finally, an important element in challenging or reinforcing perceptions of China is engagement through active discussion and the reported ability of pupils to do so in lessons through questioning, as one approach to this, is shown in figures 22-23.
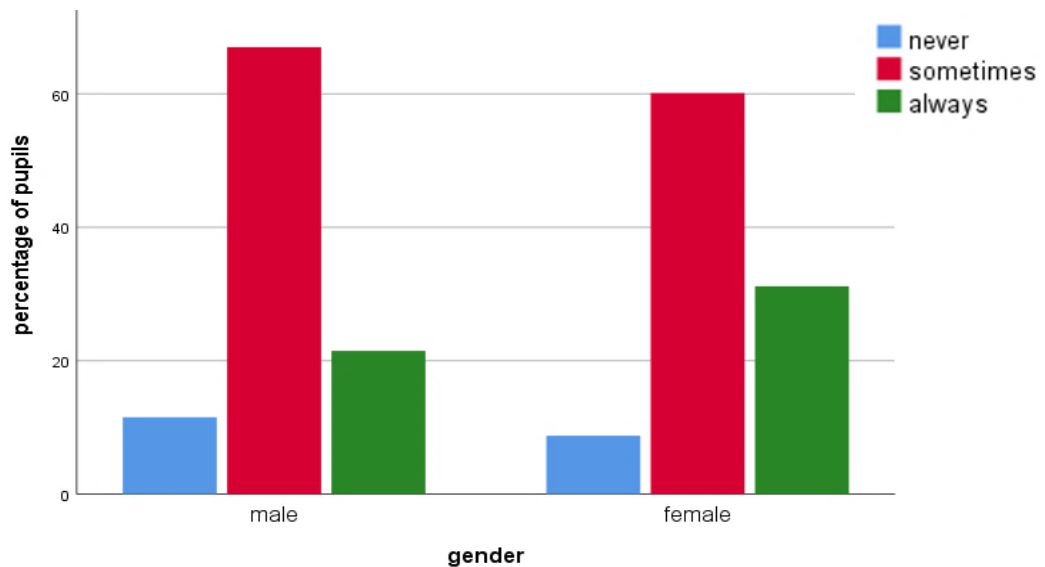
Figure 22. During lessons, I have the chance to ask questions about life in China and Chinese culture
(by gender, N = 374)

Looking at this question by gender may highlight trends in confidence for each group and the data suggests clear engagement in such discussions when combining the categories of sometimes and always for most males (88.5%) and almost all female pupils (91.2%). Within the category of always, there is evidence of more frequent engagement by a minority of girls at just over 31% as opposed to around 21% of boys.
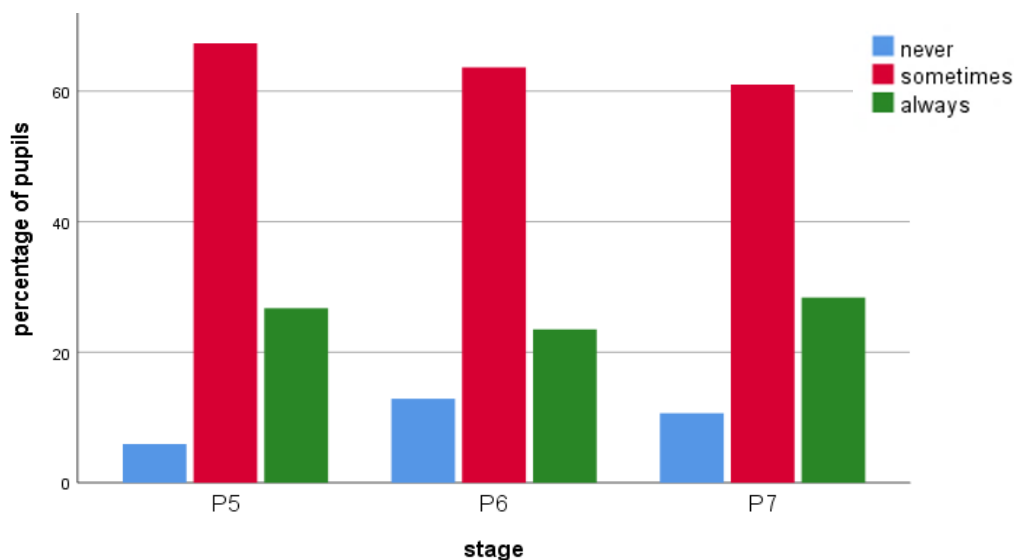
Figure 23. During lessons, I have the chance to ask questions about life in China and Chinese culture
(by stage, N = 374)

Stage analysis could allow an insight into content approaches across P5-7 or indicate particular patterns of engagement increasing with pupils' maturity. As with gender, there were not huge differences seen at each stage with almost all/ most pupils positively involved at 94.1%, 87.1% and 89.4% respectively. Therefore, it seems that pupils are clearly engaging in questioning and finding out more about China and its culture, rather than experiencing this passively. To this end, interviews with Scottish teachers highlighted the role for independent project work allowing pupils to find out more about the country for themselves, but this was not widely reported:

> From class topics on China, pupils research about the culture, food, the festivals as well as their own personal research. We started the first term with China and got straight into this in preparation for the assistant coming and the pupils loved it. (School 2)

> At P7, we have linked learning about China to a Social Studies topic, but this doesn't happen every year and is up to the individual teacher. We didn't do it this session. (School 5)

Overall, this section highlights pupils' perceptions of China as very traditional with some awareness of the more current issues surrounding life in the country. Good levels of engagement in discussion were seen, but with further scope for using CLC

in imaginative ways across the curriculum. Pupils at P7 seemed to hold more negative or indifferent views in their perceptions. More broadly, Scottish teachers indicated the notion of an awareness of China rather than specifics should be the aim in engaging P5-7 pupils.

7.12   Chinese values

Chineseness, the sense of what it means to be Chinese, is often tied round shared values and purposes, as discussed in Section 3.1, though pinning down the specifics of these is difficult, especially as China and its society become increasingly globalised. This places traditional values in sharp contrast to, and potential conflict with, modern aspirations common to all nations round the world as highlighted by Hsu and Huang (2016).

In discussions using PCT, some sense of values came through questions that asked pupils to consider ways in which they would like to be more/ less like a Chinese person (see Appendix E, questions 7-8). As in the piloting process, these questions were problematic for all groups and gave rise to fewer responses in comparison to others. Though pupils' responses related more to repeating positive or negative aspects of daily life, some views did allude to personal attributes. P5 pupils found this the most difficult aspect to discuss, likely due to their very limited experiences at that point, and those with no prior experience expressed no attributes. Those at the P6-7 stages made mention of a few of the traits identified by the Chinese Culture Collection (1987) and Hsu and Huang (2016) that linked back to the notion of Confucian values broadly identified in Section 3.11. Sample comments included:

> Chinese pupils are clever. (P5)

> Chinese people seem less cheeky, more respectful especially to older people. (P6)

> They have creative ideas…they make many things. (P6)

> Chinese families seem more committed to education. (P7)

They know who they are and their history, many Scottish people are not like that. (P7)

However, some of these values gave rise to negative views being expressed by pupils across P5-7 in terms of societal expectations in China and how these extended into perceptions of daily life there. From these, it was clear that looking at the school system in China was a common aspect of pupils' classroom experiences:

Their education system – 50 children in one class! That's just too many. (P5)

Children's whole lives depend on what they do in school. (P6)

There is too much focus on education. (P7)

In terms of interviewing adult participants, the notion of the role of the family was identified by PDOs with Scottish teachers highlighting respect for traditions and history, wider societal harmony and the strong work ethic, particularly as a comparison to Scottish pupils' own lives. Some felt it important to make their pupils aware that people in other parts of the world had to work harder for what they had or to get on in life and that valuing education was a means to do so, something which they felt had waned in Scotland:

The notion of family is really important to the Chinese. It is central to their thinking in many ways. (PDO 2)

In Scotland, we seem to have lost that way of passing on traditions and know less about what we used to know. (School 1)

Life there is very pressured and pupils are pressed towards education. Pupils seem syphoned off – you either make it or you don't. (School 2).

An obsession with making money! They have a culture focused on prestige as Chinese people are keen to showcase what we have – the materialistic view is the same in countries that can sustain that. (School 5)

As Chinese nationals, Hanban teachers also picked up on respecting the country's traditional culture, the value of learning and the connections between China's past and present, particularly in how this impacted on daily life, especially through

established societal hierarchies for example, parent-child, teacher- pupil and old-young:

> Chinese people honour old people and are very polite to them in every situation, which is similar to British gentlemanly behaviour. (HBT 1)

> The relationship between parents and their children is not like in China, parents here value independence and the fact that the child can have his/her own life and will not interfere too much. (HBT 3)

> Compliments given are received humbly by Chinese people, where the feelings here are reciprocated with thanks. (HBT 5)

> Teaching is very different. Here teaching is a job, but in China it is a lifelong career because it has been valued for thousands of years; teachers have more respect in China. (HBT 7)

The notion of Chinese values was a difficult one for pupils and Scottish teachers to reflect upon, but there were strong emphases on tradition, societal roles and responsibilities. Interestingly, many views mirrored those of the Hanban teachers, highlighting their role as cultural ambassadors in Scottish classrooms as explored further in Sections 8.13, 8.23 and 9.3.

7.13   China as a traditional/ modern society

The discussion of school systems in a number of sections within the literature review, globally and within the devolved nations of the UK, referred to pupils' exposure to cultural content and interpretations of China and its people. This was also explored explicitly in this study in different ways.
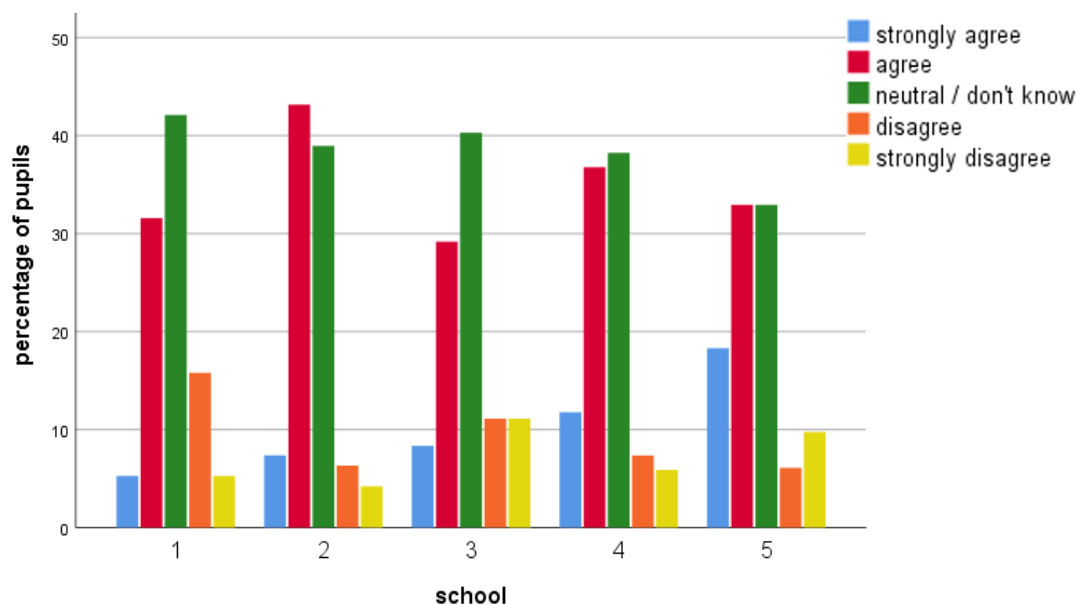
Figure 24. In my lessons, there is a balance between learning about old and modern China (by school, N = 374)

Across the sample, positive agreement (SA/ A) with the given statement was seen at around 50% in schools 2, 4 and 5. The views expressed in schools 1 and 3 were towards being ambivalent (N/ DK) at 42.1% and 40.3% respectively. In both these schools, combined negative views (D/ SD) were at their highest in around 20% of pupils. Though perhaps explained in the case of school 1 by its newness to CLC practices, it was somewhat surprising in school 3, which operated an all year-round model of delivery when compared to others and thus potentially afforded a better balance of activity. Overall, this data saw no statistical significance when using a Chi-square test (*p*= .20) and suggested potential variance in practices existed within and across schools as offered by the flexibility of L3 curricular models (Education Scotland, 2019).
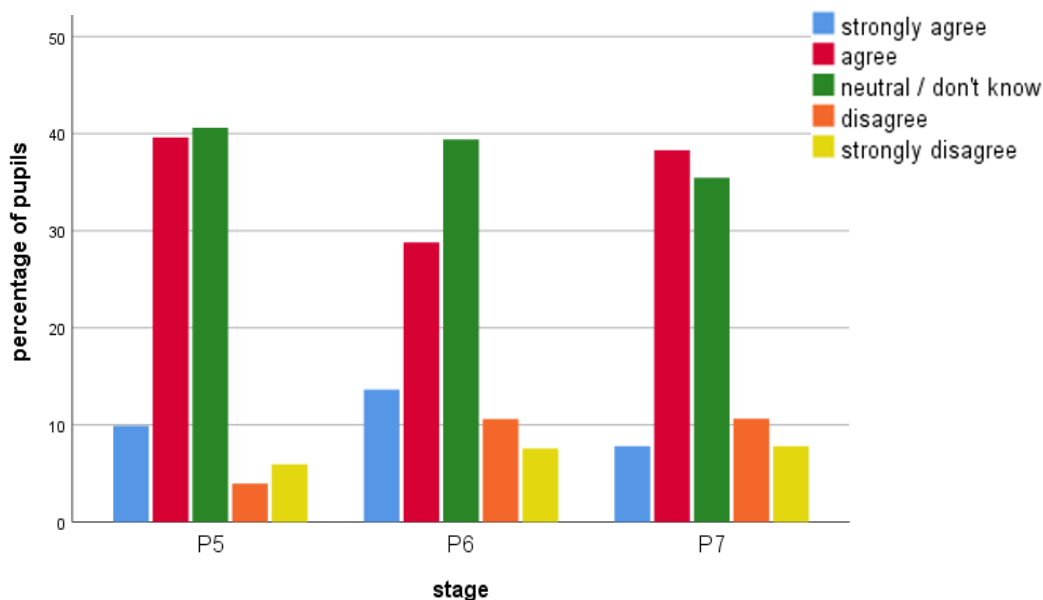
Figure 25. In my lessons, there is a balance between learning about old and modern China

(by stage, N = 374)

There was positive agreement (SA/ A) across all three stages at 49.5%, 42.4% and
46.1% respectively, though less pronounced at P6, but still with noticeable ambiguity
(N/ DK) across P5-7. Levels of disagreement (D/ SD) with the statement were
similar across P6-7 stages at around 18% and lower at P5 at around 10%. A Chi-
square test indicated no statistical significance in this respect ($p= .32$) thus
suggesting no connection between the 2 variables and thus that broadly similar
practices were likely across the 3 stages as a whole.

However, the situation becomes much clearer when viewing tables 18-19 below,
which asked pupils to rank in order specific themes in their learning about life in
China (i.e. life at home, life at school, children's hobbies/ pastimes, Chinese history
and Chinese traditions). The extracted data considers first and second choices only
to assist interpretation and also given that these ranking positions were likely clearest
understood in pupils' minds.

Table 18. Ranking of learning about life in China: Chinese traditions (by school, N= 373)

aspect of life	ranking	school									
		1		2		3		4		5	
		n	%	*n*	%	*n*	%	*n*	%	*n*	%
Chinese traditions	1 = most often	38	67.9%	58	61.1%	30	41.7%	37	54.4%	41	50.0%
	2 = 2nd choice	11	19.6%	24	25.3%	15	20.8%	17	25.0%	35	42.7%
	Combined totals	49	87.5%	82	86.4%	45	62.5%	54	79.4%	76	92.7%

Table 19. Ranking of learning about life in China: Chinese traditions (by stage, N= 373)

aspect of life	ranking	P5		P6		P7	
		n	%	*n*	%	*n*	%
Chinese traditions	1 = most often	48	47.5%	73	55.3%	83	59.3%
	2 = 2nd choice	35	34.7%	32	24.2%	35	25.0%
	Combined totals	83	82.2%	105	79.5%	118	84.3%

The notion of content that focused on traditions as an aspect of Chinese life was reported by most pupils in schools 1, 2 and 4 and almost all in school 5 when taking both first and second rankings into consideration. Only school 3 showed a marked difference in views and contradicted the data given for this context in figure 22 which was more ambivalent. Therefore, across P5-7 as a whole, this was a major feature of pupils' learning about Chinese society. As discussed in Section 7.11, pupils' perceptions of China as a place to live were tightly bound round its traditions and history particularly. Whilst the adults in the survey recognised the traditional elements of Chinese society, there were some doubts expressed as to the efficacy of this approach and the possibilities for more modern focused input to be further explored in Chapter 9:

> The new Silk Road/ Belt and Road initiative is important in terms of the routes to trade, both maritime and on land, which links to old/ modern commercial and economic routes. This topic is good for older aged classes. (PDO 3)

> At times, content has to be much more meaningful, but we are at the mercy of what goes on in schools. (PDO 2)

> Too much traditional culture can be far away from Scottish pupils' lives. (HBT 3)

As a short section summary, much of the data presented supported participants' views of China as a very traditional society with a limited focus on other themes that might broaden pupils' perspectives and, to some extent, this was recognised as an area requiring development by adult participants.

7.2 Large cultures/ national cultures

A second organising theme to arise from the analysis is the representation of China as a 'national culture' or 'large culture' as discussed initially in the conceptual framework in Section 2.13 through the thinking of authors such as Anderson-Levitt (2012) and Holliday (1999) and in models such as the '6 Cultural Dimensions' (Hofstede, 1991). Within this study, this was considered through participants' understanding and experiences of the geography of China, its festivals and well-known cultural symbols.

7.21 The geography of China

As expressed by Holliday (1999), borders, boundaries, city and rural landscapes are a common means of defining and exploring the nation state and through the online survey, pupils were asked to consider their learning about the map of China.
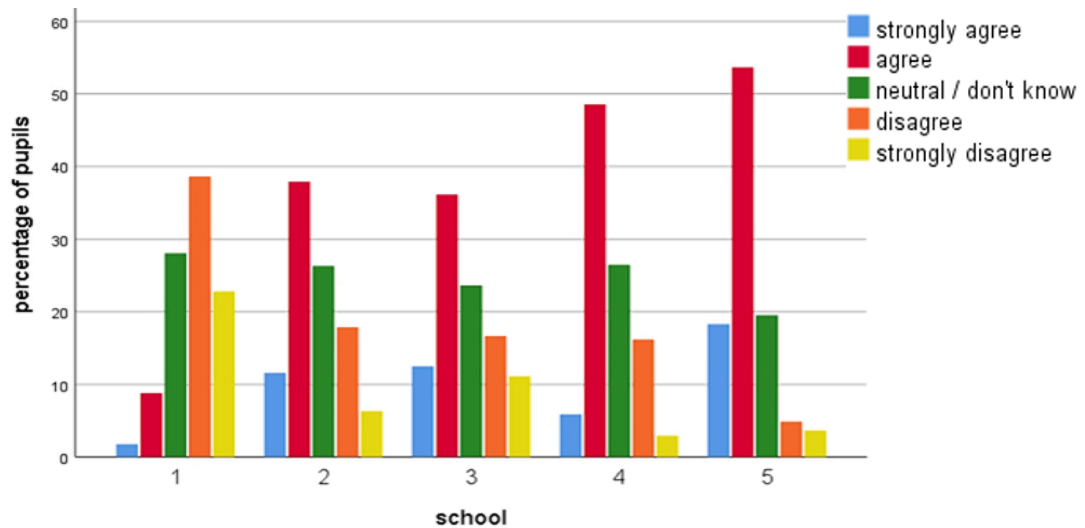
Figure 26.   In my lessons, I have learned about the map of China (by school, N = 374)

There was positive agreement (SA/ A) with the question in 4 out of the 5 schools, clearly strongest in school 5 at 72%, but still prominent in schools 2, 3 and 4 at 49.5%, 48.6% and 54.4% respectively. By sharp contrast, school 1 showed a combined negative view (D/ SD) at 61.4%, again likely explained by its L3 CLC involvement only being in operation for a short period of time. Therefore, curriculum content on the geography of China seemed a prevalent feature in schools overall. These results are confirmed as highly statistically significant through the use of a Chi-Square test: χ^2 (16, $N = 374$) = 73.01, p = <.001, V = .22 indicating geographical content did feature majorly in pupils' CLC experiences.
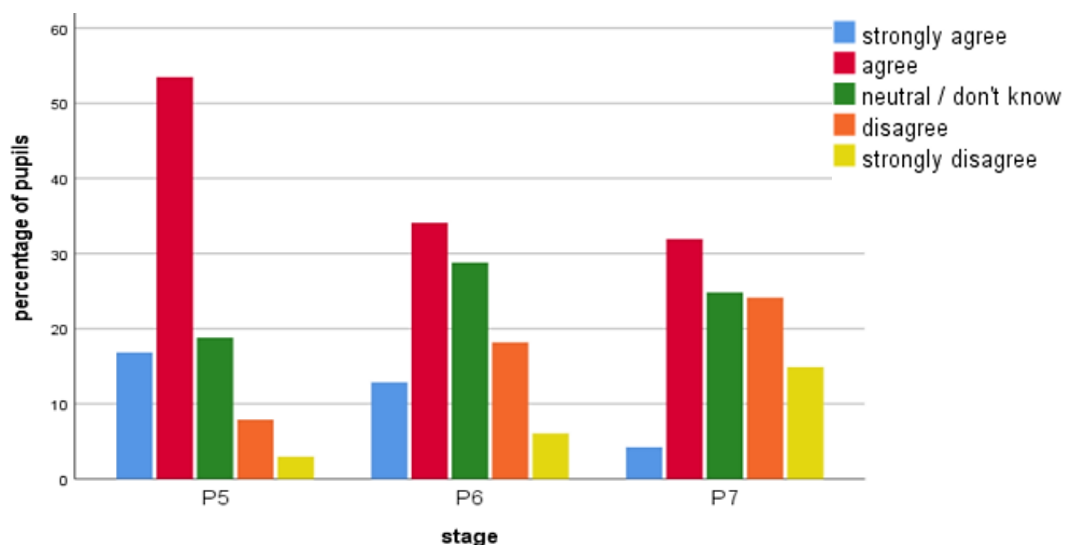
Figure 27.   In my lessons, I have learned about the map of China (by stage, N = 374)

When considering stages, the data suggests that the focus on learning about the geography of China changed across P5-7, featuring most prominently at P5 and declining markedly into P6 and at its lowest at P7 (SA/A at 70.3%, 47% and 36.2% respectively) with negative views expressed by pupils at the P7 stage (D/ SD) at 39% to give further support. This is confirmed as highly statistically significant through the use of a Chi-Square test: χ^2 (8, $N = 374$) = 40.10, $p= <.001$, $V = .23$ indicating the influence of stage on pupils' learning in this aspect. The reasons for this shift are unclear, but would perhaps suggest that other areas of focus within CLC then predominate.

As a follow up, pupils were also asked to identify Chinese cities learned about in lessons as reported below in tables 20-21 with choices made from those on offer as well as provision for indicating any others not mentioned.

Table 20. Which of these cities have you been learning about? (whole sample, N= 374)

Chinese city	n	%
Beijing	222	59.4%
Shanghai	110	29.4%
Hong Kong	99	26.5%
no cities	126	33.7%
other	9	2.4%

Table 21. Which of these cities have you been learning about? (by stage, N= 374)

Chinese city	P5		P6		P7	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Beijing	79	78.2%	71	53.8%	72	51.1%
Shanghai	45	44.6%	28	21.2%	37	26.2%
Hong Kong	30	29.7%	32	24.2%	37	26.2%
no cities	16	15.8%	47	35.6%	53	37.6%
other	0	0.0%	12	9.1%	7	5.0%

Across the sample as a whole, table 21 shows that Beijing was the main city studied by a majority of pupils, very likely due to its capital city status with others mentioned to a much lesser extent. Around one-third of pupils indicated that knowledge of Chinese cities was not covered in their lessons. These patterns were mirrored when

looking at the data by stage, though there seemed to be a higher emphasis on the study of cities in P5 with less as pupils progress into P6-7 which correlates to figure 24 discussed earlier. The study of other Chinese cities did not happen in P5 and remained very low overall at the other stages. In relation to the category of other, those mentioned were the home cities of the Hanban teachers working in schools, including Tianjin, with connections between universities in the city and the CI which supported the Hanban groups in Scotland. Other irrelevant answers included Asia, France and Vietnam. Both tables continued the trend discussed earlier where P5 seemed to be the point at which pupils received most input on the map of China.

In the PCT discussions, pupils showed some awareness of this aspect of the country with occasional comments made about cities, parts of China, landmarks and climate, these being essentially snapshots of their learning. However, across the P5-7 group it seemed well understood that the country was very heavily populated and that cities were crowded. At P6-7, there was some mention of other cities connected to the visiting teachers. Representative comments highlighting basic understanding included:

> Beijing is China's capital city. (P5 npe, similar comments made across P5-7)

> The map of China is shaped like a chicken. (P6, similar comments made across P5-7).

> Our Chinese teacher is from Harbin, the city of ice. (P7)

There was also some environmental awareness within pupil groups of high levels of pollution and the ongoing impact on wildlife such as pandas. The contrasting climate with the UK in terms of China's hot summers and cold winters was made with the mention of Harbin and its Ice and Snow Festival and for some pupils these contrasts were appealing reasons to visit the country:

> Pandas live in bamboo forests that are endangered. (P5)

> It's roasting in the summer and freezing in the winter, especially in Harbin. (P6)

> The pollution is so bad, Beijing and Shanghai might be uninhabitable in 20 years' time. (P6)

> There are so many mountains in China, so many. (P7)

As mentioned in Section 7.1, some schools had explored China as a social studies topic to run alongside the study of CLC, either taught by classroom teachers or jointly alongside Hanban teachers. One Scottish teacher in charge of CLC input in her school mentioned some of the tensions that existed when exploring the map of China:

> The map in our Confucius Room showed Taiwan as a different colour from mainland China and this was picked up by the visiting Chinese teachers. These things could be discussed a little more fully when they were not there. Cultural sensitivity is important, but these issues are something that pupils should be aware of and be able to discuss. It is good that the Hanban teachers are here seeing the world from someone else's eyes. (School 3)

Overall, learning about the map of China and its general geography is prominent in classroom experiences at the P5 stage, but wanes into P6 and P7. Pupils' insights are generally quite narrow in focus and there may be some cultural tensions in how this input is construed in Scottish and Hanban teachers' minds.

7.22   Chinese festivals

Discussions in Sections 3.13, 4.311, 4.521 and 4.62 and by authors such as Driscoll and Holiday (2020), Hua and Wei (2014a) show that festivals often play a very prominent role in the promotion of cultural identity.
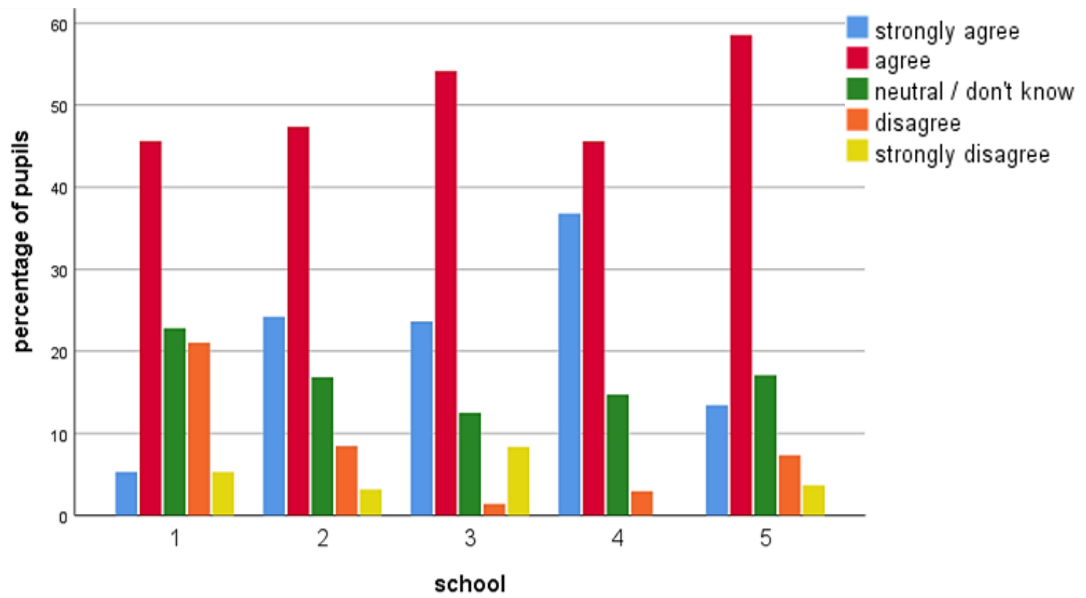
Figure 28. In my lessons, I have learned about different Chinese festivals (by school, N = 374)

Across all schools, it was clear that learning about Chinese festivals was a dominating feature of pupils' learning with positive agreement (SA/ A) in school one at 50.9% and at much higher levels across schools 2-5 at 71.6%, 77.8%, 82.4% and 72% respectively. School 1 had the highest level of disagreement (D/ SD) at 26.3%, again this may be due to the newness of its involvement in CLC. This link between the study of festivals and schools was confirmed as highly statistically significant through the use of a Chi-Square test: χ^2 (16, $N = 374$) = 47.21, p = <.001, V = .18.
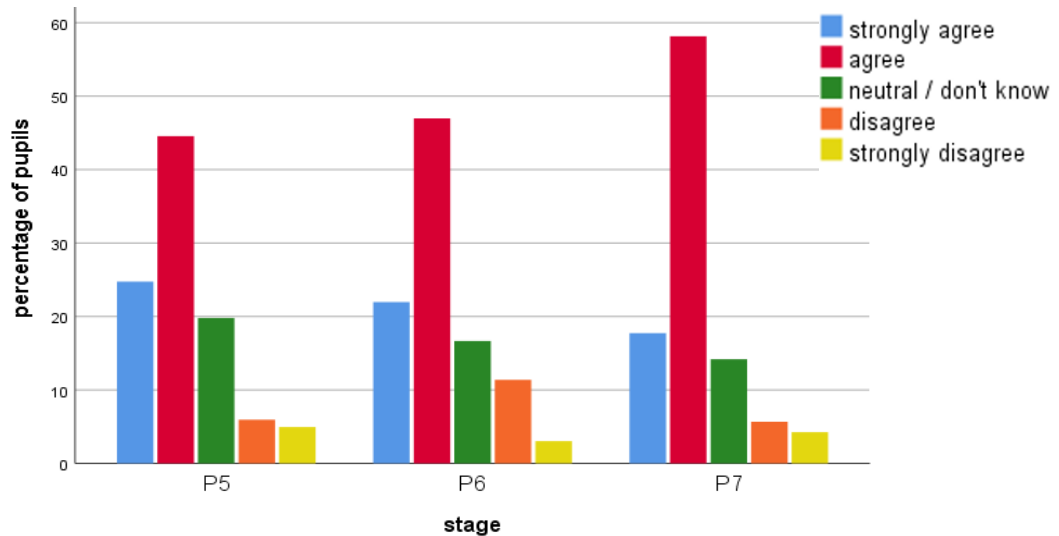
Figure 29. In my lessons, I have learned about different Chinese festivals (by stage, N = 374)

Again, by stage, festivals were very clearly a major part of the pupils' learning experience in all classes with almost 70% of pupils in combined agreement (SA/ A) at P5-6 and even more so in primary 7 at just over three-quarters sampled. Levels of disagreement (D/ SD) were low at between 10- 14% across the 3 stages. This general pattern showed no statistical significance seen in the use of a Chi-Square test ($p=$ .32) highlighting that similar practices existed.

Pupils were also asked to indicate festivals being studied with the opportunity to indicate more than one response from those on offer and to identify others where needed.

Table 22. Which festivals have you been learning about? (whole sample, N= 374)

festival	*n*	%
Chinese New Year[1]	347	92.8
Dragon Boat Festival[2]	81	21.7
Mid-Autumn (Moon) Festival[3]	38	10.2
Harbin Ice Festival[4]	3	0.8
cannot remember	10	2.7
none	4	1.1
others	2	0.5

1. Celebrates the beginning of a new year on the traditional Chinese lunar calendar.
2. Celebrates the life of poet and patriot Qu Yuan with various rituals connected to his life story.
3. Celebrates the harvest and is a time for family reunion.
4. An annual winter Ice and Snow festival in the city of Harbin

Table 23. Which festivals have you been learning about? (by stage, N= 374)

	P5		P6		P7	
festival	*n*	%	*n*	%	*n*	%
Chinese New Year	94	93.1%	120	90.9%	133	94.3%
Dragon Boat Festival	16	15.8%	24	18.2%	41	29.1%
Mid-autumn Festival	16	15.8%	12	9.1%	10	7.1%
Harbin Ice Festival	0	0.0%	3	2.3%	0	0.0%
cannot remember	2	2.0%	3	2.3%	5	3.5%
none	0	0.0%	2	1.5%	2	1.4%
other	1	1.0%	0	0.0%	1	0.7%

Though the initial data saw pupils identify strongly with the learning of 'different' festivals, the tabular data was strongly contradictory. This perhaps indicates

potential confusion behind the question, though this was highlighted by the researcher in discussion with classes undertaking the survey. Both across the sample as a whole, and at each stage, Chinese New Year dominated for almost all pupils. Other celebrations, such as the Dragon Boat and Mid-Autumn festivals, were experienced to a much lesser degree. Other responses related to Children's Day, celebrated in China on 1st June each year. Overall, this indicated that pupils' experiences of different festivals were largely very limited and highly repetitive in focus.

In the PCT discussions across P5-7, Chinese New Year was the most mentioned aspect associated with China, staying constant in pupils' comments across stages, even within P5 groups with no prior experience who may have seen the festival being celebrated more widely in their schools. All groups spoke well and confidently about some of the features associated with this event:

> Alleys are filled with red lanterns, red is for good luck. (P5 npe)

> We made jiaozi (new year dumplings) with our Chinese teacher. (P5)

> We watched the parade of the dragons on the Internet. (P6)

> In the Chinese zodiac, every year is a different animal. (P7)

The adult groups also picked up on the same emphasis with the recognition of some strengths and pupil enjoyment, but also limitations in adopting such a narrow focus on this particular festival:

> Our pupils understand a lot about Chinese New Year as we look at it every year. (School 4)

> Pupils really like stories about the dragons, the past and the history, for example the story of Chinese New Year and the animals of the Zodiac. (School 5)

> It is sad that the focus is primarily on Chinese New Year and on a limited range of things associated with that. We need to look more at how it is a

family celebration and similar in many ways to how we celebrate things here in Scotland. (PDO 1)

It can be influenced by class teachers in terms of interacting with the Hanban teacher i.e. let us all celebrate Chinese New Year and make dragons out of paper plates. This is nice, but must be alongside other festivals too. (PDO 2)

In summarising this section, it is very clear that festivals were often at the centre of cultural input, but that this lacked variety and there are issues in the progression of learning across P5-7 as a whole which tends to replicate content in very similar ways.

7.23   Chinese cultural symbols

The final element of a 'large culture' is the prevalence of national symbols as highlighted in models espoused by Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (1998) and Holliday (1999). These often act as starting points for interactions with another culture through explicit features such as language, food, famous symbols and well-known landmarks.

When pupils were asked about what they associated with China, national symbols featured strongly in their responses across P5-7 as a whole, particularly Chinese dragons, the national flag and the significance of its colouring, pandas as China's iconic animal and historical sites. There was little change in the description of these across P5-7 or between those with or without experience of CLC at P5:

Chinese dragons are a symbol of China, especially at New Year. (P5 npe)

We learned some facts about the Great Wall of China. It is the longest structure ever built by humans. (P5)

The Chinese flag is red and yellow with 4 stars, but I don't know why the stars are important. (P6)

We all went to Edinburgh Zoo to see the pandas. I think they are called Sunshine and Sweetie. (P7)

Some Scottish teachers made further mention of cross-curricular projects through external engagement with Scottish Opera, which included the creation of a children's opera based on 'The Dragon of the Western Seas', the story of Admiral Zheng He, a Chinese mariner, explorer, diplomat and fleet admiral during China's early Ming dynasty. The telling of traditional stories is one way of reinforcing the image of a nation and was echoed by the Hanban teachers in this study who mentioned they had introduced pupils to these, not only for their content, but that they felt these underpinned the very essence of what it meant to be Chinese:

> Pupils can find out more about our national feeling through our stories and pride in these. (HBT 3)

> Folk stories have been introduced to pupils to talk about the national Chinese spirit, its long history and the connections between people, their past and the environment. (HBT 5)

In summary, pupils very easily identified with the cultural symbols of China and some of these were reinforced through school-based projects, with the Hanban teachers offering a very particular view on the sorts of activities giving cultural insights on their country.

7.3   Small cultures/ local cultures

The earlier discussion in Section 2.13 highlighted a number of views that supported the notion of culture also being represented at small, local levels including within families, schools and social participation in groups through sports, clubs etc. (Anderson-Levitt, 2012; Baldwin et al., 2006; Holliday, 1999).

7.31   Cultural diversity in China

Across the datasets and participant groups as a whole, there was very little reference to cultural diversity in China. In the PCT discussions, pupils were asked how a typical Chinese person might be described and, as expected, tended to pick up on some of the obvious physical differences in appearance between peoples, or their perceptions of these, which were very uniform across P5-7 as a whole:

> Chinese people look very similar, especially the girls. (P5 npe)

They have different shaped eyes. (P5)

They have a darker skin colour. (P6)

Chinese people all look the same. (P7)

However, the notion of a 'national dress' was clear in pupils' minds, especially at P5-6 and, when explored further, often associated with the past and Chinese emperors. Modern era clothing was also mentioned such as the 'qipao/ cheongsam', a type of dress with distinctive Chinese features of Manchu origin and the 'Mao suit', a characteristic tunic worn by men, linking back to associations with Chairman Mao Zedong, a central figure in modern Chinese history. No references were made to this aspect by P7 pupils. Some illustrative comments included:

They wear bright red clothes. Red is a lucky colour in China. (P5 npe)

I'd like to dress up in Chinese costumes, robes and stuff. (P5)

They wear traditional costumes with patterns. (P6)

Across all interviews with adult groups, no mention was made of any aspect of cultural diversity in China or of any notion of ethnic minorities. However, one Scottish teacher did offer a positive insight into why this might have been the case and, across schools 1, 2, 3 and 5, there was an ethnic mix seen, including pupils from Chinese family backgrounds:

We live in a multi-cultural society and the world has become smaller. It might not cross pupils' minds that someone is actually different. Pupils view difference as a good thing and they see that reflected in the ethnic groups in the school. It has never been a big issue.   (School 5)

Overall, this short section showed that presenting cultural variety in China was absent from classroom inputs, thus potentially reinforcing particular notions of what constitutes Chinese people in pupils' minds, but also may simply be something that they are less aware of at their stage of development.

7.32   Everyday life in China

Children at P5-7 were asked to reflect on a range of questions which were intended
to give their insights on people's daily lives in China and the contexts in which these
activities took place, which could easily be framed as 'small culture' insights
(Holliday, 1999, 2018a).
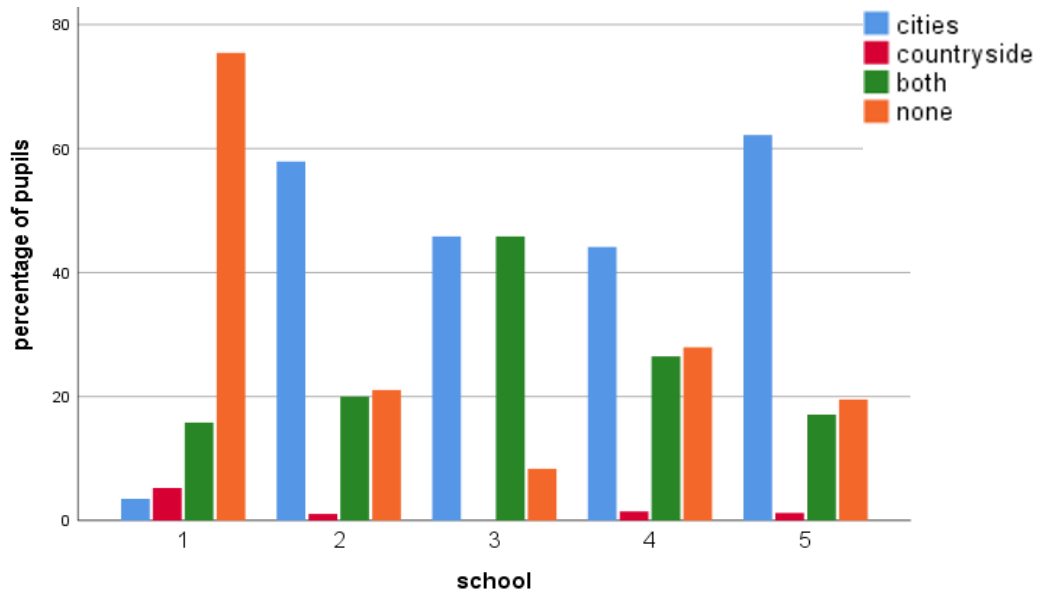
Figure 30. Which parts of China have you been learning about? (by school, N = 374)

Figure 30 presents a mixed picture across the survey schools. The data for school 1
showed that most pupils (75.4%) had learned little about either life in the countryside
or the city, again perhaps explained by its stage of development. Schools 2, 4 and 5
focused more predominately on city life according to 57.9%, 44.1% and 62.2% of
pupils respectively. Only school 3 showed a more balanced perspective as reported
by 45.8% of pupils. The data again suggests a lack of uniformity across schools as a
whole.
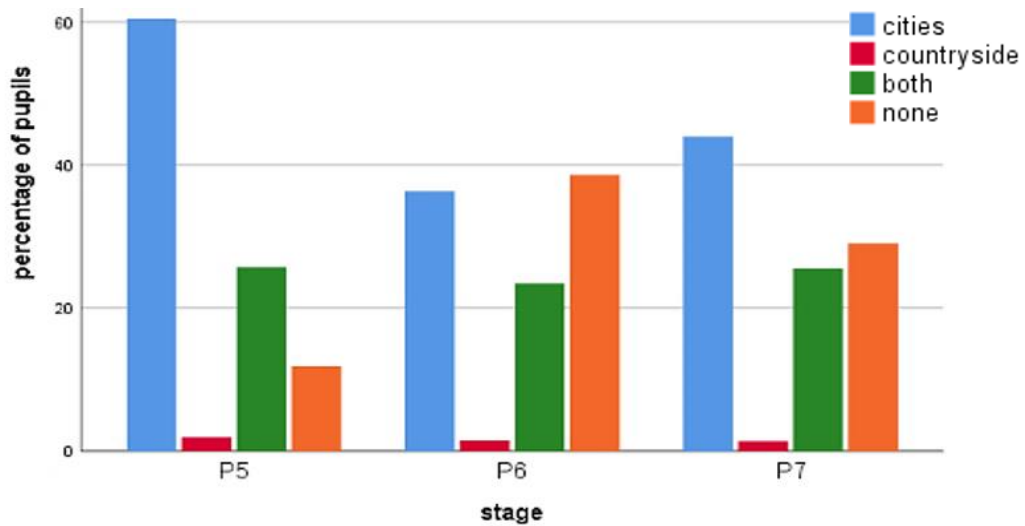
Figure 31. Which parts of China have you been learning about (by stage, N = 374)

At stage level, the study of cities was by far at its highest within P5 at 60.4%, further reinforcing previous data and remained prominent, though less so, in P6 and P7 classes (36.4% and 44% respectively). A balanced representation of everyday life across China in its cities and rural areas was a minority experience across all stages in around one-quarter of classes. Pupils reporting no such input stood at its highest in P6 at 38.6% and still high in P7 at 29.1%. This reinforces the earlier data showing that most input on the geography of China was received by P5 pupils. This theme was explored further in examining the extent to which pupils had been learning about people living in China.
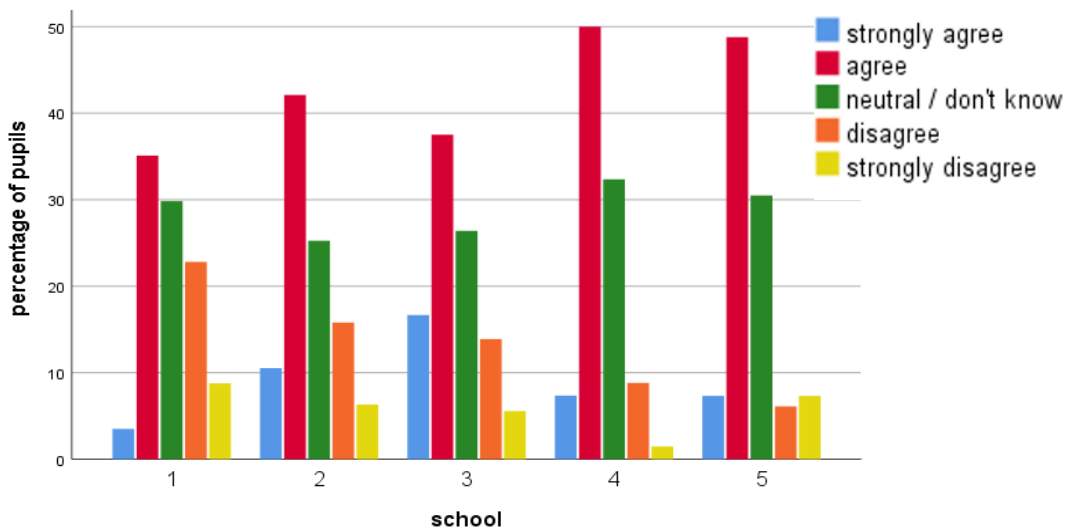
Figure 32. In my lessons, I have learned about the people who live in China (by school, N= 374)

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Figure 32 highlights clear positive trends (SA/ A) towards this statement in schools 2-5 at 52.6%, 54.2%, 57.4% and 56.1% respectively. The picture in School 1 was much less so at around 38.6% (SA/ A) and around 30% of pupils indicating either ambiguity (N/ DK) or negative views (D/ SD). A Chi-Square test indicated no overall significance ($p= .12$) thus practices could be seen as broadly similar across contexts.
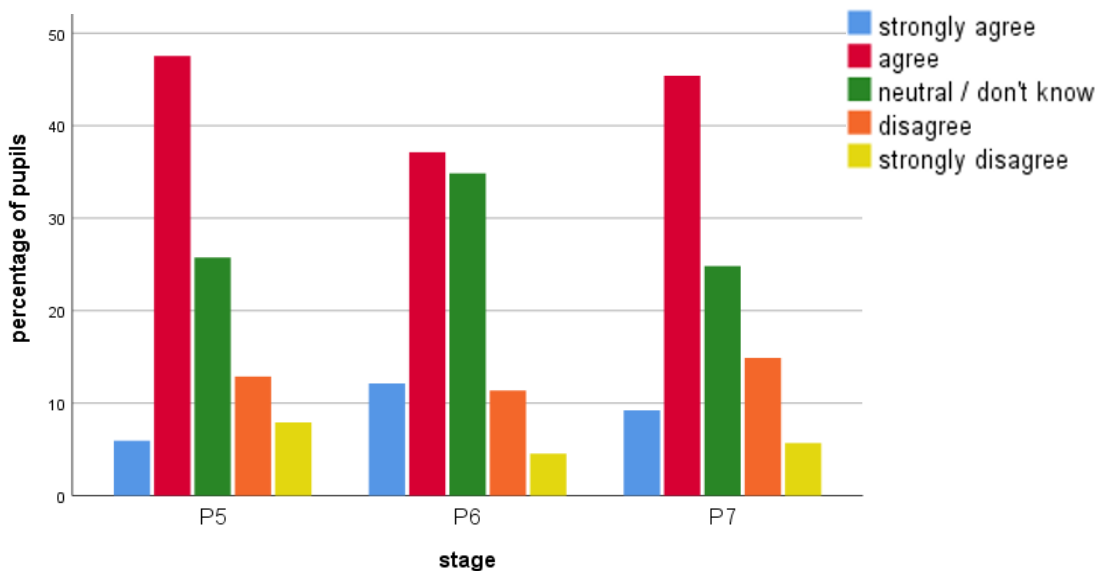
Figure 33. In my lessons, I have learned about the people who live in China (by stage, N= 374)

Figure 33 shows similar broad patterns expressed across stages as a whole with positive views (SA/ A) in P5-7 at 53.5%, 49.2% and 54.6% respectively. Levels of disagreement ranged from around 16%- 21%. These similarities were again reflected in the results of a Chi-Square test indicating no overall significance ($p= .37$).

In attempting to drill down deeper into this aspect of CLC, pupils were asked to rank, in order from 1-5, aspects of life in China learnt about in lessons: life at home, life in school, children's interests/ pastimes, Chinese traditions and Chinese history with 1 = most often and 5 = least often. For ease of interpretation, the tables below summarise each category as 1st and 2nd choices, giving an overall view of their relative frequencies. During survey implementation, it was noted that pupils found such ranking questions difficult to manage, easily identifying positions 1, 2 and 5, but struggling with the ordering of 3rd and 4th place responses.

Across all schools, table 24 below shows Chinese traditions and history were the two features predominating learning about life in China for most pupils. Combining first choice preferences reinforces that fact at 85.8%, 75.8%, 70.9%, 75.0% and 90.2% in each respective school. However, practices in schools 2, 3 and 4 could seem a little more varied in some of the lesser categories. Even though it becomes more difficult to rank the remaining choices due to smaller variances in ordering across schools, it is clear that the study of children's hobbies, life at school and life at home are covered to a much lesser degree and individually at small levels across all schools.

Table 24. Ranking of features of Chinese life covered during lessons (by school, N= 373)

		school									
		1		**2**		**3**		**4**		**5**	
		n	**%**	*n*	**%**	*n*	**%**	*n*	**%**	*n*	**%**
Chinese traditions	1 = most often	38	67.9%	58	61.1%	30	41.7%	37	54.4%	41	50.0%
	2 = 2nd choice	11	19.6%	24	25.3%	15	20.8%	17	25.0%	35	42.7%
Chinese history	1 =	10	17.9%	14	14.7%	21	29.2%	14	20.6%	33	40.2%
	2 =	36	64.3%	46	48.4%	25	34.7%	27	39.7%	29	35.4%
Children's hobbies/ pastimes	1 =	3	5.4%	4	4.2%	10	13.9%	2	2.9%	1	1.2%
	2 =	6	10.7%	15	15.8%	15	20.8%	12	17.6%	8	9.8%
Life at school	1 =	3	5.4%	12	12.6%	5	6.9%	7	10.3%	3	3.7%
	2 =	3	5.4%	6	6.3%	8	11.1%	7	10.3%	6	7.3%
Life at home	1 =	2	3.6%	7	7.4%	6	8.3%	7	10.3%	4	4.9%
	2 =	0	0.0%	4	4.2%	8	11.1%	4	5.9%	4	4.9%

At stage level, shown in table 25 below, similar patterns were seen for most pupils with Chinese traditions and history combining as first choices to give 81.2%, 73.5%, and 83.6% at each respective stage with the other categories mentioned to much smaller extent within and across these. Overall, these results showed that pupils' classroom experiences dwelt far less on aspects that may be more relatable and accessible to the lives of Scottish primary aged pupils, reinforcing points from the earlier discussions in Section 7.13 around perceptions of China as a very traditional culture.

Table 25. Ranking of features of Chinese life covered during lessons (by stage, N= 373)

aspect of life	ranking	P5		P6		P7	
		n	%	n	%	n	%
Chinese traditions	1 = most often	48	47.5%	73	55.3%	83	59.3%
	2 = 2nd choice	35	34.7%	32	24.2%	35	25.0%
Chinese history	1 =	34	33.7%	24	18.2%	34	24.3%
	2 =	35	34.7%	58	43.9%	70	50.0%
Children's hobbies/ pastimes	1 =	2	2.0%	13	9.8%	5	3.6%
	2 =	18	17.8%	21	15.9%	17	12.1%
Life at school	1 =	10	9.9%	13	9.8%	7	5.0%
	2 =	9	8.9%	10	7.6%	11	7.9%
Life at home	1 =	8	7.9%	6	4.5%	12	8.6%
	2 =	4	4.0%	10	7.6%	6	4.3%

In focus groups with Scottish teachers, some felt school practices did try to show a wider range of life in China to demystify the country, others felt there was room for improvement, but quite often the view taken was they themselves did not have enough experience or knowledge to comment upon the balance of content or that models in operation were limited:

> I just don't know enough to comment. (School 1)

> When I was young in the 1970s China seemed scary and foreign. By finding out about the similarities and drawing upon the experiences of the visiting teachers and pupils from China, it shows that they are just like any people. Our lessons try to focus on everyday life, school life and a lot of that is similar. (School 3)

> I think there is room for things to be more relatable like places in China, school life, everyday life for children. (School 4)

> The 50-minute lessons in the Mandarin block don't give much time for questions about everyday life in China. (School 5)

This group again picked up on the role of, and reliance on, the Hanban teacher in promoting realistic views of life in China, but also that the pattern of their own involvement was potentially problematic, which will be revisited in Sections 8.23

and 9.2. Hanban teachers picked up on misconceptions pupils had about life in the country as a result of limited input or external sources that schools and teachers were not able to control and that basic awareness of the 'everyday' was restricted:

> It is difficult to show pupils the real-life culture – it is a hard thing to put across when you have little knowledge yourself. (School 4)

> Our Hanban teacher can put across a narrow range of perceptions. Also, the Chinese teacher changes from year-to-year and there can be a discontinuity in what is covered as a result. (School 5).

> Pupils have no idea of simple, but important things such as Chinese currency and how to convert this into pounds. They do not know the prices in Chinese shopping malls and supermarkets, they don't know how these compare with the UK. (HBT 3)

> They have watched videos on-line about animals in China and asked do people see pandas every day? Do people in Yunnan province ride elephants every day? (HBT 6)

In summary, pupils' perceptions of everyday life in China are predominantly city based and reinforce 'large culture' narratives in how life is presented that could lead to stereotyping in pupils' minds. The knowledge base of the Scottish teachers dictates a reliance on the Hanban teachers' delivery, which can act both positively and negatively on classroom experiences.

7.33   Engaging with people living in China

The final element of pupils' potential engagement with 'small cultures' considered their contact with people living in China at the level of Chinese nationals in China or Scotland, non-nationals living in the country and also inclusive of family and friends.
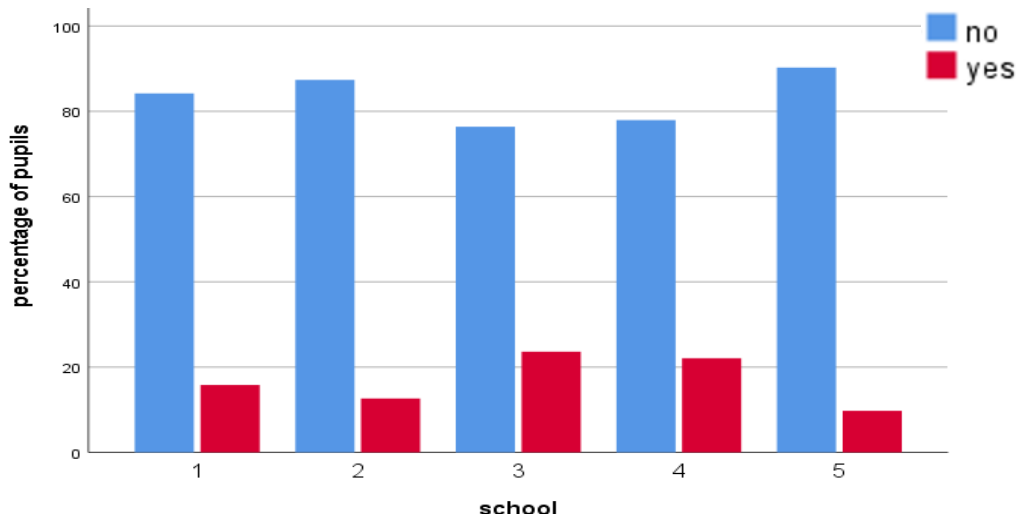
Figure 34. Do you have any contact with people who actually live in China? (by school, N = 374)
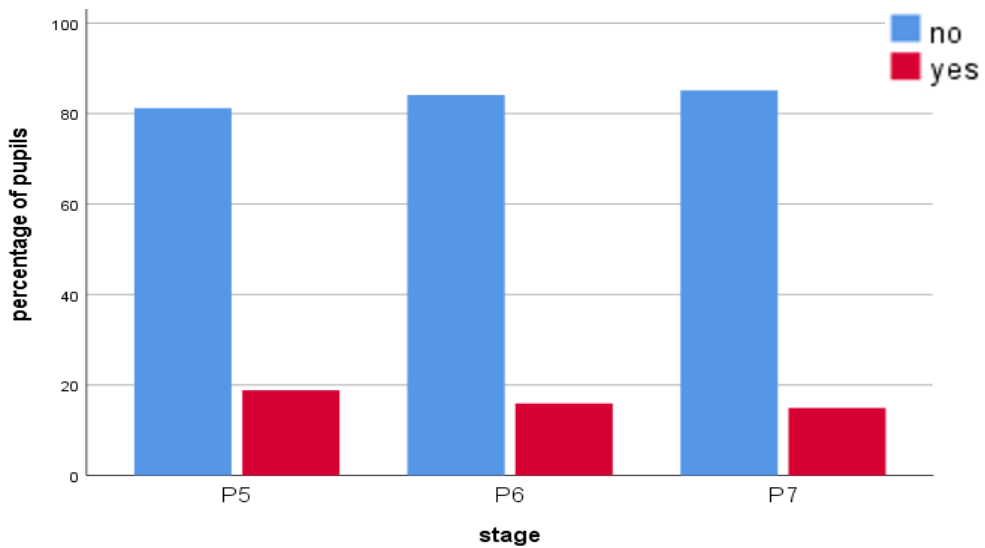
Figure 35. Do you have any contact with people who actually live in China? (by stage, N = 374)

At first glance, when considering figures 34 and 35, it seemed clear across schools and stages that most pupils did not have contact with people who live/ have lived in China. However, the percentages who said they did was still at a noticeable extent that could not be dismissed at between 9.8- 23.6% at school level and 14.9- 18.9% across stages with the tables below offering some further illumination.

Table 26. Sources of contact with people living in China (by school, N= 374)

	school									
	1		2		3		4		5	
source	*n*	%	*n*	%	*n*	%	*n*	%	*n*	%
my Chinese teacher	3	5.3%	5	5.3%	13	18.1%	10	14.7%	4	4.9%
friends	5	8.8%	3	3.2%	1	1.4%	4	5.9%	1	1.2%
family	1	1.8%	4	4.2%	0	0.0%	4	5.9%	2	2.4%
pupils in schools in China	1	1.8%	1	1.1%	4	5.6%	2	2.9%	0	0.0%
other	1	1.8%	1	1.1%	1	1.4%	1	1.5%	2	2.4%

Table 27. Sources of contact with people living in China (by stage, N= 374)

	P5		P6		P7	
source	*n*	%	*n*	%	*n*	%
my Chinese teacher	13	12.9%	10	7.6%	12	8.5%
friends	4	4.0%	7	5.3%	3	2.1%
family	3	3.0%	2	1.5%	6	4.3%
pupils in schools in China	2	2.0%	3	2.3%	3	2.1%
other	1	1.0%	1	0.8%	4	2.8%

In the minds of a few pupils, highest at P5 and in a clear minority within school 3, the Hanban teacher was likely identified as being someone who lives in China, but the majority of pupils did not make this obvious connection. Across both tables 26-27, contact with school pupils in China may suggest that this was an individual activity at home, rather than something actively encouraged by the school. In the category of other, very low mention was made of local secondary school pupils who had won scholarships to study in China and who classes could contact to hear about their experiences. There was also recognition of some of the difficulties that existed in creating and sustaining such contacts. Some illustrative comments included:

> There are links to British Council initiatives: Language linking; global thinking. A 6th year pupil from the local High School is out in China and maintains a blog that the pupils can interact with her on and hear about her progress. They send e-mails and videos to her. The pupils know her, where

she is i.e. Tianjin and it is immediate in terms of using the Internet to communicate with her. (School 3)

The Hanban teacher, who will come in December, is from a school that we hope to twin with, but it will not be a live link given the time difference. (School 3)

There may be possibilities with e-twinning, but social media restrictions may be a problem. (School 4)

The schools in the study were in reasonably culturally diverse areas and pupils from China or Chinese family backgrounds attended. Some children picked up on such friendships and staff spoke about occasional pupils from the country that spent time in their schools and acted as sources of information. Visitors beyond this seemed limited in scope and frequency:

Last year, P6 had the son of the High School Hanban teacher in their class for 2 weeks and he shared his experiences and took part in the Chinese New Year assembly. Nothing could compare with that for pupils. (School 3)

About 6 years ago, a male teacher from China came to speak about the basics of culture, artefacts, art work at round about Chinese New Year. (School 2)

There are some pupils in classes who come from a Chinese family background. There was one pupil who moved back to China recently and pupils still mention her. When here, she talked about life in China, Chinese New Year and so on. (School 5)

In concluding this section, there seems to be scope for further engagement with those not only from Chinese cultural backgrounds, but outwith to try and broaden pupils' interactions and knowledge base. However, it is recognised that there was also scope to tighten the framing of this question to allow for more expansive interpretation of its meaning such as people who have 'lived in China in the past', 'visited China' or who have 'family connections with China'.

7.4   Discussion

The initial layers of broad analysis now provide an opportunity to draw breath and take stock of issues in some further depth. To assist their signposting, each discussion section in Chapters 7-9 will follow a broadly similar pattern in reflecting upon:

- issues impacting on the interpretation of the presented datasets;
- wider discussion of the themes presented with linkage back to the literature review, conceptual framework and forward to subsequent chapters; and
- some early tentative thinking on the implications of the data ahead of the final conclusions and recommendations chapter where the questions set for research will be revisited.

7.41   Reflection on data interpretation: data triangulation

Section 5.83 of the methodology mentioned the central role for triangulation in this study and it seems appropriate to reflect on this as exemplified in this initial findings and discussion chapter, so as to assist understanding of the approach taken forward into the next two chapters. In many ways, this is encapsulated by the following view:

> The metaphor of triangulation has sometimes hindered this process by concentrating on the degree to which findings are mutually reinforcing or irreconcilable. Mixed methods research is not necessarily just an exercise in testing findings against each other. Instead, it is about forging an overall or negotiated account of the findings that brings together both components of the conversation or debate. (Bryman, 2007, p. 21)

Given the volume of data collected in this chapter, and across the study as a whole, it would potentially be easy for this to overwhelm both the researcher and the readers of this work. One potential response to this may lead to very selective use and presentation of the datasets in attempting to quickly navigate to a path that leads to straight forward answers and seemingly logical conclusions. As mentioned above by Bryman, the danger in such an approach is that it leads to a false/ forced triangulation between both qualitative and quantitative data and the reporting of patterns, trends

and experiences that seem, at first glance, to be mutually accepting and supportive, but which require deeper analysis to understand the reasons behind the headline messages.

This first findings and discussion chapter has genuinely tried to take cognisance of these issues and will continue to do so going forward. Whilst its structuring into 3 clear organising themes: participants' perceptions of China, large/ national cultures and small/ local cultures assist signposting, their nodes really try to engage with the realities of L3 practices. This is particularly important given that this provides a lot of contextual foundation for Chapters 8-9 and the discussions try to triangulate to points of reinforcement and extension going forward. At times, numerical data has led, sometimes descriptives and, in doing so, the contextual base for each organising theme/ node has been laid. Clear attempts have been made at not only presenting the issues, but trying to explain the reasons why these may exist, quite often leading to the discussion of elements that might, on their own, seem small and fairly insignificant. However, when triangulated against the other data these really extend the thinking and this is seen both quantitatively and qualitatively to achieve the notion of 'completeness' as advocated earlier by Whitehead and Schneider (2007). For example, when engaging with the quantitative data, the analyses afforded by SPSS have allowed triangulation in a range of ways that often confirm, but still deepen the trends in the data, and which are presented for different contexts and purposes including:

- by total sample: gaining the bigger picture overview;
- by gender: examining attitudes, understanding and engagement;
- by school: looking at the operation/ impact of L3 models;
- by stage: exploring the specifics of CLC content and approaches at P5, 6 and 7; and
- by length of study: examining the impact over time of CLC inputs on pupils' understanding and attitudes.

This chapter has also shown that the interactions between the different participants provide an extremely valuable triangulation base that often highlights the impacts of

each on the other in ways that both support and contradict some of the key practices underpinning L3 CLC. Though some of these insights, may at times, be based on a smaller range of commentary, they have illuminated the wider discussion. It has been very worthwhile to see how adults' perceptions of classroom experiences tally with those of pupils across P5-7 and within each stage, which are afforded equal weighting in the balance of views presented, thus giving voice to those who may have traditionally been overlooked, as emphasised by Hastings (2010), Wall (2012) and Wall et al. (2006, 2013).

Using this chapter as an example of the triangulation approach in this study will hopefully assist understanding going forward. As alluded to in the initial quote, triangulation is about engaging in a conversation where the datasets speak to each other, the participants and to the research themes with the aim of negotiating a genuine account of L3 experiences and practices.

7.42   Revisiting cultural constructs and models

When considering the initial organising theme, dealing with participants' perceptions of China as a country, there was strong evidence across much of the datasets that classroom practices, at school and stage level, either in intended or unintended ways, presented the country as one very much rooted in its traditional past. In turn, pupils have perceived it as such in their own minds as was shown particularly well in the PCT discussions that took place. This links back to the structuralist view supported earlier by Baldwin et al. (2006) of presenting a country through its culture as repeated patterns of behaviours in the usage of symbols, rituals, laws and the celebration of ceremonies and events. This was seen especially in this study in relation to the balance between learning about old/ modern China with the former very much predominating. Connected to this, the transmission of constructs and ideas showed China as a country with cultural stability stretching back over a long period of time presented by an outward face of tradition as highlighted by Bauman (1999, 2013) and Ganassin (2019). Again, this came through particularly strongly in pupil discussions where similar notions of the representation of China were seen across P5-7 as a whole. Pupils framed many of their strongly positive perceptions of

the country around this traditional façade and views often expressed the desire to repeat such classroom practices through tourism in China itself, rather than wider experiences of the country including language learning or those potentially relatable to pupils' future life here in Scotland/ UK.

The available evidence also strongly supports the teaching and learning focus being through a national/ large culture model of China and clear links can be made back to some of the theoretical bases mentioned in the conceptual framework. In many ways, practices seemed to link well to the 'onion-skin model' of culture discussed in Section 2.21 by Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (1998). In this context, its outer layers saw pupils exposed to the 'explicit' features of culture framed by authors such as Kramsch (1991) and Hua and Wei (2014a) as the '4Fs' in overemphasising food, fairs, folklore and statistical facts. The focus on aspects such as the geography of China and its festivals was very prominent across schools and stages and gave rise to some results of statistical significance as a whole. Though dominant, the depth of these experiences seemed somewhat focused upon a very narrow range of content in terms of cities and festivals. At its next layer, Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner highlight the need to question cultural representations in order to understand norms and values with some level of criticality. There was evidence for pupils being able to do so in discussions during lessons, including some of the more contentious elements of life in the country, and of independent learning through project-based activities in some, not all schools. The values represented at this layer of the model were in evidence, but came through more explicitly in the views of the adults in the study and implicitly in pupil discussions and still at a stage of being at a minority of expressed opinions. For Scottish teachers, values tended to again mirror the impact of the past on Chinese thinking and this came through very clearly in the discussions with the Hanban groups. It is likely that the Scottish teachers were influenced by these in their observations of classroom practices. Finally, at the core of the 'onion-skin model' are the 'basic assumptions' drawing the other layers together. In this study, the core was clearly represented by the focus on tradition as the link used most often to justify the continued focus of the past into the present that seemed to underpin so much of classroom practice across the stages. One potential criticism of

this analysis may be its lack of contextualisation with other cultures taught through modern languages in Scottish classrooms where the same issues may arise generally with scope to consider this in future research. However, as an interesting alternative view, Sections 8.21 and 8.31 reflect on Scottish participants' perspectives on their own culture to see if similar perceptions existed.

The discussion of values can be further viewed through the lens of Hofstede's (1991) 'Cultural Dimensions', first discussed in Section 2.22. A distinction was made at that point between how culture is viewed on the 'etic and emic' or insider and outsider continuum as related to the work of Triandis (1994). What became apparent was the very similar notions of values held by the Scottish and Hanban teachers towards Chineseness in this respect, which may seem to link to stereotypical views by the former, but clearly viewed as important aspects of cultural identity by the visiting Chinese groups. Again, there is scope to consider the extent to which each set of teachers is influenced by the other when knowledge of their societies may be limited, a theme that will be explored further in Chapters 8-9. Hofstede's (1991) work is often criticised for seeing cultural characteristics too simplistically. However, it could be argued that there was some truth to this in what was presented by both the adult and pupil groups. The mentions of societal hierarchies and relationships, especially between young and old, teachers and learners does link to Hofstede's dynamic of individualism vs collectivism. This seemed to suggest a focus on the greater good in Chinese society and of a more hierarchical culture creating high vs low power distance dynamics where people were accepting of the power and influence of authority in their lives. Though not explicitly mentioned as Confucian, values of education, hard work, order and respect underpinned many of the comments made across all groups, including pupils at P5-7, reinforcing the view of Hsu and Huang (2016) that the evolution of cultural values in China still maintains these at its core. Sections 8.11 and 8.21 consider this dynamic further when exploring how each set of teachers viewed their own culture in relation to that of the Other.

By means of contrast, the notion of pupils' learning about the small cultures of China seemed somewhat limited in this study. As was highlighted, their exposure to aspects of life that would match to the notion of small communities and groups, supported by Holliday (1999, 2018a) and Baldwin et al. (2006), was limited in scope. In Holliday's 'Grammar of Culture' (2010, 2018a), he refers to 'personal trajectories' as the mediation and filters used to respond to the structures that shape people's lives. These should give rise to individual stories linking the past, present and future of groups and individuals, though comments in this study suggested limited scope to allow pupils to engage and empathise in contexts that would prove meaningful to them when they referenced to Chinese people's everyday lives. In Holliday's model, this on-going dialogue between large and small cultures is essential for meaning making, but seemed underdeveloped in practices within the study schools. Though school life, for example, was covered in classes and would have acted as a good means to compare and contrast against, this seems to have been explored mainly in superficial ways. Pupils' reactions tended to focus on the narrow factual basis of this in ways that may seem reductionist, rather than understanding and exploring the reasons for such differences. Interactions with actual Chinese visiting groups or exposure to wider representations of Chinese people was very limited, though it was interesting to note that Hanban teachers were not always classed in this way by pupils. The issues arising from this, i.e. the need to broaden out the scope of experiences beyond the traditional were picked up by the Hanban teachers who saw the lasting impact of narrow content on pupils into secondary schools where misconceptions and stereotypes remained in some pupils' minds and needed challenging. It was hopeful to see pupils occasionally use the key messaging behind small cultures in framing views of cultural difference as positive/ worthwhile, that essentially people are people the world over and share many more things in common than may be perceived. This discussion is also developed in Section 8.32 where pupils showed cultural empathy towards others, another positive form of impact.

7.5   Summary and initial conclusions

At this initial stage, this chapter echoes many of the inconsistencies and limitations in cultural practices that have been highlighted in various global school contexts,

especially in relation to the UK study by Tinsley and Board (2014). However, its key contribution is the examination of the cultural dimension to L3 practices in Scotland in a manner that has not existed to date. Given that cultural awareness underpins the claims for L3 practices in the 1+2 policy, as discussed in Section 1.2, it has been important to test these views in practice. These findings are the only ones currently available that attempt to look at the totality of pupils' experiences across the key stages of P5-7 and have offered detailed insights into pupils' views on China and its culture. These seem to suggest that, whilst interesting and enjoyable activities are taking place, the shift and progression in pupils' constructs of China and its culture are, for the most part, very limited. Prior to the research, it was anticipated that practices would develop more fully over the course of P5-7 building upon prior knowledge. In this initial discussion, there seemed to be a lot of overlap in how China was presented to pupils, which was best summed up in the tabular data in Section 7.32. The differences between P5 pupils with/ without CLC experiences also gave rise to interesting observations that often showed broad similarities when considering their views on China and, therefore, the need to consider progression.

Finally, in terms of contributions towards recommendations and conclusions in Chapter 10, some initial markers for thinking have been laid around:

- a better balance in the representations of modern/ traditional China;
- clearer advice to Scottish and Hanban teachers on making culture accessible to primary aged pupils;
- better progression in cultural themes across CLC experiences at the P5-7 stages to avoid high levels of repetition of learning, whilst still recognising the need to build on previous content; and
- fuller engagement with additional people, organisations and sources that could represent China and Chinese culture more widely.

8.0   Introduction

The second global theme arising considers participants as 'insiders', 'outsiders' and potentially 'inbetweeners' in both a cultural and educational sense. This was initially explored in Section 2.14 of the conceptual framework and in elements of the literature review, such as the notion of Chinese identity, professional roles and responsibilities. The aim is now to consider these constructs through the actual experiences of those delivering, observing or receiving CLC input through L3 practices in Scottish classrooms in this particular study.

To achieve suitable depth in narratives, there is a much greater emphasis placed in this chapter on the qualitative data derived from each set of participants, though links will be made to previous sections containing quantitative findings. What will become particularly clear throughout is the multiple roles that participants played in the L3 process of CLC. This necessitated moving in and out of these in order to make sense of their experiences, interactions with each other and the navigation of the tensions and challenges that arose. Figure 36 below summarises the analysis and the structure taken forward into this chapter.
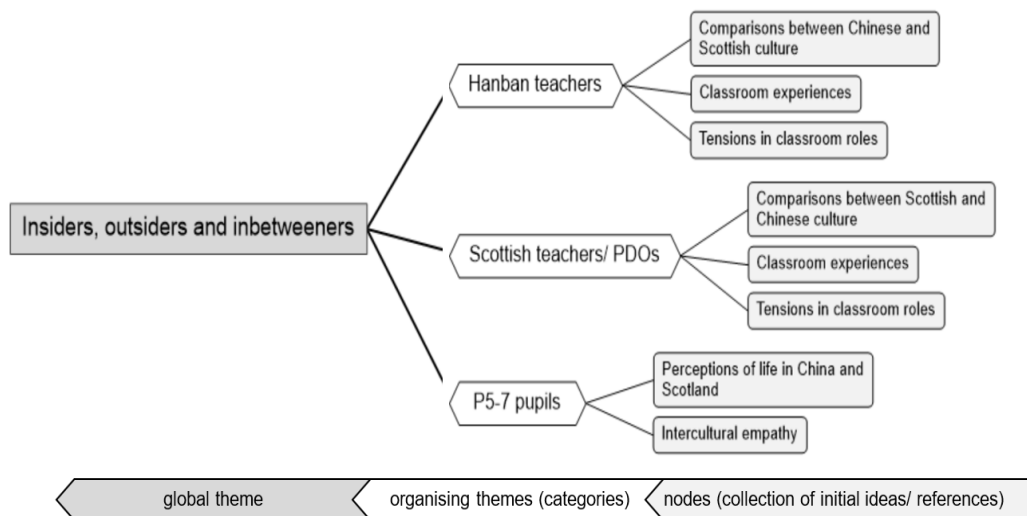
Figure 36. Thematic structure employed in Chapter 8

Though seemingly simplistic in name, the three organising themes are based on the participant groups first mentioned in Section 1.5 of the introduction and throughout the thesis as this seems the most logical way to progress. It is necessary to place the perspectives of the Hanban teachers front and centre in this chapter as those chiefly responsible for delivering L3 models in primary schools in this study, and more generally across Scotland. Therefore, the opportunities, challenges and tensions this presents are greatest for this group. Scottish adult participants form the second subtheme including 18 teachers across 5 primary schools and 3 Professional Development Officers (PDOs) based in a CI responsible for working closely with schools and local authorities across the country and supporting visiting Hanban groups during their time in classrooms. Pupils at the P5-7 stages form the final strand of the discussion with their views considered by stage, and across stages as a whole where appropriate, to give a strong, independent voice to this group, which was noted in Section 5.7 as a particular goal of this study through the adapted use of 'Personal Construct Theory' (Kelly, 1955).

8.1   Hanban teachers

As discussed specifically in Section 4.53, the role of the Hanban teachers in supporting CLC in schools is fundamental to its delivery. In comparison with the other participant groups, these visiting teachers have a broader range of identities to reconcile in being Chinese nationals, foreign teachers working in school systems very different from their own, and seen very much as the 'experts' in the field of CLC from others' perspectives. The data arising in the qualitative discussions that took place highlighted some of the tensions in these competing identities. The questions asked of both groups of Hanban teachers are given in Appendix D. As explained in the methodology, two rounds of interviews took place, one in English with the researcher and one in Chinese with a native speaker who was a student training to be a teacher of CLC in Scottish secondary schools with previous experience of being a Hanban teacher herself. Quite often, the groups reflected on working in secondary school contexts much more so than in primaries, which highlighted the roles expected of them, but their views still showed important thinking around their understanding and attitudes shaping their identities and

classroom practices. These wider insights, therefore, are still very relevant to the primary context of CLC given that the pupils in this study are progressing into secondary schools where they will be able to develop their knowledge and skills further.

8.11   Comparisons between Chinese and Scottish/ UK culture

In reflecting further on their Chinese identity, and the elements of this that were felt important for non-Chinese people's awareness, there was strong reinforcement in the views already expressed in Sections 7.1- 7.3 around the importance attached to tradition, history and societal respect. However, there was also a recognition that the Hanban groups' thinking on the portrayal of their culture in classrooms had to show awareness of crossover into Scottish/ UK society. In order to make it balanced and meaningful to pupils in schools, emphasis on the modern side of China and easily accessible elements such as its food culture were mentioned as ways to potentially capture pupils' interest and demonstrate application of their classroom learning to daily life, an aspect that will be explored further in Chapter 9. The notion of the 'authenticity' of pupils' cultural experience also came through when discussing food in contrast to the groups' views on what was marketed as Chinese cuisine in Scotland/ UK. Representative comments included:

> Food is a good topic for outdoor learning and pupils are taken to Chinese restaurants and supermarkets to learn about authentic Chinese food. (HBT 2)

> It should be something that is relevant to both theirs and our daily life e.g. food, drink, numbers, games… These things are handy to use and pupils find them interesting. (HBT 3)

> Modern culture is more interesting and better reflects our current lives. (HBT 6)

> Some pupils have been taught Chinese painting, Kung Fu and Tai Chi and are very interested, but I still prefer to teach something that is relevant to their everyday life. (HBT 9)

To encourage explicit reflection on the 'Other', two interview questions specifically asked the groups to consider ways in which Chinese culture was similar or different to that of Scotland and the UK. Both country options were included, as many within these groups may have found differentiating between the UK and its constituent parts potentially difficult. Overall, the Hanban teachers found it much easier to draw upon the differences. As was highlighted in Section 7.12, the purpose and value of education in both countries was a major feature with the impression that Scotland did not attach the same importance to this as in China. Though reflections were often more based on secondary school experiences, there was a clear emphasis upon the notion of academic achievement and using education as a means to get on in life:

> British education pays more attention to the process e.g. creativity and in China more on the product e.g. exam results. (HBT 3)

> A good university is a guarantee of a good job. (HBT 5)

> In China, if you go to a very good university, it is a huge honour for you and your family. (HBT 7)

This was contrasted in the Scottish/ UK context, where societal differences came to the fore in terms of the perceived lack of focus in the lives of some people and the ways in which familial relationships could impact positively and negatively on expectations and life goals:

> The relationship between parents and their children is not like in China, parents here value independence and the fact that the child can have his/her own life and will not interfere too much. (HBT 4)

> Living your life here is different in terms of the motivation. Many people are happy with the way they are now and want to find a job in the local town and just live their lives there. (HBT 6)

As an important meeting point for both countries and their people, food culture was mentioned time and again. Trying to understand Scottish and Chinese 'drinking culture' in terms of tea and alcohol was an example of both similarity and difference and exemplified the notion of the Other well. There was a sense that views of this by Hanban groups were initially positive upon early arrival in the country, but had

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become more negative with experience and interaction with Scottish people and society:

> When drinking, Scottish people are enjoying the taste of the drink, rather than the social situation. (HBT 4)

> In Scotland, tea is a social occasion to talk and drink. Tea culture in China in daily life can be an individual activity, a symbol of a healthy lifestyle. Wider drinking culture here often seems the opposite. (HBT 7)

> In China, drinking culture values the human at the centre, the person comes first and drinking second. In Scotland, people value the alcohol itself more than the person. (HBT 11)

Lesser mention was made of cultural differences such as daily interactions and symbols, the latter being strongly highlighted through discussions with pupils across P5-7 as shown in Section 7.23:

> Greetings here such as, "How are you?" are standard, whereas the equivalents in China are more related to, "Have you eaten yet?" (HBT 4)

> In China, white is associated with funeral ceremonies with white flowers. Red in Chinese culture is lucky, here it is associated with blood and violence. HBT 8)

Much less was said by the Hanban groups when comparing the similarities between both Scotland/ UK and China, but participants returned again to celebrating festivals, the central role of the family, food culture in daily life and in relation to special occasions:

> No matter for Chinese or Scottish people, they will come back home to have a family meal to celebrate together. (HBT 7)

> On a Sunday, Scottish people like to eat roast meat as a family meal. People from northeast China where I come from like this type of food too. (HBT 10)

What also came through the discussion of similarities and differences was the notion of cultural stereotypes. Pupils' perceptions of China, as a result of their cultural

input in CLC classes, were discussed in Section 6.2. This included elements of stereotyping life there and some Hanban teachers seemed frustrated by this, seeing their role as expanding pupils' thinking about the country and to challenge these views through further engagement. Again, most of these views related to experiences in working with secondary pupils:

> Views in some classes can be quite stereotypical: Chinese people are all good cooks, not very friendly, over-disciplined and that seems a general view in some places. It can annoy me at times. (HBT 6)

> In classes, some children thought that pandas are kept as pets and some asked whether they can be adopted. I almost laughed when I heard that. (HBT 11)

8.12   Classroom experiences

Section 4.53 of the literature review considered the work of a range of authors such as Pérez-Milans (2015), Xiang (2019) and Ye and Edwards (2018) who have explicitly reflected upon the professional identities of Hanban teachers working in the UK to support the teaching of CLC. In terms of classroom involvement in this study, there was a clear view in the minds of the groups on the 'types of learners' that they were dealing with and this often linked to the purposes behind studying CLC, with distinctions made between those pupils who had chosen to do so and those for whom it was compulsory. Beyond Chinese, these comments also gave insight into pupils' perceptions of the value of studying languages in general.

> In another Confucius Hub school, there are also different types of learners: one group who are interested, another group who misbehave, but still expect to get the credits. (HBT 1)

> Exam classes are more enthusiastic. (HBT 2)

> Many pupils seem to dislike French and German and choose Mandarin instead and find it even more difficult. (HBT 5)

> The most important reason is why pupils choose the language and whether they choose it by themselves. (HBT 7)

Primary pupils welcome the language because it is not an examined class.
(HBT 8)

There was a clear link in these discussions to motivation, achievement and behaviour, which the Hanban teachers mentioned earlier as key differences in the education systems of both countries and that presented real challenges for them, reinforcing the studies mentioned above. Though it may be argued more generally, by any group of teachers, that these are the drivers of success in school systems globally, when taken together with previous comments expressed by the Hanban groups, there is a sense of Confucian values to education coming through repeatedly in comments when compared to its broad tenets given in Section 3.11.

There was also a recognition of the external factors at play in encouraging pupils to take the learning of CLC forward and that schools were not the only influencers in this respect. This mirrors the discussion by Ganassin (2019) into the motivations for studying the language by those attending Chinese community schools in the UK. Some in the Hanban groups recognised that a few children came from Chinese family backgrounds and that learning the language, often an expectation, was not always popular:

There is a third group whose family background is Chinese, so parents force them to go to classes to keep up the language. The child may not wish to learn Mandarin, but their family asks them to do so. (HBT 2)

Another factor is the environment– the big environment and the small environment. This includes their family background and not just the school and the class that pupils are in. (HBT 6)

Yang (2019), Ye and Edwards (2017) reflect on the philosophy of classroom practices by Hanban teachers. In this study, beyond some initial mention of their specific responsibilities in Scottish schools, both groups had to be reminded by the researcher and the PGDE student, conducting the second interview, of the direct and distinct role that they themselves had to play in the promotion of CLC. There was general reluctance to discuss this fully especially seen in the interview conducted in

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English with the first group. However, what was mentioned did indicate tensions in the minds of some participants in terms of approach:

> We can make both a positive and negative contribution if pupils are not used to our sort of teaching. (HBT 2)

> It is hard at times for us to be creative and keep pupils' interest. (HBT 7)

> The Hanban teacher's personality and cultural knowledge are also very important. (HBT 9)

Linking back to earlier comments, both groups indicated a frustration with the lack of pupils' knowledge of China, life there in general and the ways in which the country was being represented more broadly. The opportunity to give pupils an accurate and authentic source of information and culture seemed important to the group as a whole:

> Sometimes pupils can ask very stereotypical questions e.g. do Chinese people eat dogs? This impacts on understanding of what we are all about. (HBT 3)

> Views towards China and Chinese can be affected by public perception, the media and the school's results. (HBT 6)

> When coming to Mandarin lessons, we need to make pupils' views more balanced and things are getting better. (HBT 7)

8.13   Tensions in classroom roles

Previous research in Sections 4.531- 4.533 discussed some of the difficulties faced by the Hanban teachers in establishing and undertaking their professional role in schools. The nature of catering for pupils with a range of abilities and needs was highlighted by Ye and Edwards (2018) and was also an issue for these groups in Scottish schools. In particular, their role in spanning both primary and secondary classrooms was recognised as necessary, but presenting a challenge:

> The Confucius Institute should find something practical and simple enough to deliver in primary schools. It is difficult for us to achieve this. (HBT 5)

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> We need to remember that there is not just one way to spread/ learn about Chinese culture, as those learning about it are from various backgrounds educationally. Pupils could also be from different parts of the UK, so you need to find ways to approach the teaching of cultural input that suit them. (HBT 8)

> Different pupils have different requirements, some love Chinese and want to learn more, others learn because they have no choice. Regardless, we need to cater for everyone and this is a challenge. (HBT 10)

Both groups spoke of support received prior to coming to Scotland, in-country on arrival and in schools. Overall, there was some reluctance to open up about their experiences in the initial interview in English, but the group tended to speak more freely when it was conducted in Chinese on the second occasion. Pre-arrival events of different durations were delivered by the Hanban Organisation in China and involved the occasional use of foreign visitors to support thinking, but tended to focus on the delivery of traditional aspects of the language and culture. Others picked up on their previous degree backgrounds as providing a knowledge base for working abroad. Support from previous Hanban groups was felt as most useful. Overall, there was a view that they were not as prepared for the challenge of living and teaching abroad as much as they would have liked, which echoes findings from the work of Lu et al. (2019), Tinsley and Board (2014) and Xiang (2019):

> Courses in China taught us about Chinese calligraphy, papercutting and Chinese knots. (HBT 1)

> There is not enough on the cultural dimension or how to communicate effectively with school colleagues. (HBT 2)

> The training received in China are for all the teachers travelling to the UK, rather than reference to the four countries. It is not specific enough for all systems. (HBT 3)

> Video chats with Hanban teachers who were already here and talked about the differences in the systems were really good. (HBT 7)

The preparedness of Hanban groups was echoed by the PDOs responsible for supporting them during their time here. There was a recognition, from the pastoral care offered to these teachers, of the difficulties that they faced and that a mismatch in expectations from schools, the Hanban organisation and in resourcing potentially hampered the groups' efforts as the people expected to successfully carry the language forward. Xiang's views (2019) on the competing demands of these groups were echoed in this study by PDOs reflecting on the situation and its impact:

> It would be great if the Hanban organisation would sit down with us and develop materials that could be used locally by our Hanban teachers. (PDO 1)

> The Hanban teacher has to be a skilled person who can pick up the pieces to avoid pupils disliking the language at an early stage. However, school staff really need to play their full part too in the support process. (PDO 2)

> Some Hanban teachers shared experiences of how things have been difficult for them. It is a big thing for Chinese teachers to say that they cannot cope. (PDO 2)

Ye and Edwards (2018) picked up on the desire from visiting groups for further professional training once in the UK. In this study, the Hanban teachers appreciated support received from the CI to which they were attached and felt this filled in some gaps in how best to approach the Scottish classroom context. However, the impact of this additional training received was often lessened by what was going on in the school environment in which the Hanban teachers were based and the perception that their involvement was not a high priority. The need to establish and build up good relationships and the commitment from schools and staff for targeted and genuine support in delivering content and working round resourcing issues were also highlighted:

> The problem is that the classes focus too much on cultural information giving. Though this might be interesting, we need support from schools to make it more practical. (HBT 1)

School roles get in the way of supporting the Hanban teachers efficiently during the school working day. (HBT 2)

The Confucius Institute has stressed the need to find the point that links the Chinese and Scottish cultures together as, in doing so, Scottish students become much more interested. (HBT 5)

It took me 4 months to order Chinese dictionaries because the buying system in the school was too slow. (HBT 8)

There are lots of resources and materials from Hanban. However, these are developed for use around the world, which often means that they are not specific enough for use here in Scotland and what we have is limited. (HBT 9)

Xiang (2019) highlights frustration in Chinese teacher groups in the UK over expectations of their teaching, its links to pupils' progress and the means of best achieving this. Looking forward to Chapter 9, and the discussion of some wider impacts from the approaches taken to CLC in Scottish schools, the Hanban groups identified factors related to the curriculum, which they were unable to control, but had a big impact on their role and ability to carry out the expected responsibilities, often negatively. Throughout the groups' discussions, there was often a recognition that they understood the limitations of what was being delivered and that, in many schools, both the language and cultural element were only scratching the surface given the variation in models that L3 advice encourages (Education Scotland, 2019):

Pupils may want to learn Mandarin, but don't have enough class time and then see it as a waste of time as a result. (HBT 3)

Some schools have more time and others do not have enough to teach things in depth. This variation is not helpful for us. (HBT 5)

Another factor contributing to positive/ negative views is the number of classes, one primary school I worked in had Mandarin once a term. That is just pointless to me. (HBT 7)

8.2   Scottish teachers/ Professional Development Officers

This second set of perspectives comprises those from Scottish adult participants, mainly primary teachers, but also members of staff working in the CI tasked with the promotion of CLC across Scotland as a whole. Again, these groups had various roles to play and, at one level, they were all 'insiders' to the Scottish education system and its attempts at promoting Chinese through an L3 experience. However, most of the teachers would have classed themselves very much on the outside looking in when considering their knowledge and awareness of CLC, as only a minority of this group had any direct experience of delivering the language and cultural element, which was firmly left to the Hanban teachers. The notion of 'inbetweeners', as coined in the research context by Milligan (2016), could again be aptly used to describe the role that the PDOs, and a minority of primary teachers, took in actually delivering the language and cultural input in conjunction with the Hanban teachers or by themselves. In doing so, they were trying to bridge the tensions between the particular demands of CLC in their schools, local practices and national framework advice from Education Scotland (2019). Two rounds of focus groups took place and, again, the questions asked of participants are given in Appendices C and D.

8.21   Comparisons between Scottish/ UK and Chinese culture

Whilst there was overlap in both rounds of interviews, the second focus group more fully explored participants' sense of cultural identities in Scotland and China, as this would likely underpin thinking behind their own teaching activities and approaches to CLC. When asked to consider the aspects of Chinese life that pupils in their classes might be exposed to, there was a clear difference in emphasis between teachers and PDOs. Scottish teachers tended to replicate many of the ideas and views expressed earlier by the Hanban groups in Sections 7.1- 7.3, perhaps being overly influenced by what they saw delivered in their classes. Within the focus groups, three teachers had actually visited China and referred to what they saw there during visits to schools or observations of Chinese society in their comments. More broadly, and possibly due to the newness of their involvement and a lack of awareness of the knowledge and concepts being taught to pupils, comments relating to the traditions and history of the country, as well as its values set in terms of

respect, strong work ethics and family focus predominated. This 'generalist' view of how to present culture taken forward by primary teachers links to some of the findings of studies by Driscoll and Holliday (2020) and Watkins and Noble (2019). The following views were representative of this group as a whole:

> During visits to schools in China, I observed traditions such as paper cutting, shadow puppets, printing and calligraphy and our pupils have tried out some of these. (School 1)

> As P5, we don't go into the politics of China, but look at the food, a little bit of education, and quite often Chinese history through songs, music and folklore. (School 2)

> Key festivals and the history behind these e.g. the story of Chinese New Year and the animals of the Zodiac are a main focus for us. (School 2)

> Traditions, history, school life, family life, things that are relatable to pupils should be taught. (School 4)

> A good work ethic – Chinese children work hard and put in long hours. Our children could benefit from that view. (School 5)

However, in linking back to previous discussions of 'small culture' (Anderson-Levitt, 2012; Holliday, 1998, 2018a), there was also a recognition by some teachers of the need for pupils to learn about modern China through the lives of its people. In doing so, some of the issues facing the country and the people who live there would perhaps allow pupils to better understand their own lives at local, national and global levels. Some examples drew upon using children and families in their school catchment from China or with Chinese family backgrounds as a resource to which pupils could directly relate. Other teachers hoped there would be a 'demystification' of the country in pupils' minds across the P5-7 stages:

> By finding out about the similarities and drawing upon the experiences of visiting Chinese pupils, it shows that they are just like any other children. (School 3)

It is important for pupils to know how widely used Mandarin is as a language in everyday business and life across the world, especially here in our local Chinese communities. (School 4)

Pupils like to compare themselves to the lives of Chinese children, hearing about school life and how different it is, the food and things that will appeal to them. (School 5)

In contrast to Scottish teachers, who focused on particular knowledge and attitudes, PDOs based in the CI drew upon their experiences of visiting and working with many schools across Scotland. They reflected on issues observed and the pedagogy that would open up a better awareness of cultural identity given the frustration that they sometimes felt about what was going on in classrooms:

It is sad that the focus is primarily on Chinese New Year and on a limited range of things associated with that. We need to look more at how celebrations are also family centred and similar in many ways to how we celebrate things here in Scotland. (PDO 1)

Good quality project work is key to raising awareness of China and there is a lot that could be done here. (PDO 2)

As in the interviews with the Hanban teachers, both groups of Scottish adult participants were asked to reflect on the similarities and differences between Scottish/ UK and Chinese culture. Given the comparative size of these particular groups, the Scottish teachers had a lot more to say, but across both comparisons gave broadly similar views. The notion of the family and family life being at the centre of daily activity was mentioned, as by the Hanban groups, particularly at times of celebration and special occasions:

The notion of family being important – you could perhaps say this of any culture. (School 5)

The traditions of festivals can seem overly exotic, but the focus is essentially on what they mean for people and the preparations that families make ahead of them. This makes the two cultures seem similar. (PDO 2)

Scottish teachers sometimes expressed the view of no difference and that perhaps the distinction between similarities and differences was one that was emphasised more than needed as globalisation was impacting on everyone's lives and aspirations in similar ways. This gave rise to drawing upon areas that would interest children anywhere in the world and provide natural in-roads into CLC:

> Things are global in terms of what pupils are talking about here e.g. video games, blogs etc. When I visited China recently I felt I was seeing globalisation in action. (School 3)

> In reality the children are very similar to them – they go to schools, go to clubs, play on the Internet and like social media. In schools, we tend to focus more on the differences, perhaps unhelpfully. (School 5)

> There are links to football as the sport is gaining popularity in China. This could act as an interesting theme for some classes. (PDO 2)

Those who had experienced the country first hand were able to talk about being warmly received and linked this to similar Scottish hospitality. Generally, others were open about their inability to comment to any detailed extent about the culture due to their own lack of experience and knowledge base beyond the limited contact with visiting Hanban teachers or their own general knowledge:

> At this stage, I don't know what I don't know as my knowledge is too limited. It is difficult to answer when not having been there. (School 1)

> I just simply do not know enough to comment. (School 4)

> Chinese people are kind and welcoming, as we would be here. (School 5)

When asked to consider the differences that existed between both societies, the notions already expressed in previous sections, for example 3.11, about the values that were deemed important to being Chinese such as education and generational hierarchies came to the fore again for the Scottish teacher group. Some comments included:

> On any evening when I was there, people congregated in parks to take part in group communal activities in ways that you just don't see here. (School 1)

Chinese people seem to be more aware of their ancestors. (School 2)

It is a pleasant surprise to see how proud Chinese people are and the weighting attached to their culture given some of the terrible blows that life has thrown at the country. (School 2)

There are also hierarchies in their society in ways that do not always exist here. (School 4)

There is a lot of pressure on children there to do well both in and out of school. Chinese children seem to do a lot of extracurricular activity, this could be seen as a similarity. However, whilst our pupils tend to dip their toes into everything, they seem to specialise in one key thing. (School 5)

Comments from the PDOs spoke about experiencing culture in China and the sense of 'culture shock' that can arise from these, particularly from their observations of groups of Scottish teachers who had visited through programmes organised by their CI. This notion of disconnect was also picked up by the teacher groups in terms of approaching classroom topics that might seem controversial to some Hanban teachers whose own sense of being Chinese sometimes resulted in awkwardness round content and discussions:

On such visits, teachers can be shocked at going to normal Chinese restaurants to experience local foods, rather than hotels. (PDO 1)

Teachers do not always want to see the other side. (PDO 2)

Some things could be discussed a little more fully when the Hanban teachers were not there. Cultural sensitivity was important, but these issues were something that pupils should be aware of and able to discuss. (School 3)

The school is not shying away in discussions with pupils when asked tricky questions. (School 4)

8.22   Classroom experiences

Chapter 7 has already given an insight into the sorts of activities undertaken in classes participating in the study with the prominence given to Chinese traditional

culture being emphasised. This section instead deepens the discussion by looking at the professional roles and identities of the school staff who hosted Hanban teachers in their classes. For most Scottish teachers involved in the study, their views of classroom experiences were offered as observers in the process, chiefly assisting the management of their classroom to give the Hanban teacher the best opportunity to deliver their content to classes without the sort of potential disruption mentioned in the secondary contexts. The Hanban teachers were very much regarded as the 'experts', the key resource and drivers in moving the language forward, which mirrored findings in the UK study of Chinese in schools by Tinsley and Board (2014). Though school 3 was by far the most positive in its view of moving things forward, other comments included:

> Just having a normal Scottish teacher in the school deliver the language would not have the same impact at all. (School 1)

> There is a total reliance on the visiting language assistants. (School 2)

> Our model has provided a strong foundation going forward and this will benefit the school in future. (School 3)

> Most teachers could not even begin to teach the language if funding doesn't continue or we don't have access to a Hanban teacher. (School 4)

> My colleagues would feel that the Chinese input is for the visiting teachers due to our lack of knowledge and the perceived difficulties in delivery of CLC. (School 5)

Though recognising the fundamental role of the Hanban teachers, when asked to consider the factors that might impact on pupils' positive or negative reactions to the language, there was also a view from participants that the quality of input and standards in CLC were far from uniform, even within the same school. Though there were stories of success, there were also examples of tensions and the notion of (dis)continuity in visiting teachers from one year to the next was at the heart of this. However, there was little or often no recognition of the support role that schools played in helping these teachers and this echoed some of the Hanban group's earlier

frustrations in Section 8.13 and in related research from Xiang (2019) and Lu et al. (2019):

> The quality of the Chinese teacher is the main thing. We can only support what they are doing in terms of behaviour management, rather than content. (School 2)

> Sometimes, the assistants have struggled and been really unhappy. There has been no chance to feed that back, though this would need to be at line manager level. (School 2)

> The rapport between the assistant and the pupils has to be developed more fully. (School 3)

> The quality of the Hanban teacher makes a huge difference. Their teaching style makes or breaks the language at this stage. (School 5)

> In P6, the Mandarin teacher this year has been very good in comparison to a less confident one in the previous year. Pupils have taken it more seriously as a result. (School 5)

In some ways, the notion of a cultural and educational disconnect between both groups was apparent and linked to the issues above. For Scottish teachers, this was seen through delivery of content and expectations, in the practical sense of communication in terms of the Hanban teachers' language abilities, but also in expectations of the school systems in both countries:

> The rate of delivery from the assistants is so full on and based on their own practices in Chinese classrooms. (School 2)

> There is definitely scope to be given proper time to liaise with the Chinese language assistants. (School 4)

> It is a lot easier if their English level allows them to convey their meaning a little more; this seems ridiculous coming from someone who speaks no Mandarin. There can be a communication barrier sometimes and we try to assist when pupils are not understanding. (School 5)

Though each group's roles may seem separate, L3 practices outlined by Education Scotland (2019) have scope, and general expectation, that both the Scottish and Chinese teachers can work together in a collaborative manner to support and extend the experience. This was happening, but in a minority of situations. PDOs tended to see a one-sided model where the success of the delivery of CLC was down to the Hanban teacher and even a tokenistic view of their role. However, where it was taking place, positive messages about the learning process were being conveyed to pupils:

> The concern was that the staff here would take a bit of a back seat, which did perhaps happen at first. (School 1)

> If our teachers got involved more, they would see that Chinese is not as difficult as they imagine. This would be a strong message to pupils that we are learning something new together. (School 2)

> It can show an ignorance of staffing models in their minds when viewing the Hanban teacher as a 'free resource'. (PDO 1)

> We tried to say to Education Scotland that there is a huge culture shock for this group and pinning the whole of the language on the assistants is unwise given the variable quality of delivery. (PDO 2)

> Current L3 practices do not encourage other teachers to engage with the model and leave it down to the visiting staff to do the vast majority of the work. (PDO 3)

8.23   Tensions in classroom roles

One clear message that came through in the discussions of roles, responsibilities and professional identity was the nature of confidence if Scottish teachers were expected to take on a more prominent role in delivering models within their school. As mentioned earlier in Section 4.6, confidence has long been an issue in the delivery of primary languages in Scotland (Crichton & Templeton 2010; Legg, 2013; Tierney & Gallastegi, 2005). However, it was seen as even greater for CLC in the context of this study. Interviewees tended to focus much more on the demands of the language,

rather than distinctly the cultural input, but L3 practices combine both elements. A number of participants felt overwhelmed by the nature of CLC and, even though some had been teachers of primary languages such as French for quite some time, the demands of Chinese posed particular challenges acting against their potential wider involvement and collaboration with Hanban teachers:

> I feel quite daunted by this and haven't done anything so tricky in quite some time. (School 1)

> If teachers even had a little confidence in the language, it would encourage them more to deliver the authority's cultural pack where lessons are very straightforward in terms of PowerPoints and follow up worksheets. (School 2)

> If the teacher is not confident or doesn't have the training, then Chinese is 'put back in its box' until they learn the language next week. (School 2)

> The school is well placed to continue the language, but if the emphasis was on Scottish teachers to do the teaching that would be very different. (School 4)

> Even in a language vaguely familiar, teachers have to go back and teach themselves. This would be even more of a hurdle with Mandarin. (School 5)

> A school model depending purely on the Hanban teacher means that Chinese is not in a good position for its sustainability. (PDO 3)

Some teachers linked the issue of lack of confidence with a concern of reinforcing bad habits in terms of the language and cultural stereotypes of the country. However, others recognised the need for Scottish teachers to step into this role to give a broader face to those teaching CLC and, in doing so, showing that it was something for all learners to take part in regardless of background:

> Before you take a book at face value, before you assume what is true, you need to have a feel for the culture. I am reluctant to spout forth about a place I have not visited yet and China is so enormous. How can we do the country justice? (school 1)

> There is a nervousness about saying things to pupils in case these are wrong and you have to say to those who ask questions that you don't know the answer. Putting ideas into pupils' heads that are wrong is a worry. (School 2)

> If Chinese is only taught by Chinese people, there may be a block in pupils' minds on whether or not it is for them. (School 3)

> I think it is nice that children see that their own teachers are learning Mandarin at the same time as them. (School 4)

> The tones of the language are particularly demanding, as opposed to European languages, and teachers worry about getting this wrong. (School 4)

In combining the views already raised, there was recognition of the need for a clear commitment by teachers to undertake, and for local authorities to provide, further training and support. In this respect, the worries expressed by Scottish interviewees overlapped those from the Hanban teachers about their preparedness to deliver CLC well and ultimately this becomes an issue of sustainability, which will be a theme better explored in Chapter 9, but the current one-sided model of dependence on Hanban provision was summed up effectively by one teacher:

> As with all things, it's thinking how we can sustain this. For example, if money were pulled from the Confucius Hub, Chinese would lose interest rapidly as there would not be that level of support available to schools. (School 2)

8.3   Pupils at the P5-7 stages

The final organising theme considers pupils in the schools who were experiencing the delivery of CLC. As was mentioned in the methodology, Section 5.7, elements of the study were designed to give a clear voice to pupils, as in the Scottish context at least, this seems to be an underutilised part of research to date. As for the other participant groups, pupils had different roles to play as being the insiders to the classroom experience of CLC. However, the design of their questioning, based on Kelly's (1955) PCT approach and outlined in Section 5.71, also made them reflect on

being cultural insiders and outsiders in terms of their lives here in Scotland in contrast with perceptions of that in China. As a reminder, the questions asked of pupils are given in Appendix E.

8.31   Perceptions of life in China and Scotland

Chapter 7.1 gave an initial insight into pupils' views on life in China when reflecting on why they may or may not have wanted to live in the country. Positive views were based around experiencing its traditional culture and negative views around some of the societal norms and laws of which there was some awareness. In the PCT approach adopted, the notion of bi-polar discussions comes strongly into play and questions were framed to encourage pupils to explicitly reflect upon being Scottish with the intention of gaining insights into how they saw themselves in contrast to their views on China (see Appendix E).

The final question in the interview process with pupil groups asked them what came to their mind when they thought of the country Scotland in the same way that the first question referenced this to China. As would likely be expected, all pupil groups had a lot to say and answered this with little difficulty. There were broad similarities in how Scottish pupils saw their culture as opposed to that of China and, though a wider range of ideas were mentioned, aspects such as food and the Arts still predominated across P5-7 as a whole:

> Haggis definitely reminds me of Scotland. (mentioned across P5-7)
>
> Scottish music, ceilidhs and highland dancing. (mentioned across P5-7)
>
> Bagpipe music, but I don't really like that. (mentioned across P5-7)
>
> Neeps, tatties and shortbread remind me of Scotland, especially at Burns' Night. (P6)
>
> Tunnock's teacakes are made here. (P7)

A wide range of other things were also identified as traditional culture such as famous people, traditional clothing, sports, famous battles and historical events but

were spread more patchily across the groups and P5-7 stages as a whole. There was a strong sense of pride in Scottish natural landscapes, their beauty and variety and a number of pupils offered personal memories of places that they had visited. Mixed into these comments was the unpredictable Scottish weather which often spoiled opportunities to participate in activities. Overall, within this question, responses were particularly strong in those P5 groups with no prior experiences of CLC:

> When I think of Scotland, I think of walking in Cathkin Braes, which is quite close to my home. It's lovely there. (P5 npe).

> The peacefulness of the countryside, the mountains and the lochs. (P5)

> I really like going camping in the forests and seeing nature. (P6)

> Scotland is cloudy and rainy, even in the summer. (P6, but mentioned across P5-7)

> The islands of Scotland are special for their beauty. (P7)

However, there was also a sense of the problems that existed in urban environments in Scotland, especially in the bigger cities, and pupils mentioned some of the negative aspects that they saw either locally or on visits elsewhere:

> There is chewing gum everywhere and it looks horrible. (P5)

> I don't like seeing graffiti, it's horrible. (P6)

> Scotland is quite polluted. Glasgow is full of litter and rubbish. (P7)

As in the discussions for China, national symbols were clearly wrapped up in pupils' notions of Scotland and easily identified such as the national flag, animals and plants associated with the country with further links back to food products that could be bought here and abroad. Views expressed tended to cluster around pupils at the P5 (with experience) and P6 stages, but not easily explained when asked to do so:

> I like to buy postcards with Highland cows on them when I am on holiday. (P5)

The St. Andrew's Cross is really distinctive with its blue and white colours. (P6, but mentioned across P5-7)

The Loch Ness Monster, even though I know it is not real. (P7, but mentioned across P5-7)

As has been stressed at various points in the literature review and in Chapter 7, the importance of families and the societal bonds that people have to keep them together came through in a number of comments, again acting as a connection to the lives of people in China. The notion of personal attributes that could be attached to Scottish people came through briefly, but will be explored more fully in the next section:

My family are called Bruce and I think of my ancestors. (P5 npe)

For me, it is my friends and family that make me think of Scotland. (P5, but mentioned across P5-7)

Scotland and Scottish people are friendly. (P6)

I think of Scottish people drinking alcohol. (P6)

Scotland is my home and I think of myself as a Scottish person. (P7, but mentioned across P5-7)

8.32 Intercultural empathy in pupils

Kelly (1955) refers to his 'corollaries' as a means of anticipating and interpreting life experiences. The two mentioned in Section 6.71 in relation to this study were 'commonality', the extent to which our experiences are similar to others and can, therefore, help us understand their outlook, and secondly 'experience' as each person's acceptance of how reality changes when facing inconsistencies between the anticipation and outcome of events. The questions used in the PCT approach allowed a demonstration of pupils' knowledge about both countries, but were also a means to put themselves in the place of Chinese people who, in this line of questioning, may wish to come and live in the UK. This provided a means of

applying their knowledge to Kelly's corollaries and, more widely, to offer some insight into potential cultural empathy with the Other.

When reflecting on why Chinese people may wish to live in Scotland/ UK, experiencing another culture was the steady response across all stages interviewed. In comparison to pupils' earlier reasons for potentially living in China, the ideas expressed here did include typical touristic notions, but a wider range of other purposes such as education/ study, finding a job and the opportunity to practise English skills. The views mentioned by pupils with no prior experience of CLC, however, continued to dwell on some of the stereotypical thinking round the traditional view of China, but this was less noticeable at other stages:

> They could wear clothes like ours, rather than those traditional ones in China. (P5 npe)

> They could enjoy tasting different types of food as they would not be used to our everyday things. (P5, but mentioned across P5-7)

> They could come to study at the local university. My brother goes there and has a Chinese friend. (P6 pupil)

> I know that pupils learn English in school in China. They could come here and get really good at it. (P6, but mentioned across P5-7)

> It would be easier to find a job here with less people than in China. (P7)

There was some empathy shown in pupils' understanding of the differences of day-to-day life in both countries and a perception that life in China was more difficult for people there than was the case in Scotland. This came through in comments related to population size, constraints on family life, pollution and the notion of dangerous activities:

> We have less strict laws here and people can enjoy their life better. They would not have to worry about doing something wrong in Scotland. (P5)

> They could have a bigger family. If they have more than one child in China, one would have to be given away and that would be really sad. (P5)

There is much less pollution in Scotland. People with asthma would find life here a lot easier and could enjoy our fresh air. (P6)

People in Chinese cities seem to do the same things everyday (unspecified). Here they could do more and enjoy themselves better. (P7)

When considering the reasons why Chinese people would not wish to live in Scotland/ UK, there was a range of quite negative views, some of which contradicted the earlier positives mentioned. Groups spoke often about the urban environment being very different and that the nature of this might make Chinese people feel unsafe or homesick. In the minds of a number of pupils, the personal attributes of Scottish people contained elements that they felt would be unwelcoming to those new to the country. There was an impression that people did not take a pride in their locales or where unwelcoming to strangers, though some of these views were challenged in discussions by others:

They might not like the food, maybe it is not spicy enough for them and they would feel hungry all the time. (P5 npe, but mentioned across P5-7)

We often don't like foreigners because of their limited knowledge of our country and life. (P5)

The weather here is horrible, rainy and wet all the time. If Chinese people came here to live, I would tell them they needed different clothes. (P6, but mentioned across P5-7)

When you go into town there is litter and cigarettes everywhere on the streets. It is not a nice thing to see when you are new and maybe feeling a bit worried. (P7)

Chinese people seem polite to me, but Scottish people are rougher and louder. I hope they meet nice people instead. (P7)

Finally, there was an awareness that going to live abroad was a big step for people and that there would be problems to overcome in areas such as communication, settling in and that being away from home could be a lonely experience resulting in feelings of homesickness:

I think homesickness would be a big thing for Chinese people. They might be just too used to their own country. (P5 npe, but mentioned across P5-7)

They might not know much about the UK and would need friends at school. It would be really hard for them, I think. (P5)

I think they might feel very nervous about new experiences and new places and would need our help. (P6)

English is so tricky and difficult to learn. People should be patient and listen to them carefully. (P6, but mentioned across P5-7)

Leaving family and familiar things behind would be really hard, too difficult for me. (P7)

8.4 Discussion

Some links back to the literature review have already taken place where appropriate. However, given the predominance of qualitative evidence in this chapter, in contrast to its more balanced use in others, it would seem necessary to revisit the wider concept of insiders and outsiders. In terms of some of the power dynamics and issues of subjectivity that could have arisen from the mixed methodology employed in this study, this section will consider:

- justifying the approach to the use of verbatim quotation in how this best represents the respective voices of the researcher and the researched;
- the relationships between the researcher and participant groups; and
- the relationships between the participants.

8.41 Reflection on data interpretation: use of verbatim quotation

This issue relates to the choices made by this researcher in how best to draw upon and present the verbatim quotes used to support themes and nodes. In doing so, reference is made to the work of Corden and Sainsbury (2006) and their Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) funded study into the views of social researchers on how this should be managed. Beyond desk-based analysis, examining suitable texts published since 1990, the authors also interviewed a range of

researchers who had used quotation in various styles to support their textual narratives to understand the purpose and process behind these, which is helpful to further justifying its use in this thesis.

One stance taken in the Corden and Sainsbury paper (2006), included presenting 'quotation as an evidence base', accepted in the same way as statistical data. Given the mixed methods nature of this thesis, it is important that both the qualitative and quantitative datasets are seen as being of distinctive value. In this study, detailed and often rich quotation is presented in such a way as to allow the reader the same opportunity to assess the fairness of interpretation by this researcher. It was hoped that a range of quotation across the various participant groups would aid the process of transparency, whilst recognising that the ability to present endless quotation is limited. However, Corden and Sainsbury identified occasions where only one example was given to support thinking and that full analysis must underpin interpretation, rather than quotation on its own. In this respect, this study is supported by strong triangulation against a range of groups, previous chapter and section discussions and, where relevant, quantitative data to show how the researcher's fullest interpretation has arisen.

Also pertinent to this study was quotation as being 'illustrative of themes' arising from analysis. Corden and Sainsbury (2006) and Lingard (2019) highlight potential concerns over the weighting given to certain quotes that may skew the researcher's interpretation of events. The initial processes and patterns of analysis have been reported in samples given in Appendices F-I, again assisting transparency. Through this, the selection of quotation has allowed the examination and reporting of both major and minor views to allow as full a representation of the ideas within the confines of the word limit. Care has been taken in the selection and reporting of quotes not to represent views in an overly dramatic way and, in doing so, it is firmly asserted that the reality and representativeness of participants' experiences has been maintained. Though at one level even-handedness and transparency are important, the interpretivist approach adopted throughout has also valued subjectivity in terms of the researcher's professional judgment to explore what is relevant and interesting

in the data. A major contributory factor was the relationships between the researcher and the researched which is explored in detail in Section 8.42.

Finally, this study has promoted participants' voices, particularly important in an under-researched subject area where pupils' opinions at the P5-7 stages, in particular, have been neglected in the Scottish context. Corden and Sainsbury's (2006) 'quotation to enable voice' allows readers of this study to fully reflect on issues from participants' actual words, rather than simply the researcher's paraphrasing/ interpretation of these, as that could raise further questions relating to power dynamics in the process. This approach allowed groups to reflect deeply on their own experiences, how they viewed their involvement and roles and demonstrated the value attached to these in understanding the bigger picture of CLC L3 practices.

8.42   The relationship between the researcher and the researched

In her work on international research settings, Srivastava (2006) highlights that within studies such as this, the researcher needs to recognise, engage and reflect with participants from a number of positions. She refers to this process as creating the notion of an exchange of 'currencies' where the researcher is looking for data and participants are in a position to offer this. This process is, "A medium of exchange to achieve temporary shared positionalities between researcher and participant to mediate relations of power and, ultimately, ease the exchange" (p. 211). However, this does not end with simply gathering the data, but also requires deep consideration of how differences in languages impacts on the nature of the 'truth' being sought. This view has strong parallels with some of the issues in this study when considering the interactions that took place.

Section 2.14 saw some initial discussion of the importance of the relationship between the researcher and the participants and the potential for a power dynamic to be created (Crossley et al., 2015), which may raise issues about the nature of subjectivity and the reporting of findings. In this study, the tensions here were most obvious in working with the Hanban groups where the interactional dynamic was affected by differences in language, cultural understandings and positioning which,

in Chinese education, often sees younger teachers defer to the view of older, more experienced people, particularly in Higher Education contexts as an example of respect, as mentioned by Stening and Zhang (2007). The ethical framework outlined in Section 5.312 tried to consider how best to manage the process of data gathering for this group, including the use of a two-stage model with one interview in English and the other in Chinese. However, despite these processes, there was a definite difference in the interactions of the group with the researcher and the PGDE student, who was a Chinese national, carrying out the second round of interviews. The first round of these tried to address some 'participant factors' identified by Birks et al. (2007) in terms of potential anxiety by having the questions translated into Chinese and sent on in advance, thus aiding the process of thinking ahead. Worries about English proficiency were dealt with through the shared efforts of the group to clarify and assist meaning where individuals got confused or lacked the language base to explain concepts or technical vocabulary. However, despite this, the first interview gave rise to periods of silence or hesitance on the part of at least some. This was particularly the case when discussing the notion of cultural similarities and differences and times where school-based practices were potentially open to criticism. It may have seemed rude to these groups to criticise practices in the 'host culture' and, indeed, the researcher may have been seen as its representative in these discussions. In the researcher's additional jottings during the interview process, it was noted that the assistance offered by other Hanban teachers when discussions dried up was most often made in Chinese and these conversations may have helped or hindered the process of openness. Overall, the general tone was guarded at times, perhaps indicating a desire by the group not to expose itself to difficult thinking and perhaps reflects the views of Arnot and Swartz (2012) who discussed the notion of boundaries that participants may or may not be willing to cross in such discussions.

In contrast, the dynamic between the PGDE student and the second Hanban group seemed much more free-flowing and gave rise to discussions that were deeper in content and reflection. Issues of cultural awareness, rapport and communication skills, described as 'researcher-specific factors' by Birks et al. (2007) seemed less of an issue in this second round and perhaps eased by the group seeing the PGDE

student as a cultural and professional equal. Where the first group hesitated, at times, the second group seemed more willing to identify both positives and negatives of their experiences here in Scotland. In the interview the formal term of address 'nǐn' was used rather than 'nǐ' by the student. Though this can be a sign of respect and perhaps a hierarchical feature, its use in this context was likely more to do with politeness for a group that was unknown to her. Another noticeable dynamic links to the work of Pavlenko (2014) in her analysis of how views are expressed in different languages with similar results in this study. In the interviews in English, the use of the first-person pronoun 'I' was evident, whereas in Chinese the group talked more about 'we' and used phrases like 'as Hanban teachers,…' thus supporting a collective view of their role and the related responses. This further reflects the views expressed in Section 2.14 by Arnot and Schwartz (2012) who suggest that a guard can be raised when faced with unfamiliar or challenging situations, such as the first interview, and that safety and common voice can be found in familiar situations such as offered in the second discussion in Chinese. Linking back to discussion on the use of verbatim quotes to represent views, this was further complicated by the need for translation, carried out by the same PGDE student who had conducted the interviews. To have this completed by another Chinese speaker would have disadvantaged the process in not recognising, and relating to, the context and its nuances seen through responses as highlighted in a study by Dhillon and Thomas (2019). Three rounds of translation took place, allowing the researcher and the PGDE student to discuss the meaning of what was being expressed and to translate quotes in a way that stayed true to the intended views of the group. This ensured the richness of insights as highlighted earlier by Holmes et al. (2013) and Srivastava (2006) in their justification of the need for a multilingual research process.

Interviewing in schools was less problematic, though interesting from the perspectives of Hellawell (2006) and Milligan (2016) who would see this researcher as someone able to move in and out of insider and outsider roles, thus performing the role of 'inbetweener'. In doing so, he drew upon his experience of being a teacher for 17 years, prior to taking on his current university role, and also his knowledge of CLC both within and external to the Scottish education system. This contextual

understanding allowed both researcher and school groups to quickly feel at ease in each other's company/ space and this was shown in the free-flow of discussions. Crossley et al. (2015) mention that such a relationship can be welcomed by participants who are keen to give a view on issues or developments, but may feel reluctant to open up to people who they perceive as being on the inside. This raises issues of openness and trustworthiness which could deter participants from being critical of practices. The Scottish teachers were open and honest about their feelings on CLC provision, as comes through particularly clearly in Sections 8.22- 8.23 where a number expressed individual concerns and worries relating to a lack of confidence in their own abilities, which in other contexts may have been difficult for this group to state. In contrast to the Hanban teacher interviews, there was no awkwardness in dialogue and given that the researcher was in and out of these schools carrying out activities at different points in the data gathering period, the sense of a connection to these and a genuine desire to investigate the topic helped the relationship to form. The ability to both relate to school practices and to be detached from them allowed the researcher to delve more deeply into themes arising and thus achieve an understanding that would support the role of an 'inbetweener'.

Pupil groups at the P5-7 stages were also quickly accepting of the researcher and again his teaching background allowed him to manage and interact with pupils in ways that put them at ease. The PCT approach played an important role in this respect as the questioning style was framed in a way that was not L3 or school specific, but asked questions, which though seemingly general in nature, allowed quite deep insights into classroom practices. The group setup of 10 pupils gave the discussions a relaxed feel as they were alongside others that they knew well and felt comfortable in agreeing or disagreeing with during the course of interviews. The use of Kelly's (1955) 'credulous approach' with only two specific follow-up questions ensured the focus was clearly on children's views first and foremost. Also, by not openly being dismissive of pupils' comments, they could see that all opinions expressed were appreciated and valued equally, highlighting the 'balancing act' mentioned by Gucciardi et al. (2008) in their use of the approach.

Finally, the relationship between the researcher and the PDOs was different from other groups in being known to each other through roles, responsibilities and interests that come from working in the same university. The issue that framed the dynamic in these professional identities was the notion of the 'space to talk' both professionally and within the place in which the interview was based. This was identified earlier by Clancy (2013) and Quinney et al. (2016), as a potential conscious or subconscious issue affecting discussions. There was an initial nervousness on the extent to which these participants would open up, but locating the meeting in their work area alongside a fellow group of PDOs meant that there was a relaxed space in which to engage. Given the specific role this group had within the particular CI used in this study, identities would be difficult to completely anonymise, but the group accepted this and felt their views were nevertheless important to the study. The researcher was again able to put them at ease when comparing and contrasting his experiences of CLC practices in schools. It was made clear at the outset of both sets of discussions that participants' views where those of individuals with a particular experience and knowledge base and not to be seen necessarily as representative of the CI in which they were based. Since these interviews took place, two of the interviewees within this group have retired or moved to a different work context, so this point became even more pertinent. More widely, the notion of being 'inbetweeners' for both the researcher and PDOs is a shared connection in this respect as people whose background experiences and knowledge of China and Chinese culture places them clearly in the middle of the insider-outsider continuum. Therefore, insights offered into the challenges faced in classroom practices empathised with both Scottish and Hanban teachers and added another layer to the discussion and analysis of CLC practices.

8.43   The relationship between the participants

Of the connections between the various participants, the relationship between the Hanban and Scottish teachers is central to the success of CLC in Scottish classrooms. Given the discussions in Sections 8.13 and 8.23, this can, at best, be described as a co-dependent model where the Chinese teachers deliver input to classes managed on their behalf by Scottish teachers, but is more accurately described as one where

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schools are reliant on these teachers as linguistically and culturally native Chinese to make the L3 model of practice a success.

'Native speakerism' (Holliday, 2006, 2018b) was briefly mentioned towards the end of Section 2.23 and there is a strong element of this in the current approach to managing CLC in Scottish schools. The context for this term is originally based on Holliday's views on English Language Teaching (ELT) experiences and the ideology that native speakers of English are the best models and teachers of the language as they are part of the Western tradition and culture from which the language and methodology for its transmission originate. In this stance, even those from non-native backgrounds with extremely high levels of proficiency cannot be regarded as of equivalence and, at one level, Holliday (2018b) links this to ELT as a 'brand' which has sustained the language industry around the world. However, he also cites the work of Phillipson (1992) who sees this as a form of linguistic imperialism which favourably positions Britain and America and an agenda of English as the world's lingua franca. He further argues that such positioning of native speakers of a language can confer certain perceived status or abilities on them as teachers in the ways that they manage and deliver the language as opposed to non-native speakers, regardless of whether such status is warranted. This can also impact on how foreign learners of the language are treated e.g. as active or passive learners of English due to their western/ eastern cultural backgrounds. In this respect, Holliday identifies concepts of the Othering of teachers of the language and a suspicion around their ability to teach the language well and elements of this particular view will be revisited in Chapter 9. Building on the initial work of Davies (2003), there is now a growing literature which recognises the tensions in different groups of ELT teachers such as NESTs (Native English Speaking Teachers) and NNESTs (Non-Native English Speaking Teachers) or LESTs (Local English Speaking Teachers).

Some of the debates around native speakerism are applicable to the context of this study in how Chinese is viewed by those in the Scottish primary school system who may be tasked with its teaching and generally reluctant to do so based on perceptions of ability and competence. As clearly seen in Sections 8.22 and 8.23, the

overwhelming view of those involved in this study was that CLC, as observed in its delivery in their classes, was something that would always require a native speaker and that the success and sustainability of CLC in schools depended upon this or would require a great deal of commitment and training on the part of those interested. However, despite the notion of lack of ability, Scottish teachers still felt able to criticise the pedagogy used in classrooms to deliver the language as more suited to Chinese school practices in contrast to what would be regarded as effective in their school contexts. Only in a small number of cases did the notion of a co-operative model of practice seem to be a potential way forward as bringing together the experiences, strengths and concerns of both groups to enhance the delivery of CLC practices and build future capacity. Though the Hanban teachers did not give an explicit view on such models, there was some perception that the role of Scottish teachers was essentially to assist with the classroom conditions required to let them teach as the language and cultural experts. In linking this back to the thesis' conceptual base on culture, Holliday (2018b) also relates native speakerism to native culturalism in that such models rely too specifically on constructs of the 'nation' when what is required is the understanding of people's lived experiences. This forms a central part of his 'Grammar of Culture' and its application to a wider globalised world as previously discussed in Section 2.23. His ideas, however, cannot simplistically be seen as promoting a 'culture free lingua franca', but more a recognition that engaging with culture requires an acceptance and awareness of issues round the representation of people. The negative forces that this can generate in terms of reductionism are highlighted particularly through the work of Said (1978) and its base for his views on the process and impacts of Orientalism. In the next chapter, L3 practices in CLC will be analysed through this discourse and that of Re-orientalism in exploring how intentionally or unintentionally practices in classrooms are challenging or reinforcing particular cultural views of China and its people.

8.5   Summary and initial conclusions

This chapter has helped make particular contributions to each of the research questions stated in Section 1.3. Firstly, it has expanded on the content base of the programme as initially outlined in Chapter 7 to consider some of the delivery

practices that underpin this, particularly the dynamic that exists between the role of the Scottish and Hanban teachers. In relation to the second question, it has explored how Chinese culture is framed in the minds of each of the groups interviewed, highlighting strong similarities across each, but taking the notion of culture further by asking all participants to reflect back on their own culture in comparison to the Other. This has offered insights into some of the tensions that exist and are evidenced in classroom experiences, practices and the Scottish curriculum as a whole. It has also linked to the final research question in exploring some of the attitudes that exist towards China, Chinese people and Chinese culture in discussing values bases, deepened further when reflecting back on Scottish/ UK society and its values. The ability of pupils at P5-7 to empathise with people from other countries and cultures is at a developing level, but important evidence of some form of positive impact to add to the discussion in Chapter 10. What comes through clearly is that the understanding of each other at personal, professional and curricular levels lies at the heart of both the issues presented in CLC delivery and in potential solutions.

Lastly, in considering some initial contributions of this chapter to the conclusions and recommendations of this study, the following themes have arisen for further discussion:

- promoting CLC as something that could be taught by any teacher interested in doing so, not just by its cultural and linguistic natives;
- revisiting the nature and expectations of the roles of Scottish and Hanban teachers which seem to create very separate identities;
- considering the type of support required to give wider confidence in the sustainability of L3 practices;
- opening up activities and dialogue that encourage meaningful interaction with Chinese and Scottish cultures and curriculum practices; and
- the need for further voiced research in this area with those actually involved in its delivery and reception, not least pupils at the P5-7 stages.

CHALLENGING OR REINFORCING ORIENTALISM

9.0   Introduction

Though this is the final integrated findings and discussion chapter, it has an essential role in drawing together many of the previous themes within the central concept of Orientalism, first introduced in the researcher's conceptual framework in Section 2.31. This sits within the theory base surrounding Post-colonialism and relates particularly to the seminal work of Said (1978) and the on-going debate around this. In doing so, it will aim to explore the opportunities and limitations of L3 CLC and the extent to which these challenge or reinforce the notion of Orientalist practices and approaches in the classroom. Figure 37 below highlights this as the global theme for this chapter and provides the underpinning structure that has arisen from the various rounds of thematic analyses.
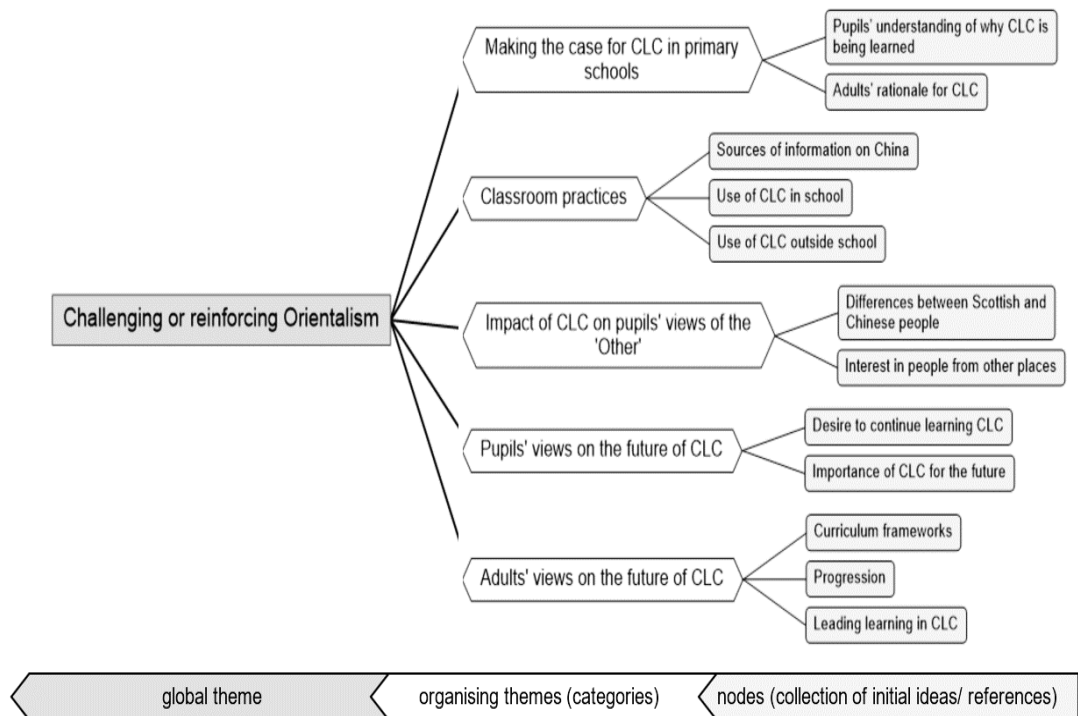
Figure 37. Thematic structure employed in Chapter 9

There is a need to initially pause and reflect on data from the previous sections through an Orientalist lens, which will then be built upon yet further with 3

additional organising themes that try to consider particular notions of purpose, relevance and impact as means by which this issue could potentially be challenged through classroom practices. Firstly, the rationale behind the study of CLC will be considered to gain a sense of what it is trying to achieve in the minds of the study's various participants. In addition to those already given, further insights will be offered into classroom experiences and the ways in which these have the potential to widen or narrow pupils' knowledge and application of their learning. The datasets gathered allow for the exploration of pupils' values and attitudes in terms of the development of their cultural understanding and views towards future learning of CLC into secondary school contexts and potentially beyond. This chapter will conclude with a discussion that attempts to look at some wider conceptual thinking round Orientalism and the barriers to sound classroom practices.

9.1 Revisiting existing datasets through an Orientalist/ Re-orientalist lens

At the heart of Said's (1978) view of Orientalism, was the notion of how a dominant West imposed and has, in many ways, continued to impose, its notion of how Eastern cultures should be defined, represented and understood. This leads to exoticism, stereotyping and essentialist practices that aim to make the cultural 'Other' easier to comprehend and less challenging or threatening as a result. As already mentioned in Section 2.12, Dervin (2012) sees this as a 'deficit model', where the positioning of one group against another leads to distorted representations that maintain a privilege for a dominant group(s) over others seen as weaker. At its broadest level, the promotion of CLC in schools should give scope to present a view and image of China and Chinese culture that actively challenges this and exposes pupils to more balance in perspectives promoting the past and present. However, in the contexts of the data reported so far, it could be argued that Re-orientalist practices, as recognised earlier by Lau (2009) and Lau and Mendes (2011), are at play that continue to present China and its culture as exotic. This is being perpetuated directly or indirectly by Chinese people themselves, in this case through the roles, influences and imbalanced use of Hanban teachers in Scottish schools in this study and very likely more widely given the similarities in approaches for CLC as an L3 across many Scottish primary schools.

Chapter 7 showed that in the minds of the majority of participants, both within quantitative and qualitative datasets, their perception of China was very much rooted in its past and traditions. This has promoted particular views of Chinese people and their lives that continue into the present, as exemplified in responses by pupils across P5-7 to the questions posed using the PCT approach. These often seemed to mimic back their classroom experiences as being based on fairly stereotypical elements. Much of the practices delivered in schools support the notion of cultural understanding through a 'large/ national culture' framework (Holliday, 1999, 2018a) that presents China as one country, one culture and one people. A reliance on employing approaches that focus on the '4Fs—food, fairs, folklore and statistical facts', as highlighted in the work of Kramsch (1991) and Hua and Wei (2014a), is an attempt to make the unknown more familiar and easier to accept by pupils for whom China and Chinese culture may simply seem too distant. The impact of this experience on the perceptions of both pupils and the majority of Scottish teachers was largely to see China as a society bound by traditional practices and values, often contrasted in examples to life here in Scotland/ UK. Notions of small cultures (Holliday, 1999, 2018a) were limited with little reference to cultural diversity and experiences of life beyond the big cities that would be known to most people in Scotland. Interestingly, the Hanban teachers recognised that such approaches to the teaching and learning of CLC could simply reinforce the very stereotypes they identified in their discussions and observations of Scottish pupils' views of China, which they saw as their duty to dispel and balance through classroom inputs.

Chapter 8 highlighted the fundamental role that Hanban teachers have in delivering CLC in Scottish schools. The insights offered into the understanding of each other's culture by both sets of teachers highlighted an insecurity in how best to understand and engage in the process of the cultural representation of both China and Scotland. As a result, various imbalances in the relationships between groups appeared that had the potential to perpetuate the Other and in turn to reflect this in the experiences of pupils across P5-7. At the heart of this, lies the particular dynamic between the Hanban and Scottish teachers that plays out in classroom delivery where the former occupy a very influential position as those primarily shaping the knowledge of China

in ways that could be open to their own particular individual interpretation and (mis)representation. In this study, as seen in Sections 8.22 and 8.23, content on China cannot be built upon nor alternative perspectives offered given that the majority of Scottish teachers feel very unsure, uncomfortable or unwilling to take a wider role in the delivery of cultural elements in the languages curriculum. This seemed more so for CLC as an L3 when compared to their experiences of delivering traditional European languages based on some of the comments offered. Due to the lack of collaboration, in most schools, Scottish teachers' constructs of Chinese culture often mirror their observations of the Hanban teachers' practices. As a result, there is reinforcement of the generalist delivery of the cultural dimension through the sorts of activities that are used in classrooms. However, the cultural empathy reported in the PCT discussions with pupil groups may highlight a positive challenging of Orientalist thinking. Connecting to the day-to-day lives of people in different parts of the world helped them reflect on their own situations, which may act as the base for enhanced cultural understanding going forward.

Having briefly reframed the previous sections through the discussion of Orientalism, there is now opportunity to examine this further through reflection on some additional organising themes considering how notions of purpose, application and impact may challenge or reinforce the notion of Orientalist/ Re-orientalist approaches.

9.2   Making the case for Chinese language and culture in primary schools
Section 4.5 of the literature review raised the rationale for the inclusion of CLC in UK schools as important, recognising that though broad-based arguments could be made in line with those for language learning in general, a future-based, economic case is often made specifically for Chinese (CBI, 2017, 2019). This would potentially give CLC further modern application, thus helping to balance against the traditional notions of China and Chinese culture presented earlier. Therefore, questions relating to the purpose and rationale behind CLC were included in the online survey and focus group interviews, as indicated in Appendices B and C, to help explore this tension further.

The first question of substance in the online survey asked pupils to indicate their views on the extent to which they understood the need for CLC.
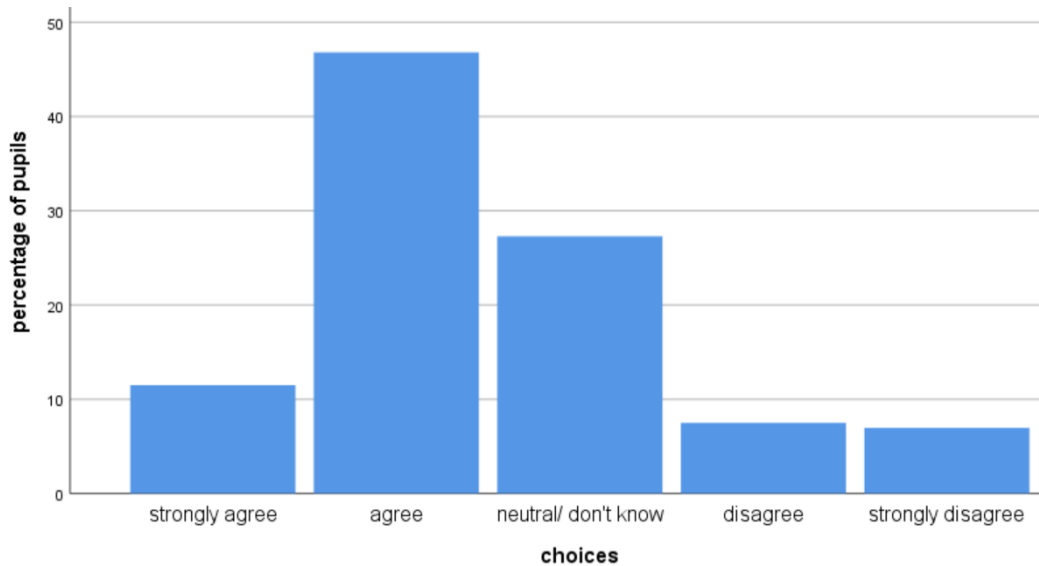
Figure 38. I understand why I am learning CLC (by total, N = 374)

When viewing figure 38, the highest response was to agree at 46.8%. The overall view on the statement (SA/ A) was positive for a clear majority of pupils at 58.3%, however this still leaves a very sizeable minority of pupils either ambivalent or in disagreement at 41.7% (N/D/SD). Therefore, across the sample as a whole, there seems clear variation in pupils' understanding of why they are learning CLC.
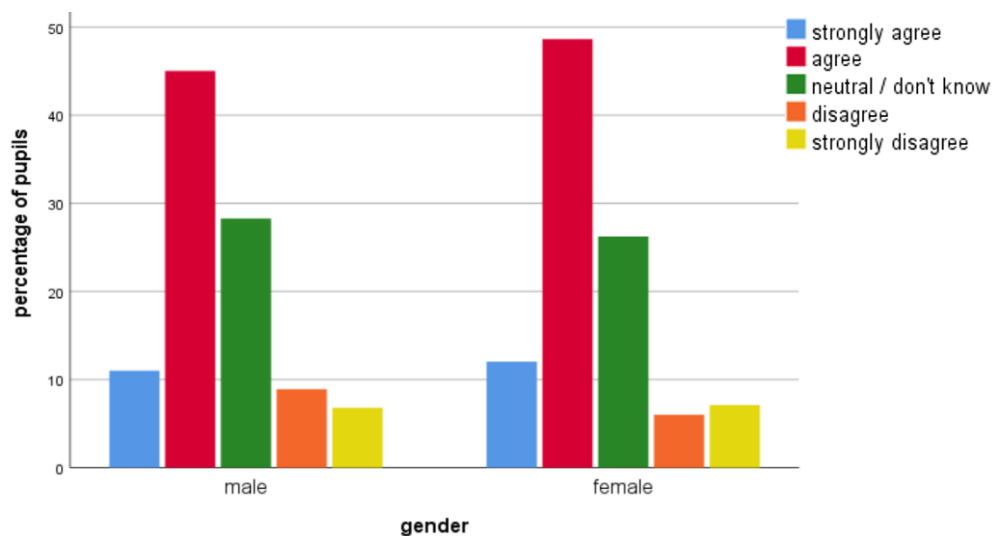
Figure 39. I understand why I am learning CLC (by gender, N = 374)

Again, across both groups, there was a positive view (SA/ A) with the statement at 60.6% for females and 56% for males. However, there was still a sizeable percentage of pupils, at 39.4% and 44% respectively (N/D/SD), indicating that the rationale behind their learning of CLC was at best unclear and this cannot be ignored. The difference between genders was small and a Chi-square test confirmed no statistical significance ($p=$ .82).
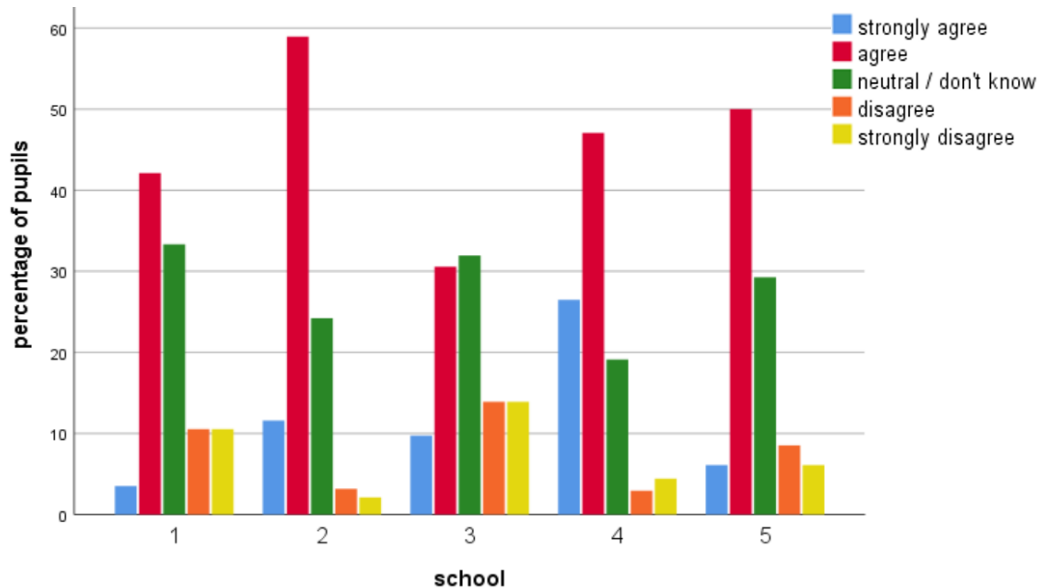
Figure 40. I understand why I am learning CLC (by school, N = 374)

At school level, the picture showed positive agreement (SA/ A) across all schools, though at different levels, very strongly seen in schools 2 and 4 at 70.5% and 73.6%, less pronounced in schools 5 (56.1%) and 1 (45.6%) and at a borderline level in school 3 (40.3%). Negative views (D/ SD) were highest in schools 1 and 3 at 21.1% and 27.8%. This is of interest given these are the two schools with least and most exposure of pupils to CLC learning. The data gave rise to results of very strong significance when a Chi-square test was applied: χ^2 (16, $N = 374$) = 48.63, $p =$ <.001, V = .18 thus indicating a connection existed between schools and pupils' understanding of the rationale for CLC.
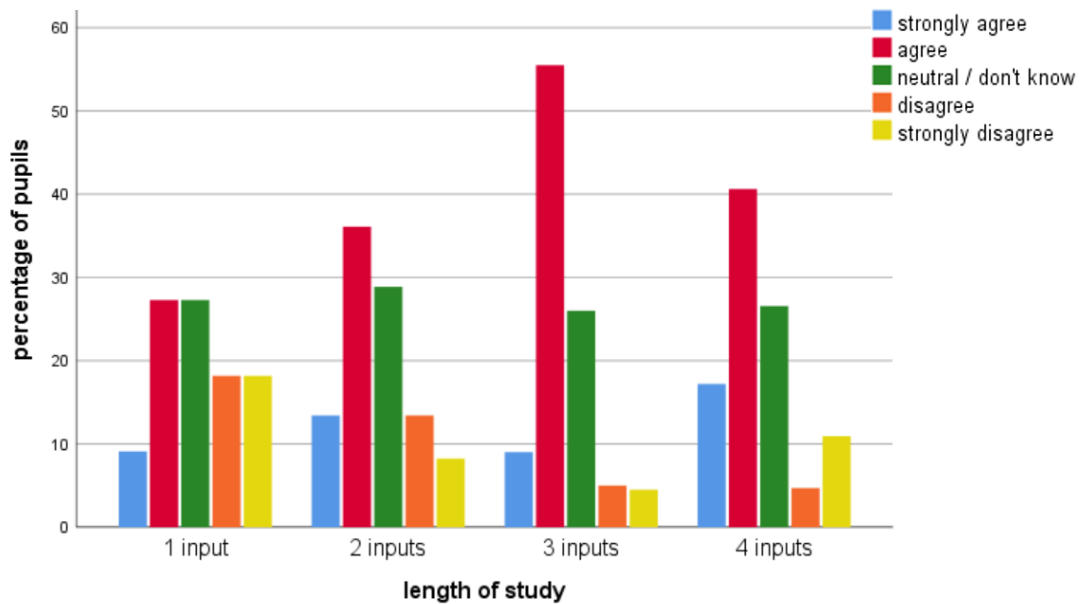
Figure 41. I understand why I am learning CLC (by length of study, N = 374)

Finally, when considered by length of study, the expected general hypothesis was that pupils' understanding of the need to learn CLC would improve with increased exposure i.e. highest levels of agreement would be seen for those with 4 inputs in contrast with those pupils who only had one. Figure 41 partially supports this expectation in that trends showing agreement (SA/ A) increase across 1- 3 exposures and fall back for those with 4 inputs (36.4%, 49.5%, 64.5% and 57.8% respectively), suggesting implications for sustained models of delivery, rather than one-off experiences. The highest levels of agreement were from those with 3 inputs, corresponding roughly to those who began their CLC journeys in P5, the standard starting point for L3 practice. A Kruskal-Wallis test (adjusted for ordered alternatives), showed that the relationship between the two variables was seen as not significant (*p*= .09)

In order to gain further insight into the initial responses above, an open-ended follow up was given to allow pupils to explain why they felt their study of CLC was important to them. Multiple suggestions to the question by individuals gave rise to 403 responses in total, which required categorisation to understand the broad themes arising as summarised in the following tables.

Table 28. Categorisation of pupils' open- ended responses to reasons for learning CLC
(by total, N = 374)

initial categorisation	responses = 403	%	wider groupings
communication when working or living in China	132	35.3%	communicative goals
communication when in China for travel purposes	44	11.8%	
communication with users of Chinese living in/ visiting the UK	43	11.5%	
communication when visiting other Chinese speaking countries	16	4.3%	
enhanced cultural knowledge	5	1.3%	cultural goals
enjoyable/ interesting/ important to learn a language	10	2.7%	general interest
China is an economic power	7	1.9%	awareness of China's global presence
Chinese is a major world language	19	5.1%	
future personal benefits	19	5.1%	
no response	58	15.5%	limited/ no importance
do not know	25	6.7%	
stated as not important	25	6.7%	

Across the sample as a whole, the communicative element of CLC, rather than its cultural dimension, was seen as the main reason for its study in different ways as evidenced in a clear majority in 62.9% of responses. A minority, 35.3% of replies, imagined its use when actually in China for work purposes in ways that have had limited mention in the study data to this point. In contrast, only a few pupils saw the language having application here in the UK, which suggests a disconnect in pupils' minds as to the transferability of their learning to a range of contexts. The notion of an economic rationale seems strong at a communicative level, but much less so in terms of general awareness of China's growing influence. For 28.9%, a sizeable minority within the total response, the importance of CLC was unclear at various levels, including those where no response was offered.

Table 29. Categorisation of pupils' open- ended responses to reasons for learning CLC

(by stage, N = 374)

initial categorisation	P5 responses = 106	%	P6 responses = 146	%	P7 responses = 151	%	wider groupings
communication when working or living in China	48	47.5%	54	40.9%	30	21.3%	
communication when in China for travel purposes	13	12.9%	20	15.2%	11	7.8%	
communication when visiting other Chinese speaking countries	1	1.0%	9	6.8%	6	4.3%	Communicative goals
communication with users of Chinese living in/ visiting the UK	15	14.9%	10	7.6%	18	12.8%	
enhanced cultural knowledge	2	2.0%	3	2.3%	0	0.0%	cultural goals
China is an economic power	0	0.0%	1	0.8%	6	4.3%	
Chinese is a major world language	3	3.0%	8	6.1%	8	5.7%	awareness of China's global presence
future personal benefits (secondary schooling/ career in UK)	3	3.0%	13	9.8%	3	2.1%	
enjoyable/ interesting/ important to learn a language	3	3.0%	3	2.3%	4	2.8%	general interest
no response	11	10.9%	10	7.6%	37	26.2%	
stated as not important	4	4.0%	5	3.8%	16	11.3%	limited/ no importance
do not know	3	3.0%	10	7.6%	12	8.5%	

Similar patterns appear when reported at stage level, but of particular interest is the views offered by around one-third of P7 pupils, who tended to see the notion of applying their learning in CLC in the context of actually being in China for any purpose as much more unlikely than those in P5-6. This group also gave rise to the highest responses of limited and no importance at 46% overall, which would be an

attitude/ view carried forward as they transitioned into their new secondary schools. The notion of learning CLC for cultural reasons explicitly was reported at a very low level across each stage and not indicated at all at P7. This either contradicts the focus that is seen in programmes of study in Scottish primary schools or supports the fact that the balance between both elements at some stages is more on the language, rather than culture. However, some pupils did see the interconnected nature of their L3 experiences:

> I feel Chinese is important because you learn a different language and you know more than you already know about other people. It gives you an opportunity to see what it is like in other countries. (P5 pupil)

> I feel it is important as it teaches us not only a new language but it also teaches us Chinese culture. (P6 pupil)

When the adult groups considered this, the issue of understanding purposes behind CLC was identified as problematic, not only for pupils, but also in the minds of many staff. Hanban teachers often linked understanding the reasons for studying the area to previous discussion of pupils' goals and motivations, particularly round the study for qualifications in secondary school contexts, as mentioned in Section 8.12. More generally, there was a feeling that primary pupils were too young or unable to take this sort of thinking on seriously and that this line of questioning was perhaps inappropriate to their stage of education or, in wider contrast, relevance was something to be addressed across all subjects in the curriculum as a whole:

> One group of pupils had a questionnaire to complete on their thoughts on why they were learning the language and the results showed that they did not have much to say and learned Mandarin because the school told them to and they had no choice, so the reason for learning is unclear. (HBT 3)

> It is usually a passive experience for most. (HBT 5)

> Probably, at this stage, not a huge amount. The primary context may not be suitable or pupils unable to understand or be ready to take this level of thinking on. (School 4)

> How much they think of this when they are learning is not clear. (School 5)

To what extent does any pupil understand the reason why they are learning across the curriculum as a whole? This is an issue for all subject areas and a really good question for us to reflect on. (PDO 1)

The adult participants in the focus groups also reflected on their own perceived rationale for CLC in primary schools through different questions as shown in Appendices C (questions 2-3) and D (questions 1-2). Across these groups as a whole, there was a strong notion that by becoming involved in CLC learning and activities, pupils were preparing for the future in terms of further study and work opportunities connected with a growing China on the world stage. Unlike the views of P5-7 children, these did not necessarily depend on visiting the country, but that skills learned could be practised in Scottish/ UK contexts. It was again noted that responses from the Hanban teachers focused primarily on the secondary school context, rather than CLC in primary settings, but such views gave a longer-term outlook on the rationale for its study:

We just had our P7 'world of work' topic, so the theme was very much looking at what skills we have for future life and employment. Pupils were asked why the schools in the area had chosen Chinese and they were very aware that China is an up and coming power and that there could be many job opportunities connected to it. (School 1)

Pupils may lack awareness that you do not have to travel to a place to work there. We also spoke about doing work online. When as working adults, pupils should not see an issue of their company being in China and them working here, or for any country. (School 2)

The link with our High School allows pupils to see Chinese as a subject and that there is a pathway to take the language forward. (School 3)

In some advanced Higher, Higher and Nat 5 classes, pupils seem to know why because they love Chinese language and culture and they know about the Tianjin scholarship and possibly opportunities to study at Chinese universities. (HBT 2)

One student in S3 was very keen to learn Chinese. The boy said that China was developing very fast and there would be many job opportunities in the country that would be beneficial to his future career choice. He has a clear goal that motivates him to learn Chinese, as he wants to work in China in the future. (HBT 4)

Some senior pupils said because of Brexit, French and Spanish may not be necessary, but Mandarin could be. (HBT 5)

Global and cultural understanding came through more fully in these discussions with adult groups, sometimes looking beyond the confines of CLC, particularly in trying to open pupils' eyes to parts of the world that they may have felt needed awareness raising with potential to breakdown some of the tensions and stereotypes between East and West that have continued into the present. However, there was also an acceptance, by at least some teachers, that most pupils would be very unlikely to visit the country, thus linking back to previous comments on using CLC in local, Scottish and UK contexts:

Looking at the global economy, it is very clear that China is a financial power these days and that, as a result, pupils should not narrow their views to Scotland, UK or Europe. (School 1)

It gives pupils an opening to learning about a culture and a language that most will perhaps never experience. (School 4)

Intercultural competence tends to be very Eurocentric where differences are not as pronounced. We cannot underestimate the underpinning of western/ European culture and philosophy on global outlooks. (PDO 1)

The reason why we do Chinese language and culture is so that we can reach out. Pupils' awareness is raised and they can appreciate the different cultures in their schools and community. (HBT 3)

Though the quantitative data gave rise to results of no statistical significance by gender, there were observations on how boys interacted with CLC and the notion that its newness created a level playing field for all learners, but encouraged them particularly to get involved more fully. There was also some wider thinking around

perceptions of the cognitive benefits of language learning and representative views included:

> CLC encourages boys to have a go and be relaxed about it, they don't feel as under pressure to get everything right. (School 2)

> Boys, in particular, seem motivated to learn the language, but this depends on how it is taught. (School 3)

> Using both sides of your brain to learn Mandarin is a skill for development and for life. (PDO 2)

> Research shows that memory capacity is increased when using the left and right side of the brain. We can feed into the older generation learning languages and this links into the current dementia debate. (PDO 3)

What becomes clear from these results as a whole, is that the scope for promoting CLC for a purpose is building on some bases of broad understanding and potentially interesting ideas, but requires further development and de-mythologising. In children's minds, cultural inputs are seen of lesser relevance to the learning of the language with differences in views as to where this learning may be applied; pupils at P5-6 imagining being tourists in China, but not so for P7. Adult participants certainly saw a future where China would be influencing economic opportunities around the world, but that this did not necessarily require travel to the country, rather using CLC more locally. However, the linkage into the wider curriculum and skills for life came through indicating a broader use and application of CLC and when taken together there is the potential to help balance content in terms of its traditional and modern application that may challenge misconceptions and stereotypes in pupils' minds. Essentially, there seems to be a disconnect between positive aspirations and actual application into contexts and purposes that would give CLC relevance with this explored further in the next section.

9.3   Further reflections on classroom practices

Elements of the literature review, across different global contexts, discussed how classroom activities and approaches to the teaching of CLC can give insights into

teachers' perceptions of their roles and views on culture, which can then impact upon pupils' experiences in both positive and negative ways. The online survey in this study looked at the specifics of taught content, but also the approaches that would likely act as key influences on the delivery of CLC as discussed below.

Table 30. From where do you get your information on China? (by school, N = 374)

option		school									
		1		2		3		4		5	
		n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
my Chinese teacher	1 = most often	50	87.7%	80	84.2%	60	83.3%	65	95.6%	71	86.6%
	2 = 2nd choice	3	5.3%	4	4.2%	6	8.3%	2	2.9%	7	8.5%
	5 = least often	3	5.3%	6	6.3%	4	5.6%	1	1.5%	2	2.4%
the Internet	1 =	3	5.3%	6	6.3%	5	6.9%	2	2.9%	6	7.3%
	2 =	31	54.4%	49	51.6%	28	38.9%	39	57.4%	42	51.2%
	5 =	3	5.3%	0	0.0%	2	2.8%	1	1.5%	2	2.4%
my own teacher	1 =	0	0.0%	2	2.1%	5	6.9%	1	1.5%	1	1.2%
	2 =	8	14.0%	24	25.3%	11	15.3%	11	16.2%	16	19.5%
	5 =	7	12.3%	20	21.1%	26	36.1%	12	17.6%	22	26.8%
TV programmes	1 =	2	3.5%	3	3.2%	1	1.4%	0	0.0%	1	1.2%
	2 =	6	10.5%	10	10.6%	7	9.7%	4	5.9%	7	8.5%
	5 =	10	17.5%	18	19.1%	17	23.6%	15	22.1%	15	18.3%
talking to Chinese people	1 =	4	7.0%	5	5.3%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	3	3.7%
	2 =	8	14.0%	7	7.4%	20	27.8%	10	14.7%	10	12.2%
	5 =	32	56.1%	47	49.5%	24	33.3%	40	58.8%	41	50.0%

Within this question, only those sources identified as the most often, second choice and least often used are given to assist clear presentation and analysis of results. Across all schools, the data again highlights, for most/ all pupils, the fundamental role of the Hanban teachers as the key sources of information on China and its culture. The Internet was clearly in second place, but no differentiation between its use within schools or externally was made and there would be a wide variation in how these sites portrayed Chinese culture. The picture then becomes more varied in relation to the other categories across the participating schools as a whole. What

becomes clear is that the role played by Scottish classroom teachers in this respect was relatively low key, as were other external sources such as TV programmes and, in particular, a lack of interaction with other Chinese people, as highlighted earlier in Section 7.33. This strongly reinforces the previous data in terms of roles and responsibilities discussed in Sections 8.13 and 8.23 with the Hanban teachers essentially being seen as 'founts of knowledge'. This emphasises the importance of their own content knowledge being accurate, as this may or may not lead to misrepresentations of the country and its culture through the activities offered in schools.

Table 31. From where do you get your information on China? (by stage, N = 374)

		stage					
		P5		P6		P7	
option		n	%	n	%	n	%
my Chinese teacher	1 = most often	91	90.1%	108	81.8%	127	90.1%
	2 = 2nd choice	5	5.0%	16	12.1%	1	0.7%
	5 = least often	3	3.0%	4	3.0%	9	6.4%
the Internet	1 =	2	2.0%	16	12.1%	4	2.8%
	2 =	48	47.5%	65	49.2%	76	53.9%
	5 =	4	4.0%	2	1.5%	2	1.4%
my own teacher	1 =	2	2.0%	5	3.8%	2	1.4%
	2 =	21	20.8%	28	21.2%	21	14.9%
	5 =	15	14.9%	28	21.2%	44	31.2%
TV programmes	1 =	2	2.0%	2	1.5%	3	2.1%
	2 =	14	13.9%	8	6.1%	12	8.5%
	5 =	19	18.8%	33	25.2%	23	16.3%
talking to Chinese people	1 =	4	4.0%	1	0.8%	7	5.0%
	2 =	13	12.9%	13	9.8%	29	20.6%
	5 =	58	57.4%	65	49.2%	61	43.3%

Similar broad patterns are seen at each stage and across P5-7 as a whole in terms of the role of the Hanban teacher, the Internet and the Scottish classroom teacher, which largely supports the notion of a model of standalone delivery by the Hanban groups

and again a low prevalence of contact with other Chinese people. Based on previous comments from Scottish teachers (Sections 7.11, 7.23 and 8.21), there were forms of project-based learning being used with the potential to allow pupils to research aspects of life in China for themselves, and to a very low extent, the ability to engage with people living in the country such as local high school students on scholarships.

The impact and application of classroom activity was seen in pupils' reflections on their uses of CLC both within and outwith the school day as presented in tables below.

Table 32. Pupils' uses of CLC during school day (by school, N= 374)

options		school								
		1		**2**		**3**		**4**		**5**
	n	**%**	**n**	**%**	**n**	**%**	**n**	**%**	**n**	**%**
during lessons	45	78.9%	84	88.4%	62	86.1%	58	85.3%	68	82.9%
with other pupils in the school	15	26.3%	17	17.9%	15	20.8%	26	38.2%	21	25.6%
with visitors to the school	8	14.0%	37	38.9%	31	43.1%	24	35.3%	23	28.0%
school trips	2	3.5%	2	2.1%	5	6.9%	12	17.6%	0	0.0%
during school assemblies	0	0.0%	1	1.1%	10	13.9%	9	13.2%	1	1.2%
visits to other schools who learn Chinese	1	1.8%	4	4.2%	4	5.6%	4	5.9%	3	3.7%
with other schools in China through the Internet	0	0.0%	3	3.2%	0	0.0%	3	4.4%	1	1.2%
other	0	0.0%	1	1.1%	2	2.8%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%

At school level, the experience for most pupils was of CLC as a class-based activity focused on the single inputs being received of around 50-60 minutes each week, as outlined in the description of L3 models in Section 6.2. Other activities were reported at minority levels and the figures suggest that these would likely be activities for small groups of pupils to engage in, rather than the whole class. Activities external to the school are again reported by few pupils as is online

engagement with schools in China. Similar patterns are seen at stage level in table 33 below.

Table 33. Pupils' uses of CLC during school day, (by stage, N = 374)

options	P5		P6		P7	
	n	%	*n*	%	*n*	%
during lessons	90	89.1%	110	83.3%	117	83.0%
with other pupils in the school	25	24.8%	41	31.1%	28	19.9%
during school assemblies	1	1.0%	11	8.3%	9	6.4%
with visitors to the school	22	21.8%	54	40.9%	47	33.3%
school trips	0	0.0%	11	8.3%	10	7.1%
visits to other schools who learn Chinese	2	2.0%	11	8.3%	3	2.1%
with other schools in China through the Internet	2	2.0%	3	2.3%	2	1.4%
other	1	1.0%	1	0.8%	1	0.7%

At a surface level, both tables support the view of a fairly isolated approach to the teaching of CLC, supporting some of the views given earlier in Chapter 8. However, some Scottish teachers, particularly those in school 3, referred to projects that saw pupils able to apply their learning in a range of contexts within and outwith the school environment. This gave wider relevance to pupils' work through project-based learning with external organisations, attracting the attention of local authorities and national bodies such as Education Scotland, thus bringing visitors to the school to see L3 CLC in action. In contrast to the others, school 3 was a Confucius Classroom with some extra resource and funding to act as a base for others in the local area to develop their early practices as was the case for school one. More broadly, however, such activity was limited:

> The Scottish Opera experience was very well received by parents. They were very proud of their children and when Chinese was suggested at the Parent Council, they felt the language was a good way forward because it was so different. Now we have support from another school in the area, things should get even better. (School 1)

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Unless there are people from that background/ interest to create opportunities outside of school these will be limited. There have not been follow-ups and sometimes information does not always trickle down about on-going events. (School 2)

We worked with Historic Environment Scotland at xxxx Castle. This project saw P5 pupils collaborating in groups on a number of different tasks. The end result was a virtual tour of xxxx Castle, signage, language training for castle tour guides and maps of the castle in Chinese. Pupils' literacy skills benefited from the project and their understanding about the world of work increased. (School 3)

We have moved away from podcasts to vodcasts (video casting) now that the school has a film studio used well to good effect. Pupils' ideas are amazing as they are aware of the purpose of a pod/vodcast in teaching other pupils and people about CLC. (School 3)

There have been whole school events e.g. shuttlecock and art competitions. (School 4)

The school is looking at funding to visit the pandas at Edinburgh Zoo. (School 5)

PDOs also highlighted the need to apply CLC across the curriculum and they had worked with a number of schools to support developments. Links were offered to on-going activities and events, but the impact of these was not always what had been hoped as schools had to take more of a lead in moving things forward:

It depends on how much collaboration has gone on and how much sustainability there has been in keeping a cultural element on the curriculum. (PDO 1)

It is when you put it through the curriculum with time to consider deep learning and not being tokenistic that it comes together. You can explore meaningful topics linked to the curriculum e.g. environmental issues and things can lead on from that e.g. panda conservation. (PDO 2)

Schools need to look at the approach, rather than the end product. (PDO 3)

Finally, as a contrast to activities in schools and a means of further exploring the purpose and potential scope of their learning, pupils were also asked to consider their use of CLC outwith the school day.

Table 34. Pupils' uses of CLC outside school N= 374 (by school)

	school									
	1		2		3		4		5	
options	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
told parents what you have learned in class	40	70.2%	65	68.4%	39	54.2%	56	82.4%	61	74.4%
spoken to friends	11	19.3%	26	27.4%	4	5.6%	24	35.3%	15	18.3%
spoken to Chinese neighbours	0	0.0%	3	3.2%	2	2.8%	0	0.0%	5	6.1%
spoken to Chinese visitors	5	8.8%	9	9.5%	18	25.0%	6	8.8%	5	6.1%
in Chinese restaurants	6	10.5%	21	22.1%	13	18.1%	10	14.7%	14	17.1%
in Chinese supermarkets	0	0.0%	3	3.2%	11	15.3%	4	5.9%	2	2.4%
never used	12	21.1%	15	15.8%	19	26.4%	4	5.9%	10	12.2%
other	2	3.5%	3	3.2%	0	0.0%	2	2.9%	1	1.2%

At school level, the majority/ most pupils mentioned engaging parents at home in the discussions of their learning of CLC, which was reflected in some comments made to Scottish teachers during school events:

> Pupils feel pride in this achievement, they go home to parents and they are proud to show off their learning – they are being the teachers at home and parents tell us they are amazed by this. (School 3)

There was also evidence in a few responses of wider application of their learning where native speakers of the language would be encountered. Though these remained so for a minority of pupils, it still showed potential for wider application into local communities. However, there was again a contradiction in school 3 which had engaged pupils in external activities in very different ways to other schools, but

had the highest reported number of pupils who felt they had not applied their learning.

Table 35. Pupils' uses of CLC outside school, N= 374 (by stage)

| | stage | | | | | |
| | P5 | | P6 | | P7 | |
options	*n*	%	*n*	%	*n*	%
told parents what you have learned in class	70	69.3%	103	78.0%	88	62.4%
spoken to friends	28	27.7%	30	22.7%	22	15.6%
spoken to Chinese neighbours	2	2.0%	4	3.0%	4	2.8%
spoken to Chinese visitors	10	9.9%	18	13.6%	15	10.6%
in Chinese restaurants	16	15.8%	23	17.4%	25	17.7%
in Chinese supermarkets	9	8.9%	6	4.5%	5	3.5%
never used	16	15.8%	14	10.6%	30	21.3%
other	4	4.0%	2	1.5%	2	1.4%

Table 35 shows the same broad patterns of use outside of school by stage. As highlighted in previous data, some of the negative trends in terms of no use where highest at the P7 stage at around one-fifth of respondents.

This sub-section reports the delivery of CLC practices as very much class-based activities during the school day. However, there were attempts being made in some contexts to try and give a wider application and purpose to pupils' learning, but that there was scope across most schools for more of such activity in applying learning outside of the classroom. In doing so, this contextualisation would help balance the content being delivered in the classrooms and would likely impact positively on pupils' views of their learning and on their base of understanding the rationale behind CLC. As activities are often delivered on a school cluster basis, there is obvious scope for more collaboration such as that operated between schools 1 and 3 to bring inexperienced staff on board.

9.4   Impact of Chinese language and culture on pupils' views of the Other

Activities in CLC need to broaden out from isolated inputs in a specific area of the curriculum to also include developing pupils' perceptions and attitudes towards understanding other cultures, as well as their own.

Given L3 models allow for inputs across P5-7 as a whole, there was scope to consider how these shaped pupils' views over quite a significant period of their primary schooling and into their secondary experience where CLC would continue to be available. The online survey allowed for the potential indication of immediate and longer-term impact on pupils' notions towards the cultural 'Other' with reflections on this by total, gender, school and length of study given below.
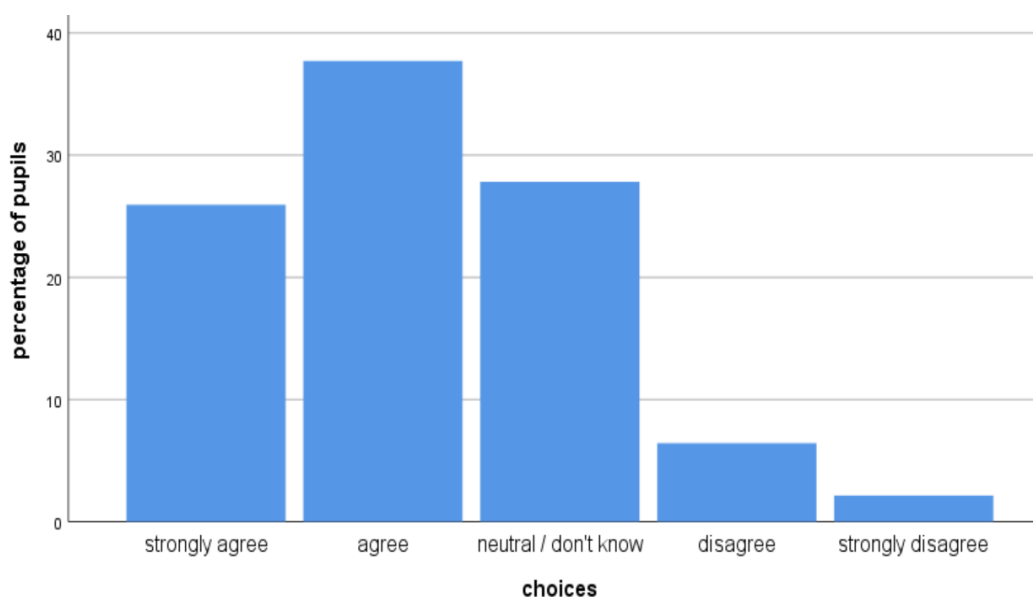
Figure 42. I think people in China are very different to people in Scotland (by total, N = 374)

This question was asked as a general opportunity to assess pupils' notion of 'difference' after exposure to CLC content. The most frequent category of response was to agree with the statement at 37.7% of the total sample with an overall strongly positive view offered (SA/ A) at 63.6 %. Therefore, the notion of difference between people from both countries was a strong overall perception in pupils' minds with very low levels of wider disagreement at 8.5% (D/ SD).
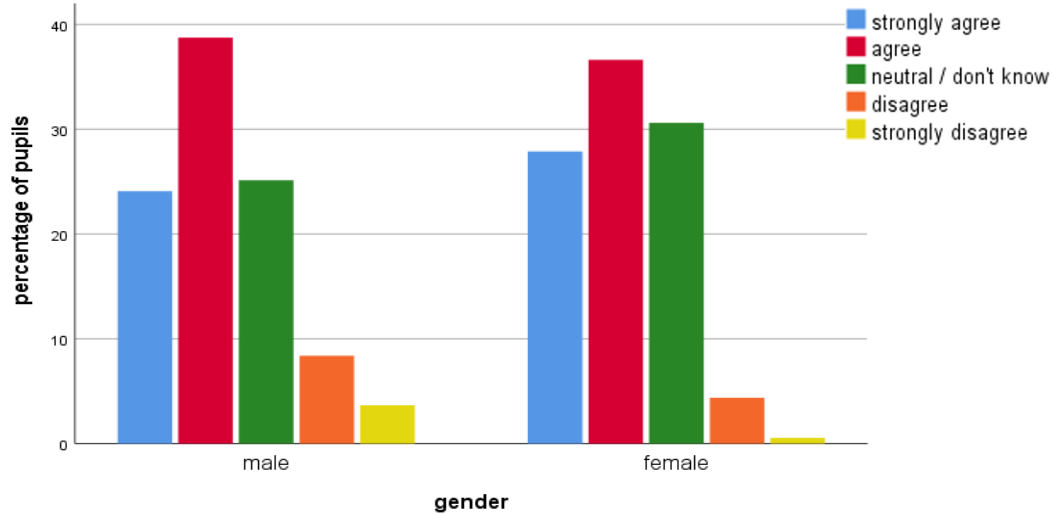
Figure 43. I think people in China are very different to people in Scotland (by gender, N = 374)

When considered by gender, again there was strong positive agreement (SA/ A) with the statement of difference at broadly similar levels for both males (62.8%) and females (64.5%) with levels of negative disagreement (D/ SD) higher for males, but low overall at 12.0% and 4.9% respectively. The similarity of data was borne out through a Chi-square test showing no significance (p= .84).
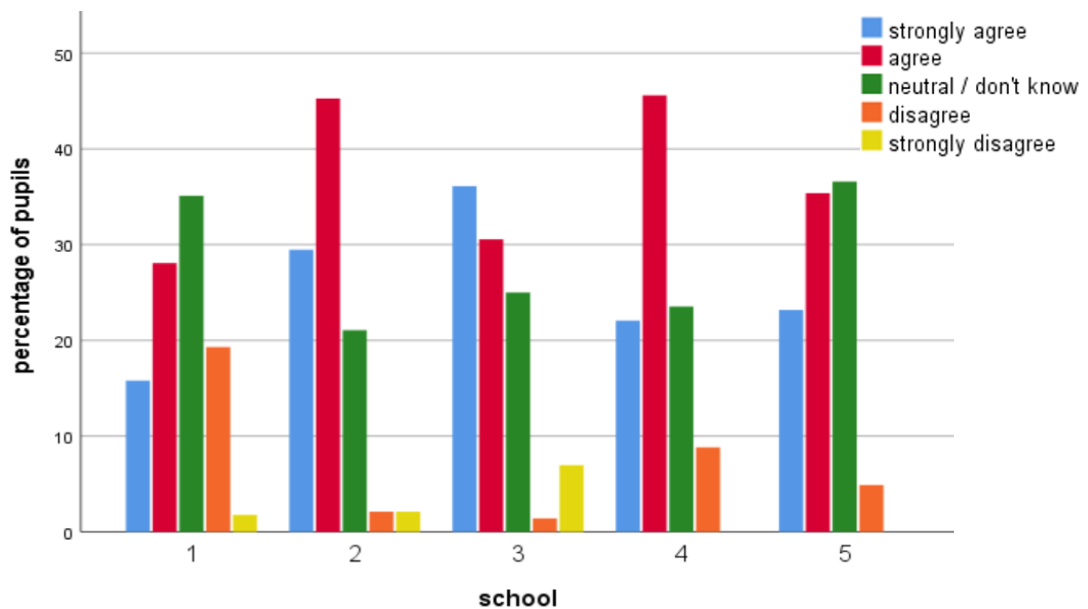
Figure 44. I think people in China are very different to people in Scotland
(by school, N = 374)

At the initial level of analysis, the highest point of simple response varied across the sample, with schools 1 and 5 ambivalent (N/ DK) towards the statement at 35.1%

and 36.6% respectively, agreement in schools 2 (45.3%) and 4 (45.6%) and strong agreement shown in school 3 at 36.1%. When combining results to give the bigger picture, there was positive agreement (SA/ A) with the statement across all 5 schools, particularly strong in schools 2-5 at 74.8%, 66.7%, 67.7% and 58.6% respectively. School one showed a lower total at 43.9% and, again, was the school in which the delivery of CLC was still in its infancy. It also had the highest levels of disagreement at 21.1%, whereas in the others levels were generally very low. A Chi-square test confirmed these results as highly statistically significant: χ^2 (12, $N = 374$) $= 30.66$, $p = .002$, $V = .17$ thus supporting a school influence on pupils' attitudes towards the statement of difference.
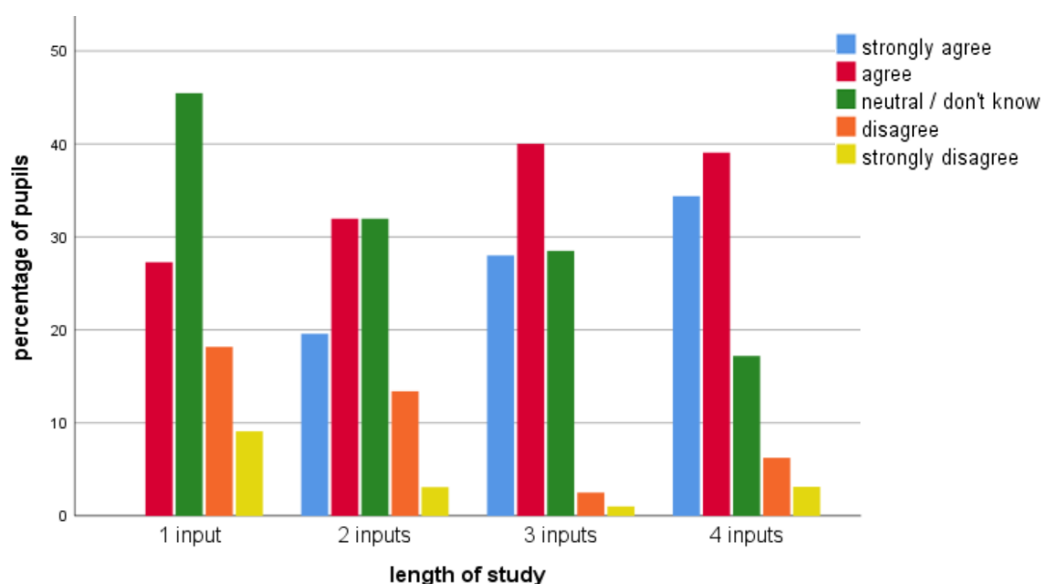
Figure 45. I think people in China are very different to people in Scotland
(by length of study, N = 374)

Finally, figure 45 considered the potential impact of length of study on pupils' views of cultural difference with the general expectation that these would lessen over time with more L3 experiences. This gave rise to unexpected results when placing the level of positive agreement (SA/ A) in order of number of inputs at 27.3%, 51.5%, 68.0% and 73.4%, respectively, thus contradicting the initial hypothesis to, in fact, show the opposite view. A Kruskal- Wallis test (adjusted for ordered alternatives) highlighted these results as highly significant (Gp1, $n = 64$: 4 inputs, Gp2, $n = 200$: 3 inputs, Gp3, $n = 97$: 2 inputs, Gp4, $n = 11$: 1 input, Gp5, $n = 2$: other, χ^2 (4, $n = 374$)

= 20.296, $p = <.001$). This could suggest that as pupils are exposed to more CLC their view of cultural difference increases perhaps supporting the notion of a traditional content delivery making differences seem more apparent.

The next discussion considers reactions to cultural differences more widely in relation to people from other countries and cultures beyond just the CLC base of this study.
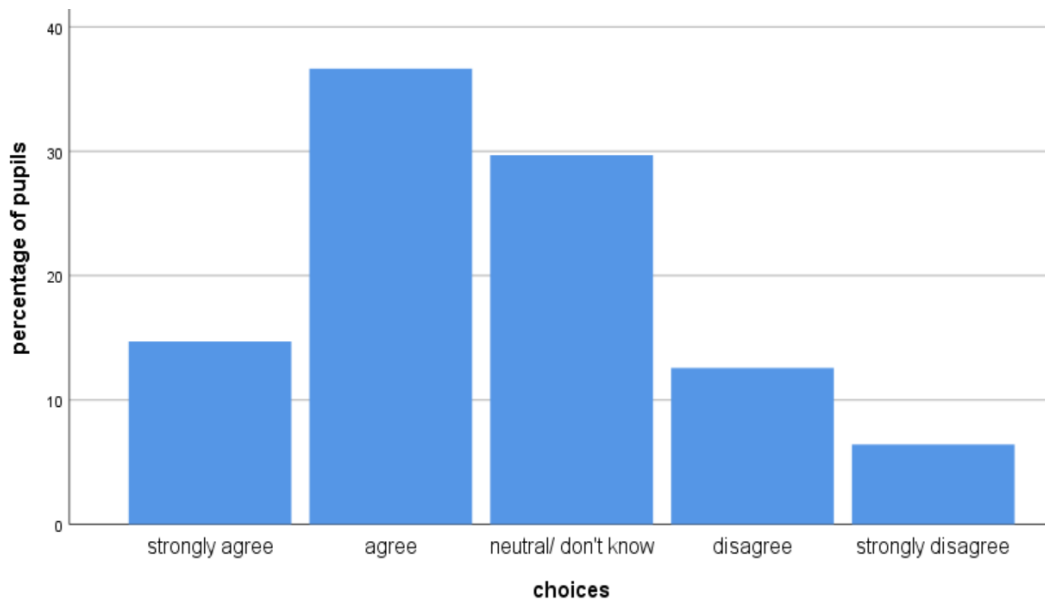
Figure 46. Learning CLC has made me interested in people from other parts of the world

(by total, N = 374)

The most frequent category of response was to agree with the statement at 36.6% with a positive trend (SA/ A) across the whole sample at 51.3 %. However, there was still a sizeable group who were, at best, ambivalent (N/ DK) at 29.7% or negative (D/ SD) at 19% in their interest towards people from other parts of the world.
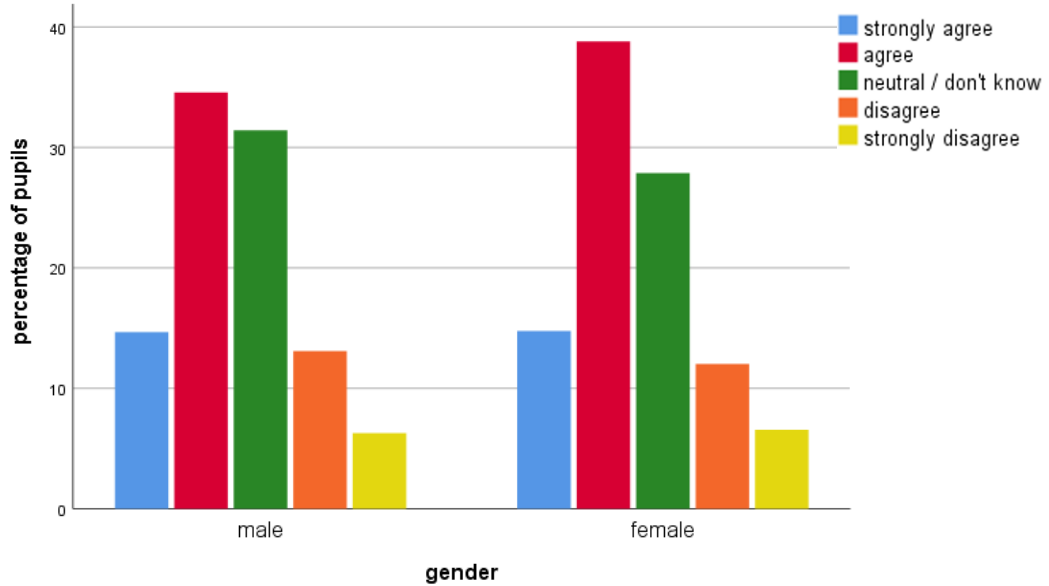
Figure 47. Learning CLC has made me interested in people from other parts of the world

(by gender, N = 374)

When considered in figure 47 above by gender, positive agreement (SA/ A) with the statement is slightly more favourable for females at 53.6% than 49.2% for males and negative disagreement (D/ SD) broadly similar for both groups at around 19%. There was no significance found in this result when using a Chi-square test (*p*= .917) suggesting this wider cultural attitude was unaffected by gender.
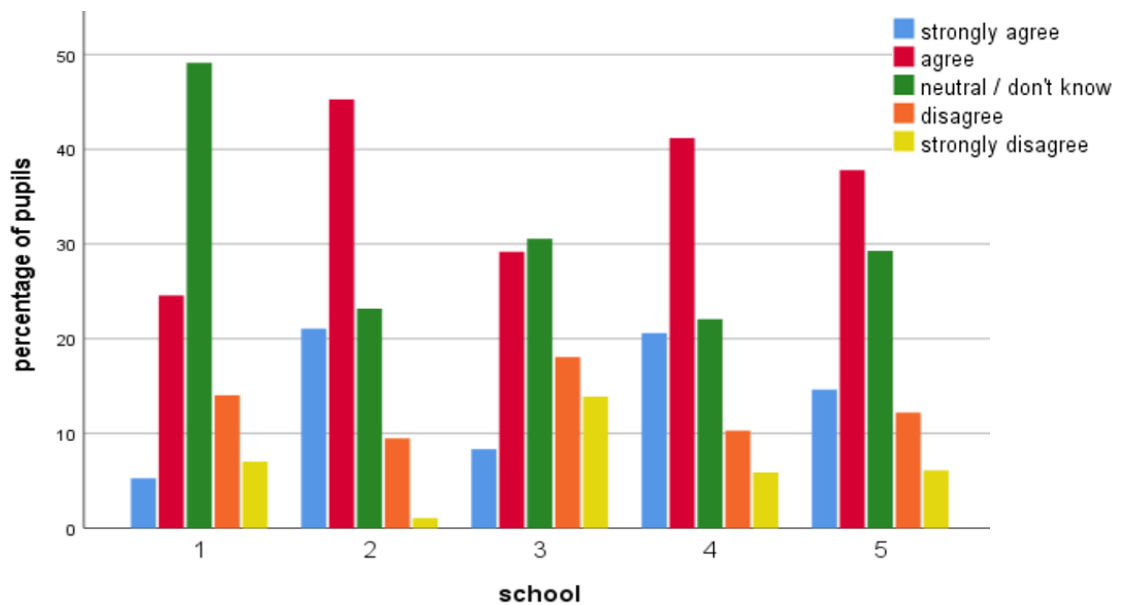
Figure 48. Learning CLC has made me interested in people from other parts of the world

(by school, N = 374)

At school level, responses to this statement give rise to a wider variation of results. At the level of highest response in each establishment, schools 2, 4 and 5 were in agreement at 45.3%, 41.2% and 37.8% respectively and more ambivalence (N/ DK) shown in school 1 (49.1%) and school 3 (30.6%). These patterns generally continued when combining data, with strongest agreement (SA/ A) seen in schools 2 (66.4%) and 4 (61.8%) and to a lesser extent in school 5 (52.4%). Pupils in school one maintained their ambivalent stance as the clear majority view. When combining the data, pupils in school 3 seemed more balanced 37.5% (SA/ A), 30.6% (N/ DK) and 32% (D/ SD). Again, results are confirmed as highly statistically significant through the use of a Chi-Square test: χ^2 (16, $N = 374$) = 38.76, $p = .001$, $V = .16$ confirming that factors within the school had a part to play here.
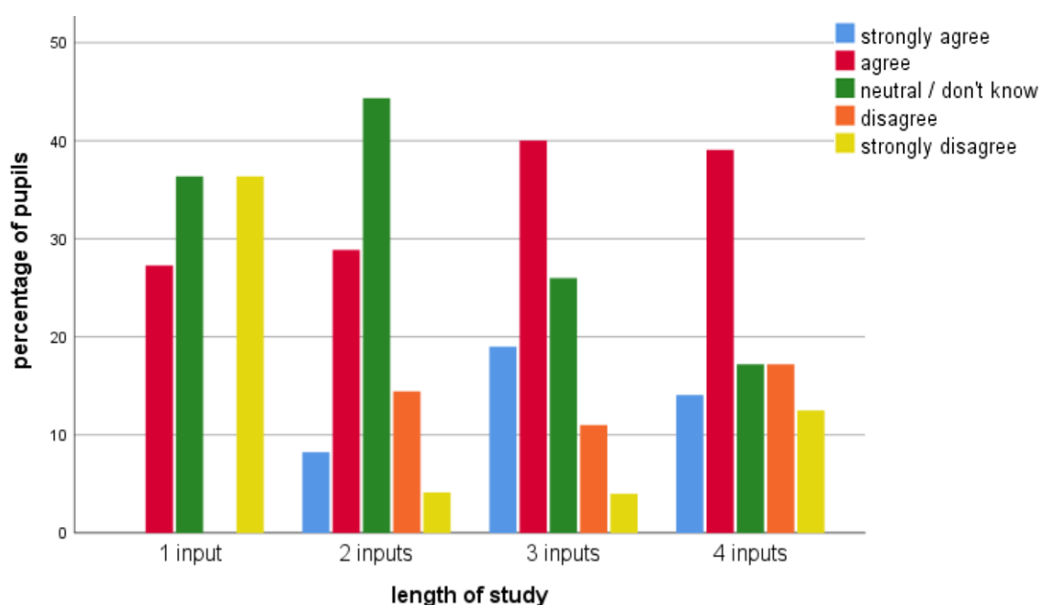
Figure 49. Learning CLC has made me interested in people from other parts of the world
(by length of study, N = 374)

Once again, it was the general assumption that with increased exposure to CLC, pupils' attitudes to people from other parts of the world and cultures would become more positive. Overall, the data showed positive agreement (SA/ A) starting at a low base of 27.3% for those new to the language, increasing to 37.1% in the second year of experience, rising sharply to 59.0% in the third year, then falling back for those in their fourth year of study, which related to pupils in 2 schools, to 53.1%. Therefore, the expected trend was partially seen over time. A Kruskal-Wallis test (adjusted for

ordered alternatives) indicates significance (Gp1, n = 64: 4 inputs, Gp2, n = 200: 3 inputs, Gp3, n = 97: 2 inputs, Gp4, n = 11: 1 input, Gp5, n = 2: other, χ^2 (4, n = 374) = 15.695, p= .003), thus highlighting that positive attitudes did need time to develop for those in this study, but were by no means uniform.

9.5   Pupils' views on future interaction with Chinese language and culture

As a final measure of impact, pupils were asked to consider whether they would like to continue their study into secondary school and if they felt CLC was an area important for their futures. This has relevance to the notion of Orientalism/ Re-orientalism given that any indication of positive views may then be built upon further at other primary stages and into secondary schooling, or where issues exist, further input may help tackle these.
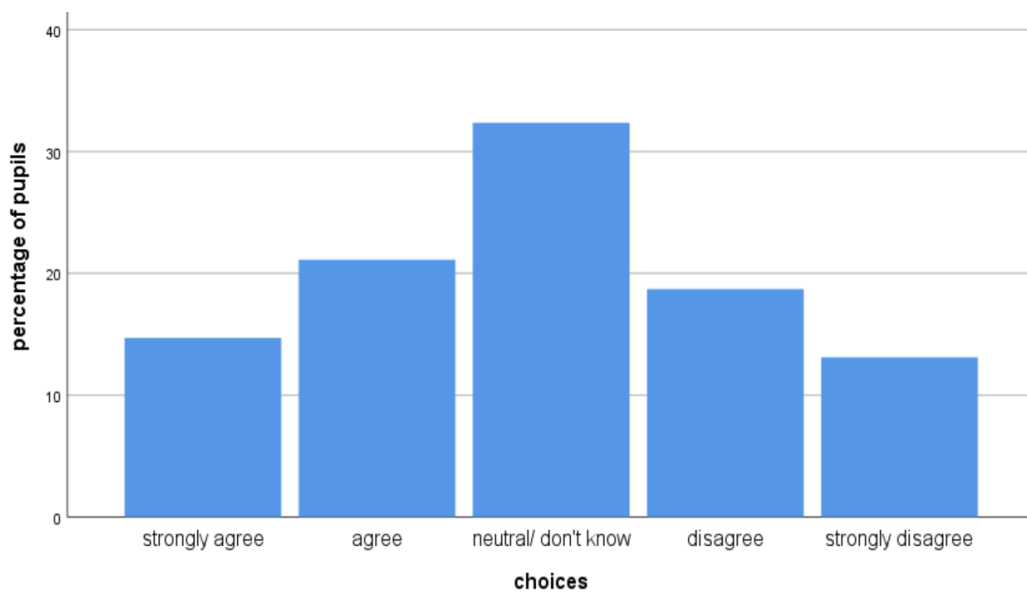
Figure 50. I would like to continue learning CLC in secondary school
(by total, N = 374)

At the broadest level, the most frequent response to the question was given in the category of neutral/ don't know at around one-third sampled. The balance on either side of this view was also at around one-third indicating that there is still some way to go in encouraging stronger positive views in pupils' minds towards CLC though there is a reasonable base to build upon.
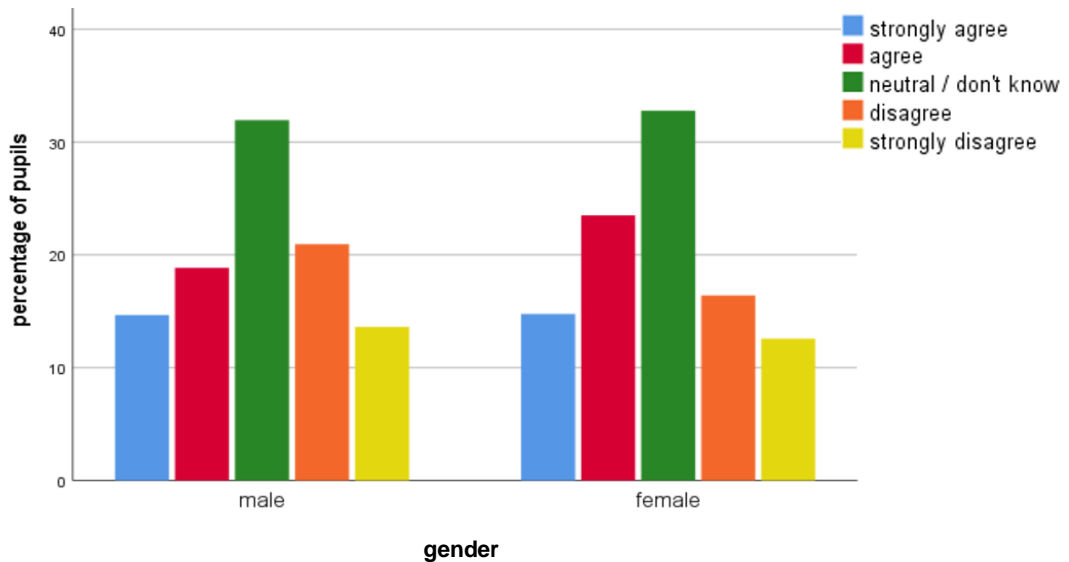
Figure 51. I would like to continue learning CLC in secondary school (by gender, N = 374)

This mixed perspective is again seen in figure 51 when compared by gender. For males, there is roughly a one-third split across the 3 sets of views (SA/A, N/DK, D/ SD) and the position is broadly similar for female pupils at 38.3%, 32.7% and 29% within the same categories.   This seems to contradict some of the earlier observations expressed by Scottish teachers in Section 9.2 that alluded to particular engagement and positivity of boys towards CLC. A Chi-square test for independence reported no significant association between gender and desire to continue the study of CLC in secondary school (*p*= .719).
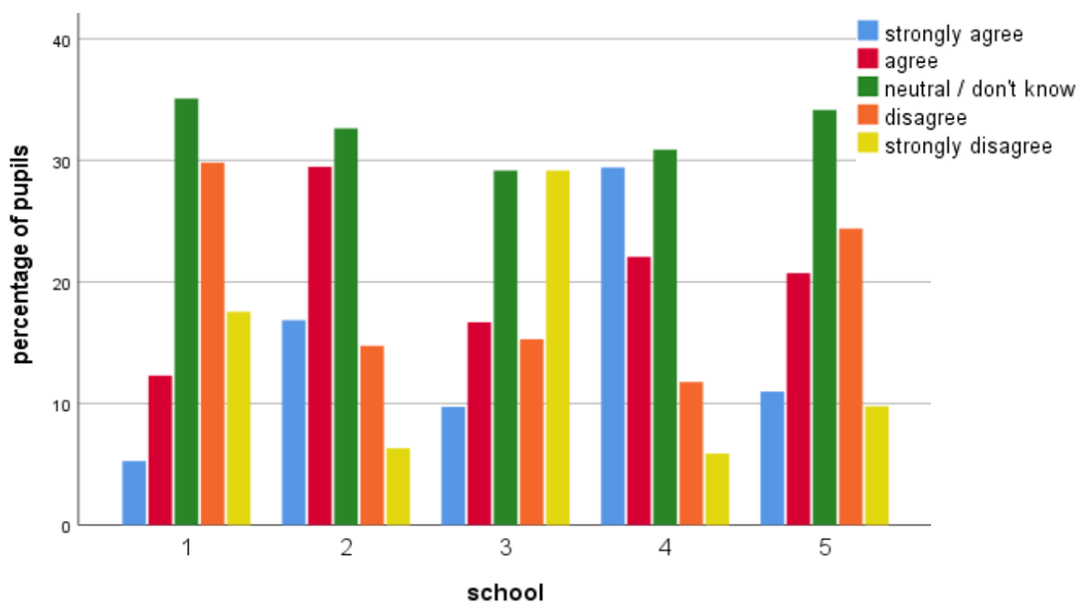
Figure 52. I would like to continue learning CLC in secondary school (by school, N = 374)

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When viewed at the simplest level, the highest response across all schools lies in the N/DK category at around one-third in all cases, ranging from 29.2- 35.1%, but tying in school 3 with SD and SA in school 4. However, again, when combining data, clearer patterns emerge. In schools 1 and 3, negative views towards continuing the study of CLC are at their highest at 47.3% and 44.5% respectively. To the contrary, it is much more positive (SA/ A) in school 2 (46.3%) and school 4 (51.5%) and balanced across all three broader categories (SA/ A, N/ DK, D/ SD) at around one-third in each within school 5. These results are further confirmed as highly statistically significant through the use of a Chi-Square test: χ^2 (16, $N = 374$) = 52.16, $p = >.001$, $V = .19$ highlighting that there are influencing factors at play in each school.
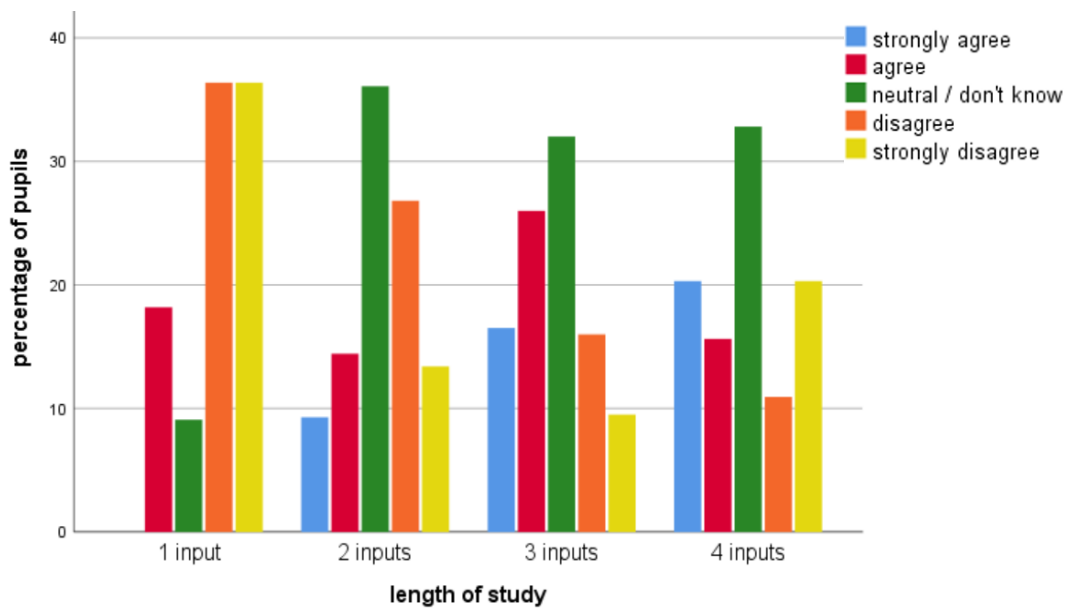
Figure 53.   I would like to continue learning CLC in secondary school (by length of study, N = 374)

When considered by length of study, the general hypothesis was again that increased exposure to CLC would correspond favourably in the desire to continue its learning into secondary school. In viewing positive agreement (SA/ A) in figure 53 across each group, the results were 18.2%, 23.7%, 42.5% and 35.9% respectively. Such growth was uneven and best seen for those who had received 3 inputs before declining. A striking feature was the very negative (D/ SD) feeling of those with single inputs of CLC at 72.7% which did lessen over time and, once again, warns

against the notion of one-off experiences. The relationship between these variables was affirmed in a Kruskal-Wallis test (adjusted for ordered alternatives) that indicated significance (Gp1, n = 64: 4 inputs, Gp2, n = 200: 3 inputs, Gp3, n = 97: 2 inputs Gp4, n = 11: 1 input, Gp5, n = 2: other, χ^2 (4, n = 374) = 16.149, p = .003). It would be worthwhile to investigate further the characteristics of these different groups, particularly those who are enthusiastic towards CLC and also to consider how this division compares with other languages for balance.

Section 9.2 reflected pupils' own rationales for the study of CLC with high support for its communicative purposes, but with differences in the contexts where this might apply. This was explored more explicitly in a final discussion relating to its perceived importance in their futures with the results given below.
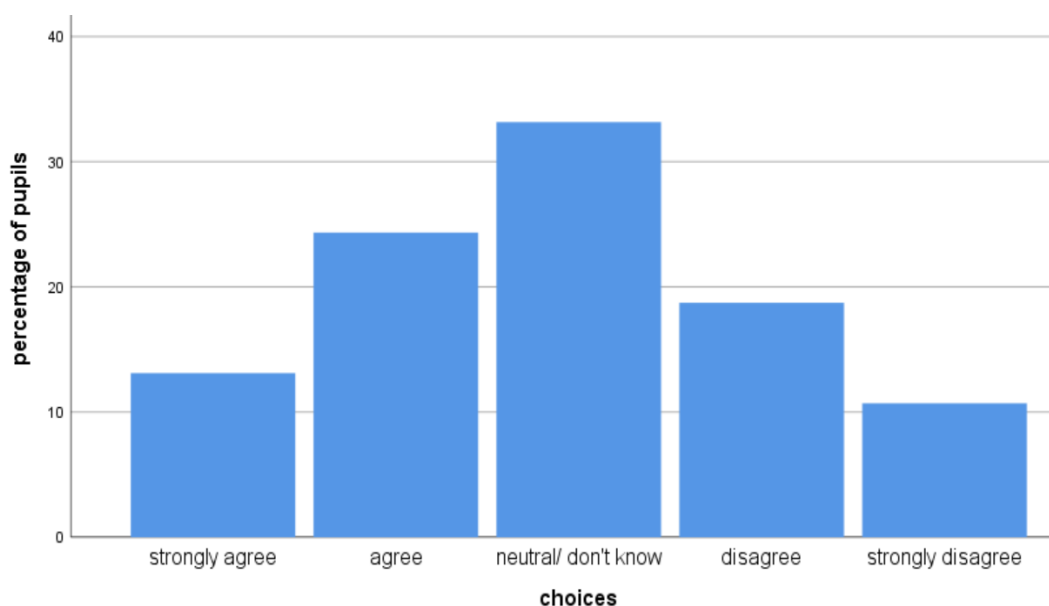
Figure 54. I think learning CLC is important for my future (by total, N = 374)

When viewed across the sample, the general pattern of results did not give rise to strong views in any particular category as a whole as seen in 37.4% (SA/ A), 33.2% (N/ DK) and 29.4% (D/ SD). Though Section 9.2 saw the majority of P5-7 pupils able to give an indication for the use and learning of CLC, figure 54 suggests a need to engage pupils more fully in the future based rationale.
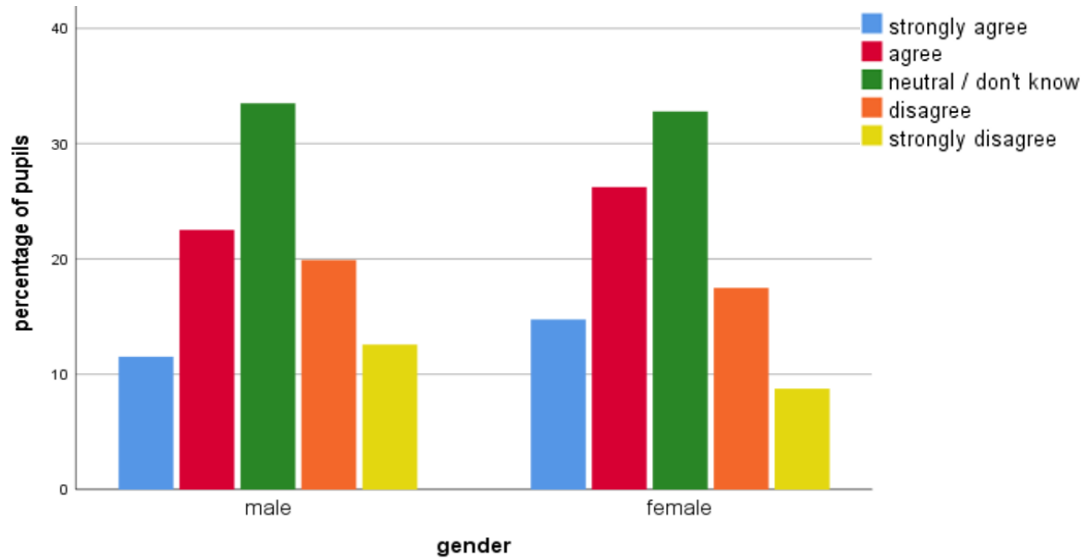
Figure 55. I think learning CLC is important for my future (by gender, N = 374)

Figure 55 echoes these results when viewed by gender. For males, there was again a close one-third split across the 3 groups of positive (SA/ A), ambivalent (N/ DK) and negative views (D/ SD). There was a marginal positive perception of the question by 41% for females with 32.8% and 26.2% in the respective remaining categories. A Chi-square test for independence reported no significant association between gender and seeing CLC as important for their futures (*p= .582*).
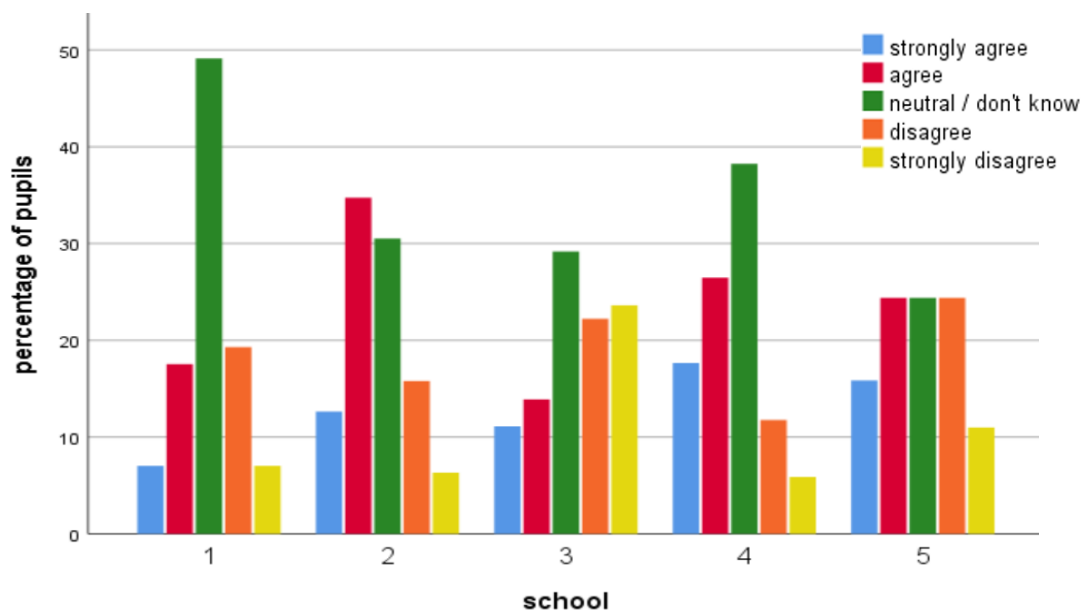
Figure 56. I think learning CLC is important for my future (by school, N = 374)

For schools 1, 3 and 4, the initial highest response showed an ambivalent view (N/ DK) from pupils in how much importance they attached to CLC for their futures at 49.1%, 29.2% and 38.2% respectively. School 2 had 34.7% of pupils in agreement, whereas the picture was much more balanced in school 5 with 24.4% across the categories of A, N/ DK and D. The bigger picture in schools 2, 4 and 5, when combining data at the SA/ A level, indicates an overall positive response with 47.3%, 44.1% and 40.3% (respectively). Pupils in school 1 still remain clearly ambivalent and those in school 3 clearly negative (D/ SD) at 45.8%. As with other results in this chapter section, these are again confirmed as highly statistically significant through the use of a Chi-Square test: χ^2 (16, $N = 374$) = 38.62 $p = .001$, $V = .16$ suggesting that pupils' views are influenced by the school they are in.
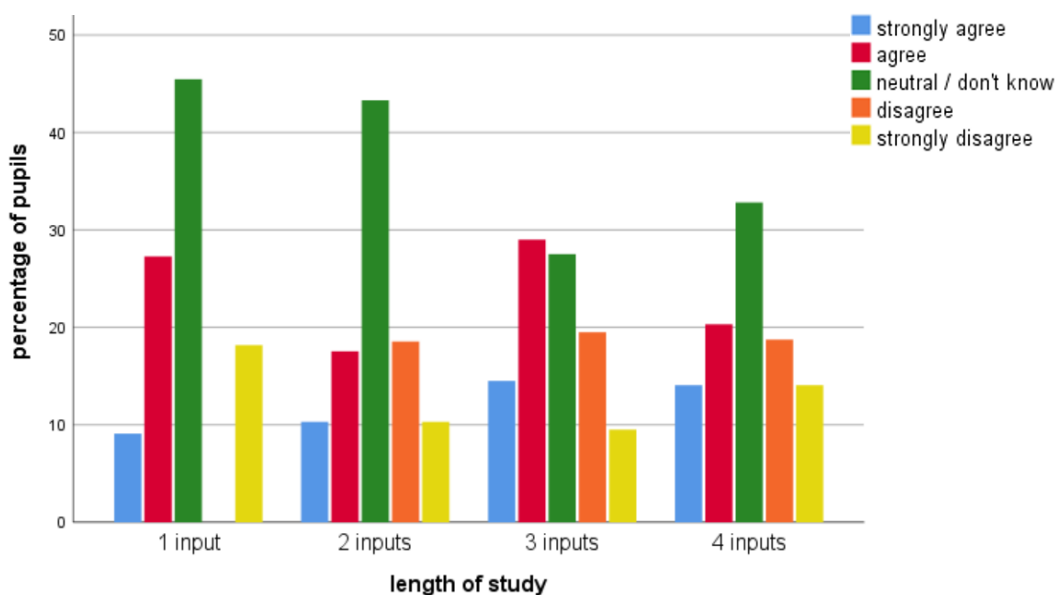
Figure 57. I think learning CLC is important for my future (by length of study, N = 374)

The final piece of quantitative data was again tested against the expectation that pupils' views of the future importance of CLC would increase with exposure over time. When measuring for clear agreement (SA/ A) against the statement, this showed variation by number of inputs at 36.4%, 27.8%, 43.5% and 34.4% respectively with only those who had experienced 3 inputs (roughly equating to those starting CLC in P5) indicating a broadly positive response. ambivalent views (N/ DK) were seen for those with 1-2 inputs and no broad view prevailed for those who

had learned CLC the longest at 4 inputs. Therefore, regardless of length of study, there was no clear link between the variables measured and this was confirmed in the use of a Kruskal-Wallis test (ordered for comparison), which gave rise to no significance across groups and reported $p=.46$.

Overall, the impact on the attitudinal development of pupils was at best broadly split across the reported categories of analysis and often portrayed ambivalent views across P5-7 as a whole. It is accepted that the long-term nature of these questions may have been difficult for P5-7 pupils to fully understand, but engagement in the purposes and uses behind CLC needs to be made more apparent so that they can see a wider context to their involvement. What does become clear from the data is that one-off experiences have very limited and often negative impacts on views towards CLC as a whole and are best avoided. Finally, given the reported significance of a number of results when tested at school level, there seem to be additional influences on pupils here that are very difficult to ascertain. These could simply relate to the nature of the experience on offer in each context, as highlighted in particular for school one at its early stage of involvement with CLC, but also depend on factors which this study and its analysis are unable to identify across the 5 schools. This issue will be further highlighted in Section 10.3 where the affordances and limitations of the study will be revisited.

9.6   Adult participants' views on the future of Chinese language and culture as an L3 in primary schools

As can be seen from the questions asked of the adult groups across all interview sessions (see appendices C-E), opportunities were given to reflect on the future of CLC in participating schools. Many of the themes that emerged highlighted recurrent core issues dealt with in previous sections including the relationship and roles between the Scottish and Hanban teachers, the knowledge base of both groups in relation to curriculum practices and, very importantly, of each other's culture. However, beyond these some additional themes were expressed in terms of curricular frameworks, progression and the strategic direction of CLC as an L3.

Within the demands of the CfE primary curriculum as a whole, the amount of time available to prioritise worthwhile language experiences was questioned and, in the minds of some, led to approaches that made its delivery difficult. Even in School 3, where the class teacher was responsible for its promotion across all stages, this was set against also managing her own class. This was resolved to some extent when the researcher returned for the second interview where this particular teacher discussed how she had been seconded to work with others in the community to promote good practice and that this was paying dividends. There was also recognition of the tensions that existed in how the L3 requirements (Education Scotland, 2019) were to be met in terms of the distinct contributions of, and balance between, the language and cultural element to the pupils' overall learning experience. There was a feeling that it was easier to emphasise the language element as this had specific outcomes, whilst the cultural dimension did not and, therefore, was open to much broader interpretation. PDOs felt that this went, in some ways, against L3 expectations, which were also about spaces for the achievement of the wider goals of the CfE curriculum, but that these required schools to be more creative in their approaches:

> We have lost sight that the L3 has to be delivered in two parts: the language and the culture, but the packed curriculum means the language is seen as much more important due to time constraints. (School 2)

> With further time, the Chinese language assistant could do more. Working with at least 3-4 schools is a lot to do and means her time is thinly spread. With teachers unable to reinforce the language, its consolidation during the day is limited as a result. (School 2)

> Our French learning framework is very comprehensive and the pathway is clear. We are still developing the Mandarin option and this is a long way from being at that level. (School 4)

> The reality in primary schools is that so much is going on in the curriculum and so much asked of teachers that language learning might simply be seen as another thing getting in the way of literacy and numeracy. (School 5)

It comes back to the four capacities in CfE and though we understand what they are, we do not have a wider vision for what they mean and that learning Mandarin can deliver all four. Joined up thinking matters. (PDO 2)

Though the Hanban teachers worked primarily in secondary school settings, they were able to draw upon their networks of contacts across the UK as a whole to reflect on the direction that CLC was taking in Scotland in comparison to elsewhere. The need for further strategic thinking was picked up in terms of building capacity beyond just visiting Hanban teachers and, in addition, other views were offered on the extent to which CLC was on an equal footing with well-established languages:

What we are doing now is promoting the language in a new way, French and German have mature systems. (HBT 2)

Funding from China is really positive, compared to other languages. There is enough money to organise different activities, but it is not always used fully or creatively. (HBT 3)

If Hanban funding came to an end, the lack of UK people trained in teaching Chinese would be a huge problem. (HBT 5)

There are just not enough teachers in Scotland to take things forward and new jobs need to be created if it is to continue without us. (HBT 7)

All 5 schools in the study acted as feeders to High Schools where the language was available in different forms, from one-off experiences to examination level. There were mixed views in how secondaries were managing their links, a few were regular others much more infrequent. However, interesting ideas arose about how to support the language through the use of pupils at advanced levels in their study. Some Scottish teachers felt such groups could extend and support the work of the Hanban teachers by visiting primaries and thus give other perspectives on the language. The role of specific primary schools to act as the lead for others new to their CLC journey was strongly welcomed where it existed and showed the scope to help push things forward to better assist progression:

The P4 teacher from a partner school is visiting different schools in the area to co-ordinate things with a very positive response – things are going smoothly for the most part. (School 1)

The High School Mandarin department is very busy and has so much going on and that's why the registered teacher there withdrew from coming down to the school. She was excellent in giving a cultural background. (School 2)

The role of the local secondary Chinese colleague in maintaining standards for visiting Hanban teachers is unclear. (School 4)

Transition programmes involving older pupils learning Chinese as positive role models would be helpful and these pupils could assist the Hanban teacher teaching the language. (School 5)

In summary, the discussions across Sections 9.2 – 9.6 raise some challenging questions about the motivations behind learning CLC, the ability to use and value what has been learned in their lessons and how this might positively or negatively impact on future engagement with CLC in secondary schools. It is important to recognise that pupils' attitudes and perceptions are being shaped by gaps in the Scottish and Hanban teachers' understanding and engagement in these questions too. This uncertainty may well be affecting pupils' experiences through the implicit/ explicit practices in the classroom.

9.7   Discussion

This final section brings Chapters 7-9 to a close in reflecting on whether the approach taken to the teaching of CLC as an L3 in the selected primaries, and by extension more widely, is helping to challenge the notion of Orientalism or reinforce it through Re-orientalist approaches, two themes first introduced in Chapter 2 and seen as central issues throughout this study in terms of content, delivery and impact. The structure of this section can be summarised as follows:

- issues in interpreting data when measuring attitudes and perceptions;
- repositioning China and its culture on the global stage;
- factors contributing to potential Re-orientalism within L3 practices; and

- summary and initial conclusions.

The interpretation of attitudes and perceptions, which lie at the heart of the notion of Orientalism and formed a major part of this chapter, is important in considering measures of validity and reliability and requires initial discussion. This section then goes out with the confines of L3 practices to consider what the goals and benefits of a Re-orientalist approach might be in the era of globalisation where China is an increasingly important player on the world stage and where strong criticisms exist of its attempts at soft power influence. Having done so, it then returns back to this specific research context in terms of classroom and curriculum practices, outlined across the 3 findings chapters as a whole, to consider the extent to which Re-orientalist approaches actually exist. Finally, some stepping stones towards the conclusions and recommendations reached in Chapter 10 are given.

9.71   Reflection on data interpretation: measuring attitudes and perceptions

As mentioned in Section 2.313, a Re-orientalist discourse promotes the continued idealised view in the minds of others of the 'modern Orient' rather than a balanced perspective. Any shifts in these views are likely best evidenced through western people's attitudes towards eastern societies and their cultures and this thinking was addressed in earlier sections of this chapter. However, the tool used to test these i.e. Likert-type questions needs to be briefly reconsidered in terms of its validity and reliability. Though in a medical context, Ho (2017) reminds us of important distinctions between 'attitudes' and 'perceptions' that perhaps needed further thought at the early methodological stages in the design of the online questionnaire for use with P5-7 pupils. In citing the work of Altman (2007) and McDonald (2012), Ho considers these constructs to be different in focus and in the ways that they draw upon psychological elements of an individual's response to an issue or phenomenon with a summary of these given below, alongside the questions from the survey that are seen as belonging to each category.

Table 36. Differences in cognitive processes involved in forming perception and attitudes
(adapted from the work of Ho, 2017)

perceptions (individual awareness, comprehension, and interpretation of a situation, issue or phenomenon)	attitudes (mental state response to a situation, issue or phenomenon)
- sensory awareness or cognition of an experience - personal experience - comprehension	- a conscious or unconscious mental state - a value, belief, or feeling, - a predisposition to behaviour or action - bipolar positive or negative response
- I understand why I am learning CLC (Section 8.2) - I think people in China are very different to people in Scotland (Section 8.4)	- Learning CLC has made me interested in people from other parts of the world (Section 8.4) - I would like to continue learning CLC in secondary school (Section 8.5) - I think learning CLC is important for my future (Section 8.5)

Though both constructs result in responses that are very individualised, commonalities can seem to exist across groups and this results in the use of tools such as Likert scales and Likert-type questions.   Some of their pros and cons were given in Section 5.51, but Ho recognises the central issue in their use when examining attitudes and perceptions is that they apply quantitative results for psychological constructs that are without numerical structures. Essentially a lot of individual data can be lost when we compare and contrast within groups and will impact on exploring the actual range of differences that exist. All 5 questions which considered perceptions and attitudes essentially would require a qualitative follow up, which might have been handled well as an addendum to the focus groups with pupils across the P5-7 stages to allow for meaningful interpretation, especially when considering longer-term impact and the potential for Orientalist views to continue. In the case of this study, the results offered gave rise to interesting analyses nonetheless, which when triangulated against the other available data offered additional insight, on most occasions, as to some of the reasons behind these views, but could have been further enhanced by the demonstration of overt opinions by pupils.

9.72   Repositioning China and its culture on the global stage

Before returning to the Scottish and educational contexts of this study, some key conceptual elements have to be revisited in order to continue to situate the research within broader debates. The world is currently undergoing a huge shift in its traditional centres of influence away from the West i.e. Europe and the United States to the East and the Asian economies, particularly that of China. This has been a theme tracked throughout this thesis as an underpinning for some of the arguments behind the promotion of CLC in schools. This reality is a prime example of Post-colonialism in action and more explicitly of a Post-orientalist world, as discussed in Section 2.312, where a more assertive China is seen as challenging the world order, established post World War II. The pre-eminence of an equally assertive United States has resulted in diplomatic, economic and cultural tensions as both countries try to act as a counterbalance against the other and attempt to influence other countries to join their side of the argument, so as to cast doubt on the credibility of the other's positioning on global issues.

Section 4.2 considered the notion of 'soft power', deemed by Nye (2009) as an alternative to military and diplomatic interventions. This allows nation states to promote their interests and influences abroad in order to seek legitimacy in the eyes of others and culture is the most often used aspect in trying to achieve this. As mentioned, national cultural organisations based abroad, such as the British Council and Institut Français, are by no means new. However, the establishment and rapid expansion of Confucius Institutes around the world, particularly on university campuses has attracted suspicion that these allow the Chinese government, directly/ indirectly through the Hanban organisation, to interfere in the academic management of their host institutions and thus one particular example of the tensions in current geopolitics between East and West. A number of universities in countries such as Sweden and the United States have closed their CIs as a result and others in Australia are reviewing the situation (BBC, 2019; Jakhar, 2019; Moody, 2020). As discussed in the literature review, authors such as Hartig (2012), Hua and Wei (2014a) and Lo and Pan (2016) have levelled criticisms of CIs based on their promotion of Chinese culture in ways that seem to stress tradition, history and unity, but topics that would

challenge this view such as human rights in Xinjiang and Tibet provinces and the unrest in Hong Kong are off limits. Given that the Hanban organisation has been connected to the Ministry of Education, it is argued by such authors that the reach of the Chinese government extends into CIs to stifle discussion or promote particular cultural views of China. Therefore, it may be seen that China is using its growing influence to portray itself on the cultural stage in particular ways and that CIs are but one tool of this. Of interest to this debate, and to this study, was the recent announcement that the Hanban organisation was to be reformed (British Council, 2020), including establishing its greater independence from the Ministry of Education and the creation of a new body that would take over some of its functions in promoting CLC in global contexts. At the time of this research, the exact details of this transition were unclear, but it does suggest that the Chinese Government is indeed sensitive to one of the criticisms of CIs in terms of their perceived closeness to the nation state.

9.721   Reasons for presenting China in a Re-orientalist frame

Section 2.313 offered a more recent contribution to Said's (1978) original work in introducing to the debate notions of Re-orientalism or Self-orientalism as highlighted by Wei et al. (2018) where those of Asian backgrounds maintain the notion of an Orientalised East through their actions and activities. If criticisms are being levelled at CIs of promoting a distorted view of China and its culture, then some potential reasons for this need to be offered by this researcher, but recognising that these are open to interpretation and challenge. In Section 2.1, various starting points for the notion of culture were offered (Frame, 2017; Piller, 2017; Smith, 2004) some of which may be useful to revisit in this context:

- high culture connected to the 'Arts' such as in film, the theatre, painting and sculpture;
- the collection of a country's assets for the purpose of promoting tourism;
- aspects of difference between peoples that need to be managed and negotiated in order to achieve successful transactions in the context of international business; and

- the combining of activities, beliefs and customs to represent the entirety of a way of life in a particular group or wider society.

Each of these has been alluded to in the various discussions of how China, its culture and values are promoted abroad. However, these are essentially starting points for any 'national culture', so there is a need to make the culture in question seem unique and more appealing to those from elsewhere, especially the world's dominant societies, which have long been western in focus. Therefore, one response to this, in terms of positioning Asian culture, particularly that of China, might be to Re-orientalise its promotion to the cultural Other in contexts abroad so that it is seen as very distinctive, especially in the era of globalisation where the world's cities, people's life goals and aspirations may seem increasingly similar, as was noted in the discussion of modern Chinese values by Hsu and Huang (2016) in Section 3.11. In doing so, there will be a strong emphasis on the sorts of activities that emphasise cultural difference such as the '4 Fs': food, folklore, festivals and facts (Kramsch, 1991; Wei & Hua, 2014) which lie at the heart of the sorts of touristic experiences that underpin an 'outsider' view of China as echoed in the research of Wei et al. (2018) and Yan and Santos (2009). At the heart of this approach, Lau (2009) and Lau and Mendes (2011) maintain this notion of East vs West for reputational or financial gain presents a China steeped in its past, traditions and time-honoured values. The goal is to promote the outsider view of an ordered society still anchored to its past suggesting a sense of stability and continuity at a time of great global change, especially in western countries. In this respect, China is being presented as looking two ways: back to its past and forward to its future and, as a result, is trying to maintain the image of the Other as both familiar and exotic in the eyes of the rest of the world. Therefore, this apparent paradox is at the heart of understanding Chineseness as first explored in Section 3.1.

9.73   Factors contributing to potential Re-orientalism within L3 practices

The overview, and supplementary discussions, in Sections 9.1- 9.4 have suggested and evidenced aspects of a Re-orientalised approach to the teaching of CLC in Scottish schools. Ahead of the recommendations and conclusions reached in Chapter

10, it is important to consider why such issues exist in current practices and to perhaps challenge some of the perceived rhetoric behind these.

9.731   The role of the Hanban organisation and Confucius Institutes

The influence of CIs around the world was questioned earlier as potentially allowing academic interference in the operation of universities acting as hosts and receiving funding. To date, there has been no specific discussion of their impact on school systems through CLC models that exist in Scotland, but rather broad criticisms, particularly from human rights groups, that pupils are being exposed to cultural propaganda based on the Hanban organisation's financial support of work in schools (Jakhar, 2019; Leask, 2018).

In the context of this study, the joint model in operation draws upon funding from both Hanban and the Scottish Government. At one level, it could be argued that this financial resource supports CLC in ways that other existing languages do not benefit from. However, as shown in data collected by ADES (2016), highlighted previously in Section 4.61, when comparing the coverage of Chinese in primary schools as an L2 or L3, it still lags far behind traditional European languages. These have benefited from progressive training programmes for primary teachers in Scotland over the past 30 years, securing their long-term future in schools as a result. Given the views on the sustainability of CLC expressed throughout Chapters 7-9, most recently in Section 9.6, this funding widens the language curriculum and without this, and the supply of Chinese teachers that this brings, the programme would not exist, or certainly not in the primary school sector to the extent available at present.

Though the Hanban organisation undoubtedly has a large influence financially, the data arising from this study shows contradictory anecdotal evidence to the possibility of large-scale interference in the content and approaches used in the Scottish L3 model. As recounted by the Hanban teachers themselves in Section 8.13, training activities in China were described as often too general to support the roles and responsibilities of teachers visiting Scotland. However, these did indeed highlight an overemphasis on traditional culture or elements that seemed disconnected to pupils'

lives in the West and seen as a potential negative in Hanban teachers' minds once they tried to engage pupils in this sort of work. The support offered to the Hanban groups by PDOs working in the CI referred to in this study, all of whom were previously very experienced classroom teachers, was a means of engaging with the specifics of the Scottish curriculum. This was not led by Hanban, so the notion of a balance of perspectives to inform practices was there. The core issue in both sets of training was the quantity available to meet the needs of visiting teachers.

Consequently, it needs to be recognised that a range of other factors were at play in this study, many of which have been alluded to implicitly and explicitly in previous chapters, but further summarised below highlighting the very integrated nature of each with the other in terms of impact. It is, therefore, asserted by the researcher and this research, that these inconsistencies in L3 models, practices and delivery are at the heart of Re-orientalist approaches, where these exist, much more than any external influences.

9.732 Curriculum models and delivery

Section 6.2 introduced the L3 models used in each school with broad similarities in structures and timetabling. Apart from school 3, where CLC was taken forward over the course of the year, other schools received blocks of input of around 6- 8 weeks once every school session. All schools in the study employed a cluster-based model where primary schools operated in similar ways within their area with some direction from their associated High School, though there was a feeling that primary-secondary links needed to be much further enhanced. The roll out of Confucius Classrooms to also include primary school settings, as in school 3, allowed for additional resource. This has seen some innovative practices in taking CLC out of the classroom and into the broader community to try and give relevance to pupils' learning and this was beginning to influence other schools in its cluster, including school 1 in this study. However, in 4 of the 5 schools, the L3 models used meant that there could effectively be a gap of a year in pupils' engagement with CLC across P5-7 which leads to questions of ongoing development and progression during the rest of the academic year. Based on the evidence offered in Sections 8.22- 8.23, the

ability of most schools and teachers to sustain practices and pupils' learning was patchy or non-existent.

The cultural dimension was cited in Section 1.2 as one of the key elements of the attraction of learning Chinese and appears very explicitly in the 1+2 policy (Scottish Government, 2012a) in relation to the L3. However, very little direction is given in the guidance offered to schools by Education Scotland (2019) of the form that this cultural content should take. Though schools were potentially supported by PDOs to think of interesting approaches, this was left primarily to the Hanban teachers who then tended to fall back on the notions of culture promoted during their Hanban training, which some within the groups did recognise as limited in scope. Where other materials existed, e.g. school plans, local authority Intranet resources etc., the extent to which these were used on a structured and regular basis was often unclear. There was a recognition of the value of cross-curricular projects and interesting examples of engaging with external agencies, but room for much more of this. The cultural dimension is also taking place alongside introducing the language element, which has already been identified as extremely challenging by Scottish teachers learning the language or from their observations of lessons. Therefore, the timeframe of a weekly lesson of around 50- 60 minutes duration does reinforce the comment by one Scottish teacher that CLC was, 'put back in its box until the next week' and its longer-term interests are not well served by this sort of approach. However, a key issue is whether this is any different from the provision made for other L3s.   A lack of official structure and time seems to have often led to a narrowing of experience, which may well lead to superficial coverage in classes and schools where the capacity to extend the work beyond the initial block of input was very limited. Such issues undoubtedly have a key impact on CLC content, its delivery and narrow focus in most schools, which try to capture the essence of Chinese culture, but often superficially or with too much repetition. Much of Chapter 8 discussed classroom experiences and tensions and these mentioned lack of professional engagement of the Hanban teachers with their school counterparts. This indicates the need to allow both groups proper time and space to create a dialogue on curriculum projects and the needs of specific classes and pupils, thus building the

confidence of the Hanban teachers in interacting with their allocated schools and ensuring a joint understanding of curricular goals.

9.733 Teachers' knowledge and confidence base

There is no doubt that curriculum practices often acted against building the confidence of the visiting Hanban teachers and the time divided between primary and secondary schools was often imbalanced. This included assisting classes across S3-S6 where the focus seemed to be on achievement of qualifications or evidence of formal engagement leading to a sense of confusion as to their roles, content coverage and methods across both sectors. The wider picture of these later experiences in S1-S6 from Hanban teachers' perspectives showed that settling into schools and dealing with older pupils presented a range of specific challenges with curriculum structures giving rise to different types of learning experiences from the 'fun' one-offs to more serious study of CLC. The datasets in Sections 9.4 and 9.5 on attitudinal impacts on P5-7 pupils, particularly at P7, highlighted some negatives, but also ambiguities in that with increased exposure comes better views towards understanding the purposes behind CLC. This perhaps highlights the need for more focus on the primary sector where these can be shaped earlier and teaching environments easier for these visiting groups to manage, rather than the emphasis on secondary schools.

The notion of the sustainability of L3 practices in primary schools has been mentioned as a concern by all adult participant groups. What becomes clear is that the programme fundamentally depends on the Hanban teachers and this was explicitly mentioned by their Scottish counterparts as the overriding reason why CLC can be delivered at present. School 3 was the only one with an active role and ability to build capacity in the area going forward in its classrooms with Hanban teachers acting as a support for deeper engagement. Innovative curricular integration and models of delivery allowed those in this school to jointly lead and this confidence engaged pupils in a broader range of perspectives on China as a result. However, for most other teachers in the study, the view that CLC is the role of the Hanban teacher has meant much less or minimal engagement, often as interested/ disinterested observers of practice. This has led to an apprehension around taking on any element

of CLC and a strong feeling that deeper and extensive training would need to be provided to allow this to happen. At the moment, lack of engagement and deeper knowledge leads to a concern of saying and doing the wrong thing. The danger here is that CLC becomes associated as something that only Chinese teachers can deliver, regardless of their actual competence to do so. This feeds into the narrative of 'native speakerism' as highlighted by Holliday (2006, 2018b) which may then build that perception into pupils' minds. Looking to establish key staff in each school, led at cluster level, who will take the learning forward to support Scottish colleagues is a hugely important step to its sustainability and enhanced curriculum practices. The frustration with the current mindset in some schools is summed up effectively in this view:

> Visiting a school to talk to teachers introducing Chinese is interesting. It can show an ignorance of staffing models in their minds when viewing the Hanban teacher as a 'free resource'. This often does not encourage other teachers to engage with the model and leaves it down to the visiting staff to do the majority of the work. (PDO 2)

9.734 Progression and impact in pupils' learning

The contributory factors mentioned in this subsection come together when considering the impact on learning. For many of the reasons given above, a strong element of repetition in the cultural programme appeared across P5-7 as a whole with a very familiar and often limited focus on the cultural '4 Fs'. Perhaps the best example of this surrounds the teaching of festivals such as Chinese New Year. The same broad cultural messages were delivered across P5-7 and reported back by pupils through the PCT discussions referred to in various sections. Though it is difficult to pin down the causes of the trends given in the questions related to attitudes, the features of the programme that provide a disconnect and lack of progression in pupils' learning will likely have some influence on their views of China and cultural difference. Though there was a positive one-third base to build upon, the fact that many other pupils seemed at best ambivalent in their desire to engage in the study of CLC into secondary contexts and in seeing its relevance for their futures bears some semblance to this.

At the heart of CLC practices needs to be purpose and relevance and the views around this were the cause of some frustration, especially in the PDOs. For many of the primary teachers in this study, the notion of CLC just as an 'experience' to promote awareness, enjoyment or fun raises questions round the deeper purposes and learning surrounding other cultures. This has resulted, at times, in pedagogy round the '4Fs' lacking wider curriculum links and engagement. For PDOs based in the CI responsible for CLC and Hanban teachers, this has led to genuine attempts at engaging schools in more meaningful contexts, project work and involvement with external agencies in a bid to open up wider opportunities. However, these will likely remain as one-offs unless the capacity to build upon these exists in schools. The notion of purpose was also drawn upon by Hanban teachers in their experiences of secondary schools and seeing different types of pupils across S1-S3, i.e. non-examination classes at the BGE phase of their schooling. Some children were motivated by their experiences and others felt the subject was an imposition on them and pointless, highlighting the potential for on-going issues into the later stages of the CfE curriculum. This is the environment that primary pupils in the 5 schools involved in this study were going into, thus supporting the direction of more resource into primary settings in order to give further time to influence attitudes positively and depth to the study of CLC.

9.735 Respecting, engaging and challenging the cultural 'Other'

Whilst many of the arguments above suggest specific classroom actions, there is a deeper issue which these feed into and coalesce around, this being the interactions between different groups of participants as the cultural Other. Whilst the practices and promotion of culture can be bent towards different ends, personal values and beliefs are often deeply engrained and regarded by individuals as at their very core of being. Sections 8.11 and 8.21 explicitly reflected on the adult groups' perceptions of Scottish/ UK and Chinese cultures from their own standpoint and that of the Other. It was clear for both groups that tensions existed and that these had the potential to impact on pupils' classroom experiences in ways that would either reinforce or challenge misconceptions and stereotypes. The notion of Chineseness centring round traditional values, often broadly Confucian in focus, was something that came

through in the minds of the Hanban teachers and their recounts of living in China and observations of wider society there at large. Whilst it may be easy to dismiss these in the context of Scotland and Scottish day-to-day life as being outdated and in sharp contrast to the culture experienced here, these seemed to be genuinely at the core of what the Hanban teachers held true in their own beliefs of what it was to be Chinese and this has to be recognised and respected. The challenge, however, for this group of teachers is to consider how best to present these in a curriculum that is based on different societal traditions, to accept that the view of China, life there and of Chinese people is open to different interpretations and that pupils must be able to engage in a broad range of views. The understanding of Scottish teachers of China came through as limited and often echoing their observations of the delivery of lessons by the Hanban teachers which reinforced the notion of cultural difference. The lack of experience within this domestic group, their inability and often hesitancy to get involved in shaping their own CLC experience meant that there was a cultural distance maintaining notions of the Other that would not be broken down given the particular patterns of involvement.

9.8   Summary and initial conclusions

An essential function of this chapter was to bring together all the preceding discussions to consider the bigger picture impact of CLC practices in Scottish primaries. In doing so, it has given an additional layer of analysis to the data presented across Chapters 7-9 through employing another lens examining practices that reinforce/ challenge an Orientalist view of China and its culture, a concept first met in the conceptual framework. A Re-orientalist slant is evidenced across a number of datasets emphasising a traditional perspective in the ways that CLC is presented. However, there is also recognition of worthwhile practices that should be extended and replicated more widely. The discussion considers these both theoretically and practically and challenges the notion that the reasons for such practices lie solely with external organisations such as Hanban, but are explained more fully across the datasets as a whole in terms of models of delivery and curriculum practices here in Scotland. These support and detract from the aims of L3

in the context of CLC and have the potential to both challenge and contribute to a Re-orientalist experience for P5-7 pupils in these schools.

Finally, in considering the contributions across Chapter 7-9 to this final global theme, and then to the conclusions and recommendations of this study, the following actions have arisen which build upon those already suggested:

- making the rationale behind CLC more apparent in the minds of all participants, especially pupils, by emphasising its purposes beyond touristic experiences;
- considering the goals and content of L3 through specific curriculum advice on cultural inputs to ensure progression across P5-7;
- extending the use of cross-curricular projects to give relevance to learning inside and outside and with a range of groups/ organisations, including enhanced primary-secondary liaison;
- engaging Hanban and Scottish teachers in working more collaboratively to ease the pressures and share the workload, thus building confidence in each other to manage the goals of the Scottish primary curriculum;
- creating the conditions for more primary school teachers to lead within their schools and clusters to allow ongoing reinforcement of pupils' learning in CLC outwith annual blocks of study;
- engaging pupils in attitudinal surveys with follow up discussions to explore future improvements; and
- supporting all of the above, direct Hanban teachers' time to principally supporting CLC in primary schools as a more positive and meaningful experience and offering the best chance of addressing the issues raised.

CHAPTER TEN
CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

10.0   Introduction

This final chapter is tasked with the goal of bringing this thesis to a logical conclusion and, in doing so, draws together the various findings and discussions in a way which clearly evidences that a worthwhile contribution has indeed been made by this research. This can be seen within the immediate area surrounding the promotion of Chinese culture in L3 experiences in Scottish primary schools, but also outwith this context into language and cultural learning more widely. It further illustrates the various processes engaged in by the researcher over the duration of his doctoral journey.

In employing effective structuring and extensive cross-referencing throughout Chapters 1-9, the conclusions reached for each of the 3 questions set for research, the recommendations and implications offered in this section sit comfortably alongside those views and discussions already expressed throughout the thesis. This presents its readers with no unexpected surprises or contradictions, but rather shows that the judgments reached are soundly based and warranted by the evidence. Moreover, this chapter will also give the opportunity to reflect further on the processes of research undertaken in terms of the methodology used and the significance and limitations of the findings. Finally, this study has laid possibilities for other research projects that have the potential to expand on this thesis and a tentative indication of these is given.

10.1   Key conclusions against original research questions

The approach taken to the presentation and discussion of findings in Chapters 7-9 was necessitated by the desire to remain true throughout to the goals of this mixed methods study and the concurrent triangulation model used. These chapters contained much that can now be drawn upon explicitly to answer the 3 questions set for research, again emphasising their interconnected nature. These are taken in turn

below and, as helpful points of reference, the evidence base underpinning each set of conclusions is given at the start of the respective sections.

10.11   Research question 1

Within the selected schools, what type of L3 Chinese cultural programme has been experienced by pupils at the Primary 5-7 stages?

<u>Supporting sections</u>:   7.11, 7.12, 7.13, 7.21, 7.22, 7.23, 7.31, 7.32, 7.33, 8.12, 8.13,
8.22, 8.23, 9.3, 9.731, 9.732, 9.734

An important starting point for this particular question must be to reinforce that the L3 models in operation across all 5 primary schools were largely the same, though with some differences in the timescales in which these ran over the school year. Schools participated in a cluster-based approach overseen by the local Confucius Classroom in their associated High School, however in addition, school 3 also had resource allocated to perform this role. The visiting Hanban teachers were absolutely central to the delivery of CLC, but those involved in this study indicated that their teaching was split across both education sectors in ways that created time pressures. In primary schools, pupil inputs were relatively short, usually 50-60 minutes per week within blocks of 6-8 weeks for each of the P5-7 stages on an annual basis with the possibility of some engagement also at other levels. All adult participants recognised CLC as a worthwhile initiative as part of the '1+2 languages' agenda, but that creating time and space for its reinforcement and development within the wider primary curriculum was difficult.

There was a very strong focus on presenting China, its people and culture from what has been termed in this study 'large/ national' cultural perspectives with a focus on tradition through activities reinforcing the 4 Fs: food, festivals, folklore and facts. This created a very uniform view of Chinese people and culture with much less engagement with aspects of small/ local cultures to which pupils may be better able to relate. The data showed that across P5-7 as a whole, there was clear repetition in pupils' learning with a need for better progression in their experiences and understanding. Though there were certainly examples of interesting application and contextualised learning across the curriculum taking place, mainly in school 3, this

was in the minority and something that needed sharing more widely to show the potential of CLC as a balance to the promotion of traditional culture. Broad indications for its language element existed within the framework for L3 practices from Education Scotland (2019), however there seemed to be no specific national guidance and little at local/ school level on the cultural base. As a result, this was most often left to the Hanban teachers' own judgments around what would best constitute Chinese culture. This was recognised by this group as being very open to individual interpretation and, as a result, could encourage a fall back to some strong cultural messages from organisations such as Hanban given in pre-departure training, which were recognised as not always suitable for local contexts. The work of PDOs from the associated CI tried to promote balance and other perspectives. However, these messages were hampered by structural issues such as lesson duration, perceived lack of resources and general expectations around the dual delivery of language and culture within the same lesson, which some Scottish teachers felt prioritised the former over the latter.

10.12   Research question 2

What similarities/ differences exist in how a 'Chinese cultural programme' is construed by those Scottish teachers and visiting Hanban teachers involved in the study?

<u>Supporting sections</u>:   7.11, 7.12, 7.13, 8.11, 8.12, 8.21, 8.22, 9.733, 9.735

In answering this question, it was clear across both datasets that the relationship between the Hanban and Scottish teachers is fundamental to the success and sustainability of CLC as an L3, but in many ways is currently very imbalanced and this impacted on the delivery and reinforcement of the cultural dimension of classroom experiences. Hanban teachers were understandably regarded by their Scottish counterparts as linguistic and cultural experts, thus expected to manage content delivery with few problems. However, without specific guidance, the cultural element delivered was often a mix of strong internal beliefs surrounding what it meant to be Chinese and competing external influences on how China can/ should best be presented through the training support from Hanban and CI

organisations, which created tensions. The expression of cultural values and their contrast to those in Scotland/ UK reinforced the notion of Chineseness in these teachers' minds, but with a realisation that this thinking had to adapt and adjust to a different curriculum and classroom context, which posed challenges for this group, particularly in secondary schools. For a number of Hanban teachers, the response to these changes was to echo a traditional view of China in the activities delivered, but that this was not ideal and had to be broader to give relevance to pupils' learning CLC. Content was being delivered against a backdrop of other pressures over which this group had little or no control such as time, resourcing and a lack of others' understanding of their role. This led to frustrations that only a superficial cultural experience was being offered with the potential for more positive impact limited by these factors.

In terms of Scottish teachers in the study, the approach for most could be summed up as interested/ disinterested passivity in contrast to more active engagement by a very small minority that reflected hopeful future models of practice. Those within the former category were very open and honest about their lack of engagement and knowledge base in relation to Chinese culture which led to even more reliance on the Hanban teachers. From the earlier discussions, there was a clear demarcation of roles in terms of handing the delivery of CLC over to the Hanban groups. The Scottish teachers' cultural knowledge gained from the observing of lessons, as expressed through focus groups, most often reinforced the view of the delivery of culture as centring round traditional notions for many. It was interesting that the groups' lack of confidence to engage in CLC activity was set against views that some of the approaches being used by the Hanban teachers needed refinement when compared to their own teaching/ observations of primary languages such as French. This showed potential for Scottish teachers to assist classroom practices for mutual benefit. However, the lack of any meaningful collaboration in most schools between both sets of teachers meant that the opportunities for further cultural insight, joint planning and delivery for the wider improvement of all involved were limited in most, but not all contexts with school 3 standing out in this respect. Issues surrounding the purpose and delivery of CLC highlighted views that its goal was

primarily to be seen as an awareness raising tool, rather than achieving anything specific in terms of curricular goals. This assisted the points made in relation to question one surrounding a lack of progression and repetition of learning. Scottish teachers questioned the sustainability of an L3 model so dependent on the Hanban groups, but also indicated other fundamental long-term problems at the heart of enhanced cultural knowledge and understanding such as an apprehension about getting involved and a perceived lack of training activities. These would develop a sound knowledge base that would complement the input of the Hanban groups, but also allow Scottish teachers to act with confidence independently of this resource and allow reinforcement over the school year as a whole. Further, there is scope to consider the deployment of Hanban teachers to support Scottish teachers in developing a sustainable model. For example, teaching them CLC and working with these teacher groups to develop a pedagogically effective model, rather than just teaching pupils. The current model seems not to be designed or intended by anyone to be sustainable.

10.13   Research question 3

How has an L3 cultural programme shaped the knowledge and attitudes of pupils at Primary 5-7 towards China, Chinese people and Chinese culture?

<u>Supporting sections</u>:   7.11, 7.12, 7.13, 7.21, 7.22, 7.23, 7.31, 7.32, 7.33, 8.31, 8.32, 9.2, 9.4, 9.5

Though the notion of impact on pupils across the P5-7 stages should be a key goal in the evaluation of initiatives of this type, it seems very underplayed in terms of the available grey literature base. Within this study, this was often more connected in teachers' minds with successful, enjoyable activity, rather than clear purpose and outcomes. At times, there seemed a disconnect between the notions of observed impact from the perspectives of Scottish teachers and those expressed by pupils in their classes.

The knowledge base developed in pupils' minds, seen particularly through PCT discussions, mostly reinforced the notion of China as a place of tradition and

reflected back many of the points raised within question 1. With some worthwhile exceptions, pupils seemed largely to highlight their thinking around CLC as culturally distant and based more on touristic experiences, rather than application of their learning across the curriculum and into the local community. The lack of shifts in their thinking was often a feature of the results across P5-7 as a whole, but with elements of ambivalence or negativity towards CLC at P7 that may be explained by the models in operation, lack of progression and application in their learning.

Pupils' views on the purpose of CLC gave interesting results that emphasised the language element of their learning over the cultural experience and that these would support future activities in China. However, this seemed to be the reverse for many pupils at P7 where they seemed clearer about the application of their learning in Scottish/ UK contexts. For a sizeable number of pupils, notions of understanding the purposes behind CLC were vague in their mind, though there are interesting initiatives being taken forward to apply their learning which need to be shared more widely. In contrast, the teachers in the focus groups recognised the potential of CLC in an everchanging world where the impact of China is being increasingly felt, suggesting the need for purpose to be better clarified and shared with learners.

Attitudes towards cultural difference between the people of both Scotland and China showed that rather than narrowing over time, these increased. One possible reason for this may be the focus on traditional Chinese society which has the potential to artificially emphasise views of cultural difference as opposed to similarities that would be more obvious when looking at day-to-day life, thus feeding into the conclusions reached for question 1. Though promoting interest in people of other cultures beyond China gave rise to mixed results from a longitudinal perspective across P5-7, there were signs of a more positive trend over time, supporting the need for on-going exposure to CLC, rather than cultural one-off inputs. Views on continuing the study of CLC into secondary schools showed the potential was there to build on a sizeable positive group of interested and motivated pupils and scope to influence others. Where negative views existed, highlighting purpose, relevance and application more as a feature in the teaching and learning process would be very

beneficial in reshaping such attitudes. However, it is also accepted that the precise reasons behind these views would need further investigation and that other factors were potentially at play e.g. timing of interviews, maturity of thought, (in)ability of young pupils to link tasks in the here and now to their distant future.

10.2   Recommendations

At the end of each of Chapters 7-9, a series of recommendations were given as signposts to this section. These cannot be seen to sit in isolation from each other, nor the range of intended audiences to which these will be of particular interest. Therefore, these initial outcomes have been developed further in two meaningful ways. Firstly, matched to particular key groups that have important roles to play in the promotion of CLC as an L3 in Scottish classrooms and its wider education system. Secondly, then grouped together under 4 headings: curriculum guidance, training, delivery and research to give coherence to the messages being conveyed and to assist further discussion in terms of implications considered in Section 10.21.

Table 37. Recommendations for various stakeholders arising from this study

target audiences *broad implications/* recommendations	Schools	Local authorities	Initial Teacher Education provision	Education Scotland	Hanban organisation
Wider L3 policy, regardless of language context					
Revisit the intended meaning behind the notion of an 'inverse methodology', promoted in the '1+2 policy' as well suited to L3 delivery, to better reinforce understanding of the complementary contributions of language and cultural learning to each other.				•	
At the broader level of L3 provision, and across both language and culture themes, give a clearer articulated position on what is expected of schools given the limited time available for its delivery.	•	•	•		

Curriculum guidance in relation to CLC					
Give a much greater steer towards interdisciplinarity where blocks of time to focus specifically on the teaching of CLC would be part of larger initiatives to build CLC into project work across the year.		•	•	•	
Issue clearer advice/ good practice exemplars to Scottish and Hanban teachers on how to make the teaching of culture accessible to primary aged pupils		•	•	•	•
Plan for progression in cultural content within CLC experiences across the P5-7 stages to balance new and previous learning in ways which avoid unhelpful repetition.	•	•		•	
Training for CLC					
Engage with the Hanban organisation with regards to pre-departure events to encourage further country specific curricular inputs/ background knowledge.				•	•
Promote the view of CLC as something that could be taught by any interested teacher, not just by its cultural and linguistic natives.	•	•	•	•	
Be more explicit about the roles and expectations of Scottish and Hanban teachers to encourage shared professional insights and sustainability.	•	•		•	•
At a school cluster-based level, provide support for activities that promote intercultural understanding and knowledge between Hanban and Scottish teachers.	•	•			
Create the conditions for more primary school teachers to lead CLC within their schools and clusters through secondments, training events and sharing good practice.		•		•	
Delivery of CLC					
Make the rationale behind CLC more apparent in the minds of all participants, especially pupils, by emphasising its purposes beyond touristic experiences.	•	•	•	•	•
Promote a better balance in the representations of modern/ traditional China in lessons/ resources used.	•	•	•	•	•
Engage with additional people, organisations and sources that could represent China and Chinese culture more widely.	•	•	•		

Extend the use of cross-curricular projects to give relevance to learning inside and outside the classroom with a range of groups/organisations, including enhanced primary-secondary liaison.	•	•	•	•	
Require schools to reinforce CLC learning over the course of the school year.	•	•			
To support all of the above, divert more of the Hanban teachers' time towards the promotion of CLC in primary schools, including enhanced interaction with staff.		•		•	•
Research into CLC					
Draw upon the growing network of Confucius Classrooms in Scotland as a base for further 'voiced' research involving those delivering and receiving input, especially at the primary level.	•	•	•	•	•
Engage pupils in attitudinal surveys with follow up discussions to explore areas for future improvement.	•	•	•	•	

10.21 Implications

These recommendations give rise to a number of implications and should place particular responsibilities on the different stakeholders mentioned to help extend and improve CLC practices, capabilities and sustainability within models of delivery at present.

The **Hanban organisation**, and its recent successor 'The Chinese International Education Foundation', has a central role in providing funding and training for the visiting groups of Chinese teachers in Scotland and also in supporting the CI to which they are attached. The nature of pre-departure activities needs to better recognise the national contexts in which these teachers will operate and build in mechanisms to introduce the host curriculum, teaching models and approaches. This includes adaptations of resources, content and thinking to these contexts, rather than what seems to be a one-size fits all model. In this respect, there is room for continued collaboration with the Confucius Institute for Scotland's Schools and other Scottish educational organisations. This can assist the transition from China to Scotland prior to arrival, as once in schools it seems easy for the Hanban groups to become overwhelmed by all that is expected of them. The focus on building up quality experiences at primary school level should be the goal so that pupils are progressing into the secondary curriculum with a more secure knowledge and

understanding of the nature and purpose of CLC and hopefully positive attitudes as a result. In this respect, the continued extension of Confucius Classrooms into the primary sector should be seen as beneficial.

In terms of **Education Scotland**, firstly there are some broader implications arising out of this research for its promotion of L3 provision, regardless of language context. It should revisit the notion of an 'inverse methodology', uniquely cited in the '1+2 policy' document (Scottish Government, 2012a), and used as a specific underpinning for the promotion of CLC in Scottish schools. Though well intentioned, the meaning of this phrase is ambiguous in practice and creates a false dichotomy between the relationship of language and culture in language learning and indeed, in the context of CLC, may suggest that these dimensions are in opposition to each other. Secondly, in relation to L3 guidance, deeper consideration is required as to what should be expected from the initiative in terms of both linguistic and cultural goals as what is on offer, at present, may not be in a position to achieve measurable gains due to a lack of meaningful guidance and clarity of expectations. In the current iteration of the L3 model, Education Scotland needs to take a more direct role in framing broad expectations of the cultural dimension within language learning, not just within CLC, especially as it is one of the pillars that underpins L3 provision across all languages being offered. Whilst one of the aims of L3 policy is to offer flexibility in models, and approaches, this has created a vagueness in what has to be achieved in a cultural sense, which is unhelpful in terms of a progression in pupils' learning. The current model in operation works under the implicit assumption that CLC will be delivered by visiting Hanban teachers for the foreseeable future and as such there is not always clear impetus for schools to create their own capacity. Work should continue with the Confucius Institute for Scotland's schools and other education providers to build a base of teachers that have the knowledge and confidence to create such a situation.

Though not explicitly mentioned in detail beyond comments in the introductory chapter, the researcher's existing role in Scottish **Initial Teacher Education (ITE) programmes** gives rise to an important context where these recommendations have

application with the potential for wider reach. Scottish postgraduate subject specialist and undergraduate generalist degree programmes are making space to further develop the 1+2 policy agenda. Designing modules that draw upon input from both native and non-native speakers from the outset will reinforce the notion that CLC is achievable for all teachers to develop. In terms of L3 practices, for those training to work in either the primary or secondary school sector, student teachers need to be given clear messaging on the role of the cultural dimension. Encouraging them to think of purposeful and creative ways to engage pupils would emphasise some of the potentially positive messages of good practice in the area mentioned in this research, so that these are being taken forward at the earliest stages of students' careers. Links on such courses to existing thinking in interdisciplinary learning can be usefully combined with L3 provision in this respect. This may provide scope for small scale student-based practitioner research and, more widely, the location of CIs within a number of Scottish ITE institutions should provide the links and research synergies required to explore CLC delivery further than at present. Much of this practice within ITE could equally apply to other non-traditional L3 languages.

Within **local authorities**, an emphasis on securing the long-term future of CLC needs to be the focus in similar ways as for European languages in the past. It was clear from the Scottish teachers participating in the study that the model was essentially reliant on Hanban teachers to take forward with doubts that it could be sustained outwith this. Local authorities need to continue to work with schools and with the Confucius Institute for Scotland's Schools to build capacity for non-native language speakers to take on the delivery of CLC practices. From this study, resource allocation that allowed motivated and confident Scottish teachers to work to support others in their school and cluster showed that the capacity for change is there. It should be a condition/ strong expectation that schools taking part in the CLC programme commit to staff being upskilled.

At individual **school level**, the roles and responsibilities of CLC need to be shared much better between the Hanban and Scottish teachers. Though issues with the language will take time and training to overcome, both sets of teachers already have

a base of expertise to be shared to the benefit of the pupils in terms of content development and teaching approaches that may help to further engage pupils in purposeful learning. As has been stressed both in policy and comments, there is scope to draw upon project base learning more fully, which is one of the intended goals of L3 learning. A more embedded and collaborative model would see greater understanding between both groups of teachers and lead to points of enhancement and embedding across the curriculum as a whole over the school year. Though likely a minority view, the notion of CLC being a 'free resource' with no strings attached to schools' involvement creates a lack of impetus for change.

Across **all stakeholders**, mindsets that CLC is simply an experience within the curriculum may seem to be understandable at one level in a generalist primary curriculum, but this limits the ambitions of the L3 policy and practices. Without proper consideration at various levels, there is a danger that CLC presents an attractive outward picture, but when scratched below the surface has achieved only a small element of its huge potential. Though external groups have questioned the operation of Chinese initiatives in school from political viewpoints, it is curriculum practices that are acting against further progress. In a programme which enjoys government support and funding to encourage the sort of cultural engagement that would promote 21st century thinking in pupils, the positive stories of impact need to be shared and built upon. Though there is, understandably, an argument that this provision is in the early stages of development and not fully integrated into the primary CfE curriculum, this suggests the need for monitoring and evaluation of progress and a robust discussion about sustainability, which this thesis highlights. In this respect, there is ample room for further research into CLC that would open up healthy debate on not just L3 practices in Scotland, but within the UK more widely and internationally thus driving the programme ever forward.

10.3   Affordances and limitations of this research

In each of Chapters 7-9, specific reflections took place on the methodological approaches used in the analysis of datasets in terms of the use of triangulation, verbatim quotation and measuring attitudes and perceptions. At this stage, a final

reflection on the mixed methods approach adopted is appropriate alongside consideration of the researcher's reflexivity in coping with, and adapting to, the demands of the study as a whole. Beyond this, there is also a need to revisit wider aspects of validity, in particular the scope available to generalise from the results given in this research to other primary school contexts where CLC is also being delivered as an L3.

10.31   Further methodological reflections

It is fully recognised that the scope of this study and the amount of data collected might seem extensive for the confines of a single PhD thesis, as this placed a number of demands on the researcher's time and the commitment required from its various participants. However, the need for such a study was reflected clearly in the literature review, especially in Section 4.6, which highlighted the paucity of research in the area of CLC in Scotland, particularly given its increasing profile in the ongoing establishment of further Confucius Classrooms in both the primary and secondary sectors. To focus simply on any one of the 3 research questions in isolation would have raised issues that required additional investigation and could have impacted on the reliability of the data, hence supporting the need for the layered and triangulated approach adopted for each question. What has become clear is that, though interesting in their own right, when taken together these built progressively towards achieving a much deeper understanding of the situation in the study schools than would have been the case otherwise.

Gaining 'buy in' from a very broad set of participants also presented a challenge in this respect. Section 5.3 of the methodology showed that careful consideration had been made of the needs and concerns in working with the various participant groups from the outset with reference to insights from a number of authors (Birks et al., 2007; Dockett & Perry, 2011; Quinney et al., 2016). In any future studies of a similar nature, the steps taken to engage local authorities, schools, teachers, pupils and external organisations through the use of clear processes setting out the aims of the study and pre-research meetings would ensure as much of a shared understanding of the study's purposes as possible. In turn, this helped to build good relationships

and genuine goodwill towards the research over the extended data collection period. To this end, the researcher's previous experience of working in schools as a teacher provided a skills base that allowed him to navigate each stage of the research process in its various settings.

Considerable time was taken in Sections 5.1 and 5.2 to make the case for a mixed methods approach to this thesis. In navigating a way through the complex nature of the design of this research, a key message that should come from this study is that mixed methods must not be seen as an 'anything goes' approach. Its justification has to be clear in the researcher's mind from the outset, as not to do so will hamper later attempts to answer the questions set, leading to contradictory data, compromised findings and forced integration. On this last point, for the most part, the approach to integration has suited the goals of this study well. Though Chapters 7 and 9, in particular, recognised that a few of the questions in the quantitative survey would have benefited from some reframing to avoid any unintended ambiguity in pupils' minds or employed further open-ended follow ups, both chapters clearly illustrated the researcher's view on the benefits of the interaction between quantitative and qualitative data. Other researchers may feel that a qualitative design is more appropriate to working with children in this respect (Darbyshire et al., 2005; Greig et al., 2013; Shaw, 2012). Whilst such ambiguity is undoubtedly better handled through on-the spot dialogue with pupils, the nature of the discussion may only be capturing snapshots of particular practices that lack in their representativeness of other pupils' experiences in the class (Rahman, 2017), therefore, a survey approach can assist in confirming or contradicting these, particularly in this study where so little data on existing practices was available.

The ways in which these took turns in setting up leads to introduce bigger picture issues concerning content, practices and classroom delivery of CLC as an L3 were then complemented further by various sublevel analyses. Though Chapter 8 did not explicitly present any new quantitative data, it did make use of clear signposting back to relevant examples, rather than contrive the presentation of such data into the chapter that may have created a disjointed feel. However, more specifically, the

qualitative interviews attempted to genuinely integrate the voices of those involved in the delivery and reception of CLC into narratives that gave particular individual insights. These also came together collectively to show the relatedness of the participants' various roles and responsibilities, which has been stressed as key to the future success of CLC as an L3 in primary schools. Overall the approach adopted has stayed true to the goals and models of mixed methods integration espoused earlier in Section 5.8 by authors such as Anderson (2016), Creswell et al. (2003) and Plano Clark et al. (2016).

One of the unresolved tensions in the thesis is the notion of the 'school effect' on the quantitative survey data and which could be seen as the weakest element of the research design. In every other respect there is a good number of pupil participants, roughly equal numbers of girls and boys, and spread fairly evenly across the three year groups. However, there are only five schools in the study arising from the challenges in recruiting a larger number, as outlined in Section 5.4. These logistical reasons are compounded by the fact that only a relatively few schools are teaching CLC at present. It is recognised by the researcher, therefore, that the school element could skew the data in that pupils' attitudes towards CLC reported in Sections 9.4 and 9.5 could be hugely influenced by the personalities of both sets of teachers involved, their knowledge, understanding and engagement with CLC and other vagaries of the set-up in individual schools, for example, whether CLC is taught in blocks or across the year, whether students are getting 3 inputs or 4, whether unforeseen events mean that a block is not delivered, or not delivered as expected etc. This is of particular interest when unexpected results arose and there were two points in particular where it could be relevant. One was in relation to the pupils in school 3, who were having a different kind of CLC experience from the rest because they had a more experienced teacher and had CLC embedded across the school year - the patterns of their responses seem to be different from those of the other schools. The other is about the pupils who got four inputs rather than three in schools 3 and 4. Those who had four inputs were more negative about CLC than those who had three, and, on this basis, it may be argued that the more inputs, the less enthusiastic pupils will be. This is just one possible interpretation and it is readily accepted that there

may be something about the two schools where this happens that has led to this outcome.

Finally, in returning to the discussion in Section 8.41 on the use of verbatim quotation in this study, Corden and Sainsbury (2006) mention an important point about how reflexivity results in enhanced responsibility to participants in how their data is used. Though the 'Participant Information Sheets' fully conformed to the ethics approach, and that the anonymised use of the data was made clear to those who agreed to take part, there may have been scope to go back to groups and discuss the interpretation of their views. This is something that could have enhanced the plans to share summaries of the research at a later date and shows the difference between 'informed' and 'participatory' consent. However, the notion of verifying the use of quotation through 'member checks' is contested by Thomas (2017) who, in his review of studies, questions the purpose and value of this process, particularly for theory development, but more broadly for other types of research where there was little evidence that such additional checks actually improved findings.

10.32 Generalisability versus transference of results

Creswell (2014) indicated earlier that the use of statistical sampling is often to provide generalisation to the wider population being studied. However, Flick (2017), Polit and Beck (2010) and Schreier (2018) recognise the tensions surrounding the generalisability of findings. Whilst recognising that the quantitative approach to this is regarded as the 'gold standard', the claims made by social science researchers on the extent to which this has actually been adhered to show that it is rarely achieved in practice or that issues underpinning its use are often ignored or misrepresented in findings. Therefore, absolute generalisation is an 'ideal' which often goes against actual realities and even with random sampling measures in place, such samples are seldom achieved in social science settings. In explaining one reason behind this, Flick also cites the view of Guba and Lincoln (1981) who highlight the role of context in the debate as true generalisation is deemed as being context free, but within social science research, in particular, it is the context that gives meaning to the results. This becomes an issue in this study as approaches were not truly random, but

based on purposive homogenous and expert sampling, both of which were justified in Sections 5.42 and 5.43 as best meeting the goals of this study, but which by implication mean that the population was not truly random. Therefore, the use of Chi-squares and Kruskal-Wallis tests drew statistical inference from the study sample as a whole, rather than into the generalised population.

However, rather than statistical generalisation, it is argued that this study and the various tools used have created results with a very high level of 'transferability', which Maxwell and Chmiel (2014) see as the application of findings from one situation/ issue to another. The key factor in this is the notion of similarity of context. Based on what is understood of CLC practices in the L3 landscape from the literature review and the datasets presented and discussed, the same broad commonalities in the practices within this study are very likely to be replicated across the majority of Scottish schools delivering CLC as an L3 input due to these shared factors:

- CLC is most often delivered as an L3 model in the primary sector;
- all schools work to the same guidance on L3 practices published by Education Scotland (2019);
- use of Hanban teachers is central to classroom experiences and delivery;
- working within the age/ stage range parameters of the 1+2 policy;
- school cluster-based approaches overseen by local High Schools with support of a Confucius Classroom at secondary and/or primary school level; and
- ability to draw upon support from the CI assisting the promotion of CLC as a Scottish educational initiative.

Though notions of transferability are most often employed in the qualitative sphere, where generalisations are seen as being unreliable due to the nature of the sample and the tools used, this can have sound application to mixed methods as long as the context is well explained. Schreier (2018) again cites the work of Lincoln and Guba (1979) in emphasising that in order to achieve a 'degree of fittingness' between 2 contexts, there is a need for thick description. This ensures, as best possible, that the readers of the work can assess the depth of matching and the extent to which application to other contexts can be achieved. This level of analysis has been a

fundamental strength of this study which has tried to explore the core of content in L3 CLC practices across the settings investigated given the crossover and replication of many results in each of the 5 participating schools and in the views expressed by adult groups. Therefore, the notion of transference to other L3 CLC contexts is asserted as a strong probability when considering the findings from Chapters 7-9.

10.4   Potential contributions of this research to the wider area

Section 1.4 of the introductory chapter identified some of the ways in which this research hoped to exemplify significance that now need to be considered in more detail in relation to the literature, policy debates, methodological and theory bases.

10.41   Within the practice and policy base

As was outlined in the introductory chapter, much of the research that exists to date considers issues around the specifics of teaching and learning Chinese language. Chapter 4 further highlighted that, though the cultural dimension has long been recognised as integral to language learning (Byram, 2009, 2012; Dervin & Liddicoat, 2013), the discussion of this in the context of Chinese culture is underrepresented in the literature base as a whole. This is particularly the case in mainstream school settings around the world and generally confined to learners from heritage backgrounds or within Chinese community school settings as discussed by Ganassin (2019). The very limited number of studies referring to the UK school systems means that studies such as that from Tinsley and Board (2014) have taken a broad-brush approach to CLC by considering the structural and operational challenges that exist in helping to embed it as an option within the suite of languages available in schools. Therefore, this study can be seen as making a valuable potential contribution in exploring the area in a number of ways. Firstly, within the UK/ Scottish contexts, as it is the first example to wholly investigate the cultural dimension of CLC in the primary school as a distinctive element in its own right out with the language base and where, until now, awareness has depended largely on materials available from Confucius Institute websites. The ability of the research to be seem as comparative offers opportunities to build on other anglophone contexts, such as Australia, where CLC is very well established in schools, but Scotland can

act as an example where the models and motivations for the language are very different and not bound by similar ethnic diversity and geographical proximity to China. Therefore, this study will be of interest to practitioners and researchers in other global curriculum systems.

This research is also the only one relating to CLC practices within an L3 teaching and learning model that can be found in the current literature base. As discussed in Section 1.2 initially, the justification for CLC as an L3 is explicitly mentioned in the 1+2 language policy document (Scottish Government, 2012a) with reference to an inverse methodology where the study of culture was linked to increased interest in learning Chinese language. This study has tested this notion in the context of CLC and found that, within the parameters of the participating schools, this assumption can be questioned through the data presented on pupils' attitudes towards their future learning in the area. Given that the 1+2 policy is due for full implementation in August 2021, this research is very timely and it could act, therefore, as a base for exploring questions surrounding the cultural dimension of other languages being offered currently as an L3 to see if similar patterns and findings arise to help strengthen those presented here.

As a further policy discussion, this study explored the operation of L3 models within an initiative which receives annual support directly from the Scottish and Chinese Governments to the tune of over £1.3 million (Lynch-Loitz, 2015; Scottish Government, 2019c). The very substantial resource commitment being allocated to the promotion of CLC requires evidence of actual impact, including in primary schools where quantifiables such as exam results do not apply and where the current focus and thinking around presenting 'awareness raising' experiences rather than clear outcomes needs to be challenged. As has been shown, the conditions for the full success of CLC in most participating schools within this research are not yet established in a sustainable way and unless tackled, the programme will only reach a small part of its overall potential. In particular, it has highlighted some of the strengths and limitations in the use of the Hanban teacher model which, though creating the main condition for its spread to new schools, i.e. language competence,

places the programme's success too much on these groups and does not encourage enough capacity building through expectations of engagement by Scottish teachers.

10.42 Within the methodological base

The adapted use of Personal Construct Theory (Kelly, 1955) should be seen as innovative in respect of this area of research and within the age group of pupils across P5-7 in Scottish primary schools. As was noted in Section 5.71, only a single study by Burr et al. (2014) could be found which made use of the PCT approach to examining cultural understanding in line with the goals of this study. There are some very broad parallels in the literature based within Chinese community schools or in those which examine secondary school pupils' self-perceptions of being British from Chinese heritage backgrounds. However, this study uses this approach to specifically look at primary aged pupils with no such cultural upbringing, therefore the discussions of the Other set against the perspectives of being children living in Scotland give insights that have, as yet, not been explored in the literature base more widely beyond the confines of CLC practices. The approach used has given voice to those directly impacted by the delivery of CLC within the Scottish curriculum and what has been achieved has provided valuable and meaningful insights on how pupils see Chinese culture in comparison and contrast to their own. The resulting empathy does give hopeful indications of their future actions towards the cultural Other. Added to this, the PCT approach also employed a longitudinal aspect not yet seen to the exploration of CLC in global primary school contexts highlighting interesting trends and patterns that indicate more is required to progressively build upon and shape positive understanding and views not just towards Chinese culture, but cultures more generally.

10.43 Within the theory base

Section 2.3 of the conceptual framework chapter introduced and developed the core notion of Orientalism as understood in relation to the parameters of this study. Of particular interest, however, was the recent reframing of this debate round notions of Re-orientalist practices. Reference has been made to the work of Lau (2009), Lau and Mendes (2011) and Wei et al. (2018) who have examined this concept in broad

terms and in spheres such as tourism, offering some thinking as to the motivations behind such an approach to the promotion of China and its culture. This study contributes to this area by using this as a lens for examining practices in the Scottish school context in ways that both confirm its existence, but also navigates a way through the various reasons why such an approach exists. As evidenced, this is a complex mix of, and interaction between, people still trying to gain a sense of the cultural other within classroom roles, responsibilities and their lack of knowledge, which then draws upon traditional views and perspectives. This interacts with external influences in terms of curriculum content, pedagogy and time acting against the intentions of presenting a balanced approach. Such theories may often be reported in the abstract and lead to discussions and implications that seem to many as too far removed from the realities of any given situation. This study has based this discussion in a practical setting where the notion of culture is being enacted in ways that will be recognisable to a number of teachers and schools undertaking or considering CLC within and outwith L3 practices and, therefore, can act as a foundation for the meaningful application of theory.

10.44   The researcher's positionality

As has been discussed throughout the thesis, the positionality of the researcher has impacted on the study in various ways that contribute to its uniqueness as one of the very few in the literature base where the teaching of CLC is examined by someone from a non-heritage Chinese background. This 'outsider' positioning required particular thought in the approach to the study that would be useful for other such researchers to consider and, again, there are strong echoes here to the work, and experiences, of authors such as Berger (2015), Srivastava (2006) and Woodin (2016).

It is important, at the outset, for researchers to recognise openly any previous involvement with the area of language and culture and the ways in which this experience may have acted positively or negatively on the researcher's on-going thinking and in the study's design. To neglect this would perhaps result in an approach that simply sought to affirm the researcher's potential subconscious cultural biases in creating answers to questions that supported these. This highlights

the need to draw upon a range of other people impacted by their involvement in culturally based studies and their perspectives, as was the case in this thesis for Chinese and Scottish teachers, PDOs and pupils across P5-7. Dealing with researcher bias was also reflected in the nature of the questioning, which though informed by the literature base and experience, was also open enough to allow new avenues for exploration that encouraged a high degree of reflection on participants' own attitudes and values towards cultural engagement, thus broadening this out further from the researcher's own views. Revisiting these groups on two or more occasions, over a reasonably extended period of 14 months, assisted this openness and encouraged the researcher to look for patterns and trends beyond single and simplistic snapshots.

Handling the relational dynamics with different participant groups is complex and requires a lot of thought prior to data collection, which should not be taken for granted as necessarily easy to achieve at any level of being an 'outsider' 'insider' or 'inbetweener'. Though the researcher's background as a teacher acted as a bridge across all interviews, it still required work to establish the connection and trust which operated at various levels depending upon the background of interviewees. As has been alluded to frequently, the issues of potential professional hierarchies could both work in favour and against the level of openness that participants were willing to offer. For Scottish teachers, relating discussions to actual classroom practices and recognising the challenges faced helped build up a rapport, whereas for the Chinese teacher group this came through offering the opportunity to reflect on their experiences in ways that had not been afforded to them and which they recognised as means to genuinely see their voice as unique and equally important to that of any other participant or the researcher himself. As Srivastava (2006) highlights in detail, language barriers must be identified and dealt with at the earliest stage as these can impact on the quality of the data gathered and its interpretation where participants' actual voices can be lost through translation. This study showed that a dual language approach, where needed, should be given serious consideration. However, in the absence of any researcher's own competence in the language of participants, fieldworkers acting on his/ her behalf must also be suitably immersed in the cultural

and professional background of the research. This was the case for the PGDE student used in this study and her role was complemented through discussion prior to data collection on the goals of the interviews and the questions used, along with in-depth dialogue with the researcher at the analysis stages that depended so much on quality translation. Interpreters/ translators with limited experience of primary classrooms, or of educational contexts more generally, might miss many of the contextual issues and educational nuances inherent in such a study, thus potentially underutilising and misunderstanding participants' responses.

Finally, in cultural studies the relationship between Self and Other is a dynamic that cannot be ignored. As discussed at various points in the thesis, looking at the cultural beliefs and practices of people from other nations can easily reinforce the notions of stereotypes and essentialist thinking when viewed from just one dimension and would be a flaw to avoid in the design of similar type studies. The approach adopted needs space to explore and critically consider the culture of the Self and how this shapes wider thinking when engaging with other people and cultures as this helps those involved to recognise their own preconceptions, lack of understanding and knowledge. As was highlighted, the use of approaches, such as PCT, in this study achieved that goal in a way which allowed insight into the minds of pupils, in particular, whose attitudes and values are still more open to shaping than would be the case for many adults. The interviews with all adult groups explicitly asked them to consider their Scottish or Chinese culture in relation to their own and the insights that arose, as discussed in Sections 8.11 and 8.21, highlighted an honesty from both groups as to the need for further engagement and understanding of each other, not only at cultural levels, but also professionally.

As can be seen, from this discussion, issues of positionality are complex and untidy by necessity, but nevertheless an essential challenge to be identified and addressed in research such as this.

10.5　Future research potential

A number of interesting ideas have arisen from the findings of this study that could lead to some areas of direct and indirect follow up for this researcher and which may offer opportunities to collaborate with others in the area of CLC, or in the wider themes of language and cultural education.

10.51　Wider evaluation of L3 practices within/ outwith Chinese language and culture

Having established a broad investigation of CLC using a particular mixed methods approach, this could provide the base for elements of replication across other local authorities in Scotland, which may be considering the need for an evaluation of L3 practices within their primary schools with ample scope for the model to be refined to meet particular goals. There is value in elements of a repetitious approach as a means of testing and strengthening the reliability and validity of the results presented in this study. This would hopefully give any funders of such work confidence in achieving meaningful outcomes as the notion of exploring the 3 key concepts of the robustness of classroom practices, professional relationships and impact should lie at the heart of any sound evaluation of school based educational initiatives. This would also be usefully applied in the context of other L3 languages, ranging from traditional European offerings to minority community-based examples, to further test out the notion of the inverse methodology that underpins L3 practices and its impact on pupils' attitudes towards languages and other cultures.

10.52　Investigating innovative approaches to Chinese language and culture

One important aspect considered in the recommendations given in Section 10.2 is the notion of methodologies surrounding the effective delivery of CLC. The researcher is currently working with his second supervisor and two other doctoral students in a research funding bid with the potential to further explore the implementation of 1+2/ delivery of L3/ teacher education that would support this work. The initial base for this work was accepted in conference papers for events in 2020 in Glasgow and Portugal. These explored findings from three studies based on L3 projects in Scottish schools involving a range of languages.   Results highlighted a focus on

potential innovative approaches with the aim of promoting young learners' awareness of languages in use in their families and local communities providing opportunities for practical and creative linguistic encounters. The provisions made in the 1+2 policy are described by the group as creating a space to allow freedom and experimentation in the languages and approaches chosen. Elements of this particular study where pupils have been engaged in the contextualisation and application of their CLC learning, especially within school 3, are one means for further exploration in the bid being currently developed. Such thinking attempts to respond to the challenges of L3 practices and provide some broader lessons for teachers' professional development in working with young language learners.

10.53 Expanding L3 models of Chinese language and culture

Issues around sustainability and capacity building in moving CLC forward were highlighted as a fundamental threat to its long-term presence in Scottish schools. Though the 'Hanban model' seems to be secure for the foreseeable future, successful practices will only truly become embedded once a wider range of groups and participants are involved and feel confident in taking it forward in their schools on their own terms with some useful research deriving from this.

The cluster-based approach used in all schools in this study offers contexts for potential research in ways untapped at present given that schools seem to exist in isolation from each other in terms of unifying good practice. The recent model adopted in local authority 1, in which schools 1 and 3 were situated, provides an interesting example in that it is heading in a direction where it will potentially not be as heavily reliant on the Hanban teacher as the others. This was only getting underway towards the very end of the data collection period in this study. A motivated and experienced Scottish teacher, with the knowledge of L3 and wider Scottish curriculum, was beginning to spearhead developments where she was leading content and the Hanban teacher reinforcing these elements in alternate weeks in a co-operative model with the normal class teacher through well designed resources. This was trying to create a three-way interaction in the delivery of CLC that expects meaningful engagement of all involved with the potential to create

confidence through a joint planning and delivery approach that has demonstration of good practices at its heart. This would be worthwhile to follow up further.

Education Scotland (2014a) reviewed a pilot programme involving other native speakers of Chinese and this was outlined briefly in Section 4.62. There is potentially further scope in this sort of model, but not necessarily in always looking to those of Chinese cultural background for its implementation. There was a recognition from Scottish teachers in this study of the role of their feeder High Schools, but a feeling that the transition process in terms of primary- secondary liaison had lost its impetus. Given there are pupils studying Chinese in S4- S6 to a certificated level, future projects could explore these pupils acting as role models in primary school settings to reinforce the basic language requirements in L3 provision during periods when Hanban teachers are not available in schools. A number of positives could be derived from this, particularly the notion of application of learning, project-based activity.   Fundamentally, it would show that non-heritage learners of the language can have a role in its promotion, which is a very powerful message to explore through research.

One final element that would build direct and indirect capacity into L3 models would be to engage both Hanban and Scottish teachers in an exploration of the goals of promoting understanding of each other's culture, which in this study seemed very distinctly separate, leading to a lack of genuine cultural awareness on both sides. The paper from Burr et al. (2014), referred to at various points in this study, could assist in this respect and allow the use of Kelly's (1955) PCT approach to be expanded upon with a different group of participants in the context of CLC. Though this study drew upon some elements of this paper, there are others which would allow real depth of analysis to take place in encouraging adult groups to consider their thinking around the cultural Other. Burr et al. initiated a two-stage approach, the first being similar to the one adopted in this study in terms of gathering information on cultural perceptions using the bi-polar question technique adopted by this researcher. However, the second stage carried out by these authors gave participants the opportunity to see how they were perceived by the other and how the

other perceived themselves and to discuss these openly. The opportunity to apply PCT to the Scottish and Hanban teachers would help open up their own awareness of each other's culture and issues by presenting these in the classroom in a very engaging and non-threatening way. Encouraging a sharing and reflection of such views would very likely lead to greater empathy and understanding with spin offs for classroom practices in how China and Chinese culture are perceived and delivered. It would be valuable to test out this approach in the context of CLC and other L3 languages.

10.6   Concluding remarks

Given the Chinese cultural focus of this thesis, the acknowledgments section began with a Confucian quote emphasising the value of going on a journey, which has taken this researcher 6 years to complete and it seems, therefore, appropriate to return to that metaphor in these final paragraphs.

In one sense, CLC as an initiative in the Scottish primary language curriculum is still an on-going journey since the early inception of the current model around 2012. Eight years on from this initial start, CLC continues to benefit from a number of strong foundations including the support of both the Scottish and Chinese governments through policy agreements, funding and resourcing. This has helped establish the Confucius Institute for Scotland's Schools and Confucius Classrooms in 21 local authorities, including a drive to establish more in primary school settings. The model of delivery, through the use of Hanban teachers, has undoubtedly underpinned the scope and reach of the programme and exposed pupils to a language and culture that they would be very unlikely to meet or consider otherwise. From August 2021 onwards, all primary schools will be expected to implement the 1+2 policy in full and though the conditions for the further development of the second language already exist, largely as a result of the legacy of previous initiatives around European languages over the past 30 years, if CLC is acting as a mirror to L3 practices more widely, then there is still work to be done in achieving policy goals. Beyond issues of content and delivery, one fundamental barrier exists for the next phase of its development, and likely other minority languages, to secure its

sustainability. The immense value in using Hanban teachers is accepted, but these now need to be seen as part of the mix of the delivery of language and culture alongside much greater involvement of Scottish teachers, as in doing so the curriculum experiences will become more joined up, outcomes for pupils will be further enhanced and CLC will move forward on a firmer footing.

This completed thesis is also, in effect, evidence of this researcher's own journey in sharing and shaping a narrative that has tried to engage its readers from its beginnings as an area of personal interest, which has been important in sustaining motivation and engagement, through to its conclusion as a substantial piece of work. The complexities in the study's design did lead to periods of feeling overwhelmed by the many layers of data collection and analysis and useful approaches to dealing with this were developed, which did get the researcher through intense periods of effort and can be taken forward. The fact that this thesis was completed alongside normal work commitments did undoubtedly create a number of competing pressures that forced time away from the research on many occasions. However, what has become clear on reflection is that these breaks, rather than hindering progress, actually enhanced it, as when the researcher returned to the process he did so with a fresh pair of eyes and new thinking and the final result is the better for this. The notion of perspective on the nature of research and accepting its many twists and turns is an immensely valuable lesson learned in maintaining a sense of realism going forward into new projects. The confidence gained, alluded to in the acknowledgments by supporting colleagues, is now something that is tangibly felt. The skills base developed in managing the mixed methods approach and in learning the software of analysis such as SPSS and NVivo can be built upon and new features applied to deepen their use. Though conclusions and recommendations have been reached for this study, these raise other questions and opportunities that will take its findings and the researcher onto new paths to further develop understanding and knowledge not only in practices within CLC and L3 models, but beyond these into language and cultural learning more generally.

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APPENDICES

……………………………..

Learning about Chinese language and culture (CLC)

Section one: About you

Q1. What is your gender? (Please make one choice)

○ male

○ female

Q2. What is the name of your school? (Please type in the space below)

_____

Q3. Which primary stage are you in? (Please make one choice)

○ P5

○ P6

○ P7

Q4. How long have you been learning Chinese? (Please make one choice)

○ since P5

○ since P6

○ since P7

○ other (please enter details) _____

Q5. Are you learning another language in your school? (Please make one choice)

○ yes

○ no

Q6. If yes, which language? (Please make one choice)

○ French

○ Spanish

○ Italian

○ German

○ Gaelic

○ other (please state) _____

Q7. How long have you been learning this language? (Please make one choice)

○ since P1

○ since P2

○ since P3

○ since P4

○ since P5

○ since P6

○ since P7

Q8. Have you visited any of these European countries? (Please tick any that apply)

☐ France

☐ Spain

☐ Germany

☐ Italy

Q9. What is your favourite subject in your school? (Please make one choice)

◯ maths

◯ literacy

◯ science and technology

◯ expressive arts (art, music, drama)

◯ health and wellbeing (including PE)

◯ religious and moral education

◯ social studies (history, geography)

◯ foreign languages (e.g. Chinese, French, Spanish)

Section 2: Your views on learning Chinese Language and Culture (CLC)

Q10. I understand why I am learning CLC. (Please make one choice)

○ strongly agree

○ agree

○ neutral/ don't know

○ disagree

○ strongly disagree

Q11. Why do you feel learning CLC is important? (Please type your ideas below)

_____

_____

_____

_____

Q12. I find learning Chinese a challenge, but in a positive way. (Please make one choice)

○ strongly agree

○ agree

○ neutral/ don't know

○ disagree

○ strongly disagree

Q13. I enjoy learning about CLC. (Please make one choice)

○ strongly agree

○ agree

○ neutral/ don't know

○ disagree

○ strongly disagree

Q14. I worry about making mistakes when speaking Chinese. (Please make one choice)

○ strongly agree

○ agree

○ neutral/ don't know

○ disagree

○ strongly disagree

Q15. Learning CLC has made me feel more confident about learning new things in general. (Please make one choice)

○ strongly agree

○ agree

○ neutral/ don't know

○ disagree

○ strongly disagree

Q16. I enjoy CLC more than other subjects. (Please make one choice)

○ strongly agree

○ agree

○ neutral/ don't know

○ disagree

○ strongly disagree

Q17. I feel learning Chinese has made me interested in other languages. (Please make one choice)

○ strongly agree

○ agree

○ neutral/ don't know

○ disagree

○ strongly disagree

Q18. Learning CLC has made me interested in people from other parts of the world. (Please make one choice)

○ strongly agree

○ agree

○ neutral/ don't know

○ disagree

○ strongly disagree

Section 3: Learning about China and Chinese culture (CLC)

Q19. In my lessons, I have learned about the geography of China. (Please make one choice)

○ strongly agree

○ agree

○ neutral/ don't know

○ disagree

○ strongly disagree

Q20. Which of these cities have you been learning about? (Please choose any that apply)

☐　　Beijing

☐　　Shanghai

☐　　Hong Kong

☐　　no cities

☐　　other (please state) _____

Q21. In my lessons, I have learned about the people who live in China. (Please make one choice)

○ strongly agree

○ agree

○ neutral/ don't know

○ disagree

○ strongly disagree

Q22. Which parts of China have you been learning about? (Please make one choice)

○ cities

○ countryside

○ both

○ none

Q23. In my lessons, I have learned about different festivals in China. (Please make one choice)

○ strongly agree

○ agree

○ neutral/ don't know

○ disagree

○ strongly disagree

Q24. Which festivals have you been learning about? (Please choose any that apply)

☐　　　Chinese New Year

☐　　　Dragon Boat Festival

☐　　　Mid-autumn Festival

☐　　　other (please state) _____

Q25.　In my lessons, I have learned about everyday life in China. (Please make one choice)

○ strongly agree

○ agree

○ neutral/ don't know

○ disagree

○ strongly disagree

Q26.　Which aspects of life in China have you been learning about in your lessons? (Please put in order from 1-5. 1= most often and 5= least often)

_____ life at home

_____ life in school

_____ children's interests/ pastimes

_____ Chinese traditions

_____ Chinese history

Q27. In my lessons, I think there is a good balance between learning about old/ modern China. (Please make one choice)

○ strongly agree

○ agree

○ neutral / don't know

○ disagree

○ strongly disagree

Q28. From where do you get your information on China?
(Please put in order from 1-5. 1= most often and 5 = least often)

_____ my Chinese teacher

_____ my own teacher

_____ the Internet

_____ TV programmes

_____ talking to other Chinese people

Q29. During lessons, I get the chance to ask questions about life in China/ Chinese culture. (Please make one choice)

○ never

○ sometimes

○ always

Q30. I think people in China are very different to people in Scotland. (Please make one choice)

◯ strongly agree

◯ agree

◯ neutral / don't know

◯ disagree

◯ strongly disagree

Section 3: Using your skills in Chinese language and culture (CLC)

31. In what ways have you used CLC during school time? (Please choose any that apply)

☐ during lessons in the class

☐ with other pupils in the school

☐ during school assemblies

☐ with visitors to the school

☐ other school trips e.g. theatre, music shows

☐ visits to other schools who learn Chinese

☐ with other schools in China through the Internet

☐ other (please state) _____

Q32. In what ways have you used CLC outside school? (Please choose any that apply)

☐ told parents what you have learned in class

☐ with friends

☐ with Chinese neighbours

☐ with Chinese visitors

☐ in Chinese restaurants

☐ in Chinese supermarkets

☐ other (please state) _____

Q33. Do you have any contact with people who actually live in China? (Please make one choice)

○ yes

○ no

Q34. If yes, who are these people? (Please choose all that apply)

☐ my Chinese teacher

☐ friends

☐ family

☐ pupils in schools in China

☐ other (please state) _____

Q35. Have you ever visited China on holiday? (Please make one choice)

○ yes

○ no

○ family planning to go this year

Q36. I would like to continue learning CLC in secondary school.   (Please make one choice)

○ strongly agree

○ agree

○ neutral/ don't know

○ disagree

○ strongly disagree

Q37. I think learning CLC is important for my future. (Please make one choice)

○ strongly agree

○ agree

○ neutral/ don't know

○ disagree

○ strongly disagree

…………………………………………..
END OF SURVEY

Appendix B

Semi-structured interview questions for use with Scottish teachers and Professional Development Officers: round 1

………………………………………………

1.   Could you give details of your involvement to date in the delivery of Chinese language and culture? ***CLC was used from this point forward as an initialism for Chinese language and culture, but punctuated with use of the original phrase.**

2.   To what extent do you support the choice of CLC as an L3 against any other language?

3.   What benefits do you feel the study of CLC <u>in particular</u> offers pupils?

4.   To what extent do you feel pupils understand the reasons why they are learning CLC?

5.   To what extent are parents supportive of the decision to teach CLC? (teachers only)

6.   What factors might account for pupils' positive or negative reactions to the CLC?

7.   How/ where have pupils developed their views on China and Chinese people?

8.   What sort of Chinese cultural content have pupils experienced as part of their L3 programme?

9.   What interesting models of CLC have you seen in schools? (Professional Development Officers only)

10.   What view of China and Chinese people do you feel the pupils currently have? (teachers only)

11.   What opportunities are there for pupils to use CLC outside of school? (teachers only)

12.   Have there been any other wider benefits of pupils learning CLC?

13.   Looking to the future, how well is your school placed to continue the teaching of CLC? (teachers only)

14.   Do you feel there are any other factors, not yet mentioned, that might assist or hinder the future success of learning CLC?

Appendix C

Semi-structured interview questions for use with Scottish teachers and

Professional Development Officers: round 2

…………………………………………………

1. How/ where have pupils developed their views on China and Chinese people?

2. What do you feel are the important aspects of Chinese culture that pupils should be made aware of? Why do you feel this?

3. In what ways do you see Chinese culture as being similar to the culture here in Scotland/ UK?

4. In what ways do you see Chinese culture as being different to the culture here in Scotland/ UK?

5. What sort of cultural content/ activities are pupils experiencing as part of their L3 programme?

6. What sort of materials/ resources are used in teaching Chinese culture during lessons?

7. What view of China and Chinese people do you feel pupils currently have?

8. Do you feel there are any other factors, not yet mentioned, that might assist or hinder the promotion of the Chinese culture?

Appendix D

**Semi-structured interview questions for use with Hanban teachers:
groups 1 and 2**

…………………………………………………

1. What benefits do you feel the study of Chinese language and culture offers pupils in Scottish schools?

您觉得在苏格兰学校里提供汉语与中国文化课程对于学生们的好处？

2. To what extent do you feel pupils in your class understand the reasons why they are learning Chinese language and culture? Can you give any examples of how this has been shown?

您觉得您班上的学生们有多了解他们为何要学习汉语与中国文化的原因？

您是否能提供学生表现出理解为何要学汉语与中国文化的例子？

3. As teachers involved in the delivery of Chinese language and culture, how do you feel pupils have responded to learning about this?

从您汉语老师的角度，您觉得学生们对于学习汉语与中国文化有表现出怎么样的反应？

4. What factors might account for pupils' positive or negative reactions to their learning of Chinese language and culture?

如果学生们有正面或者负面的反应，哪一些因素可以解释这些反应？

5. How / where have pupils in your classes developed their views on China and Chinese people?

您的学生们对中国及中国人的看法是怎么产生的？该看法是哪里来的？

6. What do you feel are the important aspects of Chinese culture that pupils should be made aware of? Why do you feel this?

您觉得汉语老师应该给学生们接触或者解释中国文化哪一些方面？您为什么觉得那些方面比较重要？

7. In what ways do you see Chinese culture as being similar to the culture here in Scotland/ UK?

您觉得中国文化与苏格兰（或者英国）文化有什么相同的方面？

8. In what ways do you see Chinese culture as being different to the culture here in Scotland/ UK?

您觉得中国文化与苏格兰（或者英国）文化有什么不同的方面？

9. What sort of cultural content have your pupils experienced as part of their programme of learning?

您提供学生们的课程包括什么关于文化的内容？

10. What view of China and Chinese people do you feel the pupils in your class currently have?

您的学生们目前对中国及中国人的看法是什么？

11. Before coming to Scotland to teach, what kind of support have you received in teaching about Chinese culture?

来苏格兰教汉语之前, 您获得哪些 "教中国文化"的培训或者资源？

12. Have you received any support whilst here in Scotland to help support your teaching of Chinese culture?

来苏格兰教汉语之后, 您有没有得到任何 "教中国文化"的培训或者资源？

13. What sort of materials/ resources do you use in teaching Chinese culture during your lessons?

上课时，您使用哪一些 "教中国文化"的教材和资源？

14. Do you feel there are any other factors, not yet mentioned, that might assist or hinder the future success of learning Chinese language and culture?

除了您已经在上述已经提供的答案里提及的因素外，您觉得是否有其他的因素会阻碍或者支持学生们学汉语与中国文化的过程？

Appendix E

Personal Construct Theory questions used with pupil groups at primary 5-7 stages

………………………………………………

1. What comes to mind when you think of the country China?

2. How might a Scottish person describe a typical Chinese person?

3. Why might you want to live in China?

4. Why might you not want to live in China?

5. Why might a Chinese person want to live in Scotland/ UK?

6. Why might a Chinese person not want to live in Scotland/ UK?

7. In what ways might you want to be more like a Chinese person?

8. In what ways might you want to be less like a Chinese person?

9. How might a Chinese person describe a typical Scottish person?

10. What comes to mind when you think of your country Scotland?

Appendix F

Sample of collation of results into initial mind maps
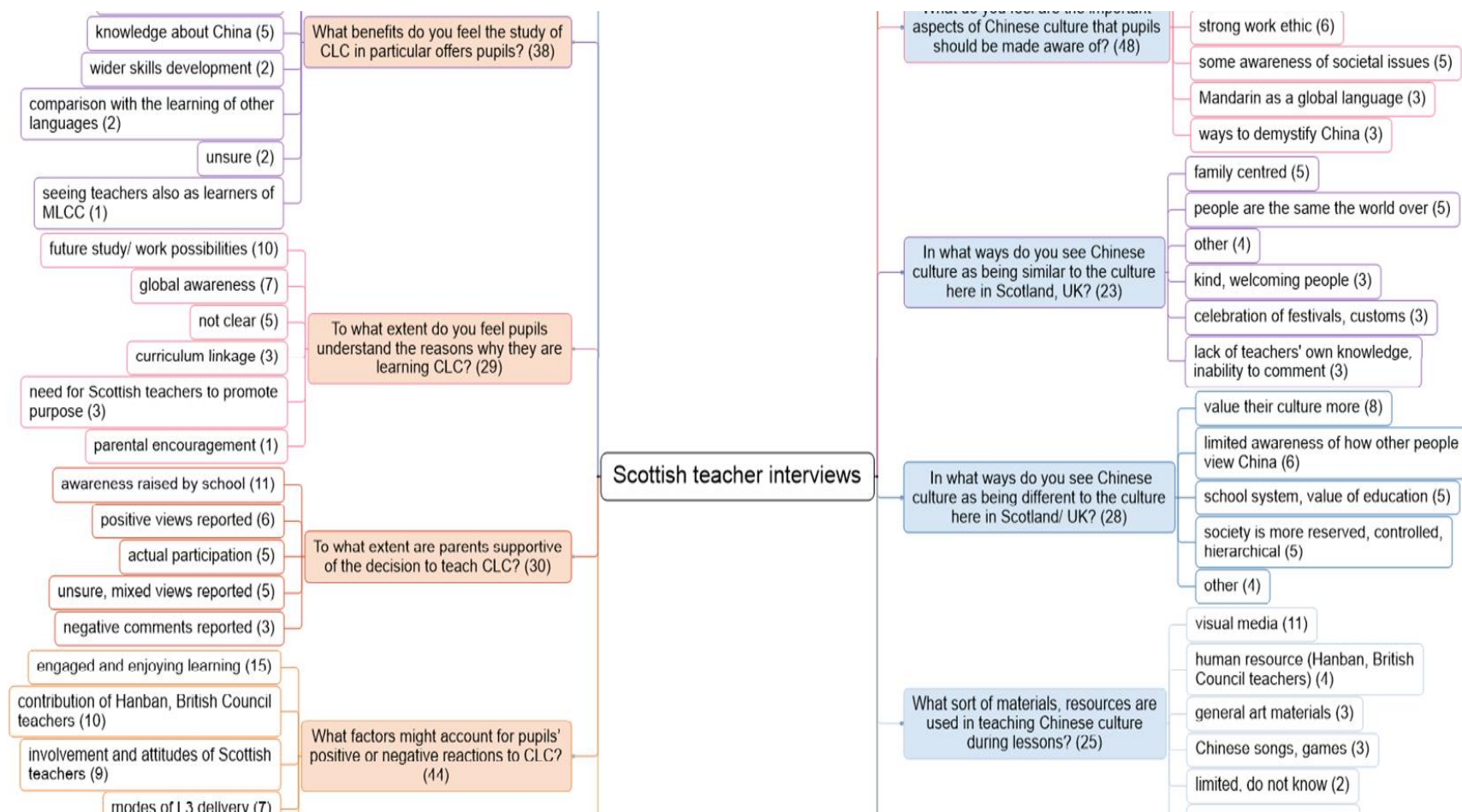
Appendix G

Sample heat map analysis of initial pupils' PCT discussions

| NB: Heat map <u>by stage</u> colour-coded from 0-16 Heat map <u>across stage</u> colour-coded from 0-99	stage of primary school				
	no experience of CLC	1 input of CLC	2 inputs of CLC	3 inputs of CLC	totals across stages
1. What comes to mind when you think of the country China? (228 responses)					
traditional culture					86
Chinese New Year	4	8	7	7	26
colour symbolism	4	1	3	4	12
the Arts (traditional art, dance, music)	4	3	1	2	10
other	1	2	1	3	7
traditional buildings	3	2	1	1	7
calligraphy/ characters	0	1	2	3	6
other festivals	0	1	2	2	5
traditional clothing	2	0	1	1	4
emperors	0	1	0	2	3
kung fu	0	1	1	1	3
Confucius	0	1	0	1	2
tea	0	1	0	1	2
national symbols					58
Chinese dragons	4	3	5	5	17
Chinese flag	3	4	4	5	16
pandas	1	5	4	3	13
historical landmarks	2	3	4	3	12
everyday life					43
food eaten	6	7	6	7	26
products made in China	2	0	1	3	6
Chinese language	0	1	1	1	3
laws of China	2	0	1	0	3
school life	3	0	0	0	3
sports	0	0	2	0	2
geography of China					41
population	6	3	1	2	12
natural environment	2	1	5	4	12
map of China	3	4	1	3	11
climate	2	0	0	2	4
pollution	0	0	2	0	2

Appendix H

Sample of top three responses to questions with adult participant groups

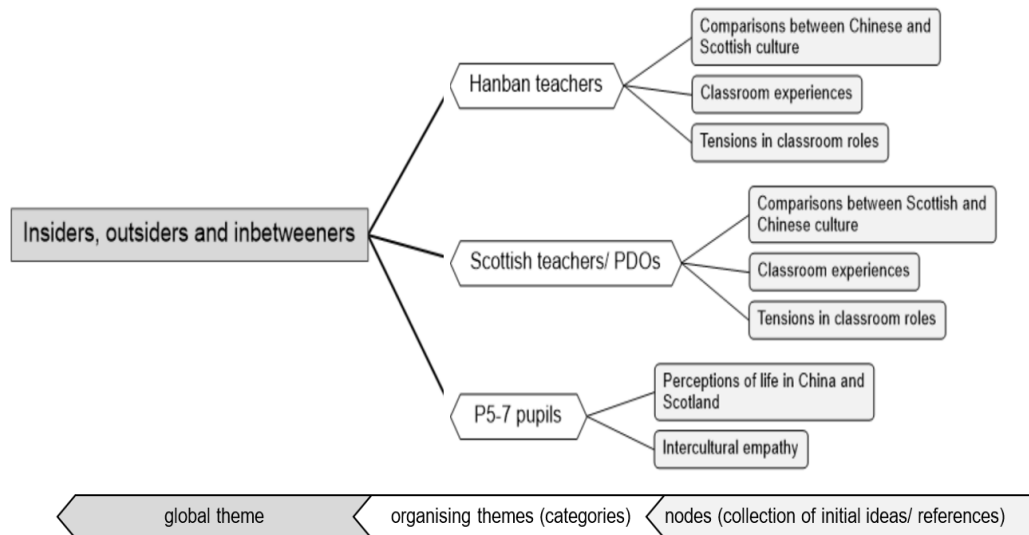| Interview questions *CLC – Chinese language and culture*	Scottish teachers (10 focus groups)	Professional Development Officers (2 focus groups)	Hanban teachers (2 focus groups)
To what extent do you support the choice of CLC as an L3 against any other language?	1. pupils seem engaged by CLC (12 comments) 2. continuation of CLC into secondary school (7) 3. all languages are important (6)	1. level playing field, inclusive for pupils (5) 2.= pedagogical rationale (4) 2.= availability of Hanban teacher resource (4)	= question not asked of this group
What benefits do you feel the study of CLC <u>in particular</u> offers pupils? * Slight variation asked of Hanban teachers	1. cultural understanding (8) 2.= future job opportunities in UK/ China (6) 2.= links across the curriculum (6) 2.= motivation for learning (6)	1. cultural understanding (8) 2. breaking down stereotypes (6) 3.= future benefits (2) 3.= uses both sides of brain (2)	1. broadening pupils' minds (11) 2. cultural understanding (9) 3. benefits of speaking other languages (5)
To what extent do you feel pupils understand the reasons why they are learning CLC?	1. future study/ work possibilities (10) 2. global awareness (7) 3. not clear (5)	1. see cross-curricular links (8) 2. dependent on views of schools, staff (7) 3. role of Confucius Institute in promoting purpose (2)	1. pupils don't understand (8) 2. future benefits, job opportunities (7) 3. interested in Chinese language (6)
What interesting models of CLC have you seen in schools?	= question not asked of this group	1. curriculum integration (6) 2. issues in managing language and culture (5) 3. lack of frameworks (4)	= question not asked of this group
What sort of cultural content have pupils experienced as part of their L3 programme?	1. traditional Chinese culture (19) 2. approaches identified, rather than specific content (18) 3. pandas, environmental awareness (6)	1. need for a balanced cross- curricular approach (18) 2. potential for stereotype reinforcement (10) 3. approach taken by the Hanban teacher (2)	1. traditional culture (5) 2. modern life (3) 3. no third element

Appendix I

Summaries of thematic structures in Chapters 7-9

a) Thematic structure adopted for Chapter 7
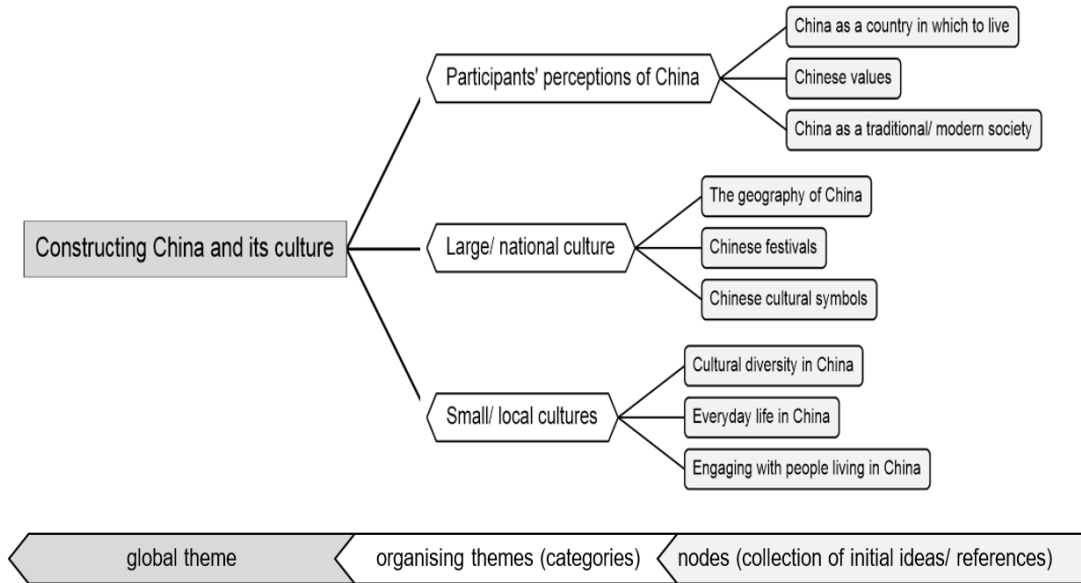
b) Thematic structure adopted for Chapter 8

Thematic structure adopted for Chapter 9